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Physical and Virtual Performance: From *The Black Ribbon*, *The Women in Black*, to the Film Industry

Abstract: This article aims to compare the physical and virtual performance embodied in the anti-war campaign *Black Ribbon* and *Women in Black* performances, and Hollywood actresses' gowns at the prestigious award event, supporting the #MeToo campaign, as well as to prove that, except for the black color permeating them all, significant difference in the success of these performances is caused not only by technological advancement, but also by the circumstances and the context they take place in. The idea is to analyze in chronological review, using literature and archival material, the symbolism of the color black in performances connecting antiwar activists, citizens, the non-governmental sector and the film industry.

The article will deal with the motives behind the narratives of the mentioned actions, as well as the scope of these performances, from stopping a war, punishment of war criminals, to prosecution for years of sexual harassment of women. It will stress the importance of the constant fight against the culture of impunity in different areas, and the importance of the contribution of technological development during the past 30 years, for moving the above-mentioned 'black color' performances, from the real to the virtual world. Here, this shift will be symbolized by space-restricted performances ranging from mass street protest marches to #MeToo.

Keywords: black color; *Black Ribbon*; *Women in Black*; #MeToo; culture of impunity

This article deals with the analysis of the reach, similarities and differences between the physical and virtual performances known as *Black Ribbon*, *Women in Black*; #MeToo and #Time's Up in a time period longer than 25 years (1992–2018). The stated timeframe, which ends at the turn of the second and third millennium, symbolically signifies accelerated modernization that requires a sharper focus and perception of the mentioned performances. This article represents the thesis that these performances have significantly shifted from the real to the virtual world and that technology has made it possible (unlike local trends) for these two performative spheres to successfully pervade and supplement, resulting in mass performances on different meridians that contribute to the preservation and promotion of the culture of impunity. This thesis is derived from the fact that the technological revolution has

fundamentally and globally redefined and imported the digital space, that established the global connection that Aneta Stojnić defined as a “new public space”, a new “layer of reality”, which in the most unexpected way connects the public and private, personal and political, imperial and subversive.¹ This is another proof in support of the thesis about the importance of virtual communication whose influence in this century grows on an everyday basis. The color black is essentially the only connective tissue of the mentioned performances that are different to the motives behind them, the goals they want to achieve, the circumstances in which they are played, the manner of performance and the degree of popularity. Shortly, their diversity corresponds with the geographic distance of the locations where they are performed, the time that has passed and the generational gap among the actors themselves, while the essence of these actions relates exclusively to an act of performance without which they can hardly be inhabited in a real and virtual world.

Even though the color is the only thing they have in common, it generates an entire spectrum of questions that this article intends to answer by analyzing similarities and even greater differences between the mentioned performances. The comparison criteria is based on the modes of using the color black in different times and spaces, different political contexts and technological preconditions that predestinate the type of performance and its range. In contemporary science, there is a shared view of color psychology as a branch of psychology that studies the emotions and responses of observers to certain colors and their different influences on the human subconscious, causing negative or positive reactions, motivations, and stimulus to action. It is indisputable that people react differently to certain colors and that in different circumstances they cause different emotional states, behaviors and moods. In the context of the comparison of performance in this text, black is important because in these cultures and societies, like no other color, is most often associated with unpleasant events throughout life. The color black absorbs the entire spectrum, i.e. it does not reflect a portion of the spectrum, and therefore we experience it as darkness, especially because in its presence, other colors appear lighter.² In the sphere of glamorous performances, the color black gives the impression of seductiveness, sophistication, mysteriousness and elegance. Globally, black symbolizes authority and power that encourages self-confidence and strength, but it is more often related to fear, death, evil, solitude, severity, mystery, regret, sorrow, and emptiness.³

¹ Aneta Stojnić, “Digitalna umetnost u doba digitalne kulture,” http://www.studijesavremenosti.org/2018/02/17/digitalna-umetnost-u-doba-digitalne-kulture/#_ftn3, acc. November 26, 2018.

