

FUTURE REPAIRS— ROOM FOR LEGISLURE, CARE AND PERSISTENCE

MAP № 4

THEORY
AND
PREMISE

INFO

This map's intention is to offer a scholarly perspective on Kaloper's artistic production and sociopolitical position within Yugoslav cultural sphere.

"UNDESIRABLE" HISTORY by SARA SIMIĆ

UNVEILING JAGODA KALOPER'S FORGOTTEN AUDIOVISUAL AUTHORSHIP*

1.

FRAMEWORK - KALOPER'S POSITION AS AN AUTHOR ^[1] IN THE 1960S AND 1970S YUGOSLAVIA

Born in Zagreb on the 19th of June 1947., Jagoda Kaloper was publicly best known as a film actress and for her role in by Dušan Makavejev," a cult film of Yugoslav cinema and one of the few ever to have made a name for itself in the world. ^[2] It is crucial to briefly describe the context of the Yugoslav conceptual art scene in the 1960 and 1970s in order to understand more fully the context in which Kaloper actively participated and made her mark. In the first years of the 1970s, Zagreb experienced multiple curated projects "that commissioned new artistic productions to be realized in public space." ^[3] At the time, influential art historian Željka Čorak coined ^[4], which was later perceived as a beginning of local art interventions in public space in whole Yugoslavia. "The idea of socially engaged art that uses the city and the public space as a site of confrontation with the audience itself constructed a radical proposal – a desired ideal of social and aesthetic transformation. ^[5] In the quite turbulent sociopolitical, but also cultural times, in which "neo-leftist 1968 student revolts in Yugoslavia

^[6] happened as well as the nationalist Spring revolts in 1971, Kaloper made her first acting and artistic advances. In that same year – 1971, which could be perceived as the beginning of Zagreb's avant-garde and conceptual art scene, Kaloper produced some of her first artworks ^[7], which were exhibited at the Student Center Gallery. ^[8] The early 1970s marked a new, exciting, turbulent, and critical time in Yugoslav cultural and social history. Many artists, art movements, and artworks ^[9], which are highly recognizable in public memory up to this day, made their mark. However, then, we might wonder how Jagoda Kaloper's work, produced in the context of that prominent Yugoslav artistic movement, received so little attention, both by the press and various art critics and cultural historians in Yugoslavia and later, in independent Croatia? Is it only that her work got somehow "lost "in the midst of many other artworks produced in that context, or is it more than that?

Even though she graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb in 1970 ^[10], in this paper, I argue that her rich and, as numerous media at the time described it, hypersexualized acting career overshadowed her position as an artist who "exhibited on numerous solo and group exhibitions, and for her illustrations, graphic designs and video artworks she won numerous recognitions." ^[11] However, the position

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of the first “sex symbols of Yugoslav cinema”^[12] and local popular culture, Kaloper’s experimental, conceptual and multimedia art, independently and freely produced, even being often exhibited in the 1970s, has been forgotten and overshadowed by her hypersexualized acting career.^[13] In thinking about her life and work, I aim to question historical dynamics of selecting the “desirable” and “undesirable” histories of a woman artist’s legacy and how did this shaped the visibility and perception of what does it mean to be a “woman artist” in Yugoslavia. Furthermore, I will describe how, through various media and institutional support, the “desirable” image of a woman artist as an interpreter of a man’s authorial work was created while excluding the freely produced and conceptualized artistic work made by a woman. In conceptualizing the woman “author,” I aim to define the term and its historical trajectories. Following Foucault’s definition of an author, and more explicitly, what constitutes an author’s ,^[14] “the term author represents...an essential moment of individualization”^[15] and its function “is not formed spontaneously, rather it is constructed.”^[16] Having said this, I believe that the Kaloper’s authorial position, or the lack of it, was constructed by a social context in which media and wider cultural scene played a pivotal role in defining her, and many other women’s position in local art scene.^[17] Furthermore, considering Foucault’s statement that artworks and “texts which contradict the author’s ideas are eliminated”^[18], is it possible that this also happened to Kaloper? Because of her well-known public role as an actress who interprets leading female and highly sexualized roles “so typical for the Yugoslav film at the time

in which every female character was first and foremost an object of a male’s gaze?”^[19], her position as an author was not aligned with her already established public image. As I will argue in the following chapters, more specifically in the last one, media played a vital role in constructing her image while simultaneously erasing her artistic, independent, and authorial position, which was far from unknown and hidden in obscure artistic ateliers in Zagreb, but was rather consciously overlooked and undervalued.

