MONTENEGRIN JOURNAL FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES

Volume 7. 2023. Issue 2.

CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији
Национална библиотека Црне Горе, Цетиње
COBISS.CG-ID 32743952

ISSN 2536-5592

Publisher: Center for Geopolitical Studies

Center for Geopolitical Studies

Časopis *Montenegrin Journal for Social Sciences* upisan je u evidenciju medija, Ministarstva kulture Crne Gore pod rednim brojem *782*.

MONTENEGRIN JOURNAL FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES

Volume 7. 2023. Issue 2. Podgorica, December 2023.

Montenegrin Journal for Social Sciences is indexed in: CEOL - Central and Eastern European Online; ERIH PLUS; Google Scholar; Index Copernicus; CiteFactor; Scientific Indexing Services (SIS); ISRA – Journal impact factor; Electronic Journals Library; ROAD; General Impact Factor; OAJI – Open Academic Journals Index; Slavic Humanities Index.

Proofreading and lecture in English: Danijela Milićević

Proofreading and lecture in Montenegrin: Miodarka Tepavčević

Address: Danila Bojovića bb 81 400 Nikšić, Montenegro;
E-mail: mjss@ucg.ac.me
www.mjss.ac.me

Prepress and print: Pro file – Podgorica

Circulation: 100 copies

MJSS
MONTENEGRIN JOURNAL FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES

Volume 7. 2023. Issue 2. Podgorica, December 2023.

CONTENTS:

Montenegrin Journal for Social Sciences indeksira se u sljedećim naučnim bazama: CEOL – Central and Eastern European Online; ERIH PLUS; Google Scholar; Index Copernicus; CiteFactor; Scientific Indexing Services (SIS); ISRA – Journal impact factor; Electronic Journals Library; ROAD; General Impact Factor; OAJI – Open Academic Journals Index; Slavic Humanities Index.

Lektura i korektura na engleskom: Danijela Milićević

Lektura i korektura na crnogorskom: Miodarka Tepavčević

Adresa: Danila Bojovića bb 81 400 Nikšić, Crna Gora;
E-mail: mjss@ucg.ac.me
www.mjss.ac.me

Priprema i štampa: Pro file – Podgorica

Tiraž: 100 primjeraka

MONTENEGRIN JOURNAL FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES

Volume 7. 2023. Issue 2. Podgorica, Decembar 2023.

SADRŽAJ:

Volume 7. 2023. Issue 2. Podgorica, Decembar 2023.

Original scientific article

WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION IN MONTENEGRO BEFORE SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA: THE ROOTS OF RETRADITIONALIZATION IN MONTENEGRIN SOCIETY

JOVANA DJURIC[1]

Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, Czechia

e-mail: jovanadjuric58@gmail.com

ABSTRACT:

The unenviable status of women in Montenegro is well documented in recent years. Research done by different NGOs, official statistics, as well as Council of Europe reports the inequality between man and women in different spheres of life. In order to understand why this is, the article examines the specific path of women's emancipation in Montenegro. The retraditionalization that took place in the 1990s, both in the former Yugoslavia and in other socialist countries, brings a return to traditional values as well as renunciation of the ideas that Communism brought. However, the unenviable position of women in these countries is not as pronounced as in Montenegro. Hence, it is important to investigate what is "the traditional" when it comes to women in Montenegro. What ideas and perceptions about women did Montenegrin society return to in the 1990s, when it renounced most of its Communist legacy?

KEY WORDS:

Montenegro; Gender Inequality; Women; Socialism; Tradition;

[1] **JOVANA DJURIC** Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the Faculty of Arts, Charles University. She obtained her master's degree in 2019 from Charles University, focusing on the (un)conditionality of turbofolk as a music genre. Her areas of research include theories of nationalism, ethnic conflicts, and gender studies. The topic of her doctoral dissertation is the Position of Women in Montenegro in the 20th and 21st centuries.

SAŽETAK:

Nezavidan položaj žena u Crnoj Gori dobro je dokumentovan u posljednjih nekoliko godina. Istraživanja koja su sproveli različite nevladine organizacije, zvanične statistike, kao i izvještaji Savjeta Evrope, pokazuju neravnopravnosti između muškaraca i žena u različitim sferama života. Kako bismo razumjeli zašto je to tako, članak istražuje specifičan put emancipacije žena u Crnoj Gori. Retradicionalizacija koja se dogodila devedesetih godina prošlog vijeka, kako u bivšoj Jugoslaviji tako i u drugim socijalističkim zemljama, donosi povratak tradicionalnim vrijednostima, kao i odricanje od ideja koje je komunizam donio. Međutim, nezavidan položaj žena u ovim zemljama nije tako izražen kao u Crnoj Gori. Stoga je važno istražiti šta se smatra "tradicionalnim" kada je u pitanju položaj žena u Crnoj Gori. Na koje ideje i percepcije o ženama se crnogorsko društvo vratilo devedesetih godina, kada je većina komunističke baštine napuštena?

KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

Crna Gora; Rodna neravnopravnost; Žene; Socijalizam; Tradicija;

Introduction

Relics of the past regarding the traditional status of women are present in today's Montenegrin society more than in other countries in the region. Take, for example, the Unwanted campaign, launched by the NGO Center for Women's Rights to prepare a petition to legally prevent the abuse of prenatal tests, which are often used in Montenegro to perform selective abortions. Statistics show that indeed more boys than girls are born in Montenegro each year as a result of medically terminated pregnancies. (Komar, 2019) According to the UN, the annual sex ratio in Montenegro is, on average, 109 boys to 100 girls. The Council of Europe has urged Montenegro to stop selective abortions (Muižnieks, 2014). This practice shows not only the country's strong patriarchal tradition of preferring a "male heir," but also its rampant gender discrimination, which manifests itself in the unequal status of girls and women in all walks of life. Prejudices toward and stereotypes about women are part of everyday life in Montenegro. Sexist, misogynistic, and, in general, discriminatory comments are frequently encountered in the media, (CDM, 2021) whether they are aimed at women in public life, such as politicians, or made by journalists when the topic they are discussing is violence against women on national television (RTCG, 2022). We even find inappropriate messages aimed at women in videos for political campaigns (Dajković, 2021).

During a conference on violence against women in politics, United Nations Development Programme Resident Representative in Montenegro Daniela Gasparikova stated that most countries, including Montenegro, have committed themselves to increasing the participation of women in the decision-making and policy-making processes to achieve the UN's sustainable development goals. Nonetheless, she also addressed the current situation in Montenegro and compared the status of women in her country today and half a century ago.

However, for some time now, we have noticed that this commitment, consciously or not, offers resistance in various forms––from prejudices, structural barriers, insults or degrading allusions based on women's appearance, to threats of violence.

The scenes we see on social media today in attempts to attack, belittle and humiliate women politicians and women in public life are reminiscent of those used half a century ago against women's suffrage fighters. That is unacceptable and must not be tolerated (UNDP, 2021).