² Miroslav Bronzić, “Psihologija boja,” <http://www.bronzic.com/psihologija-boja/>, acc. July 15, 2018.

³ “Simbolika boja,” <http://www.simboli.rs/simbolika-boja/>, acc. November 26, 2018.

The Black Ribbon

Precisely this kind of negative ‘black’ connotation characterizes the tragic events that took place in the early 1990s in the former Yugoslavia. The bloody disintegration of the country resulted in the death of approximately 140,000 civilian casualties and soldiers,⁴ ethnic cleansing, destruction of cities and villages, and the emergence of new states on the territory of the former common state, which, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, resulted in as many as 2.4 million refugees and approximately 2 million internally displaced persons.⁵

In those years, the black ribbon became an integral part of everyday life and therefore it should not be surprising that its symbolism was precisely the backbone of one of the biggest peacemaking performances in the organization of the civil sector at the very center of Belgrade at the beginning of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina that began in March 1992.⁶ It is not by chance that this segment of society had organized such a massive performance, based on the values and social activism of a large number of individuals involved in public affairs for the benefit of the entire community. In the former Yugoslavia, the bases of such activists existed as “intellectual oases at faculties of human sciences, cultural institutions, theaters, cultural centers, student cultural centers, artists’ associations, around alternative youth groups related to art and music.”⁷ Even though in a serious minority at the beginning, with small numbers and influence, the anti-war and peace actions began as mainly spontaneous, through isolated performances, as a reaction to the first victims and sufferings, and as a symbolic counterpart to the war that was rapidly blazing throughout the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In the open space – on the streets and squares of Belgrade in 1992 – public happenings were organized in which sometimes participated even more than 50,000 citizens. Such actions include the peace concert “Do Not Count on Us” (April 22, 1992 in Belgrade’s Republic Square) and *Black Ribbon* against the destruction of Sarajevo (May 31, 1992 in the center of Belgrade).⁸

Miša Gleni says that: “[...] up till the last moment, people in Bosnia believed in the illusion that the war is not going to happen.”⁹ Partly because of this, there were people in Belgrade who perceived the siege and bombardment of Sarajevo as the most horrible scenario that should have been avoided at all costs. Spontaneously, the

⁴ “Transitional justice in the former Yugoslavia,” <http://ictj.org/publication/transitional-justice-former-yugoslavia>, acc. November 26, 2018.

⁵ Clem S. Watkins, *The Balkans* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2003), 10.

⁶ Lora Silber, Alan Litl Alan, *Smrt Jugoslavije* (Beograd: Radio B 92, 1996), 231.

⁷ Dragan Stojković, “Antiratne i mirovne ideje u istoriji Srbije i antiratni pokreti do 2000. godine,” *Republika* 492–493 (2011): 17–24.

⁸ “Na današnji dan 1992. kroz Beograd se nosio crni flor u znak solidarnosti sa Sarajlijama,” Radio Sarajevo. <https://www.radiosarajevo.ba/metromahala/teme/na-danasnji-dan-1992-kroz-beograd-se-nosio-crni-flor-u-znak-solidarnosti-sa-sarajlijama/153403>, acc. November 26, 2018.

⁹ Miša Gleni, *Balkan 1804–1999. (Nacionalizam, rat i velike sile)* (Beograd: Samizdat B 92, 2001), 342.

idea of a black ribbon carried on through the central Belgrade street (then still with a symbolic name) of Marshal Tito was imposed. The organizers were caught up by the number of people who went out onto the streets and supported this action personally carrying and holding the black ribbon over their heads between the buildings of the Presidency of Serbia and at the time, the Parliament of the Republic of Serbia. There is a striking image of a hundred-meter-long black ribbon passing through the streets of Belgrade as a symbol of a great anti-war performance.

The black color of the ribbon carried through the streets of Belgrade that April day in 1992 was recognized as symbolic protest against the uricide¹⁰ – the destruction, killing and starvation of Sarajevo and its citizens of all nations.

