



- 1/ **Mónica de Miranda**
Path to the stars
(*Caminho para as estrelas*)
- 2/ **Andreja Dugandžić**
About the revolutionary activity
of women
General files, Main board AFŽ BiH,
1945-1951
- 3/ **Alicia Grullón**
Breaking news
- 4/ **SIDE collective**
Decoding resilience
- 5/ **Hristina Ivanoska**
Document missing: on methodology
(text, voice and body)
- 6/ **Katia Kamell**
The Algerian novel 1, 2 and 3
(*Le roman Algerian*)

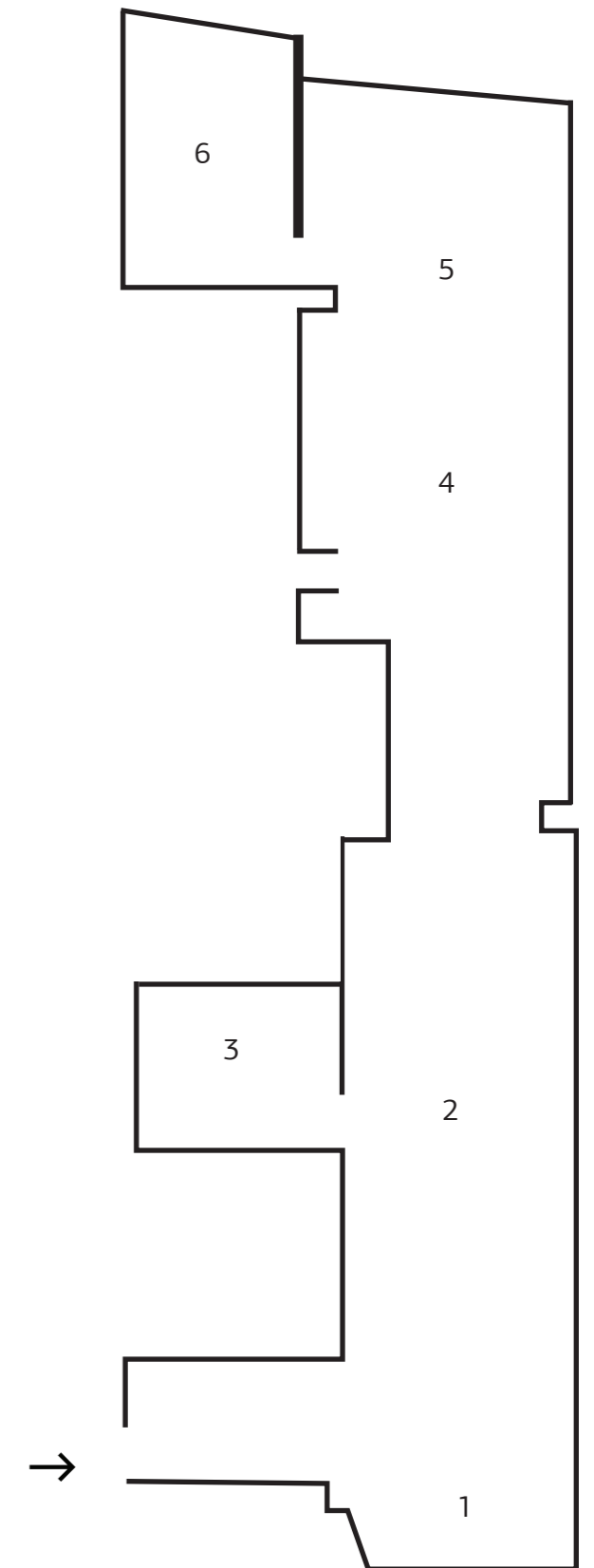
Archaeology of Resistance: Corrective for the Future

Artists: Andreja Dugandžić,
Alisija Grulon, Hristina Ivanoska,
Katia Kameli, Monika de Miranda,
SIDE kolektiv

Curator: Iva Kovač

25. 1 – 24. 2. 2024

Gallery Podroom
Trg republike 5/-1
Cultural Centre of Belgrade
Monday–Saturday: 12:00–20:00
Closed on Sundays
www.kcb.org.rs



In her 2021 book *Feminist Antifascism: Counterpublics of the Common*, Ewa Majewska introduces the term ‘weak resistance’, which stands against the heroic narratives of revolutionary struggles that have filled the progressive imaginary for three hundred years. She brushes off the dogmatic air of an obsolete proposal formulated when the imagined actors of historical change were solely able-bodied, (mostly) white, cis men. Taking the Black Protests in Poland and the global International Women’s Strike as a starting point, Majewska describes the non-heroic strategies that “activated several layers of society, involving street demonstrations, actions on social media, artistic work, strikes, a refusal to fulfill housework duties, artistic actions, legal investigations, and new law proposals”¹ that made these protests stand out as well as enable massive global participation.

