



History
Memory
and Difference

FEMINIST CONVERSATIONS

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*History,
Memory,
Difference*

forumZFD

(Forum Civil Peace Service / Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst e.V.)
Prishtina, 2016

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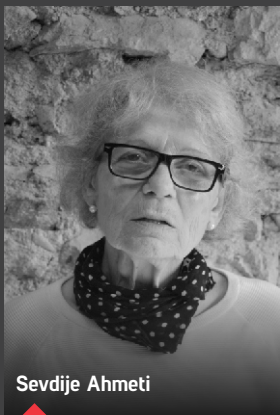
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University Program for Gender Studies and Research, UP

Alter Habitus – Institute for Studies in Society and Culture

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History, Memory, Difference



Introduction by
**Linda Gusia,
Vjollca Krasniqi,
Nita Luci**

*Memory Mapping Kosovo is an on-going three-year collaborative project – between forumZFD – Kosovo Program, Alter Habitus – Institute for Studies in Society and Culture, and the University Program for Gender Studies and Research (UP).

□ Feminist Conversions: History, Memory and Difference is the 5th Atelier within the framework of the Memory Mapping Kosovo project that explores official but contested memory sites and past events. The epistemology deployed in this work is premised on contrasting official memories, established historical narratives (e.g. history books, official discourses) and archive materials, as well as those alternative and marginalised, to enable a critical reading of various pasts. Therefore, Memory Mapping Kosovo aims a production of a new multi-perspective understanding of memory and memorialization in Kosovo. Atelier #5 was envisaged as a two-part activity consisting of a panel discussion and a publication. The first was a daylong panel discussion with women activists from Kosovo and region.

The panel generated narrations and accounts of histories and the memory of women's activism as remembered and interpreted by women activists themselves. Followed with a discussion on feminism and difference, the Atelier made visible the multiplicity and complexity of women's narratives of activism, mobilisation, cooperation, as well as experiences of war and post-war reconstruction. This was the first discussion of its kind, in that it brought the discussion and the activists in Prishtina, Kosovo – otherwise considered a geographical and socio-political periphery for similar conversations – and that it treated the very notion of difference (ethnic,

gendered, classed) in women's activism between Kosovo and the rest of former Yugoslavia.

The second part of the project is the text produced and presented in this publication. Recorded and transcribed in full the discussion is published as a text that will serve as primary evidence for students and researchers of gender, memory, and activism. The text will serve as a record of the conversation generated by the Atelier as well as a compelling exchange on the political, cultural and social engagement of feminism and women's movements and activism in parts of former Yugoslavia. As such, it brings to the center a recollection and creates an intervention onto the historical record, which otherwise lacks recognition of the existence and relevance of feminist work.

The text here brings forward a number of social and political timelines, both divergent and intersecting. They span through the collapse of socialist Yugoslavia, political transitions and war, market liberalization, and nation-state building. The conversation is not chronological. It did not aim to identify macro-events of "historical relevance" – the collapse of state-socialism, ethno-national wars, ethnic cleansing, military intervention, peaceful civil resistance, etc. – in which to interject a feminist remembrance. Rather, feminist praxis and women's rights activism is the axis that enables and animated the

- How have the “centres” of feminist thought and praxis emerged in Socialist Yugoslavia?
- How was feminism defined in these “centres” and how did it resonate in the multiple locations in the semi-peripheries in the late 1980s and onward?
- How is the history of feminism in post-Socialist Yugoslav spaces being written?
- Who have been the agents and subjects of feminist (academic, civil society) memory work in the region (in art, literature, theory, activism)?
 - What have been the forms and narratives made and employed in feminist memory work in the region?

8 Feminism in socialist Yugoslavia emerged as a critique to the state's project on women's emancipation. Feminists were a small collective comprising of women intellectuals in academia situated in the triangle of the major cities: Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade. This feminist collective grew larger into a movement in the late 1980s. Positing itself in opposition to the state's project on women's emancipation, feminists overlooked nationalism and its threats for the unmaking of socialist state and the remaking of the new successor nation-states. However, nationalism(s) resurfacing in the 1980s did force feminists to engage in resistance to nationalism(s). Feminists knew too well the manifold risks nationalism entailed. Nationalism is a gendered ideology whose practice rests on the subordination of women and on the constant construction/reconstruction of notions of femininity and masculinity. By subjecting women to nationalist goals, women can only play a role as long as they reinforce male-designed politics.

The 1990s war(s) in former Yugoslavia had a lasting imprint and shaped the feminist movement and feminist self-identifications. As Dubravka Žarkov has pointed out feminists 'were the first to reflect on how the wars of Yugoslav disintegration and partition influenced their identities and what the wars meant for them personally, and for their activism' (Žarkov 2000:3). And it is at such moments of reflection that a space was opening up for women's activism against nationalism and war. Resistance to nationalism(s) and opposition to war(s) defined women's activism and solidarity across national divides. This organizing enabled creation of spaces of difference grounded in feminist politics of solidarity and ethics of care. Hence, feminism was no longer confined to academia. It was out in praxis: supporting women's refugees and those in war through setting up SOSs telephones, documentation and information centres, street protests against war, and 'witnessing the pain of the other'—crossing borders in solidarity with women in war zones. Nationalism(s) and war

(s) did not prevent feminists from embracing solidarity and crossing borders: physical, imaginary and psychological that were laid wide open in former Yugoslavia in the late 1980s (Iveković 2013:17).

Histories of feminist movements—regionally and globally, however, do not claim singular histories. And as we have seen with the break-up of Yugoslavia, the feminist movement reflects and documents plural histories of domination, oppression and resistance. True, these acts are always situated in the local and national nexus, and are contextual. In Kosova, feminist movement emerged in relation to the national struggle and the peaceful resistance that grew out in the 1990–s to resist the Milosevic regime. The histories of resistance, human rights activism and national struggle do intersect. They had constituted a complex ground for the emergence of feminist politics and praxis in Kosova. Women in Kosova, as women in the other parts of former Yugoslavia were faced with patriarchy and multiple structures of domination and oppression. Thus, it is important to take into account the particular political, historical, intellectual as well as different discursive (re)

formations to gain a better understanding of feminism in Kosova and the region. However, it is feminist solidarity across space, difference and politics that deserves remembrance and recognition not only for the sake of the memory of past but also for the future where gender justice is a norm.

As feminist scholars we recognize the importance of re-writing history and active remembering. Feminist conversations is just one way of intervention in the history making and memorialization. The Atelier may have been compelled to open epistemological and historical questions on how we understand our fluid identities, lived experience, memory and agency in the time of war and peace. We will attempt to continue to answer these questions in the spirit of a dialogue and communal critical thinking to avoid nostalgic and romantic renderings of the past. Only through such a methodology it is believed feminist can resist erasures of different voices by the hegemonic power whenever and wherever they tend to occur in our globalized world.

Linda Gusia

Transcript of the Conversations



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Before we start our very important discussion on feminisms, feminist conversations, history and difference, let me just say briefly and explain a little bit the framework of the event. Memory Mapping Kosova is a project that we worked together with the Program for Gender Studies, forumZFD and Alter Habitus, and aim of this program is to explore the official but contested memory sights, events as well as alternative and marginalized memories in histories. The work is premised in contrasting the official memory with the established new multi-perspective and more complex understanding of memory in history, and of course women activism, resistance, mobilization as historically excluded, or better, erased from former political spaces of commemoration, of remembrance and memory. And so this is a form of our sort of intervention.

It is our commitment and dream in Gender Program for Research and Studies, to create a space for critical engagement, research and pedagogies, and I think that conversations like this today is a form of doing all three together. We think, that this conversation is a form of intervention in our history and remembrance of feminist movements in the region. Exploring today what women solidarity entails in the time of crisis and war, between and across ethnic divide is, I believe is, an important lesson to learn and give to young feminists. I was 17 when I met some of the women

sitting in this table like Sevdije, Igo, Shuki, Nazlije, Dita, and these women have shaped and changed my life. And I believe that their stories should be told, remembered and pass on to young generations to feminists and activists and their stories in solidarity, cooperation and resistance.

I will stop here, I think we are all very eager to listen and learn from this conversation and discussion here today. Before we start I will give the floor to Korab Krasniqi from forumZFD. It is our wonderful cooperation over the past three years that made this day possible to hear the discussion. I don't know of any this... of this form of discussion and conversation being held before or for a long time, or with the young public like this, so I am very happy to open and welcome you all, dobrodošle, mirësevini and give the word to... and maybe before we start just to say that all this is actually possible with help and dedication of Korab Krasniqi and forumZFD. We have one wonderful cooperation together for years now and Korab will say a word, or two, on behalf of forumZFD.

Ok! Linda, thanks very much for those kind words. I was very happy to be part of this project since the beginning, when we started with... I mean when I inherited the project from Dori, who was before me. Just wanted to say that I am really honored to be present in this event and in this great panel that we have here, but also I am very thankful to all the people who spared some time and made it possible for them to show up today. I would like to say maybe just a few words about forumZFD and what we do, so then we give you the floor back.

As Linda said shortly, I'm project manager at forumZFD. Also, I am managing with the project "Memory Mapping Kosovo", and together with Linda, professor Vjollca and professor Nita, we've been collaborating since two years now. "Memory Mapping Kosovo" is one of the projects I've been working. There are also some other projects that we've been focused, where we wanted to utilize our agency, culture as an instrument to address topics concerning memory, at some point also how gender and memory correlates together with one another.

forumZFD is a German organization which is present in Kosovo since the end of the war immediately. Initially we started working in Prizren, mainly supporting communities morally and materially, then the other office was opened also in Mitrovica. Then in 2008, both offices in Prizren and Mitrovica were

closed, then we are now working in Prishtina. Since 2012, our focus was shifted a bit from supporting communities to focusing on the processes of dealing with the past and now we function on regional structure, meaning that there are working groups in offices in Kosovo, in Serbia, in Bosnia and Macedonia and then within offices there are working groups where they collaborate in vertical lines. If you are more interested in our projects and at some point you would want to be engaged, then feel free to ask us about our emails and then we could see which are the ways that we could really work together.

Ok, once again, thanks for coming and enjoy.

Thank you Linda, Thank you Korab! Welcome to all of you. It is my great pleasure and honor to be here today with all of you, and especially with our women activists who for a quite a long time have pushed forward for gender justice, ideas of gender equality, peace and womens activism.

When we developed the concept, Nita, Linda and myself, we felt that this is quite a responsibility the least because we see the women's' activism as a continuing, ongoing, as an important political engagement that has spread thought the region and that had resonated in many ways and many different aspects of our professional, political but also individual lives. So it was... I'm saying this to, maybe to point out also about responsibility and accountability – feminist accountability, that it entails to discuss memory, to discuss history, but also the difference. Why we are thinking of all of this, or in this way, is because of the dramatic events that have taken place that have shaped not only our senses as women but also as private selves, but also as political actors.

Following the violent breakup of Yugoslavia, and wars of 1990's, women were not mere spectators, and all the women here, who we are very pleased to have them here, have been actors who mobilized and resistance to war and violent nationalist politics. So the activism entailed cooperation across ethnic divides and borders. Women's activism has

constituted women as agents of change and politics, but also of power. Moreover, women's public activism forced through cooperation, solidarity and sisterhood, as well as contestation, to some extent, fostered the development of a feminist movement in the region. And we feel that this is important to recognize, to remember and also to record. And the project like memory mapping is the good factor to enable us to archive, to reflect, to think and also to look at... while looking back and forth looking also for other perspectives, as Linda says for the future, especially in these times of crisis.

The conversation is... is not a typical academic conference, even though we pose important questions that have much of the political weight. We avoided the format of mainstream academic conferences that we give the presentations of 15 minutes / 20 minutes and then some people may ask questions, some may not. We wanted to have this as a conversation. We wanted to go deep in our memories, even though we have a short time to reflect, to think, to remember all the women who are today here, but also women who are not here with us but that have shaped our politics and who have left a legacy for the feminist history and for the feminist organizing in the region.

We will have a set of questions that are broadly defined and clustered around this





Vjollca Krasniqi

three topics on history, memory and difference, because I think this are also three interrelated concepts that enable us to have a live discussion and also some of the intricacies of this period of more than three decade... more than two decades of women's activism in the region. And the idea was that each one of us addresses this questions. We should not look at them as separate questions but questions that are interrelated and that we will have a discussion around those questions. So we will have, each of you, five minutes at the most... maybe an intervention as to that to foster dialogue and conversation around this table, but also the public is invited. We don't... we were thinking also that this would be the most horizontal way of discussion, entering into this conversation and not have ideas of panelists and the public that stands separately in this room.

I would go back to the questions and I will maybe say ... questions for the history, to start with history, and I will give floor to Nita to continue with other questions, and then Nita will take, will continue probably to Linda, so will go around, but also the public is greatly appreciated to participate in the discussions.

