

DeRadicalisation

in Europe and Beyond: Detect, Resolve, Reintegrate



D.RAD – WP5.2 Mainstreaming, Gender and Communication

Kosovo/Research Report

February 2023

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(KCSS)

Horizon 2020
**De-Radicalisation in Europe and
Beyond: Detect, Resolve, Re-integrate**
959198



Co-funded by the Horizon 2020 programme
of the European Union

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Reference: D.RAD [5.2]

This research was conducted under the Horizon 2020 project 'De-Radicalisation in Europe and Beyond: Detect, Resolve, Re-integrate' (959198).

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About the Project

D.Rad is a comparative study of radicalization and polarization in Europe and beyond. It aims to identify the actors, networks, and wider social contexts driving radicalization, particularly among young people in urban and peri-urban areas. D.Rad conceptualizes this through the I-GAP spectrum (injustice-grievance-alienation-polarization) with the goal of moving towards measurable evaluations of de-radicalization programmes. Our intention is to identify the building blocks of radicalization, which include a sense of being victimized; a sense of being thwarted or lacking agency in established legal and political structures; and coming under the influence of “us vs them” identity formulations.

D.Rad benefits from an exceptional breadth of backgrounds. The project spans national contexts including the UK, France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Finland, Slovenia, Bosnia, Serbia, Kosovo, Israel, Iraq, Jordan, Turkey, Georgia, Austria, and several minority nationalisms. It bridges academic disciplines ranging from political science and cultural studies to social psychology and artificial intelligence. Dissemination methods include D.Rad labs, D.Rad hubs, policy papers, academic workshops, visual outputs and digital galleries. As such, D.Rad establishes a rigorous foundation to test practical interventions geared to prevention, inclusion and de-radicalization.

With the possibility of capturing the trajectories of seventeen nations and several minority nations, the project will provide a unique evidence base for the comparative analysis of law and policy as nation states adapt to new security challenges. The process of mapping these varieties and their link to national contexts will be crucial in uncovering strengths and weaknesses in existing interventions. Furthermore, D.Rad accounts for the problem that processes of radicalization often occur in circumstances that escape the control and scrutiny of traditional national frameworks of justice. The participation of AI professionals in modelling, analyzing and devising solutions to online radicalization will be central to the project's aims.

Executive Summary/Abstract

The aim of this report is to engage comprehensively with media objects developed by both actors that promote radical narratives, and those that seek to counter them in Kosovo. In doing so, the report seeks to develop insights on how social media platforms are utilized in driving both radical and de-radical narratives, and the ways in which audiences engage and respond to them. This report is based on the premise that there is a need to systematically examine how misogynistic narratives are circulated online in Kosovo, and how actors reflect upon them based on their online performances. Similarly, it is based on an understanding of actors that aim to radicalize and deradicalize including non-governmental organizations and ordinary citizens.

As such, the report is divided into four overall sections. The first part of the report seeks to assess the pathways that have influenced hegemonic gender representations in Kosovo. It specifically assesses this through engaging with the historical relevance of the 1999 war and its effects on gender presentations. The second part of the report analyses three prominent examples of agents of radicalizations through examining how social media is utilized to disseminate radical narratives. The third part of the report examines three prominent examples of agents of deradicalization. It aims to assess how stakeholders make use of social media performances to respond to both specific acts and systematic radicalization. The final part of the report examines the media presence of ordinary users and their roles and strategies in countering radicalization.

Introduction

This report explores the role of social media platforms in the dissemination and countering of radical narratives in support of misogyny in Kosovo. Past studies on Kosovo's gender-equality progress have identified that many of the country's traditions and cultural beliefs have served to counteract women's rights (Gultz, 2004; Krasniqi; Bhatia and Cal, 2016). Given the country's deep-rooted patriarchal values on the organization of public and private life, women have been severely limited from exercising their rights in areas traditionally deemed as male dominated. Although there has been an awareness of the normalization of patriarchy in Kosovo, its manifestation on social media highlights the systematic radical narratives that target women as well as LGBTQIA+ communities. The systematic participation in public life of the latter, has been relatively understudied. While there are prominent collectives that promote LGBTQIA+ identities online (most notably *dylberizëm and hyjneshat*), there has not been strong casual evidence linking their repression to the systematic narratives perpetuated by political actors in Kosovo. There exists however, strong evidence linking the suppression of LGBTQIA+ voices to radical narratives perpetuated by ordinary citizens throughout social media platforms.

The reluctance of Kosovo's political sphere to engage openly with LGBTQIA+ issues was evident in the Kosovo's Assembly's latest legislative bid to pass an initiative related to the country's draft Civil Code. A specific article regulating same sex registered cohabitation was met with strong political opposition, effectively rendering the passing of the initiative futile. Although many political representatives spoke against the initiative in the context of Kosovo's culture and traditional values, there was no direct perpetuation of radical narratives targeting the communities. Radical narratives, however, were evident in the case of ordinary citizens commenting on various social media news platforms sharing information on the initiative. In light of this, the study recognizes the radical gendered representations facing both women and LGBTQIA+ communities. For the purpose of this study however, emphasis is made upon the systematic radical narratives that target women.

According to the Kosovo Agency for Gender Equality's (AGE) (2020, 44) 'Kosovo Gender Programme 2020-2024': "new media pose challenges as well as opportunities for empowering girls and women". Social networks are viewed to serve as an important tool in the country's 'cyberfeminism'. However, there have also been grave concerns over their implications on "hatred, extremism, and chauvinism" (Ibid).

Kosovo's lack of legislative regulation on new media, has left these spaces open to the cultivation of radical communities that disseminate narratives aimed at the suppression of other communities. In the context of gendered radicalization, two developments are relevant for Kosovo. The first is in relation to the participation of women in decision-making. Women's active participation in Kosovo's political field has been met with significant uncertainty by male audiences and political representatives. What has been traditionally perceived as an arena dominated by males, has consistently been challenged by the exponential rise of high-ranking women politicians with significant influence.

In conceptualizing hegemonic gender representations, the report draws directly from Brown's (2020) views on "gender difference". According to Brown (2020, 8), "gender

difference means not only that certain relationships and opportunities are considered socially acceptable or legitimate (or even natural) for men but not women, and vice versa, but also that particular values, concepts, or attitudes become associated with men and women". The report seeks to examine the effects of the dichotomy brought by the gender difference offered by Brown (2020) through exploring the radical narratives developed by men towards women active in the political field. The same will be considered in cases of feminist collectives who directly challenge these differences through their performances and representation.

As of 2021, 41 of the 120 seats in the Kosovo Assembly are held by women (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2021). Despite this notable shift, male political representatives have continuously turned to misogynistic narratives in the portrayal of their women counterparts. The second development related to gendered radicalization in Kosovo, relates to the rise of feminist collectives using mixed method communication to challenge the country's deep-rooted patriarchal traditions. Their social media presence has consistently exposed audiences to feminist ideologies which have incited radical responses based on the audience's patriarchal public attitudes.

As such, gendered radicalization in Kosovo manifests itself through opposition to women's agency in public and political life. Women are consistently discouraged from asserting themselves and voicing opinions relevant to Kosovo's political landscape. A high level of polarization is evidenced in relation to women's participation in the political field, and as such, radical narratives strive to actively limit their voices.

Based on this framework, the aim of this report is to engage comprehensively with media objects developed by both actors that promote radical narratives, and those that seek to counter them. In doing so, the report seeks to develop insights on how social media platforms are utilized in driving (de)radical narratives, and ways in which audiences engage and respond to them. This report is based on the premise that there is a need to systematically examine how misogynistic narratives are circulated online in Kosovo, and how actors reflect upon them based on their online performances.

As such, the report is divided into four overall sections. The first part of the report assesses the pathways that have influenced hegemonic gender representations in Kosovo. It specifically assesses this through engaging with the historical relevance of the 1999 war and its effects on gender presentations. The second part of the report analyses three prominent examples of agents of radicalizations through examining how social media is utilized to disseminate radical narratives. The third part of the report examines three prominent examples of agents of deradicalization. It aims to investigate how stakeholders make use of social media performances to respond to both specific acts and systematic radicalization. The final part of the report examines the media presence of ordinary users and their roles and methodologies in countering radicalization.

Notes on Methodology and Theoretical Considerations

This report draws from Stuart Hall's (1997, 15) constructivist approach to representation, whereby "social actors who use the conceptual system of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning".

Specifically, the report examines the social media performances of actors in light of the *politics of representations*. In the context of this report, *politics of representation* entails that representations through social media performances are not innocent reflections, they rather are constructions that are actively and intrinsically “bound up with questions of power” (Barker, 2004). As such, the report strives to investigate how actors of deradicalization represent specific issues and tackle them through their social media performances.

The report’s overarching methodological approach features a multimodal discourse analysis of social media posts. In their seminal work on visual design, Kress and Leuween (2006, 6) lay the foundations of multimodal discourse analysis in relation to the conception of visual representation as “social semiotics”. According to them, “the key notion in any semiotics is the ‘sign’”. It is particularly through the analysis of how signs are represented through social media performances that this study draws its methodological starting point. In an extension of Kress and Leuween’s (2006) conceptualization of visual design, O’Halloran (2011, 1) extends that multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) is “an emerging paradigm in discourse studies which extends the study of language per se to the study of language in combination with other resources, such as images, scientific symbolism, gesture, action, music and sound”. At its core, the approach contends that language should no longer be “theorized as an isolated phenomenon” (O’Halloran 2004, 1). In light of this, MDA insists upon the critical analysis of meaning that arises through the integrated use of visual images, language and other signs (Kress and Leuween 2006, O’Halloran 2011; 2004).

In studying how hegemonic gender representations are represented in Kosovo, the report analyses social media posts of prominent political party representatives and affiliates who promote radical narratives targeting the participation of women in Kosovo’s political field. Similarly, the report engages with social media performances of feminist collectives and individual activists to gain a better understanding of how new media is utilized by these groups/individuals to challenge and undermine existing hegemonic gender representations.

To achieve this, the report analyses in total nine social media sources of which: three objects are selected on the basis of agents that disseminate radical narratives, three objects are selected on the basis of agents that counter hegemonic gender representations and two objects are selected on the basis of ordinary users that similarly counter hegemonic gender representations. The media objects have all been selected based on events and social media posts that were reported on extensively by media outlets and received notable audience reactions. The social media objects depicting agents of radicalization were selected due to their relationship to Kosovo’s political field. In this sense, social media objects were selected where hegemonic gender representations were evident in the light of the actor’s relationship to the political field (i.e., the actor was part of a political party or was affiliated to one). The social media objects depicting agents of deradicalization were selected on the basis of the actor’s systematic treatment of the radical theme (i.e., Kosovo’s patriarchal society). Lastly, the media objects depicting ordinary users against radicalization were similarly chosen because of the audience reactions that they garnered. Throughout all examples, there is evidence of significant audience reaction and engagement.

To engage critically with the chosen media objects, the report utilizes I-GAP as a multifaceted assessment of tracing the motivations that drive (de)radicalization efforts of actors. Each social media object will ground the analysis on the basis of actor perceptions of *injustice*, *grievance*, *alienation* and *polarization* (I-GAP). Each individual element of the I-GAP framework features an extensive list of coding elements in order to systematically assess the actor's motivations. Each media object has been coded along the I-GAP's four overarching motivational drivers.