Unfortunately, *Black Ribbon* and other similar actions failed to stop the war that broke out, but they showed the will of a large number of people to show solidarity with the inhabitants of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina in those circumstances. Nebojša Popov, Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Republika* [*Republic*] (“Against Stihija, Fear, Hatred and Violence”), gave the best and most sincere description of that time and that kind of activism, but also pointed to the limitations of these kinds of physical performances:

[...] The resistance activities to the war policy of the regime were usually attended by several tens or hundreds of people, sometimes several tens of thousands, but the resistance was not strong enough to stop the current of nationalism and populism and already set-off a spiral of violence. Antiwar actions did not have a greater echo in the public; the regime media boycotted (and attacked) them, and the independent ones underestimated their significance. As a result, these various forms of resistance remained largely hidden parts of history.¹¹

From the perspective of Schechner’s pervasive theoretical categories/situations, *Black Ribbon* as a performance does not fit into any of the listed categories of performances, but exceeds them all by the author’s formulation “[...] the eight mentioned situations are not proportionate, since everyday life can cover many other situations”¹² where the aforementioned anti-war action on Belgrade’s streets obviously fits. In its essence, *Black Ribbon* – starting with the way of inviting and motivating the participants to the very act of realization – contained all the characteristic elements of the physical performances of that era, limited by the analogue techniques from the beginning of the 1990s, which brought to the fact that today there are only few traces of this significant event which had the color black in its center as a symbol of sorrow, protest and irreconcilable with the war.

¹⁰ Neologism originating from the Latin word *urbis* (city) and *cedar* (cut, kill).

¹¹ Nebojša Popov, “Demokratija i populizam,” *Republika* 232 (2000), http://www.yuope.com/zines/republika/arhiva/2000/232/232_23.html, acc. November 26, 2018.

¹² Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 31.

In the *Dictionary of Contemporary Art [Pojmovnik suvremene umjetnosti]* Miodrag Šuvaković characterizes this performance as “directed or not-directed event, founded as art work which is performed by the artists or performers in front of an audience.”¹³ According to Šuvaković, the criteria for classification of performances are connected to: “[...] a) place where it is performed b) authors and performers c) situation d) media e) type of activity.”¹⁴ Having this classification in mind, we come to the conclusion that *Black Ribbon* is an example of the non-artistic practice of performance, which particularity and disability for categorization is based on the fact that it was a spontaneous and non-directed event which exceptionality was based on mass participation and the spontaneity of the participants whose reactions couldn't be foreseen by the organizers, but were channeled on the spot, in real time, of the performance.

Women in Black

The most prominent organizations and citizen associations that marked anti-war ideas and movements in Serbia during the wars of the 1990s were the *Women in Black*,¹⁵ the Center for Antiwar Action¹⁶ and the Belgrade Circuit,¹⁷ co-organizers of the aforementioned performance, *Black Ribbon*, which was popularized and broadcast live on Radio B 92.¹⁸ Particular persistence in the antiwar protests was demonstrated by the peace group of the feminist-antimilitaristic orientation of the *Women in Black*. During the war in Croatia, in October 1991, they publicly expressed solidarity with objectors to the war, the men who refused military obligation, requesting amnesty for deserters and an end to violent mobilization.

The color of the ribbon from the anti-war action in the streets of Belgrade, in the logical sequence of events was, partly re-marked in the name of their organization,¹⁹ but also in the symbolism of the very performances, during which the participants were dressed exclusively in black. At that moment, their blackness “symbolized grief over all known and unknown victims of war and other forms of violence”²⁰ and

¹³ Miodrag Šuvaković, *Pojmovnik suvremene umjetnosti* (Zagreb, Ghent: Horetzky, Vlees & Beton, 2005), 451.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Women's peace group of feminist-antimilitaristic orientation http://zeneucrnom.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=2&Itemid=4, acc. November 26, 2018.

¹⁶ The first peace organization in Serbia, founded in Belgrade in 1991.