However, Foucault’s remark, which he appropriated from Samuel Beckett, that “it is not important who talks”^[20], but rather the meaning, context we assign to the term, or, in other words, the of the author^[21]. However, I wonder, in many cases of underprivileged, underrepresented, or misrepresented social groups, such as, in this case, that of a woman author in a male-dominated cultural and artistic scene, can we allow ourselves to ignore and, once again, deliberately diminish the as a , moreover, as a in a specific, sociopolitical context which heavily influenced her art-making process? Unfortunately, the format of this paper is far too short to discuss more in depth the point mentioned. However, in the following few chapters, I will always be aware of the context in which Jagoda Kaloper worked and made her mark in the Yugoslav art scene, both in film industry and conceptual art sphere. In the next chapter, I will concentrate specifically on her conceptual art in the Yugoslav period as well as her previous authorial work, an experimental “self-portrait” (Kovač, McMaster. 2013), film “Žena u ogledalu” (Woman in the Mirror) (2011) in which Kaloper critically reflects on her own bodily, personal and professional image as

a woman artist in the Yugoslavian context. In this section, my primary source will be Leonida Kovač's and Graham McMaster's monograph about Kaloper's artistic work and different archival materials, such as newspaper articles about Kaloper's exhibitions, interviews, and reportages and reviews. I aim to analyze and critically reflect on the notion of a "woman artist" in Yugoslavia in the late 1960s and 1970s and how did various dominant and still deeply sexist artistic scenes, despite Yugoslavian cultural progressiveness at the time, shaped women's possibilities for freedom of expression and position within the male-dominated cultural sphere. Besides the mentioned focus on Yugoslavia, as I already mentioned, I wonder how did Kaloper's position as a woman artist in Yugoslavia potentially influence her later work, especially the film (2011). In next sections, among other points, I want to question how we can discuss women artists' history in a Yugoslav context as "inseparable from the history of the emergence of the multi-disciplinary field of women's studies."^[22] Here, I am specifically interested in the history of feminist film studies and feminist theory of media and popular culture, which is, as I will show in this paper, in Yugoslav context, fundamental when discussing women's history in arts and culture sphere.

2.

WOMAN IN THE MIRROR [23] (AND THE ART SCENE)

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, , "conceived by art historian Željka Čorak, [which] was the first invitation for artists to use the city as material for their art "^[24], was one of the first public

appearances of Jagoda Kaloper as an artist in Zagreb's art scene. "Black Figures "– sculptures exhibited in the Gallery of Contemporary Art as a part of 6th Zagreb Salon in Student Center, which was, during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, "the most productive house of cultural production in Croatia "^[25], were Kaloper's entryway into the local art scene. Commissioning urban interventions and advocating the street "as the new space where art could meet its public, "^[26] presented "both self-organized and institutionally organized projects "^[27], but without necessarily differentiating them on mainstream vs. alternative and official vs. unofficial because the point of those events was "precisely that it was not possible to make such distinctions."^[28] After this initial breakthrough into the Zagreb's art scene, Jagoda's "second career," as Vesna Kesić, a prominent writer and Jagoda's close friend, wrote in the article ^[29] in Telegram, as a visual artist began in a full scale. Starting with the early 1970s, Jagoda participated in almost every intervention, action, and Exhibition held in Zagreb and Belgrade. For instance, the exhibition ^[30], held in Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade in June-July 1973, was organized, along with several others in Belgrade between 1971 and 1973 ^[31], to promote and systematize "the work of individual artists and artist groups operating in the context of Student Cultural Center (SKC) in Belgrade, or in other alternative youth centers in former Yugoslavia. ^[32] Furthermore, such exhibitions "displayed the interconnections, interdependence, and mutual dialogues happening between the official and alternative art scenes in former Yugoslav space." ^[33] These events proved that alternative art in Yugoslav context was not being created in isolation "from the general public" ^[34],