Two or three first questions that maybe, to start reflecting on history would be: How have the centers of feminist thought and praxis emerged in socialist Yugoslavia, were there any centers and how did they emerge, if yes? Second, how was feminism defined in the centers and how did it resonate in multiple locations in the semi-peripheries in the late 1990's and onward? And the third question related to history would be: how is the history of feminism in post-socialist Yugoslavian spaces being written? Now, I give turn to Nita to continue with.


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Faleminderit shumë! Ok, so, I thought that maybe what I do in, maybe kind of a more typical anthropological senses; so it was always interesting in thinking about how we want to talk about women's activism and memory, work, and so forth. To think about intentional, sort of positionality, and I think this is something that we will, probably, all of us discuss quite a bit today.

But what I want to actually talk about is,

talk about the event that Vjollca and I actually we participated in, that was I think very important, and is kind of interesting to think about how things have also shifted. So some years ago, the Agency for Gender Equality in Kosovo organized a conference on gender and identity and we both presented at this conference. And I was... Vjollca was actually talking about the sex-gender system, and kind of the theoretical shifts that have occurred, and I wanted to

Nita Luci



open up the conversation about masculinity. And I talked about the KLA and KLA soldiers and what these identities have been. And what happened was that the women in the audience and number of them in the parliamentarian and former KLA fighters stood up and told me, "You do not have a right to talk about this! Who are you to talk about this? You were not in the KLA; I was in the KLA so..." And I felt it was very interesting moment to think of how do we make claims about legitimacy, claims about authenticity and experience, and who can speak on whose behalf. The other interesting thing that happened was, Suzana Milevska, who was also participating at the conference later on, and the anniversary of feminist review wrote an article about transnational feminism. And what happened was that she got many of the facts wrong. So she said that women complained that I spoke in English, actually I did not speak in English I spoke in Albanian, Vjollca spoke English, and I thought this was very interesting because I think we are today in the position where we can no longer assume that we can write about natives and they will never find out what we say about them. And so I think... this is I think something that we also need to take under consideration, that how these relationships of knowledge and knowledge production and power have shifted and have changed, and this is kind of the sort of the moment through which I would actually want to pose some of the questions that I would like us to

talk about today... if I only can see where I left... Ok. Here they are. Ok... So, I think it would be interesting perhaps... actually there are other questions we can raise... if we are to say something about and discuss who have been the agents and subjects of feminist memory in the region? So who have been the agents and subjects of academics, civil society and other kinds of work whether is in art, literature, theory, activism, academia and so forth? How could we potentially map all of this out? Who are those that we recognize and what has kind of been left out perhaps?

Also I think perhaps we might want to open up the conversation around the forms and narratives that feminist memory work has employed. So what have been both forms in terms that we can speak about it in terms of more artistic sense, but also means through which technological or otherwise and narratives that have been used, the kinds of stories that have been produced and that have been told, and what are perhaps the stories that have remained untold?

And also I think another question that I think might be interesting for us to also talk about, and discuss what have to do with the relations with sort of agreements, contestations, inclusions but also exclusions between official histories and memories of women's activism and also of women in the margins. So what have been sort of the

centers and what have been the margins and how they have been intersected with different kinds of identities of gender and class and ethnicities and so forth?

So this is kind of the part of the conversation that I would like to help push forward during today's conversation. That's it.

Linda Gusia

we go around...
yes!

Afërdita Saraçini
– Kelmendi

I am Afërdita Saraçini-Kelmendi, working in Radio Television 21 for media project.

Daša Duhaček

My name is Daša Duhaček, I teach at gender studies at the University of Belgrade.

Staša Zajević

Staša Zajević, Women in Black, Belgrade.

Sevdije Ahmeti

Sevdije Ahmeti, at present pensioner.

Igballe Rugova

Igballe Rugova, Kosovo Women's Network. But today I am going to speak as Motrat Qiriaz, the organization that me and my sister founded and did activities in 90's.

Lepa Mladenović

Lepa Mladenović, I'm a co-founder of Autonomous Women Center dealing with Violence against Women and also activist of the Women in Black. Currently working in group called Counseling for Lesbians. These are the three main things.

Shukrije Gashi

Shukrije Gashi, executive director of Partners Kosova, Center for Conflict Management and human rights activist for more than 20 years.

Nazlije Bala

Nazlije Bala. I have started protesting 20 years ago. I am still continuing protesting in the street. I am a woman activist no matter what, no matter where; A big fighter.

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Nela Pamuković

Hello, I'm Nela Pamuković. I'm coming from Zagreb; I have been active in the women's movement. I'm an activist in several women's feminist organizations. I would like to mention Center for Women War Victims "Rosa".

Thank you! Now, shall we start our story telling? Perhaps we could start with, what do we remember? How did women's

activism emerge? How did women's activism come about in the region?

Vjollca Krasniqi

Sevdije Ahmeti

I believe that it would be interesting if all tell the story of how we met and how we got to know each other in the times that were very hard, in times that we could not travel, especially us from Kosovo.

I agree totally with you Sevdije so I am starting to share how we met. Well in 89' when we started the organization "Motrat Qiriazit", I was not feeling even a woman's rights activist. I was feeling a person, a Kosovar Albanian that wanted to do something in the time of oppression and so we started with my sister to support families in the nearby neighborhood, called "Kodra e Trimave" today. But in 92' we kind of expanded because it was a need for other cities and villages to start a literacy course that we started then, but the change in my life and the cha... when I felt feminism... I was not even thinking then; I was just thinking

how to make upset Milošević with our activism. Because in the time when he closed schools we started schools, in the time he burned Albanian books we started libraries; so everything to make him upset (laughter). And, but in 94' I met Julie Mertus, and she was going in the region, living in the Belgrade, but she was going around in the region, meeting activists and she said, "did you hear..." so we became friends and she said, "did you hear that in Belgrade there is women... there are women who were going in the street every week and were protesting...

Igballe Rugova

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Lepa Mladenović

against Milošević...

Against Milošević, of course. I said, "No, I don't believe!" So she was continuing this debate every time with me until I said "ok, I give up, I want to see it". And as Sevdije

said, it was not really easy to decide to go in that time in Belgrade. It was not easy but with Julie together I thought "ok I am safe with an American" (laughter). Anyway.

Igballe Rugova

Lepa Mladenović

She was a feminist...

yeah!

Igballe Rrugova

Lepa Mladenović

You were saved because she was a feminist!

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Yes, of course! And of course, when I went to Belgrade, straight to Women in Black meeting, I was in shock. I was speechless. I was numb, because I could not believe this energy, that these women were speaking in that meeting and were sharing in that meeting, and after a meeting there was a protest in the street. So I went to the protest, but of course I didn't stay near the women, but many things I learned that day. Number one, how even with your body, you can speak and protest. You don't have to shout, you just stand like they did every Wednesday. Number two, I became feminist in these meetings with Women in Black, and my feminist mentor is here sitting next to me, Lepa Mladenović, who immediately started giving me books of Alice Walker, of Angela Davis, and the main message of the books she was giving me is, how you... when

you live in the place you feel oppressed, you don't stay oppressed, you do something against oppression. So I was... yeah my life changed. My life changed. But since then, since that time '94' ... and I will come later in the debate about Women in Black yearly meeting... I will come later... but since that time, my life changed. I became a feminist there. But what was interesting that I was going very often in Serbia. I was going most of the weekend, with my ex-partner then Rachel, she is part... she should be also a part of this forum, but she in Afghanistan. I was hoping she would come. But in those days, I was treated a traitor here in Kosova. And there were articles in daily then Bujku, called "Bujku", it was a daily underground paper. But even that didn't stop me going. I was going and going until, still today going (laughter).

Igballe Rrugova

Lepa Mladenović

: jaaaaoj... I adore Igballe, you know she is my heroína (laughter). Because, when she came first time in Belgrade in my room and she showed me the photographs of the women she was working in the Has region. And I was so shocked and I said to myself, I've never seen such costumes in my life. And I like to know national costumes of people, of women and then I realized that there is something very wrong, because I know how women dress in Mexico, how women dress in India, and I did not know how women dress in Has, which was 300 km from me. And I realized that it is my responsibility, but not only my responsibility. There is a wide context of why do I don't know that, but there must have been a reason that I should not know how the women...because that way of dressing was indeed very particular. So that being a feminist at that time, I realized I must do something about this. And you know, me and Igballe became feminist sisters. Because she had something I didn't

have, and that means, she had knowledge of Albanian women which I wanted to know, and it was very clear to me at that time that the first thing as a feminist, how I look at the situation, is who has more power as a group. So of course me having this famous name of Lepa, you know. Lepa Brena, Lepa Lukić (laughter)... always, always... first association of Serbian police was these folk singers. And, being part of the... in that time... that my responsibility is to... the solidarity for me also meant that I want to know how do women live. How do Albanian women live? Because that means also solidarity for me by wanting to know and searching to know, and knowing and meeting women, that the women are not alone and I'm not alone, and in this contact I can also share this power in exchanging. So it became really totally important for me to go with Igbala in small villages in Has where, where you know, the Serb people never even crossed the ground...how to say...

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Police did!

Igballe Rrugova

Lepa Mladenović

Police. Serbian police For God's sake... Serbian police followed us everywhere. Wherever... all my life I have been surrounded by the Serbian police, even today. Even today I can tell you that last

year during of concert of Rona Nishliu in Belgrade there was police. Like that all the time.

So just to finish this. So one point which I



Lepa Mladenović

wanted to make here is about accountability and because we have privileges, I come from the place that has privileges. And accountability means sharing, or I share the politics of Women in Black, which means that I am going to the places of pain like all the place in Kosova, places of pain, meaning that's ... places of pain meaning that those places where the Serbian police and army is responsible for the crimes that are done

here and that I ... and that it is my feminist duty to make sure that when I go this places to let, to know people that that I know what has been done in my name. And that I want to know and that I feel sorry for that. And that this was a really, in some way it changed my life. I had this beautiful friend so I can go to all these places with her and feel and get to know how earlier... thank you!

Shukrije Gasshi

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Where do I begin! At some point in my life, I realized that somehow I was different from others. When I say from others, from my peers. I have come to realize that being a woman is [having] less voice. To have decision-making power and space. This is a lesson I have learnt hard way. Throughout my life I have struggled to make space for me and other women. It was necessary to do something, to take actions. I don't know you all are aware about the history; I am sure you are. When I was 21 years old, I was imprisoned of political beliefs. But not only for political views, but also about gender.

I have always had my ways of acting and thinking. And it's something I learned from my family, especially from my grandmother. In order for women to create space for themselves they had to do this within the national frame. This is one way to seek recognition and be part of the processes. Although we didn't define ourselves as

feminists, yet we still realized that it was something common; a common voice. In an attempt to understand this, we started opening up the Pandora box. I realized that to do more and become equal, we need to speak up. And of course, during years 1970 – 1980 and on, it was still very difficult to make people speak up, especially about feminism and gender equality. I was fortunate to meet Igo, Sevdije, Afërdita, and Nazlije, some others that are not here, and step by step we managed to start a movement and also to pave the path. And of course it was this activism, especially with Sevdije through the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms. And also with Igo. And we continued our activism and later on we got in touch feminists like Lepa Mladenović, and other women from Belgrade and also former Yugoslavia, and shared our ideas. Speaking up for national political rights was important, but especially to make activism come to life. We realized that if we unify, if we supported each other,

Shukrije Gasshi

we would manage to create safe spaces to explore these ideas. Myself, and Nazlije went to Belgrade. I was invited to speak in 1993 by the Women in Black. It was about women's political rights. I can't remember exactly the title. I soon realized that when I talked about political rights, but not referring

to it as feminism, there were resistance to it. It was not because I was afraid to refer to feminist, but my intention was first to bring to attention the reality in Kosovo. There was feminism in Kosovo. And also the first same sex marriage.

Shukrije Gasshi

20 years right? (Laughter) And it was very difficult for those of us, like myself, Igo, Sevdije, Xheraldina Vula, she is not here not here today, to speak about feminism. We got

attacked by the so called intellectuals for speaking openly about that. But we never stopped speaking.

Bravo! (Applause)

Lepa Mladjenovic

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Shukrije Gasshi

I will stop here. You will have to continue... thank you!