Similarly, Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, the authors of the widely acclaimed *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*, pinpoint mass participation as a decisive advantage in the success of political campaigns. Based on empirical data, collected on a global scale spanning the entirety of the 20th century, the book argues that nonviolent campaigns enable participation of a broader social stratum, involving a participant base more diverse than the able-bodied, often cis male participants of violent struggles, thus permitting a greater variety of resistance strategies. The research seemed to suggest that mass support stands for, among other things, a variety of genders participating, which was later tested when Chenoweth and her research team included variables for gender in the data set (the scope of data collected is global and collecting began in 1945)². Some of the more concerning findings of this new data set are that, in the aftermath of unsuccessful campaigns with a prominent positive focus on gender equality and significant participation of women (be they insurrections or nonviolent struggles), there is a decline in indicators for gender equality³ So, it seems that the claims for equality tend to backfire with a conservative, patriarchal counter-response, which makes it even more vital for progressive, feminist, mass, and gender-equal resistances to succeed.

Returning now to the concept of weak resistance, in *Feminist Antifascism*, Majewska makes a poignant introduction to the *Solidarność* movement from the 1980s. She reminds us of how it was initiated in

solidarity with Anna Walentynowicz, a female crane operator from the Gdansk shipyard who was laid off for protesting raising food prices, and that it was populated by many significant women through time. Nevertheless, the movement would probably be an outlier in Chenoweth’s gender equality data set. Conventionally understood as a successful historical movement with a major participation of women, *Solidarność* did not bring long-term gender equality to Poland. On the contrary, *the* contemporary leadership of this movement supports the most regressive policies of the recently defeated Polish government, like extreme cuts to reproductive rights. The (symbolic) erasure of women went so far that the leadership protested against the use of the *Solidarność* sign in recent feminist⁴ protests as well as its use in the art project titled *Invisible Women of Solidarity* by the artist Sanja Iveković, who felt inspired by real women involved in the Polish *Solidarność* movement, and thus substituted the image of an abstract man on a poster placed in front of the movement’s logo with a woman⁵.

The decline of reproductive rights, availability of social services, and economic standards of the general population in the post-socialist context go hand in hand with the symbolic erasure of women who fought for gender and social equality during socialism. Struggles initiated, populated, and led by women (from women in the anti-fascist struggle during WWII, women combatants in anti-colonial struggles and everyday struggles of people on the move, women and LGBT+ people in public space) need to be recorded and repeated for history. Women have and will create their own destiny through numerous acts of refusal, defiance, and other forms of weak resistance, as well as by participating in violent struggle.

In the article *Critical Feminism in the Archives*, Marika Cifor and Stacy Wood write about the relevance of archives for social movements as a way of bringing attention to omitted persons, concepts, and narratives. Feminist art engages with feminist politics, and a great deal of archival work (in the broader sense of the word – as contributing to historicizing rather than necessarily adding material to existing or creating new public or private archives) has been done through research-based and documentary practices by contemporary artists.

Under these premises, the exhibition project *Archaeology of Resistance: Corrective for the Future* was formed and initially presented as part of the program of 29th Edition of the City of Women Festival in October 2023 in Ljubljana. A reworked concept of the show crafted for the Belgrade audiences, features the works by Andreja Dugandžić, Katia Kameli, Monica de Miranda and Hristina Ivanoska which examine historical figures and movements and bring them to public attention, while the works by Alicia Grullon and

the SIDE collective, invent strategies to intervene in contemporary reality. In her book *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, Kate Eichorn proclaims that “contemporary feminism is as much about shoring up a younger generation’s legacy and honoring elders as it is about imagining and working to build possible worlds in the present and for the future”⁶ This is why the retrospective view with a future oriented agenda reverberates through the whole series of events that make up the *Archaeology of Resistance: Corrective for the Future*.

Andreja Dugandžić is a cultural worker, researcher and artist. She lives in Sarajevo and works at the Culture and Art Association CRVENA. For many years, she has been researching the history and legacy of the women’s anti-fascist movement in Yugoslavia and dealing with its artistic and political applications. She is the co-author of the online Archive of the Anti-Fascist Struggle of Women of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Yugoslavia (www.afzarhiv.org), and is one of the editors of the Collection - The Lost Revolution: AFŽ between myth and oblivion. He develops his artistic work through text, performance and collage. She was one of the members of the legendary band STARKE and the duo Black Water and her Daughter.

