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**Abstract****“From the Café We Went to War”: Political Manoeuvring and Protest in Pristina's Public Spaces**  
**Christopher John Diming**

I discuss how agents utilise rhetoric to alter their ties with other agents within social spaces from field research conducted in Pristina, the capital of Kosovo, from June 2014 to July 2015. First, I flesh out the theoretical and methodological framework for the rest of the dissertation. The theoretical framework is based on a view of hegemony influenced by Green and Laclau, where hegemony is a process through which agents draw on rhetoric to alter their relationships. I appropriate a methodology combining ethnography with systematic Social Network Analysis (SNA) and cultural domain analysis in order to provide a complementary account of networks, agents and spaces in Pristina. Second, I review the anthropological work on rhetoric, considering rhetoric as a tool used by agents to alter their social relations which draws on discourses. Third, I explore how agents in Pristina conceptualise space through interpreting perspectives from ethnographic interviews and data from a pile sort exercise, showing that spaces shape how agents act through being discursive settings. Fourth, I delve into the concepts of *nder* (“honour”) and *turp* (“shame”) through interviews and the analysis of a free list, showing how the concepts play out in Pristina and their links with each other, including related concepts. Fifth, I explore, through a SNA, how agents organise networks of relationships and illustrate how agents make use of rhetoric drawing on cultural concepts such as *nder* and *besa* in the course of their activities. Sixth, I explore how people in Pristina conceptualise their identities and show that Albanian national identity has been constructed as a discursive formation linking agents together. I conclude that agents utilise rhetoric to alter their ties with other agents in social spaces by drawing on discourses, thereby shaping discourses, changing the agents' networks and resulting in the emergence of new circumstances.

**“From the Café We Went to War”: Political Manoeuvring  
and Protest in Pristina's Public Spaces**

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**Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology**

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**Supervised by Dr Stephen M. Lyon and Prof Robert H. Layton**

**2016**

## Table of Contents

Table of Contents .....	3
Table of Figures .....	6
Statement of Copyright .....	7
Acknowledgements .....	8
Abbreviations .....	11
Chapter 1: Introduction .....	12
The Field Site: Pristina.....	14
Theoretical Framework: Ambiguity, Marginality and Hegemony in the “Balkans” .....	32
Introduction to the Methodology .....	48
Agents, Networks and Systems: Using Social Network Analysis .....	49
Situating the Anthropologist .....	53
Interviews for “Finding Culture” .....	57
Exploring Terms with Free Lists .....	62
Pile Sorts and Relationships between Terms .....	63
Finding Agency: Utilising Unstructured Interviews .....	66
Turning Social Phenomena Inside Out with “Good-Enough Methods” .....	67
Chapter 2: Theory on Rhetoric and Culture .....	72
Introduction .....	72
Burke and Rhetoric .....	73
Fernandez and the Play of Tropes .....	74
“Rhetoric Culture Theory” .....	76
Social Poetics .....	79
Rhetoric and Hegemony.....	80
Synthesis .....	83
Conclusion .....	87
Chapter 3: Cultural Concepts amidst Networks and Public Spaces in Hegemony .....	89
Introduction .....	89
Concepts in Social Network Analysis (SNA) .....	91
The Public Sphere, Public Space and Hegemony .....	99
Descriptions of Honour .....	110
Bourdieu and Honour .....	111
Honour after Structural-Functionalism and Structuralism .....	112
Symbolic Capital and Honour .....	115

Shame and the Regulation of Agents through Networks .....	116
Conclusion .....	124
Chapter 4: The Public Sphere and Public Space in Pristina .....	126
Introduction .....	126
Practices and Concepts of Space in Pristina .....	126
Boundaries Between Public and Private: Fixed or Blurred?.....	133
Pile Sorts .....	146
Discussion and Conclusion .....	157
Conclusion .....	161
Chapter 5: Negotiating Honour and Shame in Pristina.....	163
Introduction.....	163
Data and Discussion.....	163
Contested Understandings.....	168
<i>Nder</i> and <i>Inat</i> .....	171
Honour and Shame: Control through Rhetoric .....	174
Free lists .....	176
Discussion .....	193
Conclusion .....	199
Chapter 6: Rhetoric and Networks.....	200
Introduction .....	200
Networks in Pristina.....	201
Social Network Analysis of Networks in Pristina .....	203
The Use of Rhetoric within Networks .....	217
Rhetoric and Political Conflict.....	226
Discussion .....	236
Chapter 7: Rhetoric, Hegemony and Identity .....	241
Introduction .....	241
Perceptions of Identity .....	242
Identity and Complexity.....	253
Hegemony and Identity.....	258
Albanian National Identity through Hegemony.....	268
Conclusion .....	274
Chapter 8: Conclusion.....	276
The Argument Thus Far.....	276

Rhetoric in Networks and Protests.....	280
Protests, Rhetoric and Networks.....	283
Contributions to the Anthropology of Kosovo and Post-Yugoslav Ethnography.....	290
Contributions to Studies on Rhetoric and Culture.....	293
Conclusion.....	297
Bibliography.....	299

Table of Figures

Figure 1: Pile Sort Results ..... 149  
*Figure 2: SNA Overall Results*..... 208  
Figure 3: SNA Results, Upper Left..... 210  
Figure 4: SNA Results, Upper Right ..... 211  
Figure 5: SNA Results, Lower Half..... 216



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*For my grandfather, Earl Hatcher.*

## Abbreviations

AAK	Aleanca per Ardhshmerine e Kosoves (“Alliance for the Future of Kosovo”)
BiH	Bosna i Hercegovina (“Bosnia and Herzegovina”)
EU	European Union
EULEX	European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo
ICO	International Civilian Office
ICR	International Civilian Representative
KFOR	Kosovo Force
LDK	Lidhja Demokratike e Kosoves (“Democratic League of Kosovo”)
LPK	Levizja Popullore e Kosoves (“People’s Movement of Kosovo”)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NISMA	NISMA per Kosoven (“Initiative for Kosovo”)
OMLK	Organizata Marksist-Leniniste e Kosoves (“Marxist-Leninist Organization of Kosovo”)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PDK	Partia Demokratike e Kosoves (“Democratic Party of Kosovo”)
PKMLSHJ	Partia Komuniste Marksiste-Leniniste e Shqiptareve ne Jugosllavi (“Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Albanians in Yugoslavia”)
SOE	Socially-Owned Enterprise
UÇK	Ushtria Clirimtare e Kosoves (“Kosovo Liberation Army”, KLA)
UN	United Nations
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo
VV	Levizja Vetevendosje (“Self-Determination Movement”)

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### **Pristina, 24 January, 2015- Part 1**

It is just before 2 pm in the centre of Pristina, the capital city of Kosovo, and the day is Saturday, 24 January, 2015. Having arrived in early June, 2014, I am now concluding my seventh full month in Kosovo. At this moment, I'm sitting in a bustling student café in full view of the Biblioteka Kombëtare e Kosovës (National Library of Kosovo). Attempting to find Wi-Fi on my phone to contact a friend, I'm looking out at the library, expecting to see large groups of people gathering shortly. Today is supposed to be one of the largest protests to be held in Kosovo since the end of the war in 1999.

Shivering from the anticipation and temperatures, I wait inside the café, idly listening to my fellow patrons and ascertaining what news I could gain on today's events from my phone. My mind is not focused on the café's public space but incredibly preoccupied, because, over the last few days, anticipation has been building within Pristina over the protest to be held in a few minutes. "What will happen today? Will it make a difference? Have I made the right decision in coming to this place, at this time?"

Anticipation has been building, because both print and social forms of media such as Facebook have been abuzz with news of today's protests. From the print media, there has been a media war between the opposition parties and the ruling coalition, with the opposition parties declaring their resistance towards the continued involvement of the Deputy Prime Minister of Kosovo, Aleksandar Jablanovic in the government. A few weeks ago on 6 January, the deputy prime minister had referred to a group of protesters in Kosovo city of Gjakova/Đakovica "*egërsia*" ("savages") for throwing stones at a bus of Serbian pilgrims who desired to enter the city's Eastern Orthodox church. The group, Thirrjet e Nënave ("Call of Mothers"), joined by Lëvizja Vetëvendosje ("Self-Determination Movement") then in response launched a wave of protests against Jablanovic and urged for his resignation. Starting in Gjakova, the protests spread from the city to other places in Kosovo for the next couple of weeks, including a large

march in the city of Ferizaj, another in Peja/Pec, and a third in Pristina's neighbouring municipality of Fushë Kosovë/ Kosovo Polje.

Having been announced earlier this week, the current protest involves Thirrjet e Nënave, Lëvizja Vetëvendosje, the Aleanca për Ardhmerinë e Kosovës (“Alliance for the Future of Kosovo”, or AAK) and NISMA për Kosovën (“Initiative for Kosovo”, or NISMA) parties, “civil society” initiatives such as the Kosovo Women's Network, smaller activist groups such as Klubi Politik i Studentëve (the Students' Political Club). Over the past few months, Lëvizja Vetëvendosje has joined with AAK and NISMA in a political coalition in Kosovo's parliament, the Assembly. Formerly political rivals, the three parties have joined against the ruling party led by Lidhja Demokratike e Kosovës (“Democratic League of Kosovo”, or LDK) and Partia Demokratike e Kosovës (“Democratic Party of Kosovo”, or PDK). With today's protest having been announced last Tuesday, the opposition parties have engaged in a media war with LDK and PDK, demanding Jablanovic's resignation and the nationalisation of the Trepca mining complex in Mitrovica, a small city in northern Kosovo.

Additionally, members of Lëvizja Vetëvendosje's activist network have been utilising the public, internet space of Facebook as a medium for organising the protest. With much of the country's younger population on Facebook, organising via the social media website can lead to many promising results, as seen by the internet debates spawned by the recent #TakeBackTheNight virtual and physical campaign. Utilising the internet, #TakeBackTheNight mobilised approximately 200 people in a march through Pristina's centre against sexual harassment in a context where gender-based violence remains a taboo subject.

Regarding today's protest, activists associated with Lëvizja Vetëvendosje have created an event page to invite prospective attendees and, if they click “yes” on the invitation, the event's “members” will then be able to view posts associated with the event, such as motivational memes and videos, as well as post their own. Indeed, these posts are for public view, as I have first seen them on my news feed via an

acquaintance. The last time I've checked, the event for today's protest had a substantial number of people listed as "attending". Thus, Lëvizja Vetëvendosje's current attempt at utilising the social media platform for its political organising represents a continuation of this pattern and has the potential to bring many people into today's protests.

For the last few days I have also been hearing from numerous acquaintances regarding the coming protest. Talking to Liridon, an organiser in Lëvizja Vetëvendosje, I had learned a few days ago that there would be a protest coming today, and I knew from him that the organisation was mobilising its supporters. It had become a talking point during my conversations with others, with person asking me whether I would be going to the protest and another jokingly saying that I would need to avoid being beaten up. Another Lëvizja Vetëvendosje activist had said that the organisation's coming protests would be very large, similar to last year's protest against the University of Pristina's leadership which led to the resignation of the institution's rector. With the protest's buzz intensifying, I knew that it could perhaps be one of the most significant single political events of the year, both for my research and for Pristina.

### **The Field Site: Pristina**

Pristina, the capital city of Kosovo and the location of the protest described in the short vignette above, is the primary field site for the research presented in this dissertation. From June 2014 to July 2015, I conducted anthropological fieldwork in the city, where I based myself within public spaces such as cafés, bars and squares in order to probe interactions between networks of relationships between people, the spaces within which they operate and the rhetoric utilised by agents through the course of their activities. While positioning myself within such spaces, I frequently came across political actions such as the one described within the vignette above, which took place in late January. Consequently, as part of the wider Balkans region, which has been labelled as part of "the margins of Europe", fieldwork in Kosovo represents an opportunity to explore how networks are formed and mobilised amidst attempts at state-building following international interventions (Herzfeld 1987). Furthermore, as a largely under-



studied region which has been formerly under Yugoslavia, fieldwork in Kosovo represents an opportunity to explore the post-Yugoslav transformations described by anthropologists including Jansen, Brkovic, Kurtovic and many others from a unique vantage point (Jansen 2015; Brkovic 2015a; Brkovic 2015b; Kurtovic 2015; Kurtovic 2016).

In this section, I describe the relevant socio-economic and political developments in Pristina and Kosovo from the end of the Second World War until the present. There is a small number of studies which chronicle events in Kosovo, with Malcolm providing a sweeping account of the region's history from end of the Roman Empire until directly before the Kosovo War in 1998 and 1999 and Vickers giving an especially detailed account of events in Kosovo immediately preceding the 1998-1999 war (Vickers 1998; Malcolm 2002). The goal is then not to chronicle each and every event, but rather to highlight the events and transformations necessary for understanding the rest of the dissertation. Consequently, I start with a brief description of Kosovo's time as a region within Yugoslavia since the Second World War before focusing on events from 1981 until the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the build-up to the war in Kosovo, which occurred from 1998-1999. I then continue to a brief description of the war itself, and post-war developments including Kosovo's time period as a United Nations protectorate, declared independence from Serbia, ongoing negotiations on integration with the European Union, tensions between its political parties and periods of protest against its government. Along the way, I highlight Pristina's transformations as a post-Yugoslav city, particularly the growing significance of interpersonal networks following Yugoslavia's disintegration and the significance of public spaces for political mobilisation in the city.

Following the end of the Second World War, Kosovo became an Autonomous Republic within Serbia, itself a constituent republic in the new Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Vickers 1998: 144-146). Following protests from segments of its Albanian population for greater recognition, Yugoslavia's 1974 constitution granted Kosovo representation in the country's federal legislative organs

equal to the republics and required that legislation passed by Serbia's assembly be approved by Kosovo's assembly if it was meant to affect the entirety of Serbia (Vickers 1998: 178-179). These changes occurred as part of a wider programme of decentralisation which transferred control of certain areas, such as education, taxation and economic policies, to the republics (Vickers 1998: 178-179). Furthermore, during this time, infrastructural spending in Kosovo increased, with facilities including schools, health clinics and roads being built through Yugoslav grants and the University of Pristina's establishment in 1969 as an institution with teaching in both Serbo-Croatian and Albanian (Vickers 1998: 184; Malcolm 2002: 325-326).

However, despite these advances, pressure increased for Kosovo's establishment as a republic separate from Serbia (Vickers 1998: 181, 194). In 1981, the resentment burst to the surface, when a protest begun at the University of Pristina dining hall by students over living conditions sparked a massive demonstration in Pristina two weeks later which, although first begun over student living conditions, soon included chants such as “Kosovo- Republic!”, “We are Albanians- not Yugoslavs!” and “Unification with Albania” and violent clashes with riot police (Malcolm 2002: 335-336). During the following days, more demonstrations would appear in other cities within Kosovo including Mitrovica, Djakovica (Gjakova) and Podujevo, resulting in additional clashes with police and the arrival from other parts of Yugoslavia of additional security forces (Malcolm 2002: 335).

According to Malcolm, the protests “unleashed a new round of accusations and counter-accusations about Albanian and Serbian nationalism” (Malcolm 2002: 334). Stories flew in Serbian media outlets of attacks committed by Albanian men on Serbs in Kosovo which furthered a linkage “between Albanian aggression and intimate personal degradation”, and a trend of complaints emerged from the Serb community in Kosovo of perceived Albanian violence (Malcolm 2002: 339). The rising tide of accusation and tension continued into 1986 with a document published in the Serbian press from the Serbian Academy of Sciences entitled the “Memorandum” which called for the protection of the

“integrity of the Serbian people” to be made the dominant policy of future governments (Malcolm 2002: 340-341). During this time period an underground resistance against the federal government emerged within the Albanian community of activists referred to as *ilegalja* (literally, “illegals”) for their membership in organisations including the People's Movement of Kosovo (LPK), a combination of smaller organisations such as Adem Demaçi's Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Kosovo (OMLK) and the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of the Albanians of Yugoslavia (PKMLSHJ), which worked to prepare the ground for a war in Kosovo, eventually forming the Kosovo Liberation Army (UÇK) in the early 1990s (Schwandner-Sievers 2013b: 955-956).

It is at this point when Slobodan Milosevic, at that time a more minor Community Party official in Serbia, become increasingly significant in Yugoslavia's political scene. At the request of the party's president, Milosevic travelled to Kosovo in 1987 in order to speak with a group of Serb and Montenegrin activists who were planning a large protest in Belgrade but had requested to speak with the president beforehand (Malcolm 2002: 341). Malcolm writes that, on 24 April 1987 in the municipality of Kosovo Polje (Fushë Kosovë, in Albanian), Milosevic was listening to speeches by local figures inside the “House of Culture” when the police and some of the local Serb activists began struggling outside (Malcolm 2002: 341). Struck by the fighting, which, according to Malcolm, had been planned beforehand, Milosevic declared, “No one should dare to beat you” to the assembled Serb and Montenegrin activists, subsequently delivering a speech that would be repeated afterwards on Serbian television (Malcolm 2002: 341-342).

A few months later, four Yugoslav army recruits were killed by an Albanian draftee in a barracks in Serbia (Malcolm 2002: 342). Utilising the event to his advantage, as well as the Serb recruit's subsequent funeral and massive support from Serb activists in Kosovo, Milosevic began to consolidate his power, first seizing the position of party president from Stambolic and then holding mass rallies often centred the controversy of Kosovo (Malcolm 2002: 342). Next, he deposed the sitting party chiefs in the

Autonomous Provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo, as well as the republic of Montenegro, replacing them with his own allies (Malcolm 2002: 342-343). Milosevic's consolidation of power continued, with the following year beginning with preparations in Serbia's assembly to substantially weaken Kosovo's autonomy (Malcolm 2002: 343). In response, miners employed at the Trepca complex, located in northern Kosovo, countered with a well-remembered strike in Trepca, calling for the dismissal of Kosovo's new party leader, Rrahman Morina and the cancellation of the policies being prepared in Serbia's assembly (Clark 2000: 49-51; Malcolm 2002: 343). At first, it appeared that the miners had won, as Rrahman had resigned, but the chief then cancelled his resignation and military forces moved into Kosovo, initiating a crackdown (Malcolm 2002: 343-344). Guarded by armoured vehicles and tanks, Kosovo's assembly then met on 23 March 1989 and the proposed changes were passed, giving Milosevic power over enough assemblies in order to control the Yugoslav presidency (Malcolm 2002: 344).

According to Malcolm, it was Milosevic's rise to power through Kosovo which prompted anxiety among the Slovenian and Croatian leadership and prompted Yugoslavia's dissolution (Malcolm 2002: 344). Slovenia and Croatia threatening to secede from Yugoslavia before 26 June 1991 if an agreement between the splintering republics was not reached (Ramet 2002: 66). Without a resolution, the two republics seceded on 25 June 1991, effectively dissolving Yugoslavia (Ramet 2002: 66).

In response, the Yugoslav army entered Slovenia on 27 June, with fighting between the Slovenian and Yugoslav forces lasting until a European Community-brokered ceasefire took effect in early July (Ramet 2002: 66-67). New fighting began shortly thereafter in Croatia's Krajina region between Serbian militias and the Croatian military, where local members of the local Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) declared their intention to secede and join Vojvodina (Ramet 2002: 62, 67). Hostilities continued in Croatia until February 1992 with a UN-brokered ceasefire, but Ramet notes that this cessation merely "set the stage" for war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Ramet 2002: 157, 205). Indeed, in conflict resumed in Croatia again between May and August 1995 when the Croatian military attacked Serb positions in

Croatia, eventually retaking the Krajina region in early August (Ramet 2002: 230-232).

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, an Assembly of the Serb population declared independence from the republic on 21 December 1991, and Bosnia and Herzegovina itself declared independence on 3 March following a referendum held throughout the country minus Serb participation (Ramet 2002: 206). Fighting began on 3 April with clashes between Serbian “irregulars” and Bosnian Muslims and Croats in the localities of Bosanski Brod and Kupres, with hostilities soon extending throughout the country's territory (Ramet 2002: 207). Remaining in Bosnia and Herzegovina despite an official order by Milosevic to withdraw, the Yugoslav army continued to assist the Bosnian Serb forces and the fighting lasted until the conclusion of the Dayton Agreement on 21 November 1995 (Ramet 2002: 207, 239). A key element of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as in Croatia and Slovenia, was international involvement, with peacekeeping contingents from the United Nations being present in Bosnia from June 1992, a NATO bombardment campaign conducted on Serb positions from 1993 to August 1995 and the peace agreement having been brokered by outside powers including the United States (Ramet 2002: 208, 233).

Returning to Kosovo, on 2 July 1990, 114 out of 123 Albanian members of the Assembly met and voted for a resolution referring to Kosovo as “an equal and independent entity within the framework of the Yugoslav federation,” and the Assembly and provincial government were promptly abolished by the Serbian governing bodies (Malcolm 2002: 346). On 7 September, three months after the 7 July meeting, the Albanian delegates met again in order to proclaim the existence of a new “Republic of Kosovo”, and on 24 May 1992 elections were held in Kosovo through the use of private houses, spaces out of the Serbian authorities' eyes, for the new republic's legislative branch (Malcolm 2002: 347). Malcolm relates that these events portray the emergence of “a resilient and increasingly sophisticated political culture” among the Albanian community in Kosovo since 1989 (Malcolm 2002: 347). The backbone of the movement for the Republic is found in the formation of organisations which had sprung

up during the late 1980s, one of them being the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), founded from the Association of Writers based around the University of Pristina and led by Dr Ibrahim Rugova (Malcolm 2002: 347-348). These forces emerged within the new “parallel state” formed after the republic had been declared in 1990 and voted upon in 1992, with LDK becoming its de-facto ruling party due to obtaining the most parliamentary seats (Vickers 1998: 259-260).

Simultaneously, the presence of Serbian military and security forces increased in Kosovo, and paramilitary groups known for their activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia began to arrive as well, with the Tigers, led by Arkan, arriving within the province and recruitment operations increased for the “White Eagles” and “Serbian National Guard” groups, both controlled by the leader of the Serbian Radical Party, Vojislav Seselj (Vickers 1998: 259). Pristina's urban landscape began to change, with the Grand Hotel, a dominant concrete structure in the city centre, becoming a recruitment office for the paramilitaries and hosting snipers on its roof (Vickers 1998: 259; Clark 2000: 77-78). Instances of repression by the Serbian police became widespread, and the “search for arms” by police patrols became the “main form of terror” throughout the province (Clark 2000: 78). Indeed, interviews within this dissertation describe how this harassment in the case of women often consisted of sexual assaults, and, as a result a clinic was set up for women who needed assistance (Clark 2000: 79).

In response to instances of repression by Serbian security forces and the Milosevic government's policies towards Kosovo, strategies emerged within the Albanian community to “identify violence with the Serbian oppressor while restraining counter-violence from the population, to strengthen social solidarity while emboldening the population to use the limited space available to communicate their defiance” (Clark 2000: 59). Within the context of Kosovo, the focus on solidarity is key, as it portrays networks within the Albanian community, which had been separate, coming together as part of a unified movement. Described by both Clark and Luci, an example of this process is the reconciliation of blood feuds, a series of meetings held in parts of Kosovo between 1990 and 1992 to resolve violent disputes

between families where those concerned would swear a *besa* (“oath”) first in private houses and then in public that the feud had been nullified (Clark 2000: 61-63; Luci 2014: 99, 101, 103).

During the early 1990s, the underground “Republic “of Kosovo established a parallel state, with LDK leader Ibrahim Rugova as its president and Bujar Bukoshi as prime minister (Clark 2000: 83-84, 90, 95). The project's goal was to side-step war and surrender to the Serbian government while moving towards independence from Serbia, and, as part of this, the creation of “parallel structures”, institutions, was instrumental as a means of bypassing the Serbian government (Clark 2000: 95). Established under the parallel system, secondary school classes were held in private buildings, as were lectures at the University of Pristina (Clark 2000: 97-98, 101). Meanwhile, a parallel medical system under the Mother Theresa Association (MTA) was established, and cultural activities such as theatrical shows, art exhibitions and sports events were held in locations including cafés, private venues and underground theatres (Clark 2000: 107-108, 111-112).

With the establishment of the parallel system, the LDK and Ibrahim Rugova dominated politics in Kosovo among the Albanian population, seeking to build a state which, with the international community's assistance, would be able to outlast the Serbian presence (Clark 2000: 89-92). However, since 1994, divisions within the LDK and Assembly had been becoming more pronounced, with frustration and criticism peaking immediately after the Dayton Agreements announcement in December 1995, when no mention was made of Kosovo's final status despite numerous meetings with members of the international community including the United States (Vickers 1998: 281-286; Clark 2000: 122-123; Malcolm 2002: 353-354). In response to the conditions facing students in parallel university education, and displaying a general turn away from the LDK, a committee of students from the University of Pristina organised and executed a series of mass demonstrations in Pristina from 1 October to 30 December (Clark 2000: 125, 151-157; Malcolm 2002: xxix).

At the same time, the clandestine Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës (UÇK), or Kosovo Liberation

Army (UÇK) in English, had become established from the aforementioned *ilegalja* factions around the LPK and the LKÇK (National Movement for the Liberation of Kosovo) during the early 1990s (Schwandner-Sievers and Duijzings 2004: 87-88). The fledgling UÇK had been active since then, and the attacks attributed to it raised the profile of new forms of direct action against the Serbian regime in direct contrast with the LDK's more passive approach (Vickers 1998: 290-292; Clark 2000: 123-124; Malcolm 2002: 354-355). On 28 November, following a gun attack by Serbian police which resulted in the death of a school teacher, the UÇK made its first public appearance at the teacher's funeral in Llaushë, a town in the Drenica municipality of Skenderaj, setting the stage for the conflict to begin the next year in 1998 (Clark 2000: 156; Malcolm 2002: xxviii; IndeksOnline 2016).

Judah traces the beginning of the war in Kosovo to 28 February 1998, when Serbian security forces engaged UÇK fighters in the villages of Likosane and Cirez in Kosovo's Drenica region, resulting in the deaths of four Serbian police officers and 26 of the locality's residents (Judah 2000: 138-139). A few days later, on 5 March, the security forces surrounded a compound in the nearby village of Prekaz belonging to the Jashari family, of which Adem Jashari was known as an UÇK commander (Judah 2000: 139-140). After a two-day struggle, 58 members of the Jashari family had died, including Adem, an event which, according to Malcolm, led to a spike in the UÇK's recruitment numbers once it had been publicised (Judah 2000: 140-141; Malcolm 2002: xxx). Despite a NATO show of force through flights of jets over Kosovo's southern borders on June 15, heavy fighting then continued, and Serbian forces launched an offensive through the countryside officially aimed at uprooting UÇK supporters but, according to Malcolm, actually aimed at permanently removing people who lived in the villages they encountered (Malcolm 2002: xxxii).

After a short lull between October and early December, fighting began again in earnest during the last week of December 1998 with a Serbian assault on Podujevo (Malcolm 2002: xxxiv). During the following weeks, more Serbian military units positioned themselves on Kosovo's borders, and a massacre



of Albanian civilians was uncovered in the village of Racak, prompting a peace conference to be organised at Rambouillet in Paris on 6 February (Malcolm 2002: xxxiv-xxxv). During the conference, an “Interim Agreement” was discussed by the Albanian and Serbian delegations where Kosovo's autonomy would be discussed after a period of three years later, NATO peacekeeping forces (dubbed the Kosovo Force, or KFOR) would be positioned in Kosovo to enforce the Agreement and the UÇK would be disarmed (Malcolm 2002: xxxv-xxxvi). However, the Serbian delegation did not acquiesce to the agreement, and Serbian military build-up inside and along Kosovo's borders continued to intensify. On 24 March 1999, NATO began a bombing campaign of “strategic targets” inside the whole of Yugoslavia upon the Agreement's rejection by the Serbian parliament and another failed negotiation attempt (Malcolm 2002: xxxvii). In response, the Serbian military began an orchestrated campaign of “ethnic cleansing” across Kosovo, forcing civilians out of their homes and across the border into Albania and Macedonia (Malcolm 2002: xxxviii). Unlike the previous year, this campaign included Pristina along with the northern city of Mitrovica, with residents being removed from their homes and directed onto trains leaving for the Macedonian border (Malcolm 2002: xxxix). From NATO estimates, approximately 600,000 refugees had left Kosovo, and another 850,000 were internally-displaced within Kosovo's borders (Malcolm 2002: xxxix). Almost three months after the campaign started, it ended on 10 June 1999 with Milosevic's declaration ending Serbian military activities and the passage of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244, which allowed NATO troops to enter Kosovo as peacekeepers (Judah 2000: 285).

Although the bombing had officially ended, the violence still continued in the form of revenge attacks undertaken against the Serb population (Judah 2000 286-296; Judah 2008: 91). Regarding these episodes, Judah writes, “In the general euphoria that followed [the war] many did not see, or overlooked, the dreadful reprisals that took place against Serbs in particular but also against Roma and other non-Albanians” (Judah 2008: 91). Indeed, Pristina's population of Serbs, once at approximately 20,000

people, had dropped to less than 1,000 as a result of the attacks, with many leaving the city and moving to Gracanica, a nearby suburb which soon became a prominent Serb enclave (Judah 2000: 288-289, 295; Norman 2014: 2, 4). Meanwhile, Mitrovica to the north became divided between a Serb north and an Albanian south, with clashes frequently occurring on the main bridge connecting the two parts together (Judah 2000: 296; Judah 2008: 100-101).

Established from Resolution 1244, the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) arrived under the supervision of a French politician, Bernard Kouchner (Judah 2000: 297-298). The mission functioned as a “transitional administration” for Kosovo “while establishing and overseeing the development of provisional democratic self-governing institutions to ensure conditions for a peaceful and normal life for all inhabitants of Kosovo” (Judah 2008: 94). As part of this mission, UNMIK was tasked with rebuilding the civil service, law enforcement and judicial institutions as well as “economic reconstruction” and “institution building” (Judah 2008: 94). Post-war Kosovo had come under international tutelage, with the European Union as well as the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) arriving as well (Judah 2008: 94).

With UNMIK's arrival, Kosovo underwent substantial socio-economic changes. The international community responded to the region's post-war economic devastation with a massive privatisation initiative largely focused on “socially owned enterprises” (SOEs) operating in the mining, agriculture and construction sectors, to name three examples (Knudsen 2010: 12-14). However, Knudsen points out that, in 2010, the figures for the amount of people living in poverty, extreme poverty and unemployment remain unchanged since the war's conclusion in 1999 (Knudsen 2010: 14). The privatisation process's apparent messiness is reflected in Norman's account of urban space in post-war Pristina, in that construction firms were able to transform the city's urban landscape through the unregulated building of apartment complexes during the early 2000s (Norman 2014: 3-4).

This lack of clarity is also mirrored in the fate of the UÇK following the war, where, after its

UNMIK- directed demobilisation, leading figures associated with it, such as Hashim Thaçi, the current president, split into several political parties differentiated more by personalities, identification with concepts of ethnicity, geographical bases of support, including the PDK and AAK, a rival organisation led by Ramush Haradinaj (Judah 2000: 299; IKS 2011: 10-11, 39, 44, 56, 59; Schwandner-Sievers 2013b: 956; BBC 2016). This messy proliferation of political and economic ties in post-war Pristina is reminiscent of interactions described in the wider field of post-Yugoslav anthropology, particularly in Kurtovic's work in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which illustrates a similar diffusion of parties based on personality and local support and a dispersion of socio-economic resources following privatisation of the state's socially and publicly owned enterprises (Kurtovic 2011; Kurtovic 2015; Kurtovic 2016).

In Kosovo, the post-war status quo was shaken by two-days of riots and protests targeting UNMIK and Serb properties, resulting in the deaths of 11 Albanians and 8 Serbs, nine hundred injuries and 29 Serbian churches and monasteries torched or damaged, as well as the forced evacuation of approximately 4,366 people, 360 of whom were Albanian and another 360 were Roma (Judah 2008: 109-110). The violence prompted the United Nations to consider the province's final status, as before this point reforms were made to bring the government to European Union standards without explicitly questioning the region's political trajectory (Judah 2008: 108-111). This endeavour's result was the Ahtisaari Plan, which called for Kosovo's gradual transition to an independent state through international "supervision", a task which would pass from UNMIK to two separate European organisations: the European Union Rule of Law Mission (EULEX) and the International Civilian Office (ICO) led by an International Civilian Representative (ICR) who would also have final say over affairs in Kosovo (Judah 2008: 113-115). Although the plan was not accepted by the UN Security Council, it came into effect once Kosovo unilaterally declared independence on 17 February, 2008 as part of negotiations between the Kosovar and European authorities over the new state's recognition by states within the European Union (Judah 2008: 114-116, 140).

Since 2008, Kosovo is still struggling for recognition, with Serbia, Russia, five European member states and numerous others not among 114 UN members currently recognising it (Prishtina Insight 2017). Consequently, after the end of Kosovo's "supervised independence" in 2012 (although EULEX remains in a law enforcement capacity), the government began to focus on increasing the number of states recognising Kosovo and negotiations with the European Union over both integration within the body and the liberalisation of its visa regime for citizens of Kosovo (Collaku 2015; Bailey and Limani 2016; Fazliu 2016). As part of these dialogues, the EU has brokered an agreement (the "Brussels Agreement") between Kosovo and Serbia where the two governments have agreed on a number of measures, including the establishment of an independent community of Serb municipalities in Kosovo.

However, the process of carrying out this measure, along with an EU push for Kosovo to clearly demarcate its borders with Montenegro, has triggered many protests in Kosovo, particularly after its parliament began to debate the measures in 2015. The trend began before Kosovo's independence, with the aforementioned protests in 2004 and a large-scale protest in 2007 against negotiations between Serbia and Kosovo ending in a confrontation between UNMIK police and protesters with Levizja Vetëvendosje (Self-Determination Movement) which resulted in the deaths of two protesters (IKS 2011: 54-55; Schwandner-Sievers 2013a: 107-108). Founded by Albin Kurti, the leader of the 1997 student protests, the movement styles itself as the true heir to the legacy of UÇK and Adem Demaçi, characterising the current government as collaborating with Serbia due to its presence in negotiations, advocating for a referendum on the joining of Kosovo with Albania and a socialist programme of nationalisation to counter the privatisation measures introduced by UNMIK (Schwandner-Sievers 2013a: 97-99, 103-108). In this way, the organisation seeks to appropriate the legacy of Adem Jashari, the "Legendary Commander" (Di Lellio and Schwandner-Sievers 2006; Schwandner-Sievers 2013a: 106; Schwandner-Sievers 2013b: 962).

This trend of protests continued following the 2007 protests with a massive wave of protests in

January 2015. In a comparatively similar manner as the 2007 protest, the series of events in 2015 were organised in part by Levizja Vetëvendosje, although now a participant in electoral politics, in response to the government's relations with Serbia (IKS 2011: 55; Mari 2015). As shown through vignettes in this dissertation, the protests illustrate a rhetorical utilisation of the discursive formation of Albanian national identity explicitly referring to the UÇK legacy. However, the protests are not only about nationalism, instead they make use of such imagery to refer to concerns including especially frustration with the government over its social, economic and political policies, as well as the quality of life in Kosovo (Diming 2015; Mari 2015; Marku 2015). This trend has continued following this dissertation, with another wave of protests occurring in 2016 led by Levizja Vetëvendosje against the formation of the Community of Serb Municipalities (“*Zajednica*”) in Kosovo and demarcation of Kosovo's border with Montenegro (Chick 2016; Luci 2016). Faced by both the use of tear gas in the parliament and large-scale rallies in the streets, the process of finalising the measures came to a standstill, and the government led by Prime Minister Isa Mustafa (also prime minister in 2015) has recently collapsed through a vote of no-confidence supported by Levizja Vetëvendosje and other opposition parties in 2017, triggering a snap parliamentary election in June 2017 (Mari et al 2015; Popova 2017a; Popova 2017b).

Consequently, as seen throughout this introduction, protests have had a consistent presence in Kosovo's politics since 1968. Because of their focus on Kosovo's government, both pre- and-post independence, and its collusion with the international community, the 2007, 2015 and 2016 actions are similar in scope to the protests which occurred throughout the former Yugoslavia during 2014, events which, as Arsenijevic, Kurtovic and others show in Bosnia and Herzegovina, were shaped by frustration with the privatisation and clientelistic political and social practices associated with post-Yugoslav transformations (Schwandner-Sievers 2013a: 98-99; Arsenijevic 2014: 45, 47; Jansen 2014: 90-92; Stiks and Horvat 2014: 84-85; Kurtovic 2015: 639-642). However, what is most interesting about them is that they do not only engage with topics such as negotiations between Kosovo and Serbia; they also address

questions of Kosovo's post-Yugoslav trajectory by bringing concerns over the government's (and international organisations') re-structuring of the public institutions and economy into the country's public space.

Henceforth, to query protests in Pristina, where they often occur, involves an investigation into how people negotiate Kosovo's myriad post-Yugoslav changes in their daily lives and express them politically. In this way, this ethnography echoes recent ethnographies which have focused on political mobilisation within contexts throughout the former Yugoslavia, including Greenberg's account of student activists in Serbia and Razsa's exploration of activists in Croatia and Slovenia, as well as Kurtovic's research on connections between the 2014 protests in Bosnia and Herzegovina and both political and economic practices (Greenberg 2014; Kurtovic 2014; Kurtovic 2015; Razsa 2015). Following from these studies, I anthropologically explore political mobilisation in Pristina in order to uncover how people in the city negotiate its dynamic, post-Yugoslav and urban environment.

### **Pristina, 24 January, 2015- Part 2**

From the protests last week, I also know that today's protest could potentially be quite dangerous. From 13 January to 17 January, I had attended protests organised by the students with KPS against the rise of electricity prices by the KEDS energy distribution company. Standing with the protesters in temperatures near -7 Celsius, I had felt a degree of foreboding when the police, following a scuffle between them and a group of protesters, sprayed one of them in the face with a heavy dose of pepper spray. Not desiring to undergo a similar experience, I had planned, with my supervisors, a set of measures to lower the likelihood of falling into harm. While I viewed these measures to be satisfactory, I was still quite unnerved following the events at the KEDS protest.

It is now nearing 2 pm and, paying waiter for the macchiato, I step out of the café and walk the 100 or so meters to the National Library across the grassy park. From this distance, I can see many people starting to congregate around the distinctively shaped, modernist building. Blerina, a young activist who

sometimes works in a government office, has attempted to reach me to see if I am going to the protest, but the Wi-Fi in my phone is not working well enough to respond.

Standing at the library's steps, I start taking notes of the scene as I usually would. Organised primarily by the Thirrjet e Nënave and Lëvizja Vetëvendosje, the protest will reportedly attract people from all over Kosovo. Indeed, people young, old, male and female are standing across the front of the library, on the down-sloping park separating the building from the rest of the city. The “red and black” (*kuq e zi*) Albanian flags are being carried by protesters and can be seen dotting the landscape. I occasionally see the distinctive Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës (Kosovo Liberation Army) flag as well, resplendent in red, black and gold lettering. In one case, an older man has an image associated with the movement stapled across his neat dress shirt.

A young man whom I've known since the last year comes up to me with a couple of others, all dressed in green jackets and wearing a red emblem on their arms. His name is Dardan and he has been with Lëvizja Vetëvendosje for over a year. Perhaps mockingly, he asks me what I'm doing here, saying that the American ambassador informed United States citizens not to be near the protest today. I smirk and, motioning towards the peaceful crowd so far, say that I do not feel in danger at all. Indeed, the ambassador had warned citizens to not attend the protest yesterday, and Dardan says that this is an American attempt to spread fear and dissuade people from coming to the protest.

He says that this is supposed to be the biggest protest in Pristina since early March, at least from the amount of organising which has gone into it. It will all depend on the amount of people who actually show up. He asks what I'm doing with this, am I writing? A couple of his friends arrive, and they are wearing red armbands. They offer me a cigarette and show him a letter written from the police. It informs the organisers that this is a Lëvizja Vetëvendosje protest, among other things. They object to this, Dardan says that this is not just Lëvizja Vetëvendosje. It is also the Thirrjet e Nënave group and all the other supporting civil society organisations. Indeed, as we are talking, Ramush Haradinaj and the AAK

delegation materialise with a wave of cheers and applause. Jakup Krasniqi's NISMA is also involved, making this an established “opposition” rally. I wonder what has drawn these disparate parties together, as they do not actually have much in common.

In a few minutes, a truck rolls into the centre, not that far from where I am standing. A man and a woman take turns leading chants in order to get the crowd ready for the march. “*Trepça është e jona!*” (“Trepça is ours!”) and “*Jablanovic jashtë!*” (“Jablanovic out!”) are prominent chants, along with “*Isën e japim, Trepçën nuk e japim*” (“We will give Isa! We will not give Trepça!”). I also see many signs with similar slogans, one of which being “#JesuisTrepça,” in reference to the “#JesuisCharlie” tag following the recent Charlie Hebdo attacks. On one end, the protests are for the nationalisation of Trepça and solidarity with the miners, while, on the other, they are demanding that Isa Mustafa, Kosovo's new Prime Minister, force Jablanovic to resign from his post due to his statement. I notice that the responses are louder for the man than the woman, and that there are many large groups of men. The protest is not united but divided up into segments. Indeed, as they leave towards the centre, the groups sometimes chant the names of corresponding politicians, or wave banners with their municipalities, with Haradinaj's group chanting “RAMUSHI” and another having a banner emblazoned with the town “Ferizaj”, for example.

Within the march, which I join as it moves towards the main square, called Ibrahim Rugova, there is a sense of buoyancy. Cheers, smiling. Arriving in the square for the speeches is a diverse mix of young, old, men and women, and there is an attentive air as the speeches begin. Albin Kurti, a former leader of Lëvizja Vetëvendosje movement, delivers an ultimatum demanding Jablanovic's resignation and the nationalisation of Trepça, followed with much applause. The crowd dissipates leaving only a few onlookers such as myself, with some groups of people talking in small circles. From the steps where I am perched, I can see a small group of men near the government building, who have been throwing stones at the building since the Kurti's speech and continued earnestly upon its conclusion.

A young woman is standing there as well, and we strike up a conversation about the rally, moving



quickly to a discussion about the men throwing stones in front of us. As we talk, I can see the stones being thrown in earnest, and there appears to be a confrontation between the men and police near the steps. From what she is saying, they are football hooligans. There are several holes in the glass of the government building now, some 3 metres tall and wide. However, in comparison with the crowd from a few minutes ago, there is a much smaller amount of people there, probably around 200. Every so often, some people scatter and then run back. The police throw some tear gas cannisters, and the crowd dissipates in front of me. Two young men run up and quickly greet her, asking, “*Qysh je, a je mire?*” (“How are you? Are you well?”) before running south down the boulevard towards the other square, named Zahir Pajaziti.

The police are closing in and young men are starting to break free and run away. As the police get closer, more tear gas is thrown and the square is covered in enveloping clouds, the woman and I look at each other and bid farewell. She dashes down the street, holding her jacket up to her nose to prevent the gas from getting in. I duck inside the Brown Restaurant just in time to watch the tear gas roll by and the riot police chase the stone-throwers down the boulevard.

After staying in the Brown Restaurant for a few minutes, I wait for the tear gas to dissipate and the struggle to move down the street. I stand outside and have a brief conversation with an older man. He and his friend (he gets excited when I tell him I am American) are discussing the protest, and they soon go into the Brown Restaurant for a coffee.

Needing to calm down, I arrive at the Red Café, another establishment, and Blerim sees me. Because my nose is still red, he knows that I have been tear gassed. He gives some advice, to order a coffee or have a milk. The adrenaline has gone away, and I realise that I still am a little confused by the things that just happened. The tear gas creates a very confusing feeling associated with it. Inside, the conversations are dominated by the protest, as I can hear from various parts of the lightly populated room.

### **Theoretical Framework: Ambiguity, Marginality and Hegemony in the “Balkans”**

In order to interpret the protest described in the above vignette, I have devised a theoretical framework drawing several discussions on hegemony and post-Yugoslav anthropology. In this section, I first argue that Green usefully applies the concept to explain both the formation of a dominant discursive formation specific to geographic locations and its corresponding impacts on social life. Second, I place the argument within the context of post-Yugoslav ethnographies, explaining that Jansen's account of sociality in Sarajevo similarly deals with social locations illustrates a hegemonic perception among his interlocutors of being placed within a spatiotemporal “Meantime” between the Yugoslav past and an uncertain future in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). Additional scholars focus on the establishment of hegemony within BiH and Serbia (Hromadzic and Kurtovic regarding the former, Gordy on the latter), while others highlight both the power of hegemonic configurations to affect the lives of people affected by them and the ways which people exercise agency despite their presence (including Celebivic and Henig, as well as Kurtovic). An understanding of hegemony taking Green as well as the post-Yugoslav ethnographies into account focuses on dominance based upon discursive formations and agents utilising them. Third, I explain that, although these accounts helpfully describe powerful configurations in post-Yugoslav contexts, they neglect the rhetoric utilised by agents in their encounters with each other. Laclau's work on hegemony thus contributes to the discussion by highlighting the role of rhetoric in forming hegemonic discursive formations. Fourth, I conclude that hegemony is a simultaneously immaterial and material process where discursive formations are formed and maintained through agents' use of rhetoric during dialogic interactions, a process which alters the agents' social environments as certain discursive formations are privileged and networks are re-structured.

In a manner related with the emptying of plural spaces in Bosnia, Green describes how a discourse associated the Balkans with conflict been centred upon the region since the First World War (Green

2005: 145, 151). As part of her argument, Green bases her perspective of the “Balkans” on the concept of “Balkanism,” a discourse on the “Balkans” which Todorova, who has coined the term, considers to be focused on an “imputed ambiguity” (Green 2005: 151; Todorova 2009: 17). Todorova argues that Balkanism discursively “moulds attitudes and actions towards the Balkans and could be treated as the most persistent form or 'mental map' in which information about the Balkans is placed, most notably in journalism, political, and literary output” (Todorova 2009: 192). For Todorova, “The Balkans are usually reported to the outside world only in time of terror and trouble: the rest of the time they are scornfully ignored,” resulting in a “frozen image” which “appears as the higher reality” and goes beyond a “stereotype” or “casual, dismissive, or hectoring journalism” (Todorova 2009: 184). Produced within predominately Western media, this discourse continues to be “reproduced” since its solidification during the First World War and remains in place (Todorova 2009: 184).

Green uses the concept of hegemony in order to analyse the construction of this “Balkanist” discourse, its maintenance and how it impacts social life in the Balkans, particularly among her interlocutors in Pogoni, Greece. According to Green, hegemony is an “ideologically mediated intervention that affects how things are, whether or not people believe the intervention” (Green 2005: 158). This view of hegemony is not left solely for the discursive; indeed, Green explains her use of the concept as being due to how it describes a “fantasy with teeth” (Green 2005: 158), where the discourse's power affects how people live out their lives. Drawing on Crehan, Green argues that hegemony incorporates both discourse and domination, where the latter is present through the discursive formation's ability to shape “hard realities”, as originally termed by Crehan in her interpretation of the relevance of Gramsci for anthropology (Crehan 2002: 174; Green 2005: 129-130).

According to Crehan, Gramsci views hegemony as “a way of mapping an ever-shifting landscape of power that includes both accounts of 'reality' as these confront particular people in particular places, and the hard realities that lie outside the realm of discourse...” (Crehan 2002: 174). Indeed, Gramsci

relates hegemony with the rise of the state, clarifying that the state is composed of both “political society” and “civil society,” with the latter being “the private apparatus of hegemony”, which is composed of institutions associated with the “ruling classes” such as schools, courts and other private institutions and organisations (Gramsci 2006: 78-79). The role of civil society is then to establish hegemony through educating the population, providing “consent” to the state as a result of its efforts (Gramsci 2006: 78-80). Gramsci's view of hegemony is consequently one of discourse and power. Through the re-shaping of the social landscape, the ruling classes maintain their control over the population and, hence, the harsh realities are shaped by discourse. Consequently, a theory of hegemony influenced by Gramsci, Crehan and Green then emphasises both discourse and the means through which discourse, as a form of power, affects social life.

For Green, the hegemonic discourse has concrete impacts on her informants' perceptions of their location within the Balkans and Europe, as well as their social practices. Regarding her fieldwork in the Pogoni region of north-western Greece, a region officially bordering Albania but which can also be seen as straddling the border, Green states, “As I became familiar with the peoples and the place...I also became increasingly aware that they were being regularly described as not only marginal but marginal within the marginal. I had evidently chosen to be in a place and among people that few thought were worth paying attention to, which appeared to have something to do with their lack of distinction” (Green 2005: 6). This “lack of distinction” is key within Green's argument, for the anthropologist declares, “the way marginalization plays out [in Pogoni] has to do with a rather odd combination of ambiguity and ordinariness...First, on ambiguity: there was a quiet yet constant, even hegemonic, insistence on ambiguity in the Epirus region as a whole, but it seemed to affect Pogoni more than Zagori; a continual, though rarely entirely explicit, assertion that things cannot...be fixed, be clarified” (Green 2005: 10). Here, ambiguity is enmeshed within Green's view of marginality in a hegemonic manner.

Green's informants also frequently express marginality and ambiguity in relation to themselves

and the Balkans, responding 'This is the Balkans, Sarah; what do you expect?' to Green's questions concerning social life (Green 2005: 11). She elaborates, stating, "I was being told that I should expect to be confused, because this is the Balkans; at least, I should not expect to get to the bottom of things, never mind to the heart of things: that is not what the Balkans are about" (Green 2005: 12). This ambiguity is expressly linked with marginality: "...if the people and place were marginal, it was not a marginality of otherness, or of differences, or of distinction; it was a marginality of being nothing in particular" (Green 2005: 13). The hegemonic discourse, geographically focused on the Balkans and including north-western Greece, shapes Green's informants' geopolitical positions as marginal in comparison with Western Europe and influences their perceptions of where they view themselves to be located. It is then a "fantasy with teeth," because it forcefully configures experiences and socio-political circumstances.

Hegemony similarly appears as a theme within post-Yugoslav ethnographies, where geopolitical locations are considered alongside the "harsh realities" and dominant interpretive frameworks. Jansen, referencing Green, argues that his informants consider themselves to be located within a "Meantime" characterised by a simultaneous spatial position within the borders of "semiperipheral" BiH and a temporal focal point between the Yugoslav past, perceived as more "normal", and an uncertain future in BiH (Jansen 2015: 11-12, 17-18, 40, 185). He terms this junction between the "where" and "when" as being a "spatiotemporal" location, because notions of temporality and spatiality intersect as a widely-held perspective among Sarajevans which, termed as "Daytonitis," appears as a sense of being "stuck" in place (Jansen 2015: 17-18, 161). The "Meantime" and "Daytonitis" emerge through encounters between Sarajevans and Sarajevo's material infrastructure that prompt engagement with the Yugoslav past, associated with predictability and stability, to diagnose the present chronically unpredictable (Jansen 2015: 69, 73, 103, 154). From these encounters, Sarajevans "yearn" for greater predictability in post-Dayton Accords BiH, and it is the experience of yearning while being "stuck" which creates the sensation of waiting during the "Meantime" (Jansen 2015: 54-55, 71-72). This perspective, according to

Jansen, is hegemonic, because it is a widely-held framework which repeats in Sarajevo and BiH over time and shapes how Sarajevans and Bosnians in general experience their surroundings (Jansen 2014: 91; Jansen 2015: 201-205). Rather than being rooted in abstract portrayals, as argued by Green, the hegemonic “Meantime” is produced and re-produced through the actions of Sarajevo's privileged class, which appropriates “Daytonitis” to demobilise the population, keeping it “stuck” and thereby maintaining their dominance (Jansen 2014: 91-92; Jansen 2015: 205, 207).

For Jansen, understanding this “interplay” of spatial and temporal perspectives is done alongside an effort to explore how “Daytonitis” shapes which actions Sarajevans are able to take (Jansen 2015: 12; Jansen, Brkovic and Celebivic 2016: 3). In this way, Jansen's and Green's uses of hegemony are similar, in that both accounts reflect discursive frameworks directed towards particular locations within the Balkans which have dramatic effects on people in Pogoni and Sarajevo respectively. However, Jansen's conceptualisation diverges from Green's by connecting materialist interests with maintaining the discursive framework, with the consequence that the interplay is both immaterial and material. Furthermore, he interrogates the everyday circumstances which his informants find themselves in, thus going beyond problematising national identity, a focus which has occupied much of the post-Yugoslav ethnography until recently (Jansen, Brkovic and Celebivic 2016: 10). However, it is critical that, although Jansen distances himself from earlier ethnographies, he points out that the “Meantime” is maintained through the political parties' insistence on conducting political discourse through primarily identitarian frames, with other concerns being excluded from debate, such as “Daytonitis” (Jansen 2014: 91-92).

Hromadzic continues Jansen's emphasis on the state in post-Yugoslav BiH through her ethnography of the Stara Gimnazija public school in Mostar, which incorporates students from the city's Bosnian Muslim and Croat-identifying populations within its student body (Hromadzic 2015: 5). Importantly for our discussion on hegemony, she argues that the constitutional arrangement of BiH after the Dayton Accords as a consociational democracy split between a Bosnian Serb-majority entity,

Republika Srpska, and a majority Bosnian Croat and Bosnian Muslim entity, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, has combined with the maintenance of “ethno-national” narratives to produce “empty spaces,” locations within public spaces, such as a computer lab within Stara Gimnazija, which have formerly been occupied by people affiliated with multiple ethno-national groups within Bosnia and Herzegovina but have since abandoned (Hromadzic 2015: 23, 185-186). She underlines the continued salience of “institutionalised” ethno-national frameworks in Bosnia and Herzegovina, arguing, as Jansen does, that they choke-out and stifle alternative visions of Bosnian politics, such as the shared history of coexistence before the war, from being articulated (Hromadzic 2015: 16, 18, 185).

Hromadzic argues that this this dynamic, where ethno-national politics combines with the international-driven Dayton Accords and subsequent reform projects, “empties” the state, leading to a “numbness” among its citizens which appears similar to Jansen's portrayal account of the “Meantime” in Sarajevo through being spatial due to its localised placement within BiH (Hromadzic 2015: 185). Emptying the state, the ethno-national politics described by Hromadzic echo Green's description of the hegemony through being immaterial fantasies which impact how people within BiH negotiate their interactions with each other in formerly-shared public sites. A simultaneously institutionalised and discursive hegemony reflects the “destruction of alternatives” in Serbian politics as described by Gordy, where the government retained its control after Yugoslavia's dissolution by reducing spaces for dissenting opinions (Gordy 1999: 200, 205-207). With Yugoslavia's collapse, the “nation” becomes the Serbian state's central ideological principle, and the government utilises it as a weapon to prevent prospective opponents from challenging its supremacy, labelling them as “enemies of the people” (Gordy 1999: 12). Hence, within Jansen's, Hromadzic's and Gordy's accounts there is an image of a both immaterial and material hegemony established by networks of well-positioned political elites seeking to control expression within the post-Yugoslav state, henceforth shaping how actors are able to interact in public spaces.

Yet, within Gordy's account, the government's rhetoric of the “nation” plays upon divisions within Serbian society between cosmopolitan urban elites and the regime's supporters from more rural localities (Gordy 1999: 10-13, 201-206). He writes that, during the time of Yugoslavia, the country's urban elite had been appropriated as visual examples of the state's modernity, with the consequence that those from outside urban areas were excluded from this image (Gordy 1999: 10-11). However, with the governing Communist Party's fall from favour in urban areas, recruits increasingly came from urban areas, and the party began to utilise rhetoric to mobilise its new rural base by creating the figure of a noble, “solid peasant” from the “heartland” of Serbian tradition against a decadent and urban Belgrade (Gordy 1999: 10-13). Hence, the political elite's hegemony depends on networks of supporters from rural areas and mobilises support through an ethno-national discourse emphasising Serbian identity.

In this sense, Gordy's work shows that hegemony also depends on the support of networks of supporters. Addressing this point, he argues that the destruction of political alternatives in Serbia also relies upon the successful distribution of state benefits and privileges to groups which support the government and the exclusion from these flows of those which oppose it, thereby isolating the latter while bolstering the former (Gordy 1999: 2003). Kurtovic's ethnographic research in BiH dovetails with this observation by consistently portraying the maintenance of the country's ruling parties' political power in the localities and legislature via the manipulation of patron-client networks in the simultaneous post-war and post-Yugoslav environment (Kurtovic 2011: 247; Kurtovic 2015: 639-640; Kurtovic 2016: 143). The neoliberal privatisation of BiH's state-owned enterprises, alongside ruin brought about by the war, has been appropriated by political elites who position themselves as being able to grant access to employment and social support, resulting in a precarious situation where politics becomes a matter of life and death (Kurtovic 2015: 639-640; Kurtovic 2016: 143-144, 147, 152-153). Within this milieu, ethno-national forms of identification become mechanisms for establishing connections with parties which might provide much-needed assistance and provide a form of security against an uncertain socio-



economic future in BiH (Kurtovic 2011: 244-245, 248-249; Kurtovic 2016: 153). For Kurtovic, the political leadership's hegemony in BiH relies on the redistribution of funds towards supporters, a process drawing on what Hromadzic views as the institutionalised “ethnification of everyday life” and the corresponding dominance of ethno-national discourses supporting the positions of BiH's main parties (Hromadzic 2015: 5; Kurtovic 2011: 248-249; Kurtovic 2016: 143, 154-155).

Although the hegemony appears solid, Kurtovic continuously shows that it rests on an unstable foundation because of both the possibility for socio-economic resources flowing from patrons to dry out and the impossibility of ethno-national discourses to become fully dominant (Kurtovic 2011: 248-249; Kurtovic 2015: 646; Kurtovic 2016: 144). There is room for individual agency to take shape through the negotiation of relationships between prospective patrons and clients, as Kurtovic describes examples of individuals shifting partisan allegiances, at times towards ethno-national platforms, in order to foster “non-conditional futures” (Kurtovic 2011: 247-248; Kurtovic 2016: 142-143, 153). Hence, Celebivic explains that young voters in BiH pragmatically decide which parties to vote for based on perceptions of probable short-term gains, and Brkovic centres upon the flexible management of relationships between prospective brokers and clients in the Bosnian municipality of Bijeljina (Brkovic 2015a: 58, Brkovic 2016: 96-97, 100-101; Celebivic 2016: 129, 133-135, 140). Relationships between agents become sites for simultaneous negotiations with the state, and, consequently, the fragile hegemony keeping BiH's political elites in power (Henig 2016: 47-48).