Another example in which we can see similarities between the current status of Montenegrin women and the situation in the first half of the twentieth century is the practice in which women give up their property in favor of their brothers, which leaves them in an unenviable economic situation; as a result women enter marriage in an unequal position (Kiščenko, 2021, 85). Can these current examples be seen as a consequence of the different and specific process of women's emancipation in Montenegro? Some authors have written about retraditionalization in Montenegrin society and its being the main cause of the unenviable position women hold today (Blagojević, 2007). After the fall of Communism and the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, there was indeed a renunciation of the ideas that Communism brought and a return to traditional values, particularly the perception of women as mothers, wives, and sisters––that is, always in relation to the role they have within the family, and not as independent individuals. The process of retraditionalization is not unique to Montenegro, as it has occurred in other post-Yugoslav and post-Soviet countries (Schierup, 2011). However, the unenviable position of women in these countries is not as pronounced as in Montenegro. Hence, it is important to investigate what is "the traditional" when it comes to women in Montenegro. What ideas and perceptions about women did Montenegrin society return to in the 1990s, when it renounced most of its Communist legacy? To better understand the unenviable position of women, let us explore the beginnings of the unique developmental path of women's emancipation in Montenegro.

This article covers the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the first steps toward women's emancipation in Montenegro were taken. Because the borders of Montenegro have changed throughout history and its current boundaries were made official only in 1878 by the Berlin Congress, this paper will investigate the historical position of women on the territory of today's Montenegro.

The article proceeds chronologically and follows the path of formal steps toward the emancipation of women, but it also presents the real position held by women in Montenegro. I contextualize women's emancipation within the wider socioeconomic and cultural features of Montenegrin society in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A comparison will be made with other Balkan and European countries to better understand the unique conditions under which the women's emancipation movement developed in Montenegro. Scholars of the Central, Eastern, and South Eastern European (CESEE) region have frequently criticized the periodization of feminist activity into waves, (Nyklová, 2014) a concept originating in the Anglophone world, due to differing geopolitical circumstances (Haan, Daskalova, Loutfi, 2006). However, in this paper I apply the concept of first-wave feminism to clarify the differences between Montenegro and other Balkan countries in the period when women's movements first started developing with the main goal of achieving legal and political equality between men and women.

I will examine the beginnings of formal women's education in Montenegro and its importance for the further development of the emancipation movement. Russian representatives started that process in Cetinje, and later it spread to other parts of the country. Studying this process is important given the fact that this is a rare example of foreign influence on the emancipation of women in Montenegro.

Special attention is given to the period between 1919 and 1945, when the idea of communism emerged and spread; I explore the crucial importance of this ideology especially for how and to what extent it influenced Montenegrin women and their fight for equality. Here, I emphasize not only the position of women in traditional Montenegrin society in Montenegro but also the attempts to emancipate women from their traditional roles.

A major milestone was reached in 1946, when the Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia granted women the right to vote. After World War II and their newly gained right to vote, women in Montenegro set new goals in the fight for equality. After the establishment of socialist Yugoslavia, the position of women in both the political and social sphere changed significantly.

Therefore, the post-World War II period can be considered the next phase in the process of emancipating Montenegrin women.

The study is based on archival research and secondary literature. Secondary literature that addresses similar issues in different countries is used for comparative study.

Special attention is given to analyzing historical sources recording the first socialist movements for women's rights in Montenegro. Since these are primarily magazines published by the Communist Party articles reflect the propaganda of the Communist regime. Therefore, it is important to apply a critical analytical approach on these sources to find out what role the Communist Party played in reality and how socialism shaped the path of emancipation for women in Montenegro.

Through an analysis of these sources, I aim to explain the specifics of the beginning of emancipation in Montenegro and its importance and relevance in terms of today's position of women.

First-wave Feminism in the Region

First-wave feminism was the initial period in the women's movement, when its main focus was the pursuit of the legal and political equality of men and women. It emerged in the nineteenth century and advocated for legislation that would grant women the rights to own and inherit property, to do business, and to vote.[2]This chapter explores the specific features of the women's emancipation movement in Montenegro in terms of the classical periodization of feminism.

To understand the unique path that Montenegrin women's emancipation took, let us first explore the beginnings of emancipation in other countries. I will present a short overview of first-wave feminism in Serbia and Croatia, as these countries have many historical, cultural, and political similarities with Montenegro; all three of these Balkan countries became part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918), and later, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945). First, however, I shall examine the earliest days of the women's movement in Czechia because emancipation efforts in this country often served as a model for Yugoslav national movements.

[2] See, for instance, Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan, *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspective* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1994).

Czech cultural and political activities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had strong influences on the future Yugoslav states, especially the Sokol movement. Sokol was founded in Prague in 1862 as a way of awakening the Czech national consciousness under Habsburg rule. The founders of the first Sokol society established an association that promoted the strengthening of the Czech national identity through gymnastics, athletics, and other sports. They named the organization Sokol because in the national songs of many Slavic peoples this bird was synonymous with heroism and nobility. The desire for independence from the Germanized culture of the Habsburg Monarchy led to the great popularity of the Sokol movement among the Czechs. The ideas behind the Sokol movement were quickly adopted by other Slavic nations, one of them being Montenegro (Šištek, 2011).

On the other hand, we can see the extensive representation and reflections of Montenegro and Montenegrins in Czech literature, journalism and art. In the first half of the 19th century, the interest of the Czech public in Montenegrins began to emerge. Czech painters Jaroslav Čermak and Ludvik Kuba found inspiration in their travels in Montenegro. The writer Josef Holeček left significant written sources about his travels in Montenegro. Czech publicist and politician Jan Vaclik played a significant role in Montenegrin political life. He was the secretary of Bishop Danilo Petrović of Montenegro from 1860.

The American Ladies Club, the first Czech women's association and one of the first in the CESEE region, was founded in 1865 on the initiative of Czech philanthropist and politician Vojtěch Náprstek after his return from America, as he intended to share with Czech women his knowledge, experiences, and impressions of life there. In addition to educational lectures, he also organized practical lessons for modern housewives in his mother's house. Members of the club included Karolina Světlá, a writer who was a member of several other emancipation associations focused on helping girls from poor families get education and find work; Renáta Tyršová, an art historian and art critic actively interested in women's education; and Eliška Krásnohorská, a poet, writer, and translator who authored one of the first reflections on the women's movement in Czechia, "The Czech Women's Question" (1881) (Horská, 1999, 46). The occupations of these women, who were just some of the many who championed women's emancipation and equality, tell us much about the educational opportunities available to women in

Czechia at the end of the nineteenth century. The American Ladies Club was just one of many associations promoting the rights of women. The activities of these groups, together with other historical developments (the Industrial Revolution, the newly emerging ideological currents of liberalism, capitalism, and socialism), led to the opening of the first high school for women in Prague in 1890; graduates of this school could then go on to attend university (Nyklová, 2014, 96). Later, the focus of these groups shifted from education to universal suffrage. Several decades later, the Czechoslovak constitution of 1920 established that women were politically, socially, and culturally equal to men and had the right to vote.

