

TRANQUILITY AMID DIVERSITY: EXPLORING PEACEFUL PERIODS IN KOSOVO'S HISTORY



FEMART



© **Qendra për Art dhe Komunitet - Artpolis**

This research is part of the HOPE (History of Peace for Education through Theatra) project, aimed to promoting peace through peace education and cultural heritage. It contributes to a handbook designed to address the needs of youth, incorporating a feministic perspective that emphasizes gender inclusivity and highlights the vital role of women in peace building

Prishtinë, 2024

**TRANQUILITY AMID DIVERSITY:
EXPLORING PEACEFUL PERIODS
IN KOSOVO'S HISTORY**

Preface

Kosovo's history is often dominated by narratives of conflict: struggles for autonomy, wars for independence, and the ongoing quest for international recognition. While these events are undeniably significant, a closer examination reveals intervals of relative peace that have profoundly shaped the region. This research paper delves into one such period. Examining the intricate tapestry of Kosovo under Tito era, the paper focuses specifically on the relaxation of tight control over Kosovo following the constitutional changes of 1974. This era, often overlooked, arguably provides a crucial lens through which to understand the potential of peace for fostering cultural, social, and economic development. By analyzing the advancements made in areas like cultural expression and political representation, alongside the limitations and underlying tensions of the period, we aim to offer a nuanced understanding of this crucial chapter in Kosovo's history. Furthermore, we explore the concept of "negative peace" and its relevance to this period, highlighting the importance of addressing structural inequalities alongside the absence of violence for lasting peace and stability.

This revised introduction offers a clearer chronological flow, provides specific details about the context and advancements, and introduces the concept of "negative peace" for further analysis.

This research has been conducted employing a combination of different methods, including desk based research and interviews, to paint a more comprehensive picture of the period in question. The desk-based research relied heavily on the works of renowned scholars like Noel Malcolm ("Kosovo: A Short History"), Tim Judah ("Kosovo: What Everyone Needs to Know"), and Misha Glenny (History of the Balkans). Additionally, the theoretical frameworks of peace building experts like Johan Galtung and John Paul Lederach have been employed to analyze the experiences of peace during this time.

To deepen the analysis, we conducted interviews with key figures and politicians who experienced this period firsthand. Additionally, desk research and interviews with women from diverse backgrounds offered a feminist perspective on the era, including interviews and desk research for women prominent women that lived and worked on that period. A focus group discussion with young people examined their knowledge and perceptions of this specific time in Kosovo's history. Finally, in-depth interviews with five peacebuilders who actively participated in this period provided valuable insights into the challenges and successes of peacebuilding efforts. This multifaceted approach allows for a richer understanding of the complexities surrounding Kosovo's past. By employing a combination of these research methodologies, this study seeks to provide a rich and multifaceted understanding of Kosovo during the era defined by the "1994 Constitution"¹. This period, often overshadowed by the

1 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1974_Yugoslav_Constitution

tumultuous events of the preceding conflict, offers a unique window of opportunity. By delving into this era, we can gain valuable insights into the transformative potential of peace. A comprehensive examination of this time will allow us to explore how a society emerges from the devastation of conflict and embarks on the path towards rebuilding and reconciliation, a process fraught with complexities and challenges.

This research aspires to contribute meaningfully to the ongoing discourse surrounding the pursuit of sustainable peace and development within post-conflict regions. Through a nuanced analysis, this study will go beyond simplistic narratives and acknowledge the multifaceted realities of Kosovo under the 1994 Constitution. This includes examining the successes and challenges experienced during this period, the ongoing impact of the conflict, and the diverse perspectives of different segments of Kosovar society. The findings will enrich the existing body of knowledge and potentially inform strategies for fostering lasting peace and development in other regions struggling to emerge from conflict.

The research on the period of peace in ex-Yugoslavia, focusing on the living conditions of Albanians, is organized to provide a comprehensive historical overview. It highlights the sociopolitical context and the integration of Albanian communities while examining the specific position of Albanian women during this time.

The study explores positive aspects of the era, including economic growth and cultural exchanges, alongside challenges such as ethnic tensions and political fragmentation that hindered lasting peace. The conclusion draws lessons learned, offering insights for promoting enduring peace in multicultural societies.

A Quest for Recognition: The Albanian Experience in Kosovo Under TITO

Kosovo, a land rich in cultural heritage and historical significance, has experienced varying degrees of self-governance within larger political entities. Under Josip Broz Tito's Yugoslavia, Kosovo's history presents a complex narrative of aspirations and limitations. The 1974 Constitution, repealed following the breakup of Yugoslavia, offered a framework for a new chapter. While Albanians, the province's dominant ethnic group, secured a degree of autonomy and cultural recognition following the 1974 Constitution, the period remained marked by unresolved tensions and a yearning for greater self-determination. This paper delves into this pivotal era, exploring the advancements made by the Albanian community amidst the constraints imposed by the Yugoslav system.

Prior to World War II, Albanians in Kosovo faced marginalization and suppression of their cultural identity under Serbian rule². The post-war establishment of Kosovo as an auton-

2 Noel Malcom, "Kosovo, a short history", chapter 16 (1989)

mous province within Serbia offered a glimmer of hope. However, initial promises of minority rights made by Tito were not fully realized, and Albanians continued to experience limited representation and restrictions on their language and cultural expression.

The 1960s and 70s witnessed rising frustrations as Albanians demanded greater political and cultural recognition. While these demands were often met with repression and relentless persecution during the Rankovic era³, the 1974 Constitution marked a turning point. The document granted Kosovo significant autonomy, including a parliament and the right to use Albanian as an official language. Crucially though, Kosovo fell short of gaining the status of a republic within Yugoslavia, thus remaining an integral part of the republic of Serbia, keeping the ground fertile for potential future unrest. For the purposes of this research, this period will be examined through the lens of “negative peace” as defined by scholars Johan Galtung and Paul Lederach. Though overt violence subsided, underlying inequalities and discriminatory practices persisted, fostering a sense of simmering discontent. Despite the advancements in cultural expression and a measure of political empowerment, limitations on economic opportunities and a lack of genuine power-sharing fuelled resentment.

A Flourishing of Identity: Kosovo Albanians under the 1974 Constitution

In comparison to the extreme ethnic discrimination⁴ the Albanians were subjected to during the post WWII period, the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution marked a turning point for Albanians in terms of expressing their national identity in Kosovo. This document granted Kosovo significant autonomy, elevating its status to that of a quasi-republic within Yugoslavia. This newfound autonomy empowered local governance structures and ushered in a period of progress in several key areas.