For hegemony, Green brings a discursive focus while the post-Yugoslav anthropologists examine both its immaterial and material aspects within the context of the state. Jansen views hegemony in terms of a shared perception amongst Bosnians of being within a “Meantime” brought about through his informants' interactions with the city's infrastructure as part of an interplay between the material environment and immaterial perceptions of spatiotemporality. As part of this argument, Jansen writes that the social landscape is not “flat,” in that the agencies of the material infrastructure and human actions

are not equivalent with each other (Jansen 2013: 24, 32). Consequently, if agency between non-human and human actors is asymmetrical, then hegemony shapes interactions within the social landscape. Green neatly portrays how hegemonic discursive formations arise from human actions, impacting agents' exchanges with each other, material conditions and perceptions in the process.

Effectively confirming Green's observation, Hromadzic argues that the hegemonic discourses work alongside the institutionalised ethnicisation of post-Dayton BiH, emptying formerly shared locations within the country's public spaces. This process occurs in tandem with the materialist distribution of socio-economic resources between local political patrons and clients following the neoliberal privatisation of state enterprises. Politics becomes a contest for the means of living, or “struggle for life” and “survival”, where the welfare of people in BiH depends on the goods brought about by networks of patrons and clients, with the result that the hegemony depends on the stability of these relationships as well as the supremacy of ethno-national discourses bolstering the patrons' political parties (Kurtovic 2015: 645-646, 651, 655; Kurtovic 2016: 153-154; Henig 2016: 47). However, Kurtovic also shows that this dialogue between client and patron illustrates individual agency, and ethnographic case studies by Celebivic, Brkovic and Henig portray the negotiation of inter-personal relationships as negotiations with the state and elites' hegemony. Hence, the post-Yugoslav anthropologists usefully show both the immaterial and material aspects of hegemony, displaying the concept as involving the distribution of socio-economic resources, the maintenance of dominant discursive frameworks and the effects of appropriating such frameworks on both agents and their networks of relationships.

However, neither Green nor the anthropologists working in post-Yugoslav contexts focus upon the role of rhetoric in hegemony. Laclau views hegemony (see chapter 2 for a more detailed description) as a rhetorical process which involves the use of figurative devices, such as metonymy and metaphors, to unify previously separate terms with one discursive concept. Laclau refers to this concept as an “empty

signifier” due to how it may be used to incorporate terms with different, particular meanings (Laclau 2005: 70-71). Hegemony then involves the pulling together of terms through a signifying concept which does not completely eradicate the constituent terms' particularity, because the nature of the hegemonic operation, which depends on figurative language, ceases to be figurative if an association between the terms and the signifier becomes complete (Laclau 2005: 70-71). Therefore, Laclau principally converses on the rhetorical structuration of dominant discursive formations.

Taken together, the post-Yugoslav ethnographies prompt a discussion on hegemony within the state by pinpointing how domination is maintained by political elites alongside the propagation of central discursive frameworks. Green's work concurs through use of the phrase “fantasy with teeth” to describe an authoritative discursive formation which affects the perceptions and movements of her interlocutors in Pogoni, Greece. These accounts illustrate hegemony as an immaterial and material process where the maintenance of discursive frameworks affects interactions between agents, such as exchanges of between patrons and clients. In the case of BiH, the political elites' power depends on these networks for preserving its support. Hence, due to the role of discourses in maintaining these networks, the accounts by Green and the post-Yugoslav anthropologists benefit from Laclau, who conceptualises hegemony as being derived through the use of rhetoric structuring terms together into increasingly overruling discursive formations.

Viewed through this lens, exchanges between political actors are then queried for what is communicated by participants towards each other and how these interactions shape hegemony. By exploring hegemony, we uncover how dominance is structured within social contexts. Hegemony is conceptualised within this dissertation as a simultaneously immaterial and material process where certain discursive formations are privileged over others through rhetoric. Agents who appropriate these discursive formations rhetorically during dialogues with other agents then re-shape their networks of relationships, altering their structural positions vis-a-vis other actors.

## **Argument Outline**

In this dissertation, I build upon the work of recent post-Yugoslav anthropology, Green and Laclau by focusing on the relationship between rhetoric and hegemony in order to understand the political mobilisation of networks of relationships in Pristina. As part of this study, I explore the spatial locations where dialogues between Prishtinalis take place, traversing public spaces such as cafés, bars, streets and squares. I uncover the dialogue between the rhetorical appropriation of discursive formations by agents in public spaces on one hand and the discursive formations on the other, and I question the effects of these exchanges on the networks of relationships formed by agents. Hence, I question how the linkages discussed by the post-Yugoslav anthropologists between networks and hegemonic discursive formations are maintained and manipulated through the use of rhetoric.

I have obtained the material needed for this dissertation by utilising a combined methodology incorporating formal Social Network Analysis and cognitive Cultural Domain Analysis alongside participant observation, semi-structured interviews and unstructured interviews. These methods compose ethnographic fieldwork undertaken in Pristina from June 2014 to July 2015. As I explain in this introduction's next section, and show throughout the following dissertation, the data gathered via the systematic Social Network and Cultural Domain Analyses complements the perspectives gathered by the traditionally anthropological participant observation, semi-structured interviews and unstructured interviews, providing a looking-glass of accounts through which to view hegemony and the rhetorical re-configuration of networks by Prishtinalis.

In Chapter 2, I go into depth on the literature on rhetoric, starting with Burke, continuing with “Rhetoric Culture” theorists (including Girke, Strecker, Carrithers, and Fernandez), proceeding to Herzfeld's concept of social poetics, and addressing Laclau's concept of rhetorical hegemony (Herzfeld 1997; Laclau: 2005; Laclau 2014). From this overview, I consider rhetoric to be a persuasive tool employed by agents, consequently placing the focus on dialogues between agents. Social poetics refers

to the practical use of rhetorical performances towards other agents, and consequently I follow a view of “rhetoric and culture” due to the role of rhetoric in social interaction. I then turn towards Laclau, describing his contribution to these debates as visualising the emergence of hegemonic discursive formations through rhetoric linking terms with signifiers. Next, I synthesise this insight with Green's focus on the effects of hegemonic discursive formations on sociality in social locations, illustrating through ethnographic examples that such formations emerge from the rhetoric appropriated by agents during dialogues. I conclude from this discussion that the terms utilised by rhetoric have force when referring to hegemonic discursive formations, which are re-shaped through these interactions, consequently altering interactions between agents.

Chapter 3 elaborates on themes touched upon in Chapter 2, drawing connections between theoretical discussions on rhetoric and hegemony with scholarship on networks, public space and cultural concepts. I address each thematic area in turn, focusing first on networks, conceptualising them through literature on Social Network Analysis as being configurations of agents in rhetorical exchanges and embedded in shifting relationships with other agents. I explain that I utilise the “network” concept to view relationships and rhetorical agency in a systemic perspective, and, as in this chapter's theoretical framework, I show that networks are linked with hegemony as a result of being systems of relationships between agents which are structured and re-structured through rhetoric referring to hegemonic discursive formations.

From networks, I then move on to the second section, where I survey the literature on spatiality, reviewing debates on public space and the public sphere and showing, first, that the two concepts are both distinct and connected. I conceptualise public spaces as simultaneously material and immaterial locations where actors appropriate rhetoric to negotiate networks of relationships and engage with agents within view. Exploring the relationship between materiality and immateriality, I contend that material elements, such as the built environment, provide meaning to public spaces through interpretation by

human actors, who participate in meaning-making processes through practices and performances. Inspired by Yeh, I argue that the public sphere is theorised as a contested realm of discursive formations which arises from performances and interactions in public space (Yeh 2012). Probing this dialogue between public sphere and public space, I argue that rhetoric persuades agents in public space through appropriating discursive formations within the public sphere. Within this milieu, public spaces are then locations where people re-configure discursive formations and, henceforth, public spaces are vital to consider for hegemony due to being settings where discursive formations formed and shaped.

In Chapter 3's third section, I turn to the cultural terms described in Chapter 2 as drawing force from hegemonic discursive formations, linked to these configurations through signifiers and referred to by agents through rhetoric. Through uncovering a linkage with ideas of national identity in Greece and Kosovo, I show that concepts such as honour and shame are connected through an association with a hegemonic discursive formation in the public sphere. In these contexts, rhetorical references to honour and shame affect the conduct of agents in public spaces, shaping the performances which may be undertaken and re-configuring networks through distributing symbolic capital towards particular agents. Honour and shame are then significant as cultural concepts linked, in Kosovo's case, through association with a hegemonic discursive formation of national identity which, when referred to, both affects agents' interactions in public spaces and is re-configured in the public sphere.

In Chapter 4, I follow from the section in Chapter 3 on spatiality by describing the dialogue between public space and public sphere in Pristina. First, I present ethnographic accounts of Pristina's public spaces, such as cafés and bars, in order to flesh out the meanings of public space in Pristina for informants and conceptualise the rhetorical appropriation of discursive formations located within the public sphere. Second, I present data from a pile sort exercise, part of the Cultural Domain Analysis, in order to illustrate how people in Pristina perceive their immaterial and material spatial environments. Third, I explain that the case studies and pile sort results are complementary in that they illustrate a

meaning of public space for people in Pristina as being within view, while the public sphere is visible through the discursive formations rhetorically appropriated by agents. I conclude that it is from performances drawing on discursive formations in the public sphere that a dialogue persists between Pristina's public spaces and public sphere.

In Chapter 5, I discuss the cultural concepts of *nder* (“honour”) in Pristina as well as the associated concepts of *turp* (“shame”), *inat* (“envy” or “spite”), *besa* (“oath”), and *Kanun I Lekë Dukagjinit* (“Code of Leka Dukagjini”). I include ethnographic perspectives on *nder* from semi-structured interviews, discussing the concept and illustrating connections between *nder* and *turp*, *nder* and *besa* and the concepts and *kanun*, highlighting in particular their connections with a hegemonic discursive formation of Albanian national identity in Pristina. I will then include data taken from free list analysis of the terms *nder*, *familje* (“family”), *kanun*, *turp*, *inat*, and *besa*, listing the statistical results of the analysis and describing their significance for the concepts queried. From these results, I argue that the connections drawn between *nder* and the associated concepts are substantiated and, as such, the links point to several points: a) considering *nder* in relation with national identity and gender identity; b) as such, considering *nder*, *besa*, *turp*, and *Kanun* in relation with the “parallel system” of governance initiated by the Albanian community in Kosovo during the 1990s as a response to Serbian repression; c) conceptualising *nder* as a form of symbolic capital determined by practices and displays; d) conceptualising *turp* as a technology of a politics of the body which works with *nder* to shape the flow of power within networks; e) arguing that the terminology of *fytyrë* (“face”) associated with *nder* and *turp* points towards a focus on representations and the judgement of representations; and f) visualising *inat* as an expression of agency in response to the judgements underpinning the determination of *nder* and *turp*. These concepts, joined with a hegemonic discursive formation of Albanian national identity, shape agents' practices within networks and public spaces when referred to through rhetoric.

In Chapter 6, I utilise a combination of ethnographic data and a Social Network Analysis to

analyse how agents in Pristina utilise rhetoric to alter ties between themselves and other agents. I review the literature on Social Network Analysis and present a Social Network Analysis of meetings between agents at cafés. Through the diagrams, I argue that the analysis shows that networks of agents arise through interactions at cafés. Incorporating examples from interviews, I then describe how rhetoric is used by agents in public spaces during their interactions with others, with examples focusing in particular on the projection of trustworthy reputations and placing reputations in doubt. Here, I illustrate the force of rhetoric in public spaces, showing that in these examples the phrase “To put your hand in the fire” indicates reference to *besa*, a concept described in the previous chapter which is associated with a hegemonic discursive formation of Albanian national identity. I conclude that, in Pristina, the use of rhetoric in public spaces, through drawing its force from this discursive formation in the public sphere, alters ties between agents during inter-personal interactions, thereby re-structuring networks.

In Chapter 7, I build upon the previous discussions by focusing on the discursive formation of Albanian national identity in Pristina and its rhetorical construction in the public sphere. I first present expressions of identity expressed by informants, showing that national identity is not the only concept of identity considered, with categories such as femininity, masculinity, urbanity, rurality and religion also having value for informants. I problematise the notion of a static Albanian identity through showing the persistence of other perspectives of national identity in Pristina, such as “Kosovar” and “Albanian in Kosovo.” Next, I argue that these accounts portray a heterogeneous and multi-faceted context. I go into further depth with several of the interviews to show how informants negotiate this multiplicity of identities, asserting that, alongside this heterogeneity, a discourse of Albanian national identity has emerged which links informants with each other. From recent post-Yugoslav ethnography, especially Jansen's work in Sarajevo, I argue that this formation draws on cultural terms such as *besa* which refer to a notion of spatiotemporality located in memories of resistance to the Serbian government and solidarity in public spaces. I then employ the concept of “hegemony”, explained in this introduction,



Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, as a device to explain the rhetorical emergence of the discursive formation of Albanian national identity within the public sphere and its relationship with performances in Pristina's public spaces. I conclude that, in Pristina's public spaces, agents appropriate rhetoric which, when drawing upon cultural concepts associated with a discursive formation Albanian national identity, shapes the formation's emergence and reinforces its presence within the public sphere. For informants, the discursive formation encompasses spatiotemporal frustration with politics in Pristina, notions of solidarity and a lack of alternatives. With the formation's continued presence, agents identify with its signifiers.

In Chapter 8, I arrive at a conclusion by focusing on the theoretical question provided in this introduction of the relationship between hegemony and the structuration of networks. First, I build upon the argument presented thus far by providing an ethnographic vignette of a protest in Pristina on 27 January 2015. I show that the shared identification of agents with signifiers referring to the discursive formation of Albanian national identity in the public sphere has been mobilised through rhetorical references in Pristina's public square. From the argument provided in the dissertation up to this point, I conclude that rhetoric mobilises agents by drawing upon cultural concepts associated with discursive formations as part of the hegemonic process.

I then specify this dissertation's main scholarly contributions, arguing that I add to the anthropology of Kosovo by shifting the emphasis from problematising Albanian national identity to exploring how the discursive formation associated with it is configured and appropriated by people in Pristina as they socialise with others in the city's public spaces. For post-Yugoslav anthropology, I incorporate recent advances in the wider field by interrogating the negotiation of social relationships and connections between networks and hegemony, thus contributing to the field through explaining that, from rhetoric, networks of political elites and citizens are re-structured and hegemonic discursive formations are manipulated. Meanwhile, for debates on rhetoric and culture, I illustrate how uses of rhetoric in public

space re-structure networks and lead to the emergence of hegemonic discursive formations in the public sphere, as well as analyse that the force of rhetoric comes through reference to cultural concepts affiliated such formations. A common thread within this discussion is hegemony, a process where discursive formations are formed and gain dominance through performances in public space, and the networks of relationships are re-structured as agents rhetorically appropriate hegemonic discursive formations.

### **Introduction to the Methodology**

In this section of the introduction, I describe the methodology utilised within this dissertation and place it in relation with the theoretical discussion above on hegemony and the concept's relevance for exploring how political mobilisation occurs in Pristina. First, I discuss Green's use of a combined methodology in order to ascertain and describe the hegemonic construction of ambiguity and marginality within northern Greece and the wider Balkans. Second, I discuss the methodology utilised within this dissertation, arguing that the combined use of systematic and ethnographic techniques represents a tension which, when appropriated, presents itself as a productive means of exploring social contexts. I contend that, as a result of these methods, I have been able to map out discursive formations of spaces, networks of agents, and discourses in Pristina.

In order to explore discursive formations and their links with rhetoric and interpersonal relationships, I utilise a methodology similar to that presented by Green, which combines different types of methods in order to generate multiple “accounts” from which to draw interpretations (Green 2005: 30, 36-37). Green views maps, among the methods she makes use of, as a “means to consider the relationship between powerful accounts and representations of places and the way places were constituted” in her field site on the Greek-Albanian border (Green 2005: 30). However, these maps are not used in isolation but combined with ethnography, with Green treating maps as a vehicle for interpreting patterns of movement noted in her field notes (Green 2005: 31). Crucially, the data gathered from these methods had been treated by Green's informants as examples of political arguments through making boundaries

and, as such, means of the construction of a hegemonic discourse of ambiguity surrounding Green's field site (Green 2005: 37). The combination of ethnography with mapping then enables Green to further flesh out her argument that a discourse of ambiguity is constituted through hegemony. Green's use of mixed methods is accomplished in a complementary way which allows her to gain insights on the field site's discursive construction (Green 2005: 32).

This dissertation takes inspiration from Green's approach to methodology through the use of a combination of techniques in order to draw inferences on social phenomena. This dissertation utilises participant observation, semi-structured interviews and unstructured interviews. It also incorporates the systematic techniques of Social Network Analysis, a method based on graph theory, the use and analysis of free lists and pile sorts, which are associated with cognitive anthropology. For this reason, a tension then persists within this methodology between ethnographic techniques on one hand and systematic techniques on the other. Yet, I seek to exploit this tension in order to examine the many facets of social life in Pristina. In this part of the section, I discuss the techniques listed above and the rationale for incorporating them within this dissertation. In doing so, I consistently address the tension between the systematic and ethnographic, arguing for the use of both to explore social contexts.

### **Agents, Networks and Systems: Using Social Network Analysis**

The focus on relationships formed between agents leads to the study of networks, where the network could be a kinship network, perhaps situated within a household, or a broader network combining kin with acquaintances, business associates, or friendships. Networks have been discussed in anthropology, with the work of anthropologists associated with the Manchester School, such as Bott, Barnes and Mitchell, providing some of the best known and earliest examples (Barnes 1954; Bott 1957; Mitchell 1969). Key elements of this work are that relationships are not analysed in isolation from their respective contexts and that agency is explicitly taken into account. The graphing of networks has been done to provide additional depth to the anthropologist's interpretations of those relationships

and their contextual positioning (Knox, Savage and Harvey 2006: 124).

Social Network Analysis (SNA), Prell argues, seeks to “uncover the social relations that hold the individuals and groups together, the structure of those relations, and how relations and their structures influence (or are influenced by) social behaviour, attitudes, beliefs and knowledge” (Prell 2012: 1). In SNA, the focus is on the relationships between agents, which are referred to as “nodes” (Borgatti 2013: 1-2). Nodes possess qualities (“attributes”), the relationships between nodes are referred to as “ties”, and the interfacing of nodes through ties forms “a connected web that we thinking of as a network” (Borgatti 2013: 2). Nodes are often “active agents” instead of “inanimate objects” and that agents can also be “collectivities” (Borgatti 2013: 2).

Explaining the conceptual usefulness of networks, Borgatti declares that “Part of the power of the network concept is that it provides a mechanism -indirect connection- by which disparate parts of a system may affect each other” (Borgatti 2013: 2). Prell, in her introduction to *Social Network Analysis: History, Theory & Methodology*, focuses on another point, that “the social relations that knit together our modern world can have multiple effects, and a local occurrence in one area of the world can affect the rest. Yet, there is a big gap between this intuitive understanding of how our social world works and a more precise understanding of how these interactions and relations form” (Prell 2012: 1).

In other words, the usefulness of the concept of the social network, and correspondingly the SNA method, is that it can visualise and pinpoint the connections between parts of a system, whether agents or collectives of agents. Through tracking these interactions with SNA, researchers have the potential to observe the changes which networks go through over time following such encounters. For analysing relationships between agents, the concept allows for a systematic analysis which focuses on the tie, the agent and on the structuration of relationships.

Furthermore, due to requiring rigorous data collection procedures, computational methods such as SNA are highly transparent (Fischer et al. 2012: 6; Lyon 2013: 46). As will be discussed later within

this methodology, an advantage of increased transparency is that it forces the anthropologist to provide empirical backing to their claims. The presence of hegemonic discourses such as Balkanism means that anthropologists need to exercise caution when making assertions, because their findings have the potential to be twisted in favour of overarching essentialist images. Therefore, SNA, as a systematic method, offers a clear advantage for studying relationships due to the necessity for detail regarding data collection and interpretation to be provided.

Consequently, it can be seen that social network analysis complements traditional qualitative methods, such as ethnography, through depicting linkages which may be obscured through relying on ethnographic means alone. Indeed, this approach has been advocated by Fischer et al., who argue that it is necessary for anthropologists to adopt computational methods if the discipline is to continue to persuade both immersive fieldwork and maintain their relevance to the non-academic world (Fischer et al. 2012: 13). Arguing for such complementary analyses, Schweizer utilises social network analysis in order to compare how people in two ethnographic case studies (the Javanese of Indonesia and the !Kung of Botswana) are both connected with each other through transactions, with the Javanese utilising ritual visits and the !Kung making use of gift exchanges (Schweizer 1997: 740, 746). Indeed, the Manchester School studies can be seen as complementary in that network terminology is utilised for the purpose of generating insights on interactions between agents and, as such, conceptualising relationships as networks is a method for analysis rather than theory-building (Knox, Savage and Harvey 2006: 124; Amit and Caputo 2015: 161-162). Social network analysis provides additional insights on ethnographic situations which ethnographers themselves may use for interpreting sociality and does not necessarily seek to displace ethnographic methods (Amit and Caputo 2015: 158).

However, although SNA has advantages for anthropology, the approach may be criticised in terms of arguments associated with the *Writing Culture* volume. Following from Geertz's interpretivism, the influential *Writing Culture* volume, as expressed within its introduction, focuses explicitly on the making

of ethnographic texts (Clifford 1986: 2). Writing is directly linked with the political, with Clifford stating that “They [the volume's contributors] see culture as composed of seriously contested codes and representations; they assume that the poetic and political are inseparable, that science is in, not above, historical and linguistic processes” (Clifford 1986: 2). Consequently, ethnographies are “constructed and artificial”, partial rather than encompassing, and both enveloped and connected with discourses of politics, history and power (Clifford 1986: 2, 7-9, 11). The anthropologist is not a detached scientific observer, but an active participant in the processes and discourses which are both within and enveloping the field site. When following this line of thinking, employing SNA in place of, or alongside, an ethnographic perspective implies an attempt to be such a detached observer which would be destined to both fail and reproduce discourses of power.

As part of this development in social anthropology, “The benefits of social network analysis were explored but the effect of networks to replace one kind of structural explanation with another led ultimately to their demise as a technical tool of investigation” (Knox, Savage and Harvey 2006: 125). Rather than concern themselves with networks in the Manchester School sense, anthropologists following the 1970s found new theoretical frameworks for questioning interactions between agents and new investigations were conducted regarding the construction and depiction of social worlds, and the results of such ethnographic endeavours, which Knox, Savage and Harvey describe as being “antithetical to the rigorous scientism of formal social network analysis” (Knox, Savage and Harvey 2006: 126). They conclude that, “As social anthropologists became more concerned with issues of representation, reflexivity, meaning, personhood, and identity, the theoretical and methodological potential of social network analysis to answer these questions diminished” (Knox, Savage and Harvey 2006: 125). For Knox, Savage and Harvey, this developed alongside the emergence of social network analysis as a specialised field within mathematical sociology and a coinciding “suspicion” held by anthropologists towards the same method (Knox, Savage and Harvey 2006: 114, 133).

However, the advantage for anthropology brought by the Manchester School and SNA is that the networks produced are systemic through representing multiple agents and ties. SNA views systems as being complex, emergent phenomena resulting from the interactions of individual agents (White and Johansen 2005: 33, 41). It explores changes within systems through focusing on interactions between agents, allowing anthropologists to investigate “topologies of the possible: the consequences of network structures, in terms of the actions they facilitate” (Lansing and Downey 2011: 578). In Green's terms, incorporating SNA as a systems approach is a means of locating the “teeth” associated with the hegemonic “fantasy.”

### **Situating the Anthropologist**

Yet, the critique within *Writing Culture* on situatedness highlights a key concern to be recognised. In producing this account, I then acknowledge the partiality of the account and my place within the research. At no point can I pretend that this account is producing an entire picture of society in Pristina, as I never had an entire picture of the data. Because I learned Albanian while in Pristina and arrived as an outsider, I cannot create a monolithic account of networks in Pristina, and how agents perform in spaces and utilise rhetoric through the use of SNA alone. However, the situatedness, hybridity, representational quality and partiality of the account brings forth a dimension which is essential for ethnography: “experiential knowledge” and context (Bernard 2011: 256). Consequently, in order to provide further contextualisation to the study, I also include the ethnographic methods of participant observation and interviewing (both semi-structured and unstructured) within the methodology. This reveals some of the underlying structures that are not immediately apparent during participant observation.

According to H. Russell Bernard, participant observation has been one of anthropology's mainstay methods (Bernard 2011: 256). “Experiential knowledge,” a term discussed above in relation to the situated quality of ethnography, is viewed by Bernard as being what is produced from participant

observation (Bernard 2011: 356). This type of knowledge “lets you talk convincingly, from the gut, about what it feels like to plant a garden in the high Andes or dance all night in a street rave in Seattle” (Bernard 2011: 256). Crucially, participant observation is then incredibly valuable despite the weaknesses of ethnography, because it provides experiences which can serve to contextualise observations and evaluations made by anthropologists. This experiential form of knowledge may then be placed alongside accounts produced through, for example, social network analysis as a check, in order to judge whether the presented data make sense. Furthermore, it can also check accounts produced by others about events in the field, particularly those produced by influential news sites.

For Crang and Crook, participant observation is a “means of developing *intersubjective* understandings between researcher and researched” (Crang and Crook 2007: 37-38). It is this understanding, stemming from participant observation, which is viewed within this dissertation as being a major benefit of the method and the reason for its contextualising potential when placed up alongside additional methods and accounts. Yet, as argued by Schutz, it is not possible to attain a complete impression of another's behaviour and experiences, because such interpretations can only be made through a complete understanding of the person's “lived experiences” (Schutz 1972: 106-107). Such understandings are impossible to achieve because lived experiences vary by person (Schutz 1972: 98-99).

The benefits for participant observation are also applicable for combined methodologies. According to Bernard, “Whether you consider yourself an interpretivist or a positivist, participant observation gets you in the door so you can collect life histories, attend rituals, and talk to people about sensitive topics” (Bernard 2011: 258). Participant observation may serve as a base for further explorations through beginning conversations with informants on topics which may be delved into in more depth later on. Harking back to the point on experiential data, participant observation then also serves a foundation upon which the anthropologist may build through providing an introduction to the



research context and collecting perspectives which may be explored in more detail later on. The timeline for this project followed a similar model, where the period from June 2014 to September 2014 was reserved solely for participant observation, so that the perspectives heard and experiences had could inform the methods conducted later on. However, due to the strong foundation offered by the method, participant observation was conducted in Pristina throughout the duration of the fieldwork from June 2014 to July 2015.

Furthermore, Pardo and Prato note that participant observation has been an established part of anthropological research undertaken in urban areas (Pardo and Prato 2012: 3). For Bernard, “Participant observation involves going out and staying out, learning a new language...and experiencing the lives of the people you are studying as much as you can” (Bernard 2011: 258). In Pristina, I have followed Pardo and Prato by grounding my research first and foremost in participant observation. As part of this endeavour, I placed myself in public spaces, such as cafés, bars and squares, recording events such as conversations with people in my field notes, as well as the insights gained from these encounters. I have also recorded experiences within meetings among groups of people, particularly at cafés and bars, recording practices through which relationships are maintained and formed in Pristina. As part of this, I note transactions between people, greetings, jokes exchanged and how people appear to be presenting themselves to me within such public settings. I also note the occurrence of protests and other large-scale activities which occurred in public spaces in order to provide further depth into the means through which spaces are utilised within Pristina and how the mobilisation of agents and relationships occurs within these spaces.

Bernard's statement that, among other things, participant observation also involves immersing oneself in a new language applies for my fieldwork in Pristina. In order to conduct interviews and hold conversation, it is possible to speak with Albanian speakers in Pristina in English or through a translator. However, in order to assist in my efforts, I also undertook to learn Albanian. Doing so enabled me to

take part in conversations held in public spaces, glean understandings from written media sources and conduct interviews with non-English speaking informants. When I held such interviews, I was then able to review my information with a native Albanian speaker in order to check for possible points of confusion.

In this way, the process of participant observation contributed to the forming of connections between people in Pristina and I. Consequently, I formed relationships with people and became enmeshed within the formations described within this dissertation as “networks”. These experiences thus provided insights upon which I could then investigate through applying additional methods. However, the experiences are also valuable in themselves for providing needed contexts. In negotiating relationships, I also had to negotiate my position as an Anglo-American outsider. Indeed, Bernard provides three “roles” which fieldworkers fall into: “complete participant,” “participant observer” and “complete observer” (Bernard 2011: 260). As part of this definition, I would have been considered as a “participant observer,” because such fieldworkers “participate in some aspects of life around them and record what they can” (Bernard 2011: 260). The knowledge gained was then practical, in the sense that I learned how to negotiate relationships in Pristina's public spaces despite being an outsider.

Indeed, my identity as an American and an international became a significant matter, as my citizenship meant that I could travel in and out of Kosovo at-will, while Kosovar citizens had a much more limited means of travel through a much lower number of possible destinations which did not require applying for visas. Furthermore, my position as a graduate student conducting research in Kosovo meant that my writing could have the potential to affect Kosovo negatively if it intentionally, or unintentionally, contributed to the aforementioned Balkanist narrative. Consequently, the methods utilised as part of the research had to have as the goal of remaining focused on the context.

Additionally, as a male anthropologist, I found that my gender had impacted the relationships I formed with female informants. For example, conversations with one friend were held over Facebook

because the person's significant other did not allow her to meet with me in person. What this showed is that my position as a male anthropologist entailed that I had to be careful regarding the relationships I formed with female informants and the spaces within which these conversations were held in order to minimise potential negative consequences for all parties involved, including myself. However, through this process of constant negotiation of relationships within spaces, I was introduced to the significance of concepts of space for the formation and maintenance of relationships in Pristina. In turn, I was clued into the significance of how people and relationships appear. Thus, I began to become acquainted with the importance of the appearance and evaluation of projected representations for agents in public spaces. In short, through recording my encounters with people in Pristina, I was exploring “social poetics” (Herzfeld 1997).

The practical and relational knowledge gained through participant observation can be seen as providing a contextual basis through which I was able to pursue further research in Pristina. It complemented social network analyses through contributing experiences which provide information regarding what sorts of things happen within networks of relationships and how these relationships are constructed through practices. Moreover, the developments recorded within field notes, and the later reflection on these notes, prompted me to consider how agents' actions are influenced by their surroundings. In order to more fully explore the concepts that I learned were influencing people's decisions, I then conducted semi-structured interviews accompanied by the aforementioned social network analyses. People conferred with during the initial months were then engaged in discussion during the interviews, thus making the interviews extensions of conversations initially started during participant observation.

### **Interviews for “Finding Culture”**

In autumn of 2014, alongside participant observation, I also conducted a round of semi-structured interviews with 31 people, including 18 men and 13 women aged between those in their late teenage

years and those in their late thirties (Bernard 2011: 157-158). According to Bernard, a semi-structured interview is “open-ended” while observing a general order and exploring already-decided themes (Bernard 2011: 156). Consequently, through the incorporation of a present yet flexible order, the semi-structured interviews allowed for multiple elements to be investigated within the dialogue which could then be explored in further detail in following interviews.

As I decided to let the people choose where they would like to meet, the vast majority of interviews took place within cafés. Due to privacy concerns, a female informant, Alketa M. requested that we hold the interview via messages on Facebook, a space at once public through displays and private through internal messages. Prior to each interview's commencement, I explained the purpose of the interview and the project, furnished a brief information sheet covering the project, and provided a detailed consent form asking for the informant's signature, as advised by established institutional guidelines. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it later proved risky to have sensitive personal information listed on consent forms and the process proved to be cumbersome official for some informants. As a result, the 4 subsequent rounds of interviews conducted in Pristina were done through (providing informed consent and) seeking out verbal consent, in order to provide for adequate security and a more fluid interview process. Interviews were audio recorded unless informants requested otherwise, with names being automatically anonymised unless requested otherwise by informants themselves. Data collected from these interviews have been stored securely through digital and physical means.

Because this round occurred from October to November 2014, I viewed it as introductory, considering that I had still only been in Pristina for four months by the time I began them. Furthermore, I had planned to build incorporate additional rounds of interviews on the initial work. I had taken four months to start interviewing, because, up until that point, I was engaging having in participant observation, talking with people in cafés, chatting in bars, and attempting to soak in my surroundings before presuming through the questioning act. As such, I built the first round to be semi-structured in

order to foster a broad interviewing environment where the informant and I could discuss concepts more fluidly and with fewer restrictions.

In addition to the semi-structured section, the round also included a structured section where I had asked informants to do a) write down the names of the people they had coffee with over the past week and b) to write and send diary with the same information for their coffees over the following week. This was done in order to attain structured network data for the use of analysing social networks in Pristina. I will address data collected by this method at another point in this chapter, however I will note here that I had at first utilised a different set of network-questions at the beginning of the round. These questions were also structured, in that they would ask the person to name their closest friends and family members as well as those they would seek assistance from, in a general sense or in finding a job, for example. As the questions were not as directed as the format I would later take, with advice from my supervisors, they did bring out interesting perspectives on the meanings of friendship in Pristina. They were also slightly friendlier in contrast with the coffee question which was enjoyed by some but confused informants at times and required extensive follow through afterwards so that I could make sure that I received the diaries. The switch to the “coffee question”, as I began to call it, brought much needed data for the exploration of networks and the use of social network analysis, but this advantage required careful handling during and after interviews, making the process slightly more difficult for both informant and interviewer.

This series of interviews was conducted in English, although I did have the help of a friend, Arben Xh. who translated during a conversation with Blerim S. Although I had still been learning Albanian over this time period, I still lacked the vocabulary to hold more than a basic conversation and the familiarity with the language needed to understand the many dialects found in Pristina, which fall collectively under the Gheg dialect of Albanian. The terms discussed were therefore in English and, as a result, lacked the intricacies of the concepts in Albanian. Thus, the first round of semi-structured

interviews was a starting point, not a conclusive piece in itself, and required further interviews as well as questioning of Albanian-language concepts were in order to explore meanings in Pristina.

Consisting of 30 conversations, a following round of semi-structured interviews took place between February and March 2015. It proceeded directly from the first round through incorporating many of the same people as informants and, like the first round, it also took part primarily in public spaces. In terms of topics, the interviews first touched on the theme of recent political events in Pristina, particularly the protests which took place in January in opposition to Aleksandar Jablanovic's continuing position in Prime Minister Isa Mustafa's cabinet as Minister of Communities and Returns and movements toward the privatisation of the Trepca mining complex (Hajdari 2015).

Informants often expressed attitudes towards the protests, ranging from favouring the protesters to disparaging the protesters' actions as being those of “villagers” who had tarnished the city. Our conversations also frequently touched upon Kosovo's government and political figures, with informants frequently disclosing disillusion towards the overall state of affairs. In addition to the Jablanovic scandal, a particular focus of discontent being the ongoing waves of emigration from Kosovo to locations in Western Europe. Another point which came out of these conversations was the term *inat*, a concept discussed later in this dissertation denoting especially tense relationships between agents. As discussed in the chapters on honour and identity, stances towards Albanian identity and concepts such as *nder* and *besa* were also covered, leading to the conclusion that the concepts are considered connected with Albanian identity. At times, memories of the war and the 1990s were also brought up by informants in order to illustrate their views on politics and identity.

Finally, these discussions revealed *nder* and spaces are related, with particular emphasis placed on how the concept interacts with judgements on perceived qualities relating to gender. Discussion revealed in particular how these judgements are rhetorically expressed in bodily terms, with the implication that public spaces in Pristina facilitate a decentralised politics of the body. As in the first

round, the final component of the interviews consisted of the “coffee question,” which collected data for a SNA through asking people to relate their café meetings over the previous week and record meetings for the current week. Consequently, it can be seen that the interviews covered similar topics as those in the first-round but in more depth, further building on an ethnographic foundation established through participant observation and preparing ground for the application of additional methods.

In interpreting these interviews, I follow an approach connected with cognitive anthropologists such as Quinn. In her introduction to *Finding Culture in Talk*, Quinn attempts to “illuminate the workings of the human mind, in all its cognitive, emotional, and motivational complexity, and to trace the role of cultural meanings in these complex workings” (Quinn 2005a: 3). For Quinn, “Discourse...is the object of investigation for all of us [who have contributed to the volume] because we deem it to be the best available window into cultural understandings and the way that these are negotiated by individuals (Quinn 2005a: 3). As such, Quinn advocates the use, and interpretation of, interviews with informants on topics of concern in order to uncover the cultural meanings associated with them and she notes separately within the volume that interviews are ideal for exploring themes which do not appear regularly in conversation (Quinn 2005a: 7-8; Quinn 2005b: 40). While interpreting interviews, Quinn seeks “patterns *across* interviewees and passages that would be evidence of shared, stable understandings” (Quinn 2005b: 43). Figurative language such as metaphor is significant, because, for Quinn, because are part of the “framework” through which topics are discussed and are “culture-laden” (Quinn 2005b: 44-45). From systematically analysing informants' discourses, Quinn works to “reconstruct” the “implicit assumptions” informants had in mind when speaking during interviews (Quinn 2005b: 45).

Similarly, Strauss, another collaborator within the volume, similarly utilises discourses presented within interviews to explore tacit culture-laden understandings (Strauss 2005: 204-205). Significantly, Strauss's approach to discourse focuses upon the “cultural standing” of perspectives expressed in interviews in order to differentiate between those which are widely-held and those which are more

controversial (Strauss 2005: 232). The approach to meaning and discourse proposed by Strauss then explores which concepts become more commonly-held than others, as well as those which are less so. Consequently, through interpreting interviews for such patterns, as advocated by both Strauss and Quinn, it is then possible to explore how concepts related with interaction in networks of relationships become held by multiple agents. Furthermore, because utilising discourses in such a way then also allows anthropologists to explore how discourses become privileged and, as such, it explores processes involved in discursive strides towards hegemony.

### **Exploring Terms with Free Lists**

After completing the first and second rounds of the semi-structured interviews, I embarked on another two rounds where I undertook “cultural domain analysis,” asking informants to complete free list and pile sorting exercises (Bernard 2011: 223). The method is theoretically rooted in cognitive anthropology, which the goal being, according to Bernard, to investigate “the terms that comprise the domain- the illnesses, the edible plants, the jobs that women and men do, etc.- and how those items are related in each people's minds” (Borgatti 1994: 261; Borgatti 1998; Bernard 2011: 224). According to Borgatti, a cultural domain is “a set of items which are, according to informants, of a kind” (Borgatti 1994: 265). In my case the domains to be investigated were terms which appeared to be significant within the first and second rounds of interviews. I sought to investigate these terms and their relationships with each other, as well as which other terms they were separately connected with. Crucially, such cultural domain analyses allowed me to see which terms were the most salient among the informants I was working with, thus enabling me to see the terms were implicated in the formations of networks which I had previously noted in field notes and interviews.

The first method I utilised to explore cultural domains was the free list, which is meant to uncover the component terms of a cultural domain (Borgatti 1994: 264; Bernard 2011: 225). It tends to be used as a starting point when exploring cultural domains, as it produces lists of terms associated with the



domain (Borgatti 1994: 264). In order to find these terms, researchers state the domain they desire to explore to the informants and request that the informants relate all the terms they think are associated with it (Borgatti 1994: 264; Borgatti 1998: 8). According to Borgatti, there is no specified minimum number of participants for free list exercises, because such a number “depends on the degree of cultural consensus in the population of interest” (Borgatti 1998: 10). This is such because lists which are more similar indicate that there are higher degrees of consensus and such lists thus require lower numbers of participants to explore the queried domain (Borgatti 1998: 10). However, Borgatti notes that a general rule is to conduct the exercise at least 30 times (Borgatti 1998: 10).

For the free listing carried out as part of my research, I utilised the terms gathered from ethnographic data in order to question how they are conceptualised by informants. Elaborated on in chapter 4, these terms were *nder* (honour), *besa* (“oath”), *familje* (“family”), Kanun, *inat* (“spite” or “envy”) and *turp* (“shame”). I set out to ask between 20 and 30 younger and older men and women. Due to pressures associated with time, however, I was only able to ask 21 people to complete the exercise. Nonetheless, because it did reach the target range and the free list data appears to have a definite curve in many cases, then the data may be used as a snapshot for assistance with interpreting ethnographic data. It points towards focuses which in many ways correspond with the pieces of data provided by the ethnography, while simultaneously prompting one to perhaps re-examine previously held notions or reveal new directions from which to focus on information collected during fieldwork.

### **Pile Sorts and Relationships between Terms**

Upon the completion of the free list round, I embarked on another round of interviews where I asked informants to sort the terms which had been used most, from the free list, into piles. This “pile sort method”, referred to by Bernard as “a simple, compelling method for collecting data about what-goes-with-what”, asks informants to evaluate the similarities between elicited terms (Borgatti 1998: 12; Bernard 2011: 233). Informants are given a stack of randomly-shuffled cards, each with a term written

on them, and requested to separate the terms into piles based on perceived similarity, with each term able to only go into one pile (Borgatti 1998: 12-13).

As with the free list, it is recommended that the number of participants be determined according to the variability of the answers, with responses which vary significantly from each other requiring more responses and thus a greater number of participants (Borgatti 1998: 13-14). However, Borgatti states that the recommended amount of participants for a pile sort exercise is 20 or over (Borgatti 1998: 13). Following this guidance, I conducted 20 pile-sort exercises with different informants each time. With the cultural domain explored through free listing, I incorporated the terms most listed by informants, resulting in 36 terms placed on note cards (specified in chapter 3). In addition to representing the free list results well, the number of terms provided a wide range of possibilities for the sorts, thus increasing providing further depth in terms of possible similarities and dissimilarities among the queried terms. As such, the results from the free listing directly influenced the execution of the pile sorting exercise. Once again, 20 proved to be most feasible due to time constraints, although I had noticed that informants' responses appeared to be following certain trends. This indicates that even though interviewing additional informants would yield further variations in terms of similarity, the overall patterns of similarity would probably change little. As will be explained in more detail within the chapter on spaces, the pile sort exercises revealed a pattern associating certain terms which appeared to be based on association depending on where in social space they were located. Consequently, the exercise uncovered the presence of spatial concepts connected with the means through which networks of relationships were formed and maintained by agents in Pristina.

To analyse both the free list and pile sort data, I then used the ANTHROPAC 4.0 (Analytic Technologies) computational program. As I explain in the chapter on “honour”, the program analysed the free lists statistically, with terms being measured according to their ranks within lists, frequencies of usage and overall salience. From the frequencies, Borgatti notes that it may be determined whether a

degree of cultural consensus is present in the list (Borgatti 1998: 5). This allows one to distinguish “core” terms from “periphery” terms for the results based on the frequencies, although it should be noted that divisions between core and periphery do not consist of strict boundaries (Borgatti 1998: 5). If core and periphery terms are determined, then it can be seen that enough results have been gathered in order to proceed with conceptual analyses, and, as such, the focus then turns to the means of deciding such boundaries. Borgatti advises that one should start with terms which have been mentioned more than once and incorporate them within the domain (Borgatti 1998: 5). One then looks for a “break” within the data, or an “elbow”, where it appears that frequencies begin to differ radically, with core and periphery terms differentiated based on their positions above or below such breaks (Borgatti 1998: 5-6). Similarly, Bernard notes that, when picking out terms from lists for further study, it is best to choose terms which are mentioned by at least 10% of the informants (Bernard 2011: 349). It is then possible to determine, first, whether enough informants have participated in the exercise and, second, how the cultural domain for the queried term appears to be constituted according to the terms provided within the lists. Consequently, these measures enable one to ascertain which other terms were also associated with those which had been discussed during the interviews, enabling me to obtain an additional account on the cultural concepts investigated.

Meanwhile, the program analysed the data from the pile sort as a multidimensional scaling (MDS) graph (Borgatti 1998: 16). The advantage of using the ANTHROPAC program to analyse the data in this case is that the use of a MDS graph resulted in the terms being graphically represented according to the degrees to which they are perceived to be related by informants. As such, the MDS graph explores how terms are grouped, or “clustered” together (Borgatti 1998: 16-17). According to Borgatti, MDS graphs “reveal underlying perceptual dimensions” through recording how informants differentiate terms from each other and group them together (Borgatti 1998: 17). Furthermore, MDS is particularly suited for investigating how terms may be spatially related, as Bernard notes that it is also referred to as “smallest-

space analysis” (Bernard 2011: 352). For the research conducted within this dissertation, the significance is that the pile sort and resulting analysis through ANTHROPAC complements ethnographic descriptions through providing an additional account of the ways through which concepts are grouped together by informants. Crucially, the graph, when compared against the data from interviews and participant observation, supports the inference that practices and performances in Pristina are influenced by spatial perceptions.

### **Finding Agency: Utilising Unstructured Interviews**

I had also conducted a round of 10 unstructured interviews at the end of June and beginning of July, where I asked activists to talk with me about their experiences related with politics. According to Bernard, “Unstructured interviews are based on a clear plan that you keep constantly in mind, but are also characterized by a minimum of control over the people's responses. The idea is to get people to open up and let them express themselves in their own terms, and at their own pace” (Bernard 2011: 157). As such, the point of these interviews was to give informants the amount of space necessary in order to discuss their political involvement or views on politics in general, without shifting towards other topics unless informants did so themselves. Consequently, those interviewed included activists who had been involved during the days of the Albanian “parallel structures”, people currently involved in NGOs, students and members of various political organisations such as *Lëvizja Vetëvendosje*. Logistically, the interviews were conducted in English and took place where the informants felt most comfortable with meeting. As with the semi-structured interviews, the unstructured interviews were audio-recorded if given permission and notes were simultaneously taken.

Crucially, the freedom provided by the unstructured format allowed for multiple aspects of political action in Pristina to be covered within the interviews. For example, interviews with student activists of the Students' Political Club (*Klubi Politik i Studentëve*, abbreviated KPS) touched on reasons which prompted them to come together, including the idea that acting as a group enabled them to

participate in politics because it allowed them to pool material and human resources. This highlighted the importance of personal connections for pursuing political action in Pristina, particularly among young people. Indeed, in this case the activist explains that she joined KPS due to the lack of opportunities provided by Kosovo's governing institutions for young people to become active in the community. Meanwhile, another interview with a prominent human rights activist recounted how, during their activities during the 1990s, it was essential for her to gain the trust of the community if she hoped to mobilise them to participate in actions such as protests or assisting with her organisation's humanitarian efforts. In a third example, another human rights activist who had been working in the community during 1990s described in detail how experiencing and maintaining interpersonal solidarity was a key reason for her participation in organisations such as the Kosovo Women's Network (*Rrjeti i Grupeve të Grave të Kosovës*, abbreviated RrGGK). From these examples, it can be seen that the unstructured interviews provided additional perspectives which highlighted different aspects of the ethnographic context surrounding political action in Pristina. Indeed, Bernard states that unstructured interviews are the best means to encapsulate the “lived experience” of informants (Bernard 2011: 159).

### **Turning Social Phenomena Inside Out with “Good-Enough Methods”**

It can be seen throughout this discussion on the methodology that there is an ongoing tension between the ethnographic methods of interviewing and participant observation with the more systematic methods of social network analysis and cultural domain analysis. However, in a chapter within the *Finding Culture* volume, Luttrell argues that such a tension should be embraced rather than shied away from (Luttrell 2005). In Luttrell's methodology, a tension exists between “realist” and “reflexivist” orientations towards the interpretation of life stories, but it is a tension which Luttrell exploits in order to both speak to the material conditions faced by her informants and to the relationships she developed with her informants (Luttrell 2005: 245). As such, the tension yields a productive synthesis of empirical and contextual insights, leading Luttrell to argue that researchers should strive to develop “good enough

methods” through considering the advantages and disadvantages of each method for the question rather than remaining categorically with one type of method or another (Luttrell 2005: 244-245, 264-265). The result is a method which combines a systematic means of analysing interviews with an emphasis on seeking common conceptualisations with a reflexive analysis of her position vis a vis her informants (Luttrell 2005: 253-254, 261, 264-265).

In a very similar sense, this methodology can also be seen as an example of developing “good enough methods” and examining rather than avoiding epistemological tensions. It “turns” dominant discourses on the Balkans “inside out” through going beneath concepts such as national identity in order to explore how they are formulated by informants (Riles 2000). As such, the methodology is reflexive, in that it questions dominant discourses on identity within Kosovo and the wider Balkans region and, as such, acknowledges its contingent status as an argument. However, in conceptualising relationships as networks and exploring them through formal social network analysis, the methodology is also empirical. This tension between reflexivity and empiricism can be seen to continue through the use of free lists and pile sorts, methods associated with the analysis of cultural models. Such a tension, as Luttrell would argue, should not be avoided as a matter of course, leaving ethnography to anthropologists and social network analysis to mathematical sociologists. Instead, the back and forth between ethnographic and formal, sensitive and systematic, forces the anthropologist to confront the assumptions and implications proceeding from each method as differing accounts of social phenomena. In this dissertation, so-called “ethnic groups” are turned inside out through methods which focus upon how agents designated as members of such groups form their relationships, use rhetoric to adjust links between themselves and others, explore persistent yet shifting cultural concepts drawn upon and re-fashioned through the use of rhetoric and place into the spotlight how informants view their interactions in social spaces, politics and concepts associated with Albanian national identity. In this case, it is not only networks which are turned inside out, it is the discursive contexts within which the ethnographer, informants and resulting text are

situated.

Reflexively interrogating discursive contexts via a mixed methodology mirrors an argument made by Knox, Savage and Harvey where it is argued that networks hold a “dangerous and productive” possibility to provide insights on social life through being “simultaneously referent and representation” (Knox, Savage and Harvey 2006: 135). They compare SNA approaches within sociology and anthropological studies of networks, concluding that, although both approaches concern sociality, they are not often connected with each other due to separate disciplinary paths the network concept has taken within both (Knox, Savage and Harvey 2006: 114-115). However, they identify a middle ground between the two disciplines exemplified by a “cultural turn” among some sociologists such as Mische and White (Mische and White 1998; Mische 2003; Knox, Savage and Harvey 2006: 115). For Knox, Savage and Harvey, this “cultural turn” can be seen in Mische and White's work which focuses on both conversations among people (in Mische's case, between members of social movements) with SNA (Mische 2003; Knox, Savage and Harvey 2006: 131). This is both an example of a mixed methods approach and an effort to examine the network as both an abstract and cultural entity (Knox, Savage and Harvey 2006: 116). As such, Knox, Savage and Harvey advocate more work to fill this middle ground between SNA and anthropology and for both approaches to connect with each other (Knox, Savage and Harvey 2006: 129). Meanwhile, the three authors explicitly describe Riles's discussion of the means social movement activists rhetorically create and how they utilise networks (and referring to them as such) in the course of their work as an example of an anthropological study of networks as a cultural form (Riles 2000; Knox, Savage and Harvey 2006: 114-115, 132).

The middle ground is, in this case, productive in the sense that it focuses on how relationships are manipulated and utilised as forms encountered through social research. Indeed, the concept of the network is powerful, because it captures the relationships formed by agents in social spaces and directly focuses on these interactions. Incorporating the perspectives of agents on their interactions within studies

of networks therefore brings depth to studies on networks themselves as well as on agents and their interactions with each other within social spaces. Yet, such a middle ground is also dangerous, because it has the potential to narrow complex forms of social life into points on a graph, potentially de-contextualising them. Consequently, efforts should be taken to complement network analyses with reflexive, ethnographic descriptions in order to avoid losing the richness of the network as an analytical device. Utilising SNA in research on the formation, utilisation and emergence of systems of interpersonal relationships provides then a powerful means of investigating such relationships through the focus on systematic means of collecting data and, as such, it is then a means of turning such networks “inside out,” exploring what happens within. To take into account such interactions, it is necessary to practice ethnography, as doing so provides needed context, in terms of how such interactions happen, the researcher's impact on the interactions, and perspectives held by agents on their dealings with their associates. Consequently, the combined methodology presented within this section then exemplifies research conducted within the middle ground between SNA and cultural anthropology described by Knox, Savage and Harvey. The networks described within the following pages are cultural forms in the sense that they are based on interactions between agents in cafés, and they are explored through field notes, interviews and social network analysis.

Consequently, the research represents a movement towards studying complexity in a combined reflexive and systematic manner. According to Fischer et al, “Complex systems emphasize relationships between local agents and how these interact and contribute to the collective behaviours of a system that themselves interacts and forms relationships new relationships within local contexts” (Fischer et al. 2012: 4). For White and Johansen, research focusing on complexity has arrived at the conclusion that “when some new, unexpected, and unpredictable pattern emerges out of interaction, it is something within the structure or the dynamics or evolution of the network that has changed, such as reaching a critical density” (White and Johansen 2005: 33). The interaction between discursive entities described within



this dissertation and networks formed and maintained by agents may be seen to form a complex system through such a focus on emergence and consistent re-structuring (structuration) of relationships. However, through incorporating a simultaneously ethnographic and systematic methodology, the dissertation exposes the workings of the complex system through charting the structuration of networks through reference to hegemonic discursive formations.

## Chapter 2: Theory on Rhetoric and Culture

### Introduction

In this chapter, I elaborate on the discussion on rhetoric and hegemony initiated within the introduction in order to provide a theoretical backdrop for the rest of the dissertation. First, I discuss the ideas of Kenneth Burke, who made a significant contribution through viewing rhetoric as persuasive and constitutive of social identities. Second, I describe James Fernandez's view on rhetoric, particularly the “play of tropes,” as a performative exercise through which ethnographers must tune into in order to understand how humans grapple with social realities. Third, I interrogate the “rhetoric culture” theorists, highlighting the anthropologists' focus on the emergence of culture through rhetoric and a debate within the group on the role of agency. Fourth, I bring attention to Herzfeld's critique of “rhetoric culture” as a false dichotomy between rhetoric and culture when culture, according to Herzfeld, is rhetorical and, as such, “rhetoric culture” is better conceived as “social poetics” (Herzfeld 2009a). Fifth, I then bring into play Laclau's theories on rhetoric and hegemony, where rhetoric is viewed as part of processes which aim towards the strengthening of discursive formations at the expense of others. Sixth, I argue that, although Laclau makes a substantial contribution through his focus on rhetorical processes in the formation of hegemonic discursive formations, his framework has difficulty conceptualising agency, does not account for the shifting of cultural meanings and signifiers, does not adequately tackle public space, and has a vague formulation of the effects of hegemonic discursive formations on agents.

The result from this discussion is a synthesis which considers rhetoric to be a persuasive tool which draws upon cultural schema and contingent signifiers. The use of rhetoric results in the emergence and re-configuration of hegemonic discursive formations and rhetoric has force due to drawing upon concepts linked with the formations. Henceforth, the use of rhetoric by agents shapes and re-shapes their social environments.

## Burke and Rhetoric

When considering the connections between rhetoric and identity, major contributions to the topic have been made by literary critic and philosopher Kenneth Burke. Burke argues that rhetoric can be seen as “the use by human agents to form attitudes or to induce actions in other agents” and differentiates it from poetry, where poetry is “symbolic action”, “for itself and in itself”, and rhetoric is an “inducement to action” (Burke 1969: 41-42). Furthermore, rhetoric is “addressed”, as the act of inducing action, “persuading”, demands recipients of the action, an “audience” (Burke 1969: 38).

Regarding rhetoric, Burke is largely concerned with the topic of identity, explaining, “The *Rhetoric* [his emphasis] deals with the possibilities of classification in its *partisan* [his emphasis] aspects; it considers the ways in which individuals are at odds with one another, or become identified with groups more or less at odds with one another” (Burke 1969: 22). The formation of identities involves the process of “identification”, which occurs through “ideas and imagery”, where agents may become “identified” with others depending on whether their motivations are joined (Burke 1969: 20). However, this process may occur even if the agents' interests are not joined, as the agent may be “persuaded” or “assume” that they are (Burke 1969: 22). Rhetoric is then implicated in creating identities, in facilitating this process whereby agents may become identified with others if their interests are not congruent, or even seen as such. Furthermore, Burke considers rhetoric, while implicated within the process of identification, to be a “general *body of identifications* [his emphasis] that owe their convincingness much more to trivial repetition and dull daily reinforcement than to exceptional rhetorical skill” (Burke 1969: 26).

As such, Burke's concept of rhetoric may be seen as a constructive one, where social reality is not fixed but shaped by persuasion and the repetition of images. This aspect of Burke's thinking is key, in that it illustrates the necessity for the repeated use of rhetoric for identifications to hold firm. Furthermore, Burke's idea of identification demanding division implies that the subject demands an “Other” in order to be constituted and that, taken to the fullest extent, warfare is then a rhetorical exercise. Burke then

conceptually links rhetoric and identity in a manner which will be conceptually echoed by Laclau whom, as we will discuss later within this section, is also concerned with how terms become associated with each as part of hegemony. For anthropology, Burke's discussion is key, in that it portrays the role of rhetoric in socially constructive practices through the persuasive direction of messages towards audiences as part of the formation of identities.

### **Fernandez and the Play of Tropes**

Notably, within *A Rhetoric of Motives*, Burke argues that anthropological investigations of magic would be best served by going beyond the terminology of magic to rhetoric in order to explore how magic, as rhetoric, affects societies (Burke 1969: 43). This argument for anthropology to take rhetoric into account indeed bore fruit through the work of anthropologists such as Fernandez. Writing in 1986, Fernandez also possesses a concern with the influence of rhetoric on identities, explaining, “My own particular concern here has been in how humans-those I have lived with over extended periods-construct, given their problems, identities through the argument of images and the play of tropes” (Fernandez 1986: ix-x). The focus on the “play of tropes”, accompanied with a focus on the ethnographic, is used by Fernandez to bring contextual depth to the interplay between rhetoric and identity described by Burke, contributing to an understanding of how particular subjects become linked with others in larger social groupings.

For Fernandez, the “play of tropes” refers to “a play of mind within domains (by metonymy principally) and between domains (by metaphor principally). It is a play of mind that emerges out of our sense of the world's predominant classifications and collections of significant beings- the predominant 'domains of belonging'-while it also affects these classifications and collections. Likewise, that is energized by social relations even as it is influential in shaping them” (Fernandez 1986: xii-xiii). The phrase “domains of belonging” is used to refer to interaction within social groups, and so, keeping this in mind, the phrase “play of tropes” within the passage refers to the means through which humans grapple

with their identities and affiliations which may, as Fernandez indicates, themselves be contradictory (Fernandez 1986: xii). As such, tropes, within a process referred to as “metaphoric predication”, manipulate the social environment through manoeuvring “social subjects” within “quality space”, a region conceived of as culture (Fernandez 1986: xiii).