Cultural History of Hegemonic Gender Representation(s) in Kosovo

Alongside Kosovo's deeply entrenched patriarchal traditions and mode of social organization, the 1999 war served as a critical tipping point in limiting perceptions of women's agency in public and political life. The 1999 war in Kosovo produced a male-centric view of political liberation, often dismissing or completely omitting the role of women in it (Gultz, 2004). Unlike men, the outbreak of the 1999 war significantly hampered the position and participation of women in public and political life. The period prior to the liberation movement, and the period after, markedly indicated a shift from the active participation of Albanian women in the economic, social, and political life in Kosovo. This shift was most notably characterized by the changing categorization of women as active participants in public life, to passive victims of war. During pre-war communism in Yugoslavia, women in Kosovo not only benefited from the same legal protections as men, but they also actively participated in the economic sphere and the workforce (Bhatia and Cal, 2016). Following the breakout of the war however, women's role in public life was oppressively limited, thus confining them to traditional domestic roles that had historically remained unchanged (Ibid). Given the institutional discrimination targeted at Kosovo Albanians as a result of deteriorating ethnic tensions in Yugoslavia, Kosovo Albanians were forced to (re)institute parallel structures. The maintenance of parallel institutions was of vital importance for the safeguarding of Kosovo Albanian rights across sectors (i.e., education and healthcare) and basic service provision to their population. Although these structures were critical for the preservation of Kosovo Albanian's social and political independence, their impact on women's participation in public life was detrimental. Women who had actively participated in economic and socio-political activities, were forced back into traditional ways of family life because of these shifts (Gultz, 2004). Data of public participation before 1990 highlights that women accounted for 33.5% of Kosovo's workforce, whereas, following the outbreak of the conflict, a mere 3% was active (Ibid).

Despite the evident role of women in parallel institutions, Kosovo Albanian men were portrayed to be central to their social and political maintenance. The existence of women-led underground¹ groups has been studied extensively, yet these experiences had consistently been omitted considering Kosovo's masculinized view of self-determination (Del Zotto 2002:143; Sokolic and Kostovicova, 2020; Gultz, 2004). In addition to the pre and post war shifts in women's economic and social position,

¹ The term 'Ilegalja' (in Albanian, Illegal) was coined to identify Albanian-led underground 'parallel' groups whose political goals were various forms of Kosovar autonomy/independence through the years (Krasniqi, 2021). It is worth noting that this term was heavily criticized by members of the movement as it was thought to be in contradiction with the legitimate claims of Kosovo Albanian's self-determination (Ibid).

Kosovar traditions were equally responsible in limiting understanding of gendered agency during the conflict. These traditions stemming from an ancient life and moral code called the 'Kanun' (in English, code), significantly counteracted and continues to limit women's agency across issues such as celebration rituals, inheritance, family hierarchy and hospitality (Gultz, 2004). This view of women's stature in public and private life, coupled by their limited economic and socio-political participation as a result of the institution of parallel institutions, further exacerbated any potential for recognizing their actual impact on preserving the population's identity. As Bhatia and Cal (2016, 52) note in support of this, the "courageous work of women during the war was downplayed by many as part of their natural role in their society". This historical neglect was augmented with the rise to prominence of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and its male-dominated hierarchy. With the rise of the KLA, came the rise of notable (male) self-determination leaders, and as such, gave exclusive ownership of the movement to men. Despite the participation of women in the KLA – some of which are politically active in Kosovo today- the liberation movement's success is contemporarily limited to men. As Del Zotto (2002, 143) rightfully argues, "when women engage in non-traditional behaviours, they become 'unmanageable'". In the absence of the recognition of women roles during the pre- and post-war period, Kosovo's self-determination movement has become to be identified as a men-led endeavour.

Media and Mediated Gender Representations in Kosovo

Traditional media coverage on the war reinforced the perception of women's lack of agency in the liberation movement and subsequent state building. Traditional media coverage on the war on Kosovo was instrumental in legitimizing the omission of women's experiences. Similar to the shift in women's socio-political positions noted above, traditional media narratives reinforced a conceptual division between elite and non-elite actor agency. In the case of the Kosovo war, media's reporting on the KLA delineated the political male-dominated leadership of the movement as the centralized elite driving the liberation movement. On the other hand, gender roles were, in most cases, relegated to non-elite actors who media covered as "mere casualties" (Del Zotto 2002, 143). Del Zotto suggests that this is largely dependent on a "hyper-masculinized industry" where journalists may "manage" stereotypical narratives of otherness rather than prioritizing a comprehensive overview of gendered effects of war (Ibid). Irrespective of the actual dynamics leading to this conceptual divide, traditional media continued to cement these narratives throughout the coverage of the Kosovo war. The underlying effect-whether anticipated or not- directly led to the conceptualization of Kosovo women as a 'monolithic' group, lacking both agency and temporal change.

Media constructions of Kosovo women as passive victims severely limited the potential to perceive them as dynamic elite actors. The war in Kosovo was important in delineating the effects of wartime sexual violence in suppressing populations of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. While the effects were grave and noted internationally, media coverage on the topic (in)directly limited women's wartime experiences to that of a passive victim enduring harm (Sokolic and Kostovicova, 2020). This type of media portrayal was embedded in a system characterized by a "circuit of culture" which systematically supported and placated narratives that women in Kosovo were "mere bystanders" (Del Zotto 2002, 12). Studies examining media constructions of women during the war in Kosovo found several non-elite typologies such as: the passive

refugee, the waiting wife, and the rape survivor (Ibid). In the absence of comprehensive reporting on women's engagement across sectors during the self-determination struggle, essentialized typologies were representative of the struggles women faced during the pre-and post-war period. Although numerous studies highlight the crucial involvement of women in the "construction of parallel structures" traditionally dominated by women, such as education and healthcare, media narratives have almost exclusively treated them as non-elite passive actors (see Sokolic and Kostovicova, 2020; Del Zotto, 2002; Krasniqi, 2021).

Kosovo's patriarchal view of participation in political and public life is reinforced through the misogynistic portrayal of women in both traditional and social media. Although the transition from traditional to digital dissemination has allowed media outlets to reach audiences more efficiently, narratives have largely remained unchanged. Misogynistic narratives which were apparent in traditional media have carried through to social media with no significant change. On the contrary, the 'easy to reach' content found on social media has often essentialized women's experiences at the expense of providing comprehensive analysis (AGE, Kosovo Gender Programme, 2020). Social media discussions and reporting in Kosovo continues to be 'male-dominated' across sectors and topics (Hoxha 2020, 5). Although online reporting on gender-based violence and sexual violence as a result of war have been reported on, they often feature "hateful and abusive commenting online against" women and interviewees who provide insights (Ibid). Kosovo's Agency for Gender Equality (AGE) finds that [online] media portrayal of women often features language and images that "define them as insecure and emotional, or sex objects" (AGE, 2019). Issues of targeted online misogynistic remarks are even more apparent in cases of women engaged in politics and public life. An NDI public perception poll has found that "45% [of respondents] believe that online harassment targets women politicians more and discourages women's political participation" (NDI, 2020).

Kosovo's digital transformation has simply shifted patriarchal mores from traditional media to online social media. Politically motivated gender-based hate content online has in many cases targeted women who have voiced strong political opinions (Hoxha 2020, 5). This phenomenon is not only limited to political participation of women. The issue of gender-based violence, especially domestic violence targeted at women, has been met with significant negative feedback on social media platforms (AGE, 2021). In cases where women have been domestically abused, and worse, murdered, social media comments often blamed the victim. Individuals' proximity to information on GBV criminal offences as a result of social media presence has unearthed the patriarchal mores and misogyny that has been consolidated in Kosovar society over decades. Although there has been an awareness of the normalization of patriarchy in Kosovo, its manifestation on social media highlights the systematic radical narratives that target women.

Traditional media outlets have utilized the digital transformation to reach a wider audience at the expense of providing evidence-based and gender-responsive analysis. While state and non-state media continue to make use of traditional dissemination channels such as TV and radio, there is a clear emphasis on the use of social media to reach the wider Kosovo public. Koha Group for example, a well renowned, non-state sponsored media entity in Kosovo, has discontinued its daily print media as an information source, and has instead, prioritized consolidating its online

presence. This has been the case with many other media outlets, opting for a more consolidated online presence at the expense of more traditional channels. In many instances, these media outlets have often offered a platform to radical individuals to voice misogynistic comments targeting women. With no effective filtering and lack of expertise to analyse gender-issues effectively, traditional media outlets (now turned digital) have legitimized their comment sections as platforms for individuals communicating misogynistic narratives.

Social Media Platforms as drivers of public discourse

According to a demographic study conducted by Hoxha (2021), the Internet, as a main source of information of Kosovo has seen an exponential increase in recent years. The study similarly found that Facebook, despite a global decrease in popularity, continues to be the most popular social media platform in Kosovo (Hoxha 2021). The study posits that 73.6% of interviewees indicated Facebook as their preferable platform, with Instagram ranked second at 60.1%. An analysis of social media trends in Kosovo becomes of growing importance as political representatives and ordinary citizen continue to rely on these platforms to both share and receive information and drive the scope of public discourse.

In light of this, Gërguri (2016, 10) notes that “almost all politicians in Kosovo use Facebook, not only for social purposes, but also for sending political messages”. While some studies (Rexha 2017; Gërguri 2017) have analysed the role of social media in political campaigning, little to no emphasis has been put on examining how social media platforms are utilized as platforms for perpetuating (de)radical political messages. Taking into account the breadth of social media usage in Kosovo-in particular Facebook- political actor narratives are not only used to voice opinions to audiences, rather, they are actively used to shape public narratives. In this case specifically, political messages conveyed by politicians do not have the primary aim of consolidating their positions, however, they are often used to discredit political opponents and other communities. As argued by Hoxha (2020, 12), “most of the propaganda in social media [in Kosovo] originates from political organizations and content related to either government or opposition parties’ actions”. In addition, ordinary social media users perpetuate these narratives by actively sharing and commenting on posts (Ibid). As such, social media, and Facebook in particular, continues to play an important role in (de)radicalization processes in Kosovo given user proximity, usage, and the active utilisation of the platform to shape public discourse.

Analysis of media presence, production and circulation of collective agents of radicalization

The aim of this section is to provide an analysis of the media presence, production, and circulation of three examples related to collective agents of radicalization. Each example is similarly coded according to the I-GAP methodology. The significance of these examples lies in their depiction of the type(s) of radical narratives that target women who are engaged in Kosovo’s political sphere.