Women's associations was also formed in the Balkan countries in this period. Serbia, like Montenegro, was at war with the Ottomans until the nineteenth century. Due to this, economic, social, and cultural progress here lagged behind the rest of Europe. Many Serbs fled to Vojvodina during the period of Ottoman rule. Today's northern Serbian province of Vojvodina belonged to Austria-Hungary until 1918. Austro-Hungarian society was economically and culturally more developed than Serbian, and thus, Vojvodina experienced a significant economic and cultural upturn in the nineteenth century. Within Austria-Hungary, the Serbs in Vojvodina achieved church-school autonomy and civil and religious equality, and founded their own schools, both primary and secondary. At the same time, a new civil Serbian intelligentsia educated at European universities was emerging. With their enlightened and liberal ideas, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, they had a decisive influence on education in Serbia, and thus on the position of women (Božinović, 1996, 26). Hence, the first women's association was founded in Vojvodina in 1873, followed by the Women's Society in Belgrade in 1875. Following the example of women from other countries, the Women's Society's plan of action was primarily of a humanitarian nature. In its earliest days, the Women's Society concentrated on collecting aid and organizing events benefiting the Red Cross. Over time, its activities expanded, and, in 1879, on the initiative of the society, the first school for girls was opened (Božinović, 1996, 56).

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries many more women's associations were formed. The founding of the Serbian People's Women's Union in 1906 was a significant achievement. This union was made up of four different women's associations, and its program and aim were inspired by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.[3] One of the main goals of the Serbian People's Women's Union was achieving women's right to vote. (Božinović, 1996, 80)

As the women's movement emerged at the end of the nineteenth century, Croatia was going through a period of great social, economic, and political changes. At the time, Croatia was not a united area from an administrative and political point of view, and the fragmentation of the Croatian lands (which were split between Austria and Hungary) lasted until the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. As a result, the economic, social, and political conditions in various parts of Croatia differed significantly (which can also be seen in the history of the women's movement). However, the nineteenth century also gave birth to the Croatian National Revival, which focused on reforming the Croatian language and developing culture. One of its greatest successes was the re-introduction of the Croatian language as an official language in the imperial administrative units of Dalmatia (the southwestern part of today's Croatia) and Slavonia (the northeast of today's Croatia) (Krestić, 1969, 28). With the development of civil society and the strengthening of the middle class in the second half of the nineteenth century, many associations with humanitarian aims emerged there as well. One of the first women's societies in Croatia was founded in 1895 in Slavonski Brod. It took care of babies and small children. Five years later in Zagreb, the Ladyie's Association was founded to help poor girls in Croatia and Slavonia get an education by paying tuition for boarding school. The Ladies' Club, formed in 1902, set itself the task of raising awareness among women by supporting education and helping charities. The Teachers' Association systematically focused on social and health care for children. There were also several Catholic women's societies in Croatia that dealt with religious training (Benyovsky, 1998, 86-90).

[3] The Woman Suffrage Alliance was formally constituted in Berlin in 1904.

All three of these countries had a strong middle class, which was the "vehicle" of the feminist movement. (Kotef, 2009) The national revivals that took place in the mentioned countries in the nineteenth century emphasized the need for wider and better education for the people. Education is of the utmost importance for creating a strong middle class. The women's associations that began to emerge in this period initially focused on charity work before shifting to women's education and, eventually, universal suffrage. Outside influences also made a noticeable mark on the creation of women's societies in these countries. In Czechia, for example, we see that the first women's society was created following the example of American associations, and in Serbia the first societies were formed in Vojvodina, which was under the influence of Austria-Hungary. In Croatia, we also see the importance of the Austro-Hungarian influence on the creation of women's associations. Whereas in other countries in the region and Europe as a whole the growing middle class became the bearer of the idea of women's emancipation through the activities of women's organizations, in Montenegro this was not the case.

Women in Montenegro in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Montenegro, protected and isolated by high mountains and in a state of continuous warfare, made slow progress on the path to creating a modern, centralized state. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Montenegrins were divided into thirty-six tribes, each in turn comprising communities of several *bratstva* (fraternities). Bratsva consisted of extended family members and each bratsvo had its own territory. These bratstva were further broken down into families.

For European travel writers encounter with tribal- patriarchal society was significant since it represented meeting with a society that has preserved the characteristics of societies that have long disappeared in modern Europe (Andrijašević, 2019, 167). For example, british anthropologist and writer Mary Edith Durham, in *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans* writes that Montenegro was the last such tribal society in Europe to develop into a nation-state.(Durham, 1928) She also noted that "[the] tribal feeling was still strong when King Nikola gave a Constitution and Parliament to his people in 1905" (Durham, 1928, 13).

Traces of tribal society have always intertwined with private property relations, including in today's Montenegrin state. In traditional patriarchal clan-based Montenegrin society, women were not only not allowed to own property, but were also treated as property. Before the first legislative acts (Danilo's Code, 1855), women did not have the same right to property as men and practices such as bride kidnapping indicated that women were treated as property. Women could not choose their spouses, but their families made this decision for them based on wealth and social status considerations. In this social order, marriage served for maintaining social cohesion and primarily considered the interests of the collective, and only then the individual interests of spouses (Fortres, 2009, 93). This was very common in Montenegro, and the existence of frequent engagement of underage girls is indicated by many sources. Vuk Stefanović Karadžić writes about this: "*In Montenegro, a girl is often engaged while she is still a child, and if the parents agree, they can take her away from home immediately. Some do so and others leave her to grow up in her parents' house and only when she is ready for marriage do they bring her home*." (Karadžić, 1977, 88)

Women had to passively obey the will of their *bratstva*, which made decisions about all important matters concerning their personal lives and property. Girls were even more dependent than married women. Their will was contained in the will of the collective (parents, home communities, fraternities). Married women were extremely submissive to their husbands, having to obey their spouses' will and orders. Individuality and the ability to make any important decisions were highly limited (Stojanović. 1974). The work of married women in Montenegro was limited to maintaining their households: they prepared and cleaned clothes and shoes, kept the house clean, prepared food, cared for the cattle, made dairy products, and collected fruits from the yard. It was also their job to take care of the children (Vujačić, 1973). Hence, the activities of women were reduced to the private sphere, whereas men were involved in the public space and had contact with the world outside the family.

The subordination of a woman to her husband's authority was supported by the predominant religion (Orthodox Christianity), and later by legal acts. In the traditional patrilinear Balkan family, in which there is a pattern of sons marrying and staying at home (Halpern, Kaser, Wagner, 1996, 429) and thus enlarging the household with more

family members, a woman's position is dependent on the authority of her mother-in-law. Most families were based on a cooperative model in which all the women belonging to household fell under the authority of a female elder. If a woman did not obey her family's will, she would be punished. The Russian scholar Pavel Rovinsky, one of many European travelers to visit Montenegro in the nineteenth century, wrote about a girl who refused to marry the man her mother and father had chosen for her. Her parents threatened and then beat her, but could not deter her. Her parents eventually petitioned Bishop Peter II for help, but even he was unable to dissuade her.[4] She was sentenced to public punishment for her transgressions, which, according to Rovinsky, was the first time corporal punishment was administered publicly in Montenegro. (Rovinski, 1994) Indeed, public punishments of women are not documented in other sources.