Yes... 20 years was after this famous lesbian marriage. I am Women in Black activist. I was an activist and part the leftist dissident movement. My first experience with Kosovo was before I met Igo and all of you. I first time I came in Kosovo with Italian pacifist and feminist and the European parliamentarians. At that time Igo was working with women in Has. I went there to witness about... as translator. I'm translator for Romanic languages, Spanish and Italian. I prefer to speak Spanish, but today I speak

in English. This the first time I met people and victims of terrible repression of the Serbian regime. This is how I met people and young feminist like Teuta Arifi whom I invited to attend the Feminist Yugoslav Network, it was actually the last meeting of Yugoslav Feminist Network. I was also a feminist activist part of the feminist autonomist group "Women and Society", I was very marked by this experience. With the Italian leftists I also met miners of Trepça. But I would like to say that we are

Staša Zajević



connected by strong feelings of sisterhood and solidarity. But also we are connected by very clear political principles. For me emotional discourse is not enough. I don't have time here to explain why this is not enough. Because my alliances are feminists but also working class people, trade union activists and also anti-globalists, and of course anti-militarists.

For me it is important the place we speak from. Those very difficult times and were speaking so to say from the belly of the beast. We wanted to send the message that violence and political repression is not in our name. Always disobedient, this was our first political slogan, not just emotional but political stand, slogans "We have always been disobedient to patriarchy hegemonic regional imperialistic force" – the Serbian regime, but also outside, like United States, today in Syria. We supported war deserters.

The historic moment, when Igo came in March 1995 and I think it was 8th of March 1995, the war was going on in Bosnia, we were very involved, and I felt very bad because we could not pay attention to Kosovo situation. We decided in the 8th of March in 1995 to put on the streets of Belgrade "Albanke su naše sestre" [Albanian women are our sisters]. People were shocked! But until now, I think this is the

one of the slogans more targeted in the history of our activism (laughs) ever. I would like to make a point that we have a very large, very powerful, very strong history of feelings, but also a history of very clear political principles. Yes, we have learned from each other, yes -- "nedajmo se od naših prevariti" [we will be deceived by our own people]. Yes, we supported the independence of Kosovo, not as a state, I'm not interested in state anyway. I'm nation-stateless (laughs). We noticed our criminals, crimes committed by our criminals, but also it doesn't mean that we don't know crimes of others. That's why we have responsibility as citizens of the world. Just we supported the repressed victims of the Serbian regime, now we support Syrian deserters.

I was marked by the great experience with the students, Independent Students' Union of the the University of Prishtina. The person I met at that time was Mihane Salihu – a historic person for us (applause) First October 97' when the students of Kosovo at that time within the parallel system of course, organized a great, wonderful, powerful protest. In Belgrade, the Women in Black organized a solidarity action with students of Kosovo and miners of Kosovo, and women's protests too. Thank you!

Staša Zajević

Afërdita Saraçini
– Kelmendi

I remember being very young and even now I am young... (laughs) but really very young. My mother would say to my brother who

was two years younger than me to wash the windows, to clean the carpets, and telling him that is his work, because he was



Afërdita Saraçini
– Kelmendi

complaining, of course. What I want to say, is that emancipation starts in the family and with education. It started with equal work in the family, with the division of the duties. So this is how you start to become equal part of the society. So I believe that if this starts in our families, then the real believers, the education, will change society. It cannot be done during the night, but it can be done during the years. As I have started very early. It is not just education of girls but also of boys, so, my mother was a believer. Because of that I am today this who I am. This is the first, my first meeting, I won't say

feminist, because I don't like that word because that is like division. No! We are human beings; we cannot be divided. We belong to each other and we belong to these societies, and we can make changes, not build division, we can make changes through cooperation. And also together, male and female, can make changes in society with cooperation. The opposition of the word feminism would be masculinism and so I don't like it... no! I prefer equality, equality definitely in society. We are two genders. We don't have third gender...yeah! Do we?



Participants



yes!

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Afërdita Saraçini
– Kelmendi

Yes? Which ones?

We actually do have more than two gender identities.

Linda Gusia

Afërdita Saraçini
– Kelmendi

Yeah really? Good! (Laughter) If there are so many genders, then it is beautiful. So, in this direction, I just wanted to add my point of view about all these issues which we started to discuss very early on. Sometimes we did have small confrontations, but

always cooperation. Always cooperation with these friends of ours from Belgrade, Zagreb and from all over ex-Yugoslavia. It was from very, very hard times when we were fighting for the changes. But we had double role, not the changes just in equality

of the gender but changes also in our societies which were fighting and having atrocities all over the countries. I will tell you one story which I have been amazed with my friend Lepa Mladenović. It's not that have met her in the first time in that time, but it was that she actually impressed me in that time, and that was 1995. The year 1995 in middle of Sarajevo, when she actually said to the world, "I'm sorry for that what happened." And she apologized in the name of her, but of all people, innocent Serbs who were dragged to the war by Milošević. So, it was not just feminism, it was actually warriors who was trying to have changes with her own voice, and in that voice actually I gave my voice as well. I said, ok this is that, this is when a woman is brave, when she is fighting for her nation, when she is not nationalist but she loves her nation and she is fighting for that and she wants all criminals to be out. So I said to myself, ok this is... this is a model of woman which I would like to see more in our society as well. During that trip, I will never forget Women in

Black. In that trip I have been from Kosovo, me and Shuki, we were travelling together by bus. And when Shuki was dragged from bus by Serbian police in Republika Srpska, all Women in Black, around ten of them who were coming back from this conference in Bosnia, which was organized by, Hillary Clinton stood up and started to fight with police to let Shuki go, actually to release her, and they stopped the bus and they were amazing... I ... don't make me tell you the details but they were amazing and I said, okay, these women are brave as well. So many brave women in Belgrade. And I will never forget also one of... you... which was not Woman in Black, which was Jelena Šantić, you know Jelena and I am still crying today because I didn't met Jelena anymore after the war. I tried (tearful) to contact her; she was the woman who called me on the 24th of March 1999 at eight o'clock, when the first bomb, NATO bombs hit Prishtina and Belgrade, and said "Dita, don't worry I am with you, let them kill this zveri"... kako se kaže...

Audience

Beast!

Afërdita Saraçini
– Kelmendi

: "...this beast. And don't be afraid, I am all the time with you". And she was all the time with me (cries). Sorry, I am emotional, but I am emotional because I didn't met her. Didn't had chance to met her. I had chance to met you Lepa when you came to Skopje to visit me and to give me support to continue my work. I was working in the media project in a beginning because I was a journalist by profession but also by vocation.

Work in media project started in the 90's with young women aiming to empower them in our society, to raise the voice, not just of women's voices but also voice of the young people. Who will make changes. And that was project which lasted four or five years. Me and Xheri and in the beginning Shuki joined, but then Shuki moved to another project. It was me and Xheri who continued to work in that project. And I will tell you that more than 84 women have been empowered in that project in conflict

resolution, in communication, in media relation, as well in media profession. Linda is one of them. Lost of girls who are women today, who are working very influential places and where they are making changes. I am proud today, really I am proud. I don't want to say that I contributed to these girls, but we contributed together to changes and for them, what they are today.

The other thing is that, during the 90's and beginning of 2000's, 21st century, we have been full with enthusiasms for changes, for fighting, giving effort, having energetically. And something happened... something happened these last years. Actually I'm not seeing that energy anymore. Where has that energy gone? What happened in our society? Are we tired? I am not saying tired from life but tired from fighting, for changes. I don't know. What happened? I think this is a theme to analyze and to see where we stopped. Ku u ndal mullini? [Where did the watermill stop?] (Laughs).

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The watermills.

Vjollca Krasniqi

Afërdita Saraçini
– Kelmendi

The watermills. So because I have been also the part of "living waters" project, and that was a project which is contained for women from ex-Yugoslavia, working all together for years in conflict and resolution, and... change actually, discussing and working in real cases. This was not easy. Whenever I would come back from the... these meetings which

were for two weeks, every three months, I would come as a different person, which was, saying in a positive way as a different person because I was learning how to change myself. And definitely how to treat people, how to treat situations and how to understand when somebody is in pain and how to deal and manage the issues which



**Afërdita Saraçini
– Kelmendi**

are problematic to be managed. So, this is one of the... my interest which today I am applying also in my work every day, not just with workers but also with editorial policy

which I am having and teaching people how to work, also in media with conflict resolution approach. (Applause)

Thank you Dita! Thank you all! This tells how much pain is formative in our memory, in our history but also in our personal lives.

And definitively that is time so much needed to discuss and to reflect on this. So I saw Shuki raising her hand? Or Nazlije?

Igballe Rrugova

Nela Pamuković

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Yesterday when we shared memories in the evening, then we realized that we are talking about so many years of memories of feminist movement, so it's really a long period of time. We were starting with some, maybe... exactly 40 years ago. I think in 1976's, yeah. So that was the first seed and then 1978 with the first strong feminist conference, and we have so much to exchange and to fill the whole picture. But personally, I was raised in believing in equality among women and men, equality of people in former Yugoslavia and when I became a student. And then in 80's, I see first seeds of war were planted and the picture was cracked. And I started as a passive follower of strong women feminists who are very much present in public. They wrote in Yugoslav wide media and also in many other places on TV. I was following it and it was a first answer to what was not functioning in the society. The other movements were also very revolutionary,

punk movement, theatre, counter-culture movement, everything was politicized, everything was full of wish to change, and we really believed that we will change. There were ecological movement, anti-militarist... seeds of it. But the basic idea was set. And we are still somehow following these ideas. There were no NGO's in that sense, although a little, but there were a lot of exchange, not everywhere but we were going to that direction, and it was really revolutionary time as I feel. Today, it was cracked again with the war. It was a big shock, disappointment and disbelief. And now when I face the realities, there is another crisis in our minds because of fascism has been already for 25 years and people are now raised in this system, there is a lack of knowledge, there is lack of awareness, just people are brainwashed, so in some sense it is worse than in 1992 in a way. Of course there was destruction but the people were still not brainwashed. Now we have situation

that civil society, NGOs that we are distorted somehow.

I would like to stress a bit about the "drugca" conference where Women in Black network saw the film. This was a critical-feminist-organized movement appeared when critical mass, kritična masa, I don't know if it is in English, of strong women appeared, and it was basically Zagreb, Belgrade, Ljubljana and then Sarajevo, and it was spreading, spreading from 1978' until the 1980's. There were women from Kosovo also joining and other places. And this was really... when we saw the film it looked like our future, the way how it was discussed and somehow we are much more behind at that time.

In 1980's, I can say just that the first after "drugca" conference, this was the start of many feminist ... many (laughs)... other feminist joining, following the discussions, it was also followed by media and it looked like a big movement to me. And a stronger presence sometimes than today. Not many women but the presence in media was very strong and I felt it like a movement. Now there are so many organizations but a lot of them lack the political analysis. So after that the more academic wave of groups, as I mentioned, appeared and I joined the movement in 1987, where in 1985 there was the first activist group in Ljubljana "Lilith", and then other groups emerged. My group was established in 1996: it was a consciousness raising group. And we

immediately decided... because there was some frustration with the previous movement of more academic... and we decided immediately to start with some concrete actions that we made questioners and went to factories to ask for women about their position, we had demonstrations against pornography and different actions. But then we were focused so much on concrete action against violence against women. It was a big breakthrough awareness in then Yugoslavia when then a sociologist Vesna Mimica published a story that she was abused by her partner and then she got thousands of letters from all sides of Yugoslavia; the women recognized finally that experience. So when we started with the concrete feminist activity, activism, then also women from academic cycles, they joined and we were together.