Political Representation and Empowerment

The Constitution significantly increased political representation for the Albanian majority. The establishment of a provincial assembly and executive council provided platforms for local decision-making and policy formulation, fostering a sense of self-determination. Notable political figures, such as Azem Vllasi⁵, emerged during this period, advocating for the rights and interests of Kosovo Albanians. As Vllasi himself explains in his word this period in his interview Within the 1974 Constitution of Yugoslavia, Kosovo and Vojvodina, like Repub-

3 The Ranković Era, spanning roughly 1947 to 1966, refers to the period in Kosovo’s history when Aleksandar Ranković held significant power. Ranković served as the head of Yugoslavia’s secret police force, the State Security Service (JDBA), during this time. This era is a crucial period to understand for its lasting impact on Kosovo’s ethnic tensions.

4 Misha Glenn, “History of the Balkans 1804-1999”, p.579 (2001)

5 Milenko Vucetic, VLLASI (1990)

lics were a constitutional body of the Federation, but it was named Socialist Province and not socialist republic as others. Both provinces according to the Constitution has all competences to function as a state, to govern within the Yugoslav state that was unified system that had common foreign relation and dinar, and didn't have any dependence from Serbia, but Vojvodina and Kosovo in a case that they needed for something with common interest, like for example Iber/Ibar river, they regulated within the Agreement.

Socioeconomic Development and Stability

The post-1974 Constitution era witnessed considerable socioeconomic advancements driven by localized economic policies and investments. Infrastructure development, industrial growth, and improvements in social services contributed to rising living standards and a period of relative stability⁶. Despite existing disparities, initiatives aimed at reducing inequalities and promoting inclusive growth laid the groundwork for a more prosperous society. While economically less developed compared to other regions, efforts were made to modernize the economy through investments in infrastructure, mining and manufacturing. Agriculture remained a vital sector, and many Albanians continued to engage in farming and livestock breeding.



Kristalet_Trepca_Mitrovice_photo_Arben_Llapashtica_2.jpg

Community Cohesion and Cultural Renaissance

Despite the underlying tensions, enhanced governance structures, cultural recognition, and socioeconomic development fostered a sense of community cohesion and peaceful co-existence among different ethnic and religious groups. This period also saw a remarkable cultural renaissance for Albanians in Kosovo.

6 Tim Judah, "Kosovo: What Everyone Needs to Know" (2008)



National Library of Kosovo, based in Prishtina!

Source <https://autostradabiennale.org/venues/the-national-library-of-kosovo/>

Central to this era was the recognition and promotion of Albanian language, culture, and identity. The Constitution affirmed the equality of languages, allowing for the official use of Albanian in public institutions and educational settings. This cultural recognition facilitated a flourishing of Albanian literature, media, and arts, fostering a sense of pride and belonging among the Albanian population⁷.

The establishment and expansion of educational institutions, notably the University of Prishtina, provided crucial opportunities for higher education in the Albanian language, empowering future generations and strengthening cultural identity⁸. The University of Prishtina became a center for intellectual life and Albanian scholarship, with prominent writers, claims Kaqusha Jashari, a prominent politician and professional. Cultural institutions like the Kosovo Museum in Prishtina played a vital role in preserving and showcasing Albanian heritage.

Language and Literature: Albanian language became a cornerstone of cultural identity. Education in Albanian flourished with the establishment of the University of Prishtina, fostering a vibrant literary scene. Writers explored themes of national identity, resistance, and the complexities of modern life.

Cultural Institutions and Media: The establishment of various cultural institutions like the Kosovo Museum nurtured Albanian heritage. Newspapers, magazines, and radio programs in Albanian provided platforms for cultural expression and dialogue, bridging the gap be-

7 Interview with Kaqusha Jashari (K.J.) on 29.06.2024

8 Interview with Azem Vllasi, 28.06.2024

tween tradition and modernity. World-renowned literature was translated into Albanian, further enriching the cultural landscape⁹.



<https://visitkosovo.rks-gov.net/post/muzeu-kombetar-i-kosoves>

Folklore and Traditional Arts: Traditional music, dance, and folklore were actively preserved and promoted. The rhythms of Albanian folk music resonated through cultural festivals, while folk dances showcased the rich tapestry of Albanian customs.

Craftsmanship and Decorative Arts: Kosovar Albanians maintained a strong tradition of craftsmanship, with artisans specializing in wood carving, metalwork, and textile production, creating intricate designs that reflected centuries-old techniques. Traditional clothing served as a symbol of the community's connection to its heritage.

Architecture and Historical Sites: The architectural heritage of Kosovar Albanians includes a mix of Ottoman and local influences. Prizren, with its well-preserved Ottoman-era buildings, stands as a testament to this legacy. Stroll past the well-preserved Ottoman-era buildings, their intricate details whispering stories of the past. These aren't just museums; they're vibrant spaces where communities gather, celebrate their culture, and keep their history alive. In fact, Prizren played a pivotal role in shaping Albanian history. It was within these same ancient walls that the League of Prizren¹⁰, a pivotal Albanian political organization, was officially founded in 1878. This league, formed in response to threats of territorial loss,

9 Interview with Dr. Vjollca Krasniqi, professor and feminist

10 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/League_of_Prizren

marked a significant step towards Albanian self-determination. Professor of archaeology Exhale Dobruna Salihu remembers a time when exploring this rich heritage felt much simpler. Working in the field, unearthing the past, was a straightforward endeavor. But venturing into the realm of institutions, she says, presented a different challenge. Convincing people of the importance of archaeological work, securing permits, and navigating bureaucratic hurdles – these were obstacles absent from the open fields.



https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g304090-d2343612-Reviews-Albanian_League_of_Prizren_Museum_Muzeu_Lidhja_Shqiptare_e_Prizrenit-Prizren.html

Religious and Cultural Practices: Religion played a significant role, with the majority Muslim population observing religious traditions alongside secular socialist policies. Religious festivals by Albanian Muslim and Albanian Catholic were celebrated with community gatherings, feasts, and prayers. Despite the socialist state’s stance, these practices persisted, reflecting the deep-rooted spiritual and cultural values of the community.

Art and Theater: The visual and performing arts flourished. The National Theater of Kosovo became a central venue for theatrical performances, showcasing works by Albanian playwrights. Visual artists, inspired by both their heritage and modernist trends, created works that addressed social issues and celebrated cultural identity.