[5] **Jaroslav Čermák, a Czech painter who spent several months in Montenegro and witnessed local everyday life, painted *Únos Černohorky (The Kidnapping of a Montenegrin Woman) in 1865, which is exhibited today in the National Gallery in Prague.***

[4] Prince-Bishop Petar II Petrović Njegoš, the ruler of Montenegro from 1830 until 1851.

[5] National Gallery in Prague, accessed October 08, 2021 https://sbirky.ngprague.cz/en/dielo/CZE:NG.O_794

Many foreigners who traveled and stayed in Montenegro noted that when a female child was born, the locals acted as if it were a tragedy. From very birth, women were viewed by the community as less valuable beings. While the births of girls caused silence and sorrow, the births of boys were occasions for joy and celebration. "When a woman brings a daughter into the world, the husband and relatives are very sad about it," wrote Alfred Boulogne, a French doctor and travel writer who visited Montenegro in the nineteenth century. As he observed though, if she bears a son, "then joy shines on all faces: another defender of the homeland has been born." (Boulogne, 2002, 80)

Gender preferences for children are present in many societies and reflect cultural traditions and social norms. In the case of Montenegro the preference for boys indicates a traditional society in which male children are more valuable because they ensure kinship continuity. (Karsten, Kohler, 2000)

Apart from the journals of foreign travel writers, legal documents also provide information about the position of women in nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century Montenegro. For example, the differences between men and women in the legal sense are reflected in Danilo's Code[6] from 1855, before which the position of women was mainly based on customary laws.

Danilo's Code aimed to introduce the reforms necessary for Montenegro to become a modern state based on the rule of law. It abolished the independence of tribes and strengthened state power. In an attempt to create a modern centralized state that would be recognized as such by the rest of Europe, Prince Danilo introduced certain changes for women in Montenegro, and therefore, the code is an important source indirectly reflecting the position women.

Article 73 of this code addresses women and the death penalty: "A woman cannot be killed with a gun because guns and shooting are only for the one who carries a weapon and defends himself with a weapon." (Pavićević, 1998, 181) Women were therefore executed by hanging. Danilo's Code establishes, in Articles 77 and 80, public beatings for thieves. This punishment was prescribed in Montenegro only for women and thieves and was abolished at the end of the nineteenth century by the Ministry of the Interior.

[6] Danilo I Petrović, ruling prince of Montenegro from 1851–60, created his own General Law of the Land in 1855.

According to Article 72 of the code, if a husband catches his wife cheating with another man, he was entitled to kill both of them (Stojanović, 1974).

However, Danilo's Code did not only establish punishments for women; it also introduced positive changes regarding choosing marriage partners. Article 70 excludes the penalty for "kidnapping" if it is carried out with the consent of the girl. Parental consent was no longer necessary for marriage, although it was a girl's moral obligation to seek consent. Danilo's Code took as the primary condition the will of the girl––fiancée––and protected that right with formal guarantees. People who forced a girl into marriage, even if they were her parents, were sentenced to prison.

The profound changes that occurred in Montenegro after the Berlin Congress of 1878, when Montenegro was finally recognized as an independent state, marked a radical turn toward formal equality between women and men in property relations. The General Property Code of 1888 is the most important expression of these changes. Article 13 states: "*Likewise, physical and spiritual differences, among people, do not violate equality in property, nor in property law in general, because that equality is identical for men and women, for old and young, for healthy and unhealthy*." (Bogišić, 1984, 163) This was the first legislative act in Montenegro to guarantee women the same right to property as men.

The main author of this code was Valtazar Bogišić, who tried to apply the principles of the so-called historical-legal schools to create a modern civil code for his young state. Bogišić based the code on the principles of Roman law and modeled it on Napoleon's Code Civil, while taking into account Montenegrin customs, so that it would be understandable to the "ordinary" people. Before writing the General Property Code, Bogišić studied legal customs in Montenegro. Based on his research, he published a collection of legal customs of the South Slavs, in which he writes:

When she enters the husband's house, a woman is obliged to respect him and his parents, to be faithful and obedient to her husband, to work and look after him... When the husband comes home, she should get up, bring him a chair, put down his weapon, make the bed. She should get up before him and lie down after him. When they are on the road, to follow him, and when they have one horse, he should ride, and she should walk. (Bogišić, 1984, 54)

These examples clearly demonstrate that by the turn of the twentieth century, Montenegrin women had obtained better legal security. However, as Stojanovic notes, the introduction of these laws did not translate into equality between men and women in the real world. Although a legal framework granting and protecting the rights of women formally existed, in practice, women were still controlled by customary laws and the rights of men took precedence over their rights. During this period, property and inheritance rights were still understood through the prism of clan and tribal interests, and hence it was still only men who inherited property (Stojanović, 1974).

Women's Education in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Pavel Rovinsky, in his work *Montenegro in Its Past and Present*, claims that "all of Montenegro's past, all of its history, is eternal warfare, which has been a part of everyday life, as well as any another occupation." (Rovinski, 1994, 64) Indeed Montenegro was in a constant state of warfare with the Ottomans, and as a consequence, the education system in Montenegro developed slowly. Formal education did not exist until the nineteenth century. Knowledge was passed from generation to generation mainly through epic songs (Kilibarda, 2009). Epic songs are a type of heroic poetry, (Lord, 1960, 67) and therefore these songs were mainly about Montenegrin heroes and their victories over or losses to the Ottomans. From these songs, people learned about moral values and history, which was often romanticized. These poems were passed on from generation to generation orally, until the nineteenth century when Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (creator of the modern literary Serbian language, linguist, and folklorist) collected and wrote down versions of many poems. (Kardžić, 1998)

In 1834, Prince-Bishop Petar II Petrović Njegoš, ruler of Montenegro from 1830 until 1851, opened the first primary school at Cetinje Monastery (Gazivoda, 2003). Njegoš, himself was well educated, having been taught by the monks at Cetinje; (Andrijašević, 2016) in addition to being a ruler, he was also a poet and philosopher, and his works are considered some of the most important in Montenegrin literature (Todorović, 2017, 374). By opening the first secular school and acquiring a printing press, he significantly contributed to the development of education in Montenegro. While Njegoš's successor Danilo I Petrović tried to introduce modernizing changes through legislative, by writing Danilo's Code, the next ruler in line, Nikola I Petrović (1860–1918), continued Njegoš's

work by opening more primary schools and the first secondary school in Montenegro, which was established in Cetinje in 1863. Secondary schools were then opened in the cities of Danilovgrad and Podgorica. The subjects taught at these schools were the Russian and Serbian languages, theology, geography, and agriculture, the latter being the primary industry in Montenegro (Gazivoda, 2003). Following the opening of the first gymnasium in Cetinje in 1880, others were founded in Pljevlje (1901), Podgorica (1907), Nikšić (1913), and Berane (1913). (Gazivoda, 2003, 69) A university would not be established in Montenegro until 1974.