After that we developed a lot of shelters and groups, but never really only in this level. We had to participate in the first elections, we had to do many other things, and when the war started, it was a big shock and disbelief. On the other hand, it gave us the opportunity to connect with each other, to express solidarity, to build our connections and it was quite, I think it was a quite strong solidarity among women. There were also differences; some feminists in Croatia became nationalistic and it was also a very shocking moment for me that we fell apart into two fractions and that we never again cooperated afterwards. This was also very



Nela Pamuković

shocking moment for me, but then we continued cooperation on a wider level. Big school for us was Women in Black summer gathering of more than hundred women and thanks to Women in Black we

shared and we met; because we could not even meet. We tried, continued our activism with women to bring back the same logic of organizing beyond projects and beyond founders. Ok, enough. (Applause)

Nazlije Bala

I think the women's history in Kosovo started before 1989 and before 1975 and before 1968. Many women, many mothers, wives, who had their husbands as political prisoners are important in this history. It was very difficult to discuss publicly about their sons, about their husbands, about their girls. Those mothers, those women, they had kind of organization inside their groups because they were separated or isolated by the society. If you have one person as a political prisoner your family was stigmatized. It was considered to be against the regime, against Yugoslavia, against Tito at that time. So what they did, those women in that time; they collected the food, clothes, money to support each other to meet the needs of the family and... and other women in hardship. For me, those women were model how to be active, how to support each other, how to raise the voice. Maybe they didn't realize somehow they were feminist. For myself, I took the model my mother because she was a part of that women's group from 1968 until 1989 because the thousands and thousands Albanians were imprisoned in ex- Yugoslavia. The mother's protest in 1989 against the ex-Yugoslav army, because in that time many

young Albanians, backed home killed by the Yugoslav army, because of Serb soldiers in the Yugoslav army at that time. It was through the voices of the mothers that we organized protests in the street with candles in the hands. And this is how I for the first time these women activists. I met all those women in different protests and demonstrations in Kosovo after '89; in '92, '93, '94, '95, '96. And then we had a lot of women's group who did different jobs, who did great work in that time. Then we had slowly, slowly, different women NGO's in Kosovo that started to be established in Kosovo. Personally I worked at the Council for Defense of Human Rights and Freedom in Prishtina from 1989 until 1998. So there were different developments and different activities for a decade in Kosovo. I was then invited in Paliq by Women in Black. And I remember when Lepa Mladenović took the the microphone and asked, "Who is a lesbian, stand up!" (laughter). More than 200 women participants at the conference...quite big number stood up. I was shocked and I said "Did I come in a political conference or in a lesbian conference." I think that where Igo and Rachel got married and I danced in that



Nazlije Bala

marriage. When we came back to Prishtina and the so-called politicians, "Did you go there for political reasons or did you get there to dance?" It was a huge reaction in Kosovo. So first of all, before I end, we met each other here in Kosovo. We gathered our ideas

and activism inside Kosovo and from Kosovo we shared our experience outside with the Women in Black, with Lepa Mladenović's center and with many other organizations from Bosnia, Croatia and Slovenia. Thank you! (Applause)

Just one more information from those who don't know Nazlije: she is an incredible dancer. (Laughter)

Igballe Rugova

Daša Duhaček

Thank you! And thank you Sevdije for making for some of us more difficult to speak out now. As I see now, one of the possible approaches to these questions were the set of questions that Vjollca said at the beginning and I think it would be safer for us to answer these questions because we could distance ourselves from what are we talking about and responded to the questions in the more...what... analytical, safer way by generalizing and so on. Sevdije made it more difficult by asking us to do this from more personal level. So for me, from that level, it's very difficult... to choose which story... or what to talk about... as you see I'm going to start stuttering now (laughs). There were many stories I shared in some of the ones we had already heard and it is just images that come up to my mind now of Igo coming to Belgrade, of the Women in Black standing

there, joining Women in Black in most of these protests, starting women's studies in Belgrade... it was easier in that point to talk about theoretical issues then to address the politically controversial issues. And about those, I learned precisely from some of the women present here Lepa, Staša, many others absent now. I'm sorry for instance that Rada Ivković could not join us. And same as Dita, I am also sorry about some of the people who could not have joined us like Žarana, and so on.

But, just to keep it a little shorter because this would be a really wonderful opportunity to share these stories with this audience where we see so many young people prevailing and I think that is really important. Two moments perhaps: one when I met Vjollca for the first time. Vjollca then, I think



Daša Duhaček

in the face of the many dangers probably and certainly not being afraid for many reasons, came to Belgrade in 1998 to a conference that we then had organized. It was so important for us that she could join us at that point, it was a big conference where the whole region, and even wider, central and eastern Europe – that's what it was called, joined in sharing of what should be the future of women in gender studies. And then the second moment and I really had to be reminded a minute ago by Vjollca when it was actually. I just have a memory that it happened in late 1990s, but Vjollca


reminded me now that it was in January 1999 when I came here to Prishtina to give a talk from women's studies that was also here getting started at that point. Also very emotional moment, some of the things I remember from there was a very good discussion and it started off I apologized for not speaking Albanian and asked which language should I use (tearful) and a... in Prishtina in 1999 I was told "Please speak in Serbian." And that was also (taking deep breaths and crying) ... okay we should hear the younger generation also. (Applause)

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Sevdije Ahmeti

If I speak of the things or events that happened to me than I would cry all day and night. So I don't want you to cry. I don't want to recollect the events of the 1990s that I experienced in my body. They were hard years. And fortunately you don't belong to those years; we had the privilege and misfortune to live in those years. I will start from nationalism and cosmopolitanism. Usually these two words are linked with men more than women. We are in the middle as women. We don't think of nationalism in the way that men think, we don't think of nationalism in the way politicians do. We think of the wellbeing of people, children, women in general, of human rights. Because the women never decided for war, they were always active in peace and conflict resolutions. So this is my definition of the situation in the 1990s. What

we did together with women in former Yugoslavia, not only networks that we built in the events that happened during those years and conferences that we met. For example, Aferdita for me was very important on that day of 5th of March 1990, when we announced the Independent Women's Organization and we moved out of the Socialist League, out of the Communist League. We wanted to raise our voice of reason and we wanted to mark our rights to self-determination. Imagine, in those times no one talked about human rights. We were well educated as far as education is considered schooling but as far as other events such as human rights, we never heard of them. We only knew through the constitution of former Yugoslavia, Federal Yugoslavia, that article 33 was very important for us Albanians that you have a



freedom of speech. So that was something that we used whenever we would write, and I usually wrote in those times many analyses. And if I would get arrested; I believed the 33 article of the constitution of the former Yugoslavia would provide ground for my release.

What we did here actually, as we were completely isolated, and we lived in apartheid. Albanian schools was closed. Clinics were not working. Radio, TV, and Journals were closed down too. We used the opportunities to write in different magazines such as for example "Bujku" –, to write political analysis and imagine what kind of ways we managed to come with in order to survive; we tried to survive. So whatever we did, and whatever we made out of these movements, women's movements was growing out of needs.

I remember in 1993 in Vienna it was I think! Vienna or Budapest? Okay...it does not matter... I head the word workshop (laughter). To tell you the truth, I always thought that the workshop was a crafts shop, so I did much with the ways that the people were doing, so was very curious to know, to learn what a workshop was (continuous laughter). So what I saw was something that we did, even though we had no links with the world. We met, we debated, we discussed, we had conclusions, we made our movement forward. So that was a workshop. So imagine the terminology of

any kind of movement, or terminology of feminism was out of our mind because not that we didn't want to, but because of not knowing, because of being ignorant. For example, how I became a feminist? I was raised in a family, five sisters and one brother. My mother was very keen of her son; she never supported us, but my father supported us. So that was the difference between you and me Aferdita. He always said, "I have to educate my daughters, they have to be independent". This is how I stated to learn what the role of the woman would be in the future, how she would be able to change the world.

How we worked together? We actually were very much in need of each other, with Serbian activists, Croatian activists, even though we would have disagreement, we would have conflicts in conferences, but we supported each other. Why? Because of the need that we had actually the same environment and the same problem, which was Milošević and the war. Secondly, we in Kosovo as we were isolated, no one could come in Kosova. Not a foreign woman and let alone the foreign journalist. So we used the opportunities of our sisters in Belgrade and said, "Please send the letter or invitation to such and such person", or they would ask them to get the permission in Belgrade, to stay in Belgrade and then in secrecy visit Kosovo. It was so hard for everything. If you would accompany a foreigner you would be followed, you would be searched, you would





Sevdije Ahmeti

be interrogated, you would be asked to go to police station, so there were many hardships. So we had to be brave also for other women, to encourage them. So as far as feminism is concerned, of course it became visible in 1989/1990, in times of hardships, political pressure, and Serb occupations. Police and Yugoslav forces with tanks against us. We wanted to show that are the ones we are going to resist and break the prejudices against Albanian women. So I tell you a story, I was in Belgrade in July 1st, 1997. I was to take visa for Austria to go to a conference. A man was staring at me. He was... this man approached to me and said, "Hello, I must apologize to you". I said, "Why? You didn't do anything to me?" He said, "No! I have publicly, an apology!" I was shocked, I didn't know what for! He said, "The way you look, the way you are dressed, the way you talked at the Austrian embassy... the way you are speaking, I am

shocked that you as an Albanian to find you in such a way. So I owe you a public apology." I said, "This is not your fault! This is the fault of these two directors; And I pointed out to the two TV directors that were also waiting with us. They show us in different ways, with scarfs and with the sadness and so on.", and he said "Yes!". I said, "But they said you could have come and visit us. But may I ask you", I said, "where do you work?". He said "Trade company." "Where did you work before?", I said, because you know, there was a difference between 1980's and 1990's. The new order was taking hold. The Ante Marković's policy was to start the new order and have private entrepreneurs, they were allowed to. He said, "I worked at Tanjug." "Oh?!" I said, "so it was you started it all? (Laughter) I am not accepting your apology because you are the one represented us as such." Thank you! (Applause)

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Thank you Sevdije! I would like now to give the chance to the audience to ask questions or comment. Just please introduce yourself.

Vjollca Krasniqi

Valbona
(audience)

My name is Valbona (audience) and I adore each and every one of you. My question is going to be concrete: is it out of modesty that history is penalizing women; knowing that the history of women was erased, in

particular in Albanian society, I would like just to take as a short example if we have time. When I was in United States, I have seen the name Justina Shkupi. She was civil right activist during the 1950s together with



Valbona

(audience)

Asim Vokshi. She was the fifth on the list, so I was shocked, where is she in the history? The same dose of modesty I see at these women over here when I try to interview the woman from "Ilegale" who refused to talk and also like, you know, saying "oh, I didn't do nothing, I was just in protest". The same things men did and they are in history, so even today I see that dose of modesty that we as a woman we need to work together.

When I asked Shuki to interview her and she shows that dose of modesty that "I didn't do nothing", where the next generation is going to see us as a woman. Same as Asim Vokshi with Justina Shkupi who was erased from the history but ironically she was the fifth on the list of the top 100 soldiers. Asim Vokshi was the 87th. We everyone know who's Asim Vokshi but we don't know who is Justina Shkupi. So, thank you! (Applause)

Mihane Salihu-Bala

(audience)

Mirëdita që të gjithëve, unë jam Mihane Nartil Salihu-Bala. Uh, sorry, I will just switch into English. As one of the panelists said, there are young women, I saw that there are just two or three of my age so I at middle age coming along to the panelist. I would like just to raise one issue that might be very important to young women and young ladies... I would refer young ladies because it's a new... what is feminism though our perspective? We heard perspective from the end of 80's and beginning of the 90's and being a feminist or knowing feminism, let's say women, women's movement almost at the end of 90's, it was a bit difficult. But we knew feminism and woman's movement in different sectors and different size and different approaches and different paths. So I would like just to raise new issue of national feminism. Is that for what have need now? Is that what we are still thinking as society? Because I am not speaking of

only Kosovo, I am speaking about Balkans in general and about women movement around the world. I met for the first time Saša at 1997, and I knew Igi for almost 13 years now, and I don't agree with every one of them. Not always. What is important is that women movement was a strong chain on history, in our history. And what we had... and our struggles actually was at the end of 90's together with the most of panelists here, is that feminism and women movement only for us or for others too. I am glad that you are here at your present, and I really, really want to believe that you choose your path as a woman to deal with it. It's not enough just to be a feminist to say, I am a feminist and I know something about Simone de Beauvoir, or I don't know.. or somebody new. Because I don't know new feminist and I am not able to read everything. But, what is important is to see you as young ladies... I am referring to you as young ladies because, for the Albanian to

Mihane Salihu-Bala

(audience)

be a woman is different, it's a status that you are giving to yourselves. Calling yourself as a woman and not being married in Kosovo, is a bit, in a lingual way, it's difficult to explain. It's not incorrect but it's different to explain. But as a young ladies, do you

believe that woman in general should raise their voice and do something for themselves and dealing with it by yourselves, or you think that you should wait. This is two questions actually, national feminism and new generation. Thank you! (Applause)

Linda Gusia

The younger generation are rebels and speak loudly of themselves, we are very proud of them.

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Okay, so I have one more year to consider myself young. So I will use it (laughs). Ok. Hello everybody, I am Zana Hoxha-Krasniqi. It's this huge privilege I feel to be here today. This is truly historical moment, so thank you very much for making it happen, it's been a huge privilege, especially after hearing so much about you, about meeting some of you, after having people like Sevidje or like Igo in my life and hearing them and every time thinking "wow". Thank you for being part of our lives. So this is first of all what I wanted to share and you still amaze us every day. So yes, and thank you for the organizers.

I have two questions: one is, I heard from many of you, mentioning the word survival. Surviving, surviving, so I would like to know what where your biggest threats and challenges in surviving. At the same time, related with this question, you mentioned

activist that are no longer with us, or living that are not here. As an activist and as an artist, I see that we have very, a lot of health related problems. So I would like to know, linked with this, how this affected your health? How it affected, the activism... so it's clear. And the second one is more related with the activism of younger generations. I was once criticized for saying, "you younger generations and us". I am not saying that anymore, I don't want to make this distance. But I see that, maybe because of my optimistic nature, but I see that in Kosovo we have a growing activism of younger women, or younger women joining feminism and embracing it much easier than we have though that it was years ago, especially since I started in 2008/2009, and this for me it is a big strength. It is a huge support that what we do is important and its effecting lives of the communities that we

Zana Hoxha Krasniqi

(audience):



Zana Hoxha Krasniqi

(audience):

live. I would like to know more, is it a similar situation in the region, in Serbia, in Croatia, because we also talked about this Nela when we met last time, and how should we

make this gap shorter, or how should we unwind this gap, but how do we embrace this? And what do we have to give and what can we learn and take? So, yeah... thank you!