¹⁷ Non-government organization (founded in February 1992 in Belgrade) which gathered intellectuals who openly fought against militarism, ethno-nationalism, populism, war crimes and ethnic cleansing in the territory of the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s.

¹⁸ “Istorija organizacije,” https://www.b92.net/o_nama/istorija.php, acc. November 26, 2018.

¹⁹ The name “Woman in Black Belgrade” formally comes from an Israeli-Palestinian group that has borrowed a name from various initiatives around the world.

²⁰ “Žene u crnom” (data related to the activity of the “Women in Black” for publication are used from their authentic reports or sites published) in *Deset godina protiv: građani Srbije u borbi za demokratiju i otvoreno društvo 1991–2001*, ed. Velimir Čurgus Kazimir (Beograd: Medija centar, 2001), 390.

later on “as a warning that the threat of war will not disappear as long as the militaristic consciousness prevails.”²¹

Performances of the *Women in Black* left no one indifferent. These were mostly static actions, where the activists dressed in black would keep ‘loud silence,’²² wearing slogans and holding hands together creating symbolic figures with their bodies. Silence was chosen “because there are no words to express the tragedy caused by the war. There are no words to express bitterness over the war.”²³

Due to negative propaganda by pro-regime media, their actions were secured by the police forces that prevented physical incidents, but not whistles, inexplicable assaults and verbal threats. These reactions of militant, religious, politically conservative and right-wing fellow citizens were in sharp contradiction with the attitude of the Serbian Orthodox Church towards wearing black:

Dressing in black clothes, especially women, and men growing beards for a certain amount of time is more a sign for those who come into contact with the grieving, than merely expressing grief. When someone wears a visible sign of mourning, then those who encounter such a person should express appropriate behavior so they would not accidentally or negatively out of carelessness harm the feeling of grief.²⁴

The key symbols in performative actions of *Women in Black* on the Republic Square in Belgrade, during the four years of war, were and are the color black, silence and their bodies’ exposures. In visual terms, their performance was static, as were the unquestionable values of “life, solidarity and respecting the differences”²⁵ which the *Women in Black* were promoting. Loyalty to nonviolence, solidarity and friendship, and disloyalty to all forms of authoritarian rule, violence and hatred²⁶ was the creed of the *Women in Black*.

The ritual antiwar actions which were held every Wednesday, positioned the performances of the *Women in Black* into Richard Schechner’s defined eight wholes “[...] in everyday life – cooking, socializing, living, art, sports and other popular amusements, work, technology, sex, ritual – secret and secular, game.”²⁷

²¹ Ibid.

²² “This is a voice that does not say anything and a sound that can not be spoken. This silence is the voice of an appeal, a call, a plea to respond, to take a stand as a subject.” Mladen Dolar, *A Voice and Nothing More* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2006), 71.

²³ “Žene u crnom” (data related to the activity of the “Women in Black” for publication are used from their authentic reports or sites published), 390.

²⁴ “Black ribbon,” <http://svetosavlje.org/crni-flor/?pismo=lat>, acc. July 19, 2018.

²⁵ More about it in: Jasmina Tešanović, “Women in black,”

<http://www.rwfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/%C5%BDene-u-crnom-Beograd.pdf>, acc. November 28, 2018.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 31.

The collective and public blackness of the women was a synonym for death, destruction, ruin, decay, and an expression of sorrow over the familiar and unknown victims of war, but also of bitterness and the visible result of inner torment due to urbicides, destruction of villages, suffering and killing of people that took place in our immediate neighborhood. Rituals in black, instead of being performed in intimate circles, took place in the central city square and therefore became recognizable codes for local expression of women's resistance to the war. Performative nonverbal communication of the *Women in Black* activists was an act of protest, rebellion and disagreement with the war campaign propaganda, but also an act of compassion and shame for the tragic things happening in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Using their bodies as a cry and a warning, the *Women in Black* expressed indignation and revulsion towards all who want and make war across the former common state.