Considering that the formal education system in Montenegro was significantly behind that of other European and Balkan countries (the University of Belgrade was founded in 1808 and the University of Zagreb in 1669) and the position of women in nineteenth-century Montenegro, including women in the Montenegrin education system was a slow process.

A landmark moment in women's education in Montenegro came in 1869, when Empress Maria of Russia founded the Girls' Institute in Cetinje.[7] It was the first women's high school in Montenegro. The institute was established with financial support and personnel from Russia. All four of the institute's directors were from Russia and, according to P. Rovinski, had extensive pedagogical experience gained at similar institutions in Russia. (Rovinski, 2000) The school's primary mission was to prepare students for family life, and only secondary importance was given to the possibility of them influencing the society in which they lived and the possibility of receiving further education. Subjects taught at the institute included Serbian, Russian, and French; mathematics; geography; history and natural sciences; women's handicrafts; housekeeping; drawing; singing; gymnastics; psychology; logic; and pedagogy. Schooling initially lasted six years, a period that after 1900 was extended to eight years. Although the institute was founded with the aim of educating the local female population, of the 450 students that studied there from 1869 to 1913, only 205 were from Montenegro. Contrary to the expectations of the Montenegrin government, the institute's work and educational process were strongly influenced by Russia, while the social circumstances and needs of Montenegro were neglected.

[7] Maria Alexandrovna (1824–80) was the empress of Russia. She was the first wife of and political adviser to Emperor Alexander II. She was also one of the founders of the Russian Red Cross.

Therefore, in 1904, the Montenegrin government sent a request to the Russian court to reform the institute's curriculum. The rejection of this request sparked a conflict between the Montenegrin government and the Russian court over the further functioning of the institute, which eventually resulted in its closure (Popović,2013).

The first private school for girls was opened in 1872 in Cetinje, and two years later it was turned into a state primary school (Božinović, 1996, 98). A second women's school was founded in Podgorica in 1888, and a third, in Bar in 1901. Also in 1901, the first women's handicrafts school was established in Cetinje on the initiative of a Russian teacher, Sofia Petrovna Mertvago, who had previously settled in Montenegro and was especially interested in the lives of Montenegrin women. She visited the villages and towns and studied the local customs and habits, especially family structures, roles, and relations. She looked for ways to make women's lives better and more dignified (Novović, 2013).

It was not until 1914 that the legal obligation to educate both female and male children was established in Montenegro. Education is a significant factor in the creation of a strong middle class, but Montenegro lagged behind other countries in both these interrelated issues. Because the middle class was the bearer of the idea of women's emancipation in other countries, (Kotef, 2009) the absence of this notion in Montenegro is clearly related to the slow development of education in the country.

Women in Montenegro in the Socialist Movement

Nanette Funk raised the question of whether women's work within state socialism was indeed a form of self-emancipation or whether it was motivated by interests that were not inherent to female emancipation. (Funk,2014) Through the following portrayal of the activities of women in the socialist movement, I will explore this question using the case of Montenegro and try to determine whether the socialist movement was an authentic Montenegrin feminist movement "from below" or whether it was instrumented by the Communist Party.

When researching the period between the world wars we must take into account that the historical sources that record the first movements for women's rights in Montenegro are primarily Communist magazines published after World War II and the creation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and these texts, therefore, necessarily reflect the propaganda of the Communist regime. Hence, it is clear from where emerges the thesis that the Communist Party was the bearer of the idea of women's emancipation in Montenegro. However, even these sources emphasize that women who were not party members also joined the fight for equality. Therefore, it is important to critically reflect upon the ideological goals of these sources to discover what role the Communist Party played in the women's movement in reality and how socialism shaped the path of emancipation for women in Montenegro.

In 1919, on the initiative of Katica Matković, a local women's section of the Socialist Workers' Party, which had about 40 members, was founded in Kotor. Similar socialist women's organizations were founded in Tivat and Herceg Novi. These socialist organizations launched the first public movement advocating political and legal equality for women. The first celebration of March 8 as International Women's Day (which was a symbol of the struggle for the right to vote) in Montenegro was organized by a socialist woman in Kotor in 1919. (Bojović, Vujović, 1969)

The turning point in women's emancipation in Montenegro came in 1919 with the establishment of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which rapidly grew in popularity. Because it stood for the political and legal equality of all citizens, regardless of gender, it attracted many female supporters. Although the party was banned after only one year of existence, the female-emancipation activities it sparked continued. These activities, however, were limited to the acts of individuals, because any organized public events would be considered socialist in nature and the participants would be arrested. Many women in Montenegro accepted the idea that women deserved full, unlimited equality with men regardless of religion, nationality, and occupation, and that universal suffrage for all citizens aged eighteen and older was imperative. (Božinović, 1996) Although women took part in various labor actions under the auspices of the Communist Party and numerous protests against the arrest of Communists, it was not until 1926 that the party began accepting women into its ranks. Thus, in the same year, Božana Vučinić, who was at the time a student at the gymnasium in Podgorica, joined the party.

She gathered women from different backgrounds, workers and students who united in the fight for equality and the right to vote. The gatherings were held secretly in Božana's house. Božana continued her activities for gender equality within the Communist Party of Yugoslavia until 1936, when she was arrested. (Žene Crne Gore u Revolucionarnom pokretu 1919-1945, 1960)

In the early 1930s, the number of women in the Communist Party increased, but so did the activity of women who were not members of the party. Thus, in most Montenegrin cities, women's movement associations were formed, whose aim was "the involvement of women in cultural and political life and the improvement of their position." (Žene Crne Gore u Revolucionarnom pokretu 1919-1945, 1960, 21) Workers, students, and intellectuals united around the women's movement and demanded gender equality in all areas of life, particularly with respect to the right to vote. Thus, in 1932, women gathered in Podgorica to celebrate March 8, and, in 1934, a March 8 celebration was organized in Cetinje for the first time. The event was officially banned, but women gathered illegally, most often in private houses (Žene Crne Gore u Revolucionarnom pokretu 1919-1945, 1960). The authorities quickly prohibited women's associations because they saw Communist motives behind them, Although most female members of the women's movement were not members of the Communist Party, due to their work toward equality and their cooperation with party members, the government still considered them to be socialists.

The most massive actions aimed at acquiring the right to vote and equality took place in 1939. Women organized mass conferences and rallies in almost every city, where they demanded equality, the right to vote, and the right to receive equal pay.

In 1939, women from the Montenegrin Committee of the Communist Party sent a proclamation to the working women of Montenegro, Boka, Sandžak, Kosovo, and Metohija (regions in southeastern Yugoslavia), warning against the German and Italian governments and pointing out the negative aspects of the Yugoslav government. This proclamation, however, is primarily important because in it, for the first time, women in Montenegro declared their position.