Venera Çoçaj

(audience)

Thank you! I am Venera Çoçaj, I consider myself a younger generation born in '94 in Croatia. I feel really emotional listening to all of you and I think it's really important that we gather today to talk about these topics. I just want somehow to come from my personal perspective and somehow to conclude with some kind of social context. For me what means feminism has several elements, at that is working class, and that is being discriminated and this is being holding the burden of the... what means to be... the notion of nation. I was always pissed off growing up in Croatia as an Albanian, especially working in the bakery, which is one of the stereotypes that Albanians have in the Slavic states. So the feeling was mutual; they hated me, I hated them, so it was like that. But I will never forget that my professor from philosophy in high school, she said, "Oh you are just pissed off just because you're minority, you a woman and you just need to read more and everything will be fine." I never understood her (laughing). She sent me in Zagreb to take some trainings on human rights, and one of the first things I saw was the pankart that Woman in Black held "Naše Sestre Albanke". I was 17 and for me that changed

my life completely (talking tearfully). But, that was it and when I came back to Poreč, and I told everybody, "there was actually a woman who held a pankart that we are sisters, even the Albanian ones" (sighs). And after that I started reading as my professor told me and I met Marx, I met Simone de Beauvoir, and I go back...I moved to Kosovo. Kosovo is a place, a country that my parents are originally from and they are both from Has. And starting to studying, I met Jeta, I met Trina, and you feel this strong connection (crying) that feminism has with each other.

And one of the things I started to dig, it was the history of my grandmother, mother and me. The difference in education. My grandmother, which is the mother of my mother, not from the father's side, she was never educated, she never knew to read or write, or anything like that. And my mother actually had a chance to finish four years of elementary school. And she knows how to read and she know how to write. And in that time I met Igballe Rugova, and I read the transcript of Safete Rugova, and I see this woman were actually in the region where my roots and family is. And when you put



Venera Çoçaj

(audience)

this in historical context, you have my grandmother who don't know how to read, and my mother that start to read and me

today that I am in higher education system and thank you for all of that. (Cries and applauses from the audience).

Linda Gusia

Emotions are part of feminist conversations, But also... (Applause someone stands up and hugs Venera) yeah we take a break. We take

a break and we... you wanna say something?

Mihane Salihu
– Bala

(audience)

And we all came to identify I think the complicated relationship and paradoxical relationships of nationalism and feminism and nationalism and emancipation, and I think that this is a more difficult part of the conversation. I think we should have a break

and I have a coffee and going to discussing the differences of heterogeneities and a way we are positioned differently in our fights and how feminist movement developed differently. So let's have a short coffee break and continue discussion on differences.

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Please sit closer and please feel free to join the conversation.

Linda Gusia

Mihane Salihu
– Bala

(audience)

We have touched upon so many important issues, and I think that one of the issues that we want to touch upon is the convergence of feminist nationalism and contradictions and paradoxes and the

uneasy relationship, of nationalism and women's movement. We have had a little discussion with Daša previously about it and maybe Daša could start.

Mihane, you mean relation between state nation and feminism? Not national in geographic terms. I don't know. There are a lot of feminisms. I can speak in the name of antifascist, antimilitaristic and so on, feminism. For me is antifascist state-nation is based exclusively on patriarchy. It means, on discrimination, exclusion, generation wars and in that sense, feminism has nothing to do with the state-nation. I am very glad and very happy that the process of organizing women's court Women in Black coordinating the process during five years, women victims of war crimes claimed new kind of accountability. This means responsibility of state nation, accusing state nations as generation of war. Of course international law is also extremely militarized and we have to invent, we hate to create new kind of accountability. For example, for me Serbian regime and also Serbian state is state of organized crime. That's why we are not satisfied with any kind of The Hague Tribunal is very important but we hate

tribunal and institutional system of justice and it cannot satisfy our needs, even needs of the victims in any way. In that sense, the state-nation is quite opposite to feminism for this kind of feminism I am fighting for. Maybe you are speaking about self-determination of nation in situation for example, situation in Kosovo or Palestine etc. etc. Yes, we understand the historical circumstances but we have to ask what does it mean, self-determination for nation, what does mean self-determination for women is one of the very big important issue and maybe we don't have time to discuss anyway. Feminism is... at least antifascist feminism is opposite to nationalism. It has nothing to do with the state nation and if we want to create global community of women who are fighting fascism and militarism etc. we have to fight also the state nation by non-violent means; it is my choice anyway. Maybe I am... what do you think Mihane... in that sense?

Staša Zajević

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Mihane Salihu
– Bala
(audience)

I'm sorry for being longer on my explanation. In past few years, I'm speaking about Balkans, in not speaking about Kosovo, I'm not speaking about Albanians or Serbians woman, or Croatian. It sounds that in many conferences and meetings, though the focus was, I as Albanian, I as Serbian, I as a Croatian woman, and that's made me feel not so well on being feminist because I do not agree, personally I do not agree

national-feminism to be show up in such a way. And that's my concern: do we as feminists or activists or voice raisers within women movements, what are your feelings about this "I'm Albanian and I'm doing this". This is how I not... I don't know how to explain, but I would like to know from all of you, is that correct? Or is that something that we are not in the frame with feminism and women movement as we consider and

Mihane Salihu
– Bala
(audience)

my generation, because first for me feminism it's not only me as an Albanian woman but me as a woman with other women besides me; other women movement

other movement that are empowering woman as a human being, not as an Albanian, not as a Serbian, not as Turks...

Where do you see that Mihane? I'm sorry ...

Igballe Rrugova

Mihane Salihu
– Bala
(audience)

); Let me explain! It's just a feeling that... not you, I am not speaking about you.

Na kemi qenë tu fol për qit' panel. Prandaj.

Igballe Rrugova

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Mihane Salihu
– Bala
(audience)

Just to explain what to do, how to understand this new way of thinking on national feminism. This is my original question. And I wanted to ask all of you, how do you feel about that? Is that

politically correct, or is it morally correct or do we believe in it, or do not believe in it? Because no one said nothing against or declare so.

Staša Zajević

Solidarity has nothing to do with state-nation. State-nation concept and practice exclude solidarity. It means that we as feminist we show in our own experience, not only, but we have big practice and experience and feeling of solidarity. It means that we question, state-nation concept. We are living in state-nation concept of course but we are questioning it in that sense. In

case we organize networks for example, Women in Black network of Serbia because our circumstances are quite different that for example feminist in Kosovo etc. etc. it has nothing to do with state-nation concept. You know, I think it's clear and all because solidarity with state-nation it is only reduced to my people; I don't like you! I don't recognize Albanian or Serbian human rights



Staša Zajević

etc., universal human rights anyway...for example. That's why we are targeted by so called Serb patriots, at the same time signing of Brussels statement, you know? We are targeted from the same people who are speaking in the name of state-nation.

That's why I leave a lot of material, our material of our actions of commemoration of crimes committed by Serbs against Albanians, anyway. This is a quite different, I think it's clear; state-nation it has nothing to do with national networks and so on.

I know for a fact that Sevdije and Igo and all the women here were called traitors, we are actually trying to rethink this paradoxical position of feminist in the region in particularly in Kosova. But one thing is I think obvious from this panel and from the history and research is that the women movement in Kosova started within the nationalist resistance and articulation, and I think it grew into something else. But I think, as Sevdije was saying in the first

panel and Igo, they didn't start their fight as feminist, rather they started their fight as a human rights activist and ended up feminist. So there are different positions and maybe we have to discuss those in this panel and different starting up of the movements. And I think that national resistance and national identity was important for Albanian women in Kosova. And I think this is where we wanna talk about and this is where the contradiction and paradox lies.

Linda Gusia

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Staša Zajević


This is the process of questioning self-determination concept for feminist. Anyway, in some circumstances in Kosovo, we understand this because the conditions are

quite different...yes it has changed. Now you have to see how to feel, how to face state-nation, I don't know, this is not our, we know how to face.

Sevdije Ahmeti

I would like to say something about feminism. Feminism consists of three theories. Actually we have liberal feminism, national feminism and radical feminism. So, as liberal feminism in general is: we want to have rights, we want to be equal and that's it. So don't go to wash things myself for example, or dishes, let's do them together. So we do it as not as we feel it, more as

fashionable. When it comes to national feminism, it consists of the theory of making sure that laws will be done where women and girls and women would benefit from them. So this is national feminism and I think that movement in Kosovo for example not only during the years in 90's but also after war, in Kosovo's parliament for example. But,



Sevdije Ahmeti

national feminism stops up to a level the women in parliament; they did fight for the law of equality and equal rights on gender bases and we have that law. And that law say for example, 40% of women should have a seat in the parliament, 40% of women should be leaders, 40% of women should be... 50 yes, 50. But do we achieve that goal? No! Are they fighting to achieve that! When it comes to radical feminism, I will take the example, I'm not going to be modest, I am the radical feminist. Why? Out of nothing, we made the movement out of necessity. We started with women's rights, and feminism is actually women's rights in general. At that time we would be accused by politicians, including from Rugova that "it's not the time to fight for women's rights, this is the time to fight for national rights. We did fight for both at the same time.

Whether it be underground or openly, but we did it. But we went furthermore to accept also the sexual orientations, homosexuality in those times that was considered radical feminists. In those times in 90's, all of the movement existed, women could do it, did it, but they didn't do it. Why? Because they were afraid that they would be accused. Imagine in the 90's that you are a feminist you would be immediately being marked as a lesbian. So to have a gender based orientation, nothing else. So that was something that would mark you and prevented you from being active and you had to have courage to continue. So there are some colorful differences between all these three orientations or feminism that we are talking about, and the national feminism. Thank you!

Nazlije Balaj

unë do të vazhdoj në shqip. Ok, Nita we will share the microphone together. It would be much easier for me to me to express myself in Albanian.
Nëse të gjitha ideologjitë politike janë [...] apo kanë nxënë hapësirë në shtetet e ndryshme

të zhvillimit... po ideologjitë janë politike. Nëse t'gjitha ideologjitë politike kanë nxënë vend apo hapësirë në vendet e ndryshme, feminizmi, ky asht mendimi jem personal, gjenë edhe nuk gjenë hapësirë në t'gjitha këto ideologji

Ok so if... is my opinion, personal... if various kinds of political ideologies find place in various spaces, anywhere they are, feminism

also may and may not take root in these places similarly.

Nita Luci

Nazlije Balaj

Sepse, sistemet ndryshojne nëpër këto vende përderisa feminizmi si feminizëm, po flas gjithëmonë si ideologji jo n'aspektin e teorisë...

Because in all of these places, feminism...edhe qysh?

Nita Luci

Nazlije Balaj

Nuk ndryshon...

Because in all of these places, all other political ideologies might have different appearances, however feminism does not change.

Nita Luci

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Nazlije Balaj

Po flas në kontekst të Kosovës.

And I am speaking now in the context of Kosovo.

Nita Luci

Nazlije Balaj

: Ka qenë feminizmi në atë nivel nacional apo kombëtar, e ka pasë luftën si lëvizje feministe, luftë kombëtare-nacionale, une mendoj që ashtë e kundërta e asaj. Lëvizjet

feministe, vetë feminizmi, ma shumë ka pasë t'bahë me mbijetesë dhe format e organizimit të asaj mbijetese në Kosovë...

I think that in Kosovo feminism actually might do with survival and it did not necessary have to do with issues of

nationalism and with war, but rather it was a matter of reacting to and organizing to specific context, needs and survival.

Nita Luci

Nazlije Balaj

Sepse, nëse vetëm pak kthehem në historik të të gjitha lëvizjeve t'grave, çështjet t'cilat janë adresu... prap po e them, prej kësaj lëvizje feministe, çështjet t'cilat janë adresu

Sepse, nëse vetëm pak kthehem në historik të të gjitha lëvizjeve t'grave, çështjet t'cilat janë adresu... prap po e them, prej kësaj lëvizje feministe, çështjet t'cilat janë adresu

Because this kind of feminism, this kind of organizing and activism was always multidimensional. It was always addressing all kind of issues; issues of health, issues of

political equality, issues of education, so all of this it was multifaceted and it was not only focused on one particular political goal.

Nita Luci

Nazlije Balaj

Ndërsa sot une e shoh shumë ndryshe feminizmin edhe më gëzon fakti që me të

vërtetë ka ndryshu kjo qajsa feministe në Kosovë.

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: I think that today feminism looks very different in Kosovo.