Continuing the focus on tropes, Fernandez describes metaphors as “a strategic predication upon an inchoate pronoun (an I, a you, a we, a they) which makes a movement and leads to a performance” (Fernandez 1986: 8). The strategic element is present through the use of metaphor to make perplexing dilemmas encountered more understandable, an interpretation Fernandez credits to Burke's view of the proverb as “a strategy for dealing with a situation” (Fernandez 1986: 8). Within this framework, metaphors transfer pronouns, those referring self and other subjects, along a spectrum (“continua”) in a manner which may be positive or negative depending on the intent (Fernandez 1986: 9-10, 41). Subjects, within this framework, are not passive recipients and may “reorient” themselves if they do not acquiesce to their new positions or alter the situation by affiliating with different domains (Fernandez 1986: 10-11). Crucially, this all occurs within quality space, which is conceived of as including “n' dimensions or contigua” of cultural terms (such as “order-disorder”, “static-dynamic,” “inner-outer”, etc.), with the result being that metaphoric predication involves the manoeuvring of pronouns within cultural quality space (Fernandez 1986: 13, 40). Fernandez's “play of tropes” thus refers to strategies through which agents grasp situations which may be confusing and, as part of this, position themselves vis-a-vis others (Fernandez 1986: 14).

Crucially, Fernandez's discussion represents an in-depth account of rhetorical action in social life, and in several ways it echoes Burke's, such as in its focus on action and transformation in order to understand the formation of identities. However, the approach distinguishes itself further through its anthropological emphasis. Indeed, Fernandez emphasises that the play of tropes is one which ethnographers should attend to as metaphor “is at the heart of social life”, and that this interest is “in

what tropes do than in what they are in any formal analytic sense” (Fernandez 1986: ix, xi, 6-7, 60). For anthropology, Fernandez's discussion paves the way for detailed work on rhetoric and its work within culture, including processes of identity formation.

### “Rhetoric Culture Theory”

The concept of “rhetoric” has received much attention in contemporary socio-cultural anthropology with the advent of “rhetoric culture theory” (Girke and Meyer 2011: 2). With contributions from scholars such as Fernandez, Carrithers, Tyler and Strecker, as well as others such as Girke and Meyer involved with the “Rhetoric Culture Project,” this area of inquiry takes rhetoric as a subject of inquiry, often advocating for ethnography as the prime method of investigation (Carrithers 2005; Fernandez 2009; Tyler and Strecker 2009; Carrithers 2009a; Girke and Meyer 2011; Hariman 2015). Similarly, Tyler and Strecker state that, “while rhetoric is the instrument with which we *describe*, it is also the means by which we *create* culture,” in order to argue for discussions on interactions between rhetoric and culture rather than a restatement of the argument in *Writing Culture* that ethnography is rhetorical (Tyler and Strecker 2009: 2). As argued by Meyer and Girke in a later volume, the focus is squarely put by Tyler and Strecker on “the creative role of rhetoric in the emergence of culture” (Tyler and Strecker 2009: 2; Girke and Meyer 2011: 3). Correspondingly, they explain that rhetoric culture theory consequently leads to a focus on “emergence,” where phenomena are conceptualised as “being in a constant state of becoming, even as they are always drawing on former events” and contingency is “central” (Girke and Meyer 2011: 3). Therefore, the authors argue that, “Embracing emergence, and a correspondingly limited directorial power of intention, thus has the epistemological advantage that we are wary of all naturalizations of social life” (Girke and Meyer 2011: 5).

Similarly, Carrithers argues that, through the focus on dialogue, “rhetoric culture challenges social scientists not only to fit things into recurring patterns, but to be sensitive to the possibility that things may fall out of pattern, may erupt into the new and different...indeed to the possibility that out of

old materials lying to hand new materials can be fashioned” (Carrithers 2009a: 8). He defines rhetoric through first theorising the concept of “culture” as “a set of tools which, strictly in themselves, are inert and inactive, but which also offer an indefinite but broad set of potentials and possibilities in the hands of people addressing one task or another” (Carrithers 2009a: 3). In this sense, culture represents those things which agents can draw on, and this set of concepts is referred to as a “cultural repertoire” (Carrithers 2009b: 49). Thus, Carrithers defines rhetoric as “the use of these tools in critical and unclear situations to achieve some desired understanding, some policy and orientation, and with that orientation a deflection of minds, hearts and events into a desired, or at least less disastrous, direction” (Carrithers 2009a: 3). If culture may be seen as a tool belt, then rhetoric may be seen as the use of those tools by agents towards other agents when faced with situations prompting responses (Bailey 2009: 107).

Indeed, with this statement, Carrithers argues that rhetoric culture theory demands a move away from focusing on set positions towards a realm of fluidity, where trends deemed deterministic may indeed fall apart and concepts perceived as obsolete may reach new relevance through being recycled in a different form. As part of this conceptualisation, “rhetoric culture emphasizes the interactive character of life: through the glass of rhetoric we can see that, in any moment of interaction, some act to persuade, others are the targets of persuasion; some work, others are worked upon; some address, others are addressed” (Carrithers 2009a: 8). As such, he argues that this concept argues for a new view of agency, in that the distinction between one who acts and another who is addressed leads to roles of “agents” and “patients” which are fluid and may switch depending on the course of the dialogue (Carrithers 2009a: 8). As part of this, it is argued that there may be seen to be “agents,” those deploying the rhetoric, and patients, those being addressed, yet it is clarified that the roles may be switched as well as single or plural (Carrithers 2009a: 8).

In a manner similar to Carrithers, Meyer and Girke emphasise that, for rhetoric culture theory, “contingency” plays a “basic role in the human condition,” as humans are subject to chance and dilemmas

without apparent answers, and, as such, rhetoric presents itself as the only means for dealing with these situations (Girke and Meyer 2011: 4). Furthermore, Meyer and Girke argue that rhetoric brings attention to power as it develops in conversations between actors, due to the interactive quality of dialogue (Girke and Meyer 2011: 6-7). However, because actors are enveloped in “emergent situations beyond their making,” as such involving power and dominance, it is necessary to “move beyond the individual, strategic agency of the rational actor” (Girke and Meyer 2011: 6-9). The concept of an “agent” and a “patient” implies a focus on the subjective in a way which, for Girke and Meyer, would ignore the unintentional aspects of the dialogue. This appears to be why Girke and Meyer appear to focus on rhetoric as a nexus between subjective and intersubjective rather than as a concept deployed by agents towards patients. Yet, although the emphasis on social life as emerging from rhetoric appears quite powerful, it seems limiting to focus only on the emergent qualities of the dialogue itself as a nexus, because doing so may neglect the very motivations which prompt the dialogue, and opinions presented, in the first place.

A key argument from the “rhetoric culture” theorists is that rhetoric creates through being deployed. Rhetoric is “the moving force which connects that which is learned, culture, to that which happens” (Carrithers 2009a: 6). As discussed above, rhetoric draws on concepts associated with a cultural repertoire, which, when deployed, leads to the emergence of new forms of social life. As will be discussed later in this chapter, this basic proposition from “rhetoric culture” appears to be the case, particularly in the emergence of hegemonic discursive formations.

Meanwhile, a major debate within this sub-focus of social anthropology appears to be on the role of agency. Girke and Meyer argue for a move away from subjective experiences by individual agents, while Carrithers highlights individuals through his use of the terms “agent” and “patient.” The position taken by Girke and Meyer is puzzling in that on one hand they argue for considering power while on the other they do not consider how individuals, faced with power, can employ rhetoric. Furthermore, Carrithers's view of the fluidity of “agent” and “patient” roles takes into account changing conditions



within social relationships, a key subject within this dissertation. Therefore, the interpretations presented in the following pages take Carrithers's view of agency and rhetoric, with rhetoric being viewed as a tool, drawing on culture, which is utilised by agents in response to particular circumstances. The use of rhetoric as a tool, however, does not happen within a vacuum, because its employment results in the emergence of new forms of social life. As discussed in the conclusion to this dissertation, this concept of rhetoric as a tool used by agents which leads to emergence then has profound consequences for the structuration of complex systems such as networks.

### **Social Poetics**

However, Herzfeld, also a contributor to the Rhetoric Culture Project, criticises the collaboration for creating a distinct field of “rhetoric culture”, thus leaving open the question of what constitutes “rhetoric culture” and what does not (Herzfeld 2009a: 183). The danger is that, with the term's creation, an area of culture may be cordoned off as not rhetorical, perpetuating its reified status by proponents and critics and prolonging the legacy of objectivism in anthropology (Herzfeld 2009a: 183). As such, Herzfeld asks the question “When is culture not rhetorical?” and instead offers the term “social poetics,” explaining that] he considers all forms of culture as rhetorical (Herzfeld 1997: 141; Herzfeld 2009a: 184). In the text, *Cultural Intimacy*, Herzfeld elaborates, stating provocatively, “I want to argue something more radical: that the entirety of social interaction...is rhetorical” (Herzfeld 1997: 141). As such, “social poetics” is then preferred because it does not separate a part of culture deemed “rhetoric culture” from that which is also rhetorical.

Indeed, this approach has its benefits for theorising identity within anthropology. It brings attention to the creation of national identities within nation-states, treating elements of essentialism within as “social strategies” (Herzfeld 1997: 139). Social poetics focuses on practices and actions which may escape attention as being “ordinary”, considering them instead as performative and rhetorical (Herzfeld 1997: 139). The term “links the little poetics of everyday interaction with the grand dramas of

official pomp and historiography in order to break down illusions of scale” (Herzfeld 1997: 25). As essentialism depends upon the creation of unquestioned images (“icons”), social poetics treats these images as “culturally constituted” and rhetorical performances (Herzfeld 1997: 26-27). Therefore, Herzfeld's approach has much to offer anthropology by providing a lens through which to consider how practices may be rhetorical, what they may be projecting through performance, and how they may be reflecting wider discourses of national identity.

However, although Herzfeld's philosophical stance towards rhetoric culture and his use of social poetics have many advantages, it is possible that, through its very broad nature, the term “social poetics” may obscure as much as it brings into focus. Through describing an example as being of “social poetics”, there remains a possibility that other aspects of that example may be left unexplored.

Two aspects left unexplored by Herzfeld are the formation of groups, a concern of Fernandez's, and how the formation of identity occurs within such networks.

### **Rhetoric and Hegemony**

To continue the discussion in this direction, it is necessary to consider the work of the late Ernesto Laclau. Key to Laclau's theory of rhetoric is the concept of “hegemony,” which Laclau borrows from Gramsci to refer to the “operation of taking up, by a particularity, of an incommensurable universal signification” (Laclau 2005: 70). This operation, according to Laclau, consists of an element within a discourse acting as an “empty signifier” by being “invested” with meanings (Laclau 2005: 70-71, 153-154). For Laclau, this process is essential in the establishment of the “people” as a populist and political entity, as the “people” is not a united group but a “heterogeneous” assemblage of distinct “elements,” or “demands” (Laclau 2005: ix-x, 153-154, 156). For Laclau, hegemony describes how disparate elements may be brought together in a political movement in an epoch where complete homogeneity is deemed impossible (Laclau 2005: 250).

Hegemony is also directly tied to the concept of rhetoric, because it requires the investigation of

“tropological movements” due to the situation described above where an element takes up the representation of a partial whole (Laclau 2014: 85-86). Consequently, he asserts, “hegemony is always metonymic” (Laclau 2014: 88). Illustrating this point further, he explains, “What is constitutive of a hegemonic relation is that its component elements and dimensions are articulated by contingent links” and, elaborating with an example of a “trade union” taking on previously unrelated causes, argues that the links through which the causes become associated with the trade union are “metonymic displacements based on relations of contiguity” (Laclau 2014: 88-89). Hegemonic discursive formations are then formed through the deployment of figurative devices. Importantly, Fernandez's ethnographic discussion on performance finds common ground with Laclau's discussion at this point through the shared focus on tropes, particularly metaphor and metonymy. Incorporating Laclau's focus on rhetorical hegemony into an ethnographic framework is then not a stretch, because anthropologists such as Fernandez have been interested in similar topics.

The relevance of hegemony, and the rhetorical processes behind it, is made clear through the use of examples related to political movements. According to Laclau, the image of the society-wide strike, rather than a utopia, mobilises through supporting and strengthening a working-class “proletarian identity” (Laclau 2014: 91). The image retains its power through being a “myth” rather than a “utopia,” an empty signifier compatible with particularity rather than a concrete political outcome (Laclau 2014: 92). An empty signifier, the general strike brings together the population's disparate demands and rhetorically unites them within a single chain of equivalence, a hegemonic discursive formation brought about through the tension between metaphor and metonymy. And yet, within this lies a “paradox”: the strike, a non-event, is the condition for the movement's formation and, thus, historical events associated with its growth and activities (Laclau 2014: 92). The fullness which hegemony attempts to bring about is impossible, as to do so would imply that an ontological shift from metaphor to literal meaning, a resulting loss of the discourse's rhetorical qualities, and the failure of the empty image (the strike) to

unite the heterogeneous elements separated by particularity (Laclau 2014: 93).

Therefore, hegemony and rhetoric may be seen as structuring forces, but only partially, as Laclau considers the complete formation of structures to be beyond logical possibilities. However, the process of structuration undertaken by hegemony and rhetoric is also considered by Laclau in *On Populist Reason* to be a matter of time in the sense that as the signifier is increasingly referred to, the longer a hegemonic discursive formation is in place and the more difficult it is to be dislodged. An example used by Laclau is the American right-wing's hold on populism since McCarthy's anti-Communist campaigns, George Wallace's presidential candidacy and especially Ronald Reagan's presidency (Laclau 2005: 133-138). In this case, the rhetoric of endeavouring for the working population has been utilised so consistently that this formation's strength is perceived by Laclau to be nearly insurmountable. Hence, he declares that, "Even if Bush marginally loses the election, his successor will find his movements limited by the straitjacket of a hegemonic formation whose parameters remain substantially unchanged" (Laclau 2005: 138). Thus, the rhetorical processes behind hegemony, or the more specific variant, populism, are methods in establishing and sustaining discursive formations.

This is where Laclau's discussions of rhetoric and hegemony may be valuable for ethnographic analyses. The concept of hegemony focuses on the links between subjects and how rhetoric modifies these links during the creation of discursive formations. However, because Laclau utilises the concept to illustrate how movements may be formed, it can be applied to the study of relationships between agents. Doing so brings attention to the means through which movements communicate with their members and on the actions themselves communicating meaning, consequently providing an additional vocabulary to understanding how agents interpret questions of political identity. Consequently, the discussion has then gone full-circle by returning to interactions between rhetoric and identity as theorised earlier by Burke. Indeed, Laclau's discussion on the use of rhetoric in the formation of the "people" shows that he has considered applying hegemony in this context. Utilising the concept of hegemony then provides

additional depth than a sole focus on social poetics or tropes.

### **Synthesis**

This dissertation takes influence from Laclau's view of hegemony as a rhetorical process which leads to the emergence of discursive formations. However, in order to focus further on how interpersonal ties are affected, it can be seen that Laclau's approach has significant gaps: the lack of the agent within the analysis, the view of signifiers as being either “empty” or “floating,” a shallow notion of social space and a vague concept of the effects of hegemonic discursive formations on agents. In this section of the chapter I address each of these gaps in turn, arguing that agents deploy rhetoric as a persuasive tool during interactions with other agents. This process entails drawing on shared cultural understandings, with the force of rhetoric derived from reference to these schema and their links with hegemonic discursive formations. For dialogues between agents, the appropriation of rhetoric has concrete consequences, for I show through two post-Yugoslav ethnographic examples that its deployment shapes and re-shapes hegemonic configurations.

First, we turn to the issue of agency. Although Laclau does not emphasise agency, the use of rhetoric by agents is focused upon heavily by Carrithers. As discussed within the introduction, this study is focusing in part on interactions between agents and other agents, conceptualising them as being connected with each other through networks of ties. Consequently, it is important to have a concept of agency in order to understand how agents within networks of other agents engage with each other. Laclau's perspective of rhetoric does not offer a detailed view of agency, for all the benefits of an emphasis on process and discursive signification. That this happens is curious, considering that Laclau is interested in political movements and how a number of agents begin to see themselves as a group, such as “the people.” Why is it that agents become attached to one signifier or another, how do they consider their relations with each other and how do they use rhetoric as part of, or separate from, such processes? Carrithers, through viewing rhetoric as a persuasive tool used by agents, thus offers a more viable way

to consider how rhetoric is utilised in networks.

Second, classifying signifiers as either “empty” or “floating” creates a dichotomy of signifiers which ignores dialogues between agents on meanings. It is possible that this oversight is due to Laclau's avoidance of agency, as discussed above. However, this dichotomy results in a theoretically weak view which does not take into account how agents perceive discourses, such as those related with identity. Such a view seems unwilling to accept that agents discuss meanings, although the view of hegemony as a process implies fluidity. Furthermore, it is discussed in Chapter 4 how terms have different meanings for agents and how such meanings are often contested by agents. Carrithers' view of culture as being a collection of “tools” is an effective theoretical basis from which to draw from due to how rhetoric, in Laclau's view, also draws on signifiers as part of striving towards hegemony (Carrithers 2009a: 3). Yet, the terminology of the signifier here still seems to be helpful, to the extent that it shows the significance of particular aspects of culture for agents.

Consequently, the term “contingent signifier” will be used for the discourses referred to by agents in order to motivate other agents. As discussed within the introduction, this term acknowledges how signifiers shift with debate yet still have meaning for agents and, consequently, can be referred to within rhetoric. This usage does so within the context of culture as a tool-kit drawn on by agents when utilising deploying rhetoric. It is for this reason that I explore cultural concepts such as *nder* (“honour”) in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 through Cultural Domain Analysis (described in Chapter 1), investigating them as “cultural schema,” a term utilised by Quinn to describe understandings of experiences which are held groups of agents (Quinn 2005b: 38). It is these understandings, which are associated with contingent signifiers deployed by agents through rhetoric.

Third, Laclau's view of rhetoric does not appear to take into account agents' interactions within a spatial context, particularly public spaces (see an in-depth discussion on public space in Chapter 3). However, Herzfeld's focus on social poetics offers a pathway to understand how people interact with

each other due to its focus on projected images. Images, viewed as rhetoric but not separate from culture, are utilised by agents and displayed towards others as performances in public spaces (Herzfeld 2009a: 186, 196, 200). Herzfeld illustrates his view of social poetics through examples of performative acts provided from his previous fieldwork in Greece. In particular, he describes a case where a successful “entrepreneur” in Rhodes played the role of a fool in front of other people at his village's café in order to demonstrate his high level of social prowess, evident because he had been taunting social conventions through his performance (Herzfeld 1997: 148-150). Projecting such images may then be seen as a practice in public spaces.

For Herzfeld, performances of embarrassment regarding perceived cultural traits are perceived as being integral to the participation by agents in the formation of national identities (Herzfeld 1997: 3-6). Additionally, a focus on projected images is consistent with the concept of cultural schema, in that they can be incorporated within performances. People make discourses visible and debate with them through social poetics, including the use of irony (Herzfeld 2001: 75-76; Herzfeld 2009a: 199-200). Maintaining a concern with social poetics while considering rhetoric as a tool utilised by agents in processes of identity formation, or hegemony, alleviates this weakness in Laclau's approach by concerning performances by agents. Performances will be illustrated in Chapter 4, which portrays dialogues between people and the rhetorical images they project whilst socialising in Pristina's public spaces.

Fourth, Laclau's view of rhetoric and the process of hegemony does not take the effects of hegemonic discursive formations on human actors into account. Although it can be inferred that an “empty” signifier has power due to being able to attract constituent elements, this is not elaborated upon by Laclau. However, Green's concept of hegemony (see Chapter 1) defines hegemony as a “fantasy with teeth,” placing greater attention on how agents are constrained or facilitated by hegemonic discursive formations (Green 2005: 158). I then synthesise the two perspectives by using Laclau's argument to explain how terms referred to through rhetoric have force during dialogic interactions. As described in

the previous section, terms are linked with signifiers, leading to the emergence of hegemonic discursive formations. When a signifier becomes increasingly referred to by agents, some discursive formations become more dominant than others (see Chapter 1). Hence, the terms referred to through rhetoric have force when appropriated due to being associated with dominant discursive formations, which may be viewed as cultural repertoires.

Two ethnographic examples from post-Yugoslav anthropology illustrate the force certain terms when rhetorically appropriated by agents. Within the context of Macedonia, Graan argues that specific forms of public discourse anticipate certain central chronotopes, in particular “transition” and “Europe,” which prompt corresponding responses by both those implicated in the mass media's stories and citizen-consumers (Graan 2015: 47-48, 50-51, 56). The circulation of these chronotopes shapes the interpretation of specific news stories by both subjects and citizens, who, through their responses, reproduce the chronotopes. In this example, the terms in question are “transition” and “Europe”, and they refer to a larger discursive formation on movement towards Western Europe and the European Union after Yugoslavia. Hence, the discursive formation's terms have force due to referring to this discourse and they result in the continued circulation of these terms by agents in Macedonia's public spaces.

In another example (explained at length in Chapter 1), Jansen describes a dominant interpretive framework held by Bosnians of being within a spatiotemporal “Meantime” (Jansen 2015: 18). This framework is referenced in conversations between Sarajevans through genres including jokes and the chronotopes of the “swamp”, the “labyrinth” and the “waiting room” (Jansen, Brkovic and Celebivic 2016: 14-17). In this way, the “Meantime” continues, as it shapes how Sarajevans interpret their encounters with the city's infrastructure. According to Jansen, it is a hegemonic perception produced by political elites in order to enforce the present distribution of material resources in Sarajevo and maintain modes of political discourse in the city (Jansen 2015: 202, 205). Through this circulation, the “Meantime” remains “a very mean time indeed,” as Sarajevans are placed in an asymmetric relationship in comparison



with the political actors who profit it by keeping Sarajevans perceiving themselves as “stuck” in place (Jansen 2015: 219). As in Chapter 1, the “Meantime” represents a discursive formation while chronotopes such as the “swamp”, the “labyrinth” and the “waiting room” are images which have force through referring to the “Meantime.” The effects of referring to the “Meantime” are significant for Bosnians, for they further unequal material circumstances between the population and the political elite and preserve the latter's hegemony.

In this section, I have produced a synthesis from the literature reviewed within this chapter on the contribution of Laclau's rhetorical theory of hegemony to ongoing debates in anthropology on rhetoric and culture. First, I argue that Carrithers' view of rhetoric as a persuasive device usefully puts the focus on dialogues between agents (Carrithers 2009a: 3). Second, I explain that the terms drawn on by rhetoric may be helpfully seen as contingent signifiers which refer to shared cultural understandings. Third, I point out that, because Laclau does not often explain how people interact within public spaces, Herzfeld's concept of social poetics is helpful for exploring rhetoric because it focuses on the communicative properties of performance in view of others. Fourth, I contend that Laclau's contribution to the anthropology of rhetoric and culture is his illustration of the construction of hegemonic discursive formations through rhetoric linking terms with signifiers. Combining this insight with Green's argument that hegemonic discourses have effects on social life, I argue through ethnographic examples that hegemonic discursive formations are constructed through the rhetoric utilised by agents during dialogic interactions. The terms, when appropriated by rhetoric, have force through referring to hegemonic discursive formations, which are re-configured by people through rhetoric. Therefore, the use of rhetoric shapes agents' dialogues with each other, and the invocation of hegemonic discursive formations has concrete consequences for the circumstances people face.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter builds on the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 1 by reviewing ongoing

anthropological debates on rhetoric and culture and relating these conversations with Laclau's rhetorical theory of hegemony. In this chapter, I view rhetoric as a persuasive tool used by agents, thus putting the focus on agency. The addition of Herzfeld's concept of social poetics points to the use of rhetoric by agents as occurring through performances in public spaces and, consequently, rhetoric is practical. Hence, this dissertation follows a view of "rhetoric and culture" rather than "rhetoric culture," because rhetoric and culture are seen as intertwined as in Herzfeld's concept of social poetics. Drawing on Laclau, I state that, as part of appropriating rhetoric to influence others, agents draw upon understood cultural concepts, or schema, to project contingent signifiers, which are contested rather than "empty" or "floating." Through rhetorical association with signifiers, these terms become linked together as emerging and hegemonic discursive formations. Because these formations become stronger over time from continued reference, rhetoric utilising them has force when used by agents. The use of rhetoric produces effects on social life, for discursive formations are re-configured, thus altering interactions between agents as relations between such formations shift.

Therefore, a conceptual focus on hegemony benefits studies of rhetoric and culture through exploring how discursive formations referenced by rhetoric emerge, the ways through which they shape interactions between agents and patients and how the terms possess force when employed. As I show in Chapter 6, the use by agents of rhetoric referring to hegemonic discourses, through possessing force, re-shapes networks of relationships between agents and patients. In the next chapter, I explore further the relationships between rhetoric, networks, public spaces and concepts associated with hegemonic discursive formations.

## Chapter 3: Cultural Concepts amidst Networks and Public Spaces in Hegemony

### Introduction

In the previous two chapters, I argue that rhetoric is given force when drawing upon privileged cultural concepts and directed by powerful actors. Drawing upon Laclau, Green and post-Yugoslav ethnographers such as Jansen, I argue that this occurs as a result of hegemony, a process which creates a social landscape where agency is asymmetric rather than flat, reinforcing certain discourses over others. In this chapter, I expand on the theoretical discussion in “Rhetoric Culture and Theory” by exploring the connections between theoretical discussions on rhetoric and hegemony with the concepts of networks, public space, public sphere and the cultural concepts of honour and shame.

First, I proceed from Carrithers's illustration of agents employing rhetoric towards “patients” by viewing these configurations as networks of relationships (Carrithers 2009a: 8). Agents are viewed as participants in rhetorical exchanges and consequently embedded in shifting formations with other agents. In order to do so, I conduct a literature review on Social Network Analysis (SNA) in order to illustrate how the “network” concept is utilised in this dissertation to consider relationships and agency in a simultaneously systemic and systematic perspective. I show that networks are tied to hegemony through being configurations of agents which are structured and re-structured through rhetoric referring to hegemonic discourses.

Second, I review the literature on spatiality, drawing on theories of the public sphere and public space in order to argue that the two concepts are both distinct and connected. Public spaces are simultaneously material and immaterial settings where people utilise rhetoric to negotiate networks of relationships and engage with others within view. I explore the relationship between immateriality and materiality in public space, arguing that material elements, such as the built environment, provide meaning to the public space through interpretation by human actors, who exhibit agency in meaning-

making processes through performances and practices. From these performances and interactions in public space, the public sphere emerges as a contested realm of discursive formations or “publics” (Yeh 2012). I take inspiration from Yeh's ethnography of political discourse in Tijuana, Mexico and studies of sociality in Greece and argue that the connection between the public space and public sphere lies in performance. Next, I include insights from Chapter 2's discussion on rhetoric and culture, contending that rhetoric “moves” agents in public space through appropriating discursive formations in the public sphere. Laclau's theory of rhetorical hegemony implies that discourses in the public sphere gain dominance over other “voicings” through rhetorical processes, thus shaping the discourses which agents perform in public space. Consequently, public spaces are locations where people contend with and re-configure discursive formations. Thus, public spaces are vital to consider for hegemony due to being settings where hegemonic discourses are formed and utilised.

Third, having noted the above ethnographic discussion of performance in Greek ethnography, I continue to a literature review on honour and shame in the Mediterranean. In doing so, I illustrate cultural concepts drawn on by agents in public spaces, and, through uncovering a linkage with discourses of national identity, I show that, in the case of Kosovo, such concepts are then linked through association with a hegemonic discursive formation in the public sphere. In these contexts, rhetorical references to honour and shame affect the conduct of agents in public spaces through influencing the forms of performance which may be undertaken and reconfigures networks through distributing the symbolic capital of particular agents. Consequently, the dialogue between the public sphere and public space described above is then elaborated. Honour and shame are significant as concepts linked through association with a hegemonic discursive formation of national identity which, when referred to, both affect agents' interactions in public spaces and reconfigure the discursive formation in the public sphere.

Through the discussion in this chapter on networks, the association between public space and public sphere, and honour and shame, I flesh out the ways through which hegemony is linked with each

concept. Consequently, in combination with the previous chapters, this chapter provides a backdrop for the rest of the dissertation by theorising hegemony as both a material and immaterial process which structures networks of relationships between agents by drawing upon discursive formations in the public sphere and reinforcing concepts associated with them through performance and rhetoric during interactions in public spaces.

### **Concepts in Social Network Analysis (SNA)**

When discussing social networks, it is important to note that the topic has long been a concern within socio-cultural anthropology and the social sciences in general. As discussed in Chapter 1, I utilise SNA in order to visualise relationships formed between agents and explore the networks formed through these interactions. In this section, I go into additional depth on the concepts and theories behind SNA in order to provide a background for the upcoming discussion on networks of agents in Pristina. I then relate this literature to the discussion in Chapter 2 on rhetoric and culture, arguing that conceptualising relationships as networks assists in efforts outlined by Carrithers to focus on rhetorical exchanges between agents and patients.

In his introductory text on SNA, Scott describes the method's trajectory, pinpointing its origins in social psychology, specifically the German “'gestalt' tradition”, which emphasised “the organized patterns through which thoughts and perceptions are structured” (Scott 2013: 13). To analyse these patterns, practitioners, who had emigrated from Nazi Germany to the United States, developed observational methods focusing on “group structure” and “friendship choices” (Scott 2013: 13). A proponent of this “sociometric” research, Jacob Moreno, focused on the relationship between “psychological well-being” and the “structural” characteristics of “social configurations” and is known for inventing the “sociogram” as a means of graphically presenting these configurations' attributes (Scott 2013: 13-14).

Similarly, Lewin, a contemporary of Moreno's, argued that the points in the sociogram represented individual agents, while the lines represented interactions, and that these points and lines

were positioned within a social “field”, where “regions”, composing points and lines, are divided based on the lack of lines linking them (Scott 2013: 15). This social field influences both the “opportunities” and “constraints” faced by agents, with the separations between regions shaping opportunities and setting constraints which, in turn, shape “group behaviour” (Scott 2013: 15). This idea of social distance, or acting within a social space, then has been seen since the origins of social network analysis to have spatial implications. To further represent this space, Cartwright and Harary placed the sociograms in graphs, with the points and lines given mathematical values, and the lines in turn able to be assigned positive or negative values based on the observed movement of interactions between agents (Scott 2013: 17). Cartwright and Harary then argued that the relationships mapped with sociograms were then the foundations upon which larger social entities were built, thus setting forth the argument that larger networks are built on smaller networks of interpersonal relationships (Scott 2013: 18).

Prell argues that, at the same time as the social psychologists had begun using sociograms, social anthropologists were also trying to find more effective ways of studying connections between institutions and structures (Prell 2012: 29). During this time period, Radcliffe-Brown, an influential British social anthropologist of the structural-functionalist school, argued that “human beings are connected by a complex network of social relations” and that this “network” is what makes up “social structure” (Prell 2012: 30). In keeping with his structural-functionalist orientation, Radcliffe-Brown then argued that the components of social structures can be revealed by quantifying and mathematically investigating relations within networks (Prell 2012: 29-30). Following Radcliffe-Brown, Warner conducted a field study on a town in New England dubbed as “Yankee City”, from which he set forth that social groupings are made up of “a group of mutually interacting individuals’, in which each tie is “part of the total community and mutually dependent upon all other parts” (Prell 2012: 31).

Radcliffe-Brown's influence was also heavily felt among social anthropologists in the United Kingdom, perhaps, notes Scott, even stronger than by those such as Warner in the United States (Scott

2013: 29). Central to this group was Max Gluckman, an anthropologist based at Manchester University who sought to research the relations between social actors and institutions through focusing on examining conflict, negotiation and power, particularly among societies in Africa (Scott 2013: 29). As part of his endeavour, he spurred students and other scholars at Manchester to research conflict and social relations as part of their research projects, and he is credited with the idea of “cross-cutting ties”, or relationships which include members of different groups and provide avenues for negotiation during conflict (Prell 2012: 31-32; Scott 2013: 29). Gluckman's ethnographic approach called for the use of detailed case-studies of events to generate theoretical insights which could then be applied globally to other societies, thus a means was established to study the macro-level dynamics through the micro (Prell 2012: 32).

The group of anthropologists associated with Gluckman at Manchester was soon dubbed the “Manchester school”, although it was also connected with another group located at the London School of Economics (LSE) through participation in seminars held at both universities (Prell 2012: 33). Scott notes that Barnes, a Manchester anthropologist, became the first scholar to utilise the term “network” in a “more rigorous and analytical” sense as well as, according to Prell, the first social scientist to utilise the “social network” concept in practice (Prell 2012: 34; Scott 2013: 30). During fieldwork in Bremnes, a small town in Norway, he became interested in the groupings he observed and, as part of his fieldwork, he conceptualised the points in a sociogram as people and the lines between them as representing relationships (Prell 2012: 34; Scott 2013: 30). From this vantage point, he concluded that “We can of course think of the whole of social life as generating a network of this kind” (Prell 2012: 34; Scott 2013: 30).

Meanwhile, Bott, an anthropologist at the London School of Economics and researcher at the Tavistock Institute, conducted a study of 20 British households in London, with a focus on her respondents' interpersonal relationships. The results of the study led her to conclude that married couples with more “connected” networks tended to have more rigid divisions of labour, while those with less

“connected” networks tended to have less strict divisions of labour (Prell 2012: 33-34). Consequently, the couples within the latter category would spend more time with each other, while those in the former would spend less (Prell 2012: 33-34). Prell notes that Bott's use of “connected” represents the first measurement of network “density”, and Scott notes that it is from Barnes that Bott utilised the “network” concept to investigate the households' relationships (Prell 2012: 34; Scott 2013: 31).

A third anthropologist associated with the Manchester school, Mitchell, laid out a programme for social network analysis in his introduction to the 1969 edited volume *Social Networks in Urban Situations* (Scott 2013: 32). He viewed the “total network” of society as the “the general ever-ramifying, ever reticulating set of linkages that stretches within and beyond the confines of any community or organization”, and argued that, in order to study such networks, it was necessary to focus on a specific element, or “partial network” (Scott 2013: 32). According to Scott, he viewed that such conceptualisations could proceed in one of two ways: 1) focusing on the “ego-centred” networks of certain individuals, or 2) focusing on ties (“global features”) associated with one type of action or another, such as political relationships and kinship bonds (Scott 2013: 33). As such, Mitchell recognised the “multiplex” nature of social ties in acknowledging that ego-centred networks are made up of multiple types of relationships, implying the recognition that even if one type of tie is focused on in research, others are present (Scott 2013: 33). Furthermore, networks themselves are conceptualised as being created through two types of actions: “communication”, or the exchange of information, and “instrumental”, or directed transactions between agents (Scott 2013: 32). As part of his concept of the network, Mitchell argued for measurements which can be used to determine aspects of the network: “reciprocity”, “intensity” and “durability” (Scott 2013: 32). According to Scott, reciprocity refers to the degree of mutual exchanges between agents, while intensity refers to the fortitude of obligations associated with the exchange and durability refers to the length of time such the relationships last (Scott 2013: 33). A major finding of Mitchell's is that multiplex, or “multi-stranded” relationships, are more



intense due to having a combination of obligations and exchanges (Scott 2013: 33).

In addition to Mitchell, Barnes and Bott, other anthropologists also utilised and built upon the concept of the network with topics ranging from roles and positions to informal entrepreneurship and politics. Boissevain, in his seminal work *Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators, and Coalitions*, emphasises the role of networks in his field sites, such as Malta and Sicily, as a challenge to the dominant thinking in anthropology at the time, structural-functionalism (Boissevain 1974). He states that “The social relations in which every individual is embedded may be viewed as a network,” thus moving the focus from the social norm towards the individual agent, and he views the links between agents as “potential communication channels” (Boissevain 1974: 24-25). He also discusses the topic of “patrons” and “brokers,” powerful individuals who dispense resources to others within networks and manipulate their networks for personal gain, thus bringing the focus to communication as a tactic in manipulation, roles within networks and the use of power over other agents (Boissevain 1974: 147-149). However, Boissevain does not elaborate on the effects of broader social processes from outside the field site affecting transactional relationships, and so his theory remains focused on transactions between individuals.

Meanwhile, Barth's explicitly lays out a transactionalist paradigm of exchanges between individuals, where actors make choices in relation to others in order to obtain “something of value (Barth 1966: 3-4, 11). Bailey then applies this paradigm directly to political activity through analysing the actions of political figures and their associated teams by describing politics as a “competitive game” where actors within “political structures” compete with rivals, within or outside the structure, through recruiting team members, gaining resources, and deploying resources (Bailey 1969: 1, 9, 16, 25, 36). In formulating this concept, Bailey differentiates between “moral ties” between leaders and core supporters and “transactional ties” between leaders and those requiring gifts, although he perceived these interactions as transactions in Barth's sense of the term (Bailey 1969: 36, 37-38).

However, the publication of Mitchell's *Social Networks* edited volume, as programmatic as it was, did not foster the primacy of SNA within anthropology. According to Scott, Mitchell's reluctance to pursue formal SNA, and tie the analysis of ego-networks with the analysis of structures, led to its diminishing presence in British social anthropology, with the result that it could not attract additional practitioners (Scott 2013: 34). Prell writes that this result has been due to the theoretical position of many of the technique's adherence against the structural-functionalist paradigm, and this can, as discussed above, be seen through the work of Boissevain, for example, who explicitly focused on individual agents over institutions (Prell 2012: 35).

Although the use of SNA waned within British social anthropology following Mitchell's publication, its influence did not diminish over all, the approach was continued through the work of sociologists located primarily in the United States. At Harvard, White built upon the work of the Manchester school, agreeing with them on the use of the network as an analytical concept but differed through choosing to conceptualise the network as “complete” rather than partial (Prell 2012: 43). Prell notes that White's contribution would enable the analysis of individuals within whole social networks, while the anthropologists' approach was limited, in that the analytical scope highlighted multiple types of relationships and focused on viewing opportunities and “constraints” experienced by individuals within ego-centred networks (Prell 2012: 43). White and his associates pioneered the use of the technique of block-modelling in order to uncover properties of structures within networks, and through this they can be seen to be linked with a similar idea of algebraic modelling of networks as advocated for by Nadel (Prell 2012: 43-44). The efforts resulted in the revealing of roles and positions of agents within networks, and, as a result of White's contributions, other notable networks theorists were brought into the field, such as Granovetter and Bonacich (Prell 2012: 44-45). The former is well-known for his contribution to networks theory through the article “The Strength of Weak Ties,” which argues that acquaintances, through possessing new information, are more valuable for job seekers than close friends in terms of

finding new employment (Granovetter 1973; Prell 2012: 44-45; Scott 2013: 35-37).

Influenced by Granovetter's argument, much of the recent research on social networks has been focused on the “small worlds” concept. According to Prell, “with small worlds, the focus is on the social phenomena many people experience of encountering a stranger for the first time, only to discover in the course of conversation that both oneself and the stranger share a friend or acquaintance in common...” (Prell 2012: 46). The networks covered in small worlds research are large “heterogeneous” networks which are connected through a small number of agents, and of particular importance is the “tension between distance and closeness”, where those agents which may be spaced apart from each other may still be linked closely together (Prell 2012: 46). Scott argues that Watts, through investigating the mathematical properties of relationships, has illustrated that the closeness of agents within small worlds networks is due to the existence of multiple dense and overlapping between nodes and, as a result, “shortcuts” exist within such networks which decrease the social distance between agents (Scott 2013: 39). Importantly, Watts, through utilising mathematics, has advanced a theory of networks which explains change over time as occurring through “gradual, incremental changes” which independently lead to “radical macro-level structural changes” (Scott 2013: 39). In cases where changes result in increasing separations, communications are less able to flow within networks and agents begin to depend more on their own experiences (Scott 2013: 39).

Thus, as noted in chapter 1, SNA is an established technique within the social sciences and has been reapplied recently in ethnography. Lyon and Mughal, for example, have researched networks of land-lords and kinship in Pakistan (Lyon and Mughal 2016). Meanwhile, White and Johansen utilise SNA to generate and interpret a web of kinship relationships among a clan of Turkish nomads in order to illustrate how the method may assist ethnographers (White and Johansen 2005). Through utilising SNA, anthropologists build on the richness of ethnographic material through visualising the relationships they encounter, thus allowing them to focus on issues of agency and the structuration of such

relationships in greater detail. Consequently, SNA can be useful for anthropological research in post-Yugoslav Kosovo, as the significance of neighbourhoods as being made up of relationships has been noted in nearby Bosnia (Bringa 1995: 55; Sorabji 2008: 97; Henig 2012: 11).

However, utilising the “networks” concept, as described within this literature review, is particularly useful for discussions on rhetoric and hegemony, because the concept brings into focus the ties between agents. Indeed, topics such as communication have frequently been mentioned in the paragraphs above on networks. Mitchell and Boissevain for example, highlight ties between actors as being flows of information. Granovetter subsequently appropriates this insight in arguing that it is weak, more infrequent ties between agents, rather than stronger, more frequent ties, which assist in providing agents with knowledge about job opportunities. Finally, Bailey's work on politics as a competitive game focuses on the importance of recruiting followers and maintaining moral ties between the leader and their core supporters. Within this milieu, recruitment necessarily involves communication and persuasion, an action which occurs, according to Bailey, through exchanges between the leader and both potential and current members.

This interest on persuasion, communication and flows of information along ties between nodes lies in parallel with Carrithers' argument that rhetoric is used by agents to persuade “patients” (Carrithers 2009: 8). Indeed, in Chapter 2, I describe how Carrithers views exchanges of rhetoric as occurring between agents and those to whom they attempt to persuade, referred to as “patients.” Consequently, in discussing interactions between agents and patients, Carrithers implicitly addresses relationships between people, but the ways through which these exchanges affect ties between people is left unaddressed. Such a gap may be filled through network analysis, as Mitchell's work regarding ego-centred networks neatly fits the framework needed to conceptualise relationships between agents and patients. Furthermore, although the “Rhetoric Culture” school addresses the emergence of social life (also described in Chapter 2), it curiously does not focus on the groups constructed through dialogues.

This interest in emergence has been a prominent feature of network analysis, and graphing relationships through a sociogram complements the anthropology of rhetoric, especially those interested in emergence, through showing which agents have been interacting, thus placing a more individualistic focus on rhetorical exchanges within a wider relational context. Therefore, in considering employments of rhetoric by agents in networks, I bring attention to the ways which relationships between agents and patients are structured and re-structured through dialogues, consequently centring on the dynamic and communicative quality of interaction.

Utilising the concept of networks in order to visualise dynamic interactions between agents represents a methodological contribution to the study of rhetoric. Yet, when considering hegemony (discussed in detail in Chapters 1 and 2) in terms of rhetoric, thinking in terms of networks brings attention to the processes where people are mobilised together in political action. This is particularly clear in Laclau's discussion of the appropriation of the populist discourse by the American right-wing and corresponding shifts in affiliation by partisan operatives from the Democratic to the Republican parties (see p. 72 in Chapter 2 for the discussion). The hegemonic discursive formation, according to Laclau, is the populist frame deployed by the American right-wing during the mid-twentieth century, which partisan operatives responded by switching to the Republican Party. Considering relationships between agents in terms of networks brings attention to the combinations of agents amassed through the deployment of rhetoric referring to discursive formations which emerge and are strengthened through hegemony.

### **The Public Sphere, Public Space and Hegemony**

As described above, Watts's work on small worlds illustrates the importance of social space for network analyses through showing that such networks have dense and overlapping ties between nodes, indicating the strong degree of proximity between agents. Consequently, in order to discuss how rhetorical exchanges occur between agents, and conceptualise how networks are reconfigured through

these dialogues, it is necessary to ask where people interact.

In this section, I focus on interactions through discussing the literature related to the public sphere and public space. First, I root the discussion on public space with Habermas's view on the public sphere in order to centre on discourse and communication. Second, I then bring the literature on public space alongside the public sphere, arguing, from Low, that the two spaces are distinct concepts which are in dialogue with each other. As part of argument, I acknowledge a tension discussed by Low between immateriality and materiality in public space, contending with that an interplay exists between the two, with material elements such as the built environment providing meaning to public space through the interpretive and symbolic agency of human actors. Third, I conceptualise public space as a simultaneously immaterial and material location where people interact with each other and the built environment, form relationships and engage with others within view, with the public sphere emerging from these interactions as a realm of discourse. Drawing on Yeh and the ethnography of Greece, I explore further the dialogue between the two spaces through the topic of performance, where individuals access the public sphere through referring to discursive formations while interacting in public space. Fourth, I contribute to this body of scholarly work by suggesting that anthropologists of the public sphere and public space also take into account insights from theory on rhetoric and hegemony, with the former highlighting the terms which people use and the latter providing a perspective on the dominance of discursive formations in the public sphere. Consequently, the public sphere relates with hegemony through being an immaterial realm of discourse and discursive formations, while the public space relates through being the location where agents appropriate discursive formations through rhetoric as part of encounters between other agents within the material environment.

In his description of the public sphere, Habermas places the public sphere's beginnings within the town centres of early modern Europe (Habermas 1989: 30). Referred to by Habermas as the "public sphere in the world of letters," this early public sphere originates from the primarily bourgeois literary

circles, cafés and salons, and it eventually focuses on overseeing civil society and challenging state policies (Habermas 1989: 29-32). Habermas conceptualises the public sphere as the unified "sphere of private people come together as a public" where issues concerning society are discussed via "rational-critical" dialogue (Habermas, 1989: 23, 83). Through the formation of public opinion, the public sphere functions as a tool of consensus formation, the protection of civil society and, by extension, the expansion of democracy (Habermas, 1989: 27, 82-83, 107, 250).

Significantly, within Habermas's discussion there is a distinction between immaterial and material space in that the public sphere is considered to arise out of dialogue in spaces such as cafés and salons. Low and Smith, noting this issue, argue for discussions on the public sphere to be joined with theory on public space (Low and Smith 2006: 4-5). In Habermas's account, the public sphere is presented as an "ideal" and "deemed universal and thereby, in any meaningful sense, spatially undifferentiated" (Low and Smith 2006: 5). The public sphere, through being conceived of as an ideal, is then viewed in a separate manner from the spatial contexts where dialogue occurs, even though the spatiality of the public sphere is implicit in Habermas's account. Therefore, Low and Smith seek to ground the public sphere in discussions on public space in order to better explore the public sphere's key conceptual insight: a "historically embedded discussion of the continual making and remaking of the public vis-a-vis the state and related institutions, and ideologies and modes of communication and power" (Low and Smith 2006: 6).

According to Low and Smith, the public sphere emerges from interactions in public space (Low and Smith 2006: 6). In this definition, public space refers to "the range of social locations offered by the street, the park, the media, the Internet, the shopping mall, the United Nations, national governments, and local neighbourhoods" (Low and Smith 2006: 3). As part of this definition, the term "envelopes the palpable tension between place, experienced at all scales in daily life, and the seeming spacelessness of the Internet, popular opinion, and global institutions and economy" (Low and Smith 2006: 3). Public

space then refers to the symbolic, cultural character of squares and cafés rather than meanings associated with certain squares or cafés as specific sites or places (Low and Smith 2006: 5). However, it also retains a tension between materiality and immateriality, where the significance of locations within the built environment is taken into account alongside less bounded spaces, such as cyberspace and media discourse. For Low, the built environment, composed of material objects, is within the same system as economic, social and cultural processes (Low 2000: 36).

“Spatialising culture”, or positioning social relations and practices in space, clarifies this dynamic by emphasising both the built environment's “social production” with the “the daily routines and ceremonial rituals of the cultural realm and the phenomenological experience of individuals” (Low 2000: 36, 127). Low identifies two inter-connected processes: “the social production of space” and “the social construction of space” (Low 1996: 861-862; Low 2000: 127, 128). The former refers to the “social, economic, ideological, and technological factors” which physically produce the material, built environment, while the latter is reserved for “the phenomenological and symbolic experience of space as mediated by social processes such as exchange, conflict and control” and thus concentrates on the ways through which the built environment is given meaning (Low 1996: 862). With an ethnographic exploration of two plazas in the Costa Rican capital of San Juan (Parque Central and Plaza de la Cultura), Low argues for a “dialogic” relationship between the social production of space and the social construction of space, where each plaza's design and history are interpreted and appropriated by those utilising them, with the result that each plaza's materiality becomes a cultural representation for users (Low 1996: 863, 865, 876). Through this dialogue between immateriality and materiality, the plaza transforms into a “visible, public forum” for the contestation of social issues and attempts by the state to establish and maintain control (Low 1996: 876).

This debate between the material and immaterial space, and the relationships between, has been addressed by other anthropologists as well. Quite recently, Knox takes a different approach than Low,



exploring how materials “become political” through an account of the development of a road in Peru (Knox 2017: 367). According to Knox, “the materiality of a road infrastructure came to participate” in replicating the Peruvian political process as a venue for Peruvians to engage with the state over infrastructure (Knox 2017: 367, 371-375). Presented through ethnography, the argument contends that the road has agency through affective encounters between the road's materiality and those who make use of it or, prior to the road's construction, desire its presence (Knox 2017: 376-379). Knox acknowledges that the road would not have meaning outside of its social context in Peru, but the focus remains on the road's agency rather than the humans'. Knox perceives the material and immaterial as actors on a “flat” ontological plane where both humans and non-humans have agency, but non-human agency is explored in order to subvert a traditional, anthropological interest in human agency (Jansen 2013: 24).

Described in Chapter 1, Jansen's ethnography of Sarajevo also questions interactions between people and the material built environment, particularly physical infrastructure and buildings (Jansen 2013; Jansen 2015). Jansen approaches the distinction between materiality and immateriality as a methodological problem in terms of a question of which to focus on, humans or “things” in his ethnography of the border between “East Sarajevo”, part of Bosnia's Republika Srpska entity, and “Federal” Sarajevo, of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Jansen 2013: 24-25). Emphasising the agency of both people and things represents an incoherent epistemology, because “thingism” seeks to subvert the traditional anthropocentric focusing on human agency (Jansen 2013: 24). Analyses which consider both materiality and immateriality then face a choice between the former and the latter. In Jansen's ethnography, the border's materiality, represented in terms of shelling, mapping software and sniper nests, affects the practices of Sarajevans through shaping the border between “Federal” Sarajevo and “East Sarajevo” (Jansen 2013: 27-28). However, concentrating on the mapping software and shelling ignores that, in the course of hostilities, other objects could have been substituted for shelling fragments and sniper nests, while human actors would respond to the objects each time a change occurred (Jansen

2013: 28-29). It is human practices which form the dividing line between Federal Sarajevo and East Sarajevo, not specific things (Jansen 2013: 28-29). In Knox's account, the specific road she describes is significant for the Peruvian context, but the political events she describes are still carried out by people. If the road has not presented itself as an opportunity to engage with the Peruvian government, another moment will. Consequently, emphasising materiality over immateriality, as part of a “flat” approach to agency, creates an incomplete ethnographic impression by de-emphasising human elements of processes such as the making of borders, political mobilisation and the interpretation of infrastructure.

Returning to the above discussion on public space, the social production of space and social construction of space are both important to consider, as Low and Jansen would both agree. However, in taking into account the meanings represented by the built environment, it remains essential to centre upon the ways which human practices respond to and shape experiences of the built environment, rather than the other way around. Indeed, Fennell describes how, in the public space of a museum on decaying public housing in Chicago, the space's material characteristics prompt human visitors to feel sympathy with those who lived in public housing, but she emphasises that such affective encounters are “anticipated” by the museum's human managers and supporters (Fennell 2012: 643-644, 648). Molnar's article on street art in New York, Berlin and Budapest considers it to be an art form which, when appropriated by artists, can re-shape public space by challenging neoliberal governance and consumerism (Molnar 2008: 386, 395).

In this discussion of the public space and public sphere, I focus on rhetorical performances by people in public spaces and their interactions with the simultaneously symbolic and material environment. In doing so, I maintain a human-centred approach rather than a “thingist” emphasis. Drawing from the focus on the impact of practices and representations on the built environment, Low considers public space as a location of interpersonal dialogue, political engagement and the formation of relationships, whereas the public sphere is characterised by “mediated communication” (Low 2017: 156-

157, 167). However, the relationship between public space and the public sphere goes beyond a mere distinction, for the former is “a location where diverse people's voices and bodies are recognised and collected” (Low 2017: 156). Hence, I regard public space within this dissertation as a simultaneously immaterial and material location where people interact with each other and the built environment, form relationships and engage with others agents within view, for recognition implies the communication by agents of representations towards others. The public sphere and public space are then distinct yet connected through discourse (Low 2017: 156).

Yet, additional ethnographic depth is needed in order to clarify the connection between the public sphere and public space. Yeh's fieldwork in Tijuana, Mexico illustrates how the public sphere arises from public space through describing performances by individuals in locations including online forums, offices and streets as simultaneously reflecting and reinforcing competing discursive formations (“publics”) in a discursive public sphere (Yeh 2009: 466, 468, 487-489; Yeh 2012: 715-718 ). Yeh considers publics as “clusters” of “voicings” which emerge from interaction in public spaces and which are present within the public sphere, which is viewed as a “social space performatively opened by a range of voicings in context...of collective subjectivity” (Yeh 2009: 730).

Based on Warner's view of publics as being discursive entities formed from the “circulation” of texts, Yeh's view of the public sphere expresses a means through which concepts expressed in public spaces move to the public sphere (Warner 2002: 11-12, 66-67). Furthermore, it ethnographically presents a theory of the public sphere which moves from a universal, “undifferentiated space” to one which includes a variety of interests (Low and Smith 2006: 5). In this way, it answers a critique by Fraser which characterises Habermas's original view of the public sphere as incorporating only bourgeois, middle-class perspectives, thus ignoring “subaltern counterpublics” (Fraser 1990: 67). Crucially, it also provides a useful clarification to Warner by showing that face-to-face interaction between people who know each other, in addition to strangers (a key argument by Warner), performatively reflects and reproduces

discourses from the public sphere in public spaces.

Ethnographic accounts from south-eastern Europe usefully illustrate the relevance of performances in public space towards observers “within view” for the production of discourse. Cowan, in an example particularly applicable for this dissertation, writes on sociality in cafés in the Greek village of Sohos, explaining that the practice of drinking coffee both produces and is constituted by discourses of femininity and masculinity (Cowan 1991: 180, 182-183, 200-201). Drinking coffee in Sohos is directly related with spatial locations, for men are associated with the coffee-house and women share drinks in the house, while the *kafeteria* is considered to be a space where increasingly both men and women meet (Cowan 1991: 184-185, 195). In a manner relevant with the previous section's discussion on networks, drinking coffee symbolises and “enlivens” interpersonal relationships (Cowan 1991: 182, 184-185, 188). Yet, it is through this spatially “segregated” practice which discourses are contested, for the participation of women in the *kafeteria* challenges the discourse which specifies that women spend time in the house (Cowan 1991: 201). Regarding exchanges of coffee between men in Mouria's coffee houses, Papataxiarchis similarly describes the act as symbolically constructing both manhood and friendship (Papataxiarchis 1991: 156, 158, 164-165). The actions described by Cowan and Papataxiarchis then draw upon and re-appropriate public discourses in a manner similar to the case studies of Tijuana described by Yeh.

Drawing upon his ethnographic fieldwork in Greece, Herzfeld describes such public performances as examples of social poetics (Herzfeld 2009a: 184). In *The Poetics of Manhood*, the most potent performance “depends upon an ability to identify the self with larger categories of identity” (Herzfeld 1985: 10). These categories for Herzfeld are similar to the public discourses discussed above, for they relate the actor with conceptual texts circulating within Greek society (Herzfeld 1985: 23). A prime example is the use of the metaphor of “hunger” to refer to a larger discourse on inequality, thereby positioning Herzfeld's interlocutors, inhabitants of Glendi, on a victimised periphery at odds with the

Greek state and its bureaucratic institutions (Herzfeld 1985: 23, 25). In another example, a Glendiot, “the law doesn't reach here”, subverts the dominant, state-sponsored discourse of modernity through centralisation and control (Herzfeld 1985: 33). Simultaneously combining the personal with the political, the performance appropriates dissatisfaction with the Greek state to give meaning (*simasia*) to the actor's actions in Glendiot public spaces (Herzfeld 1985: 18-19, 45).

The concept of “meaning” (*simasia*) for Herzfeld's informants remains key to understanding his description of performance, because, while actions are given meaning through performance, the success of such attempts is evaluated by observers (Herzfeld 1985: 48). This concept, of an image projected by an actor towards others within view, reflects Goffman's influential treatise, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, which argues that performances, “all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants,” consist of the “expression” of representations towards “observers” and the “impressions” made (Goffman 1956: 14, 26-27).

Proceeding from this foundation, Herzfeld considers *simasia* as dependent on both the actor and their observers, for actions which fail to communicate to observers lack meaning (Herzfeld 1985: 47-48). Hence, Herzfeld's concept of performance implicitly concerns public space, because actions and evaluations are perceived as occurring first and foremost in view of others. Herzfeld's descriptions occur in spaces such as the coffee-house, identified as a predominantly male location where the devotion of Glendiot men to their ancestral families are on full display (Herzfeld 1985: 58-59). Recalling the description above by Yeh, of a discursive public sphere generated through performance in public spaces, Herzfeld's interlocutors produce a counter-public placed against a dominant discursive formation referenced by the state. Glendiot then provide meaning to their actions in Glendi's public space through placing their actions in opposition to the Greek state in the public sphere.

Consequently, I follow Yeh's informative ethnographic account of the relationship between the public sphere and public space in Tijuana through querying performances by individuals of discursive

formations in spatial contexts. Yet, in order to do so, I add two additional, inter-related focuses: 1) bringing interactions between rhetoric and culture (discussed in Chapter 2) into dialogue with the public space literature, and 2) further illustrating the appropriation and reproduction of discursive formations through the concept of hegemony, as elaborated in Chapters 1 and 2. Regarding the above discussion, I conclude that performances in public spaces rhetorically appropriate and reinforce discursive formations in the public sphere through hegemonic processes, with the consequence that such frameworks are bolstered as concepts associated with them are employed. Public spaces are vital as the material and immaterial settings where rhetorical interaction takes place between agents and hegemony is reproduced. This concern relates directly with Yeh's discussion of conflict between “two publics,” because it questions how discursive formations within the public sphere relate with each other following from agents' performances (Yeh 2012).

Performances employed by agents thus simultaneously place the agent in public spaces and the public sphere. As discussed by Carrithers, rhetoric, when considered as a performance, “moves” agents through drawing on a cultural repertoire appropriated from discursive formations in the public sphere (Carrithers 2005: 578; Carrithers 2009a: 5). Performances within public spaces occur during the give-and-take between people as well as confrontations within the public sphere. Dialogic interactions, as exchanges between people, then transpire between agents within networks of interpersonal relationships. Thus, public spaces are locations where people draw upon and interact with discursive formations in the public sphere through performance, subsequently impacting their relationships with other agents within networks.

In conclusion, public spaces are simultaneously immaterial and material locations where people interact with each other and the build environment, form relationships and engage with others within view through performance. Expanding on a view of public space and the public sphere described by Low and Smith, I agree with Yeh that the public sphere arises from public space through the performance of

discourses. However, I enhance Yeh's view of performance through incorporating additional ethnographic accounts which situate performances by agents within public space and show that, through these interactions, discursive formations in the public sphere are appropriated and contested. An understanding of hegemony is integral, for it brings attention to how public space is a simultaneously material and immaterial setting for the dynamic manipulation of the public sphere.