but rather in the intense contact with it, "as the critical, shifting voice of younger generations of artists." [35] The aim of the exhibition, as Ješa Denegri [36] wrote in the Exhibition's summary [37], was "to enable the wider public as well as the participants of the Congress of the International Association of Art Critics to have an insight into the documentation of such artistic happenings and occurrences that took place among the younger Yugoslav generation between 1968 – 1973." [38] Jagoda Kaloper, along with her lifelong friend – Sanja Iveković, exhibited her artworks which were classified as "Interventions in Urban and Natural Environment" [39]. This Exhibition, being "the first elaborate art-historical summary of New Art in a Yugoslav context [40], gathered the most influential and meaningful artists and art movements at the time, so I believe that Kaloper's attendance in such an important event speaks of her relevance and continual presence in Yugoslav cultural sphere in the 1960s and 1970s.

Having this in mind, I believe it is even more preposterous how this undeniable Kaloper's presence in the art world has been violently erased from public knowledge. These exhibitions and many more not presented here influenced her reflexive thinking about her position as a woman author in the Yugoslav context is still a deeply male-dominated art world [41]. The career of a visual artist she led parallel to her acting career overshadowed her authorial voice. She had complete freedom of expressing herself and not being an interpreter (in most cases a highly sexualized one) of a man's authorial work. After this period of her life, she was forgotten for a long time as an artist, and politics of remembrance

and forgetting is always conditioned by power and gender relations, [42] especially in the elitist and, in the 1960s and 1970s, still quite conservative cultural and art scene. Only several years ago, more to the point, in 2011, Kaloper revisited her old career as an actress and visual artist and started to edit the footage from the films she acted in and reinvent her conceptual art and interventions in public space. Her most recent work, crowned in the self-reflexive film – *Mirror* (2011), intended to prove that she, but also her colleagues, women artists in Yugoslavia in general, "are not only subjects to ideology imposed on them" [43]. In *Mirror*, Jagoda Kaloper challenges "hegemonic power structures – global as well as local" [44], which she edited and directed from 2002 until 2011, "is not at all her cinematographic autobiography." [45] As Leonida Kovač writes in the introduction of the seminal study of Kaloper's life and work, [46] is "a work in progress that, paradoxically, defies shaping, a statement that in the process of articulation does not focus on the process of coming-into-being, but becoming." [47] One of the first "scenes" in the film is a frame from the film of Miroslav Mikuljan, made in 1980, which depicts "the landscape architect Ana (played by Jagoda Kaloper) in her bedroom, placed between two mirrors" [48], looking in one *Mirror* while putting on her morning make-up, another one is placed behind her, showing her back and her gaze in the first *Mirror*. In this skillful play with the mirrors, montage, meaning, and the cinematic language, the main character in Kaloper's film is not her or her past career as an actress. As Kovač ably analyzed, this film "is not the filmed autobiography [49], rather it "is reading the story of another woman, or rather the stories of a

multitude of other women brought down to the unifying and essentializing common denominator of the nominative singular of a (feminine) noun”^[50] “Who constructed the imagery that Jagoda uses in her film and for whom? “Directors, screenplay writers, editors?”^[51] Kaloper questions that and, for the first time, she is taking the camera, a true protagonist in, and constructs the image herself and herself. Furthermore, as Leonida Kovač writes, “can we really ascertain what or whom is watched and recorded by the Woman with the video camera the reflection of which we see in every reflective surface? This is a gaze at another gaze.”^[52] Kaloper’s play of visible and invisible gazes is inviting us to rethink our relationship towards dominant art history canon and to, maybe for the first time, acknowledge a woman’s story and heritage in its complexness and diversity. Kaloper’s directing/filming/acting performance could also be understood through Theresa de Lauretis’s theoretical prism of women being “constructed through the effects of language and representation”^[53]. As Kovač writes, Kaloper’s artistic approach is “an assumption of this critical task that Lauretis wrote in the 1980s.^[54] Kaloper was more than aware “construction of gender is both product and process,... her film juxtaposes modalities of the construction of the female persona”^[55], and in a broader scale, the “representation of the concept of womanness in a forty-year-retrospective of the Croatian, sometimes Yugoslav, film, with a figure that during the duration of the film incessantly self-represented by keeping silent in the mirrored image of a woman with a video camera. Such a critical practice, in which it is “possible to recognize the faces of all the characters

that Jagoda Kaloper played in her career as an actress introduces the dimension of historical memory into her film.”^[56] This reimagination, rewriting, and “recontextualization”^[57] of Croatian and Yugoslav film history brings into the conversation a pivotal point about gender dynamics and representational politics of women in popularly presented as progressive cultural politics. We can argue that this work critically and actively participates in creating a feminist critique of identity politics “by refuting simplified notions of self-representation.”^[58]

3.