After the wars of the former Yugoslavia ended, the *Women in Black* continued their activities that were inspired by anti-militarism, anti-fascism, anticlericalism, and confrontation with the past as well as support for victims of war and repression. They did this, as before, by creating an international network of women against the war, respecting otherness and diversity and overcoming (symbolic and physical) ethnic walls and barriers, disagreeing to be passive victims of patriarchal, nationalist and militaristic policies.

The activities described so far can be characterized as performances in the political sphere that had their 'golden age' in the domain of physical performances during the 1990s. What the conclusion implies is that even though they were not massive, these physical performances in the analogous era, significantly contributed for raising awareness of the necessity of facing the past and overcoming the stereotype of the culture of impunity. These actions on the public space, as political performative form brought "themes of war, violence and militarization of society to the great scene in a provocative and disturbing way, and set them in the field of activity, public debate and discussion."²⁸ The proactive participation of citizens, caused by relocating to a public space, had a significant impact on the change of reception by the wider public who thus felt invited to take active participation in the issues of crucial importance for their own lives, which was crowned with mass demonstrations on October 5, 2000 marking the end of Slobodan Milošević's regime.

Performative activities of the *Women in Black* and their supporters²⁹ to the demands for establishing the International Tribunal for War Crimes for the former Yugoslavia,³⁰ partly contributed to the establishment and the beginning of its work in May 1993. Although the ultimate result of this tribunal didn't reach the expectations

²⁸ Žarko Paunović, "Deset godina NVO u SR Jugoslaviji (od ilegalaca i neprijatelja do važnih aktera društvenih promena," in *Deset godina protiv: građani Srbije u borbi za demokratiju i otvoreno društvo 1991–2001*, ed. Velimir Čurgus Kazimir (Beograd: Medija centar, 2001), 60.

²⁹ "Suočavanje sa prošlošću," http://zeneucnom.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=18&Itemid=17, acc. Novembar 28, 2011.

³⁰ "Međunarodni sud je nepovratno promenio sliku međunarodnog humanitarnog prava," <http://www.icty.org/bcs/o-mksj>, acc. November 28, 2018.

of many of the activists who took part in the antiwar performances, like *Black Ribbon* and *Women in Black*, who were hoping for reconciliation, it certainly contributed to the popularization of the idea for condemnation of the culture of impunity in all meridians and in many other fields.

Film industry

In that sense, only chronologically, the formal termination of the Hague Tribunal's work in 2017 coincided with turmoil in the film industry which resulted in a movement that gained popularization within the seventh art, justifying Marvin Carlson's thesis that "[...] the performance became extremely popular in the last few years in a wide range of activities in arts, literature and social sciences [...]"³¹

By promoting the #MeToo and #Time's Up movements during 2017 and 2018, the above mentioned stimulation became massive. Though it was essentially the slogan of #MeToo activist Tarana Burke, used for the first time in the early 2006, it became globally recognizable only when, in the years later, influential Hollywood actresses began using it as a # (hashtag) on Twitter,³² encouraging women to tweet regarding these themes through the social networks.

Starting from October 2017, after revealing allegations of sexual abuse against filmmaker Harvey Weinstein on social networks, #MeToo³³ spread like a virus, demonstrating the global proliferation of sexual violence and harassment of women. This is how through the massive virtual performance and use of new symbols of the ultimately modern technologies of the 21st century, an excellent basis was created for the continuation of physical form performances at various manifestations. While #MeToo explicitly deals with sexual assaults of all kinds, #Time's Up³⁴ is fighting against sexual harassment and attacks by focusing more on gender equality at work and creating equal economic opportunities for women around the world. By working with women and those in favour of improvements of the legislative framework and equality, #Time's Up addresses issues of systemic injustice, inequality and inadequate promotion at workplaces for women who should be protected.

The "Golden Globes" awards was the first physical performance that went on under the mark of the #Time's Up³⁵ movement, symbolized by the black outfits worn

³¹ Marvin A. Carlson, *Performance: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 4–5.