Nita Luci

Nazlije Balaj

Sepse kemi inicijativa shumë të ndryshme duke fillu prej aspektit liberal, neo-liberal, radikal, aspektit nacional, do t'thoë ashtë një

gërshetim pak ma ndryshe, pak ma modern...

Multiple feminisms in Kosovo, they could be radical, liberal, neo-liberal of all kinds...

Nita Luci

Nazlije Balaj

: Por vetëm n'varet në cilin kontekst e perdorim.

But it depends on the context you would use it.

Nita Luci

Nazlije Balaj

Perderisa një anë e kemë një livzje pak ma radikale n'aspektin të adresimit të çështjeve të grave përmes feminizmit, në anën tjetër e kemi një grup apo një lëvizje e cila është ma

e butë, ma moderne, ma pro-aktive, sidomos në aspektin e edukimit dhe emancipimit në teorinë e feminizmit.

So, on the one hand there is this more radical feminism at present but there is also another one that is more mainstream, which

Nazlije calls modern, that deal with issues of education and emancipation.

Nita Luci

Nazlije Balaj

Kaq pata!

Shukrije Gashi

I would like, answering also to the question that was raised by Valbona...I don't see her... if she is here or not. Myself, I was involved with the political movement. I was in jail as a political prisoner. Once again, I wish to emphasize that also in Kosovo, starting with the years 1968, 1974, 1980's and on, it was though under the surface, (the) kind of the movement that wished to declare as a gender equality. For those of us that we were more involved, we understood very well what does it meant to be a woman and create a space for yourself. And this is what we did all the time, starting with our own families; in this case starting with my grandmother. I should emphasize this. She was my hero. It was her who stood up and said, "if man can do this why not me, why I can't?" It was her who could manage to bring man together and serve as a mediator. For me she was role model. The issue was

to create the space because we realized, no matter how much we know and how strong we are with our approaches and theories, man would never allow space for us unless we say openly, loudly, that we are here because of national framework. In order to get space for us, we had to do this fighting, or trying together against the regime, and in the meantime also creating the space for gender equality.

Let's say, this is my book, my collection of poems. And I don't know if you can see the picture here, there is a message. And the first poem was not written in 90's, it was in 1978 and it tells a lot about the necessity for gender equality. Unfortunately, I don't have with me (the version) translated into English. I will send you.

So, the woman from 80's were not interested only to fight because of the national liberation, because of the national



Shukrije Gashi

platform, but the main point in any meeting we had gathered, we had a point. We knew that in order to get recognition and own the process, we needed to say that we are supporting the other side, the half of the nation, which were men. We had our own history and the process of learning, but because we lived in different conditions and it was high poverty, it was impossible to bring on (the) surface what we really meant by getting involved with a fight against the regime. We had for example other Kosovar

or Albanian woman like Hyrije Hana, probably you didn't hear about her. She was a brave, not only, how should I say, fighter for national and human rights, but also feminist. I spent a lot of time with her and I remember her saying all the time... although she participated or was active fighter during the second world war, she didn't get the same honor and price as man did. She mentioned all the time; it is not enough just to say, for us, we should fight for national rights.

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Thank you! I didn't manage, when I spoke an hour ago, I didn't manage to finish, to say, to give some important points so I will do this just very briefly. First besides the importance of this wonderful young generation that is now taking this in, hopefully critically, very much, and will assess everything that has been said here, also very critically, I also wanted to say, and to underline, that this whole project here is very very important. I must admit that I didn't fully realize how important the project was as I agreed to come here and what the possible scope of the project can be in the future. And this is the way that I am thinking about it now.

There are different memory building points in the region, but this one is making an honest attempt to make it regional in term of exchanges and interactions which is very significant and I think it should be in that sense also carried into the future. Because

none of our particular histories can be fully understood or told without these exchanges in comparison and everything. And here, now, I want to address one of the questions that Vjollca started us off with and that is "defining feminism". I thought that was very ambitious task and still ongoing task of course. I would like to make a point that I usually like to say that there is no single feminism and I think we mostly agree on that. It's always about feminisms, agreeing to disagree, agreeing to dispute and counter argue whatever that we are talking about. And that is the strength of different feminism; in order to be able to intake all the disagreements especially the ones that we are facing at the moment in the region and certainly in the future.

Having said that, then I would like to add my own contribution to the discussion today, and I must admit that I am learning about feminisms all the time. This was actually one

Daša Duhaček



of the first occasions that I met with the rubric of national feminism and I really would like to thank for bringing this to my attention. I think I still need to learn much more about it, but at this point, my immediate reaction... and please pardon me if this is just brief and probably not nuanced enough... The way I see, and I am going to use what Staša also said, if I was asked about national feminism for obvious reasons, my immediate association would be, "so ok where do I stand to that relation?" I am a citizen of Serbia, not Serbian, please, but a citizen. Can't be helped at the moment. Not that any other nation state would actually accept me, so I am stuck where I am. But given that, as a citizen of Serbia, I would always say, "national feminism? no! no! no!" Because that would mean that I would have to align myself with the nation state and that is certainly something that I would evidently find much easier to do today speaking from where I am than some other citizens in the region would have, precisely because our differences that we must acknowledge and differences in history. So in that sense I fully understand that there are some citizens in the region that need to speak about national feminism and see themselves as participants, as aligning themselves as that.

I myself, as I said coming from my position, definitely not. And it's easier for me to say this then for some of the other people, because is pretty much straight forward

that I don't want to align myself with my own nation state. There is nothing good with it at the moment. That...I beg your pardon? (Someone from audience gives a comment). That's for you to say, I am saying from my own position and there is no objective one... that is another matter.

Just trying at the moment just to attempt to think for a second theoretically. Sevdije said, liberal, national, radical and so on. The way I see it, liberal and national are actually flip sides of the same coin. They way that... I'm sure if Sevdije had a chance to speak more about it she would have elaborated...but what was here said and what she said about liberal feminism, portrays more to the personal but what is more about national is about mainly of the political. And you have this personal – political which are two flips sides of the same coin. It's the same public – private dichotomy within the same theoretical, at least, framework of feminism. That's the way I understood it. And if you go into liberal feminism and issues of liberal feminism, it is a feminism that aligns itself with their own particular nation states for the most part, and do not go beyond that. I say that particular straight of feminism, especially in the region is crossing the borders. And that is something, that is another strength of the feminist movement, regionally speaking, so that is also something that I consider very very important.

Daša Duhaček

Afërdita Saraçini
– Kelmendi

I have a question for you with which is linked with this. Actually if we are talking

about feminism that is ideology, is not identity...

Daša Duhaček

Good, good...

Different panelists

It can be...

Afërdita Saraçini
– Kelmendi

...identity for me is a place where I live, place where I create, place where I invest and that does not need to be Serbia, Kosovo or wherever, because we are talking globally; feminism is not just present here but all over the world. So, what divides identity,

which can be political, it can be economical, it can be whatever, from gender identity, because feminism is a gender identity. But it's not social identity of the persons in one area or whatever.

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Daša Duhaček

Thank you Dita for this intervention. Again I don't want to lecture. Identities I hold are multiple, they are always already multiple. And that's a problem that they have this issue of intersectionality. I am at the same time, and there is no evading this, I am at the same time positioned ethnically, personally, politically, class issues very much so, social status, professionally, let me add this from my own perspective – generationally, that is also not to be... yes... and so many things that I have really to juggle and deal with at the moment. And among other things, sexual preferences, not the least of course, especially gender and so on, all different among themselves. And that's a problem. Feminism can be, and is, an ideology among other things but can also be

a theoretical point, a theoretical standpoint and that is the one that I try to speak from at the moment. It can also be a personal standpoint "I am a feminist". That is also very important. It can also mean belonging to a movement, it's a political, yes, belonging to a movement which can be transnational, international, transgender and so on and so forth. So, much more complicated, and this is what we need to deal. And that is what makes it difficult but also that is also what makes it exciting and full of potential and possibilities. And that's what makes it, the way I try to see it, it's not only about women and not only about gender... precisely... what feminism has offered through the decades and internationally is a model of trying to deal with different





Daša Duhaček

subordinations, discriminations, that are not only gender, and using this model of countering discrimination, that is what can help us. Because these discriminations play out in many ways and play out within each of us individually, in different stages of life and different political context; this also

changes. And this is what I am now saying to younger generations; belie me it changes. For better or worse, know always risk, no guarantees and it depends on you. Very much so. (Applause) Thank you! I think I'll end here, before I make more mistakes.

Oh no, you didn't make any. There are no mistakes to make. I just wanted to ask what

is not ideology, nationalism certainly is...

Linda Gusia

Nita Luci

maybe just say a little bit to this and throw it out there if it's possible...

I go on it to say something.

Linda Gusia

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Nita Luci

...very very briefly to add to this. Because I think, you know, kind of following the lines of Nancy Fraser, if... You know a lot of issue here is about as you said identity and ideology. What if we think of identity and production of identity as ideological and especially in the region, if we think of our history and especially all kinds of political engagement histories with let's say workers' rights and so forth that has disappeared almost entirely, thinking of having lived at one point under state socialism and how that has been erased. So we have been focused so much on the issues of national identity, very similarly to neo-liberal models

maybe following the idea of the so called transition and so forth, were might we be today, you know. Let's through it out there maybe? I don't know where we are. In terms of thinking about the structural limits that we now face and how to position feminisms within those structural limits that we recognize or might be misrecognizing today because we have insisted so much to speak about identity and representation and participation, through these multiple identities of gender and so forth, however we lost sight of the economic limitations and lost sight of categories of worker for example. At least in Kosova, and it think in



Nita Luci

the region overall, nobody talks of workers anymore, they just don't exist. Nobody seems to work I guess; I don't know (laughter).
So perhaps for me it's very compelling, and I think very necessary, to perhaps have that conversation again because it also allows us

to look at the history of inclusions and exclusions in former Yugoslavia also from the perspective of women who might have participated in these conferences, or not participated because of how they were...their relationship to work was very different.

Rudina Hasimja

(audience)

Well, so many people have talked that I don't know who I am engaging in dialogue with but I'll try to stay focused on what I was initially going to say. And I think this is a very good opportunity for us right now, because I remember we had talks about national...I want to stick to nationalist feminism... this is it, now I remember... we had this conversation before, I think it was in Zagreb and Belgrade I think in 2013. We were talking about sexual violence during the war and there was, we have encountered this nationalist discourse when it came to framing of sexual violence and how that is (was) framed as something that nation does against another nation. I encountered this in framing of discourses when it came to inclusion of sexual violence victims or survivors in 2013 in law, in legislation in Kosovo. I think there is a longing here to be recognized, to recognize the multiple layer of oppression that Albanian women have gone through during the 80's, 90's even before, but that's all I remember personally. And I think that nationalist feminism that emerges as this longing to be included, to include these layers of

oppression because people remember how they were oppressed by patriarchy but also by the state regime. And I think that emerges as the only mobilizable tool is this national feminism. And I think it is a good opportunity for us right now to discuss about this and how to frame it, to push it to frame it differently because I think we need this sort of dynamics and I know from my conversation with all of you, well most of you, that all of you in this table were reflexive of our position in the societies, be it in former Yugoslavia but also within Kosovo or within other countries. And I think this is really important for us to sort of establish this approach, or at least talk about it and try to construct this approach, how to build and construct the memory of whatever happened during the war and this need for and to reconcile this need for recognition of oppression with the need for, nor reconciliation but the continuation on dialogue on feminism and feminisms all around former Yugoslavia. And that's what I am really happy that this panel discussion is happening and I think we should continue this sort of conversation and not to just



Rudina Hasimja

(audience)

build discussion separately that not necessarily reconcile with one another. So thanks.

Dren Berishaj

(audience)

Mine is more of a comment then a question, but maybe there will be a question. But I wanted to add something. Any kind of ideology is based on the situation it exists. During the 90's the whole oppression was based on ethnic identity, on being Albanian. So it was obvious that the biggest political force, of mobilizing force, was nationalism. There are different kind of anti-colonial movements and feminism and gender equality... depërton? Yeah reaches within those movements in different levels. Yeah penetrates! (laughter). For example, in Kurdistan today you have huge women movement, you have women's self-defense units, not specifically feminist but it is a completely different, for example, from what happened in Kosovo, which completely subordinated itself to nationalistic and future capitalist ideology. After the war... I completely agree that the state is a patriarchal creation and the root cause of the problem is inequality in society itself. So the whole point is that today, the feminist movement became subordinated to neo-

liberalism and to NGO-isation of it. And that's a huge bloody problem, the NGO-isation. So what we need today is to understand that there is a different kind of oppression in place. There is not an ethnical oppression but there is a pure oppression of classes that happens. And fighting for gender equality within this system is just fighting for the right of all genders to have the right of oppressing other people, which means that this is a base of a quite problematic approach.