MEDIA AND POLITIC’S ROLE IN CONSTRUCTING THE IMAGE OF A WOMAN ARTIST

“The Yugoslavian socialist government (1945-1991) practiced a combination of communist ideology with consumerist elements.”^[59] Yugoslav artists, Sanja Iveković, a lifelong Kaloper’s friend, “created a series in 1975 using fashion magazine advertisements juxtaposed with her private photos”^[60], to expose fiction on both sides— “the public and the private.”^[61] In briefly analyzing Kaloper’s – glamorous and famous actress and conceptual artist in the Nouvelle Tendance movement in Yugoslavia, I want to take a look at a few recent articles about Kaloper’s life and work as well as the 1978 conference (which took place at the Student Cultural Centre, Belgrade, in 1978. “The visual arts program that accompanied the conference was curated by Biljana Tomić”^[62] could be classified as the “first autonomous second-wave feminist meeting in former Yugoslavia, and beyond—the

first conference of this kind initiated in non-Western-European context, and in a socialist country.”^[63] Although there is plentiful interesting information to discuss this pivotal conference, I would like to focus on one aspect of their visual arts program and their official text, which will nicely contextualize Kaloper’s media and political exposure. “One Exhibition included more than forty photographs of women [who could] in parallel to being photographed, decide how they would like to be presented by answering the following four questions: How old are you?; What name you would like to have/get?; Where would you like to live?; What occupation do you desire?”^[64] Their answers, along with their portraits, were shown in SKC. I believe that this Exhibition, as a part of the conference Kaloper also participated in, could be perceived as “a ground-zero” of contextualizing women’s position in the Yugoslavia while the regime was still more than alive. It could even be perceived that same as this Exhibition, Kaloper had the urge to answer those same questions about herself after years of external media and public ignorance of her career’s heterogeneity. Boris Homovec’s article from 2016, a few days after Kaloper’s death, represents Kaloper in a stereotypical, masculinist and sexist manner, over-emphasizing her image while simultaneously devaluing her other side – her authorial, free voice:

She was one of the first sex symbols of Yugoslav film. It has never been a problem for her, as a script, to undress in front of the camera. She proudly showed off her body; she once undressed without shame for Start. I fell in love with her as a kid because she was handsome, sexy, different, and very, very natural.^[65]

As her close friend Vesna Kesić wrote in a 2016 article in Telegram:

*Both the directors and the media and the critics and the audience loved it (one silver and one gold Arena^[66]), yet there was a colossal misunderstanding between Jagoda and all of them. Both the directors and the media exploited her programmatic naivete, her willingness and ability to expose and expose herself, her cinematic nudity. And she agreed. I always wondered – why? – but I did not dare ask her that myself. The film *Woman in the Mirror* offers answers to some of these questions. As she explained herself, she wanted to show that she is not the same as the roles and characters from movies and media presentations that exploited body and naive fit.*^[67]

These two segments clearly show Kaloper’s publicly known role and position. As seen in the first extract, Jagoda did not have “a problem” to expose herself both physically and emotionally, but as Kesić writes in the second extract, tries to show her other side, shown in complete control and awareness of her authorial voice, without any possibility to be later labeled primarily as “a sex symbol” or . However, in 2016, a well-known art curator from Zagreb, Leila Topić, organized an extensive exhibition, an to Jagoda, under the title – “Sunset Boulevard,” in which all of her earlier works were exhibited. This colossal event could be seen as a sort of “resurrection” of Jagoda and her public memory. Finally, she received an earned public acknowledgment for her contribution to the regional cultural and artistic scene.

4.

LEARNING FROM JAGODA
KALOOPER - WHAT TO DO
DIFFERENTLY?