We women have to participate in this struggle much more than before, because we have double oppression: as part of the working people, but also as women. Our work at home, in the workshop, in the field, and in the office is considered less valuable than the work of men. As housewives we work day and night, and in the company we get a lower salary for the same work. Even before the law, we are not equal with men, but equal with minors and deprived of many rights that belong to us as human beings. The position of our women in Montenegro is more difficult due to backwardness and the deeply rooted belief of what women's position should be. Even today, female offspring are not counted as children, and there is the belief that the "house extinguishes" when there is no male child. Even today, the woman does not sit at the table with the men, and the mother gives birth in the stable. Even today, a woman in Montenegro washes her husband's feet and courts him as a servant courts her master. The proclamation then calls on women to be aware that our work in the house and in the field is equal to the work of a man. *Let us bring light into our dark huts by fighting against the notion of equating a woman with a slave. Let's raise our children as equal members of the community…. We fight most resolutely against the fascist views that a woman should be a machine for giving birth to children and that her place is only in the kitchen. We are fighting for free science and for a school that will serve the people. (Žene Crne Gore u Revolucionarnom pokretu 1919-1945, 1960, 31-34)*

This proclamation reflects the incredible progress toward achieving women's emancipation that had been made in the course of just a few years. In 1939, Montenegrin women, under the influence of the Communist Party, publicly for the first time stated that they were inequal in Montenegrin society and set the goal of eradicating that inequality.

Women in Montenegro during World War II

On April 6, 1941, Yugoslavia was invaded by the Axis powers. After several days of intense fighting, the country was split up between Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, Albania, and Hungary. In response, the Yugoslav Partisans (a Communist-led movement) were formed to liberate the territory of Yugoslavia from Axis forces and their locally established regimes. It was called the National Liberation War. Many women, who had

experience in the revolutionary movement, actively participated in the war from the very beginning.

On July 13, 1941, an uprising against the occupying Italian forces in Montenegro was launched; women not only helped plan the insurgency but also fought in it.[8] In fact, women were involved in every aspect of the National Liberation War. In addition to fighting, many women and girls provided support in other ways, such as sending food and clothes to troops and hiding partisans. As a result, many ended up in prisons and internment camps. Take, for example, the story of one woman from Danilovgrad, which was related by her daughter in an oral history interview:

My mother was not a member of the Party… but she was attached to her relatives who were part of the partisans, so she helped. She sent them food, sewed clothes… she helped everyone, but especially the partisans. Pavle Đurišić came with his entourage,[9] and they caught a young man, maybe a little older than me. He revealed to them an alliance of Communist youth that worked in our area. There was a woman in that alliance, through whom my mother helped the partisans. That woman was arrested and under pressure admitted everything she knew. So, they arrested my mother and took her to the infamous Musovac prison in Danilovgrad. They took fifty-three more people with her. Pavle Đurišić's Chetniks shot them all there. (Savić, Mitro, Čanak, 2008, 34)

On July 22, 1941, through a proclamation of the Supreme Command of the National Liberation Troops issued and signed by Milovan Đilas,[10] women were given the right to vote in National Liberation Committees on the territory of Montenegro, the Bay of Kotor, and Sandžak. Through this act, women in Montenegro became the first Yugoslav women to *de facto* acquire the right to vote.

[8] Commonly known as July 13th was the first mass uprising in occupied Europe in 1941. Today it is celebrated as the national holiday in Montenegro.

[9] Pavle Đurišić was an officer of the Royal Yugoslav Army who became a Chetnik commander (*vojvoda*) and led a significant proportion of the Chetniks in Montenegro during World War II.

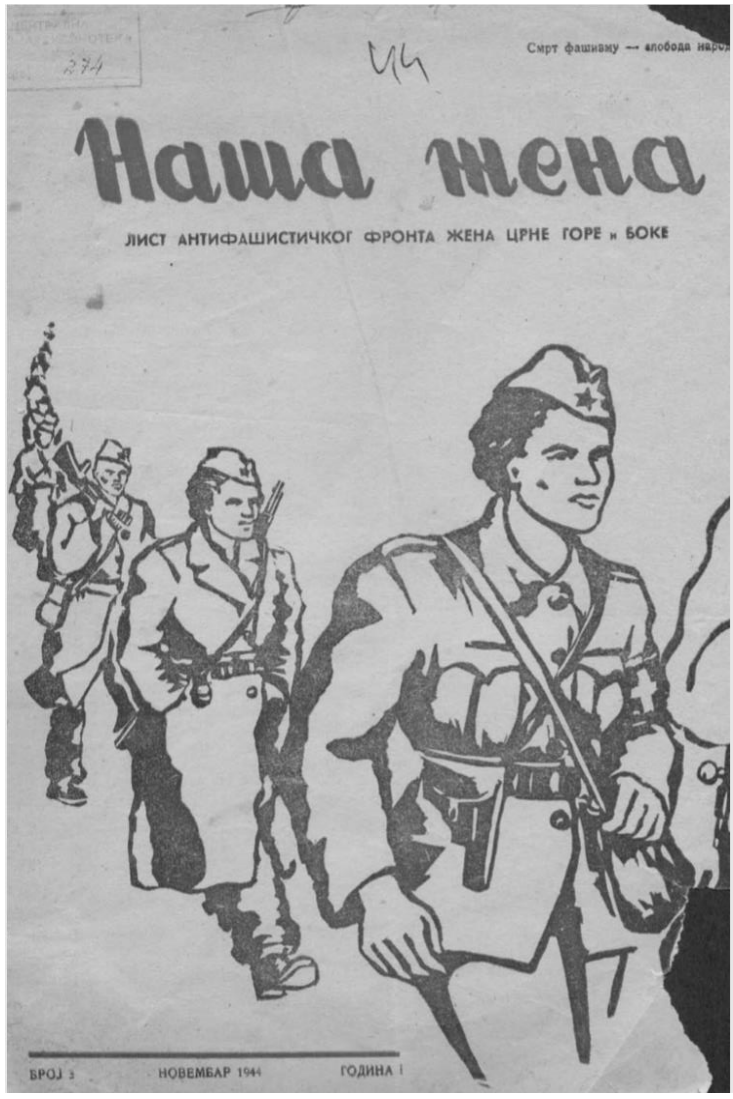
[10] Milovan Đilas was a Yugoslav politician, theorist, and author. He was a key figure in the Partisan movement during World War II, and president of the Federal People's Assembly of Yugoslavia in the post-war government. A self-identified democratic socialist, Đilas became one of the best-known and most prominent dissidents in Yugoslavia.