Opposition MP’s Facebook post targeting the former Minister of Justice

In 2017, then Minister of Justice, Dhurata Hoxha (a woman), was invited to speak on the state of affairs in the justice sector by a consolidated TV broadcaster in Kosovo. The discussion was organized at the backdrop of the suspicious death of a former Self-Determination (opposition party) activist during his detention in a Kosovo prison. Despite the opposition's criticism of the ruling coalition's involvement in the activist's death, there had been no direct link identified by relevant authorities in Kosovo (Ahmeti, 2021). In response to the minister's broadcasted interview, an opposition MP, initially used Facebook to relay a public message calling her a "cow" (Actor 1, 2017). Following public and media scrutiny on the misogynistic language used by the opposition MP, he took to Facebook again to elaborate on his previously shared public remarks. In it however, the MP expanded on his misogynistic remarks by arguing that the minister endorsed "political *prostitution*" (Actor 1, 2017). Specifically, the actor's post recounted:

"This minister of this criminal and murderous [ruling coalition], is a hyena who cultivates political *prostitution* mixed with arrogance and disgusting ignorance." (Actor 1, 2017)

Although this act of VE is perceived as restoring justice (i.e., addressing the corrupt/criminal activities of political parties in power), it has been communicated through the use of misogynistic language targeted at a female political figure. Example 1 is indicative of meso level types of factors that delineate injustice given the causal link between the disenfranchisement with the ruling elite and the opposition MP's radical narrative. A systematic apathy between political parties in opposition and the ruling coalition has been evident in Kosovo, where narratives -perpetuated by the opposition- of ingenuine claims to justice by one party (i.e., the ruling coalition) have been at the detriment of the larger population. While these narratives had been evident over time between male counterparts of opposing political parties, the language used vis-à-vis women political figures varies significantly, as it is deeply entrenched in Kosovo's patriarchal modes of social organization. In this case, the narrative not only targets apathy towards the ruling coalition but extends into gendered narratives by directly targeting a female political figure and accusing her of 'political prostitution'.

The act of VE has come as a direct result of a diverse number of grievances stemming from opposition-government relations which had been consolidated in public discourse over a significant period. The grievance is not reflected at the personal level, rather, it is representative of a continued string of government decisions that are perceived as wrongful and in-equal to the actor's community, which is thought to include the larger public. The grievance evident in the example is not specifically targeted at women per se, however, women's active participation in the ruling elite is viewed as a direct subjugation to men and indicative of a lack of agency. While the political grievance aimed at the government's policies could be pragmatically addressed through elite-bargaining, the radical narrative targeted at the woman minister contains non-rational resolvability.

The narrative is similarly reflective of a very low sense of alienation. The systematic oppression of women's participation in public life in Kosovo directly strengthens the actor's agency in targeted hate-speech against women as opposed to other members of the ruling coalition's cabinet. While the actor represents a political party, it is evident that he has individual autonomy and agency in voicing his political opinions. There is, however, no direct link that the author of the hate message is reflective of a larger

ideology embraced by his political party against women at large. The level of polarization related to this narrative is very high and is recognized by the actor as irreconcilable. In the specific case, the actor sees the Facebook post as a representative opinion of his political group, in addition to its gendered dimension.

Not long after the post was made public, it received significant backlash from both online users and the media. Following significant reporting, the author of the Facebook post resorted to deleting it. Despite this, there were continued audience reactions to the narrative employed by the MP. The post drew comments from notable individuals across the Kosovo political scene, including a former MP and media personality who argued that: "If anyone else, anybody, would make similar comments about women, the type that have been made by this [political party] maniac, [Actor Name], about Dhurata Hoxha, a significant part of civil society in Kosovo would invent the hashtag #stopsexistcomments or #justicefordhurata" (see Annex). In this case, audience reactions have also been subject to a significant level of polarization. The lack of systematic reactions by civil society-according to this individual- are thought to have been due to the victim's political affiliations with the ruling elite, despite their anti-discrimination and gender-equality agendas.

Well-known attorney and public figure addressed former (female) MP as '*mister*' in a debate livestreamed on social media

A public figure (also a well-known attorney) had been invited alongside a former (female) MP to a televised debate in 2020 during the electoral campaigning in Kosovo. Subject to diverging political allegiances, both individuals were engaged in a heated debate on the state of Kosovar politics. Following rising tensions during the debate and perceived animosities between the participants, the male attorney referred to the former female MP as '*mister*'. Remarking on the former MP's physical appearance, the attorney shifted the substance of the debate away from differing political allegiances into a verbal confrontation rooted in a deep-entrenched misogynistic view. Following the statement, the engagement of individuals who were following the debate live on social media (i.e., Facebook in this case) similarly reinforced the statement by reemphasizing the former MP's perceived masculine appearance (see Annex A).

In this specific case, there is no element of injustice, seeing as the language used is not intended to restore justice in society, rather the statement was used to publicly humiliate the victim (former female MP) through the active engagement of individuals who were following the debate live on social media platforms. While injustice was a direct result of the systemic animosity (political polarisation) between the individuals and the political parties they identify with, this specific act of VE was subject to a limited event in which the actors were engaged in a livestreamed debate. The female MP however, had historically faced the same misogynistic comments targeting her appearance during her active participation in Kosovo's public life. As such, the statement was not reflective of an injustice rooted in the perpetrator's lack of recognition, rather, it was an active attempt to limit the recognition of a woman sharing political opinions through targeting her physical appearance.

The grievance on the other hand, is neither framed as a general discontent, nor is it rooted in specific wrongs, rather, it is a specific targeting of the physical appearance

of the woman as to mock her gender identity. Evidently, the act of VE was not subject to a list of distinct wrongs, however, the actor responded violently in response to the woman's comments during the livestreamed debate. In this specific case, the grievance is perceived to have been increasingly personal seeing as the actor felt he had been disrespected in front of a larger online audience. As such, the statement was indicative of a masculine superiority complex.

As in the majority of cases related to gender-related hate speech, alienation is not the source of the radical narrative. Instead, the actors' intentions feature a desire to actively alienate women through limiting their agency in participating in Kosovo's public and political discourse. The act of VE however, is a direct result of the high level of political polarization. The misogynistic language targeted at the former woman MP stems from the diverging political positions and narratives of opposing political parties. As such, the level of polarization is reflected at two specific levels. In the political context, the actor deems the opinions of the former MP irrelevant based on her allegiance to a specific political party. In the social context on the other hand, the actor effectively undermines a woman's agency in providing insights on Kosovo's political landscape. The high level of polarization is even problematic given the sharp contrast between the actor's statements and the country's legislative framework on anti-discrimination and gender-equality.

Audience reactions to the livestreamed debate have been mixed, however, they both featured considerable links to the level of political polarization in Kosovo. Many of the live comments seen on the debate have served to legitimize the misogynistic language targeted at the former MP. Individuals who commented on the debate's Facebook stream utilized the same misogynistic terminology employed by the attorney (see Annex). To a large extent, this can be ascribed to the overwhelming citizen support that the party the attorney backs received in recent elections in Kosovo. As such, the audience in this case is seen to disseminate the same narratives employed by public figures toward other political party figures, regardless of the added gender dimension. On the other hand, audience reactions against the attorney's misogynistic comments have similarly focused on the political dimension. A citizen's social media (Facebook) post on the incident focused extensively on the role of the former MP in Kosovo's nation building efforts (see Annex). Although the narrative touches upon the gender dimension of the attorney's comments, it calls for the relevant penal procedural actions against the attorney.

Opposition MP Facebook post mocking the physical appearance of Acting [Female] President of Kosovo

In 2021, Kosovo was subject to a significant domestic political rupture as political ruling elites who had led the Kosovo government since the post-war era had been replaced by an opposition party (Orana, 2022). Kosovo's first female speaker of the Assembly, who also served as Acting President as per Kosovo's constitutional framework, had consistently shown significant anti-establishment rhetoric in light of her appointment and citizen support. Given the diverging political ideologies between the Acting President and the former ruling coalition, an opposition MP through a Facebook post, indirectly targeted hate-speech at her through quoting the writing(s) of Faik Konica, an important Albanian figure and writer. The Facebook post quoting the text stated that:

“I have always liked Faik Konica’s satire. In an article published in ‘Gazeta Dielli’, among other things, I found this satirical description of Konica (for a former high-ranking official in Istanbul) that tonight made me laugh: ‘...a peasant woman with a stomach like a tub and legs like a witch, with a pair of thick, ripe hands, and a swollen face as red as an Ohrid pepper.’” (Actor 3, 2021)

Similarly, as reflected in the other cases, this action was not a response to a specific injustice, rather it was a direct attempt to undervalue the participation and agency of women in high-ranking political positions. This action specifically does not promote a sense of injustice that the actor was a victim of, but his views come from a systemic bias and prejudice against women, which he actively promotes through the indirect usage of a gender insensitive quote. In terms of the action’s grievance, the general complaint is addressed to women in politics and views women’s participation in public life as inferior. The action was specifically motivated by a single event related to the Acting President’s public discourse which the actor perceived as being in contradiction with his party’s political position. Given the scope of his post, the action clearly does not reflect the request to address the grievance, nor is it rationally resolvable considering its inflammatory aim.

Likewise, alienation cannot be attributed as a driving factor in this case. The hotspot was prompted by the mentality and the public perception of women in power that is mainly negative in Kosovo. The action depicts the underlying patriarchal mores in Kosovo where women are minimized down to their physical appearance in direct contradiction with their agency in shaping the country’s political discourse. As such, the actor’s action is indicative of portraying the narrative of a group of individuals (i.e., his political party). The actor’s gender insensitive language is reflective of a high level of polarization, whereby political dissimilarities are voiced through radical narratives, especially if the target is a woman. This language that targets women has been evident despite the joint AoK initiative to include greater respect for women’s rights in the constitution of Kosovo. As a political representative, the actor is in fact the outlet by which misogyny is consolidated at the political level.

Audience reactions in relation to the actor’s social media post were met with staunch opposition. Although the actor deleted the Facebook post shortly after, there were notable citizen and media reactions. Audience reactions to the MP’s misogynistic remarks targeting the Acting President strongly condemned her portrayal on the basis of her physical appearance (see Annex). In some cases, the audience also remarked on the MP’s position as a professor at the public university of Prishtina. Audience reactions questioned his level of education and effect of his misogynistic remarks on his students (see Annex). Citizen condemnation directly on the MP’s Facebook post was not the only form of opposition to the language used. The Kosovo Centre for Gender Studies also used Facebook to direct a public statement in staunch opposition to the sexist language used by the MP (See Annex).

The three cases analysed above highlight the active utilization of social media platforms (Facebook specifically) by political actors in perpetuating radical narratives about the participation of women in Kosovo’s public and political life. The analysis highlights that these radical narratives are not often a result of long-standing perceived injustices or grievances by [male] political actors, rather, the deep-rooted polarisation in Kosovo’s political landscape is channelled through narratives directed at women

political representatives. In all abovementioned cases, male political representatives utilize their Facebook to strengthen the level of alienation of women in politics.