While analyzing Kaloper's prosperous career path and numerous contributions she made in the cultural sphere of the region, but also cruel, unfair, and sexist media feedbacks she has been receiving for more than three decades, I wonder what and how can we now, in the present, do differently and more just for current women artists? In order to portray them in their heterogeneity and multiperspective, it is crucial to, as well it was in Kaloper's case, to acknowledge the diversity and richness of their creative work in the cultural industry. To conclude, the reason for the general ignorance and, as I argued in the introductory lines, deliberate erasing of Kaloper's authorial and artistic expression from the public's sight is a non-sensitive, non-aware, deeply sexist, and exoticized perception of a woman artist. I conclude that the media, cultural, political, and artistic scene in former Yugoslavia, but also independent Croatia had the power, influence, and intention to portray Jagoda Kaloper as merely "an actress" and "sex symbol" ^[68], and not as an artist, author, and a creative person, even if the knowledge about her work was far from obscure and hard to find. Nevertheless, Kaloper's decades-long career in visual and conceptual art, as well as her recent reflexive experimental film, can and should be understood as a politically-conscious, timely, and reflective work and a successful attempt to rewrite the external narrative forces imposed on her.

- [1] Following Michel Foucault's (1969) thoughts about author and authorship.
- [2] Leonida Kovač, HFS. 2013, p. 43
- [3] <http://tranzit.org/exhibitionarchive/category/yugoslavia/croatia/zagreb/>
- [4] Ibid.
- [5] Ibid.
- [6] Ibid.
- [7] <https://casopis.skd-prosvjeta.hr/zvijezda-s-pokricem/>
- [8] Ibid.
- [9] <http://tranzit.org/exhibitionarchive/category/yugoslavia/croatia/zagreb/> This is only a tiny fraction of many cultural and artistic movements that were happening at the time both in Zagreb and whole Yugoslavia.
- [10] <https://www.jutarnji.hr/kultura/film-i-televizija/odlazak-velike-umjetnice-u-becu-je-umrla-jagoda-kaloper-kulturna-osoba-filmske-i-umjetnicke-avangarde-nasih-prostora-4866413>. The translation is mine.
- [11] Ibid.
- [12] <https://www.telegram.hr/kultura/berlin-ili-new-york-mozda-imaju-hrpu-zena-kakva-je-bila-jagoda-kaloper-ali-mi-smo-imali-samo-jednu/> the translation is mine
- [13] Kaloper often played highly sexualized female roles, and often Kaloper was nude in the films at the time. - <https://www.telegram.hr/kultura/danas-je-u-msu-komemoracija-za-jagodu-kaloper-a-mi-donosimo-intimni-tekst-njezine-velike-prijateljice/>
- [14] Michel Foucault, "Što je autor?", 1969. Naklada Jesenski i Turk, 2015., p. 41
- [15] Ibid., p. 39
- [16] <https://englishsummary.com/whatis-anauthor-foucault/>
- [17] <https://www.telegram.hr/kultura/danas-je-u-msu-komemoracija-za-jagodu-kaloper-a-mi-donosimo-intimni-tekst-njezine-velike-prijateljice/> In the article by her friend Vesna Kesić, written for Croatian newspapers Telegram, in 2016., it was explicitly said how various media, over several decades, repeatedly wanted to portray her in a sexualized manner, even after her extensive solo Exhibition in Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb.
- [18] Ibid.
- [19] <https://www.telegram.hr/kultura/danas-je-u-msu-komemoracija-za-jagodu-kaloper-a-mi-donosimo-intimni-tekst-njezine-velike-prijateljice/> (translation is mine)
- [20] Michel Foucault, "Što je autor?", 1969. Naklada Jesenski i Turk, 2015., p. 35
- [21] Ibid., p.49
- [22] Karen Offen et al (eds.), (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1991), Introduction, pp. xix-xxxvii (plus notes), p. xxi
- [23] The title of Kaloper's 2011 film
- [24] <http://tranzit.org/exhibitionarchive/tag/kaloper-jagoda/>
- [25] <http://www.sczg.unizg.hr/povijest/> the translation is mine.
- [26] <http://tranzit.org/exhibitionarchive/essays/ivana-bago-something-to-think-about-exhibiting-valeurs-of-visibility-in-zagreb-from-1961-to-1986/>
- [27] Ibid.
- [28] Ibid.
- [29] <https://www.telegram.hr/kultura/danas-je-u-msu-komemoracija-za-jagodu-kaloper-a-mi-donosimo-intimni-tekst-njezine-velike-prijateljice/>
- [30] <http://tranzit.org/exhibitionarchive/tag/jagoda-kaloper/>
- [31] Ibid.
- [32] Primarily Zagreb or, from the middle of 1970s, Ljubljana.
- [33] <http://tranzit.org/exhibitionarchive/tag/jagoda-kaloper/>
- [34] Ibid.
- [35] Ibid.
- [36] Exhibition's curator, along with Biljana Tomić
- [37] http://tranzit.org/exhibitionarchive/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/1_Jesa-text_1973-summary.pdf
- [38] Ibid.
- [39] Ibid.
- [40] <http://tranzit.org/exhibitionarchive/tag/jagoda-kaloper/>
- [41] On the exhibition only 4 women exhibited – Jagoda Kaloper, Sanja Iveković, Marina Abramović and Ljerka Šibenik- of total more than 30 participants.
- [42] <https://www.telegram.hr/kultura/danas-je-u-msu-komemoracija-za-jagodu-kaloper-a-mi-donosimo-intimni-tekst-njezine-velike-prijateljice/> Vesna Kesić's article about Jagoda Kaloper's "reappearance" in the local art discourse several years ago.
- [43] <https://artmargins.com/un-doing-monoculture-women-artists-from-the-blind-spot-of-europe-the-former-yugoslavia/>
- [44] Ibid.
- [45] Kovač, Leonida, and Graham McMaster. 2013. . Croatian Film Association, Zagreb., p.10.
- [46] Kovač, Leonida, and Graham McMaster. 2013. . Croatian Film Association, Zagreb
- [47] Kovač, Leonida, and Graham McMaster. 2013. . Croatian Film Association, Zagreb., p.10. Here Kovač also refers to Beauvoir's concept of "becoming a woman"
- [48] Kovač, Leonida, and Graham McMaster. 2013. . Croatian Film Association, Zagreb., p.13
- [49] Ibid.