### **Honour and Shame in Anthropology**

Performances which appropriate cultural concepts, such as honour and shame, take part in hegemony through drawing upon discursive formations within the public sphere. Here, I question the concepts invoked through rhetoric in order to bring to light their effects on agents and networks. I discuss the anthropological literature on honour and shame, as examples of cultural concepts in Mediterranean contexts, forms of which are shown in Chapter 5 as being present in Pristina's social environment. I argue that, from the literature, performances which are perceived to contribute to honour increase a person's symbolic capital, while rhetorically referring to shame limits access to such capital.

First, I illustrate the meanings of the concept of honour as related by the classical studies, Bourdieu, Abu-Lughod and Stewart, critiquing Stewart's concept of honour as a right and highlighting the spatialising of honour by Bourdieu and Abu-Lughod. Second, I turn to the concepts of shame and dishonour by pointing out their differences and focusing on the role of gossip and ridicule. Incorporating Abu-Lughod's portrayal of shame, I illustrating conceptual linkages between honour, shame and the body. Third, I relate the discussion on honour, shame and dishonour to networks (to be discussed in more depth in Chapter 5) through Bourdieu's theory of honour as symbolic capital. From this, I argue for the necessity of viewing concepts of honour and shame within a networked and spatial context. Fourth, I conclude by arguing that the scholarly literature thus far has not adequately accounted for the aspect of honour as symbolic capital, where it is both a means through which to obtain resources within networks and mechanism for regulating the activities of agents. Fifth, I engage with ethnographic accounts of

Kosovo and Greece, showing that concepts of honour and shame have both been linked with discursive formations of national identity.

### **Descriptions of Honour**

In his introduction to *Honour and Shame*, Peristiany characterises honour as being “at the apex of the pyramid of temporal social values and it conditions their hierarchical order” (Peristiany 1965a: 10). As such, honour is considered to be a “social evaluation,” and so the study of honour involves the study of the values of particular societies and their manifestation in certain people (Peristiany 1965a: 9-10). Proceeding from this perspective, Campbell and Pitt-Rivers also discuss the concept, with the former illustrating honour among the Sarakatsani in Greece and the latter describing the concept's use in Andalusia, a region in southern Spain (Campbell 1965; Pitt-Rivers 1965). Campbell argues that Sarakatsani consider honour to be “a condition of integrity” where the family remains “untouched” by the aggression or treachery of others (Campbell 1965: 143). This conclusion stems from his premise that, except for agnatic and marital kin, the family is surrounded by rival families which challenge the family and each other for “prestige” and that this competition has as its goal the “denigration of the reputation of others” (Campbell 1965: 143-144). Furthermore, Campbell argues that honour is viewed as blood, stating that, “for the Sarakatsani, the blood which children inherit not only represents, but it 'is' the physical and moral attributes that form their social personalities” (Campbell 1965: 144). Thus, for Campbell, the family's honour is viewed as complete when their reputation is intact, but when their reputation weakens, their blood is said to weaken as well (Campbell 1965: 144).

However, Campbell does not view honour as only corresponding with the family's lineage but also deriving from individual members, both their behaviour and expressed opinions on their behaviour (Campbell 1965: 145). This sort of “personal honour” corresponds with the subject's gender identity, with men associated with masculinity and women associated with shame (Campbell 1965: 145). For men, the idea of masculinity is associated with both courage and efficiency, while for women the emphasis is



on sexual shame (Campbell 1965: 145). Those men and women who achieve the prescribed attributes are viewed as “honourable” (Campbell 1965: 147).

Meanwhile, Pitt-Rivers argues that “the notion of honour is something more than a means of expressing approval or disapproval. It possesses a general structure which is seen in the institutions and customary evaluations which are particular in a given culture” (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 21). His view of honour corresponds with Campbell's, in that he views honour as being at the intersection of the society's values and the individual's efforts to embody them (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 22). The role of public judgement in determining honour is emphasised as a “tribunal” which decides whether honour is gained or lost, and, as a result, Pitt-Rivers pointedly states, “It is for this reason that public ridicule kills” (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 27). Indeed, the similarity with Campbell's argument continues, as Pitt-Rivers argues that the attributes correspond with characteristics perceived as linked with the subject's gender (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 45).

### **Bourdieu and Honour**

Bourdieu's essay on the Kabyle, although it is found in the same volume as those above, brings further context to discussions on honour. He explains the concept of honour among the Kabyle tribe in relation with the “sense of honour” (*nif*) versus “the sacred” (*h'urma-h'aram*), arguing that the former exists in order to protect the integrity of the latter (Bourdieu 1965: 218-219). The sacred, according to Bourdieu, is symbolised by “the left hand” and refers to “the feminine world”, the world of intimacy, which is identified with “the enclosed space of the household” (Bourdieu 1965: 219). This world is identified with the house, the walled-off garden and the neighbourhood fountain where women retrieve water, while the outside world is associated with the “right hand,” viewed as masculine and identified with public spaces such as the square (*thajmaath*), the mosque, café and the market (Bourdieu 1965: 219, 221). Bourdieu argues that this represents a prominent dichotomy in Kabyle thought, of inside versus outside, and that, in this context, the left hand represents the honour of the family, while the right hand represents respect for the honour of the family (Bourdieu 1965: 219-220). Therefore, Bourdieu argues

that it is sacred quality of the enclosed spaces which prompts for the necessity to defend the sacred, which is why *nif*, the point of honour, refers to the love of the family's reputation, or the sacred (Bourdieu 1965: 220).

Due to the necessity to defend, the honour of men, who are associated with the right hand and such must embody the ideal of *nif*, depends upon the ability of the man to confront others, to “‘face’ one” (*qabel*) (Bourdieu 1965: 232). This idea refers to the inside-outside dichotomy through the interpretation that the man is preserving the integrity of the inner spaces through responding to insults in public, from the outside (Bourdieu 1965: 220, 223-224, 232). Bourdieu argues that it follows from this that the honour of women stems from their status as associated with agnatic lineages, and, consequently, women are tasked with monitoring themselves so that they do not behave “in any way that might prejudice the prestige and reputation of the group” (Bourdieu 1965: 223).

### **Honour after Structural-Functionalism and Structuralism**

The emphasis on the individual agent and their relations with honour is then continued by Abu-Lughod, who conducted research with the Awlad 'Ali tribe of Bedouin in Egypt's Western Desert. In the ethnography *Veiled Sentiments* and the subsequent *Writing Women's Worlds*, the Abu-Lughod investigates how individual agents conceive of, and manoeuvre around, concepts of honour, morality and shame, with both works emphasising the perspectives and structural positions of women. In *Veiled Sentiments*, Abu-Lughod considers Awlad 'Ali social identity to be based in a similar fashion as Sarakatsani identity (as portrayed by Campbell) as based on patrilineal genealogy, or “blood” (Abu-Lughod 1985: 44, 49-50). Because of this, there is a high degree of identification among the Awlad 'Ali with patrilineal kin and, she argues, “act as if what touches their kin touches them; an insult to one person is interpreted as an insult to the whole kinship group, just as an insult to a kins-person is interpreted as an affront to the self” (Abu-Lughod 1985: 65). As with the Kabyle in Algeria, there is a noted separation between agnatic kin and “strangers/outside”, and, indeed, Abu-Lughod echoes Bourdieu

through proceeding from the insider versus outsider dichotomy to note that there is a dichotomy in Awlad 'Ali practice between the “public arena of everyday, ordinary-language interactions” and the private realm of intimacy between close connections, with sentiments often expressed through poetry (Abu-Lughod 1985: 235-236, 238).

Within this spatial environment, composed of a contrast between public and private, Abu-Lughod argues that the Awlad 'Ali concept of honour is based on an ideal of “autonomy,” where “Autonomy or freedom is the standard by which status is measured and social hierarchy is determined” (Abu-Lughod 1985: 78-79). This values system privileges those who do not have to rely on others and preserve their autonomy from “domination”, and as such it is gained through “fearlessness”, “pride”, “assertiveness” and “self-control” (Abu-Lughod 1985: 87). Those who cannot attain these values are those who rely on others, and Abu-Lughod refers to this category of people as “dependents (sic)” (Abu-Lughod 1985: 78-79). This category includes the “insane and dim-witted”, clients, children and women (Abu-Lughod 1985: 81, 83, 91-92). Although dependants cannot attain full autonomy, they can achieve a degree of respect through displaying social awareness, or *'agl*, and submitting voluntarily to those viewed as stronger (Abu-Lughod 1985: 90-91, 105, 117). Consequently, regarding *'agl*, Abu-Lughod writes, “Just as the possession of *'agl* enables persons to control their needs and passions in recognition of the ideals of honour, so it also allows them to perceive the social order and their place within it” (Abu-Lughod 1985: 108). Crucially, this means that the notions of honourable behaviour for men and women are not seen as abstract but embodied, with men expected to project the qualities of self-control, willpower, strength and courage, which are viewed as the qualities of the “free” man, and as such represent masculinity, in this context (Abu-Lughod 1985: 88-90). Meanwhile, women, along with others deemed dependent, are expected to embody knowledge of social contexts through perceiving “when to speak and when to listen”, when to act with “modesty” and shame (Abu-Lughod 1985: 108). Abu-Lughod's account of honour in Awlad 'Ali society incorporates notions of acceptable social behaviour and space

through focusing on individual accounts, resulting in a discussion on the concept of honour which does not emphasis structure or institutions but of complexity in meaning and agency, ultimately encouraging a focus on nuance over generalisation. As such, the work by Abu-Lughod and Bourdieu bring the scholarship on honour from the concept as an institution and its function to preserve the structure of a given society to the individual's perception of honour within societies. This advance brings our attention to how honour acquires the meanings it has, and the practices through which it is exercised and constructed within various social contexts.

This phenomenological approach may seem to be countered by Stewart, who also discusses the concept of honour within the aptly-titled volume, *Honor*. In the volume, he argues that the concept of honour would be more helpfully seen, across contexts, as a “right to be treated as having a certain worth,” or as a “right to respect” (Stewart 1994: 21). Focusing on personal honour, Stewart argues that the advantage of viewing the concept as a right is that it accounts for the existence of internal honour and external honour, where the former refers to the individual's perception of their worth, while the latter refers to the perceptions of others regarding the individual's worth (Stewart 1994: 146-147).

However, such a neat distinction as provided by Stewart fails to grasp the myriad nuances and complexities of honour. Meanwhile, the point made by Abu-Lughod is not that honour can be seen as definitely external or definitely internal, but that sentiments expressed in private spaces can draw on honour as those in public. The individual's priority may not be their own personal honour but, as Abu-Lughod puts it, a genuine sentiment to want to act honourably in public for the sake of the collective. Thus, although Stewart usefully details a link between the notion of honour and the notion of respect (or perhaps earned authority), this benefit is weakened by the extent to which Stewart creates an analytic distinction which does not grasp the nuances of ethnographic contexts.

It has been noted by Abu-Lughod that the agent's honour is not a given, that it can be lost and that, when honour is lost, the agent also loses respect and authority. Albeit as a given, Stewart also

describes a link between honour and respect. With these two links, the focus then becomes how does the gain or loss of honour affect the gain or loss of respect, and how does this influence authority? Indeed, this issue seems particularly necessary to resolve, because honour has also been linked in the section above with bodily processes, and suggestions have been made that honour is at least partially about the regulation of embodied behaviours. To pursue this matter, in the sections below I will first turn to Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital as a means to explain the gain or loss of respect, and then qualify this account through delving further through considering meanings of shame and implications for honour as a means of regulating agents within networks.

### **Symbolic Capital and Honour**

In *The Logic of Practice*, Bourdieu elaborates on his view of honour described earlier as connected with spatial perceptions. In this context, honour is conceptualised theoretically with notions of economies as “symbolic capital”, or “gratitude” prompted by actions or “benefits” when economic capital is not acknowledged as such in transactions or practices (Bourdieu 1990: 118). Bourdieu views symbolic capital in terms of “recognition, acknowledgement, in the sense of gratitude aroused by benefits” and argues that increasing symbolic capital allows for would-be players to maintain their work force and can be used to call-up vital assistance when needed (Bourdieu 1990: 118). It supplies this through mobilising networks of kinship relations and social connections through “commitments, debts of honour, rights and duties accumulated over the successive generations” and can be magnified through public displays of influence (Bourdieu 1990: 119).

As such, honour, as a form of symbolic capital, grants the agent legitimacy as a guarantee from others of their favourable qualities, and as such it depends on the agent's “point of honour” to preserve its integrity (Bourdieu 1990: 120). In other words, it depends upon the agent's ability to defend and maintain a positive reputation in front of others and, in this way, this theory of symbolic capital builds upon the description of honour and space developed by Bourdieu on the Kabyle. Because of its

mobilising quality, the concept of symbolic capital appears helpful in terms of illustrating the aspect of honour as a mobiliser of networks and as an instrument of power over agents.

### **Shame and the Regulation of Agents through Networks**

However, so far, the topic of shame has not been significantly covered within this discussion. Indeed, the notion of honour as symbolic capital goes far in terms of explaining its significance in practice and as part of economic systems, but it does not explain an aspect which has been touched on in the sections above, that of embodied practices in view of others. In this section, I will discuss what the literature on honour also relates regarding the concept of shame and then conclude that honour may be seen as a form of symbolic capital when referred to through rhetoric. Honour privileges the embodiment of certain values, supports corresponding practices and mobilises agents. However, honour is linked with shame, because the latter discourages other practices and values, and weakens the potential of subordinate agents to mobilise support. Therefore, the concept of honour strengthens the positions of those in control and, through shame, subordinates those who are not when performed, consequently regulating practices and policing the display of values in public spaces.

Pitt-Rivers, utilising his ethnography on Andalusia, characterises the relationship between shame and honour as being a duality, with the former reserved for women and the latter reserved for men (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 42-43). This is explained by “shyness”, “timidity” and “blushing” being perceived as “proper” attributes or behaviours for women, while the “willingness to offend another man” and the “concern for precedence” are reserved for men (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 42-43). This leads to a situation where, when men hesitate or display shyness, they are ridiculed and women who do the opposite by acting without hesitation are viewed as having lost their shame (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 42-43). It is important to note here that, within this description, Pitt-Rivers focuses on sexual behaviour as being the regulated activity for women, and, as we shall see, this early description of shame in the anthropological literature shows a pattern of regulation in public space through the observation of performances.

Meanwhile, Peristiany, in his essay entitled “Honour and Shame in a Cypriot Highland Village”, portrays shame and honour as “two aspects of an evaluation” which, as he notes elsewhere in the volume's introduction, is social in nature (Peristiany 1965a: 9; Peristiany 1965b: 173). In his description, shame is not restricted to women in that boys, when fail to yield to their father in public, inflict shame on their fathers (Peristiany 1965b: 181). This illustrates a perceived obligation between the father and the son, where the son is expected to obey the father. Therefore, among Peristiany's Cypriot subjects, the neglect of duty is considered to lead to shame as well (Peristiany 1965b: 181).

Peristiany also considers feminine shame in terms of the neglect of duty to family, but he refers to the woman's realm of responsibility in terms of the duty to “safeguard herself against all critical allusions to her sexual modesty” and relates that, when a woman does not monitor her behaviour as prescribed, she is referred to as “skinless” (Peristiany 1965b: 182). In addition to displaying, as Pitt-Rivers, a concern with sexual behaviour, the use of “skinless” is explained as the existence of an inner “skin” seen only by a woman's husband and an outer skin seen by everyone else (Peristiany 1965b: 182). As such, Peristiany's description further relates the use of the body as an object of regulation and highlights the role of public judgement, as well as rhetorical punishments utilised when an act perceived as shameful has been committed.

Indeed, Campbell's ethnographic account of the Sarakatsani on honour highlights the role of rhetorical aspersions for expressing disapproval on individuals are perceived to have shamed, particularly women (Campbell 1965: 150). Campbell argues that it is considered a priority for the family's reputation to remain “untouched” by the opinions of others, by events or characteristics considered to be against ideals of Sarakatsani honour. Following from this, it is said that a woman whose sexual honour has been violated has been “soiled and blackened”, and the result of this “blackened” reputation is then an injury to the family's reputation as well (Campbell 1965: 146).

In relation with these authors, we can then see that Abu-Lughod's description of shame gains

more significance. It is associated with the term *hasham*, a term which refers to a combination of shame, modesty and shyness (Abu-Lughod 1985: 105). The author notes that this concept, *hasham*, is in turn associated with *'agl*, which, as has been described above, refers to being aware of the social space, or a sense of the social (Abu-Lughod 1985: 105). Like Campbell, Abu-Lughod argues that *hasham* has two meanings, referring to an internal state and a way of behaving, and as such, it is linked with the term *tahashsham*, which in turn refers to behaving in society with shame and concealing one's characteristics in front of others whom it is necessary to defer to (Abu-Lughod 1985: 109-113).

Additionally, Abu-Lughod writes that, among the Awlad 'Ali, the emphasis on controlling sexual behaviour is due to sexuality being viewed as threatening the underlying patrilineal kinship system and thus authority of the elder male patriarchs (Abu-Lughod 1985: 119, 143-144). As women are identified with sexuality through menstruation, they are viewed as being unable to uphold the standards of the Awlad 'Ali “honour code” and must correspondingly show modesty, or *tahashsham*, around those for whom they must defer (Abu-Lughod 1985: 119, 164). The other ethnographic accounts of shame presented within this section also largely depict women as being subjected to shame, with Campbell and Peristiany both pinpointing the importance of displaying sexual modesty among the Greek Sarakatsani and Cypriots respectively. Thus, it can be concluded from this description that the suppression of sexuality, particularly among women, is a major characteristic of the concept of shame.

However, it is important to note here that within the accounts men can also be subject to shame if they do not fulfil their assigned roles, although the ethnographies (particularly Abu-Lughod's) make it clear that women are often more exposed to shame than men. Indeed, in Abu-Lughod's account, dependants overall, including clients, are expected to *tahashsham* in front of perceived superiors, and Peristiany's account displays how shame can affect family members, including the patriarch, as a result of a dependant's behaviour in front of others. Correspondingly, the identities of those experiencing shame may often be female, but they may be male as well.



Therefore, in relation with honour, it appears as if the term “shame” describes a state of being simultaneously embarrassed and penalised for one's actions, or the actions of someone connected to them, and redressing the embarrassment through public display. In relation with the discussion on honour above, it appears as if, although honour can be seen as a form of symbolic capital, its existence as such is through the privileging of some values, and the decision of whom can express them, and the corresponding regulation of practices and behaviours, through determining what can be expressed and what cannot. Symbolic capital, as such, is then distributed towards those agents within networks who best represent such values, and withhold from those who have been deemed unacceptable. However, shame, in this sense, is not merely the state of being deemed unacceptable, or a state of embarrassment, but can also be an act of agency to gain respectability, as in the case of the Awlad 'Ali in Egypt.

Thus, the distribution of symbolic capital, and the formation of ideals determining the distribution, also thus appears as an exercise of maintaining and holding power within networks. It can be seen that, central within this dynamic process, are notions of relationships and public space, of acting within view of others. For respectability to be gained through symbolic capital, certain values are privileged over others, and, as such, the process of gaining symbolic capital, such as honour, also entails the regulation over who can display the values and who cannot, and of which values are incompatible.

### **Honour and Shame in Pristina**

For the ethnography of Kosovo, the significance of this discussion lies in the association of honour and shame with a discursive formation of Albanian national identity. Here, I contribute to the debates outlined above by showing how *nder* (“honour”) and *turp* (“shame”) in Northern Albania and Kosovo both map onto concepts of symbolic capital and regulation and are associated with each other through rhetoric in the public sphere.

According to Schwandner-Sievers, *besa* (or *besë*) refers to “the Albanian ritual device of settling feuds” between conflicting parties (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 137). Focusing on the inhabitants of

Northern Albania (or “High Albania), she writes that *besa* would reach greater conceptual importance during times of extraordinary need, such as when the region came under threat from external parties (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 137). As described in the introduction, a *besëlidhje*, or series of mass reconciliations of blood feuds, was initiated by the Catholic priest Anton Çeku and his students during the 1990s as a response to the threat faced from Serbian repression (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 137). As I will describe in Chapter 5, the importance attributed to *besa* in contemporary Pristina refers back to this earlier time period. That it was utilised then, but not during the present, highlights the tactical use of concepts such as *besa* and their construction through practice.

*Besa* is a term which refers to all relationships with individuals designated as non-kin: paternal in-laws, guests, and formerly feuding enemies with whom a reconciliation has occurred (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 144). Schwandner-Sievers describes it as a “total social phenomenon” which is not readily convertible into other languages and thus has different translations attached, which range from “alliance” to “given word,” “reconciliation,” and “oath” (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 144). As a mechanism for resolving violent feuds between parties, its breaking by a party results in that party's humiliation and designation as *pabesë* (“without *besë*”) and as having a “black face” (*faqja e zezë*) (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 144). Furthermore, the family's *besa* can also be undermined through insults, betrayal, or “physical violations” of the household head's guest or wife, prompting retribution on the part of the aggrieved party (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 144). Meanwhile, those who uphold the *besa* are designated as having a “white face” (*faqja e bardhë*) and being *besnik*, one who is “honourable,” “honest,” “brave,” “reliable,” “faithful and “strong” (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 144). In a later article, Schwandner-Sievers underlines the nature of *besa* as “an honor-bound promise or informal contract demanding faithfulness to the given word and protection of the social bond created” (Schwandner-Sievers 2013b: 954). As such, *besa* refers to a bond between non-kin relations, as well as the reconciliation of feuds and a symbolic possession which must be protected from potential threats to its

integrity.

Schwandner-Sievers continues, describing *besa* as fitting within the code of *kanun*, which, in Northern Albania, has been codified orally through the generations as a form of “customary law” (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 138). In Northern Albania, the *kanun* is referred to as the “*Kanun* of Lekë Dukagjini” or the “*Kanun* of Skanderbeg”, although she notes that there has also been a *kanun* associated with Southern Albania (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 137-138). The *kanun* has also been utilised as customary law in Kosovo, with the “*Kanun* of Lekë Dukagjini” being the variant most frequently discussed (Schwandner-Sievers and Duijzings 2004: 32). According to Schwandner-Sievers and Duijzings, *kanun* refers to “local rules of self-regulation which existed alongside the religious law, or the *Sharia*, as a means of direct rule” (Schwandner-Sievers and Duijzings 2004: 32).

As with *besa*, *kanun* is described to have been “reinvigorated and reintroduced” during the 1990s in response to pressure from the Serbian regime (Schwandner-Sievers and Duijzings 2004: 30). Schwandner-Sievers and Duijzings illustrate this through the example of the return of councils of elders to Kosovar Albanian communities, which occurred alongside the reconciliation campaign by Anton Çeku described above and in the introduction (Schwandner-Sievers and Duijzings 2004: 30). This suggests a parallel with the concept of *besa*, and indeed it is noted that the *kanun* incorporates *besa* as part of a wider framework which “regulates” communities (Schwandner-Sievers and Duijzings 2004: 29). Shame (“*turp*” in Albanian) in Pristina, described thoroughly in Chapter 5, may then be associated with *besa* and *kanun* through this emphasis on the regulation of practices, as well as the tarnished social representation which reflects an inability to carry out a *besa*.

*Nder* is also mentioned briefly within the Albanian ethnographic literature. Schwandner-Sievers and Duijzings define it as “‘honour’, ‘respect’, and ‘value’ or ‘profit’ in business transactions,” giving the concept a definite emphasis towards economic prosperity (Schwandner-Sievers and Duijzings 2004: 38). In her article from 1999, Schwandner-Sievers argues that the “‘dialectics of honour’” among the

inhabitants of Northern Albania determine the identities of people as being “outsiders or “insiders”, thus delineating social ranks within communities (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 142). Furthermore, she writes, “People who in the public opinion are considered dishonoured are 'socially dead' by *kanun* (her emphasis) and seem to become open targets for public mockery and humiliation” (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 142). Thus, she argues that honour “guarantees access to various resources like advantageous arranged marriages or power in village politics that are denied to people of low status” and, as such, honour is a form of “social capital” in Northern Albania (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 142). As such, within this discussion, asserting social status is a means to gain honour, while, correspondingly, the lost status as a result of injuries to *besë* such as those described above can threaten the individual's welfare and the welfare of their family, as the decline in status would mean ostracism and less social capital. Therefore, the concept of honour is then linked within the article to that of *besa*, in that reconciliation of feuding parties after murder and retaliating through murder are explained as a means of recovering lost status and, thus, honour (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 142-143).

### **Honour, Shame and National Identity**

Peristiany, in writing on the concept of honour in Cyprus, highlights the importance of the fulfilment of obligations to three groups: the family, community and Greek Cypriot “nation” (Peristiany 1965b: 173). He argues that loyalty to the nation was considered by Greek Cypriots as a determinant of personal honour (Peristiany 1965b: 188). Consequently, concepts of honour and shame may also be related through association with discursive formations associated with national identity. It is within this vein which Herzfeld describes the “poetics of manhood” in Crete, where his interlocutors' performances communicate meaning both on a familial and a national level (Herzfeld 1985: 10-11). Effective performances, such as successfully stealing a sheep from another's flock, defend both the shepherd's family's reputation and the village's, within the context of the Greek state nation-state, where the Cretan sheep raider is presented as an exemplar of Greek heroism (Herzfeld 1985: 10-11, 19). Indeed, according

to Herzfeld, these performances appropriate an “ideological discourse of of oppression and deprivation” which pits the shepherds against a perceived invasion by the Greek bureaucracy, viewing institutional interference as a reason for the shepherds' believed economic disadvantage in comparison with larger Greek cities (Herzfeld 1985: 22-25). In this way, the honour associated with Peristiany, and the performances described by Herzfeld, are then linked with discursive formations of national identity, as well as a rural versus bureaucratic or urban identity, within the public sphere.

This dynamic also appears in the previous section's discussion on *nder*, *turp* (“shame”) and *besa*. As discussed by Schwandner-Sievers and Duijzings, the *Kanun*, a body of common law associated with the concepts, was revived during the 1990s by segments of Kosovo's Albanian population in response to harsh measures by the Yugoslav government under Milosevic. The use of *besa* during this time period to end feuds between Albanian families links the concept of *besa* with a discursive formation of Albanian national identity partially as a result of this constitutive process of nation-building, as discussed by Luci (Luci 2014: 93, 96, 104, 106). *Nder* and *turp*, inter-linked concepts which are associated with *besa*, are then also linked with the discursive formation of Albanian national identity. The resulting discursive formation combines imagery of Albanian resistance to Serbian security forces with the concept of *besa*, where the actions of figures such as Adem Jashari, a UÇK commander killed in 1998, are perceived as occurring out of loyalty to the cause of Albanian “self-determination” (Di Lellio and Schwandner-Sievers 2006: 515, 516-519; Schwandner-Sievers 2013b: 964). Schwandner-Sievers' ethnographic accounts effectively illustrate that a dominant discursive formation of Albanian national identity has become established in post-war Kosovo's public sphere through its use by Albanian-majority parties as a means to further their legitimacy to the population (Di Lellio and Schwandner-Sievers 2006: 525-527; Schwandner-Sievers 2013b: 961-964). Yet, this discursive formation is also continually contested and appropriated as part of rivalry between specific parties and political figures, making post-war Kosovo's public sphere far from monolithic.

Overall, cultural concepts such as honour and shame are then valuable for discussions on hegemony due to being concepts which are appropriated by agents through rhetoric. Through employing these concepts, people alter ties with those they interact with in public spaces such as cafés and squares. Honour represents a form of symbolic capital which privileges certain practices within public spaces when referred to, while shame, linked with honour, regulates public spaces through controlling the types of performances one can perform, whom can perform them and their observed practices. Consequently, in discussing these concepts we refer to the rhetorical performance of discourses in public space, thus intersecting with Herzfeld's concept of social poetics in that agents draw upon privileged discourses, such as national identity. Indeed section shows that honour and shame in Kosovo, as well as southern Greece, have been linked with discursive formations of national identity. It is here where the association between cultural concepts and hegemony becomes clear. Appropriating cultural concepts such as honour and shame allows agents to participate in hegemony by manipulating the public sphere's discursive formations within the view of others in public spaces.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I build upon on the previous chapter's discussion on rhetoric and hegemony by fleshing out its linkages with discussions of networks, public space and the cultural concepts of honour and shame. I provide a theoretical framework upon which the rest of the dissertation follows in ethnographically discussing the use of rhetoric by agents in Pristina. In the first section, I present a review of the literature on Social Networks Analysis (SNA) in order to show that visualising interactions between agents through the use of the “networks” concept represents a methodological contribution to the study of rhetoric by concentrating on the ways rhetoric can structure both individual interpersonal relationships and the composition of groups formed by these relationships. In the second section, I draw upon the literature connecting the public sphere with public space, characterising the former as a realm

of discourse arising through performance in the latter, which I consider to be a material and immaterial location where individuals interact with each other form relationships through performances towards those within view. Next, I elaborate on the discursive formations referred to by agents through utilising the literature on honour and shame, concepts which have been covered by anthropologists of the Mediterranean and Kosovo, and I conclude that rhetorically utilising honour and shame is a means of altering ties between agents. Honour represents to a form of symbolic capital when referred to, while reference shame, linked with honour, regulates public spaces through controlling the types of performances one may make, who can perform them and observed practices. From ethnographic accounts of Kosovo and Greece, I show that the concepts are also linked rhetorically with discursive formations of national identity in the public sphere.

Each section within this chapter connects with hegemony, for networks may be seen as systems of relationships altered through the rhetorical use of hegemonic discursive formations, while public spaces are the locations where these formations are appropriated. Meanwhile, concepts perceived as part of a cultural repertoire, such as honour and shame, are linked with these formations through rhetoric. In the following chapters, I build upon these theoretical discussions, showing how hegemony is produced through rhetorical performances deployed by people in Pristina during interactions, affecting networks of relationships in public spaces.

## Chapter 4: The Public Sphere and Public Space in Pristina

### **Introduction**

In this chapter, I move from Chapter 3's theoretical discussion on the dialogue between the public space and public sphere to explore the concepts anthropologically in Pristina. First, I present ethnographic interviews and observations of encounters in Pristina's cafés, meanings of these locations as public spaces along with other venues, the rhetorical appropriation of representations and the placement of these performances within the public sphere. Second, I present data from Cultural Domain Analyses (discussed in Chapter 1 with the methodology), in particular a pile sort exercise, in order to further explore how Prishtinalis interpret their immaterial and material spatial environments. I then discuss the information gathered from both methods, contending that the case studies and analyses show a meaning of public space for people in Pristina as being within view, while the public sphere may be seen through the representations rhetorically projected by agents. It is through the performance of representations which interact with discursive formations in the public sphere that a dialogue persists between Pristina's public spaces and public sphere. This argument proceeds from the use of both ethnography and Cultural Domain Analysis, showing the complementary relationship between the methods and the utility of a combined methodology for anthropological fieldwork. I conclude that public spaces have meaning in Pristina due to being locations where rhetorical representations are performed towards other agents within view.

### **Practices and Concepts of Space in Pristina**

In this section, I present ethnographic observations of encounters in cafés and accounts from interviews reflecting on these encounters. I show that reciprocal exchanges of drinks between people within the cafés blend materiality and immateriality due to generating meanings of commensal solidarity



between patrons. However, for Prishtinalis the focus is not on the built environment or the drink as much as the relationships produced through the meeting. Furthermore, the interviews relate that, in addition to solidarity, meetings in cafés are also associated with memories of resistance to Serbia's Milosevic regime and contemporary engagement with politics. Therefore, cafés are spaces where relationships between patrons are formed and maintained through the symbolic production of commensal solidarity and amidst engagement with the political past and present.

On 1 September, 2014, I meet a recent acquaintance, Qendrim at the Violet café in Pristina's city centre. Lounging on the terrace and sipping on a large macchiato, I note that a couple women to my left are glancing over a newspaper, while some men on the ledge above are doing the same thing. The amount of customers inside has picked up over the last few minutes, and a large group of people is sitting together at two of the tables. A few minutes later, Qendrim comes, apologising and saying that the reason for his late arrival is a broken boiler in his flat. This sounds a bit unpleasant, but he also says that, seeing as he can't do anything about the boiler, he might as well have a cup of coffee with me before checking on the repair technician. I note the spontaneous nature of our meeting and how the act of drinking coffee figures prominently in our interaction. We ask the waiter for a couple more macchiatos, and we continue to talk. Qendrim has recently returned to Pristina from the United States, and much of his time at the moment revolves around making arrangements for his new flat and re-connecting with his family, in particular his mother, elder brother and cousins. As we talk, he notices that the group of people on the tables is made up of journalists. He notes that they regularly come to the Violet café in order to hear the latest gossip, adding "just like you do" in response to my amused look. We talk for a couple more minutes with the journalists, and I realise that I had met one at the same café a few days earlier, while Qendrim is also acquainted with one or two of them. We leave, and I note that this group of people, a network of co-workers, socialise at this particular café with cups of coffee as a medium, often exchanging information about people and events in Pristina which may be useful for their writings later on.

Throughout my time in Pristina, I frequent cafés such the Violet café in the city centre while also visiting establishments in outlying areas, such as the Indigo café, a highly popular café below my flat in Dardania, a large neighbourhood composed of Yugoslav-era apartment blocks. At the Indigo café on 2 July 2014, I make acquaintance with a few of the waiters while writing observations of the area, a concrete pedestrian thoroughfare between two halves of the neighbourhood, in a small notebook. Introducing himself as Ardi, one of the waiters asked about my life, whether I had any children, and how old I was, relating in turn that he recently returned from Germany, where has lived 8 years. Indeed, as this occurred before I had learned a sufficient amount of Albanian to converse, we were communicating mostly in German with a small amount of English, I had taken German in secondary school, and so we were communicating mostly in German with a little bit of English. Ardi introduces me to his relative sitting nearby, a young man named Avdi who, in English, explains that he is a psychology student in New York and visiting his family in Pristina for the summer. I had been to this café before, but it was not until now, after I had been here a few times, that one of the waiters had introduced himself to me. In a little while, I overhear the waiters referring to me as “*Amerikan*”, noting that I had become a subject of their conversation. The group of waiters, including as well friends and relatives such as Avdi, takes in their surroundings at the Indigo café, exchanging information through, as among the journalists in the Violet café, the medium of coffee.

On 7 August 2014, I visit another café in Dardania, the Brown café, writing: “...I proceeded to the Brown café, which I have not gone to in a while and, it seeming like a close-knit place, seemed like one I should go to. It was quiet for the first 30 minutes I was there, with a couple men reading newspapers and a man and a woman meeting slightly out of view inside.” Inside the restaurant, a television informs the patrons with reporting from the Albanian TopNews channel. I sit on the concrete terrace which lies almost directly beside the Indigo cafés. Looking out towards the thoroughfare, as a row of Dardania's apartment blocks sprawl out before me, I notice that the café's patrons appear to be very close-knit, with

passers-by and patrons frequently greeting each other every few minutes and the latter engaging in lively conversation. After I finish my coffee, the waiter, a very friendly young man, asks if I would like a copy of a newspaper, *Kosova Sot* (“Kosovo Today”). I skim through the headlines, noting stories relating to the recent election in early June, making acquaintance with the waiter as I do so, speaking first in Albanian and then in English. His name is Fitim and he is 26. Fitim asks me questions about my life, where I have been, and where I am from. Another man walks onto the terrace from the street, and Fitim explains that he works here. It also turns out that he is a bit of a joker, because, as I explain that I am from the United States and conducting research in Pristina, he ironically asks me whether I am a “Russian Spy.” After clarifying that they are joking, the new man says that I must have had some plastic surgery in order to look American, but I am actually Russian and my name is “Nikolai.”

The easy, free-flowing sociality portrayed in these examples may be compared to the Papataxiarchis's account of friendships between men in the cafés of Mouria, a town in Lesbos, through the forming of friendships within the establishment's material bounds and the presence of “commensal solidarity” between patrons as well as waiters and the ethnographer (Papataxiarchis 1991: 156, 164-165). The joking, as in the above example, is an attempt to reach out to the “outsider” by the waiters, a process which Papataxiarchis identifies as hospitality (Papataxiarchis 1991: 165). In the cases above, what is often exchanged is banter and information, yet the fostering of commensality also occurs through consuming coffee (Cowan 1991: 184-185). Indeed, the examples of social life in Pristina show that networks of inter-personal relationships are initiated and maintained within the café's built environs. There is then a tension shown here between the material aspects of the space and the immaterial, crystallised by its use for fostering feelings of commensality and friendships between Prishtinalis.

Indeed, there appear to be parallels to discussions with other informants when discussing friendship. Agon N. describes how, while he is close with his family members such as his parents, he is close with two distinct groups of friends: those from the neighbourhood he grew up in, Ulpiana, and

others whom he has met at other times. He also returns to a café in Ulpiana every once and a while in order to see others from the neighbourhood. Indeed, he seems to put considerable effort into maintaining his connections with the others from Ulpiana, as he frequently goes to the Black and Grey bars, which had been owned by young men from Ulpiana. Indeed, he has been a supporter and founding member of Partia e Fortë alongside many who had been from Ulpiana as well.

Meanwhile, Besart, an engineering student, also emphasises the importance of effort in maintaining friendships. Sitting at an outside table at the Plum cafe, he describes how, while growing up in Germany with his family, he had learned through reading that Albanians were known to be particularly “guest-friendly” and “known for laughter.” Now that he has lived in Kosovo for 5 years, he sees that these friendships take “hard work” and effort. With most of his family in the town of Vushtri (Vucitrn), near Mitrovica to the north, Besart spends little time with his family except for his brother, who also lives in Pristina. People put effort into their relationships and there is “real affection” for the people involved. The effort involved in building this relationships, and the affections between those within them, makes him feel more “secure.”

Agon and Besart's accounts portray friendship as being located in terms of both space and time, where the establishment of commensal relationships is dependent on regular encounters in specific locations. This echoes Papataxiarchis's account as well, particularly in that friendship begins in stages, from mutual invitations for coffee, where reciprocal exchanges of coffee provide a foundation for future encounters, to exchanges of emotion deemed pure, where reciprocities are no longer deemed necessary (Papataxiarchis 1991: 164-165). Drinks, material items such as cups of coffee or alcoholic beverages, are exchanged within the built environment, furthering an atmosphere of solidarity and signalling a willingness to continue the exchanges. Hence, the café in Pristina appears to be similar to Papataxiarchis's portrayal of the table, a physical object which becomes the locus of commensal solidarity and thereby the symbol of a clique's regular spatial presence (Papataxiarchis 1991: 169). Yet, as I show above, it is

not the table which sparks the friendship; rather, friendships are sparked by exchanges between Prishtinalis.

Indeed, I note the importance of giving and receiving drinks in the cafés as well. On 23 August, I had met Gëzim at the Plum café and, after we moved to another, the Grape cafe (his friend's), he said that he would drink another coffee with me, if I had paid for his. We soon began a cycle where, when we went for coffee at multiple cafés, he would pay for one while I would pay for the other. As such, this demonstrated that I returned the gesture of being “welcome”, and, as a result, I had begun participating in a process of relationship building, where the gift seemed to signify a desire to continue the relationship. Indeed, he had explained this to me at another time, saying that it does not matter how many times one pays, but that both parties are participating in the friendship. Consequently, although the café and the coffee table are material focal points for the friendship, the focus is not on the materiality but the symbolic commensality produced through such encounters.

Furthermore, the significance of exchanges of coffee makes the act of reciprocation at some points to be quite contested. When I was in the Tangerine café one sunny morning, on 11 August, a younger woman comes in and sits down at a table nearby. A few minutes later, she sees a young man she knows and calls him over, they then exchange greetings: “*Qysh je? A je mirë*” (“How are you? Are you well?”). They soon begin to talk about apartments (*banesë*), and, after a short while, with what seemed to be a pleasant conversation, they depart, with the man stepping up, in a pronounced manner, to pay the waiter. The woman exclaims “*Jo, jo!*” (“No, no!”), and promptly pays for them both. In this manner, what is at stake is not the coffee itself, but the symbolic experience of paying for the coffee. This example of contest is reminiscent of Cowan's description of male-female encounters in the *kafeterias* of Sohos, where the consumption of coffee is given public meanings, where it is assumed that women go to cafés purely to spend time with men (Cowan 1991: 195-196). Women contest these assumptions through “mix-explaining” their motivations for going to *kafeterias*, making interpretations of interactions in cafés to be

highly contested and the acts of drinking and paying for coffees to be matters of public performance. Within the cafés, we see both a material domain, including the café and physical exchanges of coffee, and an immaterial domain of meanings produced through the actions and interpretations of Prishtinalis. However, for my interlocutors in Pristina, the focus is on the reciprocities and performances located around the café rather than on the cafés and coffees themselves.

Yet, in addition to commensal solidarity, Prishtinalis also associate socialising in cafés and bars with previous and contemporary political activity. Valdrin A., while speaking with me in the Red Café, views the café itself to be a highly important institution in Pristina because of its past associations with the war and current linkages in contemporary social life. In Pristina, as well as in other cities such as Prizren, the privately-owned Albanian cafés were spaces for organising protests and other such political actions against the Serbian government before the 1998-1999 war. His acquaintance, Faton D., an activist who works in Pristina, also discusses this movement in conversation with me, explaining that there had been an underground movement in Pristina before the war which had planned actions through the use of cafés and night clubs and the music which had been played there was “revolutionary.” He speaks from experience, having been to some of the cafés in his home city before the war. As a result of these memories, he views the cafés as public spaces with meanings directly related to memories of the political organising and resistance from before the war.

Indeed, Rinor H., an organiser with the Lëvizja Vetëvendosje opposition movement, describes how he utilises cafés in order to mobilise activists. He states that most of the people whom he liaises are from Pristina and that, in order to be more effective, he will meet his contacts one-on-one or in a small group, and that the meeting will be within a café. Others within the organisation, if they are veterans for example, will also contact veterans, but he works with Prishtinalis because he is himself a Prishtinali. He will not hold a formal meeting in order to talk with potential collaborators, but he argues that they are useful in order to display the organisation's professionalism and strength. Indeed, he says that they train

their activists to recruit approximately five more people, one-on-one or within small groups, rather than large groups of people. He summarises his approach, explaining, “I will go and contact people that match my cultural characteristics more.”

From Rinor's description, we can see that cafés are still relevant for political mobilisation in Pristina. In line with Low and Smith's description of public space as being partially characterised by political debate, the café appears to be a very political space where networks are at times utilised in support of goals. Pristina's cafés are also associated with resistance, with memories associated with them of being centres for efforts against the Yugoslav regime during the 1990s. Indeed, the use of routine sociality for navigating political circumstances has also been noted in Skopje, Macedonia by Neofotistos, who argues that, during Macedonia's conflict in 2001, Macedonian and Albanian citizens of the city managed the uncertainty of potential hostilities through “performances of civility” (Neofotistos 2012: 66). In discussing relationships formed between people within cafés, we then simultaneously discuss “entanglements” of “the political” within inter-personal networks and public spaces (Green 2014: 2; Henig 2016: 47-48).

Yet, central to this view of the café is its association with the networks of patrons who utilise it. It appears within the above accounts as a location where Prishtinalis socialise with others, appearing as a focal point for networks of relationships. In this way, the café in Pristina mirrors Papataxiarchis's and Cowan's descriptions of cafés being locations where friendships are initiated and maintained through the symbolic production of commensality via exchanges of coffee in the material space. Prishtinalis thus navigate both immateriality and materiality, with the focus being on the feelings of commensal solidarity and political imagery produced through dialogues within the café's built environment.

### **Boundaries Between Public and Private: Fixed or Blurred?**

Up to this point, I have explored sociality in Pristina's cafés, focusing in particular on the interplay between immaterial and material spatiality and the simultaneous negotiation of inter-personal

relationships and political discourse. Because interactions in cafés involve dialogues with the political, it is necessary to consider further the characteristics of cafés as public spaces. According to Low and Smith, public spaces are defined through a demarcation with private spaces (Low and Smith 2006: 3-4). Consequently, it is necessary to consider further how people in Pristina consider this division between public and private, as well as the implications this has for understanding negotiations between Prishtinalis, as well as between Prishtinalis and the wider Kosovar population (Henig 2016: 47). The ethnographic examples below argue for a view of public space as where the agent is within view of others, while private space refers to the agent's seclusion (Norman 2014: 5).

When I ask Gëzim whether there was a distinction between what was viewed as public and what was viewed as private, he replies that “private doesn't exist” in Pristina, because people “stick their noses.” He makes clear that he is referring to gossip and to judgement, and he portrays the image of the use of gossip and direct dialogue for the gaining of information. Through this statement, he also challenges the notion of a separation between public and private. However, this is not a universally held view, as Besart argues that, while there is a boundary between public and private in Pristina, the latter refers to his material possessions and the things he does away from view in his room, while the former refers to everything else. Indeed, he uses as an example a time when he and his friends wanted to know about a third person's activities and had asked me for further information.

For both Gëzim and Besart, cafés feature as being public spaces due to being locations where people are in view of others. However, it is clear that both consider public spaces to also include locations such as the squares and streets. Correspondingly, I have taken notes on Mother Theresa Blvd (*Sheshi Nënë Tereza*), which is lined by many cafés, stores and governmental buildings and acts as a point of transit. On the *Sheshi*, as public events, such as concerts and festivals, are held throughout the year, and several statues have been built, such as those to Skanderbeg, an Albanian legendary figure, and Ibrahim Rugova, the first president of Kosovo. Frequently, I have observed people walking from one end of the



boulevard to another, often watched by onlookers lounging on benches. Occasionally, the boulevard is also a site of protests or political speeches, and television crews can often be seen recording ongoing events.

This distinction between being in view of others not necessarily known and being hidden is echoed by Low and Smith's argument that public spaces are often defined by their separation from private spaces. According to Besart, these spaces include locations which are not easily viewed, such as the most intimate environs, such as rooms, in apartments and homes. Indeed, Afërdita, a female student in her late teens, highlights the significance of seclusion for her distinction between public and private. "Private" to her refers to "places that don't call for attention," and she adds a twist: "we used to call private the parks, not well known café bars, and the entrances of buildings." In this case, she is speaking of her relationship with her significant other, which is not known to her family. However, it could also be seen that she is speaking broader, referring to a view of the private as being free from scrutiny and the public as being the realm of scrutiny. The usage of the phrase "used to," although I did not ask about this at the time, may refer to the usage of such areas as places of refuge during the time period of the Serbian occupation, which, as Afërdita also says during the interview, marked a time period when it was dangerous for her and her family to leave their apartment. Seclusion, in this case, means greater safety and, as a result, these understandings of the private as a realm free of scrutiny and the private as a realm of enhanced security are connected, paralleling Hirschon's description of more private settings being "closed" as opposed to "open" public locations (Hirschon 1989: 235-237). The practice of maintaining secrecy also reflects Herzfeld's description of social performances in Greece being utilised to maintain desired imagery and conceal potentially detrimental characteristics or events (Herzfeld 1991: 86, 94-95). Consequently, cafés are viewed as public spaces by Afërdita due to being less secluded, but this definition may also include houses.

However, Diellza F., a student in Pristina, also refers to the practice of preserving secrecy when

discussing hospitality within the city, stating, “We are hospitable to people we don't know, but we don't usually invite [them to our homes] because of the mentality.” For the sake of avoiding the speculation, Diellza prefers to not invite others to her house unless they are already known by her family. An example she gives is that, if she invites a man, for example, to the house, then her family will speculate as to why he is invited, reflecting Cowan's argument that a woman's coffee-drinking in Sohos entails gossip as to reasons for the meeting (Cowan 1991: 187, 195-196). Additionally, if someone comes to the house, then, as she explains, the person must be give hospitality, and the provision of dinner, etc. would drain the host's time at a point when, in Pristina's hectic economic climate, they may not have the time or economic stability to do so, also corresponding with another segment of Cowan's argument, that it is rare for non-family members to be invited to a home due to the requirement of hospitality (Cowan 1991: 182). Other reasons she gives for the lack of invitations to people's homes are that there are a lot of students within the city and that the invites which are made are often for family dinners or parties, not all the time. Consequently, although a room within a house or flat might be more secure, it is not necessarily private, thus leading to an emphasis on cafés as meeting places. It is in this vein which Donika M., a high school student from Pristina, provides a similar explanation for choosing the café over the house, for example, as a place to meet. Conversations can be kept hidden more easily at cafés, because of the often louder volume of music and the distance between tables. For Donika, the benefit of meeting in a café for some is that the family is not immediately aware of acquaintances or topics of conversations.

Indeed, the impact of shame on people in Pristina should not be underestimated. Kaltrina R. describes how, when she is out in public, she is careful to monitor her own behaviour, because she does not desire her actions to stain her family's reputation. She describes the necessity for avoiding shame as a weighty “burden.” Meanwhile, Qendrim explains with a certain amount of frustration that women, when they date, often meet their partners in certain, hidden cafés and, as a result, it is very difficult to date whom is dating whom. Krenare M. explains that girls do indeed hide their boyfriends from their

families, as well as conceal certain practices which are looked down upon, such as smoking habits. She knew certain people who hid from her parents, although she never did.

With the impact of shame and surveillance on agents, both within houses and in more public spaces such as cafés, the accounts above have provided perspectives on how, at times, people in Pristina take steps to avoid their actions becoming known to others, either their family, acquaintances or interested onlookers. This practice of preserving secrecy could indeed be viewed as an attempt by the agent to preserve their private space and privacy in public (Herzfeld 2009b). Such a conclusion would make sense, considering Besart's view of the private as something which is his alone or a behaviour which is done away from view.

In each of the above cases, cafés are considered as public spaces by Prishtinalis, because the people inside are within view of others. The emphasis on the café, as seen in the beginning of this chapter, is due to the emphasis which Prishtinalis place on it as a location for socialising outside the home. Yet, public space, as argued by Luci on Kosovo, also includes squares and streets. Consequently, I consider public spaces in Pristina to include those where agents are within view of others, including the squares, streets and cafés. On the other hand, “private space” does not necessarily include homes, for one may be under the surveillance of their family while being there. Hence, houses may be classified as public spaces, a point which Luci makes due to the significance of houses as locations where, during the 1990s, reconciliations took place between feuding families and political discussions were routinely held (Luci 2014: 103, 119). Thus, rather than referring to homes, “private” in this dissertation refers to areas where people perceive themselves to be secluded from others.

### **Public Spheres**

In interacting with social, inter-personal networks inside cafés, Prishtinalis consequently interact in public space, providing meaning to the built environment through participating in the “social construction of space” (Low 1996: 861-862; Low 2000: 127, 128). However, because Prishtinalis, within

these circumstances, are located within public spaces, they also interact with public discourse (Low 1996: 876). At this point, I consider how these interactions occur during the course of everyday sociality, focusing in particular on the performances by agents, as discussed by Yeh, Goffman and Herzfeld (Goffman 1956; Herzfeld 1985; Yeh 2009; Yeh 2012). I provide an additional series of examples, focusing on how Prishtinalis view themselves as projecting self-representations towards others within view while in public. I conclude this section by linking back to the previous chapter, arguing that, through rhetorical performances in public spaces, people in Pristina participate in the public sphere.

Albulena, in conversation with me at the Auburn Café talks about judgement in Pristina, describing the practice as something which can prevent people from joining certain networks and can have negative consequences. Indeed, she says that people in wealthier social circles will at first ask newcomers where they are from and form an opinion based on that. As such, she says that Prishtinalis hide who they are from others, in order to avoid bringing on such judgement. She points to depression, portrayed as an affliction which those suffering cannot discuss openly, because it is viewed as being “crazy”. The image which one utilises to avoid such judgement is “a mask that everyone can see”, because it was expected by Prishtinalis that masks were being worn. Consequently, an insult used in Pristina when the intent is to shame someone is “*A është fytyrën ndër maskën tëndë?*” (“Is that your face under your mask?”).

In this example, the “mask”, is then seen as a projected image which others are meant to see. It corresponds with Goffman's notion of the “front” stage of performances, which is composed of the characteristics and behaviours immediately visible towards observers, and it is also viewed by Goffman as a “mask” due to how it is meant to be viewed (Goffman 1956: 32, 114-115, 228). Similarly, *fytyrë* (the standard form of *fytyra*, meaning “face”) refers to the person's, presumably unfavourable self which has been revealed. The presence of these terms is significant, because they may be seen as rhetorical images, because the “mask”, to focus on the first term, is not an actual, physical mask but an image which

has been found to be false. Regarding the “face”, the referent is not the person's physical face but the self which has been revealed. Interestingly, the usage of the term “face”, being of a physical nature and referring to a location on the body, gives the self which has been revealed a bodily character. From Albulena's perspective, we have a view which assumes that the impressions one makes are false and that these impressions are “masks” which conceal true “faces.”

Indeed, a few months later, I was conferring with another friend, Dardan, a Prishtinali in his mid-30s. Upon asking him to complete the pile sorting exercise, he begins progressing through a stack of cards, each with a different term written on the front. Because the term *fytyra* had appeared significant in both the previous free list (see the chapter on honour for further explanation) and in interviews such as Blerina's, I had given the term a card. Arriving at the term, Dardan explains that the face is not an actual face but a “social face,” that which is seen by others. In this sense, the accusation, “Is that your face under your mask?”, is made more clear, in that there is shown to be a distinction between the metaphorical false “face” (the “mask”) and the true “face” (the revealed self). In Goffman's terms, the true “face”, or the self behind the “front stage”, corresponds with the “back stage” of performance, where the performer can relax; he can drop his front, forgo speaking his lines, and step out of character” (Goffman 1956: 115, 228).

Besart, a student from Pristina studying English, refers to the term similarly when he finds it in the pile. Associating it with “honour” (*nder* -see Chapter 3 and Chapter 5) he clarifies to me that, indeed, the term “face” does not refer to the physical face but that image which others see. As such, the projected image can then be seen as being important for maintaining status in Pristina, if *nder* is viewed as cultural capital. Indeed, Besart has often advised that I take better care of my appearance, stating that, in Pristina, people care about how present yourself. Although this can be interpreted as critical advice, it can then, in this light, also be seen as meant to help the recipient (myself, in this case) find greater acceptance in Pristina. Indeed, on his insistence, I begin to visit barbers in Pristina, transitioning from a longer hair-

style to one which was shorter and more orderly.

From the examples of Dardan and Besart, we can then see that *fytyrë* (“face”) refers to that which is presented to others. It can be a metaphorical “mask” or it can be what lies underneath. However, another aspect of the accusation, “Is that your face under your mask?” is that it is used towards someone else. As such, this reflects the argument from the rhetoric culture theorists that a quality of rhetoric is that it is addressed, and, in particular, it reflects Carrithers' argument, from chapter 2 in this dissertation, that rhetoric involves a degree of intentionality, where the person, as Blerina says, utilises it in order to bring “shame” upon another person (Carrithers 2009a: 7-8). Therefore, another aspect of the phrase is that it is meant to affect the agent's social standing and, as a result, the term “face” can be connected with “shame,” in Pristina's context.

The insult, “Is that your face under your mask?” is thus an example of rhetoric deployed within view of others, where the agent acts within sight of others in order to weaken a patient's reputation. It implies that the patient, after doing something which could be seen as negative, has indeed been lying to their acquaintances by projecting a false image. The false image, referred to as a “mask” contrasts with a true image, the actual “face.” The insult represents a rhetoric deployed within a spatial context, as, in order to be effective, it needs to be said within view of others, and it utilises the understanding that the “mask” has been a representation, used in view of others. As such, the insult exemplifies a rhetorical appropriation of spatiality in an attempt to weaken a patient's reputation.

The ideas expressed by Albulena relating to judgement, and resistance to judgement, were similarly expressed by her friends Flaka A. and Drenusha L., young women who were also undertaking their studies and friends of Albulena. For Flaka, difference is spotted in public and often leads to judgement, with the expression being in the form of an exclamation similar to one saying “Oh, look at him,” in a sarcastic tone. She describes this as taking place in cafés as well as in the *Sheshi Nënë Tereza* pedestrian street, with the general example of someone reading being viewed as appearing adorable and

trying to be exceptional. In Herzfeld's terms, the performances projected lack meaning due to having failed to incorporate sufficient levels of belonging, and, consequently, they are not respected by observers (Herzfeld 1985: 16-19). However, those who often do the judging, according to Flaka, do not tell them of their flaws and portray themselves to be perfect or prevent themselves from expressing things deemed to be too different. She relates a former friendship with a female acquaintance, which she had to cut off due to feeling bored by the conversations, which often concerned money and material goods rather than topics she was interested in.

The insult correspondingly underlines the representational and performative aspect of sociality in Pristina. Dardan F., a man in his mid-twenties employed by a bank, points out that the city has acquired a humorous motto among younger Prishtinalis: “*Qyteti në të cilin ti tenton të bëhesh dikush që nuk je!*” (“The city where you try to become what you are not!”). It displays an understanding that, within Kosovo, Pristina is viewed as a place where the people who live and work there attempt to portray themselves as people who they may not necessarily be. This practice, of fabricating a representation, could perhaps be viewed critically, yet portraying it in this way neglects its potentially beneficial aspects. Indeed, Dardan refers to a positive element of representations. “In Pristina, you can be whoever, if not whatever,” he explains, while sipping on a beer with me on the patio of Green Bar, an establishment which had once been owned by a Westerner but has since changed ownership into the hands of two local men. Tied to the wide availability of consumable goods such as clothes and iPhones, the representations displayed seem to have an almost liberating element, through which people can display any image they would like to.

Dardan's description appears to be a description of agency in Pristina's spaces, where actors can, within certain circumstances, emulate others in pursuit of ascertained advantages. Indeed, he elaborates on this subject, remarking that “Here, everyone copies...Here, there are either poor or rich. No middle class. They try to save but consuming ends up taking the priority. Live for today, not for tomorrow.” The

money coming in is spent on “looks and image.” Indeed, Drenusha describes Prishtinalis, especially the young people, as going out during the day and night “just to be seen”. She describes this behaviour as being similar to watching fashion TV, and she views it as “showing off,” with an example being those who will save 200 Euros for a leather jacket to display in public. “They will spend money on iPhones but not on hiking.” This focus on “showing off,” on the presenting the self in an individualistic manner, is also captured by Herzfeld's conceptualisation of the performance, which is primarily centred on the individual's ego (Herzfeld 1985: 10-11). However, although the performances project distinctiveness, such performances are only successful if they manage to bridge the gap between individuals and their observers by communicating across sufficient levels of belonging (Herzfeld 1985: 11, 26).