And there is a question after this: so comparing to the time of the 90's and knowing how before there was a connection of feminism with political movement at least with anti-colonialism in Kosovo, in Serbia there was anti-militarism and bla bla bla. Today, I think that... is it actually I don't know, but I think it became completely sterile from any kind of political movement and became just an identity thing, fighting for a specific identity and for specifically within this framework of neoliberalism and the state.

Nada Duhaček

My name is Nada Duhaček, hello! I wanted to bring conversation back to something else because you started by introducing yourselves and when and how you met, and I was actually wondering... and thank you for sharing those and for trusting all of us with your stories. And I was wondering if any of you would like to share stories of things that you wanted to work on but then were disappointed because you couldn't. And I am specifically talking about crossing ethnic,

state and other lines, things that you wanted to do or expected but didn't work out. And I am sorry that it's not nice because the stories right now, they sound very strong and very good and I am sorry to spoil that tone, but as I feel closer to younger generation and I think is very interesting to learn from some of these so we can move in other directions and maybe not repeat the same things. I don't know.

Nela Pamuković

Okay, I would like to say that Croatia is deeply nationalistic and catholic fundamentalist state and for many it's hard to think differently. Although we are in international movements like feminism or secularist movement, people I saw that in some new movement people like to use national symbols like flags and grb², I don't know. I am really abhorred. I cannot stand this aesthetics. But they think, I don't know, different; or they play with it or that they want to prove that they are as good Croats as majority, which is not good strategy. On another side, we have deeply patriarchal state, but some new feminist activists say that is not useful to us to use patriarchy as a concept. And Croatian government, not even the previous government that was the so called social-democrat was any better, but for many years they limit our basic rights on autonomy on our own body. So for 15 years, the abortion pills have stopped, contraceptive day-after it has to be free but

because of EU laws, but in limited access; 70% of doctors, or even more now because of influence of Catholic Church, are consciences objectors in hospitals, so abortions are not accessible. Quotas now are seven years delayed and they, every year with new elections, they make new interpretation on law on gender equality that is not yet the time (to introduce quotas). So there are so many basic patriarchal values imposed on us, on the other hand the new movements are telling us that we are not supposed to be women because we strengthen binary which is the biggest enemy of us. How to cope with this! We are not supposed to be lesbians because we are all ought to be queer. So these are very contradictory moves, some are very traditional, some like modern, but for example there are new Marxists feminist... and I think that feminism is only one but from different sides we interpret ideas... yeah the so called Marxist feminist, they

² Grb - Serbian for crest (state symbol).



Nela Pamuković

think it's not useful to use patriarchy and they want to promote pornography as our sexuality subversion and that it is actually freedom of sexuality. They equate pornography with sexuality. So it's again, I think, that it's very much in line with catholic church, that keeps mothers

- whores... Women's picture, of course not openly but for all the women's history, we were like mothers or whores, it goes along with each other. Marxist feminist I think that they empower some church kind of values, and it's very much confusing for many people.

Donjeta Morina

(audience)

Sorry I might change a topic a little bit. I'm Donjeta, so thank you so much for sharing your thoughts and your stories, it's very important for us all to hear that. This discussion has made me think of a very specific question, especially seeing most of my role models up there, most of the people who have inspired me to enter the field in the first place. On the one hand, Igo, Sevdije, Nazi and Shuki and so on, but on the other hand definitely Vjollca, Nita and Linda. So it's

making me think about the relationship of grassroots activism and academia in general. So I would really like to hear your thoughts on this relationship looked in the past, in the 90's, how academia and grassroots activism helped each other evolve and how it basically cooperated and what advice you have for us now? How we should do it and how we can make the most out of this relationship, so thank you.

Unknown

(audience):

First of all, thank you for giving me my fourth feminist awakening (laughter). I wouldn't go into detail what my first, second and third was because we would sit here forever and ever, but thank you for that. First of all, as a political being, as a woman and as an ideologist, I feel, and that is my question that I want to address to you, that feminism has been going through being part of this new age of feminism; has been going through de-politization. I feel that the generation that I represent here has, in comparison to you who faced like a very clear "enemy" what was the Yugoslav

regime, which was patriarchy in a very different form we face in a type of war that is branding, like feminism now has to deal with how you brand yourself, which part of feminism do you belong to, you have to face getting donors for your programs, it has become such a strange battle that I for myself have a hard time understanding. That's why I thanked you for giving my fourth feminist awakening 'cus now sitting here I know why I started thinking about feminism as such, 'cus getting lost in this new type of warfare gets you detached from what you actually started fighting for. So



Unknown

(audience):

what kind of advice as warriors you have to give us new generations of how to deal with these strange conditions that we face nowadays. Thank you!

Nicole Farnsworth

(audience)

My name is Nicole Farnsworth, and I am also so honored to be here and so happy that this is happening. I am also a bit emotional because some of you know that this is what many of us dreamed of for many years (applause). So I am very happy and my first question is can we please not stop at 1:45, can we please continue for two more hours? That's my first question. But my second question is probably not going to be so popular to talk about because it never is. And it relates a little bit to the session topics that are on the agenda but I know that we talked about so many important things and these are the topics of politics of feminist memory work and women's politics of difference. And I think these two themes are very interrelated. I think we have to talk about memory and what happened before we start talking where we are not, and to start thinking where we are gonna go. And some of you have had that experience of memory, of trying to remember what has happened in Kosovo and I've tried to write it down. And there was a question asked earlier about modesty, are we modest as women, is that why we are not in the history? I think that is part of it. But I think

another part of it, from my personal own experience, is that we have not been able to find a way to push history in, because we have been too busy, and this is the unpopular part: fighting with each other of who should be in that history. And I think that that is really problematic and until we address the issue of women, feminists fighting each other and undermining each other's work, we can't talk about feminist solidarity and we can't talk about feminist movement. Because if we spend one tenth of our time working together to fight oppression that we spend fighting with each other with statements on Facebook, back stabbing, with gossip, if we could just address these issues then I think we would have a lot of stronger cause. And so I wanted to raise this issue here because it is an issue affecting us even today at this moment and it's an issue that we all have to fight together. And I would like also input from those of you in the region of how you've dealt with this in your regions and how you have worked to keep feminist solidarity, because really I believe that without it, we are not gonna make progress. Thanks! (Applause)

Vjollca Krasniqi

So welcome back! So then I would like to purpose that the panelists would like to address some of the questions that you have asked and then in the end we will try to... it's going to be very difficult to wrap up

the discussion but perhaps we can have... Yes, so to see what are the couple of ways how to go forward from this conversation here, how to continue in the future. So who would like to?

Afërdita Saraçini
— Kelmendi

Me. I would like to talk.

Afërdita Saraçini
— Kelmendi

Igo is younger; she can wait a little bit (laughs). I would like to answer or to analyze our situation in a sense about the question of Nicole and Nađa. I will tell you very unpleasant history of our movement which took place for many years but we couldn't reconcile ourselves because of attitude of women to reject another woman. And I think that this is a global problem in feminist movements, being national or international. I will give example of very good project which we started together with some of the present women here as well, and that was a women lobby which was created to push forward, not just gender approach but also decision making approach, in a sense of pushing political discussion making processes. And it was really very sincerely established by some of us who didn't have political ambitions, but we wanted to see a woman in discussion making processes. We invited also political women, actually some women deputies to join us and to push the process of women involvement in politics, but not just in politics, but in economy as

well.

So, what happened? From really very sincere project where we were pushing woman leader to go further, political leaders to go further... they started to impose their political positions of their political parties. So they were not acting as a woman but as a members of political parties inside of the women lobby.. So this is actually answer to Nicole's question as well, that we had to close down lobby, and that was my decision, that was Sevdije's decision, Igo's decision and we got out and lobby didn't function anymore.

So we were the strong women who didn't have political ambitions in a sense of particular political aims, but we had political aims in a pushing forward gender issue where woman will be also a part of decision making process in Kosova. So this is a question which also has to be raised in a sense that how much women will invest in women and how much women will support women. Daša and others were talking about

Afërdita Saraçini
– Kelmendi

solidarity. Do we have solidarity in situation we have our own interests? No we are not in solidarity. We are in solidarity with the victims, we are in solidarity with the poor people, we are in solidarity with non-political issues, but when it comes to political we are not in solidarity because we are pushing our

own interest and agendas which are not women agendas btw, but they are actually different agendas which are becoming interest of the particular groups which wanna become decision makers. And this is that what in...I will finish now... this is what in the beginning I said that during the 90's

Igballe Rugova

I will try fast to put... 'cus I put down some things and I'm sure that some of the answers you will get. There are three issues that I wanted to raise and to give answer also to the question that were given to us. One is where were (are) the centers of feminism. For me, as I explained to you before, started as a person to support my people and needs of my people. In 95' I became a feminist but you know what? I couldn't really use the word feminist in Kosova because in 96' I was attacked because of my sexual orientation openly in media. A very famous...well two, a magazine and a daily paper, both of them attacked me using my sexual orientation, but as Nazlije, Sevdije and Shuki explained, I had all these women behind supporting and they were speaking up and that's why I am here, and also because of my family I stayed in Kosova and I am still here in Kosova. I could not use, as I said, the word feminism because immediately they would say, "of course, lesbian", and I didn't want to lose the meaning of feminism so that's why I didn't use it. Then, we used a lot the word "gender equality". So Woman in Black was for me a

feminist school. Every year Women in Black had international conferences and for me that was school of feminism. I explained earlier, Lepa was my mentor and she was just giving me lots of books to read so sometimes, I don't know who told me, "you did master in feminism" they said because of Lepa's literature. And also it was a window in the world for me because Serbian police took my passport just because of going to Albania, so could not travel anywhere except Serbia and what else, Montenegro those days, because I only had the ID card.

After the war we used the word gender equality and we didn't use the word feminism and I want today to say with lots of pride, for you guys who are present in this room, we reclaimed the word feminism because of you in the room. Because when we started the Young Women Initiative, a lot of people, women and boys, they were using the word feminist and I am like "Oh my God, it's coming back", so we said lets change it so we called it Young Feminist he? We changed it thanks to you and your motivation and everything; we also used it

I will try fast to put... 'cus I put down some things and I'm sure that some of the answers you will get. There are three issues that I wanted to raise and to give answer also to the question that were given to us. One is where were (are) the centers of feminism. For me, as I explained to you before, started as a person to support my people and needs of my people. In 95' I became a feminist but you know what? I couldn't really use the word feminist in Kosova because in 96' I was attacked because of my sexual orientation openly in media. A very famous...well two, a magazine and a daily paper, both of them attacked me using my sexual orientation, but as Nazlije, Sevdije and Shuki explained, I had all these women behind supporting and they were speaking up and that's why I am here, and also because of my family I stayed in Kosova and I am still here in Kosova. I could not use, as I said, the word feminism because immediately they would say, "of course, lesbian", and I didn't want to lose the meaning of feminism so that's why I didn't use it. Then, we used a lot the word "gender equality". So Woman in Black was for me a feminist school. Every year Women in Black had international conferences and for me that was school of feminism. I explained earlier, Lepa was my mentor and she was just giving me lots of books to read so sometimes, I don't know who told me, "you did master in feminism" they said because of Lepa's literature. And also it was a window in the world for me because Serbian

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Igballe Rugova

reacting. For me that is, I don't understand still because why to expect that only women's network should react. In things like that we should all join hands and do things together, not to expect and blame always others. We cannot blame others anymore. We have to take action and to do it ourselves and not always to expect. Again I said, for me it is important that there is a group of man and women who are

continuing feminist ideology, feminist movement in Kosova and that is most of you present here in this room. And one more thing I just wanted to say: history. The woman, Valbona, raised that issue about the history. Yeah, it is again women who are not allowing others to be mentioned especially those who have the power to make history, to write the book, who has money to write the book, then they

Lepa Mladenović

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I believe in crying. Afërdita crying, we are crying. It's a crying section. Ok lots of things I wanted to say, but the first to continue on my sister Igbala, that you are wonderful and I must say that I came here three years ago for Kosovo 2.0, and it was after many years that I was not in Prishtina and I was totally fascinated to find Nita and there were all this generation I knew, older feminists. Vjosa, Vjollca I knew from before. But then I thought that... the previous generation has done so much, that there is new generation, and I was so fascinated. I was like really happy and I thought "Oh, I missed something". I was not there to follow how come, you know? I have to know everything. I have to know what is going on in Prishtina. So I'm staying here all day tomorrow and leaving early Monday because I had to catch up, you know. Ok, so that's one thing.

solidarity and exchange, how we [incomprehensible] and sisterhood. This is also for me an answer to the question, where is the shift of the knowledge, power, you know, who is the subject of women's movement? Because when we started, let's say we started in '92 to exchange between feminists or activists of Serbia and Kosovo, in fact the first two feminist I met was Sevdije Ahmeti and Vjosa Dobruna. They were really the first... you know I have to tell you the story about the workshop, the famous workshop. I met first time Sevdije, you can't... I was so shocked... "we have to do this, we have to do this, and then we have to do this!" And I was like wow... Rosa Luxemburg (laughter), where is this woman,

it's not true. How do you know...

nooo, yes I was applauding.