Analysis of media presence, production, and circulation of stakeholders of de-radicalization

Taking into account the level of radical narratives perpetuated against women's political participation, assessing counter-narratives becomes of utmost importance. While political actors-notably men- have utilized their social media platforms to (in)directly reinforce Kosovo's patriarchal organization of public life, significant consideration is required to analyse ways in which collectives and individuals utilize their performances to dismantle and actively counter these narratives. As such, the aim of this section is to provide an analysis of the media presence, production, and circulation of three examples related to collective agents of deradicalization. Each example is similarly coded according to the I-GAP methodology

Feminist Collective in Kosovo engaging in actions to draw graffiti's that denounce systematic violence against women across cities in Kosovo

In 2021, a series of graffiti writings were seen on walls across cities in Kosovo. The writings, among others, featured what the media believed to be feminist writings focused on emphasizing Kosovo's deep-entrenched patriarchal society. These statements appeared in the backdrop of an increased number of domestic violence cases in Kosovo that were not met by an effective institutional response. In the first six months of 2021 alone, a total of 165 cases were reported to relevant authorities (Ahmeti, 2021). The feminist group who was behind these graffiti's, used Facebook as a means of justifying the action to the public. According to the group's Facebook post, the action aimed to:

“...fill the walls of the city with feminist inscriptions which reveal systemic violence against girls and women. Recognizing the multitude of forms of oppression of women under patriarchy, the activists gave messages of revolt and solidarity in the fight against all oppression” (Actor 4, 2021)

The sense of injustice, in this case, derives from the continuous cases of abuse of women in public spaces. The actor's intentions through the graffiti were a response to the systemic physical and mental abuse that women and girls face in Kosovo. The underlying issue that drove the response from the actor is reflected in the general societal oppression in the light of Kosovo's patriarchal organization of public and private life. The injustice addressed in this case is directly attributed to the historically unfair distribution of resources and power relations between women and men in Kosovar society. The action's primary aim was to raise awareness and fight against a social phenomenon rooted in the lack of recognition of women and their fundamental rights.

While the action in general targets the phenomenon as a whole, some of the graffiti contain specific messages that target specific events in relation to GBV and sexual harassment in public institutions across Kosovo. Although the actor's action prioritizes the grievances of the community they belong to, they target specific institutions (i.e., police and schools) whose lack of regulation perpetuates the oppression.

In this case, the sense of social alienation is very specific and central, as it addresses a key challenge related to the safety of women in public spaces in Kosovo. Despite the general remarks about the long-term systemic oppression of women in Kosovo, the actor is motivated by consecutive recent events related to GBV and sexual harassment reported in mainstream media. As such, the actor views themselves as acting as part of a socio-cultural group (women) and represents the courage to voice injustices through graffiti. In this case, polarization is not itself a major motivation, between groups. While the opinions of the actor do not necessarily contrast with the policies that are in place, they are critical of the lack of implementation of anti-discrimination legislation by the society at large.

The collective's graffiti across public space gave rise to nuancing reflections by the wider audience. On the collective's official Facebook page, where the graffiti was shared, together with the justification, was met with contending views by ordinary citizens. While women activists commented in support of the action and the underlying justifications, there were also numerous women that questioned the methods used by the collective (see Annex). A specific comment on the posts insists that the action is "nothing more than the destruction of public property" (see Annex). While audience comments have not directly gone against the issues raised by the collective, reactions centred exclusively on the effects of the vandalization of public property, and public calls to voice their concerns through different means.

Example 2: Action to overturn tables and dishes to overturn patriarchy disseminated through social media platforms

On international women's day (IWD) in 2021, a local NGO in Kosovo organized a protest action to raise awareness on women's confinement to household duties. The action, among others, aimed the physical overturning of a table with kitchen utensils as a metaphor for the overturning of patriarchy in Kosovo. Following public and media discussion of the action, the organisation took to Facebook to extend on the online discussion by elaborating that:

"The action of protest that [Actor] carried out on March 9 opened a much-needed discussion on household duties. We have received hundreds of comments and messages to our address, and we have noticed thousands of similar ones in other media" (Actor 5, 2021).

Additionally, the NGO added that:

"Men were afraid of the truth which speaks of the exploitation of women within the family. But this shock is more necessary to socially reflect on the inequalities that are weighing on the backs of women. Therefore, we neither fear nor stop our efforts because we know that there are no changes without opposition."
(Ibid)

The radical elements perpetuated by the action (i.e., the collective violently throwing a table upside down in Prishtina's main square) were a direct response to traditional gender roles assigned in Kosovo's patriarchal society. As such, the injustice is rooted in the lack of social recognition of women and their rights. The complaint is relatively specific since it targets women's confinement to household duties. While the call for addressing the grievance is vague, the authors call for an ideological shift in improving

women's social stature. While the justification in the Facebook post contains elements depicting the institutional repression of women, the actor views the change in men's views of women as central to addressing the injustice.

As such, the sense of alienation in this case is specific and relates to a specific community (i.e., women in the country). The process of alienation itself, however, is not voluntary given that patriarchy by the actor is perceived to be imposed by society and men in particular. To address this, the actor assumes the courage to act in the name of the social group they represent, yet it similarly serves as a wake up call to their group members to re-claim their agency. While polarization is not a major motivation, the actors' justification for the action highlights the schisms between the group (women) they represent and the group (men) that (in)directly limits their agency. Given Kosovo's advanced legal framework, the actor's action does not feature policy change as a motivational factor, rather, calls for the abolition of social constructs that normalize gender inequalities between women and men.

Despite significant audience support for the issues raised by the action, a number of individuals commenting on the actor's post reflected on the radical aspects related to their action and calls. The actor's physical overturning of the table depicting the overturning of the patriarchy was perceived by the audience to be a violent revolt against men in the country. Most of audience reactions were by male individuals. Similarly, their narratives featured similar lines of reasoning. According to one of them, commenting on the post, the "writing and [action] encourage women to physically assault men" (see Annex). Similarly, a number of audience comments questioned the legitimacy of action vis-à-vis the position of women in society. To some, the active victimisation as interpreted in the action served to directly undervalue the role of women in Kosovar society (See Annex A).

Artistic engagement for a more equal society by challenging historical taboos

Conceptual artistic performances by feminist collectives have also been utilized to raise awareness and counter discourses that support the normalization of patriarchy in Kosovo. On IWD in 2015, an artistic performance by a feminist collective was unveiled targeting Kosovo's patriarchal organization of public and private life set out in the 'Code of Leke Dukagjini'. The code was developed as a set of customary laws in the 19th century that regulated much of social and economic life in Albanian society (Bracewell, 1993). In particular, it sets out a deep-rooted division between women and men creating and institutionalizing a culture of discrimination in both public and private life (Kelmendi, 2014). Despite its lack of contemporary significance given the development of national anti-discrimination and gender-equality legislation, its remnants are still apparent in public attitudes, especially in relation to the organization of family hierarchies (Bracewell, 1993). The artistic performance published on the actor's Youtube page, emulated the cooking of a recipe that included the Code as a basic ingredient. The video performance's description, adds that:

"Careful! The Code of Leke Dukagjini is a moral, legal, social product which enjoys respect in Kosovar Society. The moral and legal products that oppress women should be cooked and thrown away not only on March 8th but every day" (Actor 6, 2015).

The artistic performance at its core aims to restore justice through addressing the historical patriarchal grievances that the code institutionalized. The actor's primary motivation for the performance comes as a result of a systemic long and ongoing series of injustice(s) as by-products of gender inequality. The injustice addressed can be primarily attributed to the historically unfair distribution of resources and power in Kosovar society codified by customary law. The grievance addressed in the performance is mostly specific, as it targets the confinement of women to household duties. In this sense, it is quite intimate as it is directed at a grievance that is present to the community of women. The underlying change that is addressed through the performance is the need for an overall societal shift in public attitudes toward confinement of women to traditional gender roles.

A link between the discrimination against women and the action is clear. The patriarchal mentality and the stereotypes that are historically imposed on the actor and the group they represent indicate that the alienation is not voluntary. The alienation is entrenched by a long-term series of injustices, and as such, the prospects toward change and reversibility are subject to long-term societal attitude change. The action is linked to the will of the group it represents and is a manifestation of courage to do what their group needs but is too oppressed to address. It is in compliance with the policies that are currently in place, however, it is made to denounce the policies that were in place historically oppressed women in public and private life.

In the case of the artistic performance, there was no significant audience reaction that prompted diverging views. Part of this lack of engagement can be ascribed to the reason that the collective seems to prioritize live performance over social media dissemination. While this choice of prioritization reflects the lack of direct online engagement, a level of support by online audiences was made apparent. Specifically, the support was framed in terms of words of encouragement in relation to the societal challenges that were made evident in the artistic performance (See Annex).

Analysis of media presence, production, and circulation of ordinary users against radicalization

Similar to actors that perpetuate radical and de-radical narratives, ordinary citizens maintain an equally important role in legitimizing them. In many cases, ordinary citizen's active participation in the perpetuation of these narratives results in their subsequent magnification and social impact. Scholarship on counter-radicalization considers the notion of 'active citizenship' as a set of obligations that ordinary citizens assume to shape narratives that actively counter radicalization (Altermark and Nilsson 2018). Isin (2008, 23) in extension of the notion of active citizenship contends that citizens often assume agency in "creating their own conditions of possibility and making up their own scripts". In light Isin's (2008) conceptualization, citizen communication against radicalization can be viewed in light of a transformative nature. That is to say that ordinary citizens may develop their own performances and strengthen discourses that actively counter radical narratives. The aim of this section is to provide an analysis of the media presence, production, and circulation of two examples related to ordinary users of deradicalization. The section critically engages with ordinary citizen performances in order to unpack how citizen communication can have a transformative effect on countering radical narratives. Each example is similarly coded according to the I-GAP methodology.

Ordinary citizen (feminist activist) artistic performance as a revolt against gender-based violence

Citizen communication in the form of do it yourself (DIY) performances have increasingly been made available on online platforms as means to contest Kosovo's patriarchal traditions rooted in misogyny. In August of 2021, all mainstream media entities in Kosovo reported on the death of a woman in the town of Ferizaj. Following initial investigations, the prosecution found that the woman was murdered after two days of torture by two male individuals. Two months later, in the yearly edition of FemArt- a feminist festival in Kosovo- an artistic performance was unveiled by a citizen activist in response to the gruesome event. The author of the performance- and ordinary citizen, and a feminist activist- made use of a historical national narrative to explore the effects of GBV in Kosovo. The performance, published on the actor's personal Instagram account and the official Youube page of the FemArt festival depicted the actor embroidering the national flag of Albania. The performance drew direct metaphorical parallels to the role of Margio Posio ("Marigona" in Albanian), who was a renowned Albanian playwright and activist of the Albanian National Awakening. Based on historical accounts, it is said that Margio embroidered the Albanian flag (depicting a black double-headed eagle with a red background). The performance's title "Margiona doesn't embroide the flag anymore!", signified the untimely death of Marigona (the murdered woman), who shared the same name as Albania's national figure Marigo Posio.

The actor's performance depicted herself embroidering the flag, with the flag's red background colour used to signify the bloodshed as a result of GBV that led to the murder of a significant number of women in Kosovo in recent years. In addition, the actor delivered a poem (in tune with the Albanian national anthem) that highlighted:

"From war no one should leave,
Not even the one who doesn't feel the oppression of a man,
Who is a woman does not give up,
I am sacrificing myself; I am sacrificing myself to never die" (Actor 7, 2021)

Additionally, it coined that:

"I will keep my fist high,
To protect each other in every corner,
Our rights as we share,
Patriarchy will no longer have a place here." (Ibid)

The artistic performance is indicative of a representative claim of an injustice imposed upon a certain group (women in this case). Although the actor was directly motivated by the incident involving the death of a woman, the actor's performance also touches upon general long-term trends of GBV in Kosovo. While the actor does address the grievance in relation to men's oppression, the performance moves beyond holding

men directly responsible. In doing so, the performance aims to promote a sense of reversibility of the grievance through a joint societal effort to dismantle patriarchal modes of public and private organization.