Similarly, Rezarta, a young activist involved in feminist organising, complains that people in Pristina hide themselves, or become “dull”, due to possessing “low self-esteem.” Within the context of the city's café scene, she notes that those who attend certain cafés, such as the trendy Pink Café, do so in order to be around those who are already there. They are attempting to join the group of people who attend the café, and it is thus understood that, in order to go there, the actor is required to be accepted by those involved. If one does not meet the café's required image, they will not be accepted into the group. Therefore, within the context of these examples, it can be seen that the performances (“copying”) described by Dardan, are often made by people to emulate others and to join desired networks. Through performances in public spaces, Prishtinalis exercise a degree of agency, representing themselves to their audiences and exercising the “right to appear in public” (Yeh 2009: 475, 482).

However, Drenusha L., a young woman who is also undertaking architectural studies and is a friend of Albulena, notes that the prevalence of such performances makes it difficult to tell who is being sincere and who is not: “You know people can be wearing a mask but it's hard to tell.” It can then be difficult to inform one's impressions on other people, creating a degree of insecurity. Although there can be positive elements in terms of emulating others, or feeling able to express style, image-making practices



may therefore be a double-edged sword, where, as Drenusha says, it can be difficult to ascertain whom is being genuine rather than “wearing a mask.”

For Herzfeld's informants, “things are thus rarely what they seem to be,” because performances by actors are not presumed to be truthful by their audiences (Herzfeld 2009a: 200). Indeed, Drenusha explains the representation is “a mask which everyone can see,” the performance cannot be fully complete or encompassing. Dardan's statement, “you can be whatever, if not whoever”, characterises the city as being one in which people attempt to alter their appearance to fit another identity, but it is one in which the agent's true identity is not entirely concealed. In other words, the rhetoric people utilise in public spaces through their performances is limited in scope. As described earlier, conversations are often had within groups regarding who appears to have characteristics of which group and, as such, although one may attempt to display their identity differently, circumstances such as socio-economic status and geographic origin may prevent them from joining certain networks regardless of their actions.

The limits of performance are thrown into relief through a conversation in October 2014. Fatmir and I were sitting on the patio of the Strawberry café on a cold autumn morning, located directly across from Pink café and to the left of the Pineapple café. Here, we had a prime vantage point in order to observe the patrons of both. This meeting followed the shooting at the Pink café, when a would-be patron shot and killed a security guard who had prevented him from taking a table. The man not been allowed in, because he did not fit the characteristics identified by the café's waiter as being desirable. Rather than being upper-class, he was perceived by the waiter and security guard as being a *katundar* (“villager”) and blocked from entering the establishment. This practice of picking and choosing patrons can be seen in the utilisation of reserved signs on tables to prevent people who did not “fit” the café's desired characteristics from sitting, a practice which an owner of the Pineapple café had explained to me the previous year.

Thus, sitting at the Strawberry café, the conversation between Fatmir and I had turned to the

shooting and the people attending the Strawberry café. He described the elites in Pristina as containing three loose groups: the Yugoslav elites, the Ottoman elites, and the “new” elites. The Yugoslav elites had gained their fortune as bureaucrats and party officials during Kosovo's time in Yugoslavia, while the Ottoman elites consisted of older Albanian and Turkish families which had been present in Pristina since the days of the Ottoman Empire. Meanwhile, the “new” elites consisted of families which had gotten their wealth after the 1998-1999 war, when Yugoslavia's dissolution in Kosovo created space for entrepreneurs to gain previously controlled assets. He punctuates his explanation with a joke: “Perhaps they are all in the Pink café!”

From this example, we see that cafés, as public spaces, directly relate with networks in Kosovo's post-Yugoslav political context. Cafés are identified with particular networks and take on characteristics associated with them. Due to the presence of the elites, the Strawberry café is perceived as a “posh” café. Here, we see the social construction of space at work, in that the café as a physical space is interpreted by Prishtinalis as being “posh” due to its clientele being perceived as such. Consequently, a person perceived as being lower-class by the café's owners was denied entrance, thus singling that, although cafés are public in the sense of being within view, a spatial hierarchy based on socio-economic class is produced where not all cafés are accessible for all who seek to enter them. Social inequalities within post-Yugoslav Pristina thus play out, and are re-produced, within its public spaces.

In a second example, on 4 July 2014 I had been wandering around Pristina's bazaar, taking notes on the items being sold and observing interactions among the vendors. On this day, I encounter a young fruit seller whom I had met last year. He recognises me and jokingly offers me a job to work for him for 5 Euros a day. Our banter continues for a few more minutes, and the young man begins to introduce me to the others by his stall. An older man, the owner of a mobile shop next door, steps outside and, turning towards me, asks “What do you want to buy?” After I say that I am not looking to buy anything, he then turns to my new acquaintance and exclaims, “This man is not for working!” He then turns his attention

back to me and, after I protest his response, he responds, “This situation is not what you think. This man is a peasant from Podujevo. My brother had a fight with him last week.” According to him, the acquaintance was seeking to humiliate me and suggests that I leave. Unsure how to handle the situation, which had gotten tense between the two men, I left after a moment. However, this situation provides another example of class-based contention within Pristina's public spaces, in this case the bazaar.

As I describe in the previous chapter, Yeh ethnographically explores the performance by actors of discursive formations in public spaces (Yeh 2012: 716). Because discursive formations compose the public sphere, agents participate in the public sphere through performances in public spaces (Yeh 2009: 470, 477; Yeh 2012: 716-718). There is then a dialogue between public spaces and the public sphere, a point also made by Low and Smith (Low and Smith 2006: 5, 7; Yeh 2012: 716, 728-729; Low 2017: 156). Taking Yeh, Low and Smith as a starting point, the projected representations displayed in this section portray interactions with the public sphere due to being performances of discursive formations in public spaces. The representations explained by Albulena as being utilised to join specific networks gain their efficacy through rhetorically referring to established discourses, such as that of city-dweller (identified later in this dissertation as “*qytetar*” or “citizen”) versus rural-dweller (“*katundar*” or “villager”). The presence of this particular discursive frame, where one draws on images associated with urban identity, is shown particularly clearly through the male would-be patron being refused to enter Bon Vivant due to perceptions held by the café's waiter that, based on his appearance, he is of a more rural background. An urban-rural discursive formation, similar to Jansen's description of the use of imagery such as wearing white socks to signify rural newcomers in the post-Yugoslav city of Belgrade, is also shown in the final example, where a shop owner interfered in an exchange of banter between a fruit vendor and I by labelling him as a “peasant,” which is often translated from *katundar* (Jansen 2005: 154, 158, 163).

That these references draw on discursive formations within the public sphere is shown through,

following Yeh's ethnography, their concerns with the right to be present within public space and be represented within the public forum at-large (Yeh 2012: 716). The assertion that the fruit vendor cannot speak with me because he is a “peasant” and the barring of people deemed as “villagers” from entering specific cafés both make claims to representation which exclude them from participation in discourse while bolstering the speaker's. Meanwhile, the vendor's use of irony, and the would-be patrons' attempt to enter the café, represent counter-claims in that they provide opposing viewpoints to the mobile shop owners' and the café waiter's. The milieu created through these claims and counter-claims is then contested, for, rather than being submerged under the mobile shop owner and waiter's assertions to dominance, the vendor's and patrons' counter-claims provide alternative assertions of the right to publicity.

For Yeh, the articulation of such claims through performance makes them “publics” or “discursive formations”, and the immaterial space created through their circulation as discourse concerning the public is referred to as the public sphere (Yeh 2012: 716-717). For our purposes, the public sphere in Pristina then includes the individual self-representations described throughout this section, as they represent articulations of subjectivity and presence within public space. The attempt to present a fashionable appearance in a café follows this line of logic, because the appearance is an assertion of a right to be present within view of others and to participate within the public. Through rhetorically projecting images in public space, Prishtinalis make claims to representation, thus participating within and re-configuring the public sphere, as well as moving within the “rough ground of the political” of inter-personal and individual-state relationships (Henig 2016: 48-49).

### **Pile Sorts**

At this point, it is necessary to investigate in greater depth notions influencing rhetorical practices such as judgement and the projection of representations. As discussed in Chapter 1, I incorporate results from a pile sort undertaken with informants, which draws upon terms uncovered through the use of the

free list technique. Making use of the pile sort results (see Figure 1 on pp. 148) in this section is beneficial because, as I will show below, the results further depict the symbolic interpretation of public space in Pristina and provide greater insight into the aforementioned perspectives of informants, rather than eclipse. I then explore further the social construction of public space through exploring terms utilised by informants.

On the left of Figure 1, the “yellow” terms consist of *xhelozi* (“jealousy”), *genjeshtar* (“liar”), *padrejtësi* (“injustice/unfairness”), *marre* (“shame/foolish”), *fytyra* (“face”, also written in this dissertation as *fytyrë*), and *vrasje* (“murder”). Key within this group is the inclusion of the term *fytyrë*, which has been represented to me as not merely a physical face but a social representation of the agent and potentially the agent’s family. In analyses conducted on the free lists, it has been used with several words but eliminated by the AnthroPac 4.0 software tool, because it has been used by an informant twice (Analytic Technologies). Near *fytyrë*, yet further away from the other terms in this umbrella, is the term *vrasje*, which fits within this group due to discussions, in interviews (in the chapter on networks), of people having killed others as a means of preserving their reputations. Meanwhile, to the left of *fytyrë* and *vrasje* are *xhelozi*, *genjeshtar*, *marre* and *padrejtësi*. *Padrejtësi* has been associated with *inat*, a term which has been described to me by informants as being a mixture of envy, anger and defiance and has been queried through the free list exercise to be discussed in Chapter 5. Another term associated by some informants with *inat* is *marre* (or *turp*), which is times referred to by informants as being a cause of *inat*.

Meanwhile, the term *genjeshtar* is also located in the cluster near these terms, which could be because, as informants have related to me, lying is viewed as a shameful action. Therefore, it makes sense that *genjeshtar* would be close to *marre* in this graph, but it could also be due to the perception that *fytyrë*, a social representation as discussed above, may indeed be a lie, as shown through the use of the slang word *dyftysh* (“two-faced”) to refer to one who has been found to be presenting false images of themselves in front of others. Similarly, *padrejtësi* has also been associated with *inat*, and, when

informants discussed *inat* and *marre* (or *turp*) with me, they were often portrayed in a negative tone where the concepts represent unfairness and fear. This collaborates with interviews described above which associate public spaces with fear and insecurity. However, the spatial difference between the “shame” cluster and the *vrasje* (“murder”) and *fytyrë* (“face”) duo emphasises a contrast. Those terms in the “shame” cluster seem to directly deal with *turp* (“shame”) as a concept (discussed in more depth in the following chapter), and, while *fytyrë* relates directly with social representations, it does not necessarily imply shame. It could also imply projecting a positive image of oneself in order to avoid negatively impacting their social reputation, Cowan regarding performances by women in Sohos of a lack of interest in socialising in *kafeterias* (Cowan 1991: 195-197).

At the upper end of the diagram and in the middle are *i/e rëndësishëm* (“important”) and *shoqëri* (“society”), which are grouped together and positioned separately from the others. As I have noted in the networks chapter, *shoqëri* has been associated with both kinship and friendship networks, specifically, the family, yet it is positioned here instead. Because terms on the left appear to stand for social representations towards others, the term's position within the middle of the graph indicates that *shoqëri* can be in both public space and associated with the family. This can be explained by Herzfeld's observation in southern Greece that the family's reputation is both reflected upon and affected by actors' actions and performances (Herzfeld 1985: 11). The term's position then indicates that public space and the family in Pristina often blur and converge, confirming Luci's description of the house, a locale associated with the family, also being encompassed within the public sphere (Luci 2014: 119).

As such, the link between *shoqëri* and other terms in the middle part of the diagram, such as *respekt* (“respect”) becomes clearer. *Respekt*, as represented in interviews and discussed in the networks chapter, also seems to be a concept in both friendship and kinship networks. As *shoqëri* appears to

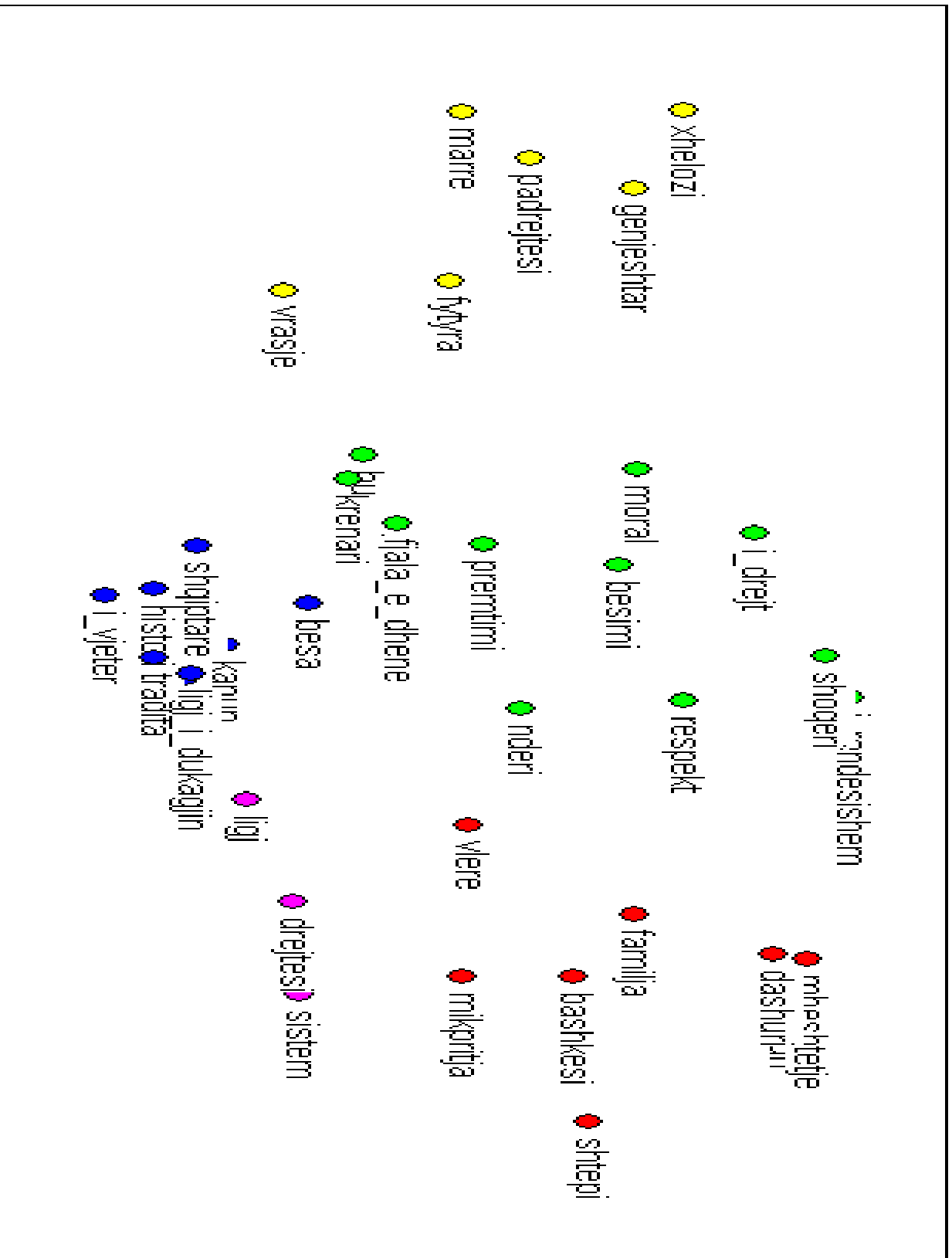


Figure 1: Pile Sort Results

refer to both, the position of *respekt* near *shoqëri* supports this proposition. Additionally, the area within the middle of the graph further indicates blurring between public space and the family, which may not necessarily be associated with private, secluded space. That these concepts are related with conduct in social relations generally is supported by the inclusion of three additional terms near *respekt*: *i/e drejtë* (“straight-forward” or “direct”), *moral* (“morality”) and *besimi* (“trust”). *Besimi*, as discussed in both Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, is considered by informants as being related with one's behaviour in that, if a person is seen as following their words with corresponding deeds, then they are judged favourably and trusted. Meanwhile, the terms *moral* and *i/e drejtë* are utilised to describe individuals similarly who align their deeds with their words. The terms' positions show that the upper-middle of the graph refers to attitudes towards, and practices within, social relationships. In turn, this further shows that social relationships are mediate both public space and the household

Another point in the map locates the term for “honour”, *nder*. As discussed in the following chapter, *nder* refers to social perceptions of the agent within networks (in effect, their symbolic capital), and it is often closely related with the term for “respect”, *respekt*, which has also been located in the middle of the graph. However, if *nder* were solely related to the maintenance and attainment of social capital within networks, as Schwandner-Sievers argues, would it not be closer to *fytyrë* (“face”) and the terms on the left (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 142)? The solution might partially lie in how *nder* has often been associated by informants with the family, as described in the section above. It would then be possible to say that, like *shoqëri* (“society”), *nder* is concerned with both kinship networks and friendship networks, thus placing it in the middle of the graph, between the left, associated with representations, and the right, associated with the family (*familje*) and the house (*shtëpi*). This thus provides further indications that *fytyrë* would then be more of a representation to other agents within public space.

The words *krenari* (“pride”) and *burrëri* (“manliness”) are also located within the middle group and closer to *fytyrë* than the others. Because of this proximity to *fytyrë*, the representational aspect of



these words is highlighted, bringing to the fore two dynamics. First, the role of masculinity in Pristina's public space is emphasised, reflecting work by Luci on the display of masculinity in Kosovo's spaces and by Herzfeld on the embodiment of concepts as a form of social poetics (Herzfeld 2009a: 196-200; Luci 2014: 117-118). As will be discussed in the chapter on identity, *burrëri* has been viewed with informants as important, and it can be inferred through the location on the graph that the projection of manliness is considered by some to be necessary for maintaining a favourable reputation. Regarding Kosovo, Luci argues that masculinity is “enacted”, in public spaces such as cafés as well as in more private space such as houses (Luci 2014: 117-119, 132).

Additionally, the term's location on the map emphasises that, as much as *burrëri* is a trope for public display, it is also associated with terms in the middle portion of the graph and exists as a significant concept within social networks, thus reflecting the performances of manhood, the subject of Herzfeld's ethnography of Crete, as an activity taking place through the negotiation of social relationships (Herzfeld 1985: 23). Therefore, as has been related to me in interviews, it is associated with practices such as the *premtim* (“promise”) and *fjala e dhënë* (“the given word”), as well as the adjective *i/e drejtë* (“direct”), which refers to being fair towards others. It seems important to note here that these words, due to their locations in the map, do not seem to be as vital in the right of the graph, where *respekt* (“respect”) and *shoqëri* (“society”) are also present. From the data presented in the ethnographic section above, this could be because the more private household is viewed as a space of safety, comfort and control, rather than insecurity and tension (as public space often is viewed).

Second, the inclusion of *krenari* (“pride”), close to *burrëri* (“manliness”) and near *fytyrë* (“face”), is also significant, because the term can be related to both representations on one hand and interaction within networks on the other. As informants have argued, it is very evident in public space through purposefully calling attention to attributes which could be deemed favourable and, as a result, it could be seen as being similar to the concept of *inat*, as both concepts share an emphasis on displaying

individualistic distinctions towards onlookers, along the lines of Herzfeld's description of agonistic performances in Crete (Herzfeld 1985: 11). However, the concept could also be viewed as relating more to behaviour within networks when, for example, people in Pristina judge or are subject to judgement, as in the ethnographic examples above.

Meanwhile, below *fjala e dhënë* lies another set of terms which are concepts linked with ideas of Albanian national identity. The upper portion of this set begins with *besa*, a term characterised as being a deep promise and which has been described to me as a component of Albanian national identity. Coincidentally, in interviews, it has also been linked with *burrëri*, as has *fjala e dhënë* and *premtim*. According to informants, *besa* is viewed as something distinct to Albanians, which is shown through the frequent combination of *besa* with the Albanian-speaking populations as *besa e shqiptarët* (“the honour of Albanians”).

Moving below *besa* we then arrive at the main cluster of terms: *kanun* (“code”), *shqiptarë* (“Albanians”), *historia* (“history”), *ligj i Dukagjinit* (“Dukagjin’s law”), *tradita* (“tradition”), *i/e vjetër* (“old”), and *zakon* (“habit”). This dense group then appears to be sub-divided into two further groups with *shqiptarë*, *histori*, and *i/e vjetër* on the left and *kanun*, *ligj i dukagjinit*, *zakon*, and *tradita* on the right. On the right, *kanun*, *ligj i dukagjinit*, *zakon*, and *tradita* all appear to have been treated by informants as being similar due to practices associated with the Kanun and are considered to be rooted in tradition. In contrast, *i/e vjetër*, *histori*, and *shqiptarë* refer concepts such as age, history and the quality of being Albanian. However, it is worth noting that, because informants have grouped all of these terms together, there seems to be a larger association between historical practice and historical discourse. Indeed, the inclusion of *shqiptarë*, which occurred as a result of the free listing, in this category provides further support to the conclusion that the terms in this set are connected to Albanian national identity. Di Lellio and Schwandner-Sievers also observe a discourse of Albanian identity through focusing on the narratives surrounding Adem Jashari, the “Legendary Commander” whose killing in 1998 by Serbian

security forces spurred recruitment into the Kosovo Liberation Army, and Schwandner-Sievers separately acknowledges the discourse through exploring how it has been tapped into by political figures and organisations (Di Lellio and Schwandner-Sievers 2006: 513-514, 516; Schwandner-Sievers 2013b).

It thus appears that the presence of a historical discourse connecting terms and practices has appeared in the Prishtinali dialect and contains closely construed meanings. It is located in between the public and private ends on the spatial spectrum and, like those in the group above, it lies between public and private, thus showing that it is not possible to separate concepts into a simple spatial dichotomy. In this case, the implication to be made would be that, since the terms are between the representations on the left and the terms on the right, they have significance for both public and private space. Indeed, this can be seen in how concepts related with Albanian identity, such as the Skanderbeg statue and Albanian flag, are often displayed in the streets and utilised in political speeches, while the Kanun, for example, often addresses issues such as roles within the household (Luci 2014: 99).

Meanwhile, to the right of the left-most and middle groups lies terms which appear to be related with private space. *Drejtësi* (“justice”) could be affiliated with legal justice, which would make sense given its proximity to the term *ligj* (“law”). However, it also may also be viewed in a different sense as an ideal, a “good” as opposed to a “bad.” It is worth noting again that *padrejtësi* (“injustice”) is on the opposite end of the map in the public category. Because *drejtësi* appears to fall in the private end of the spectrum, it draws an implication, made by other ethnographers of the Balkans, of public life being seen as dirty and the more private household being seen as clean or pure (Helms 2007: 239; Helms 2013: 159-160). This seems to echo in implications made by informants that public space can be dangerous and inhabited with untrustworthy people while the household is safe, comfortable and populated with one’s own family.

Moving upwards, we then arrive at *mikpritje* (“hospitality”), *vlerë* (“value”) and *bashkësi* (“community”). While *vlerë* is further away from the terms in this group, I have included it within the

“private” umbrella because, while *nder* is viewed as having “value”, the sentiments of family having value in the interviews, discussed in the chapter on networks, are expressed with more enthusiasm. An effect of the term’s inclusion in the right of the graph is the further accentuation of the division listed above, of the more private household being seen as good and “public” space being seen as evil.

Further, it is interesting that *bashkësi* has been as included in the right of the graph while a supposedly similar word, *shoqëri* (“society”) has been placed in the middle and closer to public space. This points to a difference in meaning between the two terms in that the networks they refer to are in different spaces. If viewed in this context, the presence of *bashkësi* in the right of the graph of the graph might very well be explained by the term referring to the household while *shoqëri* may refer to both kinship networks and more “public” networks, such as those of friends, acquaintances, and potential co-workers, as described above. The notion of “community” referring to kinship networks is further accentuated by its proximity to the term *shtëpi* (“house”) and *familje* (“family”), underlining the notion of the network within the household.

Indeed, the positions of *shtëpi* and *bashkësi* on the right of the graph provides a clue as to why *ligj* (“law”) and *sistem* (“system”) are as well. From the graph it can be inferred that, while *ligj I dukagjinit* (“Dukagijn's law”) and *kanun* (“code”, or standing for Kanun) are concerned with conduct in relationships, *ligj* and *sistem* are concerned with individual behaviour. The salience of *sistem* has been explained to me by a male informant, Artan, as the network of regulating institutions and security organs which had been established by the Yugoslav state to organise the lives of Yugoslav citizens. Furthermore, Artan relates that, after the Kosovo War's conclusion in 1999, people in Pristina continued to refer to the *sistem* as a determinant of behaviour even though it had effectively retreated with the arrival of the NATO peacekeeping forces and the United Nations transitional administration. This may also be a reflection of the association between the 1990's-era parallel system of governance, established for the Albanian population, and the houses where they operated, as described in this dissertation's introduction. The

position of *sistem* and *ligj* in the right of the graph then indicates distinctions made by people in Pristina regarding which practices and spaces are governed by official laws or the *kanun*, viewed by Schwandner-Sievers as oral “customary law” (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 133-135, 137-138).

Moving from “house” upwards we come to a tight cluster of 3 terms: *mbështetje* (“support”), *dashuri* (“love”) and *lumturi* (“happiness”). As I described in the networks chapter these terms seem to indicate support from families, and this link is further supported with their inclusion here in a tight cluster within what appears to be the private end of the graph. As such, this shows that the household in Pristina is not only connected with safety but also *lumturi*. However, it is entirely possible that any such safety could very well be due to the resources and emotional support provided by households.

This result also reflects ethnographic literature from the Balkans which associates concepts of love, happiness, support and the household with the family. Hirschon describes this dynamic among descendants of Greek refugees from Turkey in the Athenian suburb of Piraeus, arguing that women, concerned with a more “closed” sociality, orient themselves towards meeting the needs of the household except in circumstances of maintaining inclusive relations within the community, particularly through attending religious services (Hirschon 1978: 75-79; Hirschon 1989: 235-236). Meanwhile, public spaces are associated with men, whom are considered to be occupied with more agonistic concerns and an “open” orientation, including conducting the family's business and preserving its reputation (Hirschon 1978: 72, 76-79; Hirschon 1989: 221-222). Notably, Herzfeld describes poetic performances by men within the context of public spaces within a Cretan village as meant to convey meanings of their actions to audiences, thereby constructing masculinity as discussed earlier in this section (Herzfeld 1985: 10-11, 49, 65-66). Importantly, Herzfeld considers these poetic performances, by both men and women, as reflecting a gendered discourse of patriarchal hegemony, where women are constrained in poetic performances while men are not (Herzfeld 1991: 94). Keeping this discussion in mind, the results in the pile sort, in combination with the ethnographic accounts by female informants regarding the projection

of social representations in public (discussed in greater depth in the next chapter), portray concepts of masculinity and femininity which are rhetorically drawn on by agents in public spaces.

Overall, these results from the pile sort display concepts associated with each other in terms of spatial categories. This dynamic can be seen most clearly regarding the terms on the right of the graph and those on the left, because, in taking this chapter's ethnographic interviews and observations into account, we see that the former refer to concepts associated with public space, while the latter indicate the household. The results corroborate with the ethnography through showing the association of performed, rhetorical representations of the self with public space and portraying the household as being in a different, more private category. This observation makes sense, considering that the more private spaces include individual rooms in flats or houses. However, it is important to keep in mind that the ethnography shows that the household may also be public, thereby collaborating with Luci's aforementioned view of the house as within the public sphere, for people inside the house can be within view of family members, and at times lesser-known cafés or parks may be seen as more private due to being relatively secluded.

Hence, the pile sort, rather than displaying a simple public-private dichotomy, displays a multiplicity of concepts related with spatiality, including those terms in the upper-middle and lower-middle of the graph. The results represent symbolic perceptions of spatial locations, of the “where” of social interaction, which, as described in Chapter 3, are produced through the interplay described by Low between the ongoing social construction and social production of space. Taking Yeh's ethnographic work into account (also discussed in Chapter 3), the terms in the lower-middle, identified as being associated with Albanian national identity, may compose a “discursive formation,” or “public,” in the public sphere (Yeh 2009: 489). This observation collaborates with the ethnographic descriptions in this chapter of Pristina's public spaces, particularly cafés, being connected with memories of Albanian resistance to the Milosevic regime, since the time period's political movements are associated with ideas of Albanian

nationalism, independence from Serbia and seeking to join Albania (Schwandner-Sievers 2013a: 98-99, 103-106). Crucially, the pile sort relates Pristina's public spaces with the projection of social representations towards others within view.

### **Discussion and Conclusion**

The data from the ethnographic methods and pile sort similarly address meanings of public space, the rhetorical performances by agents of discursive formations from the public sphere and the consequences of performances for sociality in public spaces. The ethnographic interviews and observations bring out the informants' subjectivities and perspectives, thus drawing attention to the relation between cafés and pre-war memories, rhetorical practices and expressions of agency. Through focusing on informants' perspectives, the interviews bring attention to practices which would have otherwise gone overlooked had the analysis centred only on the pile sort. Meanwhile, the pile sort provides a graphical depiction of symbolic associations made by informants of spatiality in Pristina and, by relying on terms gathered through a free list, differs in methodology from the interviews and observations. It brings attention to complexity through displaying the blurring between public and private, as can be seen most vividly in the middle of the graph, where some terms, such as *nder*, may be associated with both interactions within kinship networks and broader social networks and is affected by the health of the *fytyrë* ("face"), the embodied social representation. This graphical portrayal of spatial and moral concepts allows for the concepts to be grouped together in a way which would have been difficult if only the interviews had been relied upon. Through complementing each other, the perspectives gathered from interviews with inhabitants of Pristina and the results from the pile sort show that public spaces matter for people in Pristina due to being where performances, drawing upon discursive formations in the public sphere, are made towards others within view.

First, the ethnographic methods and pile sort collaborate through exploring the meanings of public spaces for people in Pristina through different angles. Through observations of interactions between

people in cafés, I uncover perceptions of commensal solidarity produced through an interplay of material and immaterial processes, where, echoing accounts by Papataxiarchis and Cowan discussed in Chapter 3, reciprocal exchanges by agents of drinks, often coffee, in cafés spark friendship between patrons. Interviews with informants add that these encounters occur in a definite political context, where cafés are associated with memories of resistance to the Serbian government through being meeting places where actions have been organised by activists. Furthermore, the interviews also show that cafés are utilised as venues for meetings between activists in contemporary Pristina. The ethnographic methods and interviews then effectively portray cafés as locations where networks interact, “commensal solidarity” is produced and agents grapple with the political (Papataxiarchis 1991: 169).

Additionally, the ethnographic accounts also show how the interplay produced above connects the café with notions of public space, where people are considered to be meeting within view of others. Through being considered as locations where people are within view, the notion of public space also includes squares and streets, as in the example where an individual is judged for being seen reading while “in public.” The portrayals from the interviews indicate that, among my informants, public space is viewed with some scepticism and wariness, especially in terms of the effects of being viewed by others. On the other hand, more private spaces are addressed positively, with descriptions of security, intimacy and freedom from the judgement of others, reflecting a separation between public and private space in Pristina argued by Luci (Luci 2014: 117-119). The interplay between materiality and immateriality, where people meet with each other through the café and exchanges of drinks, also produces this perception of cafés as being public spaces in that the interaction triggers perceptions of being within view of others, echoing Hirschon's description of locations such as streets as being “open”, as opposed to “closed”, spaces (Hirschon 1978: 80-81; Hirschon 1989: 235-238).

Meanwhile, the pile sort also displays a separation between public spaces as being those “within view” and more private locations, such as the house. The pile sort's graphical depiction places terms



related to public space on the left and more private space on the right, with a zone of blurring in the middle. As part of this mapping, the term *padrejtësi* (“injustice”) appears on the left of the graph, while *drejtësi* (“justice”) appears on the right. With the negative tone of the terms on the left and the positive tone of terms in addition to *drejtësi*, such as *lumturi* (“happiness”), *dashuri* (“love”) and *mbështetje* (“support”), it can be inferred that, for those who had completed the pile sort exercise, public spaces seem to be viewed negatively, while more private spaces seem to be viewed positively. The two methods then provide information on views of public and private space which corroborate with each other. Yet, the pile sort also shows a multiplicity of symbolic interpretations of space, in that many terms are positioned within the middle of the graph, particularly those linked with encounters between acquaintances and perceptions of Albanian national identity. Therefore, I argue that the pile sort displays symbolic interpretations by informants of sociality in Pristina which, in collaborating with the interviews, are produced through the interplay of materiality and immateriality in social encounters within the built environment.

Second, the ethnographic interviews and observations work alongside the pile sort through highlighting the rhetorical performance of representations by agents in public spaces. Although more private spaces can be associated with the family, and thus security, public spaces offer opportunities for users to participate in advantageous relationships with others. This echoes Hirschon's description of “open” public spaces as being avenues where people, both men and women, interact with others in the community, with women's interaction focused on promoting communal solidarity and men's on attending to the family's “material” interests (Hirschon 1989: 221-222). The argument that, in Pristina, one can be “whoever, if not whatever” shows that informants see that public space can be manipulated in the agent's favour. Informants also discuss the concept of *fytyrë* (“face”) as a social projection of the self which is meant for others to see, and Albulena refers to this when she characterises “masks” as disguises which “everyone can see.” The displayed image is understood as a display which is different from the projector's

actual self, reflecting Herzfeld's observation, in his discussion on social poetics and the performances of discursive images, that “Things are thus rarely what they seem to be” (Herzfeld 2009a: 200). Through being a discursive settings and “spaces of agency”, public spaces such as cafés, bars and streets acts offer media for agents to represent themselves (Kappler 2014: 164).

Meanwhile, the results from the pile sort support the conclusion that the “face” is a projection through the location of the term for “face” (*fytyra* in this graph) near the terms for *genjeshtar* (“liar”), *marre* (“shame”), *padrejtësi* (“injustice”), and *xhelozë* (“jealousy”). *Xhelozë* especially had been associated within the previously discussed free lists with the concept of *inat*, described by informants as a mixture of envy, spite and rage towards others. As described in Chapter 5, *inat* is often associated with perceptions of negative attitudes and it is often expressed in the forms of statements and questions over the motives of others. These terms, through their meanings as discussed in the networks chapter, indicate concerns with imagery, either of the agent's own or those of others. With the presence of *fytyrë*, the terms on the left refer to the performance of representations to those who are not necessarily known to the actor.

Third, the information provided within this chapter addresses the rhetorical performance of discursive formations in the public sphere and their consequences for social encounters in public space. The ethnographic examples portray the performance of discursive formations, particularly the rural-urban by agents during their encounters with others in cafés and the bazaar. Yet, the pile sort also highlights the significance of concepts of masculinity and Albanian national identity. Returning to Yeh, I argue that these examples portray a similar dynamic, where actors tap into discursive formations in the public sphere through rhetoric in order to shape social encounters. They impact the networks of relationships which may be maintained present in each space. In the café case, it remains clear that, in order to socialise in cafés such as the Pink cafe, prospective patrons must be perceived as possessing higher social standing, consequently excluding those who are not seen as meeting the café owners' desired standards. This dynamic shows itself in the bazaar as well, because the mobile phone shop owner

intervened in a bantering exchange between the fruit vendor and I due to his perception of the man as being below him in social status, as a *katundar* (“villager” or “peasant”).

The consequences of this dynamic are presented by Rezarta, who considers those who socialise at certain cafés to be “dull”, while those who go to her favourite locations are viewed as more stimulating. Although this argument may appear to be trivial on the surface, it shows an underlying association between networks of people and the cafés they prefer, reflecting similar descriptions in ethnographies of southern Europe which describe groups of social contacts as being located in certain places (Herzfeld 1985: 58-59; Cowan 1991: 182-184; Papataxiarchis 1991: 166-167, 169). This exemplifies a spatial logic due to networks and specific places being associated with each other. Regarding the pile sort, the contrast between the terms *familje* (“family”) and *shoqëri* (“society”) also suggests that certain groups of people are associated with spatial categories. This can be seen through the location of *familje* on the private end of the graph, close to *shtëpi* (“house”) and the location of *shoqëri* in the middle, near other terms such as *besim* (“trust”) and *nder* (“honour”).

Thus, both the results from the pile sort exercise and perspectives from informants show that there appears to be an association between networks of inter-personal relationships and public spaces in Pristina. These links are produced through the interplay between material and immaterial processes, where Prishtinalis rhetorically perform discursive formations in the public sphere. These performances then impact the formation and maintenance of inter-personal networks within public spaces, correspondingly participating in the construction of public spaces through symbolically interacting with the spaces' users and the built environment. Therefore, public spaces have meaning for Prishtinalis due to being where rhetorical representations are projected towards onlookers.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I present ethnographic interviews and observations alongside results from a systematic Cultural Domain Analysis (pile sort), providing a complementary account of the dialogue

between public spaces and the public sphere in Pristina. Due to being centres of interaction where agents are within view, locations such as cafés and squares are thus considered by Prishtinalis as being public spaces. Networks of relationships between agents are maintained through the maintenance of commensal solidarity in public spaces through an interplay between immaterial symbolism and the material, built environment. While interacting in public spaces, agents rhetorically project representations towards others, drawing upon discursive formations in the public sphere, such as a rural-urban discursive formation, concepts of masculinity and imagery of Albanian national identity. Through drawing upon discursive formations, performances in public spaces take part in the social construction of public spaces and make claims for representation in the contested public sphere. They impact networks through affecting how agents interact with each other, with relationships being bolstered and broken through judgements by onlookers. Therefore, I conclude that public spaces are significant for Prishtinalis due to being locations where they project representations towards others within view and where, through these interactions, they participate in the public sphere.

## Chapter 5: Negotiating Honour and Shame in Pristina

### Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the concept of honour (*nder*) as it relates with agents, networks and public spaces in Pristina. First, I examine ethnographic perspectives on *nder* collected through interviews in order to provide context to the analysis and examine the connections between *nder* and other concepts, such as *besa*, *kanun*, *inat*, and Albanian national identity. Second, I complement these perspectives through providing the results of free list analyses on the terms *turp*, *kanun*, *nder*, *inat*, *familje* and *besa*, highlighting connections which have been made through the previous ethnographic section and providing further nuance. Third, I synthesise the perspectives gathered from the two methods and illustrate that rhetorical reference to *nder* acts as a form of symbolic capital, while the appropriation of *turp* acts as a means of control and regulation of the body. I conclude that the appropriation of these concepts, associated with a hegemonic discursive formation of Albanian national identity, shapes practices within networks and public spaces.

### Data and Discussion

Shaban, a prominent member of LDK in Pristina, is explaining to me his view of *nder* while sitting in his office, located in a local privately-run high school. With the assistance of a mutual friend, Edon, as translator, Shaban describes *nder* as an everyday concern, keeping it in mind by “starting from own home, by being careful, by doing...works, respecting people where I am, making people feel good, and by being always in positive service to community, society and country.” Continuing, he pronounces, “By fulfilling all these duties throughout the day, we have done a favour but also protected the honour.” As such, Shaban states that he considers *nder* to be “practical and not abstract”, and also “something you do with your own actions”, with “every positive action”, such as giving, being an honour.

Key to Shaban's view of honour is the notion of fulfilling a duty. He explains, “If I can do work

and I don't do my job well, I have done a disfavour because something was entrusted to me.” Indeed, earlier in our conversation, he describes his long involvement in Pristina's politics, beginning from his time in the youth wing of Kosovo's community party, the Communist League of Kosovo, continuing to his involvement in “legal and illegal” activities geared towards achieving equality for Albanians in Yugoslavia, and later joining LDK's “3rd branch” in Pristina (based in the area of the Veternik suburb) during the 1990s and participating in underground activities. As he describes this, it becomes clear to me that what he is describing is not just his involvement in Kosovo politics and LDK but, as his view of *nder* indicates, his record of involvement in the community. Hence, through relating his involvement in “illegal”, underground organisations before the 1990s, he links his activities to the Albanian “nation.”

Indeed, Alban, Besart and Albulena, all in their mid to late twenties, separately make links to the notion of *nder* involving the fulfilment of obligations to the community. Alban, a software technician, states, “An honoured man is one who is responsible in their own culture. In our place, someone who has not lied, stolen and is participating in this country to develop.” He links this characterisation to the concept of *besa e shqiptarët* (“the oath of Albanians”), explaining that “If I give you *besa*, I will do whatever it takes. You can trust me and take it for granted.” Expanding on this, he declares that, “Someone who gave you *besa* (“oath”) would be honoured,” because *besa* is viewed as “sacred.” However, the converse of this, he states, is that someone who gives *besa* but does not fulfil it would not be honoured, implicitly being viewed negatively instead. Therefore, there is a notion of fulfilling a word given to another, with the word given being an obligation viewed as sacred.

Continuing, Alban traces this association between *nder* and *besa*, explaining, “We had to invent some rules, because we didn't have a government. We had a civil code, Kanun.” Sitting across from him inside the comfortable interior of the Green Bar, I ask, “When was this?” The young man explains that the “civil code”, the Kanun, was utilised “fifteen years ago and before,” and that *besa* had been referred to mainly before the 1960s and during the 1990s. “We used *besa* a lot during the Serbian times. We had

to trust each other. No laws, judges...During the 60's, 70's, 80's, Tito gave us more rights, so Kanun was not used. But *besa* was used before the 1960s and in the 1990s... We still do *besa* but not that much.” I ask whether he still hears people using the term, and he explains that he does hear *besa* mentioned but that “we have lost the concept.” Its meaning has changed, he explains, and that, as a result, “it is not as powerful a word.”

As can be seen from Alban's explanation, the perception of *nder* being linked to a fulfilment of responsibility can be connected with the concept of *besa*, one which Alban views as a word which, once given, signifies the giver's complete trustworthiness and intention to fulfil whichever task they have committed themselves to. In exchange for completing this task, the agent is recognised by the community as fulfilling their responsibility and, consequently, is considered to be honourable. The expression of oneself as trustworthy through giving and upholding *besa* prompts others to consider them as trustworthy. Significantly, the concept of *besa* as something which is given from one person to another, appears to mirror Shaban's view of *nder* as a favour which is given. *Nder* and *besa* are both practical in this sense; they are pragmatic and both refer to the giving of a service from one person to another. Therefore, as in Papataxiarchis's description of male friendship in the Greek city of Mouria, on the island of Lesbos, there is then a parallel of an aspect of wilfully giving from one to another (Papataxiarchis 1991: 162).

However, before judging whether the giving of *besa* or *nder* is strictly voluntary, it is necessary to delve further into the reasons why *besa* might be given and why responsibility and *nder* appeared to be interconnected terms. Presumably, if a notion of responsibility is connected with *nder*, which could be viewed as a favour, then actions are not necessarily freely given but influenced by factors within the contexts surrounding the actions. A key to this connection appears to lie within Alban's description of *besa* having been used during the 1990s and before the 1960s. The former period is connected with the repression of the “Serbians,” while the latter is connected with the time before Tito's reforms which, as Alban argues, provided the Albanians in Kosovo with greater rights and protections within Yugoslavia's

legal framework. Indeed, with *besa* being argued as necessary (along with the broader Kanun) for the Albanian community to survive, then it appears as if the favours and obligations referred to by *nder* are voluntary and obliged with a concern with solidarity and loyalty to the Albanian “nation.”

Indeed, it is perhaps for this reason why Denisa B. explains that the term *përgjithësi* (“responsibility” or “for all”) to me while explaining her view of *besa* in the Red café. In discussing interpersonal conflicts within her social groups, she explains that there are times when one has to lie in order to protect someone they care about, in order to avoid any negative occurrences happening to that person should another hear the truth about what they have been doing. At times, preserving secrecy through a lie may be the most moral thing to do for a friend if adverse circumstances might befall them. Hence, a particular appearance in public spaces may be utilised to conceal actual circumstances as a means of preserving reputations (Cowan 1991: 196-197). She explains this action, of lying in order to protect a friend, as being an example of acting with *përgjithësi*.

However, there is a revealing contradiction in that, although she supports the idea of acting “for all,” she does not view *besa* as being salient. Like Alban, Denisa argues that *besa* is not a force within Pristina, viewing it instead as a rhetorical device which is used by those who have lost trust to assure others of their trustworthiness. She relates how a friend and her had fallen out in public and that, after it had happened, the friend had used the phrase *besa e shqiptarët* (“the oath of Albanians”) afterwards in order to convince her that she could be trusted. However, she had realised afterwards that the friend's giving of *besa* was false. This indicates a scepticism towards public appearances where statements are not taken as sincere or literal (Herzfeld 2009a: 193-200).

Indeed, a central theme which surfaces from examining this question is the importance of responsibility towards the community. Besart, while speaking with me over coffee on the patio of the Sky café, argues that the honourable person has several characteristics. First and foremost, the honourable person is “disciplined” and “doesn't shirk” their responsibilities, and “would help if he can, thinks of you



like he thinks of himself.” However, Besart emphasises that this person, while pursuing the interests of society, also pursues their own interest. In this way, Besart argues that the honourable person works both for themselves and the interests of their society.

Albulena likewise considers *nder* similarly to Besart and Shaban. She views it as a “combination” of being hard-working and keeping promises, and, as such, *nder* means something similar to her as the fulfilment of obligations. Additionally, she points out that *nder* “is sometimes linked with nationality, as in someone who is honourable defends their homeland.” As such, her view on *nder* coincides in this manner, quite closely with Shaban's, in that *nder* is explicitly linked with the activity of defending a community and, therefore, defending the community can be seen as one of the responsibilities fulfilled, along with those to others such as work obligations and promises. For Schwandner-Sievers, this focus on defence can be related with the importance of fulfilling the *amanet* (“living will”) of previous legendary Albanian figures, such as Adem Jashari, who have been discursively constructed as martyrs of the Albanian national cause in Kosovo (Schwandner-Sievers 2013b: 954, 963-965).

However, Albulena disagrees with Besart on the relationship between the individual agent and their community. In the conversation we had, Besart places value on respect for “family values” such as *nder*, but he argues that more emphasis should be placed on work ethic. Therefore, when he states that he views an honoured person as one who contributes to the community while pursuing their own interests (“get rich but not by harming others”), he is stating that he thinks that the majority of the focus should not be on the community, as Shaban explains, but instead that the individual should work for themselves as well. As such, he places as much emphasis on the community as he does on the individual's priorities. Indeed, it is for this reason that Besart, when discussing his view of *nder* argues that “the best way of getting respect is to work for yourself and society.” As such, he appears to view *nder* and *respekt* (“respect”) as being linked, with the *respekt* received by the agent appearing to be dependent on the degree to which they exhibit *nder*.

Therefore, it can be seen from these accounts that *nder* may be seen as a form of symbolic capital which results from the actions from agents, as observed by others within the community. It is viewed as cumulative, being a combination of the practices which the agents have been observed by others as performing. From the description above, the notion of *nder* appears to be connected with a discursive formation of Albanian national identity, especially through the concept of *besa*, reflecting descriptions of the concept's presence in the construction of Albanian national identity in Northern Albania and Kosovo (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 144; Di Lellio and Schwandner-Sievers 2006: 519-520; Schwandner-Sievers 2013b: 954, 965). Performing practices associated with *nder* then, at least for some informants, entails acting out of a notion of Albanian patriotism. Consequently, actions associated with patriotism are then perceived as shaping an agent's *nder*. As discussed in the following chapter, possessing such symbolic capital then facilitates the actions of agents within networks.

### **Contested Understandings**

In contrast, Albulena is critical of what she refers to as a newer focus on the individual. She explains that *nder* used to refer to a focus on “being the bigger man”, illustrating that the meaning of the word for “thank you” (*faleminderit*) derives from a larger meaning of “I am honouring you for the thing you did.” In the past, *nder* used to be “one-way”, in that people would give to another despite the circumstances, and, as a result, the word *faleminderit*, refers back to this time through thanking the giver for their action, which is respectful. Today, *nder* is not one-way but two-way, and she summarises it with the phrase “I respect you, you respect me.” The priority is not on voluntarily giving to another person or the community, despite the circumstances, but on giving if the other individual will give to them as well. Placed in this context, Albulena's viewpoint appears to be critical of understandings such as Besart's, which prioritise the individual's priorities as well as those of the community. Regarding the consequences of such understandings, she explains, “I don't really like it, because it creates boundaries between people. Now it's 'being bitchy.' I could invite someone, but they may not invite me back.”

There are then disagreements between the people I've spoken with on the perceived role of the individual within the community. On one end, the quality of having *nder* is linked with the quality of acting for the community, which can include an understanding of acting for the Albanian “nation.” On the other hand, having *nder* can also be seen as acting for oneself, of doing well for one-self, perhaps in addition to working for the community or perhaps not. However, Fitim, a marketing professional, in response to my question on his view of *nder*, argues that, among the older generation, there is an understanding of honour. He asks, “But among the young, uneducated, unemployed, how can you expect it? I think we are honourable but I don't think that should be the focus...More needs to be done. Then we can judge, but how can we judge now?”

This statement by Fitim is significant for several reasons. On one end, he portrays a view, similar to those of Alban, Besart and Albulena, that *nder* has lost its meaning for the current generation. This view is not limited to *nder*; when first asked about *besa* and *nder*, he responded with “I think that's bullshit.” The reason is not that he views *nder* or *besa* negatively, as that, in regards to *besa*, he clarifies, “I don't think *besa* means anything but I think that's good. You have to be flexible.” Rather, he is arguing that *besa*, as well as *nder*, represent inflexible concepts which do not allow the person in question much room to manoeuvre. In asking how one can expect *nder* among the younger generation, which he characterises as “unemployed” and “uneducated”, he is not describing the generation negatively but instead pointing out that its circumstances are different than those of its parents. Thus, he declares, “At this point, we have to ask what's going on” and establish “standards”, rather than consider *nder* and *besa*. Therefore, within Fitim's declaration, it can be seen that he views *nder* to be a matter of judgement by asking how it is possible to judge, given the younger generation's circumstances. Thus, he pinpoints a component in the determination of *nder*, which is judgement. As such, when combining his perspective with Besart's, it can be seen that, *nder*, through its creation through judgement, can provide the agent with respect, depending on the circumstances, reflecting a link described in Chapter 3 between honour

and respect.

At this point, it seems a necessary point to make that there is a gap between Fitim's interpretation of *nder* and *besa* with those of older informants, such as Shaban. Indeed, when taking only these two points of views in consideration, it could be concluded that the concepts of *nder* and *besa* are a thing of the past. Alban's description of *besa* and *nder* having been utilised out of necessity due to lack of a governing infrastructure partially lends support to this interpretation. However, Albulena's description of a transition in different views of *nder* is important, as it highlights that *nder* is not necessarily a thing of the past-it is in the process of continuous change. The usage of *kanun* and *besa* during the 1990s, highlighted by Alban, emphasises this further, in that it shows that in some periods the concepts are more salient than at others. Indeed, Schwandner-Sievers describes how *besa* and *kanun* had been picked up deliberately by Albanian actors in response to a threatening political context- that of the Milosevic regime and repression during the 1990s (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 137).

Regarding the changes in perceptions of *nder* in contemporary Pristina, Albulena highlights a change, as referenced above, from an *nder* associated with altruistic service to the community to one characterised by individualism. She views the shift in thinking as concerning what benefits can be received from the other person in exchange for the action, rather than showing the other person respect through helping them. The current situation, she argues, is one where there is resentment if the show of respect is not two-way.

From these descriptions, it can then be seen that understandings of *nder* are not uniform. Rather, they are debated by informants and their meanings are contested. Furthermore, these meanings appear to be contingent on context, especially as seen in the example of *besa* having been appropriated by the Albanian community during the 1990s in parallel with measures undertaken by the Serbian regime. Luci has also discussed *besa* within this context, considering it as central to the reconciliations of blood feuds and thus a contributor to the solidarity of the Albanian community during the 1990s (Luci 2014: 60, 68,

104, 106). Indeed, it is important to note that, given how informants could readily speak on *nder*, there appears to be a consensus around *nder*, although it is a debated concept.

### ***Nder and Inat***

To explain this change in perceptions of *nder*, Albulena describes this as being linked with the concept of *inat*, which she defines as “resentment from disrespect.” She illustrates it with the example of the exclamation *Shumë po'm' vjen inati. Qysh e ka bo!* (“I am very resentful. How did they do that!”), which expresses frustration with another's actions. As such, *inati* could be viewed as a response from one agent towards others, and it is for this reason which she argues that the new, perhaps more individualistic, understandings of *nder* are connected with *inat*. A perceived gesture not going answered can be interpreted as a lack of respect, prompting feelings of *inat* towards the perpetrator. Albulena explains with a hypothetical: “If I call you, and you don't call me, *inati!* They don't call me back!”

In order to understand this link between *inat* and *nder*, it is necessary to delve into the former a bit further. Upon doing so, it can be seen that the significance of *inat* lies in its emphasis on contention over representations in public spaces, such as cafés, squares, news media and social media websites. However, despite its importance for conversations related to *nder*, I had not known of the concept until Driton M., a media professional for a local energy company, first mentioned it to me while speaking with me about his perspectives on Kosovar politics in a local bar. He relates from his professional experience in front of Kosovar media that, when there are discussions over energy policy, the commentators taking part display little of their own thoughts on the issue in order to avoid being tagged as with the government or opposition. Explaining further, he states, “We somehow like to keep people uninformed and we are pushed to not analyse.” Continuing, he argues that this unwillingness for commentators to display their thinking on issues leads to confrontations where the arguments “get personal”. He views this as quite frustrating, as the experts engage with him on personal matters as well. “It's personal, so people protect themselves. They don't say what they have to say,” Driton summarises.

Explaining further, Driton argues that these personal confrontations are examples of *inat*, which he argues, slightly differently from Albulena, is “doing something just because” and informs me that the word is not of Albanian origin but Turkish (describing it at first as a “Balkan word”) which also appears in Serbian. In this sense, the term's meaning is viewed as having an action component, as those commentators with whom Driton speaks of are described as acting out of *inat*. As such, it is both the quality of resentment and the action stemming from this resentment which combine to form the meaning of *inat*, for Driton. Thus, when Driton considers political discussions and contest in Pristina, a key element to him is the personal conflicts between debaters which play out in front of audiences. Consequently, he views with frustration that, as a result of *inat* and the perceived reluctance to engage in substantive discussion, there is little accurate information and the people are left uninformed.

Crucially, the underlying reason for this lack of communication is viewed as being the reluctance to expose oneself to judgement, for example as a supporter of the government or the opposition. This implies that the reluctance to engage in analytical discussion, and thus the propensity to enter into personal confrontations, is influenced by the spaces within which these interactions take place. Indeed, in discussing shame, Abu-Lughod describes a practice of “masking” in front of those whom vulnerable agents do not know (Abu-Lughod 1985: 112). Hence, from Driton's description, it appears as if commentators are masking their opinions in order to avoid potentially negative, or otherwise limiting, judgements from audience members. Thus, the practice of masking potentially revealing opinions through initiating personal confrontations appears as a practice aimed towards self-preservation. *Inat* appears to refer to a distinctly public type of performance, where the protagonists engage each other with an eye towards protecting themselves and their reputations from others, as well as potentially damaging the reputations of fellow discussants. Hence, this discussion of *inat* appears similar to Herzfeld's discussion of social poetics among men in Crete, where the focus remains on individualistic interaction between actors (Herzfeld 1985: 112).

Indeed, this discussion appears to imply a view of *inat* as being a feeling of resentment which is also influenced by competition or rivalry. Blerina S., speaking with me on Soma's patio on a cold February afternoon, describes *inat* as referring to feelings of envy arising out of vulnerability. “Things here, you're not so secure, so people start competing. So people think, 'What are they thinking about us? If you are surrounded by people like this, they make you a fighter. Life becomes a fight for survival.” Continuing, she explains, “An example would be going to a [professional] workshop just to show myself, because someone else might be there.” These examples, in relating competition, then echo Hirschon's account of sociality among refugees from Asia Minor in Greece, where men's interactions are perceived as agonistic and primarily concerned with the family's welfare (Hirschon 1989: 221-222). Therefore, *inat*, as in Driton's description, is also linked to both a feeling and action for Blerina, and this triggering perception appears due to the competition caused by the vulnerabilities perceived by the actors

Extending from Hirschon's and Herzfeld's accounts of individualistic interactions and performances, this desire to show oneself during situations of perceived competition also registers itself in the city's architecture. Blerina, drawing on her background as an architecture student, describes how *inat* can be perceived by glancing at the city's spatial environment. She demonstrates this through explaining that, if multiple cafés are located in the same building, within sight of each other, they will not look alike. Rather than just expressing individuality, this is seen by Blerina to represent the desire of the owners' to compete with each other through their cafes' designs. She gives another example: “If one's neighbour's house has two floors, build four floors!” The competition between agents does not only occur in person, but also plays out through the city's built environment. Through participating in these exchanges by carrying out actions such as projecting their individuality in architecture, actors in Pristina enact agency within an uncertain context.

The projections of individuality discussed by Blerina indicate that key to understanding the confrontations giving rise to *inat* is viewing the displays as individualistic performances or competitive

examples of social poetics. Additionally, it seems that part of the significance of these representations is in their quality of being viewable and accessible by others not directly participating in the exchange. As such, the feelings associated with *inat*, as described by Albulena, Blerina and Driton, partially show the effects of interpersonal confrontations in public spaces on agents acting within them. For the purpose of exploring the notion of *nder*, the subject of this chapter, highlighting *inat* brings attention to the spatial and representational aspects of *nder* in Pristina. Indeed, it shows that *nder* can very well be seen as tangible and practice due to its reliance on contested representations for its construction and determination.

### **Honour and Shame: Control through Rhetoric**

Regarding this first question, Albulena also points out an aspect of the concept which Shaban neglects: gender. She views *nder* as “your thing which you represent”, and that, among the obligations which *nder* is a combination of, it is often related with sexuality, or the abstinence from sexual intercourse among young women. She illustrates this through explaining that the term “white cheeks” or “white face” (*faqja e bardh*) is used to describe one who has preserved their family's reputation through not being guilty of a shameful action, as no signs of embarrassment have registered themselves on the person's cheeks, making them red. She points out that this term is often used to describe young women who have not engaged in sexual intercourse, hail from reputable families and have thus preserved their families' reputations through abstinence. This term, *faqja e bardh*, is one which is utilised in practice to describe the young woman, and as such it is utilised as a judgement. Correspondingly, the term “red cheeks” (*faqja e kuqe*) is one which is used to describe a person, often a young woman, who is guilty, as it is said that they have tarnished their family's reputation. This usage of the terms *faqja e bardh* and *faqja e kuqe*, and how they are often directed towards younger women, indicates that an element of the concept of *nder* refers to the degree to which sexuality, especially among women, has been controlled and how much their family's reputation has been affected. Furthermore, they appear similar Schwandner-Sievers



illustration of the uses of black and white to describe dishonour and honour, with the terms *faqja e bardh* and *faqja e zezë* (“black face”) being discussed respectively in relation to the fulfilment of *besa* (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 145-146).