Challenges and a Flourishing Identity

Despite the advancements under the 1974 Constitution, significant challenges persisted for Albanians in Kosovo. Economic disparities, political marginalization within the Yugoslav system, and simmering ethnic tensions remained major issues¹¹. The centralized power structure in Belgrade frustrated Albanians yearning for greater self-determination, leading to pe-

11 Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo, A Short History*, chapter 16 (1986)

riodic unrest and demonstrations. The rise of nationalism across Yugoslavia in the 1980s further exacerbated these tensions, making Kosovo a focal point of ethnic conflict.

A Legacy of Progress and Unresolved Tensions

The period from the 1970s to the 1980s in Kosovo under Tito was a complex one, marked by both progress and struggle for Albanians. While the 1974 Constitution provided a framework for greater autonomy and cultural expression, it did not fully address the underlying economic and political inequalities. This sense of nostalgia for Tito's era, as described by Noel Malcolm and Tim Judah in their books for Kosovo, stems from the end of Serbian colonization policies and the suppression of Albanian language. However, it's important to acknowledge that respect for human rights, particularly for Albanians, remained limited. These unresolved tensions ultimately played a role in the conflicts that erupted in the 1990s, leading to the breakup of Yugoslavia and Kosovo's quest for independence.

The experience of Albanians in Yugoslavia under Tito highlights the enduring struggle for identity, self-determination, and socioeconomic advancement within a multi-ethnic federation. Despite facing limitations and marginalization, the Albanian community in Kosovo demonstrated remarkable resilience in preserving their heritage and culture. The cultural renaissance witnessed during this period stands as a testament to their enduring spirit.

This analysis underscores the importance of effective governance, cultural recognition, and inclusive socioeconomic development in fostering peace and prosperity. As we delve deeper into Kosovo's rich history and cultural tapestry, we gain valuable insights that can inspire dialogue, reflection, and a path towards a brighter future for the region.

Personal Experiences: A Mosaic of Progress and Limitations

These interwoven narratives of an archaeologist, a worker advocate, and a politician offer a rich tapestry of personal experiences that illuminate the complexities of this era in Kosovo. Dr. Exhlale Dobruna Salihu, professor of archaeology, the first woman archaeologist in Kosovo, fondly remembers the relative ease of conducting archaeological fieldwork during the Yugoslav era. Institutional support was strong, and bureaucratic hurdles were fewer compared to later periods. Despite the challenge of pursuing higher education without Albanian-language instruction, her determination led her to excel in her studies at the University of Zagreb, where she felt welcomed, as an Albanian. Her experience highlights the opportunities for professional growth that existed amidst the broader political tensions. She witnessed the motivation of many other women that started to study.

Kaqusha Jashari, an engineer, and advocate for workers' rights at that time, and later on a politician, emphasizes the increased autonomy experienced by Kosovo after the 1974 Constitution. While not a republic, Kosovo possessed significant authority, including a veto on decisions made at the federal level. In the context of Kosovo's relationship with the Yugoslav federation under the 1974 Constitution, a veto refers to Kosovo's ability to block or prevent the implementation of specific decisions made by the federal government. This meant that if Kosovo disagreed with a particular decision, it could exercise its veto and prevent that decision from being applied within its territory. Jashari's experience working as an engineer in the construction sector during the 1970s reflects the increased opportunities for women, also in public positions. She served as the Chair of a professional body, a position rarely held by women in the field. Jashari highlights the strong functioning of Trade unions during this period, ensuring worker safety and advocating for their rights. However, she also faced discrimination as both a woman and an Albanian, highlighting the limitations that persisted despite advancements, but she was empowered enough to speak up, on all levels.

Azem Vllasi, a prominent political figure at that time, offers valuable insights into the political and social dynamics of this era. Kosovo's Albanian majority felt a long-awaited shift in the air after the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution. The creation of a provincial assembly and executive council wasn't just bureaucratic jargon - it meant Albanians now had a seat at the table. Local decisions and policies were no longer dictated from afar, but shaped by their own voices. This newfound power ignited a sense of self-determination, a feeling of being able to chart their own course¹². Vllasi rose to prominence during this period. A champion for Kosovo Albanians, he tirelessly advocated for their rights and interests. In his own words, Vllasi explained that under the 1974 Constitution, Kosovo, though not officially a republic, held a similar status within Yugoslavia. It was a constitutional entity with substantial autonomy, empowered to govern itself in most aspects – like an independent state within a unified Yugoslavia that shared foreign relations and currency. Importantly, Vllasi emphasized Kosovo's freedom from Serbia's control. While both Kosovo and Vojvodina (another autonomous province within Yugoslavia) could collaborate on shared concerns, like managing the Iber River, they did so as equals within the Yugoslav framework. While possessed significant autonomy under the 1974 Constitution, they fell short of full republic status. Despite this, both provinces enjoyed a degree of self-governance within the Yugoslav federation. Vllasi's narrative highlights the growing anxieties among Albanians after Tito's death and their struggle for self-determination. He details the economic reforms, Serbian attempts to exert greater control, and the subsequent protests and crackdown under Slobodan Milošević's rule.

Jashari, as a strong voice from the ground, echoed this sentiment of increased autonomy. Her work as a worker representative became more effective. The stifling control and censorship she once faced seemed to loosen its grip. Reporting structures simplified – she now

12 Interview with Azem Vllasi

answered only to the highest body in Federal level, and not to Serbian authorities¹³. This newfound freedom allowed Jashari to focus on what mattered most: representing the needs and rights of Kosovo’s workers. “The 1974 Constitution wasn’t a magic bullet, but it was a turning point. It offered a taste of political participation and self-determination for Kosovo Albanians”, says Jashari. This short-lived period had its merits. Jashari remembers the economic boom. The National Library rose from the ground, a symbol of progress. Grand buildings like the ExYugobanka and factories sprang up in major cities, providing much-needed jobs. In those days, the system seemed to work. Official Serbia used Tito’s death to put the control under Kosovo and everywhere. Right away they started the actions of control, sending people in the meetings of the workers, Jashari concludes.

Vllasi’s leadership and Jashari’s experience on the ground paint a vivid picture of this period – a time of empowered voices and a growing sense of self-reliance within Kosovo.

Dr. Ramadan Ilazi¹⁴, a young prominent Kosovar peace scholar, highlights the increased political participation of Albanians during this era as a defining characteristic. This participation focused on demands for greater representation and decentralization of power structures within Kosovo. However, peace remained a fragile concept. The memory of brutal crack-downs by the central Yugoslav government loomed large, and ethnic tensions continued to simmer beneath the surface. The rise of nationalism across Yugoslavia in the 1980s further strained relations, laying the groundwork for future conflicts. Dr. Ilazi highlights the increased political participation of Albanians in Kosovo during this period (1974-1981) as a major distinction compared to previous eras. This participation focused on demands for greater representation and decentralization of power structures within Kosovo.