The second thing is, we are really talking all the time, in some way also our stories about

: ...I didn't say you, others I meant.

Sevdije Ahmeti

Lepa Mladenović

Aaah, others yes. But no, I was really fascinated. I really thought this is... I also thought how come I don't know you because I think I should know all the feminist in the region (laughs). Where is this woman made I don't know, like wow? So Vjosa and Sevdije were the first one. So that was the one thing I wanted to say.

Another thing which I wanted to remember just to add to these things was that, in the story of Sarajevo, that Afërdita has remembered, it was 96' after the war. It is important because the Bosnian war finished in November 95', but really in February 96' when all the Serbs left from Sarajevo and then this was in spring 96'. So it was the first women's conference, international women's conference in Sarajevo after the war, and I wanted to remember that Advije Gashi was with us also. Because of this regime we were so sorry, she was one of the activists that was often in Belgrade and very often with us, and we loved her very much.

I also wanted to remember something else which I love to talk about and it has to do with my sister here. Because she, Igballë used to make women's parties in Prishtina during the Milošević time and we used to come and sit in the bus in Belgrade and go to the

women's party in Prishtina. And I would come back to Belgrade and they would say "where were you", and I would say "women's party in Prishtina. They say "what?", I said "I was in a women's party in Prishtina". "What?". You know, nobody could really get it over there. Because she is a dancer, Nazlije was really, they were teaching me to dance. I didn't really succeed to follow them but I tried hard (laughs). And I learned so much, so much, so much, coming here because... I am going to go to another theme and this is a really interesting ... I think Zana said something about surviving and threats and fear. And in fact on of the way I could... because I am really into emotions and I am professionally councilor for women who survived violence and discrimination... one way how I can look at the difference between us is, we can say some groups are more discriminated. But what does more discriminated mean on the level of the body? That means that you really are under the huge amount of fear. So I was facing one after another friend from Kosovo who was having fear in a situation in which I didn't have fears. I am not talking about general situation of fear. For example, if the friends from Kosovo, Albanian friend from Kosovo, in Belgrade then we would go around the street and if the police man

would come, I would not notice...the ordinary police not the special one...I would not notice him, he was just there. But my friend would notice and start shaking. And we would have to make a total around to go to another side of the street because she was shaking. And it was such an important information for me because that means that this is what means the oppression and low intensity war and this is what Serbian regime has done. Because Albanians had such huge... it's layers and layers of fear. And there is another one, there is another thing; it's how loud you can be if you are in Belgrade speaking Albanian, or can you speak Albanian language at all, usually not. But if you have to, that you are speaking in a really low voice. This was for years, you know. Many, many different situations about fear. And then not to mention 99', the war, you all know about that, but it was very important for me and for us. I was at that time working in Autonomous Women Center when the bombing started and the war against the Albanians in Kosovo. Because it was a really, you won't believe it how fake news was coming to Belgrade. Nobody in Belgrade new that there was anything going on in Kosovo. The whole scenery was shown to Serbian citizens that they have to fear the bombs; that was the narrative. I mean that's what Milošević was proposing, first he switched off the off the lights as if we were in 41' and not 99', as if bombs will know where they will... so he said to the people, "I will switch off all these lights so they will

not shoot you" but really he switched off the lights so he will increase the fear of people in Serbia so they will not have any space to think what was happening in Kosovo; that was very clear. That is a fascist propaganda, that you have to discover what's going on, so nobody really new. So we only few of us know what was going on. It was not so much internet at that time like now. So we started calling our friends in Prishtina, yeah, I cannot go into that now.

But I wanted to mention something else because I really want to go into solidarity and sisterhood; what does it mean? What does it mean exchanging? What is the movement? So the movement is enlarging now, so this is the movement. This incredible meeting is part of the history of the movement, now we are all of us there. And then I remember with this bombing was still going on, and I cannot tell you, you really have to know, your activist fitting here, are incredible because after they were expelled... the word expelled is not really enough. I mean, after the Serbian regime has thrown them out, cleansed them from their homes with force and fear, and many of them were, had to go to Macedonia, they all opened centers there and started working after four or five days when they came to, how to say, to their force. It was really incredible. Afërdita was already having her TV in Skopje, Igballë was having a huge workshop with young girls from small villages in Kosovo who were in Çegranë camp who had

two thousand people... 40 thousand sorry. It now ... of the numbers... yes .Çegrane in Macedonia. So they were all activist who were active before, that were now active in Macedonia. They all found their way how to be active. This was incredible, just incredible. And so I decided I had to go and see what's going on. And just to give you example of like, if I am Serbian and I went to Čegrane with Igballe and with Nazlije...because you know they were also dancing with the girls there because you know to make the girls feel good, because they were in a horrible situation. And I was there, also Maria from Spain, Afroito, I don't remember anymore...Italy, yeah Maria from Italia because how could I be, you know. So I decided, ok, good, because I wanted. You have to make a decision you know. What's your identity, who are you? So ok, I don't identify myself with Serbs in any ways so it's easy to be Italian. It's difficult for (me) to give up my identity of being a lesbian, but identity of being a Serb I don't even have. So then I went there and I was talking to the girls in Italian and Spanish, because they were all watching Kasandra at that time, before they were thrown out. So they knew "Buenos dias", so that's how it was. That was another story.

I just wanted to give one another story about fallen dreams, because also one of the activist which I want to mention here is Marta Prenkpalaj. She is really incredible, another incredible person, you should all know about her, and she once came to

Belgrade and she was staying at my place also. And you know, I live in Belgrade near the zoo. And then we were walking down and talking and then she had a dream. But this was before the war you know, it was 97' or something, we did not know that is going to be worse, we thought we were going better. So she said, "you know I work in a primary school. You know what!? My kids, they never went to the zoo. Maybe we can make it together, some projects, some plan also, that we bring my kids from my school from Has, from the village in Has to the zoo in Belgrade", because it was close to my home when we were just talking about it. Then I said yes. Then we were saying that we had to wait some time. We thought it will be like six months or something and its now, how many years that we did not make this dream come true.

So, yes! It's really a prime time, and I just really wanted to say that I am fascinated with all of you. I'm so fascinated with all of you. Because I go around and I talk about our... because I think we were talking about last night... how about friendship you know? Because if you share political ideas, then you make friends because you share political ideas and you share some of the major principles. And of course it's easier when you are not in the same town because then you have fewer tensions, so it's easier. So Nela is my friend from Zagreb, you know we are friends. Me and Nela, every time she come to Belgrade I go to the bus station to wave and every time I go to Zagreb she



Lepa Mladenović

comes to the bus station to wave me hello and wave me goodbye. It's like tradition already.
So it's really incredible for me to be part and

I am so grateful to all of you, because I am also emotional that I am part of you as you are part of me. Thank you!

Okay Sevdije, urrno t'lutem! Yes, please.

Vjollca Krasniqi

Sevdije Ahmeti

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I know you are tired. The subject I am going to talk is one of the questions that was put here and its one of my special branches I have been working and focused on, sexual violence during the war.
First thing we have to know is that sexual violence, rape, during the war is used as a weapon of war. So, this means perpetrators are trained to do that and put into action against a nation, another nation, because of the goals that those who develop policies have set in general against another nation. In this time, we have sexual violence victims in Kosovo. They are mainly Albanian women. It is estimated that there are over 20,000 women and this estimation comes right after the war with specialists from all over the world, especially the physicians for human rights from the Harvard University. We together made the estimation how would approximately be the number of women, which could be plus or minus due to the number of women that appeared right after the June 11th 1999 till end of July 1999, one month and a half. So their number was

over 200. But if we would say that they were actually helped, 29 of these 200 was helped to abort because they were forcefully impregnated and there were other cases, but we estimated with the international team and the international forensics for human rights, that this was the number, the approximate number that would be taken. Now the question was how to build an approach of talking about that or making them talk, making the victims talk. We have to have in mind that perpetrators are anonymous, all of us have to know that. So victims are threatened, families are threatened, they can't talk because perpetrators can circulate not only inside Kosovo but they come and go whenever they want and we don't know their names. Furthermore, the victims do not know their names, they might remember faces, but they were also camouflaged with bandanas. So this was one of the problems that appeared even worse here and bigger problem than in Bosnia. There was a difference between the victims in Bosnia and the victims here. I

Sevdije Ahmeti

have been working. I have been working with women, and I know how it was there and how it was here.

There was another thing that we had to change the, to amend actually, the accusation against Milošević and put rape as a crime of war in the accusation. You have to know that Milošević was a pride of a nation, not only a president, which was very hard. And thanks to the words of victims that testified against him at The Hague tribunal were enormous, not only to him but also to the victims. So I would end this, I just wanted to explain these things. To make you

know, realize the complicity of the situation, this is not our duty to make the victims speak. It is not us to talk to them, if they want they can talk, if they don't want to they won't talk. But the role of preventative diplomacy is the most important role that needs to take place now in order to make the Serbian authorities to open archives and see who the names of the commanders and bands, the groups in certain places at certain dates. Our role is to bring those dates and those places in open so they will match to the goal we have and we can empower the victims to talk. Thank you!

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Okay shall we try to wrap up? We will try (laughs). Donjeta you have to...

Vjollca Krasniqi

Donjeta Morina

(audience)

I want to say something as a wrap up.

Sure, yes please then...

Vjollca Krasniqi

Donjeta Morina

(audience)

Because it's very interesting to sit here, it's very humbling to hear from Igo and think that we are very proud of us because we use feminism openly without taboos and so on. But, and this is one of the reasons why this discussion is so important because some of us, some of our generation might

forget that the only reason we can say this, the only reason that the word feminism and the label feminist is not as taboo as it was 20 years ago, is your work and we tend to forget how much easier you made it for us and how many roads you have cleared for us, so thank you so much! (Applause).

Shuki?

Linda Gusia

Shukrije Gashi

Well, what I would like to emphasize is more about control and domination which is something I happened to hear several times talking to young people, to young boys and girls. They have some kind of fear and feeling, they didn't get space themselves to speak about feminism and other, topics that are interfering and correlated because of the fear that there are this, how should I say, women that lead with feminism and gender equality for a long time and who we are to speak about this topic. It seems that this is happening also because sometime being very busy ourselves, we are very much focused on our own issues that are related or connected to this particular field, we do not pay attention that much. And also about the solidarity and

domination. Solidarity, for my opinion, means that even one tick "like" to any action taken by women it means a lot. Myself, I have to say that anytime I see that any woman did, or man also, both of them took any activity in order to strengthen feminism and gender equality, I never forget to put a tick. And also my stories, no matter if it was in Kosovo or outside in different universities worldwide, I never happened to mention all these women here, all of them. But I didn't happen to see, I found out that they mention others except for focusing on their own issues; I did this and I did that. So what I am trying to say is that if we say and speak about the solidarity we really need to practice solidarity, to practice solidarity. So you are welcome!

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We didn't address a lot of questions, we didn't answer a lot of questions, but feminist conversation is to be continued. As we see today, there is a lot of need to have this conversation within different border divides, between different generations, within different positions that we take in our different feminisms. But also definitely within academia and activism, I think, we will try to do today as bridge the gap between academia and activism and talk together to each other and understand each other better. So I think that we should definitely continue. Thank you so much, everybody!

(Applause)

Oh ... sorry... no no, I'm just mixing up the languages right now. So we are doing this memory walk if you wanna join us from five a clock, we are just going to see "Heroinat" memorial and "Newborn" and have a little discussion about commemoration and remembering, and how it actually, you know, gets formed and commemorated here. So we will go and visit and talk about that also at five a clock, if you want to join us we would be very happy. Thank you! We are meeting in front of Newborn at five. It's more popular than Heroinat.

Linda Gusia



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This includes school mediation projects, the support of civil society, or enhancing media capacities for a more constructive approach to dealing with the past. The program is financed by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).

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Alter Habitus, Institute for Studies in Society and Culture – Established in 2009, 'Alter Habitus' is an alternative research, academic, and feminist institute, which aims to create space for knowledge and critical and creative thinking that will further shape political and cultural engagement in Kosovo. Consisting of sociologist, anthropologists, linguists, and civil society activists, AH also aims to address academic and educational challenges in Kosovo. The vision of Alter Habitus is to strengthen the emerging critical debate in the field of social and cultural studies with a purpose of conducting academic research and promoting new approaches to the study of contemporary social and cultural issues. The mission of Alter Habitus is to work together with research institutions and organizations in Kosovo, as well as regional and international networks by organizing research conferences, research projects, public debates as well as supporting new teaching methodologies.

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