The proclamation stated that "all citizens over the age of eighteen, men and women, regardless of religion, nationality, or race, have the right to vote and to be elected." (Proglas vrhovne komande nacionalno oslobodilačkih trupa narodu u Crnoj Gori, Bok i Sandžaku, AJ)

One of the most important moments for women during the war came with the establishment of the Anti-Fascist Women's Front (AFŽ). Already at the end of 1941, women's local committees of the National Liberation Movement created the AFŽ, and, during 1942, they connected and organized on a wider scale. In December 1942, the first AFŽ National Conference was held in Bosnia and was attended by women from all the Yugoslav republics. At the conference, the delegates spoke about their work, struggle, and organization efforts in both liberated territories and occupied cities. Josip Broz Tito was also present at this conference and made it clear that women would be adequately remunerated for their contributions to the liberation war. He stated that "there are some who dream that women will move to the kitchen after the war and will not decide on anything. But women have have matured, they have shown that they are capable not only of working at home but also of fighting with a rifle in hand, that they can both rule and hold power in their hands." (Prekić, 2016) In this statement, which certainly promises progress for women, we also see the paternalistic idea that women have finally matured.

Although linked to the Communist Party, the AFŽ operated independently since the beginning, with its own self-defined tasks and autonomous network of organizations and leadership (Božinović, 1996, 145). In 1943, to better coordinate the work of women's committees, the Main Board of the AFŽ for Montenegro and the Bay of Kotor was formed. The board was headed by women who had promoted women's equality in the interwar period. This committee united all women who helped and participated in various ways in the National Liberation War. Smaller boards were organized in many villages and towns. Committees were also formed in places that were under German and Italian occupation, so these committees trained women to fight in these conditions. Women in military units were committed to working with women in all places through which their units passed. (Žene Crne Gore u Revolucionarnom pokretu 1919-1945, 1960, 51)

In 1953, when the AFŽ's successor organization, the Association of Women´s Societies, published a paper on women's activities during war, the authors referred in detail to a resolution made at an AFŽ congress in 1943, which established the goals of spreading the AFŽ's activities to all cities and villages, working on the political awareness of women through wider participation in the building of the "people's government," improving assistance provided to the army, establishing literacy courses for women, and launching the journal of AFŽ Montenegro. (Žene Crne Gore u Revolucionarnom pokretu 1919-1945, 1960)



Therefore, the AFŽ's main mission became expanding the participation of women in this movement, which, however, required awareness-raising, emancipation through education, the participation of women in military efforts, and the inclusion of women in government bodies.

Since April 1944, the journal *Naša žena* (Our Woman) was published by the AFŽ of Montenegro. This journal, especially in the first year of its publication, was rich in war reports authored by women. Calls for further AFŽ conferences and articles on women's suffrage and women's education were also published.

After the end of the war and the victory of the National Liberation Movement, the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, promulgated on January 31, 1946, gave women the right to vote, stating that "women are equal to men in all areas of state, economic, and socio-political life," (Constitution FNRJ, 1946) thus confirming the rights that women had gained through their struggles in the war.

Conclusion

Based on source analysis it is clear that in Montenegro, in just a few years, the invaluable path of the first-wave feminism has been traversed. Given the socioeconomic conditions in Montenegro, women's societies focused on ensuring women's equality were never created, like in other European and even Balkan countries. Foreign influence was significant in Montenegro in cultural, political and national sphere. However, when it comes to women's emancipation, the only example of foreign influence are Russian schools in Cetinje. Given the late development of the education system and Montenegro's state of constant warfare, Montenegro did not develop a strong middle class in the nineteenth century, which in other countries was the bearer of the idea of women's emancipation. Because of this, the socialist idea was crucial for developing women's equality in Montenegro. With the emergence of socialist activism, the creation of the first women's rights organizations began. In just a few years, the idea of universal suffrage spread throughout Montenegro.

When answering the question regarding women's emancipation within the framework of socialism and if women's work was self-emancipation or if it was led by the interests of the state, (Funk, 2014) it is important to mention that the first women's societies were founded and the struggle for equality began before socialism became the official state ideology in Montenegro, so the state at that time did not motivate these societies. However, the Communist Party encouraged the idea of women's emancipation in Montenegro. It is also clear that theoretical ideas about the position of women did not exist before socialism, unlike in Serbia and Croatia, where women, coming from middle class, were active since the nineteenth century. Therefore, in the 1990s, after the fall of Communism, when the retraditionalization of society took place and the Communist legacy was generally neglected, women in Montenegro were supposed to take on their "traditional" roles.

Even if “traditions” were more “invented” than re-adopted in the 1990s, there was still a significant lack of emancipatory legacy that predated the socialist movement. (Hobsbawm, 1992)

Although, of course, in legal terms, Montenegrin women today have the same rights as men, in reality, women still largely renounce their inheritances in favor of their brothers, and thus often enter into marriages on unequal footing. The main role of women is most often in the private sphere, whereas men still have a greater role in public space. The return to patriarchal values is significant when we look at the position of women in Montenegro today. The renunciation of the Communist legacy and the return to traditional values has led to the drawing of parallels between the position of women in Montenegro in the early twentieth century and today. (UNDP, 2021) Because the Communist Party touted itself as the bearer of the idea of women’s emancipation, feminism is another concept that was marked as an undesirable part of the Communist legacy in the 1990s. Since this period is beyond the scope of this paper, it would be important to further investigate the position of women in Montenegro in the 1990s and “returning” women to their traditional roles in Montenegrin society. The retraditionalization of society is crucial for understanding the position of women today. Despite the women’s organizations operating in Montenegro today and the many projects sponsored by various international organizations and foreign embassies, Montenegrin women still hold an unenviable position. To fundamentally change the status held by women and to overcome the stereotypes and prejudices that women face every day, we need to understand the past and the unique path that women in Montenegro have taken to ensure equal rights.

REFERENCES:

Andrijašević, Ž. (2016) *Istorija Crne Gore*, Vukotić Media

Andrijašević, Ž. (2019) *Crnogorska istorija*, Pobjeda.

Benyovsky, L. (1998) Dobrotvorna gospojinska (ženska) društva u Hrvatskoj od osnivanja do Prvog svjetskog rata, *Casopis za suvremenu povjest*, no.1, 73–93.

Blagojević, M. (2007)*Rodni barometar u Crnoj Gori, društveni položaj i kvalitet života žena i muškaraca-2007.* Kancelarija za rodnu ravnopravnost, Vlada Crne Gore.

Bogišić, V.(1984) *Pravni običaji u Crnoj Gori, Hercegovini i Albaniji*, CANU, 54.

Bojović, J and Vujović, Đ, (1969) Žene Crne Gore U Revolucionarnom Pokretu 1918–1945, Istorijski Institut.

Boulogne, A. (2002) *Crna Gore-zemlja i stanovništvo* CID, 80.

Božinović, N. (1996) *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u XIX i XX veku,* Feministička 94.