The inclusion of Dr. Ilazi’s insights enriches the understanding of this complex period in Kosovo’s history. It highlights the positive aspects of increased political participation and cultural expression for Albanians, while also emphasizing the ongoing challenges of achieving sustainable peace. His focus on peace education, media responsibility, grassroots initiatives, and regional cooperation provides valuable lessons for building a more just and peaceful future.

Women in Tito’s Kosovo—Voices of Strength Amid Change

The period of Tito’s rule in Yugoslavia marked a complex chapter in Kosovo’s history, particularly for the Albanian population. While political and economic tensions simmered beneath the surface, societal roles were evolving, including the position of women in both public and private life. For many women, the challenges of the era—patriarchal constraints, limited

13 Interview with Kaqusha Jashari

14 Interview with Ramadan Ilazi, 11.04.2024

access to education, and political repression—were deeply intertwined with the broader struggles of the Albanian community.

Yet, despite these obstacles, women carved out their own paths toward progress. They fought for education, took on leadership roles in family and society, and contributed significantly to the preservation of cultural identity. Their stories reflect both the resilience and determination of Albanian women during this transformative time, as they sought not only to survive but to thrive in the face of adversity.

Dr. Vjollca Krasniqi, a professor and feminist activist, addresses the peace-building process in Kosovo, focusing on the years after the 1990s conflicts. She critiques the top-down approach to peacebuilding, emphasizing that peace processes driven by political elites have often failed to provide sustainable peace or fully integrate diverse groups. She argues that a bottom-up approach, involving civil society and grassroots activism—especially women’s activism—offers more effective results. However, she notes that women’s voices and efforts have often been marginalized in these processes. Krasniqi highlights the limited role women played in formal peace processes, such as in the Rambouillet negotiations, where women were seen as add-ons rather than essential participants. She advocates for a broader concept of peace that goes beyond military security to include human security, access to resources, and economic stability. She discusses how post-war Kosovo society lacks comprehensive gender studies or peace and conflict programs, making it difficult to address long-term conflict legacies. She points to the absence of women in historical narratives, especially in school textbooks, and underscores the lack of recognition for women’s contributions during the 1990s, both in peaceful resistance and in armed struggle. She also criticizes the lack of attention to issues like sexual violence during the war, which remains a taboo topic. Krasniqi highlights the importance of education in building a culture of peace and suggests that reforms in education, especially in how history is taught, are necessary. Reflecting on Kosovo’s socialist past, Krasniqi acknowledges both positive and negative aspects of the Yugoslav period. She notes that while the state promoted education and healthcare, it also oppressed those who demanded their rights. Despite the current trend to erase the socialist period, she argues that there were valuable aspects, such as free education and reproductive rights for women. She mentions notable advancements in women’s education and labor rights during the Yugoslav era but also recognizes the ambivalence surrounding this time in history. She emphasizes the need for critical reflection on the past, including studying the socialist period, in order to better understand the present and shape the future.

In this section, we will present the voices of women who were active during the research period. Their narratives provide a deeper understanding of how women navigated the complexities of Tito’s Kosovo, balancing tradition with the pursuit of rights. These experiences not only shaped their lives but also laid the groundwork for future generations of female

leaders. Through their stories, we gain valuable insights into the challenges they faced and the resilience they exhibited in advocating for their rights and empowerment.

Their testimonies offer us a glimpse into a world where strength was often quiet, but always present—where the desire for peace and progress transcended the challenges of the time.

Exhlale Dobruna Salihu and Kaqusha Jashari provide two compelling accounts of their professional and personal experiences as Albanian women in Yugoslavia, each shaped by their unique contexts: archaeology and engineering/politics. From a feminist lens, both women's narratives shed light on the evolving roles of women in society and their navigation of gender and ethnic barriers.

Professor Salihu's reflection on studying archaeology in Zagreb highlights the increasing accessibility of education for women under Tito's leadership. This period saw more women, especially from urban centers like Prishtina and Gjakova, pursue higher education. Despite having to learn Croatian, Salihu felt welcomed and treated equally by her peers. From a feminist perspective, this reflects the gradual opening of traditionally male-dominated fields, such as archaeology, to women. Salihu emphasizes that she never felt discriminated against as a woman or Albanian during her academic and professional career. In contrast to the challenges faced by rural women, her experiences in Yugoslav institutions suggest a space where gender and ethnic identities could coexist without direct prejudice. This could be seen as an example of the Yugoslav ethos of "brotherhood and unity" fostering gender equality in certain contexts. Salihu's experience shows the critical role education plays in the emancipation of women, especially in traditionally male-dominated fields. While rural women faced more challenges, urban women like Salihu enjoyed increased opportunities, which is a testament to the strides made under Tito's socialist policies that encouraged women's participation in public life. Salihu through her career has published numerous books and scientific papers.

Kaqusha Jashari, as one of the few women in engineering and later in politics, her career represents a direct challenge to the gender norms of her time. She was a minority in the construction industry, rising to become the only woman chairing a workers' union at the republican level, advocating for labor rights. This demonstrates her determination to break through male-dominated spaces. Jashari not only participated in but helped shape Kosovo's political landscape. She signed the Declaration of Independence and held prominent positions in the Communist Party and workers' unions. From a feminist viewpoint, her story reflects the dual struggle of Albanian women to assert themselves both as women and as members of a marginalized ethnic group within Yugoslavia.

While Salihu did not feel gender or ethnic discrimination, Jashari faced these challenges head-on, particularly after Tito's death when Serbian control intensified. Jashari had to fight

for her voice as an Albanian and as a woman, demonstrating the intersectionality of her struggle. Her political advocacy for workers and her later involvement in Kosovo's independence efforts highlights her feminist commitment to not only advancing gender equality but also addressing ethnic injustices.

Jashari's narrative underscores the importance of political and professional participation in advancing women's rights. Her rise to leadership in both the labor movement and politics exemplifies feminist ideals of women's empowerment and resistance against patriarchal and ethnically discriminatory systems.

Access to Education and Professional Fields: Both Salihu and Jashari's careers reflect the positive changes in women's access to education and professional opportunities under Tito's Yugoslavia. This period saw more women entering fields traditionally dominated by men, like archaeology and engineering. However, urban women like Salihu benefited more than their rural counterparts.