³² Twitter is a free social network that allows users to read others and send their tweets (textual entries) with length of up to 280 characters. The tweets may contain tags composed of the prefixed term # (hashtag) which makes it easier to find tweets on a particular topic. Twitter is actively used by 330 million people. 500 million tweets are broadcasted daily.

³³ More about #MeToo project on the following link: <https://metoomvmt.org/>, acc. November 26, 2018.

³⁴ More about #Time's Up project on the following link: <https://www.timesupnow.com/>, acc. November 26, 2018.

³⁵ "Golden Globes 2018: Stars wearing black on the red carpet," BBC, <https://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-42599836>, acc. July 23, 2018.

by all the participants at this event. As a sign of solidarity with the victims of sexual violence and harassment, the actresses wore black dresses and actors black costumes, black shirts and badges with the #Time's Up tag. It was a unique example of performance at the 75th jubilee of the "Golden Globe" awards, which are awarded to the best films and television series by the the Hollywood Foreign Press Association.

Following these performances, less than two decades after the end of the former Yugoslav wars, we have witnessed an action that is very much alike the peace and antiwar performances *Black Ribbon* and *Women in Black* in whose time there were no social networks. Nor was there a sincere wish on the part of the global media networks of that time, to pay attention to similar events from this area. Ranging for more than a quarter of a century, the color black (as a signifier and a symbol of concrete action) linked the struggle for peace in the war zone and the struggle for women's rights in the glamorous environment of the film industry.

As expected, The British Academy Awards of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA) for 2018 went on in the sign of black clothes worn by the participants in this prestigious performative gathering, who gave their support to the #Time's Up and #MeToo movements by wearing appropriate badges. Dominant expositions were the ones that called for the end of gender inequality and sexual harassment. Particularly noted was the performance of the award-winning actress Frances McDormand, who among other things, emphasized in her speech: "I want you to know that I stand alone with my sisters in black and that I highly appreciate a well-organized act of civil disobedience."³⁶ She made this statement under the influence of the unannounced performance of the feminist group Sisters Uncut activists on the Red Carpet, when they, dressed in black, showed their solidarity with the #Time's Up movement, pointing to the problem of domestic violence that should be fought against through visual campaigns without limits. This, once again, confirms Sara Ahmed's thesis that emotions can lead to collective politics and social alliances. This social power shows through politics and social movements.³⁷

That same year, the central place of the Academy Awards (the Oscars) took to condemnation of sexual predators, alongside the fight for wider women's rights. The central spot on this Hollywood performance was given to the #MeToo and #Time's Up badges that reminded many of the #OscarsSoWhite movement from few years ago, which took massive space on the social networks in a form of virtual performance, protesting against the insignificant presence of the Afro-American actors in the Oscar nominations. As a result of the performance on the social networks and in the real world, the most significant Afro-American actors boycotted the Oscars in 2016.³⁸

The 2018 Cannes film festival was the first French festival following the sexual harassment scandal actresses in the film industry, and therefore it couldn't stay

³⁶ "Frances McDormand – Winners' Acceptance Speech, Leading Actress, EE British Academy Film Awards in 2018," <http://www.bafta.org/media-centre/transcripts/frances-mcdormand-leading-actress>, acc. July 23, 2018.

³⁷ Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 2004).

³⁸ More about #OscarsSoWhite on: <https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/oscars-so-white>, acc. November 28, 2018.

immune to the recent global performances. Eighty two film workers walked through Cannes Croasette and The Red Carpet, in organization of #Time's Up and the newly founded French movement 5050 x 2020,³⁹ alerting the general public to the inequality in incomes and fewer female directors who were in the competition program of the festival during its seven decades of existence.