- [50] Kovač, Leonida, and Graham McMaster. 2013. . Croatian Film Association, Zagreb., p.14
- [51] Ibid.
- [52] Kovač, Leonida, and Graham McMaster. 2013. . Croatian Film Association, Zagreb., p.16
- [53] Kovač, Leonida, and Graham McMaster. 2013. . Croatian Film Association, Zagreb., p. 18., Leonida Kovač is referencing Laura Mulvey's text
- [54] Ibid.
- [55] Ibid.
- [56] Kovač, Leonida, and Graham McMaster. 2013. . Croatian Film Association, Zagreb., p. 19
- [57] Ibid.
- [58] <https://artmargins.com/un-doing-monoculture-women-artists-from-the-blind-spot-of-europe-the-former-yugoslavia/>
- [59] <https://artmargins.com/un-doing-monoculture-women-artists-from-the-blind-spot-of-europe-the-former-yugoslavia/>
- [60] Ibid.
- [61] Ibid.
- [62] <http://tranzit.org/exhibitionarchive/the-conference-comrade-woman-art-program/>
- [63] Ibid.
- [64] Ibid.
- [65] <https://www.telegram.hr/kultura/berlin-ili-new-york-mozda-imaju-hrpu-zena-kakva-je-bila-jagoda-kaloper-ali-mi-smo-imali-samo-jednu/> (translation is mine)
- [66] Arena is the prize at Pula Film Festival, Croatia
- [67] <https://www.telegram.hr/kultura/danas-je-u-msu-komemoracija-za-jagodu-kaloper-a-mi-donosimo-intimni-tekst-njezine-velike-prijateljice/> (translation is mine)
- [68] <https://www.telegram.hr/kultura/berlin-ili-new-york-mozda-imaju-hrpu-zena-kakva-je-bila-jagoda-kaloper-ali-mi-smo-imali-samo-jednu/>

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- <https://www.telegram.hr/kultura/berlin-ili-new-york-mozda-imaju-hrpu-zena-kakva-je-bila-jagoda-kaloper-ali-mi-smo-imali-samo-jednu/> (accessed on December 13th)
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- <https://artmargins.com/un-doing-monoculture-women-artists-from-the-blind-spot-of-europe-the-former-yugoslavia/> (accessed on December 13th)
- <https://artmargins.com/un-doing-monoculture-women-artists-from-the-blind-spot-of-europe-the-former-yugoslavia/> (accessed on December 12th)