Challenging Patriarchy in Male-Dominated Spaces, Jashari's leadership in construction and labor movements represents a significant feminist achievement. Her ability to rise within these male-dominated fields exemplifies the feminist struggle to challenge and overcome gender barriers. Jashari's story, in particular, reflects the intersectional challenges faced by Albanian women, who not only had to fight for gender equality but also against ethnic discrimination. This intersectionality is a core concern of contemporary feminist discourse, highlighting how multiple forms of discrimination can compound challenges.

Women's Role in Political Change: Jashari's involvement in politics, particularly her role in Kosovo's labor movements and eventual independence, showcases the critical role women can play in shaping political futures. This aligns with feminist ideals of women's empowerment through political activism.

Overall, both women's experiences reflect the slow but significant progress made toward gender equality in Yugoslavia, with each embodying feminist principles of resistance, empowerment, and the breaking of societal barriers for women in education, labor, and politics.

Myvedete Basha¹⁵, as a young woman began her career as an administrative officer at the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage in Prizren, but encountered a patriarchal culture that often overlooked women's contributions. She reflects on her challenging upbringing as the third of seven children. After losing her father at a young age, her mother worked tirelessly to support the family, instilling resilience and a strong work ethic in her children.

During the 1970s, on Tito's time, Basha faced significant obstacles as a woman in Kosovo, including limited professional opportunities and societal prejudices against women seeking

15 Interview with Myvedete Basha, 18.09.2024

education and employment. Basha discusses the traditional gender roles prevalent in her community, where women were primarily expected to focus on family and household responsibilities. Despite these constraints, she challenged societal norms by raising her sons to share household duties and advocating for women's voices. While there was little awareness of feminism or women's rights at the time, Basha recognizes the gradual changes in women's status since the 1970s. She believes that progress has come not from men creating opportunities, but from women claiming their rightful place in society.

In closing, Basha encourages young women to actively fight for their rights and emphasizes the importance of individual agency in achieving gender equality. Basha is retired professional and lives in Prizren.

Drita Bakija Gunga was a trailblazing figure in Kosovo, recognized as the first woman to earn a doctorate in history. Her doctoral dissertation, started by the end of 70ies and completed in 1982, focused on women's roles in socialist construction. A passionate advocate for gender equality, she inspired women in her family and beyond.

Drita was also an accomplished performer at the Gjakova Theater and believed in the transformative power of education for women, famously stating, "Albanian women have endured oppression for far too long." In the 1990s, she became politically active, serving as the inaugural president of the Women's Association. Throughout her career, she published around 20 scientific papers, leaving a lasting legacy of empowerment and dedication to gender equality¹⁶.

Drita passed away in 2020, but her impact continues to inspire future generations.

Another strong and influential activist and advocate for women's rights in Kosovo was **Selvi-je Gjinaj** from Mitrovica, particularly noted for her contributions during the tumultuous period of the 1990s and early 2000s, where she was a strong voice in the Kosovo parliament on the 90ies. She as a teacher, was involved in various initiatives aimed at empowering women, promoting gender equality, and addressing the social and political challenges faced by women in Kosovo. Gjinaj played a significant role in founding and supporting women's organizations that sought to enhance women's participation in political and social life. Her activism included advocating for the rights of women affected by the conflict and working to ensure their voices were heard in peacebuilding processes. Additionally, she was involved in educational programs aimed at raising awareness about women's rights and fostering leadership among women. Her commitment to these causes has had a lasting impact on the advancement of women's issues in Kosovo. Selvi-je Gjinaj's legacy is one of resilience and dedication to creating a more equitable society for women, inspiring future generations of activists in the region.

16 <https://womensnetwork.org/drita-bakija-gunga-woman-who-challenged-gender-norms/>



Selvije Gjinaj, second from the right, in one of many women's protests. Photo was taken from the book "Bedri Gjinaj" of the author Fazli Hajrizi

A Facade of Peace: Negative Peace in Yugoslavia (1970s-80s)

When it came to peace, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFR Yugoslavia) in the 1970s and 80s presented a complex picture. While large-scale warfare was absent, a more nuanced analysis reveals a reality characterized by **negative peace**. As theorized by scholars like Johan Galtung¹⁷ and John Paul Lederach, negative peace describes the absence of overt violence, but that does not address the underlying tensions, structural inequalities, or the fear of violence that can simmer beneath the surface. Galtung brings the distinction between positive and negative peace to prominence in the first issue of the *Journal of Peace Research*¹⁸. He emphasized that positive and negative peace "should be conceived as separate dimensions. One can have one without the other. The term negative peace is used to describe the situation where the underlying conflict between the pair of states is somewhat resolved but tensions are still present. Lederach¹⁹ in his work contrasts "negative peace" with "positive peace". Negative peace is defined as the absence of direct violence or war, while positive peace encompasses the presence of social justice, equality, and harmony,

17 <https://www.galtung-institut.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Mini-Theory-of-Peace.pdf>

18 Johan Galtung, "An Editorial", *Journal of Peace Research* 1, no 1 (March 1964): 2

19 Paul Lederach, "Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies" (1997)

addressing the root causes of conflict and fostering long-term reconciliation and sustainable peace. This distinction is fundamental to Lederach's approach to peacebuilding, emphasizing the need to go beyond merely ending violence to creating systems and relationships that prevent conflict recurrence and promote lasting peace.

Yugoslavia definitely in this period embodied this concept. While open warfare wasn't present, Albanians, a significant minority group, faced systematic discrimination. This discrimination could take various forms:

Limited political participation: even though they had their representatives, in accordance to the demographic picture, they were not represented enough. Albanians were often excluded from key decision-making processes²⁰

Economic marginalization: Limited access to resources and opportunities compared to the dominant ethnicities. Many factories were built in the main capitals, still the decision-making and other main positions were reserved for Serbs, and economy was less developed comparing to other republics and province of Vojvodina. As pointed out by Kaqusha Jashari, at the Worker's Union was an unspoken rule that if a serb returned to Kosovo after emigrating for economic reasons, an Albanian must always give up their job for them, regardless of the job performance. That was the situation before she took the position.

Cultural suppression: Restrictions on expressing Albanian language and traditions, and many more discriminatory practices²¹

Galtung defines this type of discrimination as a form of structural violence. This refers to indirect violence embedded in social structures and institutions that limit the life chances of certain groups.

Lederach, emphasizing the importance of addressing root causes, argues that Yugoslavia's negative peace was fragile and unsustainable. The lack of addressing the underlying grievances of Albanians could eventually lead to an eruption of violence, as tragically happened during the Yugoslav Wars in the 1990s.