The colour “red” and the “cheek” or “face” are also associated by an older male informant, Bekim, with shame. The man had been a member of LDK who had been politically active since his involvement with Yugoslavia's youth communist league during the 1970s before joining the Albanian resistance movements. Throughout his description, which had been conducted through a translator, he had described shame as “when you do something that makes you turn red.” This was contrasted with *pander* (“without honour”, “dishonour” or “disfavour”) in order to show that “shame” is the realisation of one's action as being embarrassing. Hence, the “black face” occurs as a result of dishonour and the failure to fulfil *besa*, a point emphasised by Schwandner-Sievers (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 145). In this description, it is the face which is implied to “turn red”, as well as the use of the colour “red.” As such, it could be seen as rhetorical through the figurative use of language to describe the concept of shame and its realisation. On the other hand, it also displays the self-directed characteristic of the metaphor in that shame, for Bekim, is an internal realisation of one's actions as inappropriate. Thus, the face turns red, according to Bekim, as a result of one's own reflexive judgement.

Indeed, this can be fleshed out further through the exploration of the proverb “*Ku dhemb dhembon, shkon gjuha*” (“Where the tooth hurts, the tongue goes”). The phrase, as explained by an elderly man in Pristina's Taukbashqe neighbourhood named Bashkim, means that whenever one feels a pain in their teeth, someone is talking about them. First of all, the existence of this phrase indicates the prevalence of gossip in Pristina and the awareness of this by Prishtinalis. In addition to this, it also shows a perception of public spaces as being where this gossip occurs, as through the inclusion of the word *ku* (“where”). The situated nature of the phrase, in that the pain occurs in a location where the agent is being discussed, then shows that the phrase signifies the agent's awareness of being a subject of gossip within

their vicinity. Therefore, tooth pain, a medical condition, appears as a metaphor for the agent's perception of being the subject of gossip.

Meanwhile, the existence of the idioms *paf'tyr* (“without face”) and *dyftysh* (“double faced”) have also been brought to my attention by informants. Reflecting the previous chapter's discussion of rhetorical insults in public space, Luan and Bujar, graduating seniors at Sami Frashëri high school in Pristina argue that the first phrase is used to describe those who have disgraced themselves, while the latter is used for those who have not been seen to act truthfully. The “face” metaphor is employed to say, in the first case, that the subject is not worthy of a social representation, while, in the second case, that the person's social representation has been shown false.

As such, it can be seen that metaphors of the body are often utilised in order to discuss the social reputation of a subject within view. As in the case of the phrase *paf'tyr* (“without face”) or *faqja e kuqe* (“red cheeks”), for example, the intent is to negatively affect the agent's reputation, while the phrase *faqja e bardh* (“white cheeks”) shows that the person has not yet done something to warrant criticism. Therefore, it can be seen that shame is employed by agents through rhetoric as a means of controlling the actions of others. These actions are often observed, and commented on, by agents in public spaces. Consequently, it can then be seen that *nder*, although it appears to be a form of symbolic capital, is also a form of control through being linked with the notion of *turp* (“shame”) and referred to through rhetoric.

### **Free lists**

As discussed within the dissertation's methodology, I conducted free list exercises with multiple interviewees which focused on 6 terms: *nder* (“honour”), *familje* (“family”), *besa*, *inat*, *turp* (“shame”) and *Kanuni*. In this section, I present the results from the exercise and relate them with the ethnographic data presented above on views of honour in Pristina. The data discussed within this section underline links made between the concepts of *nder*, *besa*, and *kanun*, and the data support a link described above between *nder* and *respekt*. Thus, the results provide further evidence for considering honour in Pristina

to be both a mechanism of symbolic capital, while *turp* represents a means of control when appropriated through rhetoric. Additionally, the data presented underline a focus on conceptualising interactions in terms of spatial concepts through the link presented between the family (*familje*), the house (*shtepi*), and education (*edukim*), the importance of the family for providing support to agents within Pristina's social context, and the vulnerability of social representations. *Nder* and *turp*, along with *besa*, are also shown by the data to be linked with a discursive formation of Albanian national identity. Overall, the data supports the conclusion that social practices and representations play prominent roles in determining social status in Pristina and hence the negotiation of networks of relationships.

### ***Nder* Free List**

Upon the completion of the free list, the term with the highest frequency is “respect” (*respekt* freq. 28.6%, rank 2, salience 0.206), followed by “pride” (*krenari* freq. 23.8%, rank 2.4, salience 0.147), and “justice/fairness” (*drejtësi* freq. 19%, rank 2.25, salience 0.151). Meanwhile, there were 2 terms with frequencies of 14.3%: “moral” (*moral* freq. 14.3%, rank 1.67, salience 0.111), and “hospitality” (*mikpritje* freq. 14.3%, rank 2.33, salience 0.083). Several terms with frequencies of 9.5% were listed: “family” (*familje*, rank 6, salience 0.053), “sincerity” (*sinqeritet* rank 10.5, salience 0.046), “word” (*fjalë* rank 2, salience 0.046), “habit” (*zakon* rank 7.5, salience 0.058), “love” (*dashuri* rank 12.5, salience 0.034), and “faithful” (*besnik* rank 1.5, salience 0.075).

Taken together, it can be seen that there is a group of terms with a higher degree of cultural consensus around them and a larger group with a lower degree of cultural consensus. The association with *respekt* (“respect”) appears to show that *nder*, rather than being personal, is derived from respect given from other people within the social setting. This is particularly significant in that more than a quarter of the informants associate *respekt* with *nder*. To put in different terms, it is respect given from other agents to the agent, and respect given from the agent to others. It is possible then to see that respect could very well be a rhetorical practice which can be used to pull agents closer towards each other or

potentially ingratiate oneself with one agent in order to push others away. Crucially, the high frequency given respect within this list supports the connection described in the above section between *nder* and *respekt*, leading to the implication that *nder* exists as a form of symbolic capital, rather than social capital as argued by Schwandner-Sievers, within Pristina (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 142).

In addition to a link connection being found between *respekt* and *nder*, another link is found between *krenari* and *nder*. This is significant, because it supports a connection between honour and the agent's reputation. This finds a parallel within the interviews described above, where *nder* is described as being associated with the family, and pride is described as often being concerned with the reputations of families. Therefore, the list supports the link drawn between *nder* and *krenari*, and it leads to the conclusion that *nder* is also connected with social representations. Additionally, the presence of *familje* ("family") relates with *zakon* ("habit"), through examples in interviews and participant observation through reputations being linked with the events concerning families.

A third connection to be made here can be between honour and the concept of *drejtësi* ("justice"). As shown in the interviews, this seems to be here due to the idea of justice and fairness being honourable characteristics. Similarly, the position of *sinqeritet* ("sincerity"), also ranked low (10.5), suggests that it is seen as an honourable characteristic due to the opinions expressed in the interviews. Similarly, *zakon*, like *sinqeritet*, has been listed with a lower rank and frequency. From the interviews and participant observation, its presence does not directly reflect a single concept but, rather, the significance of observed practices for the determination of honour.

The inclusion of *besnik* ("faithful") as the highest ranked term in the list suggests a further connection with *fjalë* ("word") in that being faithful to one's word, as in following through with *fjala e dhënë* ("the given word") preserves the agent's reputation as an honourable actor. This is further supported in that the root of *besnik* appears to be *besë*, the indefinite form of *besa*. The similarity between the two terms suggests that being faithful to *besa* ("oath") would contribute to the agent's honour, and

that supposition has been supported by data from interviews. Schwandner-Sievers also explains that a person, specifically a man, who is *besnik* is one who embodies the perceived virtues associated with *besa* (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 144). Crucially, this reflects the connections described in the interviews above between *besa* and *nder* and, as *besa* is perceived as linked with the discursive formation of Albanian national identity, the connection here highlights an association between *besa*, *nder* and the discursive formation as well. This connection is shown despite the previous chapter's pile sort results, which portray *nder* as separate from the discursive formation. Because the concept is linked with practices in networks, it appears that the pile sort results for *nder* are due to its significance for interactions between agents.

The list discussed above for the term *nder* (“honour”) reflects the data described in the interviews through underlining the connection between *respekt* (“respect”) and *nder*, emphasising the importance of practices and characteristics for the determination of *nder* and highlighting the connection between *nder* and *besa*. Through supporting the connection between *nder* and *respekt*, the results support the interpretation that *nder* is a form of symbolic capital within Pristina. Additionally, the association with personal characteristics provides support for considering *nder* as a means of control as well, in that specific qualities are associated with *nder*, implying that characteristics are evaluated by observers in public space, reflecting the importance of onlookers for considering the meaning of appearances in public (Herzfeld 1985: 26). This line of logic applies to practices as well, in that, as interviews have shown, certain practices are considered honourable while others are not. Finally, the lists support the interpretation that *besa* and *nder* are connected, which in turn implies that only those who can hold *besa* may have *nder*. As I will argue in the following mini-section on the *besa* list, this leads to the conclusion that *nder* is thus linked with identities associated with masculinity and the discursive formation of Albanian national identity.

### ***Besa* Free List**

Regarding *besa*, 4 terms have frequencies of 23.8%: “honour” (*nder* rank 3, salience 0.198), “Albanian” (*shqiptar* rank 3.4, salience 0.166), “promise” (*premtim* rank 1.6, salience 0.19), and “manliness” (*burrëri* rank 2.6, salience 0.148). Additionally, 2 terms have frequencies of 19%: “moral” (*moral* rank 2.25, salience 0.119) and “belief/trust” (*besim* rank 3.5, salience 0.111). As these form the “core” group of the list, there is then a substantial amount of cultural consensus around them.

The periphery then begins with (“the given word”), which has a frequency of 14.3%. Additionally, 6 terms have frequencies of 9.5%: “relationship/connection” (*lidhje* rank 7.5, salience 0.029), “credibility/believability” (*besueshmëri* rank 1, salience 0.095), “family” (*familje* rank 6, salience 0.063), “history” (*histori* rank 4, salience 0.062), “tradition” (*traditë* rank 2.5, salience 0.06), and “society/companionship” (*shoqëri* rank 12, salience 0.017). There is an even lower degree around these terms, with *fjala e dhënë* possessing the most out of the others. As with the *nder* list, the developed core and periphery for the *besa* list shows that it is possible to develop analyses from these results.

First, it is important to note the frequencies of the terms *shqiptar*, *nder*, *premtim*, and *burrëri*, as well as those of *moral* and *besim*. The high frequency of *nder* supports the connection made within the above section on interviews between *nder* and *besa*. As a result, it can be further seen that acting according to the characteristics signified by *besa* is seen as granting the agent *nder*. Therefore, the link described in the section on the *nder* list between *besa* and *nder*, as well as the connection between practices and *nder*, is also supported.

Meanwhile, the addition of *shqiptar* (“Albanian”), a result of the aggregation of *shqiptar* and *shqiptaria* (“Albanian nation”), brings the focus towards *besa* portrays an association which informants create between *besa* and Albanian nationality. This can also be seen in the phrase *besa e shqiptarët* (“the oath of Albanians”). Consequently, it appears to be associated with a discourse on Albanian identity in Pristina. This is collaborated with the inclusion of *histori* (“history”) and *tradita* (“tradition”), which

locate *besa* within a framework of cultural practices and conceived memories of events associated with the discursive formation of Albanian national identity, such as the theme, expressed by informants, of *besa* being a practice associated with the past.

Additionally, the association of *besa* with *moral* and *besim* underlines meanings associated with *besa* described in the sections above. *Besa* is seen by informants as an oath of distinctly moral weight, and the preservation of *besa* displays the holder's trustworthiness. As a result, a conclusion may be made that the upholding of *besa* results in *besim* ("trust") given to the agent by others within the community (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 146). Therefore, these results lead to the conclusion that the association of *nder* ("honour") with trustworthiness, as noted within the interviews, stems from the emphasis on *besa*. This is further supported by the inclusion of *besueshmëri* ("credibility") which underlines the perception of one who is perceived as upholding *besa* as being *i besueshëm/e besueshme* ("credible" in the masculine and feminine genders) and thus one who may be followed. Furthermore, the inclusion of *familje* ("family") within the list reflects the connection between *besa* and the family, in that upholding *besa* is not seen as merely an individual matter but a concern with protecting the family's good name, which is considered as interlinked with the ability to uphold *besa*. Consequently, it can then be implied that the perception of one being trustworthy is a determinant of *nder*, resulting in the promotion of oneself as being *i ndershëm/e ndershme* ("honourable" in the male and female cases) as a means of mobilising support within networks.

Indeed, *besa*'s association with masculinity is not to be under-emphasised, as shown by the rank given to *burrëri* ("manliness"). This leads to the conclusion that men are considered to be able to hold *besa* to a greater extent than women, as supported by interviews. This further implies that men in Pristina are sometimes considered more trustworthy than women and, as a result, are considered able to have honour, while women are not. As such, this result illustrates that women are given less access to the symbolic capital of honour, instead being relegated to dependent status, thus reflecting Abu-Lughod's

argument as described in Chapter 3. This also reflects Schwandner-Sievers' explanation that a man who upholds *besa* is referred to as *besnik* for embodying the masculine traits associated with it (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 144-146).

Separately, the inclusion of *fjala e dhënë* (“the given word”), *premtim* (“promise”), and *lidhje* (“relationship/connection”) support the accounts on practices associated with *besa* as related by informants. The terms *fjala e dhënë* and *premtim* illustrate the verbal nature of *besa*, as discussed by those who explained *besa* in terms of verbal oaths. The different frequencies of *premtim* and *fjala e dhënë*, with the former having a higher frequency than the latter, reflects the distinction drawn that *besa* can be seen as a promise, but that it is not always associated with *fjala e dhënë*. According to informants, *fjala e dhënë* refers to verbal statements and promises, while *besa* refers to a very specific exchange. Indeed, the inclusion of *lidhje* supports the understanding that *besa*, although a promise, is also a strong bond, and as such it is distinct from *fjala e dhënë*. This contributes to the understandings of *besa* described above through adding greater clarification on the meanings as expressed by informants.

Altogether, this section on *besa* contributes to the discussion on the connection between *besa* and *nder*, and on the notion of *nder* as symbolic capital, through providing additional detail on collectively understood meanings. *Besa* is explicitly connected with both masculinity and the discourse of Albanian identity, implying that the display of *besa* involves both the display of masculine and Albanian characteristics. As such, only those who can display these characteristics may be trusted to uphold *besa* and thus gain honour, or symbolic capital. Furthermore, *besa*'s association with practice is further detailed through the inclusion of the terms *fjala e dhënë* (“the given word”), *premtim* (“promise”) and *lidhje* (“relationship”), thus supplementing the descriptions provided by informants in the section above. As a result, *besa* represents both a rhetorical practice and underlying concept of trustworthiness contingent upon the display of masculine and Albanian identities, and that, through these practices and display, agents accrue *nder*, a form of symbolic capital. This goes beyond Schwandner-Sievers' view of *nder*



through delving into the meanings associated with it, rather than considering it as a form of “social capital” (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 142).

### **Kanuni Free List**

Related with this discussion on *besa*, a list was also collected for the *Kanuni*. Following aggregation, “law” (*ligj* rank 1.69, salience 0.538) has a very high frequency: 61.9%. Two terms have frequencies of 23.8%: *besa* (rank 5, salience 0.538) and “honour” (*nder* rank 5.2, salience 0.151). Furthermore, two additional terms have frequencies of 19%: “old” (*I vjetër* rank 7.5, salience 0.096) and “law of Dukagjin” (*ligj i Dukagjinit* rank 1.25, 0.175). Three terms have frequencies of 14.3%: “moral” (*moral* rank 3, salience 0.081), “primitive” (*primitiv* rank 5.67, salience 0.092), “murder” (*vrasje* rank 6, salience 0.067). Additionally, twelve terms have frequencies of 9.5%: “rules” (*rregulla*, rank 2.5, salience 0.067), “injustice/unfairness” (*padrejtësi* rank 10, salience 0.029), “arrangement” (*rregulim* rank 3, salience 0.065), “blood-feud” (*gjakmarrje* rank 3, salience 0.063), “pride” (*krenari* rank 3.5, salience 0.075), “respect” (*respekt* rank 7.5, salience 0.032), “Christian” (*krishterë* rank 5.5, salience 0.05), “code” (*kod* rank 1.5, salience 0.086), “submission” (*nënshtrim* rank 10.5, salience 0.009), “system” (*sistem* rank 2, salience 0.081), “manner of life” (*menyrë e jetësës* rank 3.5, salience 0.028), and “Albanian” (*shqiptar* rank 7.5, salience 0.054).

The position of *ligj i Dukagjinit* (“law of Dukagjini”) in this list is from the aggregation of *Lekë Dukagjini* and *ligj i Dukagjinit*. This aggregation was done because in interviews *Lekë Dukagjini* and *ligj i Dukagjinit* are often combined into *kanun i Lekë Dukagjini*, with the result that the significance becomes less of the name (*Lekë Dukagjini*, freq. 14.33 and rank 1.33 in the last analysis) and more of *ligj i Dukagjinit* or *kanun i Lekë Dukagjinit*. Thus, the attempt is not to create an ethnographic construct but to continue a process in line with the goal of uncovering concepts rather than a discourse analysis of key terms. For the purpose of this analysis, the frequency of “law of Dukagjin” within the list identifies *kanun* as a law associated with the historical figure of Lekë Dukagjini. Thus, it is seen by some informants as

both a social regulator and one which is associated with a discursive formation of Albanian national identity, as *besa*.

Indeed, the term *ligj* (“law”) has a frequency of almost 62%. This has been explained by informants through the Kanun being a form of “social law” which orders relationships and social practices. Within this context, the inclusion of *rregulim* (“arrangement”) supports the interpretation of the Kanun as a social set of customs for maintaining order in the Albanian regions before state institutions came into effect (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 133-134, 137-139). The incorporation of *rregulla* (“rules”), *sistem* (“system”) and *menyrë e jetësës* (“manner of life”) in the list also provides further evidence for this perspective. Furthermore, the inclusion of *padrejtësi* (“injustice”), when placed within this light, highlights elements of the Kanun perceived by several informants as being controlling, violent or unjust.

Additionally, both the terms *besa* and *nder* have been included within this list, supporting the interpretation that *besa* and *nder* are both associated with the *Kanun*. Additionally, the presence of the term *respekt* (“respect”) within this list supports this conclusion as well in that respect, as linked with *nder* as symbolic capital, is seen as an effect of upholding *besa*, as described in the interviews above. As such, it can be seen that the *kanun*, as a collection of rules, is seen by informants as providing a governing rationale for the concepts of *besa* and *nder*. When placed within this context, *kanun* can be seen as “customary law” which distributes political power as symbolic capital through determining who can have that power and which practices are acceptable (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 138). As such, the interpretation of *nder* as being both a means of symbolic capital and mechanism of control within social spaces is then supported further.

Furthermore, the addition of *i/e vjetër* (“old”) highlights the perceived age of the *kanun* and its element as being associated with the historical figure of Lekë Dukagjini. As such, it emphasises the view that a number of informants have towards *kanun* that it is a relic of the past and not followed in the present day. Furthermore, the presence of *primitiv* in the list reflects the view depicted in interviews of

*kanun* being not merely “in the past” but also “primitive” and perhaps originating from a “primitive” culture. This seems to be a symptom of a Balkanist discourse where those people within states seeking to join the European Union seek to differentiate themselves from earlier images in order to portray themselves as more “European” (Todorova 2009). Additionally, it could be that this also portrays a rural-urban division present in interviews, where those who describe *kanun* often place *kanun* in the context of rural areas, such as villages within the Dukagjini and Drenica regions of Kosovo as well as the Malësia region of Northern Albania, where Schwandner-Sievers did her original fieldwork (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 133-134).

Finally, the free list collected of *kanun* underlines the relationship between *nder* and *besa* as being one of symbolic capital and the rationale for providing symbolic capital. As such, the analysis of the free list provides further insight into *nder* as being both a form of symbolic capital and a technology of control. In this case, it can be seen that the technology is not centralised, as through state institutions, but decentralised, as through networks and social spaces. However, the viewpoints on *kanun* provided within this analysis, that of *kanun* as being “old” supports an interpretation of treating *kanun* as not actively acted upon, as an institution, but drawn upon as a discursive formation of Albanian national identity. Furthermore, it can be seen that *kanun* is contested, as through the inclusion of the terms *primitiv* (“primitive”) and *padretësi* (“injustice”). Thus, the free list supports the interpretation of *kanun* as a contested, governing concept involving both *nder* and *besa* which, via rhetorical reference, shapes the distribution of symbolic capital and attempts to exercise control through social spaces and networks.

### ***Familje* Free List**

Regarding *familje*, there were 4 terms with higher frequencies: “love” (*dashuri* freq. 47.6%, rank 2.7, salience 0.308), “support” (*mbështetje* freq. 28.6%, rank 4.5, salience 0.127), “community” (*bashkësi* freq. 23.8%, rank 2.6, salience 0.161), “respect” (*respekt* freq. 23.8%, rank 3, salience 0.141). Meanwhile, 15 additional terms have frequencies of 9.5%: “society/ companionship” (*shoqëri* rank 6,

salience 0.051); “house” (*shtëpi* rank 2.5, salience 0.067); “education” (*edukim* rank 3, salience 0.07), “sacred” (*e shenjtë* rank 3, salience 0.095), “responsibility” (*përgjegjësi* rank 2.5, salience 0.057), “pleasure” (*kënaqësi* rank 4, salience 0.049), “happiness” (*lumturi* rank 4, salience 0.059), “pride” (*krenari* rank 3.5, salience 0.051), “mother” (*nënë* rank 1, salience 0.095), “association” (*bashkim* rank 1.5, 0.086), “unity” (*unitet* rank 5.5, salience 0.034), “value” (*vlerë* rank 4.5, salience 0.054), “father” (*baba* rank 2, salience 0.079), “important” (*i rëndësishëm* rank 4, salience 0.046), “necessary” (*e nevojshme* rank 9, salience 0.019).

A smaller group of 4, these terms seem to form a small yet solid core, with all 4 having frequencies of 23.8% or over. As a result, one can see that there is substantial consensus around these terms being significant when thinking of the term *familje*. These highlight 4 concepts: respect between family members (from *respekt*), the family as a social unit (from *bashkësi*), and the family as a provider of emotional and material support (*dashuri* and *mbështetje*, in Albanian). However, as support has a lower rank than the other terms, it could be that it is seen as less immediate compared to *dashuri*.

When considered along with the first 4, the terms *lumturi* (“happiness”), *kënaqësi* (“pleasure”) and *e nevojshme* (“necessary”) bring additional attention to the idea of the family as provider of emotional and material support. Although they do not seem to be directly related to the concept of the family because of their respective ranks, (especially *e nevojshme* and its rank of 9), their presence in the list and the mid-level ranks of the other two words further illustrates the forms of support given to agents within households. *E nevojshme* would then be more of an argument made by those informants who used it that families are necessary for survival amid Pristina's difficult economic circumstances.

Additionally, the inclusion of *respekt* (“respect”) indicates that *familje* is also associated with *nder*, due to the connections noted in the interviews and in the sections above between the notions of *honour* and *respekt*. As such, this implies a connection between the family and *kanun*, noted earlier in the chapter. This association can be supported through the presence of the term *përgjegjësi*

(“responsibility”) and its rank of 2.5, because the notion of fulfilling responsibility has been associated with upholding *besa*, a concept associated in turn with *kanun* and a contribution to the *nder* of agents. As such, this implies a notion of the family as being linked with the agent's social reputation, which is further supported by the inclusion of *krenari* (“pride”), with a rank of 3.5 and frequency of 9.5%. Considering this link between the *familje* and *krenari* is supported by the assertion by Blerina, above, of pride often being concerned with the reputations of families.

The association between the family and *nder* may also be supported by *vlerë* (“value”) and *i rëndësishëm* (“important”), ranked 4.5 and 4 respectively, which seem to partially indicate that the family's association with *nder* and *besa* gives it the status of a significant social unit. Furthermore, the inclusion of *unitet* (“unity”) and *shoqëri* (“society”) points to the family as being viewed as a social unit. However, it may be that the association is more indirect, as informants have referred to a secondary meaning of *shoqëri* as “companionship.” Additionally, the position of *shtëpi* (“house”) within the list seems to locate the family within the space of the house and, if *e shenjtë* (“sacred”) is considered in this light, the house could be perceived as a sacred space due to the location of the family within. The ranking of *shtëpi* as 2.5 indicates that the association of the house and the family is significant among those who've used the term, and the ranking of *e shenjtë* as 3 shows that the family is often perceived as such as well. However, while it is not clear from these results whether the house is viewed as a sacred space, data from participant observation and interviews does suggest that, if the family is within the house, then the house may be correspondingly viewed as more “sacred.” Indeed, this observation on the importance of the house reflects an inference made by Bringa, who, in her ethnography of a Bosnian village, points out that the house (*kuća* in Serbo-Croatian) symbolises the family's moral worth and is an accumulation of the moral attributes of each member of the household (Bringa 1995: 86).

Additionally, the family also appears to be associated with the social reproduction of norms and concepts through the presence of *edukim* (“education”) within the list. This would be supported by term's

rank of 3, which seems to imply that, because it is not immediately used by informants, it is not directly yet tacitly associated with the family. The conclusion that the family could be a space of social reproduction is also supported by participant observation and interview data. This would be further emphasised by how, in the 1980s and 1990s, families would teach their children about Albanian values and history as a form of resistance and, after state-run Albanian schools were closed, a parallel system of schooling was set up within houses, as these spaces were considered safe and, perhaps, they were where education was already happening (Clark 2000: 96; Judah 2008: 74). Education within the family is not merely an unconscious element of the habitus; rather, it is an act of agency and can be a deliberate form of resistance against occupiers and survival, especially in situations where access to public spaces is blocked off.

Altogether, examining the concept of *familje* through the analysis of results from a free listing exercise has yielded 3 interrelated themes. First, a connection between the family, *nder* and *besa* has been supported through the inclusion of the terms *respekt* (“respect”), *përgjegjësi* (“responsibility”) and *krenari* (“pride”), thus contributing to an interpretation that the family's reputation, and those of its members, affects its symbolic capital. Second, the interpretation of the family as a social unit which provides support to its members has been supported by the analysis. Third, the association of the term *shtëpi* (“house”) with *familje* indicates a perception of the family as being located within the house. With the inclusion of *edukim* (“education”), the household, conceptualised as being the family's space, may be interpreted as an environment for the reproduction of social norms.

### ***Turp* Free List**

The two terms with the highest frequencies for “shame” (*turp*) are the Gheg term for shame (*marre* freq. 28.6%, rank 1.5, salience 0.238) and “liar” (*genjeshtar* freq. 14.3%, rank 3.33, salience 0.121). Additionally, there are 9 terms with frequencies of 9.5%: “black cheeks” (*faqja e zezë* rank 1.5, salience 0.079), “thief” (*hajne* rank 2, salience 0.063), “without honour” (*i pandershëm* rank 1.5, salience

0.071), “without face” (*I paftyr* – rank 2, salience 0.056), “honour” (*nder* rank 2.5, salience 0.075), “reddening” (*skuqje* rank 1.5, salience 0.071), *inat* (rank 2.5, salience 0.04), “theft” (*vjedhje* rank 5.5, salience 0.058), “demoter” (*degraduесе* rank 3, salience 0.062).

Regarding the term *genjeshтар* (“liar”), its rank of 3.33 means that, while it is not as close to the meaning of *turp* as “shame”, like *marre*, it is associated by those who use it fairly closely with “shame.” Indeed, while it does not refer to “shame” itself, like *marre*, it is a practice which has been viewed as being *i turpshëm/e turpshme* (“shameful,” in the male and female genders). This brings into the fore a dynamic which been discussed in interviews and noticed in participant observation. First, to be caught lying is considered to be a shameful act and thus the agent becomes the recipient of shame. As a result, the agent is prompted to take efforts to preserve their social representation in the front of others. Additionally, an informant had related to me that the lie can be necessary in order to preserve the reputation of a friend and thus, concretely, the lie is a rhetorical tool, but it is a tool which must be used without getting caught. Similarly, *hajne* (“thief”) brings attention to the practice of stealing, perceived as shameful, and also to the accusation of a person as a thief which, like with the liar, also brings shame on the agent. Therefore, shame is shown to be an effect of a negative evaluation of an agent's practices. Indeed, Schwandner-Sievers, in describing how she conducted her fieldwork in northern Albania, explains that she managed to avoid negative consequences from telling her informants of her marriage difficulties by simply explaining the situation, thus prompting her listeners to respond with silence in order to keep the news from spreading throughout the community (Schwandner-Sievers 2009: 183-184).

Meanwhile, *degraduесе* (“demoter”) brings attention to the role of shame in decreasing the agent’s social reputation, along with the adjective *i pandershëm* (“without honour” or “dishonourable”), which suggests that this might be the real consequence of shame, rather than merely embarrassment. Indeed, Schwandner-Sievers emphasises the importance of humiliation, for it allows others, under Kanun, to attain *nder* (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 136). The adjective *i paftyr* (“without face”) could then

be a consequence of this “demotion” in the eyes of others, and *skuqje* (“reddening”) and *faqja e zezë* (“black cheeks”) being bodily manifestations of social demotion on the agent. The higher ranks for these terms (2 and 1.5) respectively, support the hypothesis that these terms are bodily manifestations of shame, close to the concept but not as often directly linked as *marre* is. As such, this provides further insight into the terms *skuqje* and *faqja e zezë* in that the “face”, as a social representation, is then visually affected or tarnished by the perceived shameful action. However, Schwandner-Sievers also notes that *faqja e zezë* refers to a notion of dishonour which is linked with being *pabesë*, or “without *besë*” (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 144-145). Therefore, *turp* could be said to be linked with dishonour, or being *pabesë* and having a “black face”, but the notions should be viewed as distinct from each other in Albanian.

The inclusion of *inat* in this list further displays the situation where the agent, having undergone shame within the social space, may “have” *inat* for another agent, as described in the ethnographic section above. As a result, the dialectic between honour and shame within a network also could be seen as a competition between two agents and, if the scale is increased, it could be implicated in confrontations over representations, with the spaces where those representations are projected being interpreted as spaces of discursive displays and rivalry. As such, shame can be interpreted as detrimental to the agent's symbolic capital through negatively affecting the agent's “face” and *inat* can be viewed as a response. This interpretation finds support through Schwandner-Sievers' work, which interprets shame to be in response to the actions of others and, as such, may prompt a response on the part of the person considered to have been humiliated through a challenge to their *besë* (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 136; Schwandner-Sievers 2009: 183-184).

Overall, this section describes shame in Pristina as being detrimental to the symbolic capital, or *nder* (honour), of agents. It can be invoked in response to negative evaluations of an agent's practices, as shown in the inclusion of the terms *hajnë* (“thief”) and *genjeshtar* (“liar”). Furthermore, the control of these practices takes on a biopolitical nature in the use of idioms related to the body, such as *faqja e zezë*



(“cheeks”) and *i paftyr* (“without face”). Additionally, the practice of masking one's practices or characteristics, as described in the section above, Chapter 4 and Chapter 3, may be viewed as a mechanism of protecting agents from experiencing negative reactions as well as promotion in view of audience members. Within this context, *inat* appears as a response to having been potentially shamed, further highlighting the aspect of individual rivalry within networks and spaces. As such, reference to *turp* (“shame”) may be seen as the mechanism through which the practices of agents are controlled within public spaces.

### ***Inati* Free List**

For *inati*, the two terms with the highest frequencies (both at 19%) were “feeling” (*ndenje* rank 1.25, salience 0.175) and “jealousy” (*xheloz*i rank 1.5, salience 0.179). There were 4 terms with frequencies of 9.5%: “ego-ism” (*egoizëm* rank 9.5, salience 0.031), “hatred” (*urrejtje* rank 1.5, salience 0.088), “harmful” (*i dëmshëm* rank 3.5, salience 0.075), and “injury/insult” (*lëndime* rank 7, salience 0.024). Here, it can be seen that there is a degree of cultural consensus around “feeling” and “jealousy” but that it is not as strong of a core as for other terms described above. Additionally, there are only four other terms which were listed. As such, *inat* appears to be an anomaly in comparison with the other terms. The reason for this may lie within the core terms: *ndenje* (“feeling”) and *xheloz*i (“jealousy”). While the list has a small curve, the existence of a core does show that it has an understood meaning, like *nder*. As a result, it appears as if there is a culturally understood meaning which lies over-top a whole host of other meanings which appear to vary, as with *nder*, across demographics and networks. Additionally, another reason for the high amount of variation might be that *inat*, while it is socially expressed, appears to be a very internal concept, making its meanings perhaps more individual than those of the other concepts.

The presence of *urrejtje* (“hatred”) and its high rank of 1.5 lend additional conceptual depth to the understanding of *inat* as a combination of feelings. Considering *urrejtje* as an addition for conceptual depth is supported by the term’s high rank. I have been told that people have been killed as a result of

one person having *inat* for another and relationships have been broken. This is confirmed by the presence of *lëndime* (“injury/insult”). While it does not have a high rank, its presence in the list lends support to the idea of viewing *inat* in terms of its bodily impact and potential for being *i dëmshëm* (“harmful”).

Furthermore, the presence of *egoizëm* (“ego-ism”) highlights negative perceptions which a substantial numbers of informants have towards *inat*. Herzfeld discussed *eghoismos* (ego-ism) in relation with performances in Cretan public spaces, which he views as being undertaken to bolster the actor's reputation as an individual (Herzfeld 1985: 11, 25, 49). It is viewed as a selfish, detrimental and destructive feeling. Of informants, it was often those who were slightly older who viewed *inat* in this way. However, many younger informants view *inat* as being beneficial because it inspires potential positive action by those who have it. An example would be doing better in work because one is jealous of a colleague or performing better in school, as related by some of the informants who professed this view. As a result, perhaps a better way to understand the frequency of *egoizëm* in this analysis would be to view *inat* as being concerned with individual reputation.

Altogether, *inat* appears to represent an individual response to perceived insults or shames, or it might be a response to the favourable achievements of others, as in *xheloz* (“jealousy”). The actions are characterised as being *i dëmshëm* (“harmful”) and it is at times linked with *urrejtje* (“hatred”). Consequently, it may be linked with the Kanun *gjakmarrje*, or the “blood feud,” a practice described by Schwandner-Sievers, which she locates in Northern Albania and parts of Kosovo, describes as occurring under Kanun, and views as in response to a perceived damage or insult to one's *besë* (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 133-135, 137, 142-143). However, neither Luci nor Schwandner-Sievers discuss *inat* within her work, so it is difficult to say from the literature whether this is the case. Thus, these findings related with *inat* show that there is a gap in the literature on Kosovo and Northern Albania in terms of understanding *inat* and how it relates with other concepts, such as *kanun*, *besa* and *nder*.

Thus, the free list analysis highlights three elements: a) *inat* as an emotion, b) *inat* as a response

to a perceived injury or insult, and c) this response being of an individual nature. Therefore, the notion of *inat* brings to the focus conflicts between individuals, as well as responses to perceived insults, whether to the individual or the individual's group. For the study, the outcome of interpreting *inat* with the aid of a free list analysis is a continued focus on discourse in public space and the effects of such discourse on participants and onlookers.

## Discussion

From the presentation of data from both ethnography and a free list, several themes are presented. First, methodologically speaking, the combination of ethnography and free list analysis enables for a complementary means of collecting and analysing perspectives of informants which allows for a rigorous and contextualised discussion of emic terms. Second, *nder* (“honour”) appears as a type of symbolic capital which may be utilised by agents for the mobilisation of resources. Third, the accumulation of *nder*, as symbolic capital, is shaped by the practices conducted by agents within networks and in public spaces, leading to the conclusion that the study of public spaces, and how it affects practices, is necessary for further understanding. Fourth, *nder* fits as part of a contested discourse including the term *turp* (“shame”) and the code of *kanun*, which is associated with concepts of masculinity and a discursive formation Albanian national identity. Fifth, reference to *turp* is utilised as a technology, along with *nder*, for controlling practices, particularly related with the body and sexuality. Sixth, *inat*, considered by informants as being a response, both emotional and active, thus represents a response by agents to the actions of other agents within networks and public spaces.

First, in terms of methodology, it can be seen that the incorporation of data from the ethnographic interviews and the free list analysis enables for emic perspectives to be described and analysed in depth. The interviews provide perspectives related with subject matter, thus allowing for connections to be brought to light between concepts and for meanings to be understood within ethnographic terms. Meanwhile, free list analysis, through being built on input from informants, also investigates emic

perspectives but does so with a systematic focus on cultural consensus. Therefore, connections which are established through ethnographic description may be compared to those gathered systematically, uncovering salient links and highlighting terms for further consideration.

For example, both the interviews and free list analysis underline a connection between the terms *besa* and *nder*. This connection draws on the understanding of *besa* as a rhetorically-expressed oath between agents who are obligated to uphold it. The obligation to uphold *besa* is thus considered a responsibility and the act of its upholding is linked with the concept of *nder* in that agents who preserve *besa* are given respect by the community, while those who do not uphold the concept are considered to be dishonoured. The results of the free list analysis supplement this conceptualisation through directly pinpointing a connection between *besa* and *nder* which appears in both lists. The connection between *besa* and *nder* appears in both exercises conducted during fieldwork and, it is substantiated as a concept to focus on in further analyses. This corroborates with Schwandner-Sievers' ethnography, which shows links between *nder* and *besa* (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 145-146). Yet, the rhetorical component throws new light to the link, showing that *besa* is projected from agents to others through rhetoric. These insights have been made through combining ethnography with the systematic analysis of the free lists.

Second, *nder* appears as a form of symbolic capital which can be utilised by agents to mobilise resources. This reflects the arguments made by Bourdieu, who had created the term “symbolic capital” to describe the use of honour among the Kabyle to accumulate human resources required for economic gains. In this case, viewing *nder* as symbolic capital is supported by the connection described in the ethnography and free list analysis between *nder* and *respekt* (“respect”). The obligation to uphold *besa* implies an obligation to uphold responsibility on the part of agents, and, as such, actions perceived as having been conducted in favour of the community's benefit are perceived as being “honourable” by informants. In response, the agent who upholds *besa* is viewed as being worthy of the community's trust and, as a result, may receive benefits. This view of *nder* provides additional depth to the concept than

Schwandner-Sievers's view of *nder* as social capital, through focusing on the meanings associated with *nder* and on its significance for action by agents in networks and public spaces.

This relates to the third point to be discussed within the discussion, that *nder*, as symbolic capital, relies upon networks and public spaces for accumulation. This is seen through the use of the term *fytyrë* (“face”) to describe social presentations, or the version of the agent which is perceived by others. These representations rely on the agent having perceived of others having performed actions and, as such, they are reliant on the agent having been viewed in public spaces. Consequently, *nder* is generated through the use of rhetoric by agents, thus enhancing Schwandner-Sievers' more static view of *nder* as social capital even further. Additionally, the processes of communication on the agents' actions, as occurring through networks (as described in the previous chapter), are reliant upon the networks made and remade by agents within Pristina. Therefore, *nder*, as symbolic capital reliant upon networks and public spaces, necessitates the study of the conceptualisations of networks and public spaces, pointing towards focusing on the rhetorical qualities of concepts of honour.

Furthermore, this focus on networks as avenues of communication and public spaces where this communication plays out implies a view of *nder* as focusing on practices. This has been shown in the free list analyses through the description of practices related with *turp* (“shame”), such as lying and stealing, which have been echoed within the interviews through similar descriptions. Additionally, in the focus on acting out of responsibility, and thus upholding *besa*, there is thus a focus on performing practices perceived as acceptable. An implication of the link with *besa* is of the agents' practices thus reflecting their loyalty to the project of Albanian national identity, as described in the interviews above and seen in the free listing results. The agent's practices, and the evaluation of those practices by other agents, shape their process of accumulating symbolic capital. This illustrates Herzfeld's argument that successful performances in public spaces draw on multiple perceptions of belonging, including the nation (Herzfeld 1985: 11).

Fourth, *nder* fits within a dominant discursive formation of Albanian national identity. This association may be seen both through the focus on acting out of responsibility for the community as well as the connection between *nder* and *besa*, which had been utilised as a unifying mechanism for the Albanian population in Kosovo during the turbulence of the 1990s, reflecting Schwandner-Sievers' account of *besa* and as related by Alban (Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 137). Furthermore, the *besa* free list includes “Albanians” and the phrase “*Besa* of Albanians” linguistically links the concept with Albanian identity. Consequently, this account also reflects Peristiany's account of the Greek Cypriot population through the emphasis on loyalty and service to the national project (Peristiany 1965b:173-174). This account departs from Peristiany's through a more nuanced account of honour as symbolic capital accumulated within spaces and networks through the practices of agents and evaluations of those practices. It also departs from the pile sort, where the discursive formation appears to be separate from *nder*, but the data presented within this chapter suggests that this perception is due to *nder*'s association with conduct within inter-personal relationships. Furthermore, the association of *nder* with the performance of masculinity is both argued here and reflected in Luci's description of the construction of masculinity in Kosovo's public spaces (Luci 2014: 93,137, 246). The connections present within the interviews and free list results present within the above sections argue for a dedicated discussion on the connection between practices associated with the accumulation of honour and their relationships with expressions of the discursive formation of Albanian national identity.

Hence, the connection between *nder* and Albanian national identity described in interviews with informants from Pristina and shown within the free list results also argues for a connection between *nder* and the code of Kanun. This is already discussed by Schwandner-Sievers in her 1999 article on Kanun and *besa*. The association of *kanun* with a larger discursive formation of Albanian national identity is discussed in a 2013 article entitled “The Bequest of Ilegalja: Contested Memories and Moralities in Contemporary Kosovo”, which asserts that *besa*, along with another term, *amanet* (“testament”), are

values which are drawn upon in political rivalries between Partia Demokratike e Kosovës (PDK, “Democratic Party of Kosovo”) and Lëvizja Vetëvendosje (Schwandner-Sievers 2013b: 961-966). Consequently, the data presented in this chapter corroborates with Schwandner-Sievers' 2013 article through tying *besa* to the larger discursive formation and provides further detail through detailing additional connections between *nder* (“honour”) and *kanun* with the formation.

Fifth, along with the above themes, the ethnographic interviews and free list analyses depict the rhetorical reference to *turp* (“shame”) as a technology of control within Pristina's networks and spaces. This interpretation is supported by descriptions from interviews related above, where informants describe how certain practices, such as lying and stealing, are considered shameful, as opposed to honourable or praiseworthy. In the interviews, it is explained that the more-frequently used term for shame in Pristina is *marre*, which, as a synonym for *turp*, refers to practices deemed as embarrassing or inappropriate which have occurred within the view of others. Consequently, *turp* (“shame”) can be seen to be a social judgement symbolised in a facial blemish, and, while concerned with practices, it is then also based on judgements and evaluations from onlookers drawn from broader social discourses.

Appropriating shame, within this context, may be considered a control mechanism, in that agents, often disproportionately female, are expected to behave certain ways in public in order to avoid bringing shame upon themselves or those they are associated with. The reference to *turp* is then a mechanism which often limits women in their interactions in public spaces (Herzfeld 1985: 94). The rhetorical reference to shame then represents both an expression of agency as well as the control of practices within spaces. This relates with Schwandner-Sievers description of how she has appropriated *besa* in order to conduct her fieldwork, but it also builds upon her explanation through highlighting the rhetorical aspects of shame as a cultural concept to be deployed (Schwandner-Sievers 2009: 177). Because those with shame are limited in how they act in public, it restricts the flow of symbolic capital by determining who can receive it and who cannot, as honour is also determined by social evaluations, as stated above. Shame

in Pristina shapes access to symbolic capital, a realisation which throws Bourdieu's image of symbolic capital into new light by showing that, in this context, shame and honour (symbolic capital) do not operate separate from each other. Indeed, because the two concepts in Pristina, *nder* and *turp* are linked, *turp* is then also linked with the discursive formation of Albanian national identity.

Sixth, the final topic to be covered within this discussion is the term *inat* and its relation with personal agency. The paragraphs above describe a milieu of *nder*, *marre*, power and control within public spaces and networks, yet *inat*, and its links with personal agency, has not yet been addressed in-depth within the literature. However, the interviews and free list analyses discussed within this chapter indicate that, in order to understand the concepts discussed thus far, responses to evaluations within public spaces and networks need to be taken into account. Within the interviews and free list analyses, one can see that the *inat* refers to varying emotions, of envy or *xheloz* (“jealousy”) on one hand and “hatred” and “doing something just because” on the other. Yet, a theme which is present across these responses is that of the emphasis on the individual rather than the collective, as shown in the use of the term *egoizëm* (“egoism”). *Inat* can be seen to be a concept dealt with by individuals, rather than collectives, but, because it relates on performance and observation to be interpreted, it also relies on the participation of onlookers (Herzfeld 1985: 26).

Hence, although *inat* is concerned with individuals, the term not only entails an emotion but also a response. This can be seen especially through Driton's definition of *inat* being “doing something just because”, in that the concept is defined not only as an individual concept but as an action directed towards another in a “personal” manner. Indeed, what is shown here is not merely showing off but the projection of a representation which is directed towards another within public spaces. As an expression of agency, it occurs within a contested context where agents draw on the concepts of *nder* (“honour”) and *turp* (“shame”) through rhetorical, projected representations. Similar to Herzfeld's discussion of the performance of masculinity in Crete, the expression of *inat* can be one of rhetorical agency in public



spaces, where agents interact with other agents (Herzfeld 1985). Therefore, in discussing *inat*, honour and shame are shown to not be overriding but contested through practice and rhetorical agency.

## **Conclusion**

The chapter has discussed concepts of honour (*nder*) and shame (*turp*) through the use of perspectives drawn from ethnographic interviews and results from free list analyses. It has been shown that the two methods complement each other with the former providing context and the latter systematically investigating the context, highlighting additional concepts and connections which can be further questioned through ethnography. *Nder*, referenced through rhetoric, may be interpreted as symbolic capital which is accumulated within public spaces and networks. Working alongside *nder*, the appropriation of *turp* acts as a technology of control which shapes the practices of agents and directs the flow of symbolic capital. Meanwhile, *inat* represents an expression of agency, an individual response of emotion and action which occurs in reaction to others' performances within Pristina's public spaces and networked environment.

Rather than fixed, the disagreements between informants on their meanings and the varied results from the free lists show that these concepts are contested. Yet, the free lists also show that a degree of consensus has formed around these concepts at the same time. Consequently, *nder* and *turp* are negotiated through practice while being related through a discursive formation associated with *kanun* and Albanian national identity in the public sphere. I show in the next chapter that these concepts are drawn on by agents in order to facilitate their activities within networks, yet they also constrain agents. The next chapter focuses on the agents' use of rhetoric, drawing on the concepts discussed here, within networks and Pristina's public spaces.

## Chapter 6: Rhetoric and Networks

### Introduction

In this chapter, I consider the phrase “with connections” (*me t'njofshëm/me t'njofshme*), a notion frequently related by informants to describe relationships with known people (the “connections”), the use of these “connections” for obtaining needs such as employment. This points to a general concern held by informants in Pristina with maintaining networks of relationships, and as such I explore how networks are formed, maintained and re-configured. Drawing upon Chapters 4 and 5, I examine the impact of rhetorical performances in public spaces on maintaining these networks, portray the force of rhetoric through examples where ties between agents are substantially altered through its use and explain their force as deriving from references to a discursive formation of Albanian national identity.

First, I present an ethnographic vignette on the significance of being *me t'njofshme/me t'njofshem* in Pristina, and link this discussion with recent debates over exchanges between human actors within the “grey zone” between the state and individual in other post-Yugoslav contexts (Brkovic 2015a: 58). In this section, I also highlight Jansen’s discussion spatiotemporal uncertainty in Bosnia, its relationship with informants' frustration over the situation of needing to be *me t'njofshem/me t'njofshme*, and the use of “connections” to cope with uncertainty associated with Pristina's simultaneous post-war and post-Yugoslav transformations.

Second, I explore networks of relationships between agents as networks through the use of a Social Network Analysis (SNA), investigating ties between agents in depth and showing that networks are maintained in public spaces such as cafés. Drawing on the previous chapters, I then relate the information here to political discourses and actions, showing how rhetoric referring to discursive formations in the public sphere is used by people in Pristina to affect ties with other agents in public spaces. Next, I bring the discussion to the protests which occurred in Pristina during January 2015, the

sixth month of my fieldwork, in order to show how rhetorical constructions are used in large-scale protests. I illustrate the force of rhetoric in public spaces, showing that, across the situations surveyed, people in Pristina utilise rhetoric for altering ties between them, often by asserting the subject's trustworthiness or placing it in doubt. I explain that these examples draw on the phrase “*E shti dorën më zjarrin*” (“To put your hand in the fire”), which, due to being associated with the term *besa* (explored in depth through Chapter 5) through the focus on *besim* (“trust”), indicates that they are associated with, and draw their force from, a discursive formation of Albanian national identity in the public sphere. Yet, such exercises are limited by the position of agents within networks and the degree to which words correspond with observed deeds or, echoing Herzfeld, the ability of the performance to give meaning (Herzfeld 1985: 16-18). I conclude that rhetoric in Pristina, drawing its force from a discursive formation of Albanian national identity in the public sphere, changes ties between agents and re-structuring networks during inter-personal interactions in material locations.

### **Networks in Pristina**

In early spring 2015, I spoke with Luljeta M., a soon-to-be secondary school graduate, about her perspectives on politics in Pristina. We were speaking in the high school's lobby, attempting to hold a conversation while passers-by glanced over and occasionally attempted to listen in. It appeared very much like an interview, and perhaps one of those looking over, such as the security guard, thought that I was a journalist.

As we discuss Pristina's political situation, Luljeta becomes progressively agitated. “The political situation”, she says, “is something that needs to be changed.” She elaborates, declaring that “People are discouraged, because they know their efforts won't be valued.” Instead, they focus on “the easy” and attaining “connections” in order to become someone “with connections” (*me t'njofshëm/ me t'njofshme*). Those who have “connections”, she says, are those who are able to attain jobs upon graduation, while those who are not as fortunate find it more difficult to find employment. As such, it becomes more

valuable to know someone who can offer a job and to build “connections” rather than to achieve in school, for example, as achievement is not seen as a predictor of employment or success. Luljeta then argues that the youth feel discouraged and frustrated, with a consequence being the January 2015 protests, where, paralleling protests in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) in 2014 in response to precarious living conditions, thousands of people took to the streets in opposition to Kosovo's governmental leadership (Arsenijevic 2014: 84-85; Jansen 2014: 92, 95; Kurtovic 2015; Diming 2015; Mari 2015; Marku 2015).

For the youth of Pristina, the idea of being “with connections”, is then represented by Luljeta as a major idea in relation to politics within the city. It is a reason why many, according to her, feel disenchanting and alienated from political life and governance. The youth lack opportunities due to the entrenchment of the concept of being “with connections” and, as a result, this is why she argues that many people are leaving Kosovo for other places, such as the United States for higher education and other such opportunities. As a result, the “connection” between people has become a major object of concern for Prishtinalis, as it can influence the person's access to opportunities within the city.

Also within a post-Yugoslav context, Brkovic and Kurtovic write on the use of “connections” (*veze/stela* in Serbo-Croatian) in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), showing how people increasingly rely upon and utilise ties with well-connected individuals in order to accomplish necessary tasks such as securing employment or providing social care for dependants (Brkovic 2015a: 58; Brkovic 2015b: 272-273; Brkovic 2016: 96; Kurtovic 2016: 143-144, 145). Crucially, Brkovic's informants consider the appropriation of *veze/stela* as being an adaptable means of navigating the “ambiguity” of the country's welfare system, where it remains unclear whether the provision of services is the responsibility of the state or individual members of society (Brkovic 2016: 96-97). This situation results from neoliberal reforms including an increasing privatisation of public institutions, and, as Kurtovic illustrates, the successful management of connections within this environment can be central to survival, where *veze/stela* ties, in her example with local political figures, can be the difference between having access

to health care and going without (Kurtovic 2016: 152-153).

Therefore, in order to unpack this notion of the “connection”, it is necessary to understand and explore further relationships between agents in Pristina. Doing so has the potential to explore the subtleties of the “connection” and, through this, the qualities of being “with connections”, which in turn contributes to holistic analyses through bringing a focus on the agency of individuals in their dealings with other agents. In anthropology and sociology, research focusing on individual agency within relationships often do so through the theoretical lens of the social network. This approach has the advantage of maintaining a focus on an individual agent while analysing how the agent affects, and is affected by, other agents they are in contact with. Rather than focusing on the social tie itself, studies utilising this methodology attend to interactions between agents and other agents.

For the context of Pristina, viewing relationships in terms of social networks pursues the subtleties and implications of Luljeta's argument. In this context, the focus is not as much on the connection itself as it is on the appropriation of relationships by individual agents for pursuing goals such as finding employment. Through analysing these relationships as social networks, we may investigate how these connections are used by agents, how agents are affected by those they are in contact with and how they are constrained by social structures beyond their control. Focusing on relationships as networks then assists us in delving further into questions such as how agents in Pristina go about their daily lives within the city and how people, within these webs of relationships, can be mobilised in political action. The conceptualisation of relationships as social networks prompts us to systematically examine both the connections and quality of being one “with connections” described by Luljeta.

### **Social Network Analysis of Networks in Pristina**

In this section, I will build on the discussion in the previous chapter on relationships within Pristina by conceptualising “connections” and agents the agents who utilise them as being part of social networks. The current discussion focuses on a diagram produced through SNA of social networks in

Pristina, and in doing so it provides an account of the transactions and practices of sociality within the city. I present the data gathered from the method and discuss it in relation to ego-centred networks, agents' roles and positions within networks, the relationship between networks and political practices, and emergent separations between networks and components of networks, as described in the networks section of Chapter 3. Importantly, the diagram shows that meetings are being held in cafés and, as many of the ties were recorded over more than one round, it indicates that these meetings are for the flexible establishment and maintenance of networks of relationships, thus indicating the significance of both the public space of the café for maintaining relationships and the use of SNA for visualising relationships.

For the purposes of this chapter, SNA has shown itself to be an incredibly useful technique. Asking informants to provide the names of people they met for coffee over a period of time, and they amount of times they met with them, gave a body of data which, upon input into the PAJEK software, yielded a diagram of connections between informants and those they had met. With informants and their contacts represented by nodes, and the meetings between them represented as undirected ties (edges), the diagram as a whole contains responses from 19 people, drawn from three rounds of interviews and 44 responses. The relative strength of each tie has been calculated through aggregating the responses from each round together. Thus, I am able to graph relationships as they are maintained over time.

First and foremost, the data produced by the diagrams (see figures 2, 3, 4 and 5) portray ego-centred networks, as informants were asked to give information relating to people they had met over the previous and following weeks. This manifests itself in the graphs (see Figure 2 on pp. 208 for the overall graph), which appear as nodes with multiple edges branching out. Consequently, the graphs mirror the ego-centred networks discussed by Mitchell (see Chapter 3), who considered the anthropological study of social structured to be based on the analysis of ego-centred networks. The project of analysing micro-structures in order to construct macro-structures, as described by Mitchell, can be related to the diagrams displayed here, because, through successive rounds of data collection, multiple ego-centred networks

have been drawn which connect with other networks, with the networks in the diagram's top-left portion forming a large cluster. Stemming from these connections, it can be seen that the method of observing ego-centred networks has produced results indicating that all the agents queried have been meeting with other agents in Pristina's cafés, material elements of Pristina's spatial environment.

Secondly, the diagram supports the observations relating to roles and positions, as there appear to be several agents at the centre of connected networks, such as “AnH” and “HaK,” who have met with substantial numbers of people within the time periods investigated and met with some people frequently and others less frequently. By possessing both weak and strong ties, it is then shown that agents are sometimes not just meeting up with close acquaintances but forming new relationships with acquaintances and, perhaps, maintaining weaker relationships purposefully. This goes along with Granovetter's argument in “The Strength of Weak Ties” that actors will maintain acquaintances, or contacts with whom they are not close, in order to gain new information, as opposed to the information they already receive from their frequent connections (Granovetter 1973).

For example, within the large network on the top-right (Figure 3, see pp. 210), an edge connects “ZeSh” to “AgD” and then another connects “AgD” with “BeTh”. ZeSh is a journalist in Pristina who, along with other journalists, frequently patrons the Yellow café, often discussing current news and political events with their colleagues and contacts. In this case, the use of maintaining an acquaintance with AgD, for ZeSh, would potentially be to gain additionally insight into current happenings, depending on the nature of their relationship. Meanwhile, BeTh also listed “AgD” as a contact and, similarly with ZeSh, one with whom they had a low number of contacts as opposed to their other coffee partners. Assuming that this “AgD” is the same person, they have been identified as a weak connection by both BeTh and ZeSh and, as a result, this agent could be seen as having a role of one whom is sought out by

other agents for information.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps more crucially, BeTh and ZeSh would have been in separate networks in the graph were it not for their common link with AgD. Therefore, the existence of weak ties can link otherwise unconnected nodes together.

Another example of an agent included on the graph who mixed strong and weak ties is “KoK” (see Figure 4, pp. 211) Employed with an NGO in Pristina, KoK is also involved in Pristina's civil society sector and, as he explained to me once in an interview, is often meeting with his connections to discuss projects. For KoK, the presence of a combination of stronger ties and weaker ties indicates that there are both contacts he meets with regularly and contacts he meets less frequently. The stronger ties are represented by nodes such as “NeS” (17 meetings), “HaL” (10 meetings) and “AbF” (8 meetings), while the weaker ties are represented by nodes such as “ShkG (1 meeting), “NiL” (1 meeting) and “EliG” (1 meeting). Placed within the context of his work in Pristina, this combination of weaker and stronger ties indicates that, in addition to maintaining a web of social support, KoK also establishes and maintains weaker ties for furthering projects related with his NGO.

Consequently, with this discussion on weaker ties and entrepreneurial pursuits a link may be made to the role of the broker, following Brkovic's discussion on the manipulation of ties by influential persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to accomplish goals such as procuring social welfare for themselves or others (Brkovic 2015a: 58). According to Brkovic, brokering represents an “active effort” by actors to position themselves in or nearby institutions, in the “grey zones” between institutions and citizens enabling them to assist others with completing their tasks (Brkovic 2015a: 58). Indeed, KoK has related with me how he often meets with people who seek him out for help or advice, indicating that, in the context of this discussion on strong and weak ties, the weaker ties are potentially those whom he is assisting in some way.