Despite the existence of a level of alienation presented in the artistic performance, the actor aims to combat the injustice through the joint mobilization of society, especially women who are directly affected by the effects of GBV. The actor's performance is a direct attempt to address feelings of powerlessness through calls for empowerment and the claiming of rights that inherently belong to women. The motives for the actor's performance and calls are a reflection of the exclusionary public attitudes that have institutionalized misogyny across public and private life. While there is mention of the systematic bias favouring the position of men, the actor does not attribute this to specific political factors or institutional discrimination.

The audience engagement with the artistic performance on the actor's personal Instagram page was notably positive. The actor's calls for mobilization and the claiming of rights were positively received by the audience. In virtually all cases, the comments on the video were in support of the actor's views (see Annex A). In one specific case, the actor is given the epithet "our fighter", to signify her courageousness in tackling issues of societal relevance (see Annex).

Ordinary citizen (feminist activist) slam poetry titled on Kosovo's patriarchal public attitudes

During IWD in 2017, a young woman was video recorded delivering a piece of slam poetry in the main square of Kosovo's capital, Prishtina. The piece, titled "Patriarchal Logic", was met with significant public reaction, resulting in most of mainstream media platforms in Kosovo reporting and sharing it via their social media platforms. Additionally, the piece was shared by many feminist activists and NGOs in support of the thematic issues it addressed. Following this, the individual developed a significant following given her activism in relation to women's rights. In 2021, a video was made public on her personal YouTube page titled "Patriarchal Trauma". The piece, similar to her performance in Prishtina's main square, depicts the actor reading a piece that deconstructs traditional family attitudes in Kosovo. Specifically, it addresses a deep-entrenched issue apparent in Kosovo's patriarchal society; that of inheritance. According to a CSO report on the issue, women are generally excluded from "decision-making about allocation of property in Kosovar families, and the division of property usually occurs without her voice being heard" (Kosovar for Gender Studies Center, p.17). In most cases, male members of Kosovar families are posited in deciding the allocation of family wealth (Ibid). The actor's targets this directly by opening her piece with:

"How many children are you in your family?

Four.

Girls or boys?

Girls.

May God bless you with a brother!" (Actor 8, 2021)

The piece goes on to remark that:

“The way they make you feel [like] nothing,
Just because you do not have a brother,
The way they have been brainwashed,
[Regardless] of being men or women
How can they divide thing’s [like this]” (Ibid)

Ultimately, the piece ends with:

“Because your share,
Cannot be inherited by a woman! (Ibid)

The actor’s slam poetry pieces provide a direct response to the systematic discrimination of women in public and private life in Kosovo. The general wrongs that motivate the actor’s response relate to the social, economic and political exclusion of women and lack of participation in decision-making processes in these respective areas. While the actor’s performance targets society as a whole in terms of perpetuating the patriarchal idea that families require male heirs, there is a specific targeting of the lack of inclusion of women in family inheritance. In this case, the grievance is raised by attaching direct blame to families who exclude women in decision-making related to inheritance.

While the actor’s performance does indicate a level of social alienation, it is not directly tied to feelings of powerlessness. The actor rightly identifies the struggles that women experience in relation to family inheritance, however, the injustice is raised in line with a perceived loss of community support, rather than any self-imposed alienation. Similarly, the polarization depicted in the actor’s performance is one of repeated and long-standing exclusionary family discourse and public attitudes that have limited women’s economic and social empowerment. As such, there is no direct linkage to a perceived political wrongdoing, rather, it is a social manifestation of women’s exclusion evident in family dynamics and decision-making related to rights to inheritance. Despite the existence of a legal framework promoting equal inheritance between men and women, the actor sees the social field as more of a hindrance than a political one in realizing the rights inscribed by law.

While the actor’s personal YouTube and Facebook pages reflected increasingly positive audience engagement in support of her slam poetry, this was not the case with the wider public. The engagement of individuals affiliated with the actor on her personal social media pages depicted positive and supportive comments (see Annex). However, the same was not evident in a case where her slam poetry was shared by a renowned NGO supporting women’s rights in Kosovo. Given the public reach of the NGO, the video inherently reached a wider audience. The comment section on the NGO’s Facebook page featured a number of remarks by individuals criticizing the actor’s violent undertone and vulgar remarks (See Annex).

Discussion and Conclusion

This report has examined the ways in which online platforms are utilized by institutions, political organisations and ordinary users to present mediated hegemonic gender presentations and the ways in which they are countered. Given Kosovo's deeply entrenched patriarchal modes of socio-political organization, hegemonic gender presentations have been found to be revealed in relation to the suppression of women's participation in public and political life. The study has examined the effects of the 1999 war in Kosovo as an important breaking point in the promotion of a stereotypical gendered view on women, especially one which views them as static individuals with an accentuated lack of agency. The war's male dominated narratives, exacerbated by traditional media coverage, thoroughly omitted women's active role in the liberation movement. Despite the digitalization of Kosovo's media landscape, the shift to social media platforms has not had a substantial effect on gender-sensitive reporting. To the contrary, mainstream media social media platforms (in particular Facebook), have served as avenues for the dissemination of misogynistic narratives aimed at undermining the role of women in public and political life.

The agents of radicalization identified in this report have been identified in relation to their misogynistic narratives targeting women's participation in political processes. In all three examined examples, the agents of radicalization have had direct political party links (i.e., being a MP) or have had indirect links through their affiliation or support. Their usage of social media (especially Facebook) to voice their political dissatisfaction at opposing political parties has been central to their exponential reach of wider audiences as well as media reporting. In all three examples, Facebook had been utilized as an effective tool in disseminating misogynistic comments targeting women. In terms of driving motivations for these radical narratives, there has been no clear linkages to existing injustices, grievances, or a perceived sense of alienation. There has, however, been clear evidence of the level of polarization in the political field that has motivated these agents to resort to radical narratives. Taking into account Kosovo's patriarchal context, these male political representatives/affiliates have disseminated misogynistic social media posts to directly limit and undermine the agency of women in political decision-making.

On the other hand, the examples of agents of deradicalization highlight a systematic approach of feminist groups and activists to counter misogynistic public attitude through the promotion of shifts away from patriarchal ideologies. Evidence from the analysis of media objects of agents of deradicalization depict the effective utilization of social media in addition to other mediums to disseminate and garner audience support in countering radical narratives that aim to limit the participation of women in public and political life. While the media objects of agents of radicalization have not had any stark differences in approach and methodologies, examples from agents of deradicalization highlight a use of more diverse social media platforms. The examples reflect the overall courage of feminist collectives/activists to voice their concerns on the systematic injustices faced by women as a result of Kosovo's patriarchal public attitudes. While the media objects examined have had the primary aim of addressing these injustices through addressing challenges related to women's rights, audience reactions have at times been critical of the actor's 'perceived' radical performances.

Examples analysed in the context of ordinary citizen production of media objects also highlights an effort to tackle similar injustices. The underlying thematic elements and motivations addressed in examples of citizen media production relate to the societal effects of GBV and the active suppression of women's agency in public and private life. While the 'do-it-yourself' media objects developed by ordinary citizens are not as consolidated as those of feminist collectives, they have still managed to engage effectively with the wider audience. In both cases, the media objects have shown both audience support and criticism over the developed media objects. The evidence shows that even do it yourself media objects in their personal social media platforms can still garner contending views from audiences with patriarchal public attitudes.

The findings from the in-depth media object analysis highlight that there is an apparent difference in approaches to social media usage by agenda of radicalization and deradicalization. In the case of the former, radical narratives in the form of misogynistic comments by political representatives are not target and consistent, rather, they happen sporadically based on specific events in the political field. While these actors utilize their personal social media pages to brief their audiences on their political opinion in relation to events, there is a level of radical narrative development in cases subject to the active participation of women in political decision-making. In these cases -where women's involvement is evident in the political field- actor's public statements are marred by patriarchal and gender-insensitive elements. In the case of agents of deradicalization however, the utilization of social media platforms to disseminate their messages are targeted and consistent. While there is evidenced development of media objects in relation to specific events in the political and social field, these collectives' motivations focus extensively on the need for the overall shift away from patriarchal modes of societal functioning.

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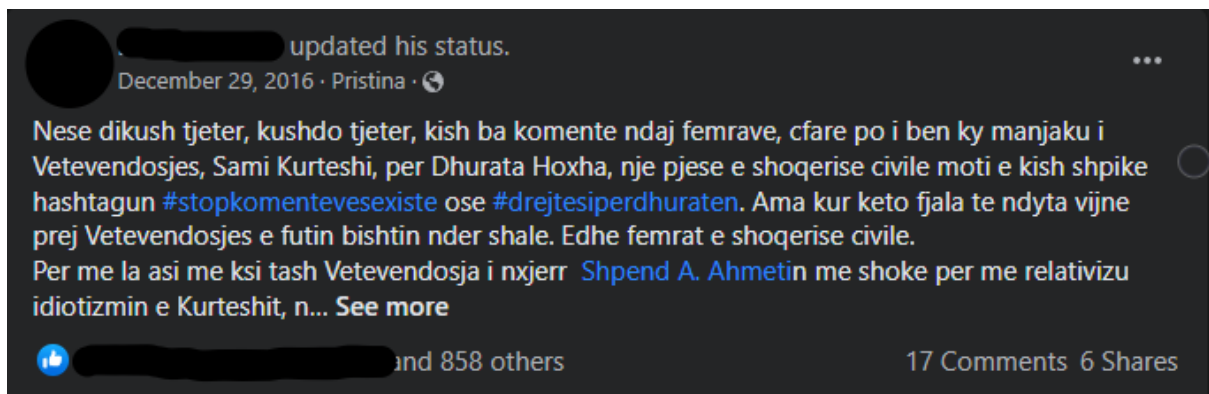
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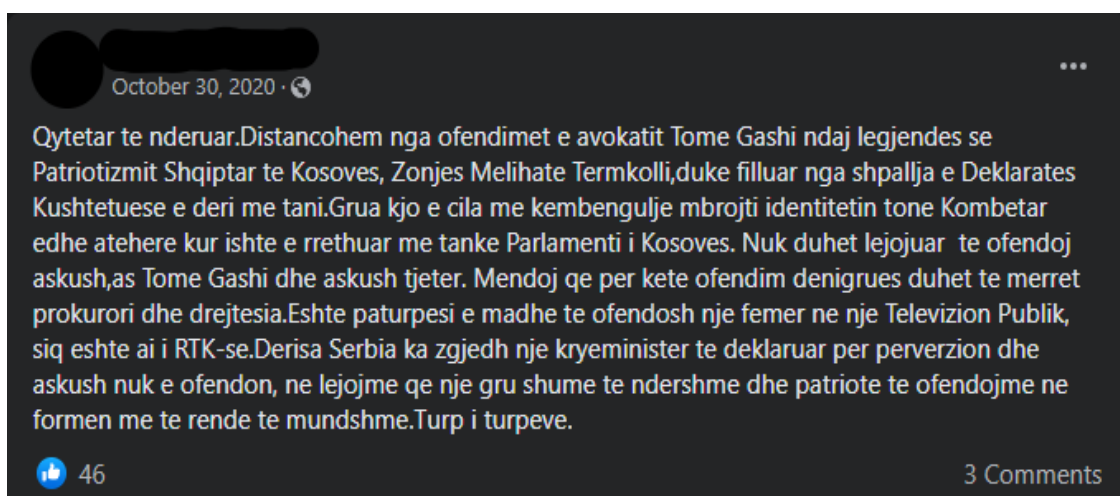
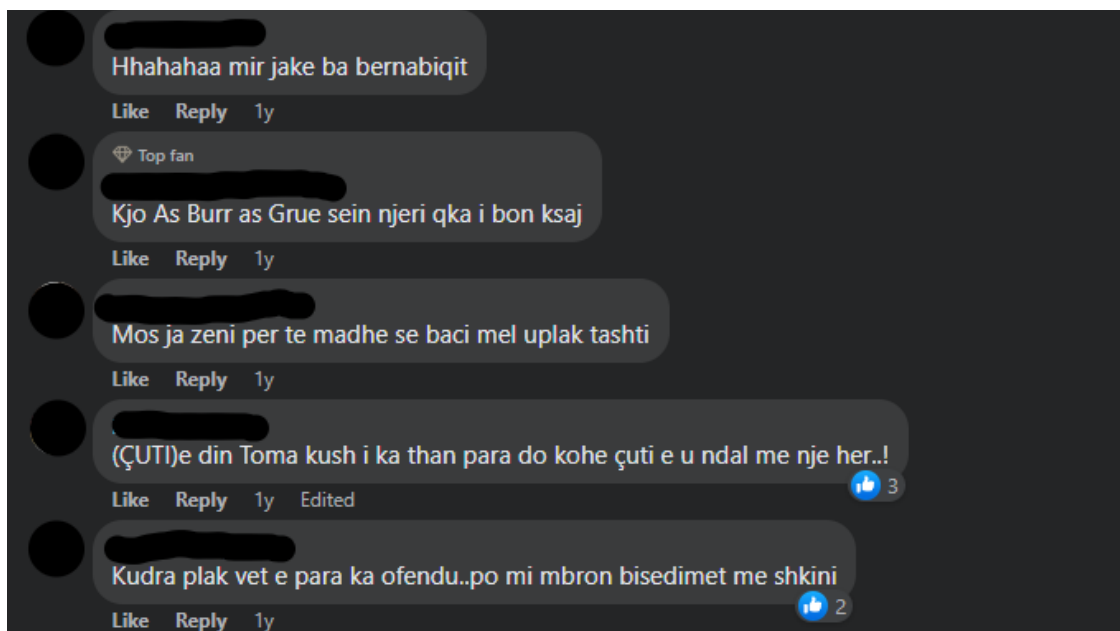
Annex A