In conclusion, the 1970s and 80s in Yugoslavia offer a cautionary tale. The absence of open warfare doesn't equate to true peace. A focus on negative peace – avoiding armed conflicts - alone leaves unresolved issues festering, potentially leading to future violence. As Galtung and Lederach suggest, true peace requires addressing structural inequalities and promoting social justice for all groups within a society.

20 Interview with Kaqusha Jashari

21 Interview with Exhlale Dobruna Salihu

A Legacy of Progress and Unresolved Tensions

The period from the 1970s to the 1980s in Kosovo under Tito was a complex one, marked by both progress and struggle for Albanians. While the 1974 Constitution provided a framework for greater autonomy and cultural expression, it did not fully address the underlying economic and political inequalities. The experiences of Salihu, Jashari, and Vllasi all point to these limitations. This sense of “rosy nostalgia” for Tito’s era, as described by Noel Malcolm, stems from the end of Serbian colonization policies and the suppression of Albanian language. However, it’s important to acknowledge that respect for human rights, particularly for Albanians, remained limited. These unresolved tensions ultimately played a role in the conflicts that erupted in the 1990s, leading to the breakup of Yugoslavia and Kosovo’s quest for independence.

Conclusion

The experience of Albanians in Yugoslavia under Tito highlights the enduring struggle for identity, self-determination, and socioeconomic advancement within a multi-ethnic federation. Despite facing limitations and marginalization, the Albanian community in Kosovo demonstrated remarkable resilience in preserving their heritage and culture. The cultural renaissance witnessed during this period stands as a testament to their enduring spirit.

This analysis underscores the importance of effective governance, cultural recognition, and inclusive socioeconomic development in fostering peace and prosperity. As we delve deeper into Kosovo’s rich history and cultural tapestry, we gain valuable insights that can inspire dialogue, reflection, and a path towards peace.

“Pathways to Peace: Insights and Recommendations from Kosovo’s Peacebuilders”

Interviews with Peacebuilders

In the heart of Kosovo, amidst the echoes of a turbulent past, stand the voices of resilience and hope. These are the peacebuilders, individuals dedicated to weaving the fabric of reconciliation and unity in a society scarred by conflict. Their stories and insights provide a roadmap to sustainable peace, highlighting the importance of education, art, dialogue, and historical understanding.

Nexhat Ismaili, the Executive Director of NGO ANP (Action for Nonviolence and Peacebuilding) based in Gjilan but works throughout Kosovo and in the Region, speaks with a passionate conviction about the power of education in achieving lasting peace. Founded in 2002, ANP focuses on peacebuilding through education and art, particularly among youth and ethnically mixed groups in Kosovo and the surrounding region. Ismaili defines peace as “life without fear” and believes that addressing historical traumas is crucial to prevent the recurrence of conflict. By using art to facilitate difficult conversations, ANP educates teachers on imparting peace-focused narratives, breaking down enmity, and combating ethnocentric views.

Aferdita Sylaj Shehu leads the Community Building Mitrovica (CBM), an organization dedicated to fostering peace through dialogue and mutual understanding. Since 2001, when it was established, CBM has created safe spaces for open discussions, allowing people from diverse backgrounds to listen and identify common interests. Shehu emphasizes the importance of critical thinking in education and the need to depoliticize peacebuilding efforts. She highlights the role of art in bridging divides and inspiring community engagement, underscoring the power of positive stories in shaping a hopeful future.

Lulzim Hoti, the head of an NGO called 7 Arte, grew up in Mitrovica, a city in Kosovo that’s been physically divided since the conflict in the region. The Iber River separates the city into two distinct areas: North Mitrovica, where Serbs are the majority, and South Mitrovica, which is predominantly Albanian. Hoti remembers the tensions of his youth and understands the power of cultural divides. That’s why he uses NGO 7 Arte to bridge the gap between the two sides of the city through cultural initiatives. Initially, 7 Arte focused on working with the Albanian community in South Mitrovica. However, Hoti realized that true peacebuilding required reaching out to the Serb community in North Mitrovica as well.

To achieve this, 7 Arte partnered with Gallery Aquarius, an arts organization in North Mitrovica. Both organizations, despite being located on opposite sides of the city and representing

different ethnicities, share a common goal: to leverage the power of culture to promote understanding and peace.

7 Arte and Gallery Aquarius organize events like film screenings and literature festivals. These events bring people from both North and South Mitrovica together, creating a space for shared experiences and appreciation. Hoti emphasizes the importance of these interactions being natural and free from political agendas. He believes that cultural exchange is key to building bridges between the two communities by fostering a deeper understanding of each other's cultural identities.

Mitrovica's path to healing won't be easy. It will require consistent effort. But with each cultural event organized by 7 Arte and Gallery Aquarius, and similar activities another small step is taken towards breaking down the walls of division. Hoti's story exemplifies the power of culture as a tool for uniting even the most divided communities.

Kushtrim Koliqi, theatre Director and head of NGO Integra, discusses the organization's collaborative efforts with partners like YIHR in Serbia to establish the Miredita/Dobardan festival. This platform facilitates discussions and activities based on factual documentation, including Memory Books, exhibitions on war crimes, and conferences involving intellectuals and critical thinkers. Koliqi emphasizes the need for presenting quality information to attract public participation and advocates for inclusive peacebuilding efforts that engage all sectors of society, including youth and civil victims. He also highlights the resilience of those who have suffered most and the importance of working closely with victims to achieve lasting peace.

Dr. Vjollca Krasniqi, a professor and feminist activist, critiques the predominant top-down approach to peacebuilding and advocates for grassroots initiatives and civil society involvement, particularly women's activism. She argues that true peace requires broader human security, encompassing access to resources, services, employment, and personal safety. Krasniqi calls for a deeper societal understanding of peace that goes beyond the absence of war and emphasizes the need for inclusive historical narratives. She highlights the significant roles of women in post-conflict reconstruction and the importance of educational reforms that foster critical thinking and democratic values. Regional cooperation is a must.

Dr. Ramadan Ilazi, peace scholar and head of the Kosovar Center for Peace Studies, reflects on the transformative period from 1974 to 1981 in Kosovo, marked by increased political participation among Albanians and advancements in public services. He underscores that peace extends beyond the absence of conflict to encompass public safety and the transformation of societal perceptions. Ilazi critiques the notion of "negative peace" and highlights the importance of embracing generosity towards diverse communities as a path to lasting

peace. He emphasizes the need for educational curricula that include diverse narratives and promote empathy, responsible media coverage, and restorative justice approaches.