In the field of printed media, the atmosphere produced by the movements and accompanying performances influenced the Pulitzer Prize for 2018 to be awarded for public interest reporting, in which newspaper articles launched an avalanche of confessions which became the base for a future film scenario. Performing symbolism of the color black was consequently expressed in the black clothes worn by 35 women victims (on the cover of *New York Magazine*⁴⁰) that agreed to publish their identity, including dramatic confessions and accusations of sexual assault. It was an obvious example of the directed media performance that later contributed to the conviction of famed actor and comedian Bill Cosby.

Catharine MacKinnon, Harvard University Professor of Law, opined that “[...] the #MeToo campaign has done more for women than all the laws of the world.”⁴¹ This is a consequence of the effects of the existence of McLuhan's 'global village' and the fact that at present, some of the social networks incorporate nearly half of the world's population (3.03 billion people).⁴² Certainly, this success has also been contributed to by the physical and virulent performances that have redefined black in the analog and the digital world. The film and television industry brought mass in both the physical and virtual field, leading to long-awaited trials and overcoming the culture of impunity. These sublimating performances, redefined the color black as that of victory and motivation for the victims who were silent for years and decades to stand up and fight.

Compared to performances such as *Women in Black* or *Black Ribbon*, #MeToo has shown all the technological advantages that have contributed to its success and made it a prestigious 'black' performance, based on measurable ranges and on its availability and global visibility. In the debate about what the mentioned performance brings together, and even more, what is separated by, the author concludes that they are undoubtedly connected by the color black and the sincere motives and activism of the actors, but in their differences essentially separates the temporal, geographical and technological coordinates.

We can only imagine the way that the performance from the 1990's would look like in this digital era. Regretfully, we are witnessing that virtual performances in our area do not spill into real life in the desired way. The reasons lay in the mere

³⁹ More about 5050 x 2020 movement on: <http://www.5050x2020.fr/en>, acc. November 28, 2018.

⁴⁰ Noreen Malone, and Amanda Demme, "I'm No Longer Afraid: 35 Women Tell Their Stories About Being Assaulted by Bill Cosby, and the Culture That Wouldn't Listen," *New York Magazine*, <https://www.thecut.com/2015/07/bill-cosbys-accusers-speak-out.html>, acc. July 23, 2018.

⁴¹ Catharine A. MacKinnon, "#MeToo Has Done What the Law Could Not," *New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/04/opinion/metoo-law-legal-system.html>, acc. July 23, 2018.

⁴² Nebojša Radovanović, "Statistika društvenih mreža u 2018," <https://www.digitizer.rs/blog/statistika-drustvenih-mreza-u-2018/>, acc. November 29, 2018.

satisfaction of the usage of the social networks that do not go further than that and therefor contribute to a kind of passivation of actors who, due to the insufficient interest and demotivation, did not essentially step out from the digital world into real life and achieve real success like the foreign examples.

The #MeToo campaign didn't have such success in Serbia, which is illustrated by the growth of charges for domestic and sexual violence – regrettably, the least reported crime because of the prejudices, difficulties to prove, and long and exhausting trials, as well as the consistent stigma towards the victims.⁴³ The circle that brings together all these performances with narrative in black closes here. Unlike the 1990s, when domestic physical performances corresponded with foreign ones, the 21st century and new technologies have made several changes in performance and its perception. Physical performance abroad is supported by a virtual campaign on social networks, while our virtual campaigns are much more difficult to transfer to the physical domain. This is the main difference that will be difficult to overcome and which will prevent the popularization of these and similar movements and, therefore, the range that contributes to a better life and correction of previous mistakes and punishing perpetrators. Except for the color black, other differences could be reduced to the conclusion that the success of actions as #MeToo shows the essential difference between the local spontaneous amateurism of former and current protest performances and highly profitable performative professionalism that uses all the technological advantages of this century to meet the set objectives, in black or any other color that will use its symbolic marking to have a key role in the next successful virtual performance.

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⁴³ Dj. D. "U porodičnom nasilju stradalo 30 žena i 13 muškaraca," *Danas*, <https://www.danas.rs/drustvo/u-porodicnom-nasilju-stradalo-30-zena-i-13-muskaraca/>, acc. November 29, 2018.

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