Media objects related to actors of radicalization

Media Object 1: Audience Reaction to Actor



Media Object 2: Audience Reaction(s) to Actor



Media Object 3: Actor Facebook post



1h · 🌐

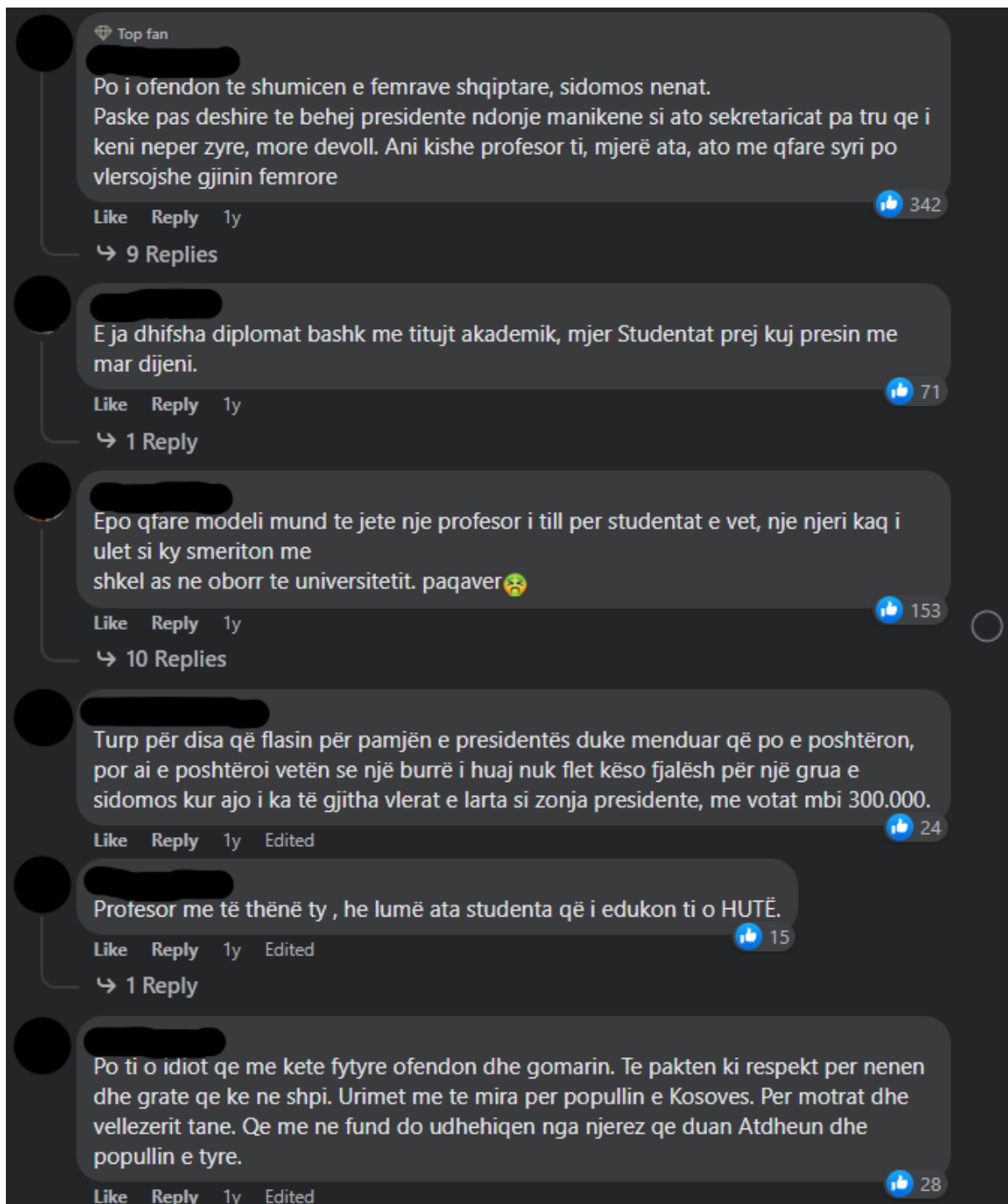


Gjithmonë më ka pëlqyer shumë satira e Faik Konicës.

Në një shkrim të botuar në ' Gazeta Dielli' mes tjerash gjeta këtë përshkrim satirik të Konicës (për një ish zyrtare të lartë të Stambollit) që sonte më bëri të qesh me lot:

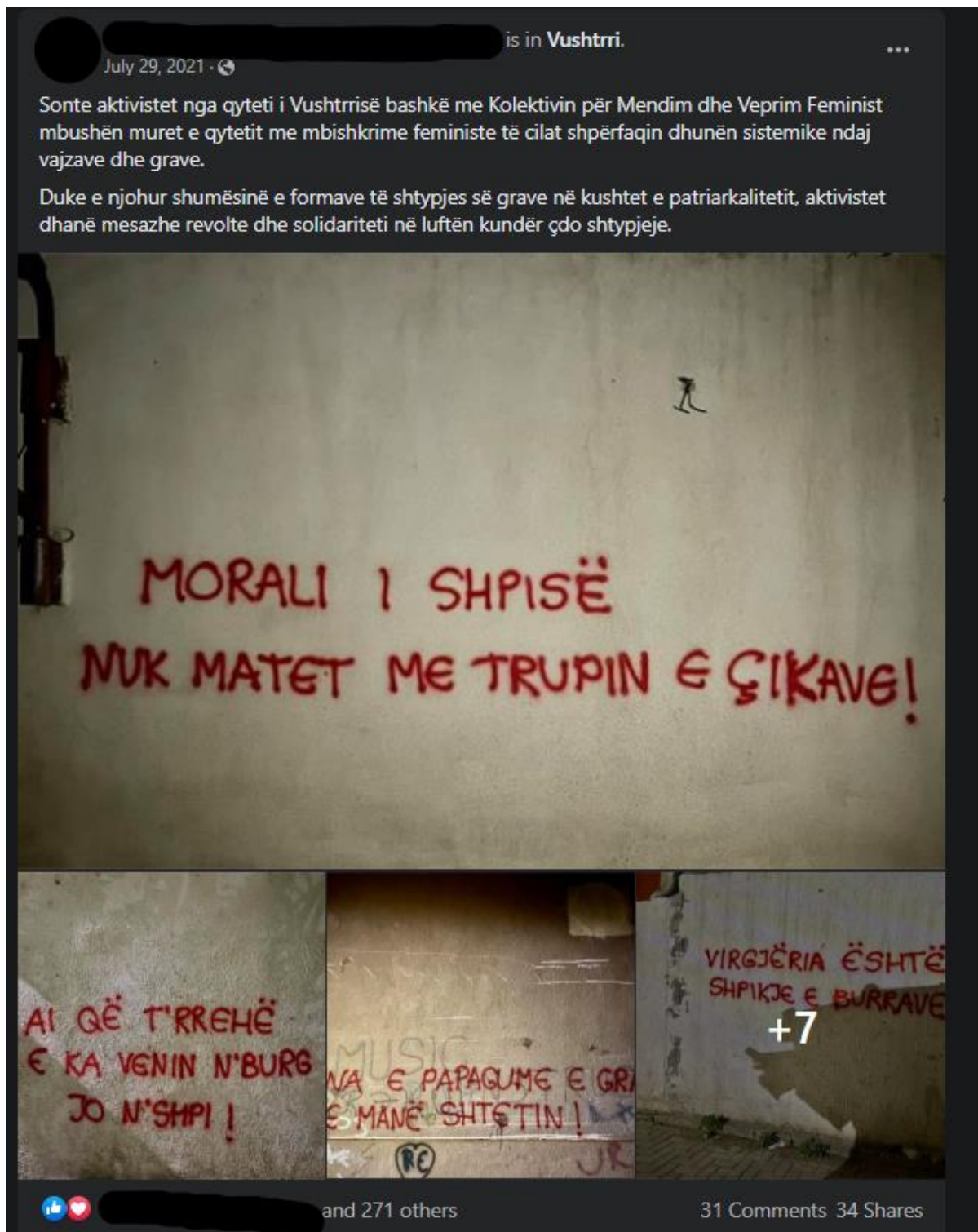
"...një fshatarake me një bark si kadë e me këmbë si magje, me një palë duar të trasha e të pjekura, e me një fytyrë të fryrë e të kuqe si piper t'Ohrit".