Unified Recommendations for Future Peacebuilding Efforts

The collective wisdom of these peacebuilders offers a comprehensive approach to achieving sustainable peace in Kosovo. Their recommendations, woven together, create a multi-faceted strategy:

Strengthen Peace Education: Integrate comprehensive peace education curricula in schools, focusing on historical understanding, conflict resolution, and empathy building and second, provide training for teachers to effectively teach about past conflicts and promote peace.

Promote Art as a Peacebuilding Tool: Continue using art to facilitate dialogue and address sensitive issues and Organize community art projects and exhibitions that bring together diverse groups to share their stories and experiences.

Facilitate Interethnic Dialogue: Create safe spaces for open discussions between different ethnic and religious groups to foster mutual understanding and harmony, and second, support initiatives that promote coexistence and cooperation across community lines.

Address Historical Narratives: Encourage the documentation and sharing of personal stories from all sides of past conflicts to build a more inclusive historical record. Develop programs that help young people critically engage with historical narratives and understand their impact on the present.

Combat Structural Violence: Identify and address structural inequalities that perpetuate violence and fear. Advocate for policies that promote equality, human rights, and social justice.

Foster a Culture of Peace: Promote values of nonviolence, tolerance, and respect through community initiatives and public campaigns. Support youth leadership in peacebuilding efforts to ensure a lasting impact on future generations.

Enhance Institutional Support for Transitional Justice: Advocate for Kosovo's political leadership to prioritize and support comprehensive transitional justice initiatives, including documentation and memorialization efforts.

Strengthen Youth Engagement and Education: Expand educational programs that promote critical thinking and factual historical education, reaching a broader youth audience to counter radicalization and misinformation.

Promote Positive Narratives and Media Responsibility: Highlight and disseminate positive stories from both the past and present to foster a more optimistic view of intercommunity relations. Encourage media outlets to promote constructive peace narratives and combat misinformation.

Empower Victims and Marginalized Communities: Allocate resources and support programs that empower victims of conflict and marginalized communities, ensuring their voices are heard in reconciliation efforts.

Promote Direct Contact Initiatives and Cultural Exchange: Facilitate face-to-face interactions and cultural exchanges between different community groups to build trust and understanding. Support events like film screenings and music festivals that attract diverse audiences and foster shared cultural experiences.

Challenge Negative Trends in Media and Education: Collaborate with media outlets and educators to promote positive narratives and accurate historical perspectives that counter negative influences and promote tolerance.

Support Civil Society and Grassroots Initiatives: Invest in civil society organizations and grassroots initiatives that facilitate dialogue and mutual understanding among communities.

Empower women-led initiatives and other marginalized groups to play a more significant role in peacebuilding efforts.

Promote Regional Cooperation: Encourage regional cooperation initiatives that foster understanding, reconciliation, and collaboration among neighboring countries to build sustainable peace.

Remembering positive examples:

Minority Rights: Dr. Ilazi while thinking for the future emphasizes the importance of learning from historical examples, like the Treaty of Versailles (1919) that guaranteed minority rights. “Societies that treat minorities well are more successful. we must never forget that”. We must learn from the past and from missed opportunities in ex Yugoslavia.

The 1974 Constitution: This document offered a legal basis for greater self-determination and cultural expression for Albanians in Kosovo.

Dr. Ilazi identifies three key pillars for building sustainable peace: strong leadership, effective peace education, and media promoting cooperation.

Benefits of Peace: Dr. Ilazi highlights the positive transformations peace brings, like free movement and a shift in how people view authorities. Grassroots initiatives fostering connections between communities are crucial.

Civil Society and the European Union: A strong civil society and the European Union play a vital role in fostering regional cooperation and a shared understanding.

Unfinished Business:

Restorative Justice: Dr. Ilazi argues for prioritizing restorative justice, which focuses on healing and reconciliation, over solely pursuing criminal convictions.

Beyond the Official Narrative: Professor Kushtrim Koliqi reminds us that while there was progress, discrimination persisted, and open discussions about certain topics were restricted.

Incomplete Advancements: Aferdita Sylaj Shehu emphasizes that advancements like the 1970s Constitution did not grant full representation or economic participation to Albanians.

Social Dynamics: Nexhat Ismaili argues that true integration and social justice were lacking despite the absence of physical violence. He highlights the importance of learning from history to avoid repeating past mistakes.

Comprehensive Peace: Dr. Vjollca Krasniqi critiques the narrow definition of peace, calling for a more holistic approach that includes human security, resource access, and the **role of women in peacebuilding**.

By implementing these recommendations, Kosovo can move towards a future where reconciliation and unity are not just ideals but lived realities. The insights from these peacebuilders provide a hopeful vision for a society where historical traumas are addressed, diverse narratives are embraced, and the principles of nonviolence and mutual respect guide the path to lasting peace.

Youth voices

Beyond Narratives: Critical Thinking and Reconciliation in Kosovo

On a refreshing spring afternoon in Prishtina, a conversation blossomed within the cozy confines of the ArtPolis Center. Seven young women and men, brimming with youthful energy (between 18 and 26 years old), gathered to weave a narrative of their past, their individuality, and their hopes for a peaceful Kosovo. These participants, meticulously chosen from a wider

network contacted by ArtPolis, hailed from various corners of Kosovo - Prishtina, Podujeve, Gjilan, and Gjakova. The group boasted a diverse mix - four were students from the University of Prishtina and the American University of Kosovo, while the remaining three were graduates with backgrounds in architecture, media, and law, all actively involved in various pursuits. As they delved deeper into the concept of history, their personal stories began to intertwine, forming a vibrant tapestry of experiences.

One participant spoke of stories passed down through generations, tales of enduring Albanian resistance against occupation, figures like Hasan Prishtina and Adem Demaci and even further to Skanderbeg, echoing in their memory. Yet, amidst these tales of struggle, questions about origin arose. Theories of Illyrian or Dardanian ancestry swirled, a testament to the mysteries of the past. The conversation dipped into the complexities of the Yugoslav era. Grandparents' accounts painted a picture of mixed emotions - memories of stability and order under communist rule intertwined with stories of discrimination and hardship. An Italian visitor's observation hung heavy in the air: were these young people, born after the war, clinging to a more nationalistic narrative than those who bore the scars of conflict? That was a serious observation that rose discussions, and many agreed with his observation, though not happy about it.

Family histories then added a poignant layer. A story of a grandfather, imprisoned for his beliefs, underscored the nation's enduring struggle. But another tale offered a glimmer of hope - a Serb police officer during the war who risked his life to save an Albanian young man, who was a relative of the participant. This act of humanity challenged the idea of absolute division, a testament to the enduring power of compassion.