CDM, (2021, November 17) "Funkcioneri DF-a iznijeli primitivne uvrede na račun poslanice Vuksanović Stanković" ("Officials of the DF Made Primitive Insults against MP Vuksanović Stanković") Retrieved from:

Dajković, V. (2021, March 8) WOMEN, THE WORLD WOULD BE A BORING PLACE WITHOUT YOU. Happy March 8th! YouTube, March 08, 2021. Retrived from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K7HZ0vhcbqo&ab_channel=VladislavDajkovic

Daley, C. & Nolan, M. (1994) *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspective*, Auckland University Press.

Đilas, M.(1941, July 22) [Proglas vrhovne komande nacionalno oslobodilačkih trupa narodu u Crnoj Gori, Bok i Sandžaku] (Proclamation of the Supreme Command of the People's Liberation Army (Montenegro) addressed to the people of Montenegro, Boka and Sandžak), box 507, CK KPJ 138, Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade.

Durham, E. (1928) *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans,*George Allen and Unwin.

Eric Hobsbawm, E. (1992)*The Invention of Tradition,* Cambridge University Press.

Fortres, M. (2009) *Marriage in Tribal Societies*, Cambridge University Press.

Funk, N. (2014) A Very Tangled Knot: Official State Socialist Women's Organizations, Women's Agency and Feminism in Eastern European State Socialism, *European Journal of Women's Studies* 21, no. 4 344–60.

Haan, F., Daskalova, K & Loutfi, A. (2006) *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms: Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries,* Central European University Press.

Halpern, J. M., Kaser, K. & Wagner, R.A. (1996) Patriarchy in the Balkans: Temporal and Cross-cultural Approaches, *The History of the Family, Volume 1*, Issue 4.

Horská,P. (1999) *Naše prababičky feministky*, Lidové noviny.

http://www.maticacrnogorska.me/files/45/09%20frantisek%20sistek.pdf

https://www.cdm.me/politika/funkcioneri-df-a-iznijeli-primitivne-uvrede-na-racun-poslanice-vuksanovic-stankovic/

https://www.muzejzena.me/img-library/30/1523647824_petar-stojanovic-subjektivitet.pdf

Karadžić, V. S. (1977) Crna Gora i Boka Kotorska, Nolit. 88.

Karadžić, V.S, (1998) *Narodne srpske pjesme*, Srpska knjizevna zadruga.

Karsten, H. and Kohler, H.P. (2000) Gender Preferences for Children in Europe: Empirical Results from 17 FFS Countries, *Demographic Research* 2

Kilibarda, N. (2009) *Usmena književnost Crne Gore*, CID.

Kiščenko, D, (2021) An Ethnographic Exploration of Son Preference and Inheritance Practices in Montenegro, *Comparative Southeast European Studies*, vol. 69, no. 1, 69–88.

Komar, O. (2019)Gender Equality Index, Montenegro, 2019. Retrieved from: https://eurogender.eige.europa.eu/system/files/events-files/gender_equality_index_2019_report_final.pdf

Kotef, H. (2009) On Abstractness: First Wave Liberal Feminism and the Construction of the Abstract Woman. *Feminist Studies* 35, no. 3, 495–522.

Kotef, H. (2009)"On Abstractness: First Wave Liberal Feminism and the Construction of the Abstract Woman," *Feminist Studies* 35, no. 3: 495–522.

Krestić, V. (1969) *Hrvatsko Ugarska nagodba 1869*, Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umentnosti.

Lord, A.B. (1960) *Singer of Tales*, Harvard University Press.

Muižnieks, N. (2014) Sex-Selective Abortions Are Discriminatory and Should Be Banned, Human Rights Comment Retrieved from: https://www.coe.int/en/web/commissioner/-/sex-selectiveabortions-are-discriminatory-and-should-be-bann-1.

Gazivoda, P. (2003) Školski Sistem u Crnoj Gori-Korijeni, Razvitak, Perspektive, *Pedagogija*, Vol. 2,Retrived from: https://www.academia.edu/2380807/_kolski_sistem_u_Crnoj_Gori_korijeni_razvitak_perspektive

Novović, T. (2013) Pedagoški uticaj S. P. Mertvago na razvoj predškolstva u Crnoj Gori, *ACTA HISTRIAE 26 Volume 2*, 557–74.

Nyklová, B.(2014)*Czech Feminist Scene: Theoretical Inclinations, Stances, and Controversies,* Charles University.

Pavićević, B. (1998) *Crnogorski zakonici*, Istorijski institut Republike Crne Gore.

Pavle Rovinski, P. (1994) *Crna Gora u prošlosti i sadšnjosti*, Izdavački centar Cetinje, 181.

Popović, M. (2013, May 18) *Proces uključivanja žena u sistem obrazovanja u Crnoj Gori*, *Portal Montenegrina*, Retrived from: https://montenegrina.net/mirjana-popovic-proces-ukljucivanja-zena-u-sistem-obrazovanja-u-crnoj-gori/

Prekić, A. (2016) Položaj žene u prvim godinama komunističke vlasti u Crnoj Gori*, Matica*, no. 67, 397–420.

Radio Television of Montenegro (RTCG), (2022, January 25) Ima žena koja ne prekidaju ("Women Who Don't Know Ehen to Shut Up"), Retrived from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zR3uqaESib4&ab_channel=Standard

Rovinski, P. (2000) Djevojački institut carice Marije na Cetinju, CID.

Savić, S. Mitro, V. &Čanak, M, (2008) *Životne priče žena "A što ću ti ja jadna pričat",* Futura publikacije, Ženske studije I istraživanja, 34.

Schierup, C.U.(2011) Beyond Modernization: The Retraditionalisation of Ex- and Post- Yugoslavian Society, *Social Change and Modernization: Lessons from Eastern Europe*, De Gruyter.

Šištek, F. (2011) Odnosi Čeških zemalja sa Crnom Gorom, *Matica*. Retrived from:

Službeni list Savezne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije, godina -{II}-, broj 10, Beograd, petak, 1. februar 1946.

Stojanović, P. (1974) Lični Subjektivitet Crnogroske Žene, u XVII, XIX i Početkom XX Vijeka*, Istorijski Zapisi* 27, no. 3–4. Retrived from;

Todorović, D. (2017) The Ancient Sources of Njegoš's Poetics,in *A Handbook to Classical Reception in Eastern and Central Europe*, eds. Zara Martirosova Torlone, Dana LaCourse Munteanu, and Dorota Dutsch, John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 373–86.

United Nations Development Programme, (2021, March 05) Predstvaljeno istraživanje o nasilju nad ženama u politici. Retrived from: https://www.undp.org/cnr/montenegro/press-releases/predstavljeno-istraživanje-o-nasilju-nad-ženama-u-politici

Vujačić, V. (1973) Smisao patrijarhalnog porodičnog kontinuuma u Crnoj Gori, *Sociologija i prostor: časopis za istraživanje prostornoga i sociokulturnog razvoja*, Vol. 40–42

Žene Crne Gore u Revolucionarnom pokretu 1919-1945,(1960) Glavni odbor saveza ženskih društva. Titograd. Retrived from: https://www.muzejzena.me/img-library/24/zene-u-revol-3.pdf