Alicia Grullón is a Bronx-based artist, professor, writer and organizer who creates art about the environment, politics, and human and more-than-human dynamics and relations. Grullón’s works have been shown in numerous group exhibitions including The 8th Floor, Bronx Museum of the Arts, BRIC House for Arts and Media, El Museo del Barrio, and Columbia University among others. She has received grants from the Department of Cultural Affairs of the City of New York, and Franklin Furnace Archives.

Hristina Ivanoska’s research interest and artistic practice are tied around the issues of suppression, control, and construction of collective memory in regard to women’s resistance strategies, and politics. She often works interdisciplinary, critically investigating the experience of present-day social and political systems and their relationship to history and theory. Ivanoska validates handcraft such as engraving, embroidery, weaving, pottery, and quilting as mediums of political and social value and as a representation of individual struggle and limitations.

Katia Kameli is a French-Algerian artist. Following her studies at the Academy of Fine Arts, Vienna, she graduated from the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Bourges in 2000. She received a postgraduate degree in New Media in 2003 from the Ecole Supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Marseille. Kameli’s work is closely linked to her personal experience of dual identities, exploring multiplicity and the ‘in-between’. Through video, photography, installation, she investigates intercultural spaces, intersecting identities and their construction.

Mónica de Miranda is a Portuguese artist of Angolan origin who lives and works between Lisbon and Luanda. Filmmaker, Artist and researcher, her work is based on themes of urban archaeology and affective geographies. She works in an interdisciplinary way with drawing, installation, photography, film, video and sound, in its expanded forms and in the boundaries between fiction and documentary. She graduated in Visual Arts and Sculpture from Camberwell College of Arts (London) and received PhD in Artistic Studies from Middlesex University (London).

The SIDE collective, cooking and cleaning politics, cultures, religions, and arts, is a collective that hacks, hijacks, and re-create cultural, artistic, religious, and political scenes from an intersectional feminist lens. The cofunders of SIDE collective are Samar Zughool, Behnaz Aliesfahanipour, Safa Saad and Sammar Al Kerawe.

Iva Kovač works as a program director of the City of Women Association in Ljubljana since 2021. She has been a visual artist at Fokus Grupa since 2012. She was the curator at PM Gallery in Zagreb from 2010 to 2012 and at SIZ Gallery in Rijeka from 2013 to 2015. From 2017 to 2021 she was the curator at GSG in Rijeka where she initiated and (co)edited the first three issues of GSG magazine for Contemporary Art and Social Question.

ACCOMPANYING PROGRAM OF THE EXHIBITION:

• **THURSDAY, 25.01. AT 6 P.M**
Guided tour through the exhibition with curator Ivo Kovač

• **THURSDAY, 14.02. AT 7 P.M**
Presentation of the book “Invisible archive: Macedonian woman – organ of AFŽ (1944-1952), historical experiences and cultural memory”
Participants in the conversation: Ivana Hadžievaska and Janom Kocevaska, moderated by: Jelena Nidžović, editor of the KCB literary-tribune program

• **THURSDAY, 22.02. AT 7 P.M**
“Correction for the future”
conversation about the current exhibition
Participants in the conversation: Urška Jež, executive producer of the feminist organization Mesto Žensk, Ivana Smiljanić, visual artist and Jelen Višnjić, one of the founders and editors of the festival of feminist culture and action BeFem.

• **FRIDAY, 23.02. AT 1 P.M**
“Embodiment of Decoloniality”
workshop with Samar Zughol, one of the members of the SIDE collective

⁶ Eichorn, Kate. 2013. *The Archival Turn in Feminism*. Philadelphia. Temple University Press. Pg. X

¹ Majewska, Ewa. 2021. *Feminist Antifascism: Counterpublics of the Common*. London: Verso Books. Pg. 9

² The preview of these research findings is underway in a book titled *Rebel XX: Women on the Frontlines of Revolution*, co-authored with Zoe Marks, while a condensed report and public talks by Chenoweth are already available. For initial research, see: https://oneearthfuture.org/sites/default/files/documents/publications/Womens_Participation_Nonviolent_Campaigns_Digital_0.pdf and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rclb0FEJ2qQ>

³ There are several notable examples of campaigns or social movements standing out for gender equality that took over some form of power and have managed to enforce the overall betterment of women in society.

⁴ For more, read: <https://jacobin.com/2018/03/poland-black-protests-womens-strike-abortion-pis>

⁵ For the 12th edition of the City of Women festival in 2006, the artist Sanja Iveković created a public project, *Pozor: Ženske pri delu*. With a strategy of substitution, Iveković made the subsumption of everybody under a male ideogram the theme of her work. She inserted a transformed street sign informing of works ahead and substituted the image of a human in pants (associated with men) with a human in a skirt (associated with women).