When asked about highlighting some of the significant historical events for them they went very far away in history. One mentioned events from Cubrilovic Plan, who elaborated shortly that this plan was plan for ethnic cleansing aimed at expelling Albanians to Turkey, and then highlighting Albanian resistance and resilience throughout the history. Further on, as a historical event was mentioned a Parallel Education System during the 90's that symbolized resistance and was a source of national pride. Teachers and those who provided their homes for schools at that period of apartheid were seen as heroes.

Demonstrations of 1981, and Student's peace demonstrations of 1997 as a historical events, and war in 1998-1999 that lead to the period where we are now.

The comfortable hum of conversation deepened as the group steered their discussion towards the powerful influence of historical narratives. They acknowledged the undeniable power of myths, even if those myths might contain elements that weren't entirely factual. These stories, even with embellishments, could act as a powerful glue, binding a people together with a shared sense of identity and purpose. Both Albanians and Serbs, they re-

alized, held onto these myths and narratives. A shared experience in an exchange program organized by ArtPolis became a turning point for one participant. Stepping outside their comfort zone in Belgrade, they encountered a different perspective, a reminder of the shared humanity in the Balkans.

This realization sparked a powerful message: the need to move beyond victimhood and embrace responsibility. It was time to shed the simplistic narratives and cultivate critical thinking. Nationalism, they argued, was a barrier to understanding.

Their voices resonated with a call to action. Education, they urged, should equip young people with critical thinking skills and expose them to diverse historical perspectives. Peace education programs were essential to foster empathy and understanding between communities. Media, too, had a role to play – responsible reporting that highlighted cooperation and peacebuilding efforts could pave the way for a brighter future.

Empowering young people through participation in political processes was another key recommendation. Cultural and exchange programs, where they could experience different perspectives and understand their common histories, were seen as bridges across divides. Finally, open discussions acknowledging both the triumphs and struggles of the past were necessary to create a balanced understanding of their history.

The conversation then turned to heroes. The group acknowledged the longstanding figures of resistance like Adem Jashari and Skanderbeg, but their definition went beyond the battlefield. They broadened the scope to include a wider range of heroes.

Women’s advocates: The crucial role of women throughout Kosovo’s history was highlighted. Participants mentioned figures like activists Motrat Qiriazhi (Sisters Qiriazhi) and peace advocates. One young woman powerfully stated, “My aunt is my hero because in tough times she stood up and protested for better education, along with her peers.” This sentiment resonated with others. “Kosovo mothers are my heroes, our heroes,” the rest agreed, acknowledging their constant contributions throughout history. Another participant added, emphasizing the importance of women in all roles, “For me, a woman is a hero, whether she was a mother, sister, daughter, grandmother...women definitely are heroes.”

Figures from various fields: Art and sports were recognized as important aspects of Kosovar identity. Mirush Kabashi and Adem Mikullovcu an Albanian actors, were mentioned as a heroes in the field of art, while Judo champion Majlinda Kelmendi was celebrated for her athletic achievements. This emphasis on a more inclusive definition of heroism challenged the traditional focus on wartime figures. The group recognized the importance of acknowledging the contributions of all those who shaped Kosovo’s history.

As the conversation drew to a close, a sense of hope filled the room. These young Kosovars, though acknowledging the complexities of their past, were determined to shape a future built on understanding, empathy, and the richness of their shared cultural heritage. Their voices, united in their aspirations for peace, offered a glimpse of a more inclusive Kosovo on the horizon. When focusing on learning from the past they mentioned the importance of:

Critical Thinking: Participants emphasized the importance of fostering critical thinking to question historical narratives and avoid ignorance.

Rejecting Nationalism: They expressed pride in their Albanian identity but stressed the need to look forward and understand others, rejecting nationalism and the victim mentality.

Personal Responsibility: Young people were encouraged to take initiatives and responsibilities to empower themselves and others, rather than blaming older generations for their narratives.

Interpersonal and Cross-Cultural Encounters

Changing Perceptions: Through international interactions, participants realized the pervasive nature of certain narratives and the importance of personal experiences in changing perceptions.

Addressing Misconceptions: One participant shared an encounter in Belgrade where they corrected misconceptions about Albanians speaking Serbian, highlighting the importance of direct communication in dispelling stereotypes.

Main of recommendations from youth were:

- Promote critical thinking skills and exposure to diverse historical narratives in education.
- Integrate comprehensive peace education programs.
- Encourage responsible media reporting that highlights cooperation and peace-building efforts.
- Create opportunities for participation of young men and women in political processes.
- Support cultural and exchange programs that foster understanding of common histories.
- Encourage open discussions acknowledging both positive and negative aspects of the past to create a balanced view of history.
- Acknowledge Complex Histories: Encourage discussions that recognize both positive and negative aspects of past eras to create a balanced understanding of history.

A Look Forward:

This focus group discussion revealed a generation of young Kosovars grappling with their complex history. They seek to move beyond simplistic narratives, fostering critical thinking and inter-ethnic understanding for a more inclusive and peaceful future

Resources

Malcolm, N. *Kosovo, short history*, 1998.

Tim Judah, *Kosovo: What Everyone Needs to Know*, 2008

Misha Glenny, *History of the Balkans*, 2000

Milenko Vucetic, *Vllasi*, 1990

Johan Galtung, <https://www.galtung-institut.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Mini-Theory-of-Peace.pdf>

Lederach, John Paul. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. United States Institute of Peace, 1998.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1974_Yugoslav_ConstitutionInterviews

<https://autostradabiennale.org/venues/the-national-library-of-kosovo/>

<https://womensnetwork.org/drita-bakija-gunga-woman-who-challenged-gender-norms/>

Interviewees for this research

Azem Vllasi, 28.05.2024,

Kaqusha Jashari, 29.05.2024

Dr. Exhlale Dobruna Salihu, 29.05.2024

Dr. Ramadan Ilazi, on 11.04.2024

Dr. Vjollca Krasniqi, on 15.06.2024

Aferdita Sylaj Shehu, 06.06.2024

Dr. Kushtrim Koliqi, 11.06.2024

Nexhat Ismaili, on 10.06.2024

Lulzim Hoti, on 10.06.2024

Myvedete Basha, 18.09.2024

Focus group discussion with seven young people in Prishtina, 24.05.2024

artpolis  art and
community
center

Kontaktet

Adresa: Mujo Ulqinaku no. 8/8, 10000 Prishtina

Tel: + 383 38 221 512

E-mail: ojq.artpolis@gmail.com

F: <https://www.facebook.com/artpolisKosovo/>

I: <https://www.instagram.com/artpoliscenter/>

T: <https://twitter.com/qendraartpolis?lang=en>