1 Both ZeSh and BeTh are members of Pristina's civil society sector and, as AgD is a director of a prominent organisation, it is highly likely that the AgD listed by both persons is the same.



Although the concept of assistance has often been linked with the role of the “patron”, as described in Chapter 3, the possession of both strong and weak ties, and the meeting with contacts for entrepreneurial pursuits, indicates that the boundary between patron and broker is not necessarily fixed, as arranging meetings between contacts, a role of the broker, can also be seen as providing assistance in the manner of a patron towards a client. Indeed, KoK has related that he has met with BuA, whose tie with KoK has a lower value of 3 (compared with some of KoK's other ties), for the purpose of assisting him with a matter of concern and, furthermore, when I had been looking to interview additional people, KoK had suggested a number of people for me to speak with.

In another example, AnH, a prominent node in the upper portion of the large connected network (figure 3), maintains a large network of contacts with a majority of weaker ties than stronger ties. In the interview, she listed off each person as she spoke of them and, after having described their characteristics, she related that I would be able to contact each of them. She spoke of them glowingly, portraying them as avant-garde members of Pristina's society who represent Kosovo's future political leaders, contrasting them with today's political elite, which she portrayed as ineffectual and uneducated. Additionally, she linked her cadre with specific cafés (“Red Café”, “Blue Café” and “Green Bar”), portraying these places as those where the sophisticated and stylish spend their time and make their appearances. Finally, when I asked her whom I should speak with further, she suggested that I could contact all of those whose names she had listed and indicated that all of them could “talk”, further implying that they were articulate and appropriating the rural-urban discursive formation described in Chapter 4.

Correspondingly, AnH also appears to be a broker through both the majority of weaker ties as shown in the diagram and her listing of these contacts as people with whom I could interview. Through her assistance, I was able to contact many more people during the first round of my interviews, several of whom I then spoke to again during the second round. As such, the “snowball” method of interview selection was able to yield a substantial amount of new informants to speak with. Additionally, as can

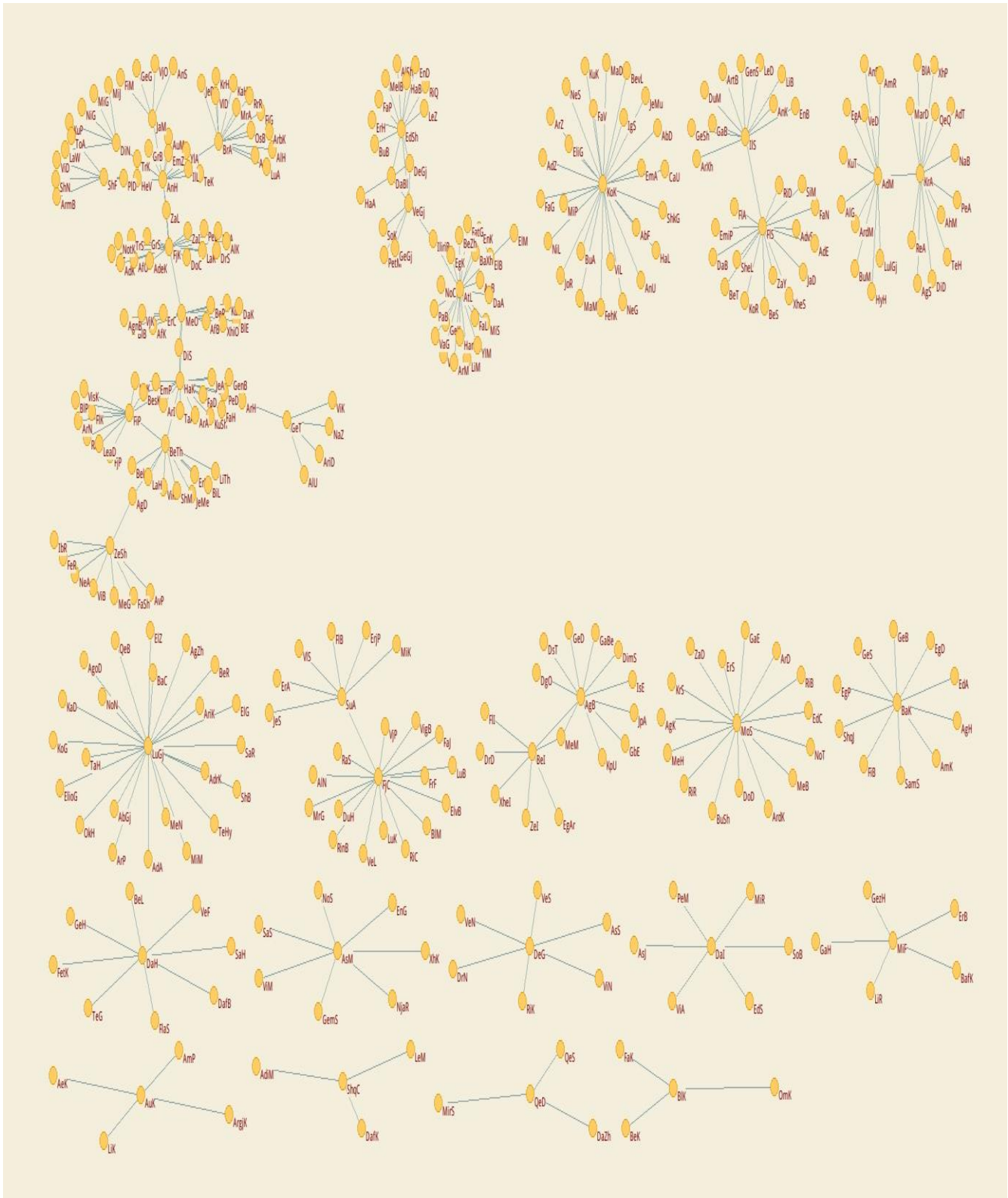


Figure 2: SNA Overall Results

be seen from the graph, the people whom AnH recommended also had their own connections and, to an extent, were also connected with each other. Furthermore, through “FjK”, the nodes connected with AnH are also connected with those at the network's lower portion, such as “MeO”, HaK and BeTh. Within this diagram, it can then be seen that the nodes at the upper portion of the network are then connected to those underneath through AnH's actions.

Through the three examples above, we can see that it is necessary to examine the combination of weak and strong ties when presented with data on social networks. Through focusing on the placement of weak ties in combination with strong ties, we can make generalisations relating to the use of weak ties, the role of the broker and the possible effects of the broker's agency on the surrounding webs of social networks, consequently linking the more individual management of inter-personal connections, as described by Brkovic, with wider systems of relationships (Brkovic 2016: 99-101). First, weak ties can link otherwise unconnected nodes together, as between ZeSh and BeTh (through AgD) or between AnH and MeO (through FjK). Second, the combination of weak and strong ties can be quite useful for actors, as it allows for both the existence of social support and incoming and outgoing flows of information and opportunities. Third, the role of KoK within his network of weak and strong ties indicates that the distinction of patron and broker may be blurred, where the connections maintained by the agent can be provided to others for assistance and similarly be a component of the agent's success, through which they may be able to provide other forms of assistance to those seeking their aid. Fourth, action by the broker, as in the case of AnH, can have the effect of connecting otherwise unconnected nodes together, as AnH's maintenance of a large network of weak ties means that, through AnH, those connected to her are also connected to a large network of those with whom they can potentially reach if needed.

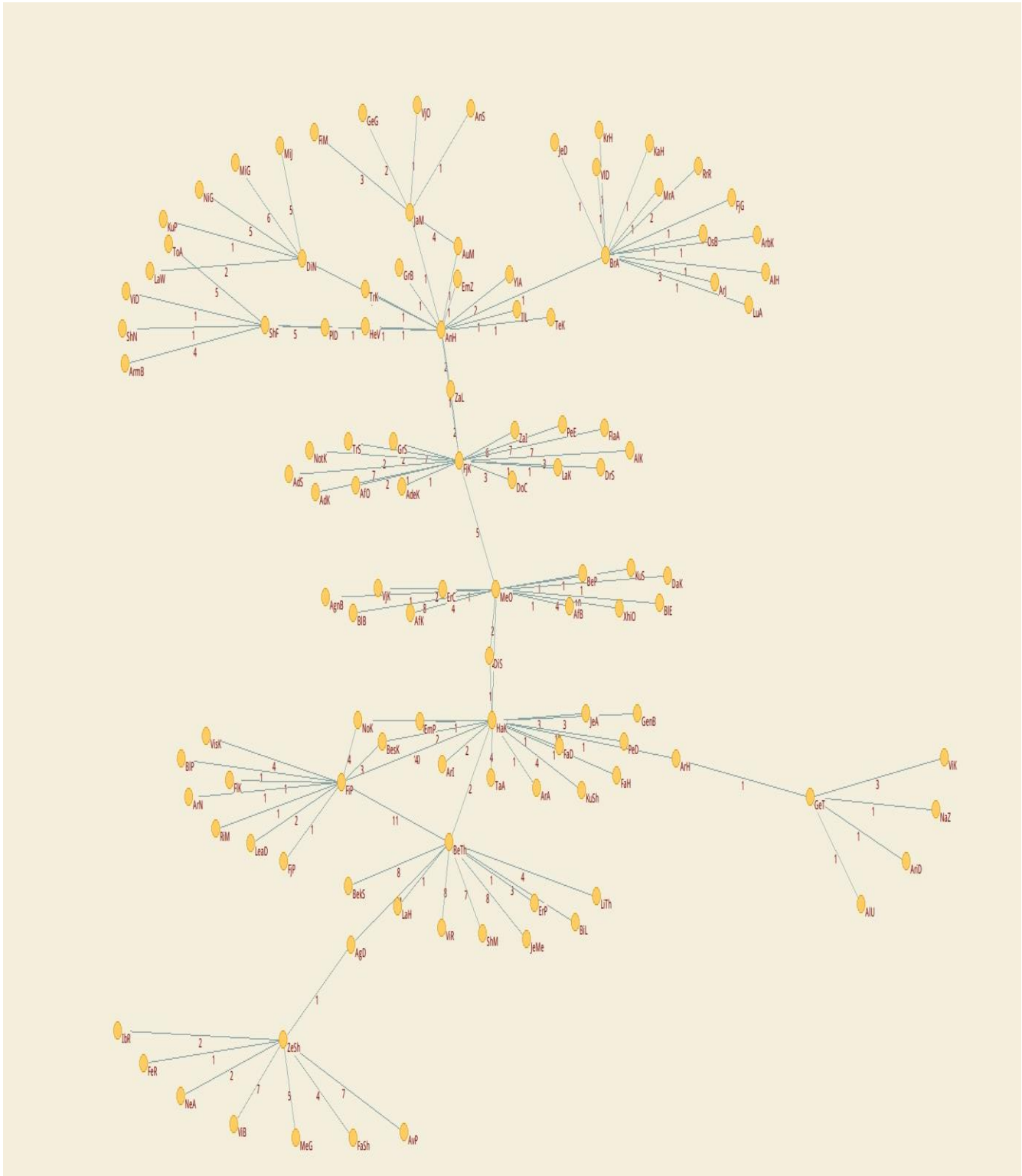


Figure 3: SNA Results, Upper Left

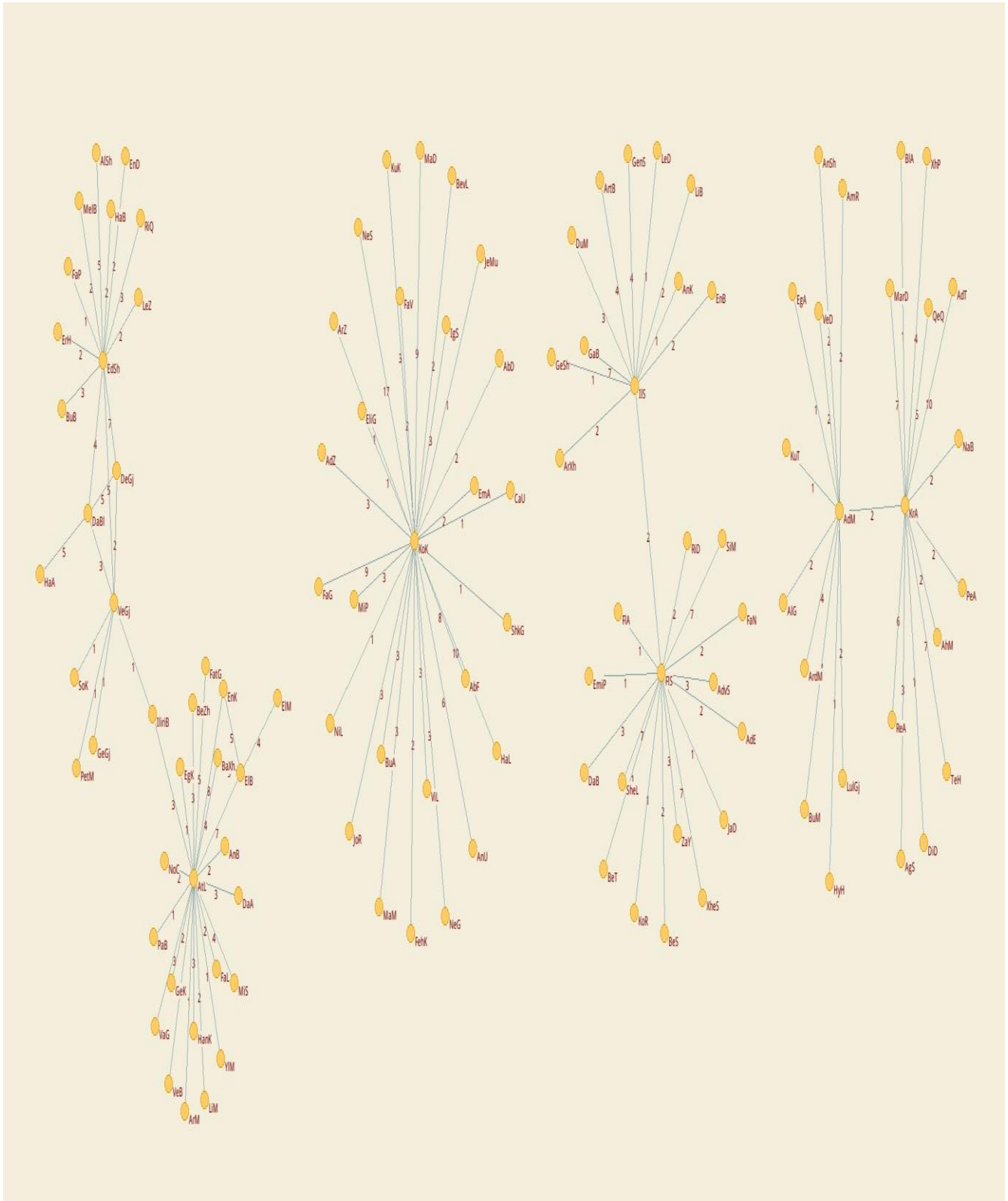


Figure 4: SNA Results, Upper Right

Third, via the above discussions on ego-centred networks and weak ties, we can also gain insights into political organising. The network in the top right of the graph (figure 4) centred on the nodes “KrA” and “AdM” who are associated with a political group in Pristina named Lëvizja Vetëvendosje (Self-Determination Movement). While writing the names of those he had coffee with, KrA explains that he sees certain people regularly while at the Lëvizja Vetëvendosje office, such as MarD. Additionally, as part of his work with the municipality of Pristina, he also meets with citizens regularly as part of an effort to mobilise them to petition the government to address issues which concern them. While writing, he noted that he had met with citizens 10 times, although he did not give any names.

KrA's network is made up of a combination of nodes with strong and weak ties to KrA, with the ties to “AdT”, “TeH” and “MarD”, for example, having values of 10, 7 and 7 respectively, while the BlA, DiD and NaB, for example, have respective values of 1, 1 and 2. Consequently, KrA's network appears to be similar to KoK's, especially given that the activist also had met with different unlisted citizens a total of 10 times. This has significance, as the purpose of the meetings with the citizens, as related to me by KrA, was to spur them towards political actions. Meanwhile, more constant connections such as TeH, MarD and AdT appear to be those with whom he has more consistent dealings, as with MarD at the office. The nature of these meetings could also be political in nature, as is shown by MarD's similar involvement in the organisation. However, through being consistent, they also represent a degree of support and reliability which the weaker ties may not contain. This relation of consistency with support can be linked with Besart's statement that friendships in Pristina are comforting in that they provide support but require constant attention in order to be able to provide that comfort. Importantly, this illustrates that people in Pristina seek to maintain a flexible network of ties which may benefit them at different points and that political organising is part of this dynamic (Brkovic 2015a: 58, Brkovic 2016: 96-97).

For KrA's network, the consequence is that, similar to a broker, KrA has a mixture of strong and

weak ties, and that the strong contacts seem to provide support, while the weaker ties represent potential opportunities. In this case, the weaker contacts seem to represent avenues for political action, or contacts with whom KrA is working with to pursue political goals. However, unlike a broker, KrA is not necessarily providing his contacts with further connections to pursue their goals. Instead, he is attempting working with them to meet a set of goals relating with his activities at the municipality and Lëvizja Vetëvendosje. The image of the broker helps to understand the role that KrA's strong ties with MarD and others have in providing support, as well as the necessity of maintaining weak ties.

Additionally, AdM, another of KrA's contacts was also spoken with as part of the interviews. I had contacted him on KrA's suggestion, and the latter had told me that he was one of those at Lëvizja Vetëvendosje with whom he works fairly frequently, although AdM has not been listed by KrA as a frequent contact. It is possible then that, over the span of time within which these interviews were conducted, that KrA and AdM met more than this diagram suggests. In any case, it can also be seen that AdM ties, which mostly have values of 1 and 2, greatly add to KrA's and, when put together, the network involving KrA and AdM is quite sizeable. The relationship between KrA and AdM has been related by both to involve professional cooperation between AdM's logistical competencies and KrA's field-based competencies, and it seems that a by-product of this cooperation is the accessibility of a large amount of activists, or potential activists, for AdM and KrA to draw upon.

Fourth, as can be seen in the overall graph (figure 2), although there are large networks such as those involving AnH and HaK, as well as smaller connected ones such as those involving EdSh and AtL or KrA and AdM, there are quite a few ego-centred networks which have not been connected with any of the others. Additionally, the EdSh-AtL network (figure 3), for example, although it is relatively sizeable, has not been connected with any others, despite it being of a larger size in comparison with some of the others. Part of this result could be the ambiguity caused by only having done the exercise a certain amount of times and having done the exercise with people from different groups, rather than, for

example, all from the Lëvizja Vetëvendosje organisation or all from people who go to Green Bar or the Yellow Café. To take the EdSh-AtL network as another example, I first came in contact with EdSh, DaBl and VeGj, as well as AtL and ElB, through LiB, a young woman who assisted me with my research by connecting me with people she knew. As a result, EdSh and AtL would not be connected through only IliB but also LiB.

However, what the above examples indicate is that some separation exists, and it is indeed significant that LiB is not listed, even though she is a family member of DaBl. This shows that the networks portrayed in the diagrams above appear to be of networks found in certain spaces (cafés) and, given the existence of strong ties, it can be inferred that the separations between networks could be due to their being in different spaces (potentially cafés) from each other. This reflects the significance of cafés, as material locations within public space, as being focal points for networks of relationships, a finding illustrated well by Papataxiarchis (Papataxiarchis 1991: 166, 169) Immediately, this shows the significance of space for networks in Pristina, in that, from the graph, there appear to be certain cafés where certain networks are and others are not. This is not to say that the spatial boundaries are impermeable; indeed, between BeTh and ZeSh is AgB, between AnH and HaC are FjK and MeO, and between VeGj and AtL is IliB. As discussed by Gluckman, and described in Chapter 3, cross-cutting ties move across these spaces and, as such, they should not be under-emphasised in favour of focusing on space-based cleavages between networks.

Taking such cross-cutting ties into account, it can still be seen that space-based cleavages do exist between the networks in the diagram. For example, in one example, the nodes around EdSh, VeGj and DaBl are separated from those around AtL and EdB except for the link provided by IliB. In another example, within the larger network (figure 2), the nodes around AnH are separated from HaC, FiP and BeTh through MeO, and, indeed, AtL and ElB are not connected to the largest network, despite having a fair amount of connected nodes themselves. Additionally, despite each having a fair amount of contacts,



it is telling that LuGj (see figure 5 on pp. 216) and KoK are not connected to any of the other networks. In the first example, EdSh, VeGj and DaBl are seniors in high school, while AtL and EdB are students at a local university.

Meanwhile, in the second example, AnH has described her acquaintances' preferred meeting places as being the Red Café, Green Bar and the Blue Café, while HaC placed himself as preferring the Purple Café. Although people in the latter group do go to Red Café, and list it as a place they prefer, the addition of the Purple Café, and preference by HaC, is still a spatial difference between the two parts of the larger network. LuGj prefers the Emerald Café due to a family member's participation in its ownership.

Therefore, it can be seen that separations between the networks listed appear to be based at least partially on space and, while they are not absolute due to cross-cutting ties, the spatial differences appear significant enough to lead to separations. Taking the previous chapters into account, I conclude that these differences are due to the location of the café, as a material environment, and its interpretation by Prishtinalis as a public space for socialising. This reflects Cowan and Papataxiarchis's accounts of sociality in Greece, where the café's material environment is utilised for forming and maintaining friendships (Cowan 1991: 184-185; Papataxiarchis 1991: 164-165, 169). Furthermore, as the nodes are inter-connected, the meetings depicted in this section have been utilised in order to form and maintain ties between agents. Consequently, the data presented within this section shows the flexible “management” of relationships by actors such as brokers in order to bridge potentially separate networks and preserve both avenues for opportunity and social support (Brkovic 2015a: 58; Brkovic 2016: 269). This dynamic is also shown to extend to political organising, where the simultaneous continuation of weak and strong ties is shown among KrA and KoK, who appear as brokers. However, the graph goes

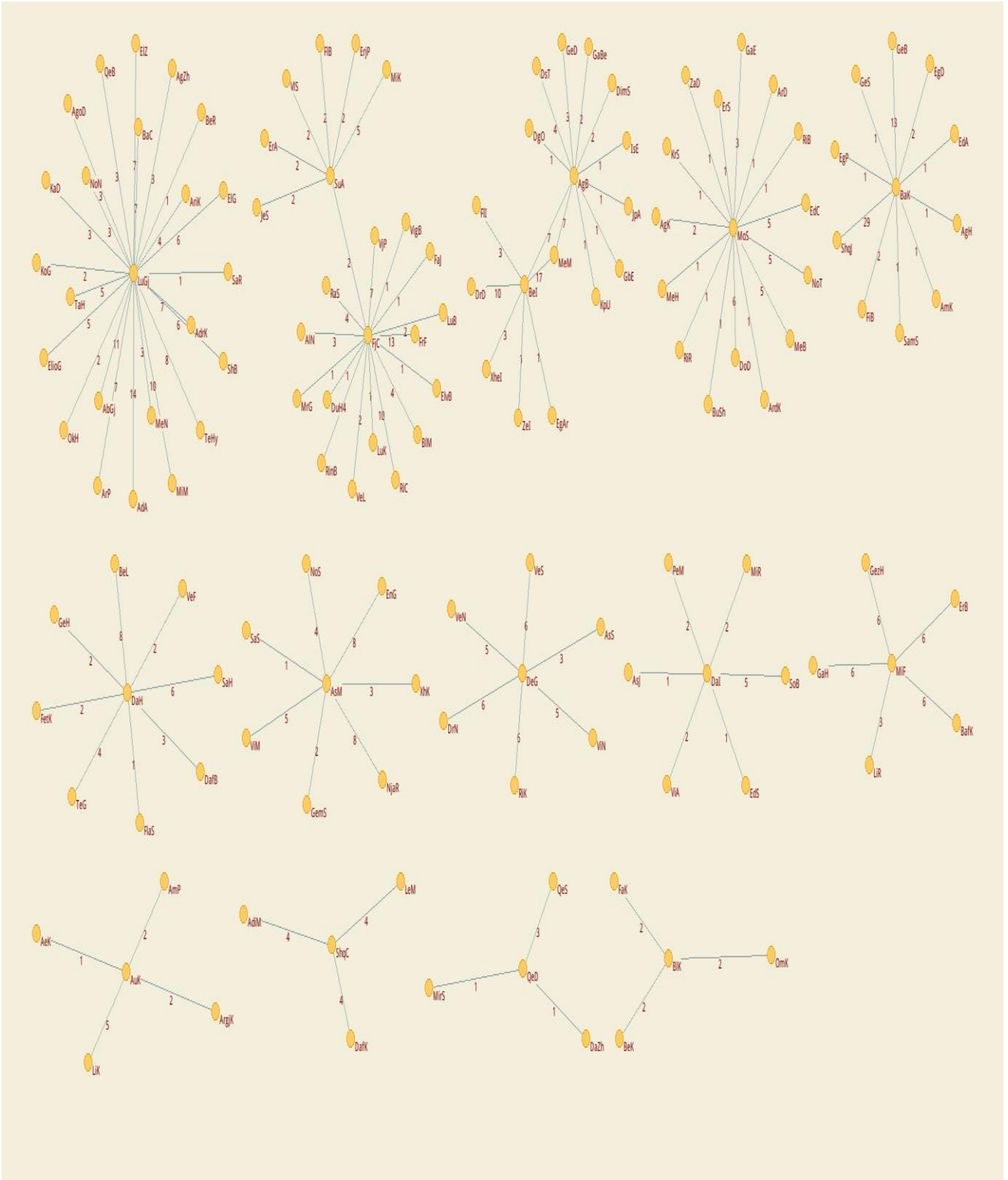


Figure 5: SNA Results, Lower Half

beyond agent-centred accounts such as Brkovic's of brokers in Bijeljina and Kurtovic's of patron-client interactions in Jajce by visualising ties in relation with each other (Kurtovic 2016: 144, 153-154). The frustration with the necessity to have “connections” discussed by Liridona is shown here to be associated with the presence of people with numerous ties, such as KrA and KoK. Prishtinalis, as they go about their activities, then adapt to these circumstances in maintaining ties and pursuing new ones as part of managing ambiguity associated Pristina's post-Yugoslav environment (see Chapter 1). Therefore, the graph portrays agency within networks as asymmetrical rather than flat and visualise systems of relationships emerging from individual action.

### **The Use of Rhetoric within Networks**

Indeed, from the above descriptions, we can see that agents in Pristina connect with each other through networks which are maintained through meetings in cafés, considered as public spaces in Pristina. In this section, I will show how efforts are taken to preserve their social reputations for an additional reason: as means to preserve and alter ties between agents within networks. In the examples, the phrase “*E shti dorën më zjarrin*” (“To put your hand in the fire”) appears as a trope showing the potential of rhetorical representations to strengthen ties between agents and others observing them within public spaces. As described in Chapters 4 and 5, these performances are dialogues between the public space and discursive formations within the public sphere. I argue that rhetoric influences networks in Pristina through manipulating the representations of agents, thus displaying the force of the rhetoric used.

On the patio of Soma, a newer café diagonal from the tall modernist building housing Kosovo's president and other governmental offices, Qendrim, an activist in Lëvizja Vetëvendosje in his mid-to-late twenties, describes how the organisation maintains itself. According to Qendrim, a phrase which represents Lëvizja Vetëvendosje's involvement with its members is “*E shti dorën më zjarrin*” (“To put your hand in the fire”). He explains the use of this phrase with the example of an episode occurring in Mitrovica, when a member of Lëvizja Vetëvendosje had been involved in a dispute with members of the

Partia Demokratike e Kosovës (Democratic Party of Kosovo). In response, Qendrim said that Lëvizja Vetëvendosje had “sent word” to the PDK members in Mitrovica that their activists will march into the public square in order to show their support and maintain their presence in the city for a week. According to Qendrim, the message implied, “If you go and attack them, you will attack us.” With a measure of defiance in his eyes, Qendrim explains this as “passive resistance, walking into the square to say 'our square.’”

Effectively, the message sent from Lëvizja Vetëvendosje to PDK, and the former's subsequent action in Mitrovica, reinforced to the vulnerable member that the organisation would be willing to place itself in danger to protect its activists. The phrase “To put your hand in the fire” is then present through these actions as a trope. In this sense, the message sent strengthened the activists' ties to the organisation, as well as to show others, such as PDK, that the organisation was powerful and to be respected. However, the reason why the phrase is powerful may be traced to Chapter 5, which shows how the concept of *besa* has become associated with a discursive formation of Albanian national identity. A formation concerning representation, it is located with Pristina's public sphere. Levizja Vetëvendosje's presence in Mitrovica's public spaces reassured its activists, and intimidated would-be assailants, through creating an image of the organisation's activists as being able to uphold *besa* and, consequently, drew upon the discursive formation in the public sphere. Hence, the performance's force is derived through its association with the formation.

Indeed, Qendrim provided other examples of the organisation's engagement with its membership. When active members begin to take on additional responsibilities, Qendrim explains, “They (the leaders) now ask 'did you finish university', because they know that the generations are changing over and they need new leaders to be free for the movement, if they are to stay involved.” The principle is that “the head of the movement should give up on personal life” and be ready to devote the entirety of the energy to the well-being of the organisation and its activists. To Qendrim, “The higher up you are in the

movement, the more you have given to you, and the more you care for the movement.” Consequently, the phrase “To put your hand in the fire” is not only present in the very public display in Mitrovica, because it is also trope within the interactions between Lëvizja Vetëvendosje's leaders and its activists. Through involving themselves with the membership, the organisation's new leaders reinforce to the activists that they can be trusted and, in this way, it may be seen that the behaviour of activists towards others, members and non-members alike, may be seen as rhetorical, in the sense of persuasion. This phrase reflects Carrithers' view of tropes through being a “social form” embedded in “particular flows of action” which is then utilised via rhetoric (Carrithers 2010: 254).

Similarly, for Besiana, a middle-aged women's rights advocate and member of a prominent human rights organisation in Pristina, argued that, from her experience as a humanitarian and activist during the 1990s, as well as the present, “Activism means others.” This declaration was given in response to my question on how she had motivated others to be involved in humanitarian actions and protests, and it illustrates the importance of others in the activist's work. For Besiana, participation in protests against the Yugoslav regime during the 1990s meant solidarity: “There was solidarity, I was so happy. In the protests, there was no fear, despite the snipers and soldiers.” Indeed, for Besiana, part of the motivation for her and others to participate in the activities was to show they were not being oppressed. In this sense, it can be seen that activism, for Besiana, meant “others” in the sense of a solidarity enveloping activists in pursuit of a common cause. However, referring back to Chapter 4, taking comfort in solidarity through action in public spaces also reflects how such rhetorical performances in view of others, particularly the dominant Serbian government, create space for the group to represent themselves within the public sphere. Yet, the ability of these performances to be successful depends on the maintenance of ties between activists, and so the ability of prospective organisers to maintain their collaborators' trust through showing concern for their welfare is essential.

However, Besiana contrasts this focus on solidarity with the activism she associates with the

present. She states, “The LDK party had changed for the worse. They were principled but now they are not,” and she characterises politicians in general as “thieves, corrupted and egoist.” The latter of the three terms is also associated with today's activism, with Besiana explaining, “The difference between the 1990s and today is that we were resisting repression. Now we have liberty but we shouldn't just do what the US and EU are saying.” Besiana describes activism in present-day Kosovo as a “9-to-5 job” rather than one focused on solidarity and resistance. As such, it can be seen that Besiana's concept of activism, one she associates with solidarity and the 1990s, is more credible to her, in that it reflects the idea that “activism means others”. Meanwhile, the present-day activism, viewed as a 9-to-5 job dependent on the United States and European Union, is not viewed by her as being credible because it does not reflect a concern with the welfare of others.

Similarly, Rita, a retired activist who had also been active during the 1990s, also argued for the necessity of maintaining a relationship with other activists. When I had asked her about how she had motivated people to become involved, she explained, “You build trust, people will listen, and more will follow. They know you're serious.” Rita explains that she and her compatriots had organised a series of protests against the Yugoslav military's conduct during the beginning of the war in 1998, including one which was a march from Pristina to the Drenica region, which had been hit hard by the war's beginning, with bread for the people. However, she states that the action would not have occurred had there been any suspicions of her motives. She explains, “you had to feel responsible to everyone, yourself last. If you did it for fashion or popularity, no one would join.” Therefore, for Rita, the involvement in the resistance movement during the 1990s was “life consuming” but, if the person was not perceived as working in the interests of their compatriots then, as argued by Besiana, they would be rejected.

From the examples given by Qendrim, Besiana and Rita, it can be seen that there is a high degree of importance attached to the activist's actions. If they are perceived as involved in the cause, as Rita describes, then they will be respected. To Qendrim, this process involves dedication to the movement

and its members. This parallels Razsa and Greenberg's accounts of activists in post-Yugoslav Zagreb and Belgrade respectively, where activists are judged negatively if they are not perceived as acting consistently for the welfare of others (Greenberg 2014: 5-6, 18; Razsa 2015: 95) At times, doing so may necessitate putting oneself at risk for a fellow member in need, as such enacting the phrase "To put your hand in the fire."

A similar perception of this dichotomy may be why Rita clarified her ambitions for me during our conversation. She explained, "I had never thought about becoming [a] VIP and never wanted to be president. I never had any personal ambition. I had formalised the organising for a purpose." Regarding the plight of women in Kosovo and foreign humanitarian workers' perceptions, she continued, stating, "I wanted the world to see us as normal, not covered. The internationals thought they were coming to Africa. They were surprised and wanted to teach us and we knew better." Consequently, organising protests and participating in humanitarian actions was not a means of self-promotion for Rita but one of improving the lives of women affected by violence and representing them to newly-arrived "internationals" who were perceived as condescending. Thus, the activist's ability to motivate others did not only depend on the convincingness of their performance, of the ability to convey trustworthiness, but also the ability to channel the efforts of others into a "public" within the public sphere through performance (Yeh 2012: 715-716). Hence, we are then brought to a hybrid of Yeh's and Herzfeld's ethnographies, where the activist is judged on their ability to represent others in the public sphere through their performances in public spaces (Herzfeld 1985: 16-18; Yeh 2009: 466-470, 474-475).

Therefore, the phrase "To put your hand in the fire" may be seen as a trope, in Fernandez's terms (as discussed in chapter 2), in that it represents the agent acting out of a greater good, potentially to the detriment of their well-being. The performance of this trope may be seen in the accounts presented above, where the activists describe philosophies prioritising the role of solidarity, of acting selflessly, over individual "ego-ism." As described in Rita's account, acting in such a way, perceived to do so with

altruistic motivations, provides incentives for potential new activists to trust the organiser. They may do so because, as in Qendrim's account, they know that the organiser will work their interests in mind. However, although this is opposed to the “ego-ism” of today's “9-5 jobs”, Besiana, in her interview, makes clear that her involvement in resistance activities during the 1990s provided her with a feeling of solidarity despite potential physical danger. In placing their “hands in the fire”, activists reinforced to their fellows that they are working for the greater good and they respond, creating a wider atmosphere of solidarity and togetherness. Through implying the ability to uphold a *besa*, the activists' rhetoric derives its force through an association with the discursive formation of Albanian national identity. Acting in this way may then be seen as a rhetorical action, with the consequence of persuading both people already active and others who might be recruited that they will not be misled by placing their trust (*besim*) in the organiser. In doing so, they also represented themselves in the public sphere despite the actions of the Yugoslav state.

To examine this further, we can then look at the accounts of activists who have recently become involved with Lëvizja Vetëvendosje. I ask Arben, a young actor and new member of Lëvizja Vetëvendosje, why he is part of the organisation, and he replies that “My experience there has changed my point of view on the movement.” According to him, “it is a movement because everyone is the same there,” and “they aren't judgemental, they won't judge you.” As we sit in his recently-opened café, I note that he is speaking with pride and enthusiasm on his time in the movement. Indeed, he notes that his time there has led him to become a “more confident person”, so much so that his parents, who had formerly been against his participation in Lëvizja Vetëvendosje, have “noticed his improvement” and since “changed their minds.” With his father standing nearby, he argues that this is because Lëvizja Vetëvendosje's leaders take time to help their members with their problems, exhibiting admiration for the leaders akin to the description of a broker in the Bosnian municipality as a “goddess” for her ability to assist others (Brkovic 2015b: 273). For example, he had gone to one of the organisation's leaders for



advice on how to solve a problem involving his friends, and the leader had taken time to give him advice. He had also approached Shpend Ahmeti, mayor of Pristina and prominent member of Lëvizja Vetëvendosje, about his concerns about the welfare of animals in captivity in Kosovo, and the mayor had spoken with him about how they could address the issue. From these experiences, of assistance from Lëvizja Vetëvendosje's leaders and an organisational culture Arben views as open-minded, he regards his participation and membership in the organisation quite positively. In contrast, he claims that his friends who have joined PDK and LDK are not having the same experience. Regarding PDK, he states that, although the organisation has quite a few young volunteers, they are not treated with acceptance. Instead, they are forced to take on a mould described by Arben as being judgemental towards the “open-minded art people.” Hence, this account illustrates the importance placed by young people in Pristina on political membership as a matter of fulfilling shorter-term needs, a concern also recently noted by Celebivic in Bosnia (Celebivic 2016: 137).

Meanwhile, Dafina, a former NGO activist who has recently joined Lëvizja Vetëvendosje, declares that, within Pristina, “There is no activism aside from Lëvizja Vetëvendosje” and she views Albin Kurti, the organisation's head, as one of the only activists in Kosovo. According to her, “NGO is one of the biggest businesses in Kosovo” and, elaborating, she describes an NGO she used to work for as being highly corrupt, with funding continuing to flow to it from a prominent international development organisation even though corruption has been found. In a similar vein, she describes feminism in Kosovo as being “womanism” rather than “feminism”, arguing that the main organisations dealing with women concern themselves with the individual over the “collective,” because the latter is seen as “primitive.” The young woman continues, asserting, “We're so hungry for people to notice us. Look at what we've done and how public it is.” Once again reflecting scepticism towards those activists perceived as inconsistent and selfish, a phenomenon also observed by Greenberg in Belgrade, Dafina implies that activism within Kosovo is largely false and for the purpose of gaining attention and, in this sense, she

declares, “This is why I support Lëvizja Vetëvendosje” (Greenberg 2014: 18).

Describing Lëvizja Vetëvendosje further, Dafina explains, “Those who want to do something don't have access to the money. It is impossible to get the money.” Hence, she argues that self-determination, which she equates to as “being a nation”, is needed in order to ensure that resources are distributed across Kosovo. “You can see see Albin Kurti really believes that,” the activist asserts, returning to the subject of the organisation's leader. In this sense, she compares the leader of Lëvizja Vetëvendosje to the activist she refers to earlier, those whom she perceives as acting just to gain attention, rather than to deal with the substance of the issues faced by Kosovo. In this way, she expresses what Rita had explained, as she trusts Albin Kurti and would collaborate with him, and she would not work with those she views as insincere. She also seems to view Kurti as having the ability to represent activists within the public sphere and considers this to be important, particularly in her assertion that self-determination involves “being a nation.” Those who are insincere are also viewed as having an inability to act effectively in the public sphere. Thus, Dafina's view of action in public space as involving performance in the public sphere resonates directly with Rita's and Besiana's, again echoing the hybrid concept of publicity and performance described above which combines Yeh and Herzfeld's views on public space and the public sphere.

Regarding the organisation itself, Dafina says, “There is no ego there. There is a sense of love. People there are truly content and analyse problems. It is the only place where I can find that, what I was taught as a kid about the Balkans.” Explaining her feelings in this way, she relates what her parents had told her about the region, that it is a place where people care for each other. As such, her respect for Lëvizja Vetëvendosje is based on her perception that it is the only organisation which holds up the ideals taught by her parents in its actions within public spaces. With her focus on sincerity, Dafina also refers to the discursive formation of Albanian national identity by referencing trust and judging performances through the phrase “To put your hand in the fire.” The depiction of the organisation as a place without

ego, with love, and people who analyse the issues facing them portrays the organisation itself as both sincere in public spaces and competent in the public sphere, because Dafina views its arguments as effective vehicles for discourse in Pristina's public sphere.

With the addition of Dafina and Arben's accounts, it becomes apparent that their respect towards Lëvizja Vetëvendosje, and Dafina's for Albin Kurti, is due to their experiences within the organisation and comparisons between it and other organisations, in Dafina's case, or parties, in Arben's case. As such, the statements given by Qendrim, Besiana and Rita, in combination with Dafina and Arben's, show that the behaviour of an activist within an organisation towards others is evaluated and, if the evaluation is favourable, then potential recruits may consider joining the activist. If the hand is put in the fire, then others will consider the hand's owner to be trustworthy. In this way, the term “To put your hand in the fire” remains a dominant trope, and its performance inspires trust (*besim*, as discussed in the previous chapter) among audiences.

As in the descriptions above, the agent's ability to effectively participate in the public sphere also appears as a qualification for receiving support within networks. An activist who had been formerly part of Lëvizja Vetëvendosje but since left, Fatmir, had explained to me on a summer evening in July 2015 that people consider the reputation of the organiser when debating whether to join a protest. According to Fatmir, “If someone calls a protest the media will be there. However, here people need to believe in the organiser, unless it is a serious situation. They think of who their parents are, their family, their previous engagements.” He gives an example referencing the protests against the University of Pristina's rector, which he, along with others including members of Partia e Fortë (the satirical “Strong Party”), had coordinated. The bearded young man explains modestly that, if he did not arrive at a hypothetical protest against the rector, or if someone else known to the public had not, then not many people would have come either. Although, he adds that students will still come to protests without a key public figure. “However,” he concedes, “for bigger issues they need recognised people.” In other words, to take the

previous chapter into account, people with greater *nder*, or symbolic capital as illustrated in the previous chapter, are needed, and these people are those who are considered to be effective participants within the public sphere. To echo Herzfeld, the actor's persona must be recognised for its performances in public, and these performances, as Schwandner-Sievers shows, are judged by their correspondence with the concept of *besa*, illustrated in the phrase “To put your hand in the fire” (Herzfeld 1985: 16-18, 25-26; Schwandner-Sievers 1999: 142-146).

In this section, I have described the power of rhetoric in public spaces by showing how people in Pristina rhetorically project representations in order to strengthen their ties with others. The phrase “To put your hand in the fire” underlines the importance of performing in a manner perceived as trustworthy, and this rhetoric has force in public spaces through its link with the discursive formation of Albanian national identity, as it refers to the concept of *besa*. These performances also enter into the public sphere when concerning the interests of a “public”, and, as part of this dynamic, Fatmir's account throws into relief the necessity of actors being recognised as able to represent themselves and others in Pristina's public sphere for prospective activists to work alongside them. Consequently, the agent's social representation is as important in a more political context, such as those described in this section, as the more interpersonal contexts portrayed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. Therefore, the agent's appearance to others in public spaces is highly contested.

### **Rhetoric and Political Conflict**

It is then necessary to describe instances in which activists, as agents involved in politics in Pristina, have experienced conflict with others in relation with their endeavours. Indeed, this topic brings to mind *inat*, a concept described in the previous chapter which refers to both a visceral response to a perceived slight in public and a potentially retaliatory action as a result. Its frequent expression verbally, as in the question “Does he/she have *inat*?” (*A e ka inatin?*), shows that it is a subject of discussion and one which is therefore present within public discourse. It is a concept which, up to this point, has been

discussed in interpersonal contexts, but it is present in more political contexts as well. Within this section, I discuss instances of interpersonal conflict as related by informants and tie them in with the concept of *inat*, showing that these contentious situations in public spaces exhibit the power of rhetoric in a different way from the previous section. Through rhetoric, agents can damage the reputations of others, consequently affecting ties between people and impacting the ability of agents to mobilise their networks of “connections.”

Rita, within her description of the difficulties she faced during the 1990s as an activist, describes the tensions faced at times. Specifically, she describes an occasion mentioned in the above section at a conference in Budapest, Hungary, which she had attended as part of a group of activists from Yugoslavia. According to her, she had been attempting to raise awareness for the humanitarian situation in Kosovo through demonstration, and she had gotten arrested during the course of the day. Out of the group of activists, she had been the only one arrested by the authorities. As a result, Rita explains that a member of the Serbian delegation had criticised her actions, saying, “You would do this.”

From this statement, it can be seen that a tension existed at that point between the two activists, exemplifying *inat*, and that the comment had been made after Rita's arrest. Within the criticism, there is the assumption that Rita would purposefully get arrested, in a seemingly insincere manner for personal gain. Consequently, given that Rita explicitly highlights the importance of genuine activism for inspiring trust, the comment by the rival activist portrays Rita as disingenuous. The rival's comment seeks to damage Rita's reputation, potentially harming her ties with other activists and limiting her ability to mobilise her networks. Consequently, it illustrates a rhetorical instance of mockery, a topic discussed by Herzfeld regarding the use of irony by women to lampoon gender-based norms and other actors (Herzfeld 1991: 94). However, it also reflects Greenberg's ethnography of student activists in Belgrade, where activists are judged as insincere if they act in a way which indicates selfish interests or inconsistency (Greenberg 2014: 5).

Meanwhile, Pranvera, a student involved with other activists at the University of Pristina, describes the difficulties she copes with due to her activities, which are independent of the major organisations. She explains that she is involved with the group at the University of Pristina, because she is “sick and tired” and the university is “infiltrated” with groups working for the political parties, such as Studim Kritik Veprim (“Study, Critique, Action”, also “SKV”), Lëvizja Vetëvendosje's student organisation. There is also Klubi Politik I Studentëve (“Political Students' Club”, also “KPS”), which considers itself to be a leftist organisation. However, regarding KPS, she states that “they are okay but not tackling problems in the sense I like, the anarchist approach.” Additionally, she states, “When we call, KPS doesn't come,” elaborating that, when they perform actions, they use the tag line, “We did this action...we are students of the Faculty of Philosophy...we invite students.” As such, she does not see SKV and KPS to be allied with her cause, although they both consider themselves to be leftist organisations. Indeed, she concludes, “SKV and KPS don't take a serious approach when fighting oppression, they aren't leftist at all.”

Through these statements, Pranvera criticises SKV for its affiliation with the Lëvizja Vetëvendosje party and KPS for its ideological stance and not supporting her group's activities. Through these, she is then judging the groups' credibility, in a similar manner as discussed in the previous section of this chapter and, consequently, reflects Greenberg's description of the judgement of student activists for perceived inconsistent actions. However, Pranvera is also quick to state, “I don't make it personal because it [activism] is a fight against fascism.” Indeed, this shows a degree of ambiguity. Although there appears to be tension between her student group, SKV and KPS, she does not consider the tension to be personal but pragmatic. A way of explaining this potential contradiction could be that, although she disagrees with SKV and KPS, and notices that KPS does not support her group's activities, her lack of trust is a result of what she has seen of their activities, rather than spite. Hence, this reflects a disagreement between activist groups similar to that described by Razsa in Zagreb, where a coalition of

entities, including an anarchist collective, clashed over the structure of the meetings during the process of creating the Enough Wars! initiative against Croatia's support of the Iraq war (Razsa 2015: 62-65).

However, Pranvera's stance lands her in some difficulties vis-a-vis Pristina's civil society organisations. Because her group's actions are visible, they risk expulsion from the university. Additionally, she admits that it is difficult for her to find employment, because she is associated with “activists who are in conflict with the structure.” One of her associates, Dafina (mentioned in the previous section) left an NGO after having uncovered corruption, for example. Furthermore, she disagrees with the approach which Pristina's civil society NGOs take towards feminism, describing it as “second-wave womanism” rather than “third-wave feminism,” as well as that of the human rights organisations, perceiving them both as “manipulated” by the international community. Regarding the human rights organisations, she declares, “They talk about human rights, but they haven't seen war.” Consequently, she feels “backed into a corner” where “no one will listen to you” as a result of your stances and whom you associate with. Pranvera, from her associates and political stances, is isolated within the civil society community.

Furthermore, Pranvera receives criticism for her work with people identified as part of the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian community. For a research project, she has interviewed a member of a local band who considers himself to be Roma. She had asked him about his life and the difficulties he has undergone in Kosovo. However, while undertaking the project, she had been asked by others, “How do you have face to talk about this? Roma work with Serbians. How can you talk about them?” Taking into account the above sections, the question may be interpreted as “how do you have the social presence to talk about this.” It attacks Pranvera's character, implying that she has performed a dishonourable act by interviewing a Roma. Referring to Chapter 5, Pranvera would then be considered *e pandershme* (“dishonourable”) by hostile onlookers, with the injury to her character having been directed rhetorically through her accuser's denunciation. Thus, this reflects Carrithers's notion of rhetoric being addressed and Bailey's view of

rhetoric as a tactic (Bailey 2009: 107; Carrithers 2009a: 7). Yet, the goal is not necessarily to bring Pranvera to agree to a particular point as much as it is to damage her social image and, thus, this can be seen as an aggressive example of Herzfeld's social poetics, in that Pranvera's accuser targets her image (Herzfeld 1991: 80-81). For Pranvera, the impact of this accusation lies in how she has fewer connections as a result of her activities, thus displaying the power of rhetoric in contested circumstances. Yet, what both Dafina and Pranvera describe also resonates with post-Yugoslav ethnography, particularly Kurtovic's description of an elderly Bosnian Serb woman in Jajce being ostracised from local political parties, and their patron-client networks, as a result of her publicly stated opinions, an occurrence which, Kurtovic argues, resulted in her lacking a job which could fund her health care and, consequently, her passing (Kurtovic 2016: 152-153).

Discussing his experience in Lëvizja Vetëvendosje, an involved member of the civil society community named Idriz also describes conflicts between himself and others active within the organisation. In particular, he discusses the conflicts which precipitated his departure from the organisation, focusing upon an internal conflict over its decision to enter Kosovo's parliamentary elections in 2010 (Schwandner-Sievers 2013a: 96). He had gained fame from an action he organised in 2010 where cars belonging to the European Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX) were overturned and painted red, an event which resulted in his arrest. Following his arrest and imprisonment, he founded SKV with other students at his faculty in the University of Pristina, gaining a seat and vote in Lëvizja Vetëvendosje's leadership council. In that year, the council voted to take part in that year's parliamentary elections, and, although he disagreed with the move, Idriz voted in favour.

However, Idriz recalls that, after the election, the movement began to change: "After elections, Lëvizja Vetëvendosje needed bureaucracy." Continuing, he states, "And then there were two faces of Lëvizja Vetëvendosje: one was to the activists-the radicals- and one was to the public, to say they are very pure." He gives an example, claiming that a friend who had introduced him to the movement, had



been placed in charge of the logistics division and obtained a car for himself. Of these situations, Idriz states “Lëvizja Vetëvendosje claims that the public doesn't understand and doesn't change”.

However, Idriz's break with Lëvizja Vetëvendosje came in 2012, when he had been charged with placing posters and fliers for one of the movement's campaigns. He had taken the campaign seriously, but, when it was not possible for him to do more, he communicated with the organisation and resigned. Of his resignation, he explains, “As member of [the] General Council, as Member of Parliament at University of Pristina, as president of Studim Kritik Veprim, I was assumed to be ambitious, but if I was ambitious, I would have stayed.” Following this situation, he has fallen out of contact with his aforementioned friend within the movement.

In this case, we see conflictual relationships between Idriz and members of Lëvizja Vetëvendosje's leadership. First, in discussing his vote to participate in the parliamentary elections, Idriz expresses reluctance in voting in favour and discontent towards what he views as the organisation's bureaucratization. This manifests in his judgement that the organisation had “two faces” (*dyftysh-* see chapter 3), one for the public and one for the insiders and activists. As discussed in chapter 3, this image is rhetorical insult as it implies that one's representation in public spaces towards others is not truthful. However, Idriz views the overall organisation's image as an impression for observers which hides its internal affairs. In this case, Idriz's observation reflects a “politics of disappointment” as described by Greenberg, where the Vetevendosje organisation had been prompted to enter the political room but, in doing so, faced criticism for its involvement in elections politics (Greenberg 2014: 8, 36, 39, 150).

Second, when Idriz describes his departure from the organisation, his response, “...I was assumed to be ambitious, but if I was ambitious, I would have stayed,” is made in response to criticism he had received from others made on the basis of his positions within Lëvizja Vetëvendosje. With this information as support, he was then criticised for having left because of “ambition”, an inverse of the “politics of disappointment” described above, where Idriz is labelled by his compatriots as selfish in

response to his criticism and departure. Consequently, he responds to judgements and assumptions based upon observations of his actions. Third, the loss of his friend within Lëvizja Vetëvendosje shows that his network of inter-personal relationships have been impacted as a result of his conflict with the organisation's leadership. This indicates the importance of ties between activists within the movement for those involved and the cancellation of those ties when involvement ceases, thus showing that the use of rhetoric, as an act of agency in public spaces, has consequences for people involved in disputes, thus illustrating the fragile nature of political networks in Kosovo in a similar manner as Kurtovic's account of networks in Bosnia (Kurtovic 2016: 152-155).

Besiana, an activist during the 1990s whose account is discussed in the previous section, also relates within her interview examples of tension between her and others. In order to remain independent, she did not join LDK during the 1990s. However, it is believed by “some” that she is part of Lëvizja Vetëvendosje, because she has been seen associating with Lëvizja Vetëvendosje members. Rumours resulted of her involvement with the organisation, and after she criticised the movement, she noted that the onlookers had been quite surprised. “What! She criticised Lëvizja Vetëvendosje,” mimics Besiana.

For Besiana, the dynamic behind this is the circulation of rumours. Rumours have been discussed in rural Greece by Pipyrou, who examines their use to protect the reputation of families by concealing delicate circumstances, such as suicides (Pipyrou 2014: 189). According to Besiana, “Rumours are Balkan. It is because no one trusted others...Still today people prefer to be behind back.” The reason for this is linked to perceptions of trust and trustworthiness, in that it seems to say that rumours are utilised because the person's social representation is assumed to be false, collaborating with Herzfeld's account of the use of gossip in response social images in Greece (Herzfeld 2009a: 199). In this sense, Besiana's persona as an independent activist is thought to conceal her involvement with Lëvizja Vetëvendosje, and so her criticism of the organisation is viewed with surprise and incredulity. This reflects struggles over the persona and doubts over whether the activist's appearance as trustworthy is

accurate, and the presence of rumours results in inter-personal conflict between Besiana and others within the community, people whom she may have been able to draw upon within her network otherwise.

Indeed, when Dafina, discussing her support of Lëvizja Vetëvendosje, declares, “We're so hungry for people to notice us,” she illustrates a desire among people in Pristina to make their achievements known to others in public. She continues, “Everything is dramatic. Everything is to be cool, to show off, to be as not *katun'ar* ('villager') as possible.” This is linked to an “inferiority complex” caused by “numbness” and an “extreme loss of hope,” with individualism as a “virus.” Explaining *inat* as competition, she declares, “We compete with ourselves because we can't in other places,” and provides an example where a member of Pristina's LGBT community, after her participation in a march, said, “I thought you were using the movement to get ahead.” This claim, she illustrates, is linked with *inat*, as it is directed towards her out of spite. It implies that her motivations for organising the march and involvement in the LGBT community are not genuine. *Inat* is present between activists due to its persistence as a concept within Pristina's public spaces and, because it is enacted in response to another's image, it is an act of agency. However, as a result she does not preserve connections with those who compete with her and instead associates with Lëvizja Vetëvendosje, illustrating the effects of accusations stemming from *inat* on inter-personal connections. Yet, it also portrays reasons behind the “politics of disappointment” discussed earlier, where growing competition, considered by Greenberg to be a product of post-Yugoslav neoliberal (and post-Milosevic, in Belgrade's case) transformations, prompts activists to be more flexible with their positions and stances (Greenberg 2014: 26, 39-40, 181, 186-187). In this sense, accusations of *inat* may be ways of translating the new “politics of disappointment” in everyday interactions within public spaces, where the competition in Kosovo's new electoral sphere prompts actions which would be seen as contradictory to observers.

Dafina also relates how, when present at a dinner involving members of the international community and Albanian staff members of an organisation which had employed her, she had been told

by her fellow employees to not discuss the war. She states, “In Albanian, they told me to shut up or I would be fired” in order to prevent her from talking about the war. However, her response, given in English, had been: “Who the fuck are you to tell me how to feel about the war?” She gives this experience as an example of how the war is not discussed and that there are efforts aimed at controlling narratives of the war in order to preserve a larger narrative of “victimisation”, as part of a “social process” of negotiating “guilt” and “responsibility,” (Gordy 2013: 19).

For Dafina, This narrative which is presented towards, and enforced by, the international community. During political meetings, there are efforts to preserve impressions given to the international community and, to Dafina, the result is that the international community's control over the “victimisation” discourse is maintained, thus preserving the “internationals” privileged status (Koutkova 2016: 113-115). However, for those who are subject to such directives, such as Dafina, the result is exclusion from the organisation and separation from those who work within. Greenberg's ethnographic account vividly portrays exclusions built in a conference, where a meeting process which had been formerly public became accessible only to those within the specific organisation (Greenberg 2014: 142-143). In Dafina's case, the issue appears to be that she broke a silence which was being consciously preserved and, in response, she was then excluded physically from that particular group.

A final example of the presence of rhetoric in tension between political activists and parties is related by Qendrim in his description of the relationship between Lëvizja Vetëvendosje and leaders of the former UÇK. He explains that the UÇK went through two time periods, with the first being a group of Marxist-Leninist activists during the 1980s, referred to as *ilegalja* for their participation in activities considered by the Yugoslav government to be against the state. According to Qendrim, “They had practical experience in actions but were theoretically prepared”. To Qendrim, the first groups had similar goals as earlier “illegal” organisations from earlier in the 1980s and 1970s, and they had included people such as Rexhep Selimi, who would remain involved in the UÇK and later join Lëvizja Vetëvendosje.

The seasoned activist also associates this group with Adem Demaçi, revolutionary figure described in this dissertation's introduction who provided the burgeoning Albanian ethno-national movements with philosophical texts. Having been read by Lëvizja Vetëvendosje's activists, the texts provide a theoretical background which prompts Qendrim to argue that, “We are the only ideologically clear group in Kosovo because we don't do business.”

By declaring Lëvizja Vetëvendosje to be “the only ideologically clear group in Kosovo,” Qendrim does more than critique the movement's rival parties (LDK, PDK, AAK and others), as he implicitly argues that Lëvizja Vetëvendosje is distinct due to its acknowledgement of Demaçi and Hoti's texts and, correspondingly, also its linkages with the UÇK's earlier incarnations. Indeed, Qendrim states that, after the Jashari massacre occurred in Prekaz, a village near the town of Skenderaj, in March 1998, a new group had arisen within the UÇK, represented by Hashim Thaqi and Kadri Veseli, figures who have become prominent members of PDK (president and speaker of the Assembly, respectively). Referring to their conduct during the 1998-1999 war, Qendrim asserts, “They didn't really go to battle...they wanted to take advantage of a good organisation. They sold out.” Qendrim's statement implies that the UÇK's new group of leaders, of which many are under the PDK party, have not “put their hands in the fire” as Demaçi, portraying them as undeserving of support. For Qendrim, the new leaders’ rhetoric lacks force as it does not adequately reflect the discursive formation of Albanian national identity.