Audience reactions to Media Object 3

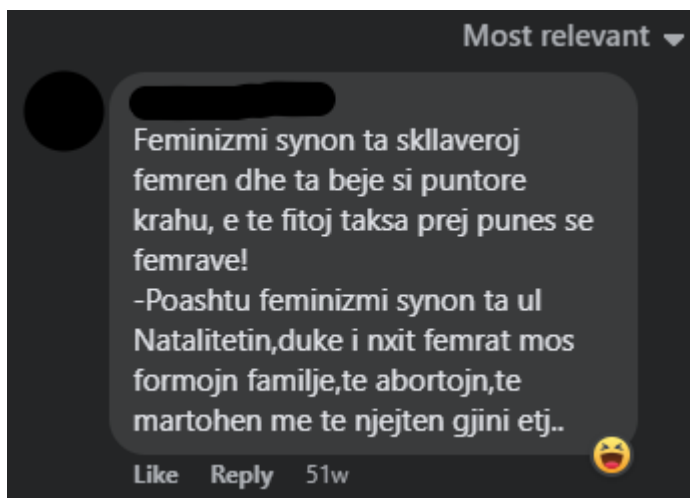
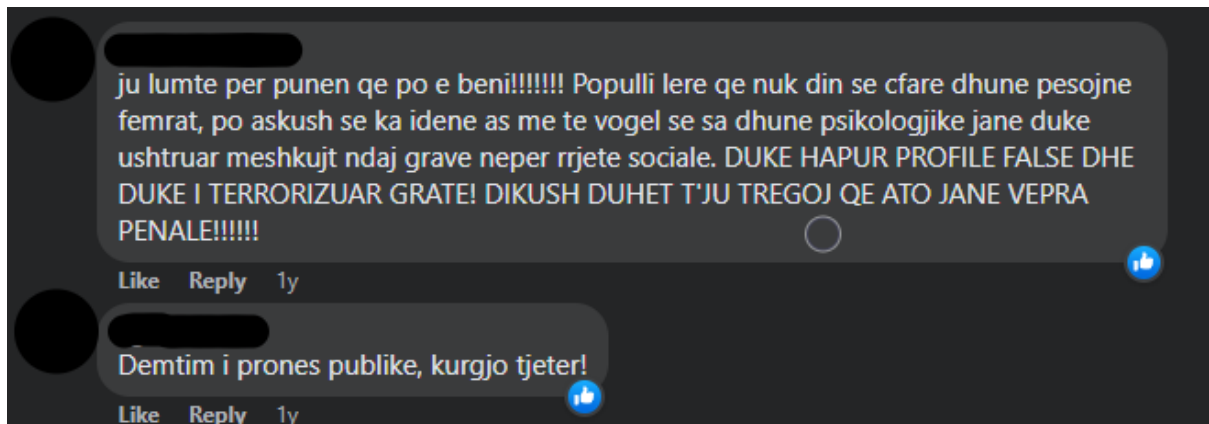


Media objects related to Actors of Deradicalization:

Media Object 1: Actor graffiti on public walls against women's subjugation



Audience Reactions to Media Object 1



Media Object 2: Actor action overthrowing table

March 12, 2021 · 🌐

Çka në të vërtetë përmbysi tavolina?

Aksioni protestues që realizoi QIKA për 8 Mars, hapi diskutimin tepër të nevojshëm mbi punët e shtëpisë. Kemi pranuar qindra komente e mesazhe në adresën tonë si dhe kemi vërejtur mijëra të ngjashme në mediat e tjera.

Është e rëndësishme të theksohet se shumica e komentuesve janë burra dhe se përgjithësisht komentet ishin fyese e denigruese ndaj aktivisteve protestuese dhe organizatës sonë. Në plot raste ka pasur edhe kërcënime për dhunë fizike dhe seksuale. Abuzimet online ndaj grave në sferën publike e veçanërisht atyre të përfshira në debatin feminist janë tepër të përhapura. Kjo përveç që dëshmon faktin se këta burra refuzojnë të pranojnë që ka gra aktiviste të angazhuara për çështje publike, tregojnë edhe kundërshtimin e tyre për tu ballafaquar me tema të tilla si punët e papaguara që shpërfaqin dukshëm shtypjen e grave brenda shtëpisë.

Burrat u trazuan dhe kjo për neve tregon se aksioni ka prekur me të drejtë të gjithë ata të cilët mendojnë mundin dhe përkushtimin e grave në punët e kujdesit dhe të mirëmbajtjes. Burrat për herë të parë folën për shenjtërinë e tavolinës së bukës të cilën refuzojnë ta shtrojnë. Burrat u frikësuan nga e vërteta e cila flet për shfrytëzimin e grave brenda familjes. Por kjo tronditje është mëse e nevojshme për të reflektuar shoqërisht mbi pabarazitë që po rëndojnë mbi kurrizin e grave. Prandaj, as nuk frikësohemi dhe as nuk e ndalim përpjekjen tonë sepse ne e dimë që s'ka ndryshime pa kundërshtime.



March 8, 2021 · 🌐

PËRMBYSE RENDIN!

Gatimi, hekurësja, furnizimi, pastrimi e plot punë tjera të ngjashme, marrin shumicën e kohës së grave gjatë ditës. Duke qenë shpesh të varura ekonomikisht nga burrat e familjes, gratë detyrohen që të shërbejnë ushqim e të lajnë enët dhe rrobat për ta. Krejt kjo punë e madhe që bëjnë gratë shihet si obligim i natyrshëm i tyre për shkak të ndarjeve tradicionale të roleve gjinore.

Masat kufizuese dhe kriza ekonomike e shkaktuar nga pandemia Covid-19, izoluan edhe më shumë gratë brenda shtëpive me përgjegjësitë e padrejta mbi punët e mirëmbajtjes dhe të kujdesit. Të dhënat tregojnë se tani gratë shpenzojnë kohë në këto punë pothuajse ekuivalentin e një pune me orar të plotë.

Gratë që kishin fatin të jenë të punësuar, punonin dyfish. Ndërkohë, shumicës tjetër që ishin të papuna i'u shtuan edhe më tepër obligimet e kujdesit ndaj anëtarëve të tjerë të familjes.

Edhe para pandemisë, gratë kanë kaluar mesatarisht tre herë më shumë orë sesa burrat në punët e shtëpisë dhe kujdesin për fëmijët.

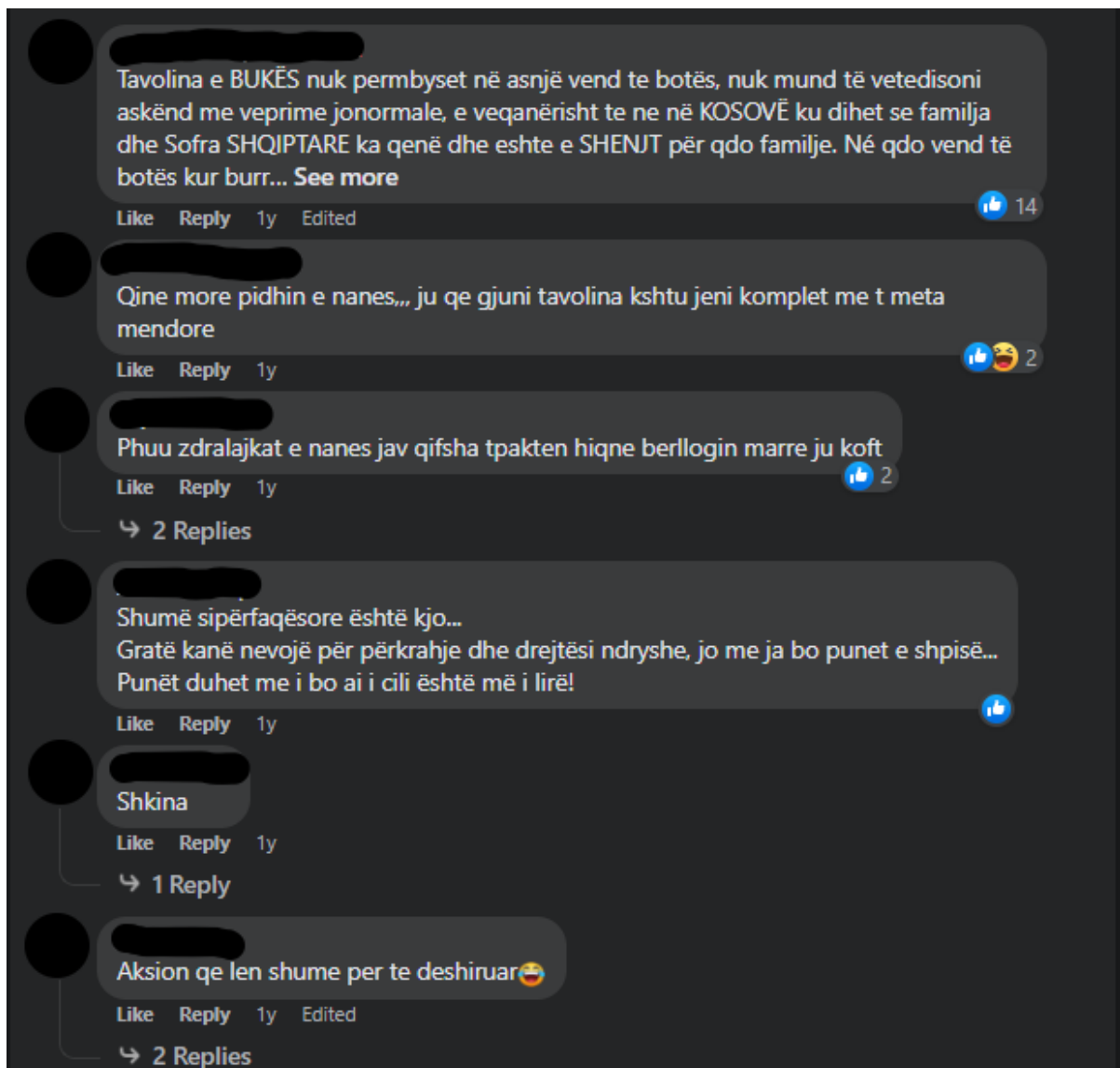
Punët e shtëpisë janë nënçmuar historikisht dhe në fakt vazhdojnë të mos njihen as si punë. Në këtë mënyrë, gratë lëre më që po shfrytëzohen, por as nuk po ju vlerësohet angazhimi. Në rastet e ndarjes së pasurisë, si te baba ashtu edhe te burri, gratë konsiderohen si të huaja. Atyre nuk ju takon prona, sepse nuk ju njihet puna.

Duhet të njihet kontributi i grave brenda shtëpisë, në atë mënyrë që puna të ndahet barabartë. Duke qenë gjithë ditën në kuzhinë apo duke pastruar të palarat e të tjerëve, gratë nuk po arrijnë të shohin mundësinë e angazhimit në jetën shoqërore.

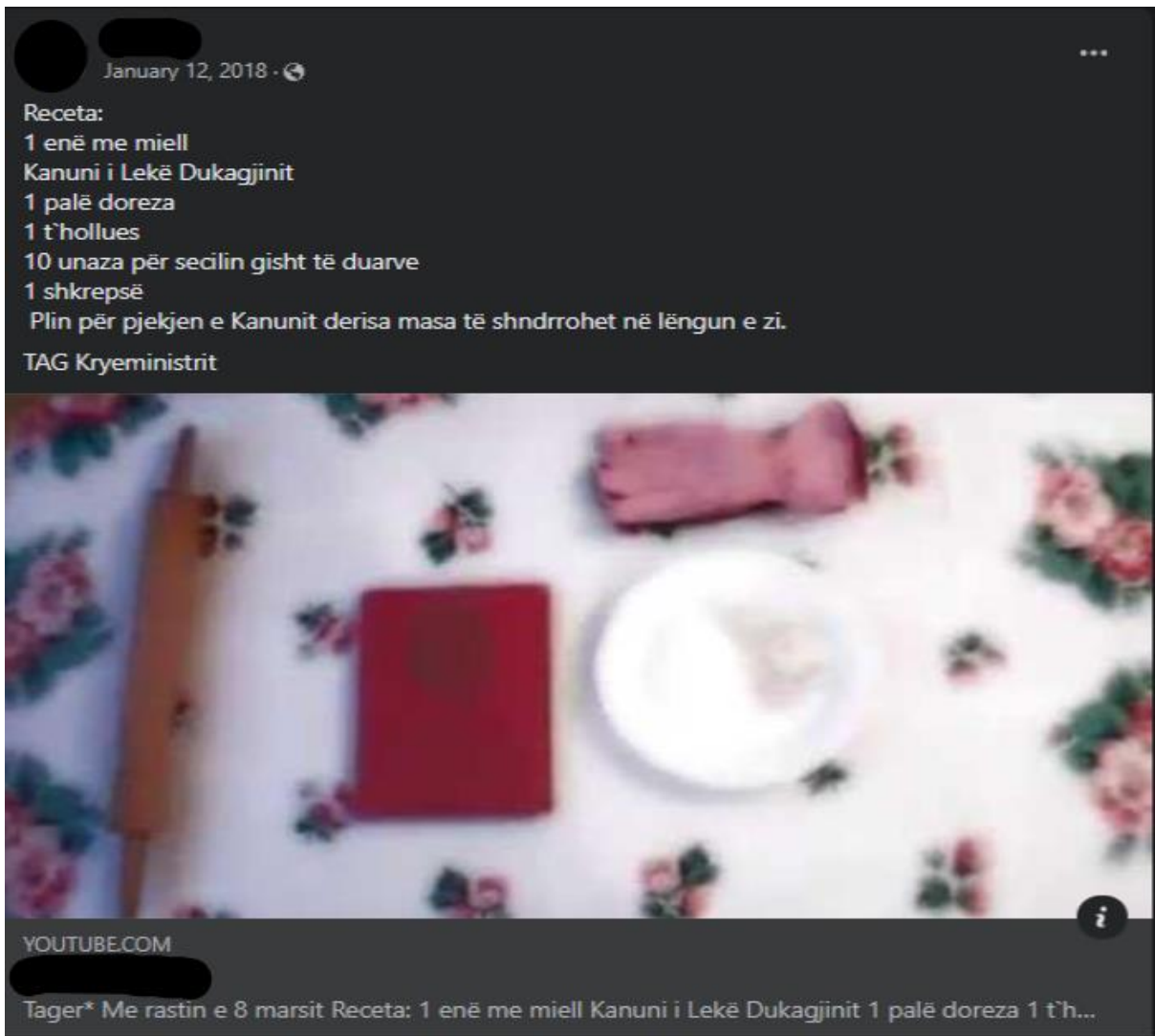
Punët e papaguara po izolojnë gratë brenda shtëpisë. Kjo duhet të ndryshoj.

Një tavolinë e ushqimit e shtruar me mund e delikatesë, u përmbys sot. Gratë duhet të çlirohen nga shtypja brenda dhe jashtë shtëpisë. Ndërhyrja në kushtet e shtëpisë është ndërhyrje në pabarazitë e shtresëzuara shoqërore. Krahas kësaj, fuqizimi dhe pavarësimi i gruas është i kushtëzuar nga modeli ekonomik i cili duhet të ndërrojë në drejtim të ndryshimeve të thella strukturore. S'pranojmë të na zhvlerësohet puna e as të shfrytëzohemi nga shteti. T'i përmbysim rolet gjinore ashtu siç bëmë sot me tavolinën!

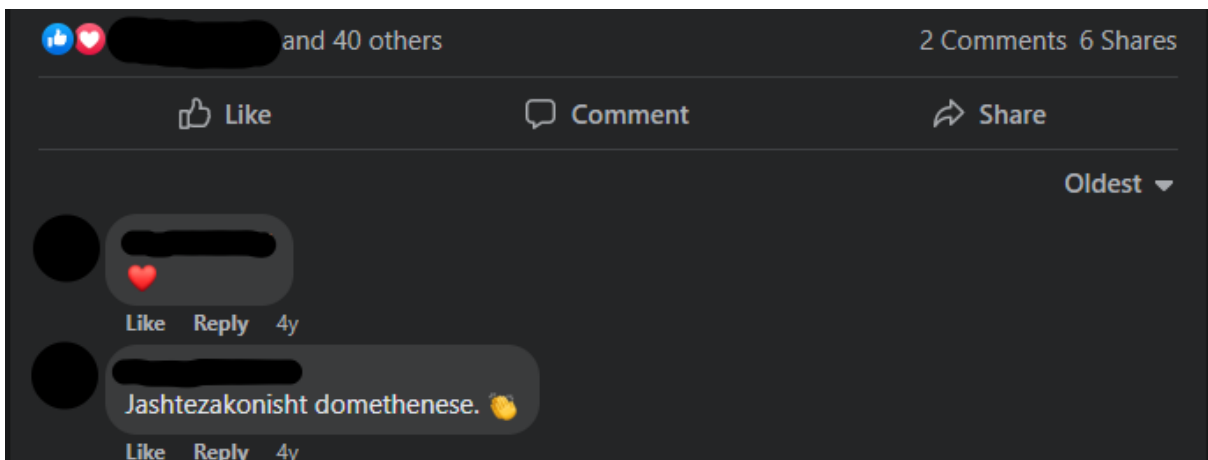
Audience Reaction to Media Object 2



Media Object 3: Actor Artistic performance using Code of Leke Dukagjini as recipe item





Audience Reactions to Media Object 3:



Media Objects related to Ordinary Users against Deradicalization

Media Object 1: Ordinary user performance referencing Marigona on Instagram

**MARIGONA NUK E QËNDIS MË FLAMURIN!**

Rreth shqiponjës të përbashkuara,
Me një dëshirë dhe një qëllim,
Të gjithë asaj duke iu betuar,
Të lidhim besën për ndryshim.





Prej lufte asnjëra nuk duhet largohet,
As ajo që nuk e ndjen shtypjen burrë,
Kush është grua nuk dorëzohet,
Po flijohem, po flijohem për të mos vdek kurrë.

Po flijohem, po flijohem për të mos vdek kurrë.

Grushtin lartë do ta mbajm,
Të mbrojm njëra tjetrën në cdo kënd,
Të drejtat tona ne si ndajm,
Këtu patriarkati s'do ketë më vend.

Se Perëndia vet e tha me gojë,
që fuqia saj zotnon përmbi e nën dhe,
Po drejtësia do të rrojë,
për të, për të luftojmë ne!

Oj shqiponjë, shqiponjë, grua e shenjt,
tek ti betohemi këtu,

6,368 views

OCTOBER 2, 2021

Audience Reaction to Media Object 1:

  🙌❤️ next level this message !

43w Reply

  🙌🙌🙌❤️



43w 1 like Reply

  Artiste me plote kuptimin e fjales 🙌🥰

43w Reply

  🙌🙌❤️🙌

43w Reply

  Loqka jeme po te mire e po smart te kam...
te pafsha ne maja te suksesit... le ta kuptojne krejt qe thanja
flokte e gjata e ment e shkurta as nuk ka vlej e as qe
egziston... thjeshte eshte nje thenje e pavlere prej te
pavlereve ❤️

Media Object 2: Ordinary User slam poetry shared on personal Facebook page

- E burri kur te kalterten e sheh,
syte i vizlojne
edhe gruaja gezohet
se mo nuk ja shurdhojne
gezohet edhe qe n'shpi te babes s'e qojne
qe nji kar n'shpi s'un po e bon
n'hoxhallar e n'mjek e maltretojne
ama burrin nuk e kontrollojne
se atij, langun magjik nuk ia kontestojne

- Une qasaj gruas hallin ja kaj'
se ti qe e ki pushtetin, ti lehte qaren ja bon vetit
po asaj qysh ne kry me ja shti
qe s'ka ardhe ne kete toke vec me maru f'mije

qysh me i kallezu
qe ma as sekondin mos me e plak' tu mendu
ty f'mije qysh me t'maru

- More ti,
ku po je i sigurte djali a te plaket burre a gru'?!
a nashta ka me dashte djali me burre me u martu?
nji burre ma shume ne shpi me ta pru
qatehere njimend allti kishe gju!

Por jo pse je gezu!
Po, pse krejt projeksionet para syve tu kane rrenu
Se hisen tane,
nuk bon me trashegu nji gru'!



May 17, 2021 · 🌐

Traumë patriarkale

- Sa femije jeni ne familje?
- Kater.
- Çika a djem?
- Çika.
- Ishalla ju gezon zoti me nji v'lla.

- Sa femije jeni ne familje?
- Kater.
- Çika a djem?
- Çika.
- Ishalla ju gezon zoti me nji v'lla.

- Sa femije jeni ne familje?
- Kater.
- Çika a djem?
- Çika.
- Ishalla ju gezon zoti me nji v'lla.

- Sa femije jeni ne familje?
- Kater.
- Çika a djem?
- Çika.
- Ishalla ju gezon mami edhe me nji v'lla.

- Sa femije jeni ne familje?
- Kater.
- Çika a djem?
- Çika.
- Ishalla ju bon mami edhe me nji v'lla.
- Ishalla ju bon mami edhe me nji v'lla.
- Ishalla ju bon mami edhe me nji v'lla.
- Ishalla ju bon mami edhe me nji v'lla.
- Edhe nji v'lla.
- Edhe nji v'lla.
- Edhe nji v'lla.
- V'lla.

Audience Reaction to Actor's Slam poetry

👁️. S'di çka tham tjetër. Komplekse t'pa sherune t'ni çike që pret duartrokite prej ni publiku po ashtu me semundje t'njejtë lloj. T'mjerë pasha Zotin, Ai i'u drejtofte se kerkah me toke t'bukes nuk jeni. Tuget me t'i qu.

Like Reply 3y Edited



Semundja nuk është veq shtrit.. për qfar vlera asht tu kallxu kjo lop bre. Pffff

Like Reply 3y

Adem !

Like Reply 3y

↳ 3 Replies

Arlind Berisha qeshtu osht kur tmyket truni 😂😂

Like Reply 3y



Qe sta ka rras kerkush nshkoll mesme ska nevoj me bertit me na kallxu krejtve

Like Reply 3y



Nita Hoti goja i lumte a!

Like Reply 3y



↳ 1 Reply

A kur pi permen qito c*ca mkalle qiti pak ti shoh!

Like Reply 3y



↳ 1 Reply

Valla ma femer DRAM se kjo skam pa...

Imagjinone kjo mej mbrojt te drejtat e femrave 😞

(nuk merren gjanat tuj bertit neper rrug e fb veq pse je femer, po tuj u shkollu e tuja kriju terrenin vetes...

Like Reply 3y