Consequently, the Lëvizja Vetëvendosje activist's account portrays a gulf between the earlier UÇK, represented by the *illegalja* organisations and figures such as Demaçi and Hoti, and the later UÇK, associated with Thaqi and Veseli. Indeed, Schwandner-Sievers delves further into the *illegalja*, describing it as “a proud and affirmative term, referring to 'having been organized' (*të organizuar*) against a formally legal but, in the nationalist Albanian view, illegitimate and violent regime in an illegal, but legitimate, unambiguously ethno-national, militant, and generation-transcending Albanian movement for self-determination, unification, and liberation” (Schwandner-Sievers 2013b: 955). The term's aspect as

“proud and affirmative” thus supports the conclusion that members of Lëvizja Vetëvendosje affiliates with the UÇK's earlier incarnations over later members accused by Qendrim of “selling out.” In discussing a politics of representation, this rhetoric can be seen as taking place within the public sphere in an attempt to convince activists to participate in its endeavours and voters to support it in elections. For Qendrim, later UÇK members' rhetoric lacks force because it communicates neither sincerity nor loyalty to the “Albanian nation.”

### **Discussion**

Within this chapter, I have first discussed how rhetoric utilised by agents plays upon the social representations of themselves and others. In order to explore the relationships between agents, I utilise a Social Network Analysis to visualise agents and the ties between them. I then investigate how rhetoric is utilised by Prishtinalis within networks during situations concerning politics, including interpersonal situations between activists.

The phrase “with connections” (*me t'njofshme*) prompts me to delve into the networks of relationships formed by people in Pristina. In order to produce an SNA graph, I asked informants to indicate whom they had coffee with and the amount of times they had coffee with them over two weeks, once during the interview itself for the previous week and once through a log of interactions over the following week. The exercise was done over three rounds, and the results for each one have been aggregated, with ties between agents (“nodes”) being weighted according to the amount of times meetings between specific pairs occurred. The produced graph then portrays the relationships indicated by these encounters over time, mirroring in several ways Brkovic's accounts of the flexible management of inter-personal relationships in Bosnia. It indicates the presence of agents within different social spaces (cafés) through the maintenance of strong ties, showing frequent contact, and weak ties, indicating infrequent contact with people who often socialise more often with another clusters within the network. Brokers, viewed by Brkovic as those able to flexibly manage relationships and the ambiguity of

privatised, post-Yugoslav institutions, are also shown within the graph, and the section's ensuing discussions indicate how they both actively seek out new acquaintances and are sought out (Brkovic 2015b: 269, 270-273). Yet, the SNA graph does not only focus on individual relationships; it also visualises the systems produced by meetings between people in Pristina's public spaces. In this way, it contributes to Brkovic's work, as well as others who focus on relationships between agents in post-Yugoslav contexts, by portraying social formations emerging from inter-personal encounters which agents then respond to when negotiating their "connections" (Kurtovic 2011; Neofotistos 2012; Kurtovic 2015; Celebivic 2016; Henig 2016; Kurtovic 2016).

Across the situations, agents utilise rhetoric in public spaces by playing upon the trustworthiness of agents or placing it in doubt. As discussed by the informants, a consequence of doing so would be to limit or increase the subject's access to potential followers and other resources within networks. Thus, the use of rhetoric involves the performative projection of the "face," a social representation within public spaces, by drawing upon cultural concepts described in the previous chapter. These concepts are associated with discursive formations in the public sphere, with the phrase "To put your hand in the fire" reflecting the concept of *besa*, which I have argued is connected with a discursive formation of Albanian national identity. I have shown that it is through this association which the rhetoric utilised through performance draws its force. Consequently, projecting representations as trustworthy, or declaring them as untrustworthy, involves drawing upon a discursive formation in the public sphere, thus portraying a dialogue with the public sphere through performance in Pristina's public spaces. In this way, I provide further depth to Herzfeld and Carrithers's separate descriptions of rhetoric and social poetic performance by clarifying how the terms referred to are potent when appropriated in public spaces (Herzfeld 1985; Carrithers 2009a; Herzfeld 2009a).

The case studies illustrated within this chapter by people active in Pristina's political scene also add to Herzfeld and Carrithers's descriptions by displaying the power of rhetoric, where networks of

relationships between people can be substantially affected by representations projected in public spaces. Rhetoric appears as a dynamic force within networks, and its exercise can result in dramatically changed relationships, where people may become cut off from others. The potentially destructive effect of rhetoric on networks is illustrated by the difficulties faced by Pranvera and Dafina due to their conflictual relations with more mainstream figures in Pristina's NGO community. Through performance, “connections” may be lost, resulting in people losing access to opportunities, explaining in part the frustration felt by young people such as Luljeta. Indeed, this frustration shows that rhetoric, for all its potential, has limits, in that it depends upon the agent's position within the network in order to be potent. Hence, in addition to portraying the force of rhetoric, I also illustrate a number of its possible effects and show that its use does not have unlimited potential to affect the environment. Although Herzfeld views that rhetoric must draw on multiple levels of belonging to be successful, the limits of these interactions are not considered in depth (Herzfeld 1985).

Yet, projecting an image corresponding with “trust” (*besim*) and the phrase “I will put my hand in the fire” may strengthen ties between people and bring them towards a prospective activist's cause. Another example of the power of rhetoric as appropriated by people in Pristina is then the maintenance and mobilisation of networks. Thus, I further complement Brkovic's significant contributions to the study of exchange in post-Yugoslav contexts by showing that the use of rhetoric is part of the flexible negotiation of networks of “connections” between Prishtinalis, which are shown by this chapter to be dynamic and shifting (Brkovic 2015a; Brkovic 2015b; Brkovic 2016).

Critically, the above examples of sociality and politics in Pristina also show how rhetorical performances convey immaterial meanings for people interacting in public spaces, particularly material environments such as cafés and squares. Besiana's explanation that “Activism means others” through the example of togetherness and safety in protests against the Yugoslav regime during the 1990s shows that, for the activists involved, assembling together in the squares fostered solidarity. In the example, an



integral element of this process is the communication of security through performing trustworthiness, an action which draws upon *besa* and the discursive formation of Albanian national identity in Pristina's public sphere. Therefore, I conclude that these examples show that the uses of rhetoric portrayed in this chapter draw their force from a discursive formation of Albanian national identity in the public sphere, thereby changing ties between agents and re-structuring networks during inter-personal interactions in material locations within public spaces.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have probed networks of inter-personal relationships in Pristina and explored how they may be altered by Prishtinalis through rhetoric. I investigate concerns with inter-personal relationships, which appears in anxiety and frustration expressed by young people over the need to have links with influential individuals, to be “with connections” (*me t'njofshme*), in order to accomplish objects such as finding employment. Through graphing networks of relationships with the use of SNA, I show how the flexible management of ties in cafés results in emergence of new social systems of relationships which Prishtinalis grapple with while negotiating their “connections”. I then examine how agents utilise rhetorical performances in public spaces to draw on these networks, illustrating the force of rhetoric through highlighting instances where performances are utilised to strengthen ties, mobilise people into action and weaken an actor's influence in networks. However, although it has potential, rhetoric is not limitless, for it depends upon the agent's position within networks to be effective, explaining in part the frustration exhibited towards the need for having “connections” in Pristina. In order to lead to these consequences, Prishtinalis draw upon a discursive formation of Albanian national identity located in the public sphere through appropriating the phrase “To put your hand in the fire”, which provides force to the rhetoric by referring to the willingness of the agent to fulfil obligations such as *besa* to those they are connected with. Therefore, I conclude that the examples of rhetoric presented in this chapter derive their force from a discursive formation of Albanian national identity in the public sphere,

thereby re-structuring networks, and hence altering ties between agents, during inter-personal interactions in material locations within public spaces. In the next chapter, I continue with this argument by exploring how the rhetoric utilised by Prishtinalis in public spaces acts as part of a hegemonic process which both shapes perceptions of identity and leads to the emergence of a discursive formation of Albanian national identity within the public sphere.

## Chapter 7: Rhetoric, Hegemony and Identity

### Introduction

In this chapter, I build upon the previous chapter by concentrating on the discursive formation of Albanian national identity and its construction in Pristina's public sphere through rhetoric. Here, I first centre on narratives of identity expressed by informants in Pristina, showing that national identity is not the only concept of identity considered by informants, with categories such as femininity, masculinity (discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5), urbanity, rurality and religion also being meaningful. The notion of Albanian identity is problematised through showing the persistence of other perspectives of national identity, particularly “Kosovar” and “Albanian in Kosovo.” This heterogeneous context may be viewed as multi-faceted and, as well-argued by post-Yugoslav ethnographies, national identities may be seen as political constructions arising out of particular circumstances. However, rather than merely problematising national identity, I then highlight several of the interviews to show how informants consider national identity as part of this heterogeneous context, exploring how a discursive formation of Albanian national identity in Pristina's public sphere has become salient for some. Influenced by Jansen, I argue that this salience draws on spatiotemporal perceptions located in these accounts which reflect memories of resistance to the Yugoslav regime during the 1990s and the experience of solidarity in public spaces while being rhetorically associated with Albanian national identity through specific concepts such as *besa*.

From this point, the focus shifts to examining the emergence of the discursive formation of Albanian national identity within the public sphere and its relationship with performances in Pristina's public spaces. The concept of “hegemony”, as explained in Chapters 1, 2 and 3, will be utilised as a tool to explain the rhetorical emergence of identity within Pristina's heterogeneous context. In public spaces, people in Pristina utilise rhetoric drawing on concepts associated with a discursive formation Albanian

national identity in order to modify ties between themselves and other agents. As agents in Pristina draw upon it through rhetoric in public spaces in order to affect ties with others, the emerging discursive formation is reinforced and remains within the public sphere. As part of the process, the discursive formation comes to represent notions of spatiotemporal frustration, solidarity and a lack of alternatives, and agents identify with the formation's signifiers.

### **Perceptions of Identity**

When I ask her how she sees her identity, Rozafa, a student at a technical university in Pristina and a programmer, states, “I would definitely say I'm Albanian.” She explains that she has grown up with the Albanian flag during the time before the war, stating, as an example, that she would see it flying in the windows of houses and apartments. However, she states that there is a “new” identity, the “Kosovar” identity, which she views as “manufactured” by the European Union. “The nation is a group of people, not something brought in from outside,” she explains, elaborating that she feels pride in the Albanian anthem, but not the Kosovar anthem, which no one knows. Similarly, she recognises the Albanian flag rather than the Kosovar flag, stating, “I do not recognise the new flag and I never will. Time may change for others younger than I am, but for me I don't recognise those colours. It makes you forget who you are.” Furthermore, she states, “I guess they finally won. They have separated Kosovars and Albanians when they are the same.”

Rozafa's statements are significant, because they portray a clash between two identities, one being “Albanian” and the other, “Kosovar.” Additionally, these identities are associated with symbols which are viewed as having different origins, with the Albanian flag and anthem being connected with the “nation” and the Kosovar flag and anthem with the European Union. However, it is important to note that Rozafa does not consider herself to be a nationalist; she considers herself to be Albanian because she does not feel that she is Kosovar.

The theme of the Kosovar identity as a political project directed by the government of Kosovo is

similarly expressed by Rilind, an activist who is in his mid-30s and involved with Lëvizja Vetëvendosje, having recently returned to Kosovo from Ireland. According to him, the term “Kosovar Albanian” has only been in use since the time period between 1985 and 1989, and, as such, it is associated with the “time of repression.” Its use has been continued, because the UNMIK organisation “worked with the same administration and continued the regulation,” building a new “Serbian-like” system with the aid of the “corrupted” leaders of the former UÇK. Consequently, it is the current political situation which links Kosovars and Albanians, thereby creating a “Kosovar Albanian”, or “Kosovar”, identity, with the result that the Kosovo flag “doesn't identify with Albanians.”

Similarly, Behar, an IT consultant in his mid-twenties, regarding the “Kosovar” term, states that “They are trying to make a new identity but it doesn't work.” Instead, he sees himself as Albanian, declaring, “My genes cannot change because the country is independent.” In this way, he ties the establishment of the “Kosovar” identity to the establishment of the state of Kosovo and the Kosovar government in a manner similar to Rilind and Mirëjeta. In these statements, Behar links “Albanian” identity with concepts discussed in Chapter 5 such as shame, *kanun* and *besa*, as well as the time period before the 1998-1999 war (described in the dissertation's introduction).

Indeed, Kushtrim, a student in business and an entrepreneur whom we met in Chapter 4, describes himself as a “typical Albanian who is conservative about traditions,” linking Albanian identity with concepts such as shame and *besa*. He views *besa* as “an important part of our main traditions” as it means “never letting someone alone or down.” Regarding shame, he considers it to be an important concept throughout the Balkans, including among Albanians, explaining the term through the use of examples of situations which could prompt shame, including the loss of virginity at sixteen years old, not receiving a strong education and when wives leave their husbands (but not vice versa). Indeed, Bardhyl's view of Albanian identity extends to the café, explaining it as “the place where Albanians went to socialise” because, before the 1998-1999 war, there were no official universities through which to spread

propaganda (although he states that there were parallel universities) and, as such, he declares, “From cafés, we went to war.” Consequently, for Bardhyl, it can be seen that Albanian identity involves both concepts such as shame and *besa* as well as the practice of socialising within café. He concludes, “There is a good feeling to being Albanian. You feel like you are being friendly with everyone.”

However, Bardhyl also considers that Albanian identity is under threat by outside forces, such as the European Union. He considers the European Union to be “the most discriminating, non-equal organisation in the world” because “they want Albanians to forget their culture, to become more European.” He states, “People want to be European just to get jobs from European organisations. If they are Albanian, they can't get the jobs.” He considers Albanians to face discrimination by the European Union and he states that this is linked with the pressure from “the internationals” for Kosovo to combat religious “extremism.” “However,” he states, “I have a beard but I went to mosque twice in my life. Therefore, it is unfair to condemn all Kosovars as extreme. You can't suppose, for example, how Albanians are by watching CNN.”

Indeed, when Leonora, an early-career analyst at a think tank, and I speak at the Red Café during her lunch break, our conversation touches upon this subject, of discontent with Kosovo's political situation and the expression of “Albanian” identity. “I don't want to sound pessimistic, but that's the way I feel about the country at this time,” she explains, referring to the combination of scandals involving the “internationals” on one end and those of the political elite on the other, a constructed dichotomy which has also been discussed by Koutkova in post-Yugoslav Sarajevo (Koutkova 2016: 110-115). Leonora refers specifically to a recent statement by the American ambassador to Kosovo at that time, Tracey Jacobson, who, during a press conference in November 2014, used the phrase “don't shit on it” when criticising Kosovo's politicians not to set the country back, as a new government had yet to be established following the June 2014 parliamentary elections. For Leonora, this episode is “embarrassing,” as is the recent corruption scandals involving EULEX. “It's a mess”, she states, “EULEX is not accountable to

Kosovo but it is to the EU. How will the EU respond? It's the worst that's happened since 2008. If they don't get stuff together then Kosovo will be a failed state.” When I ask why the current situation is the way it is, Leonora elaborates that, “Ultimately, it's the fault of the people to vote for the same people in office.” For Leonora, Kosovo's political situation is unsatisfactory, because of both actors within the international community and Kosovo's political establishment, which receives support from segments of the population. Therefore, she states that, “People are disappointed, so they identify with being Albanian.”

From these accounts, it can be seen that feelings of disillusion regarding Kosovo's political situation may be prompting some to consider themselves to be Albanian, rather than “Kosovar.” Indeed, Rozafa, after she explains her rationale for preferring an “Albanian” identity, states, “With this in mind, people say that the government sucks.” For Rozafa, Kosovo's government is seen as acting against the people's interests, rather than for them, and, she states that she does not follow any of the parties, characterising them as “political non-movements.” She had stopped reading newspapers and watching televised news broadcasts, because they were only about politics. This disillusion, for Rozafa, also appears to be widespread, and she explains that people may want to leave Kosovo, in case it falls apart, as “there is a lot of frustration.” Feelings of disenfranchisement described by Leonora are echoed by Rozafa, who perceives them to be widely held. The expression of Albanian identity may be seen as an expression of resistance against a demoralising, frustrating political situation, the international community and a government perceived as treacherous. Explained later in this chapter, this frustration occurs in response to a notion of temporal uncertainty attached to Pristina's spatial location within Kosovo, thus reflecting Jansen's use of spatiotemporality which describes a similar notion in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Jansen 2015: 17-18).

However, although many informants identify with being “Albanian,” there are many variations as well, including some who consider themselves to be “Kosovar.” For example, when conferring with

Leonora, Bardhyl and Rilind, the question of whether Kosovo should join Albania to form a “Greater Albania” (*Shqipëria e Madhe*) came up. For Bardhyl, the union could happen on an “economic basis” through increasing trade with Albania and Albanian populations in other neighbouring states such as Montenegro and Macedonia. However, he believes that a Greater Albania might put the region in jeopardy by “shaming” other states, such as Serbia, which might view the new union as a threat. Meanwhile, Leonora does not think Kosovo should join Albania, arguing that, “I don't think we should join Albania. We are quite different. The histories are different, and we have been part of Yugoslavia.” In other words, the histories associated with Kosovo and Albania are two different for them to be united under a Greater Albania, implying that there is then a difference between being an Albanian from Kosovo and an Albania from Albania. On the other hand, Rilind, as an activist with *Lëvizja Vetëvendosje*, explains that the organisation does not support Kosovo's constitution, “because it does not give the people to decide when 90% of the population is Albanian” and it prevents Kosovo from joining another country. We can see differing concepts of being “Albanian” shaping views on the question of whether to form a union with Albania.

The idea of being of Albanian origin, but distinct from Albanians living in Albania due to different historical contexts is exhibited by both Gentiana and Vera, the former an architectural student and human rights activist, while the latter works for an online news outlet based in Pristina. Gentiana views herself as “an Albanian from Kosovo” because, while she is “100% Albanian,” she considers people in Kosovo to have a “different culture” from those in Albania. Similarly, Vera states, “I can't see ourselves as Kosovo. We are similar to Albanians, but different.” She continues, explaining, “Kosovo does not been imposed, it exists,” but allows that perhaps the symbols have been implanted, as “the majority feel more connected with the Albanian flag.” With both Gentiana and Vera, there is an idea that Kosovo as a geographical area is distinct from Albania, but that the “Kosovar” identity and its associated symbols do not resonate with the majority of the population.



Meanwhile, Edon and Burim, both men in their 30s who are active in Pristina's NGO community, consider themselves to be “Kosovar.” According to Edon, “I identify as a Kosovar, and I have always said Kosovo” when explaining to others where he is from. Similarly, Burim, who is originally from Prizren, considers himself to be a “Kosovar Albanian,” stating that he believes in Kosovo and sees “Kosovar” as equalling his citizenship. Neither of the two men claim they are not Albanian; indeed, Edon speaks proudly of the *kanun* as a tradition due to its emphasis on hospitality towards guests. However, both men consider their citizenship to be “Kosovar” and affiliate with the state as an idea and, as such, they consider themselves to be “Kosovar”.

Importantly, the question of identity is not limited to national identity, within Pristina. Indeed, when I ask Pranvera, mentioned in the previous chapter, about how she views her identity, she discusses a wide array of influences. As a member of an Albanian diaspora family in Croatia, she relates that they had grown up with both “Slavic” and Albanian culture, and she states that her mother is Bektashi (Sufi) while her father is Catholic. She also states that in her town in Croatia she is referred to as a *forešta* (“foreigner”) although she has grown up there and has Croatian friends. Meanwhile, in Kosovo she is thought of as wealthy and privileged due to her Croatian passport. She is involved in a wide variety of causes which include travelling between Kosovo and Serbia, and so she states, “They say I need to choose an identity” between Albanian and Serbian. As such, the topic of “identity” for Pranvera is not clean cut, as it encompasses different ideas such as nationality, religion, femininity and socio-economic class.

On the other hand, Pranvera does not choose to focus on specific causes which relate with one identity or another, although she is often criticised for being involved in multiple causes, with critics at times asking questions such as “Why did you make this your profile picture?” In response, she explains, “In my experience, it is not bad to have parallel battles” and, as such, regarding the causes she is active in, she states, “I am everywhere.” She regards herself as a “feminist”, an identity she seems to prefer to that of Albanian or Serbian, for example, and she states that she only brings up her identity “when the

goal is for fighting oppression.”

When Pranvera relates the challenges she faces while being an activist, she also describes another barrier, that between people from rural areas and those from urban areas. According to her, Pristina's NGOs are mostly staffed by people of the latter category, and so from Pristina or Gjakova/Đakovica, for example. Meanwhile, her family originates from Gjonaj and Zym Has (two small towns in south-western Kosovo) and as a result she is considered to be from a rural area. Despite this barrier, she has developed a friendship with a close friend of hers who is urban but, according to Pranvera, “she is also a woman and they connect as women.” From this experience, she declares, “With solidarity, I realise I am not alone and I start to lose shame.”

Consequently, when Dafina in the previous chapter states that, for the NGO community, “Everything is dramatic. Everything is to be cool, to show off, to be as not *katun'ar* as possible,” she refers to the gap between urban and rural, as *katun'ar* is a contracted form of *katundar*, which is a derogatory term for “villager.” To Dafina, this separation between *qytetar* (“city-dweller”) and *katundar* is a form of “class segregation,” as “the *katun'ars* are seen as primitive” and the urban areas are better off than rural areas, which are “left behind.” She adds that there is “public shaming” and gives an example of a parent saying to their child, “I would rather have you marry a Serbian than a *katun'ar*,” reflecting how women in Kosovo, as in post-Yugoslav Bosnia and Herzegovina, are viewed as representing the nation's morality (Helms 2007: 236-237; Helms 2013: 233-234). The activist relates that this division is present within the NGO community, as “the same people are in the same organisations and meetings, and there is no true analysis...There is a hierarchy to be an activist.” Reflecting the discussion at the beginning of Chapter 6 on the phrase *me t'njofshme* (“with connections”) and expressing frustration, she states, “Not many women from rural backgrounds are running the show in NGOs. Of those who are participating, many have Gjakova backgrounds and it is all through connections.”

Indeed, Vera also explains that, when people first meet each other, they often ask, “Where's your

father from?” in order to learn more about your background. As part of this, the family's place of origin is often based on their surname, and so a person's identity as being rural or urban can sometimes be identified in this manner. She argues that the rural areas outside of Pristina were harder hit during the war, and the education system as a whole during the Serbian regime was not as “advanced”, with the objective being to “learn to live.” Consequently, she claims that the majority of the population cannot think critically and are “brainwashed”, yet she does not think that this is as common in Pristina. Meanwhile, in Pristina, Vera has met a group of people who have “quality,” is critical of the political leadership and sees itself as being made up future leaders. As such, we can see that a distinction is created between *qytetarët*, viewed as educated and capable, and *katundarët*, considered to be poorly educated. Indeed, Bardhyl also portrays a distinction between Pristina and Kosovo's outlying regions in describing the use of rumours for tarnishing reputations as being more common in the outlying regions than in Pristina. As in Chapter 4's discussion on the rural-urban discursive formation, a distinction is at times drawn between urban Pristina and the outlying regions which portrays the person's place of origin as a characteristic of identity.

Indeed, Jehona, a young woman recently graduated from Sami Frashëri High School in Pristina, explains that she is from Medvegja, an Albanian-populated town across the border in Serbia. With pride, she states, “I like old things. I have a painted set of chairs, bicycle, bike wheels, pitchers, glass, *kaqorre*. People in the city don't know what *kaqorre* is, but if you ask someone from the country, they will know what *kaqorre* is.” Referring to a time of vase, *kaqorre* represents a type of knowledge hidden from urban Pristinalis, as they are not familiar with the term. Hence, knowledge of *kaqorre*, for Jehona, may then be seen as a type of superiority within a context which prizes the urban over the rural. In this sense, Jehona, in expressing pride in her rural background and knowledge of *kaqorre*, rhetorically resists the discursive formation of urban identity, as described in Chapter 4.

Meanwhile, Blerta, an economics student at the University of Pristina and practitioner of karate,

describes how she must negotiate both her gender and her family identities. She explains that her father has been a commander in the UÇK and, as such, there is a concern that the things she does must somehow benefit Kosovo. However, she explains that she does not consider economics to be interesting, and, although she has contributed to several organisations, she does not see the field as her future career. This pressure she experiences from her family to concentrate on her studies also persuaded her to not pursue karate as a career, although she has practised it and considered taking it on as a sport.

The pressure for Blerta to pursue a career also coincides with a pressure to get married. She explains that she would like to live alone before living with someone else, with five or six years to explore, but she says that her family expects her to get married within three years and criticises her for this desire. As such, they find her continued training in karate to be strange and instead push her to focus on getting married. Blerta disagrees with this perspective, as it makes her feel like an “object.” To her, “Women in Pristina are not expected to talk to men they don't know. Their ideas are not respected, considered.” Thus, Blerta's desire to undertake karate faces pressure to both on the basis of her family's reputation and her position as a woman, both different spheres of identity. Blerta's pressure to start a family reflects the pressure described by Helms in her ethnography of female activists in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where, in order to create spaces for women to become more active in the political sphere, the activists must argue that female politicians would be more just than male politicians (viewed as “corrupt” due to their association with politics and the political realm), thereby reinforcing the association of women with the household (Helms 2013: 160-161).

However, Blerta also mentions another area of identity which affects her, that of religion. She relates that, although she is not religious, she is “expected” to be religious. “I'm expected to be Muslim and, if not, Catholic,” she explains, “It is only lately that people would say they aren't religious.” If someone had previously stated that they were not religious, they would get criticised or judged otherwise. In this sense, she faces pressure to conform to either Catholicism or Islam, even though she is not

religious.

Indeed, Fitore, an architecture student from Peja/Pec, also describes influences from multiple social identities. First, she describes her family as originating from the Rugova region and from Peja, explaining that she had a close connection with her parents, especially her father, from whom she learned the importance of thinking positively. She then states that her identity is influenced by “the war and Serbia”, and she discloses that her father had been a member of the LDK party before the war. As such, she describes her family as being “patriotic” and that she had been raised with the idea of Greater Albania. This concept had also been transferred into the Albanian-language schools, and, from these influences, she states, “I’m Albanian.” For her, Kosovo is merely “a drawing on a map,” and thus it is the “bad luck” of those living there to have been separated from Albania. In this way, she does not feel a separation with other Albanians, instead perceiving a “spiritual connection.”

However, “Albanian” nationality is not the only aspect of identity which Fitore considers to be significant for her. Indeed, she considers being female to be quite significant, and explains this through first describing how, among the UÇK, there had been female fighters, and in Albania there are the “sworn virgins” who, through the Kanun, are considered to be socially male even though they are female. These figures represent women as being “really strong” in that they give root to the perception that “We have to be a man and a woman at the same time” in order to be accepted. Indeed, she relates that her father had once said, “don’t play small because you’re a woman,” which for her, meant that she should be independent and confident, characteristics perceived as male, according to Helms (Helms 2013: 166). Consequently, Fitore’s father is advising her to project herself in a masculine fashion, to not remain in private spaces and to be present in the public realm, despite the public, and thereby the political, being dirty, “contaminated” and “immoral” (Helms 2013: 166-168). However, it can also be seen that, with this advice, combined with Blerta’s, there is an emphasis on women being associated with the private space and, through his advice, Fitore’s father contributes to this perception.

Fitore has another aspect of identity which she considers to be significant: Muslim spirituality. She views herself as being spiritual and she considers there to be a connection between humans and God. She states that although the focus during her childhood was on being Albanian, she found that, as she got older, she needed Islam, describing it as “peaceful and focused on finding beauty.” She continues, stating, “Islam is peaceful. You cannot judge in Islam.” She then considers herself to be Muslim in the sense that Islam focuses on connections between humans and God and that, for her, it provides a focus on maintaining a positive outlook in life. Indeed, she states, “In Islam, positivity is a big deal.”

Shpend and Kreshnik, two men interviewed at separate occasions, also consider themselves to be Muslim and discuss this in depth during our conversations. Shpend, a translator in his mid-30s for an energy company in Pristina, describes himself as being “Kosovar Albanian,” but, drawing upon the rural-urban discursive formation, he states that he does not view this as the main aspect of his identity, viewing nationalism to be “primitive.” Indeed, he states that he does not have a nationality, and he is mostly interested in travelling and humanitarianism. Instead, he considers himself to be most influenced by Islam, which he has knowledge of from reading. However, he does not attend a mosque and, as such, he views himself as “not really religious.”

Meanwhile, when I ask Kreshnik, an analyst at a think-tank in his mid-twenties, how he defines himself, he answers, “I would like to be a citizen of the world. I would like for human values to define rather than nationality. People should talk about projects and how to cooperate with each other rather than nationality. However, if I had to define myself, I would see myself as a Kosovar Albanian, living in Kosovo, but that doesn't define my values.” Kreshnik continues, stating in a similar manner as Fitore that he is a practitioner of Islam and that he values the feelings of positivity coming from practices such as everyday prayers. For Kreshnik, praying daily is relaxing and provides a feeling that “good things are coming.” He also states that, although he could not live in most parts of Kosovo, he could not live in the most rural parts, explaining that this is largely due to his “social status.” In effect, he is also drawing

upon the rural-urban discursive formation discussed in Chapter 4, and he declares, “I have evolved, due to my salary and education abroad.” However, despite these statements, he explains another aspect of his identity, that, although he is from Pristina, his father is from the Drenica region and has lived in Pristina since he was nine years old. As with the others, multiple aspects make up Kreshnik's perception of identity.

### **Identity and Complexity**

The examples related show that, although Albanian identity is considered important by several informants, there are other aspects as well which are significant and the “Albanian” identity itself is contested. This reflects Jansen's finding, through recounting field notes of a meeting between Bosnians in Tuzla, that “national affiliations and...territorial attachments, while crucial to any understanding of contemporary Bosnia, are not nearly as clear-cut as is often assumed” (Jansen 2007: 206). Indeed, the tension between a “Kosovar” identity and an “Albanian” identity appears confusing and disorienting for some in a manner which shows that identity is not fixed but changing, and that this fluctuation, for those involved, does not always occur in a pleasant, straight-forward manner.

Yet, before dwelling on such a discourse, it is important to explore the contradictions faced by agents in Pristina. Jansen asserts that, in the light of narratives focusing on national identity and conflict, it is highly important to concentrate on how agents consider their circumstances (Jansen 2006: 435-436). Similarly, Kolind, from fieldwork in Bosnia, describes the resistance by Bosnian Muslims of an “ethno-nationalist” discourse through the conscious avoidance of national stereotypes (Kolind 2007: 124; Kolind 2008: 29). Indeed, Fitore, when discussing her faith, explains that her faith and patriotism at times conflict, saying that having a best friend who is Catholic prompts her to try to both maintain her friendship and faith at the same time, despite the difference. She continually engages in a process of negotiating both similarities and differences.

One of these differences, as discussed by Fitore, Blerta, and Pranvera is gender identity. All three

note that they consider being female to be part of their identities, with both Fitore and Pranvera emphasising the strength and solidarity they feel through recognising their femininity. Indeed, Pranvera notes that it is through their shared characteristic of being women that she and a wealthier friend have become close and, as a result, she loses shame, a product of the judgement of women for presence in public space and politics, according to Helms (Helms 2013: 177). Yet, there is another side to this equation, for Blerta describes how the pressure her family has placed on her, due to her being female, has prevented her from pursuing her dream of a career in karate. This dualistic separation between men and women is also noted by Reineck as being particularly noticeable in rural parts of Kosovo, and it is viewed by Helms as a logic for the use of rape as a weapon during the wars in former Yugoslavia (Reineck 2000: 361; Helms 2007: 236-237). Indeed, Duijzings points out that women in Kosovo are viewed as representatives of the nation, a point noted by Helms as well (Duijzings 2000: 20-21; Helms 2007: 237). Yet, the variability of concepts of gender in Northern Albania, alluded to by Fitore, is also reflected, for Young details how women may become perceived as men, with the associated benefits attached, in her ethnography on “sworn virgins” (Young 2000). Rather than being static, meanings of femininity and masculinity appear to be more fluid, including in more rural areas of Kosovo.

The informants' accounts also portray a division between concepts of urban and rural, with people from Pristina (and other cities such as Đakovica/Gjakova) viewed as urban and people from less densely-populated areas viewed as rural. These differences are manifested through the use of the terms *qytetar* (“citizen” or urban-dweller) and *katundar* (“villager” or rural-dweller), and this division has been noted by anthropologists working in Kosovo (Duijzings 2000: 10, 20; Schwandner-Sievers and Duijzings 2004: 1; Luci 2014: 183-184). I have also noted the presence of this “rural-urban” discursive formation in Chapter 4, where it is drawn upon by actors in Pristina's public spaces as part of an effort to exclude individuals from rural areas from locations such as cafés (Henig 2016: 50). It has also been observed in Belgrade by Jansen, who describes how a discourse has been created where newcomers from rural areas



are located in a marginal position through being characterised as wearing “white socks” (Jansen 2005: 163). This discursive formation denies the newcomers the ability to consider themselves “urban”, and it is built upon the Balkanist perception that the urban-dwellers are modern while those with “white socks” are “invading peasants” (Jansen 2005: 153, 163-164). Regarding Sarajevo, Stefansson presents a likewise inference on “urban exile,” arguing that people from Sarajevo “portray themselves as 'cultural strangers' within their 'own' city” (Stefansson 2007: 60). Meanwhile, Thiessen makes a similar observation regarding the Macedonian capital of Skopje, stating, “The women with whom I did research were most interested in proving that they were urban, no matter whether they lived in the city or in the village. They saw themselves as urban citizens in a global world, not as peasants” (Thiessen 2012: 104). However, although it is possible to see the similarities between these articles and the accounts described above, Pranvera's friendship with a wealthier urban woman shows that the boundaries between those from the city and those from the country may be negotiated through recognition of another form of shared identity. Indeed, with accounts such as Pranvera's, which is from the point of view of someone with a family background from a rural locality, we see the relevance of providing a “rural-urban” perspective which challenges solely “urban” descriptions of sociality and provides additional nuance (Henig 2016: 50).

A third aspect of identity discussed within the above interviews is religion. In the literature, a division has been cited in Kosovo between those Albanians who consider themselves to be Catholics, Sunni Muslims and Bektashi Sufis (Duijzings 2000: 65-66, 106-107; Schwandner-Sievers and Duijzings 2004: 26-27). However, Duijzings points out that religious divides have become less visible than the division portrayed between Kosovo Albanians and Serbians (Duijzings 2004: 29-30). From the interviews above, it can be seen that differences in terms of religion are acknowledged, but they are not seen as necessarily preventing interactions between people of different faiths.

To conceptualise these differences, we can use the concept of “multi-scalar sovereignty,” utilised by Bryant in the *Post-Ottoman Coexistence* edited volume to conceptualise the house, neighbourhood

(*mahalle*), church and nation-state as domains with their own “sovereign thresholds” (Bryant 2016: 24). Regarding these domains, she writes, “These embedded sovereignties were made possible when the state and realm were perceived to belong to a dynasty but not to a 'people.' Although the Ottoman Empire was a Muslim Sunni state, the state was not equivalent to territory but rather imposed upon it and thereby encompassing all that lived within it” (Bryant 2016: 24). With influence from Shryock, she writes that an example of a “shift” from one scale to another “is when the space of the neighbourhood, with its own intimate sovereignty, is overlaid by the exclusive territorial claims of the nation-state-claims that are often also in conflict with others” (Bryant 2016: 25).

As such, the term “multi-scalar sovereignty” in this case refers to domains associated with spaces which align on differing spatial scales, with, for example, the house being encompassed by the neighbourhood which is itself overlaid by the nation-state. The term highlights the multi-faceted nature of identity, emphasised in the accounts previously related in this chapter. Bakshi's chapter on trade in a “shared space” in Nicosia, the capital city of Cyprus focuses on Ermou Street, a former market street shared by the Greek, Turkish and Armenian communities (Bakshi 2016). The article makes use of the concept of multi-scalar sovereignty in describing an “understanding” in Nicosia that the city was “a number of overlapping public and private zones” rather than a single “'shared space' to which every citizen had the 'right' to access” (Bakshi 2016: 107, 119). Within this milieu, women would experience Ermou very differently than men, in that, although women would shop there, they would be unable to enter the street's restaurants and cafés without being judged with a “'bad name'” (Bakshi 2016: 119). Furthermore, she describes three “realms” within Ermou Street: the more mixed streets where commercial activities took place, spaces near the streets such as clubs which were exclusively used by one group or another and neighbourhoods (*mahalle*) which were, except for notable exceptions, “most often ethnically segregated” (Bakshi 2016: 119-121).

When discussing identity in Pristina, the concept of “multi-scalar sovereignty” assists in

conceptualising the existence of the multiple social identities experienced by agents, emphasising how they are multi-faceted and linked with at the “interstices” of different social spaces (Brkovic 2015a: 58). This is further present in the different networks attached to different cafés, with the Pink Café, for example, being associated with the wealthy and considered to be inaccessible for those not meeting the required class and regional background, exhibiting a pattern of spatial exclusion noted by Greenberg in terms of protests in Belgrade's public space explicitly addressed to people from Belgrade, rather than more rural regions in Serbia (Greenberg 2014: 54-55, 73). The family, as discussed in Chapter 4 appears to be associated with the house, and, as such, familial identity appears to be as well. Meanwhile, femininity in Pristina appears to be more associated with private spaces, while masculinity is more associated with public spaces, exhibiting Helms's description of gendered sociality in post-Yugoslav Bosnia and Herzegovina (Helms 2010: 18). Furthermore, in the case of the above example, of Albanian or Kosovar Albanian identity expressed alongside other identities, it can be seen that “Albanian” identity is on a scale which for some overlays relations of the house and neighbourhood as well as Kosovo's boundaries, while for others it remains within the state's boundaries with the term “Kosovar Albanian.” As such, it can be seen that Pristina is a heterogeneous rather than homogeneous space through the existence of multi-faceted identities and the presence of multiple discursive formations in Pristina's public sphere.

However, the extent to which a “Kosovar” or “Kosovar Albanian” identity exists, and whether a separate Albanian identity exists above that of Kosovo's “scale”, appears to be a matter of debate and concern among my informants. Anagnostopoulos argues that national identities, such as Kosovar or Albanian, are contingent on political processes (Anagnostopoulos 2016: 86-87, 95-96). As a result, it is necessary to explore the processes through which agents work out their identities and question the salience of such conceptual categories. We then move from merely problematising national identity to delving into how Prishtinalis navigate it while negotiating networks of inter-personal relationships. This

echoes recent moves in post-Yugoslav anthropology to transition from a primary focus on identity to the everyday circumstances affecting people living in post-Yugoslav contexts (Jansen 2015: 11-12; Jansen, Brkovic and Celebivic 2016: 7-10).

### **Hegemony and Identity**

In this section, I explore further how people in Pristina consider Albanian identity, questioning its salience over other conceptual categories in the city's heterogeneous, post-Yugoslav context. When telling their stories, informants often highlight the importance of material spaces and explaining the significance of memories of the past, particularly resistance during the 1990s to the Yugoslav government under Milosevic. I argue that these perspectives show an interplay between symbolic interpretation and materiality, and that the concept of spatiotemporality, as related by Jansen, may be useful for conceptualising how these perspectives are deployed in the present.

Fitore's explanation that her identity has been influenced by the war and Serbia displays both the significance of memory and of private spaces. Her description displays an element of reflecting on the 1990s while simultaneously interrogating the present. She describes her childhood as part of a patriotic family and then expresses outrage towards contemporary political leaders in Kosovo, stating that “I'm fighting because I'm Albanian” is a phrase one would have said during Kosovo War to explain their motivations. Expressing a “politics of disappointment, “ Fitore criticises the leaders, such as those associated with the PDK party like Hashim Thaqi, have abandoned the struggles during the 1990s in favour of pursuing political power (Greenberg 2014: 5,8).

Furthermore, Fitore's explanation, through focusing on her family, thus focuses primarily on private spaces such as houses, where she was raised as well as where parallel schools had been held. She relates how her family had kept a book entitled *Lahuta e Malësisë* (“the Highland Lute”), written by an Albanian writer named Gjergj Fishta, which they had hidden in a whole within their house, because the Serbian police would arrest those who possessed it. According to Fitore, the reason for this is that the

book “represented patriotism” and, as such, by arresting those who possessed it and seizing the book, the police had hoped to snuff out resistance to their regime. However, the book's location within the home suggests the significance of the home as a space of education, where symbols associated with Albanian identity, such as *Lahuta e Malësisë*, along with beliefs, would be inculcated to members of the family. Indeed, Fitore gives another example, saying that her father had once made her give him her *besa* that she would not climb a tree. In a manner suggesting that she was also trying to teach me the significance of *besa*, she relates that she had kept *besa* by not climbing the tree until her father allowed her to (thus nullifying the *besa*) some years later. In essence, Fitore's father had taught her the value of *besa*, which he had then used to prevent her from climbing a tree and which had then been taught to me through the story. Hence, it can be seen here that, for Fitore, the house had been characterised by education and inculcation, thus greatly influencing her perception of being an Albanian. However, this narrative is also framed as a memory of the past, with the result that the house's materiality is framed as a symbol of her identity as an Albanian and the events which have occurred there shape her perception today.

Qendrim, the previously mentioned activist-organiser with Lëvizja Vetëvendosje, describes his influences, which include memories of his grandfather and experiences during his childhood with his family. He had idolised his grandfather who had passed away in 1997. During the Second World War, Qendrim's grandfather had fought as a Partizan against the German resistance, and he had been ideologically motivated. Consequently, Qendrim heard stories of the war from his grandfather, and he had grown to idealise the struggle. However, he relates that he and others during the war had also been raised during the war, with the result being that, although he idealised his grandfather's Partizan struggle, they also looked towards the UÇK. According to him, children used to play with gun toys during 1999 and 2000, pretending to be UÇK soldiers, and they would also watch televised news broadcasts depicting UÇK soldiers with guns and the Serbian army with tanks and conducting massacres. From these broadcasts, they would keep statistics on the winners, losers and dead, and, separately, they would record

UÇK documentaries. Looking up to both the UÇK and the Partizans, Qendrim was thus influenced by memories associated with his family and the house, where the news was being watched.

As such, with Qendrim, we can see similar interplay of material space, memory and imagery of Albanian national identity as discussed by Fitore. According to Qendrim, the result is that Kosovo's independence in 2008 coincided with a flag which was deemed “artificial”. He states, “We saw ourselves as Albanians. We had been raised as Albanians. There was no choice.” For Qendrim, there was “no choice”, from his experiences, to consider himself an Albanian rather than a Kosovar.

Meanwhile, at a bar in Pristina in February 2015, Rinor, a consultant in his early 30s, reflects on his childhood, declaring, “As kids we were supposed to play with toys, but our childhood was political, and at 14 we knew our childhood had been political.” He roots his statement through further reflecting on his age, and he states, “If you are 30, you were in the middle, old enough to understand a bit. You were a war child, fighting with Serbian friends [as a sport] ...When you're 30, you're old enough to be aware of processes.” The “processes” he speaks of refer to the period of rule under Yugoslavia, Milosevic's regime during the 1990s and the war, the pre-war period and the subsequent independence. With this explanation, he concludes, regarding people in their 30s, “They've witnessed a lot to give a damn now.”

As can be seen within the above quotes, Rinor addresses the experience of growing up during the late 1980s and 1990s and coming to adulthood during the subsequent years. As such, he simultaneously reflects upon his experiences, and expresses disillusion with politics in contemporary Kosovo. Indeed, his quote indicates the simulation of the war in a similar manner as Qendrim, and within the same conversation, he describes a protest he had been told to attend in 1997 because it had been run by other pupils. He recalls chanting “Democracy, democracy” without understanding what they were chanting for or why and, regarding this, he asks rhetorically, “I'm a kid, what do I know about independence?”

Rinor's account displays politicisation through education and a pattern of looking towards the

past to interpret the present. This pattern is continued by Ariana, an artist in her mid-twenties, who states, “Before the war, I was more Albanian than I am today,” viewing this as because taking on an identity may be a means of protecting yourself. Indeed, she explains that the names given to children at the time are from this, with, for example, the name “Qendresa” meaning “resistance”. This is within the context of her experience in school, as she explains, “At school, we were divided in between a Serbian part and an Albanian part, and I was afraid to look at the part of Serb space. It was just that we saw that it was not for us.” The projection of Albanian identity, for Ariana, was partially a means of protection against a Serbian other which inhabited her school.

Similarly, to Rinor, Ariana describes a protest during the 1990s, when she was 2 or 3 years old: “I remember having keys, shaking keys to show you're in prison.” As a child, she had then been mobilised as part of the struggle against the Serbian regime, a struggle which had been linked with her family. “My father,” Ariana explains, “was an activist, not a UÇK but in protest, and they took him and beat him,” elaborating that she has a mental picture of the event, yet she cannot recall it. She views it as a “fabricated memory” which had been related to her by her family and implanted itself in her mind. Furthermore, she relates that she had a hatred towards the Serbians, because they had killed her grandfather, her grandfather's brother and two others during the Second World War. As she had heard from her family, “The Serbians had said they would be together after the war, but they killed them.”

Returning to her house, Ariana says, “I remember when the Serbians came to take us out of our house. I was 10 and I was drawing a UÇK image. I hid the drawing so that the Serbians wouldn't think we were UÇK. The Serbians came in and said, 'Look at this house because you will never see it again.’” She relates that the family had then been taken to Macedonia, where they had been delayed on the border for four days before arriving in the city of Struga, near Lake Ohrid, where they had stayed and she had begun to go to school with other Albanian children. While at the school, they had found graffiti symbolising “Being Together, Save Serbia”, which they would draw stars over when found.

For Ariana, education within the house played a prominent role in her then-stronger perception of Albanian identity. This appears to have been combined with the drawing of symbols related with the UÇK and, as in Struga, the negation of symbols associated with the Serbian regime, as in “Being Together, Save Serbia.” Her memories touch upon materiality, particularly her house and the graffiti, but she interprets them as part of her experiences during the war and the time before.

The impact of communication within the family, in this case, has also been shared by Genc, a translator in his mid-twenties who has recently returned from Germany. Sitting in the Sun café, I ask him how he perceives his identity, and he answers by first stating that, “Albanian identity is planted into you by your parents.” He explains that he had grown up as being Albanian, and, as such, the identity was not lost on him and his sister, although they had grown up in Germany as part of the diaspora. As well as, due to Albania's name recognition, it being easier for one to say Albanian than Kosovar, another reason, according to Genc, to claim Albanian identity is that one claims a Kosovar' nationality. Yet, people regard the Kosovar identity as “giving up” on the struggle, because they “dream about reunification.” In other words, Albanian identity for many symbolises memories of the war and time before for many in Pristina. From interplay of material space and experience, the perspectives are brought to bear upon the present.

In a different vein from those above, Idriz, described earlier as a formerly-active member of Lëvizja Vetëvendosje, states that his “formative moment” had been 10 February, 2007, when two Lëvizja Vetëvendosje activists had been called during a protest by UNMIK police. He describes it as a “traumatising situation,” because it had been the first time since 1999 that protesters had been killed in Pristina. His teacher had then discussed the significance of the event with his class the next day in school and soon after he met a friend at vigil held in the square for the killed activists. This friend then recruited him into the movement and supported his ongoing candidacy during their school's student elections. Hence, Idriz's experience with Lëvizja Vetëvendosje began following the activists' deaths in 2007, and much of his transformation occurred as a result of discussions and contacts within his school. As a



material space, along with the parallel secondary schools and houses, its influence shows an interplay between experience and material space when explaining views of the past in relation with political identity.

Indeed, Idriz states that, from the protest, he had seen himself as an “ultra nationalist”, although the use of the Albanian flag had been considered “vulgar” at that time. Even though he had believed in Albanian mythology, he considers his nationalism to have been a “reaction” against UNMIK. Consequently, nationalism for Idriz was more of an instrument and, as such, taking on an Albanian identity was then a means of protest utilised as a result of his interpretation of the deaths on 10 February 2007 and his discussions and contacts within his school.

The accounts in this section show an interplay of material space and immaterial symbolism where, echoing the discussion on spatiality in Chapter 3 and 4, agents make sense of their surroundings through practice and symbolism. In these accounts, houses and schools become associated with the process of forming Albanian political identities through the experiences and practices linked with them through memories. Consequently, this combination of spatiality, the “when”, and temporality, the “where”, reflects the concept of spatiotemporality, as used by Jansen and discussed in Chapter 1, through referring to a sense of time framed within spatial boundaries (Jansen 2015: 17-18). For Jansen, residents of Sarajevo and Bosnians in general are “stuck” within a “Meantime” characterised by uncertainty over the future directions of their lives in Bosnia (Jansen 2015: 161). In Sarajevo, these perceptions are shaped by experiences with the city's decaying infrastructure, which, for Jansen's informants, represents both the past effectiveness of the Yugoslav government, the lack of attention paid to it by the current Bosnian government and the desire for “normal lives” within an “ordered” Bosnian state (Jansen 2015: 67-72, 81).

For those discussed within this chapter, spatiotemporality is significant through referring to an intersection between time and space in perceptions. The accounts above bridge spatiality and temporality

through deploying memories in an analysis of the contemporary political situation. Albanian identity, for several of the people whose views are described within this chapter, comes to represent frustration with Kosovo's political system through being rhetorically associated with memories of past resistance to the Yugoslav government before and during the 1999 war. By referring to material spaces and experiences in memories of previous events as explanations of their current political stances, informants bring representations of the past into the present. That this spatiotemporal frustration is linked with Albanian national identity and frequently appropriated to explain currently-held perceptions of that identity portrays a discursive formation which has been continuously present in political discussion. Hence, the discursive formation of Albanian national identity in the public sphere has salience for many informants over-top other formations, such as the rural-urban category.

### **Solidarity in Spaces**

For people spoken with in Pristina, Albanian identity is also associated with solidarity and togetherness against the Yugoslav government during the 1990s. As explained in Chapter 4, these perspectives of solidarity arise from interactions in material locations such as squares. This interplay between materiality and immateriality, where the built environment is used as a location to protest, shows that gathering in public spaces became linked with concepts of Albanian national identity through performance and imagery. Solidarity, for those involved during the 1990s, meant the togetherness of those who considered themselves as Albanian in public versus the Yugoslav government.

Rita, an aforementioned human rights activist during the 1990s, describes her motivation to become involved in activism as being a result of the ascension of Slobodan Milosevic (“whom everyone thought was a democrat,” she relates) to power in Yugoslavia. According to her, “While communism in Yugoslavia was not the same as in the USSR, Albanians felt the difference. Albanians were only 3.5 million of the population of Yugoslavia.” For her, the Albanian population then felt pressure which was exacerbated by Serbian rhetoric referring to Albanian women as being “producers of milk.” With the

ascension of Milosevic, she knew that women would be “targeted”, and so she began her activist activities in 1989 by writing about the situations faced by Albanian women in Kosovo. As a result of “beatings” of women which occurred at night, where there would be no eye-witnesses, she then founded a gynaecological clinic in order to provide medical services for women and a space, in an enclosed environment, within which they could tell their stories. For Rita, it can then be seen that an influence on her activist activities on behalf of Albanian women is the rhetoric of women as “producers of milk,” a rhetoric of exclusion which prompted her to feel as if she had to take action. This reflects Helms's notion, discussed earlier in this chapter, of women in the region of the Balkans being viewed as symbolising the nation and, hence, targets during warfare (Helms 2007: 236-237). Rita's story indicates that she has viewed the Serbian government's actions in terms of its conduct towards Albanian women and, as a result, the government's rhetoric can then be seen to have had an impact on her activities, which had been influenced by her perception of femininity and national identity.

Besiana, an activist mentioned in the previous chapter who has been involved since the 1990s, specifically describes the motivation of solidarity when I ask her about her motivations to take part in humanitarian activities and protests against the Serbian regime. She illustrates a spirit of togetherness during the protests, one which she refers to earlier within our conversation as a “humanitarian spirit,” when I ask her what originally motivated her to start activities with the Motrat Qiriazi organisation (“Qiriazi Sisters,” founded with her sister) and the Kosovo Women's Network. A feeling of solidarity had prompted her to become involved in helping women during the difficult 1990s, keeping her in the movement through feelings of togetherness generated during protests.

It appears to be in reference to solidarity that Behar, an IT consultant also mentioned earlier in this chapter, declares, “The Serbians made us connect with each other because we had an enemy and we invented some rules...If you did otherwise, if you did not help or follow the way of living, you would be perceived as different and shameful.” Within this quote he is referring to the Kanun and

concepts of shame, discussed briefly in this chapter and in more detail in the chapter on honour. However, he also refers to a more abstract notion of “connecting with each other,” with an obligation to “help,” which was prompted by the Serbian regime's actions. As such, when considering Behar's viewpoint, along with Rita and Besiana's, togetherness, or actions on behalf of togetherness, appear to have been undertaken in response to repression by the Serbian government. Therefore, when Ariana describes identity as a means of protecting oneself, she refers to solidarity. By taking on an Albanian identity, you were included within a larger group, and you would feel shelter, “despite the snipers and soldiers,” as Besiana states in the previous chapter. Thus, when pondering Besiana's description of solidarity within protests, it becomes apparent that implicit within her description is also solidarity within public spaces, due to the protesters being together in public and within full view of Serbian security forces.

This account reflects a particularly vivid account in Razsa's ethnography following a conversation with Croatian activist in Italy after a protest had been countered by police: “I only feel safe,' he says, 'when I'm in a group large enough to defend itself.' We all know what he means. This sense of a collective need- but also a collective capacity- to defend ourselves will stay with all of us” (Razsa 2015: 136). It brings to mind the question of solidarity in Pristina as being a spatial phenomenon, one which, through its rhetorical construction of solidarity through performative interaction in material locations within public spaces, reflects the construction of friendship (“commensal solidarity”) between men in the Greek town of Mouria's coffee houses, as discussed by Papataxiarchis (Papataxiarchis 1991: 169).

Indeed, Besiana and Rita both discuss the significance of other public spaces, cafés, for the protest movement, with cafés such as *Hani Dy Robertëve* (“The Inn of the Two Roberts”, also known simply as *Hani Dy*) being prominently mentioned in their narratives. Regarding *Hani Dy*, Besiana states, “The main restaurant was *Hani Dy*, run by Fadil and Merita. He enabled us to meet there and he

played a most important role...The police would come to restaurants, and we would say we were just having dinner.” Rita also addresses the cafés: “The first places to be attacked were cafés...We could not meet at the centre, so in the cafés we were planning clandestine activities.” In *Hani Dy*, in the Santea neighbourhood, they would hold their meetings in the basement, hidden from view, while they would hold other meetings in places such as Fereti, which had been located close to her residence and would post guards when they were meeting. They relate that they were blocked from meeting in the city's larger public spaces, with the “Hotel Grand”, for example, owned by Arkan, the infamous Serbian paramilitary figure. Blocked from the centre, the activists would rely on cafés, privately-owned establishments, for meeting each other and planning their activities. The cafés would then be places for both organisation and solidarity, allowing activists to continue to socialise amidst conditions of repression, defusing anxiety, according to Neofotistos's study of sociality during conflict in Macedonia, and maintaining “long-standing, interpersonal relationships” (Neofotistos 2012: 58, 66).

Indeed, this perhaps illuminates further why Bardhyl, addressing cafés, states, “From the cafés we went to war.” They were, according to him, “the place Albanians went to socialise” and, indeed, he also acknowledges that they have still retained that socialising role. Indeed, the reason why, he states, is that there had been no public institutions within which to distil propaganda, and so the cafés had been used as places to spread information. However, they were also places to socialise, places through which solidarity was generated through a collective presence. The networks which met in cafés would then plan, organise and execute protests and other actions against the Serbian regime, moving from the cafes’ protected environs into the square together, mirroring Razsa's description of anarchist activists in Zagreb utilising cafés and houses as locations for cementing their social ties, sharing time, before participating in political actions (Razsa 2014: 34-25, 105). Arriving in the squares and streets, the assembled activists, through their presence together in protest, represented themselves and their views within the wider public sphere and proclaimed their right to participate in the city (Yeh 2009: 482-483;

Greenberg 2014: 68-69; Razsa 2015: 101, 202). Public spaces provided venues for gathering, and solidarity became linked with Albanian nationality, a discursive formation identified with by individuals from different localities and networks.

### **Albanian National Identity through Hegemony**

In this chapter, I have problematised the notion of Albanian national identity in Pristina by placing it within a heterogeneous context where different discourses of belonging, from those based on locality (urbanity and rurality) are present alongside religion, concepts associated with gender such as femininity and the contesting perspectives of “Kosovar” and “Albanian in Kosovo” national identity. I subsequently explain how, for some informants, a discursive formation of Albanian national identity has become meaningful, considering this as occurring through drawing upon a notion of spatiotemporality associated with the 1990s. I build upon examples within this chapter by explaining that solidarity between agents in public spaces has been produced through rhetoric referring to the discursive formation of Albanian national identity.

In this section, I utilise the view of hegemony outlined in Chapters 1, 2 and 3 in order to interpret how the discursive formation emerges in the public sphere through being deployed through rhetoric in public space and how it continues to affect interaction in public spaces as part of the dialogue illustrated in Chapter 3. In the introductory Chapter 1, I develop a concept of hegemony based on continuing scholarly conversations in post-Yugoslav anthropology, Green's ethnography of north-western Greece and Laclau's work on rhetoric. I theorise hegemony as a simultaneously immaterial and material process where certain discursive frameworks are privileged over others and which, when drawn upon through rhetoric, re-structure the positions of agents within networks. In Chapter 2, I elaborate on the role of rhetoric in this process, arguing that Laclau considers hegemony as both a process involving rhetoric and the resulting emergence of a configuration which is more solid the longer it lasts. Chapter 3 places hegemony within a spatial context, locating the discursive formations being structured within the public

sphere, while rhetorical performances by agents occur in public spaces.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Laclau illustrates that heterogeneity is a characteristic of the environment upon which hegemony is built. This proceeds from a realisation, originating in part from his time as an activist, that socialist movements had to become umbrellas in order to bring a diversified array of groups together under a coalition (Laclau 2014: 3). Hegemony, the relation formed through the incorporation of particularistic elements under a signifier as well as the process of this occurring, is then predicated upon the recognition of heterogeneity within a movement or, more broadly, a space or context. Indeed, regarding Pristina, we can see from the examples above that, although many people affiliate with an “Albanian” identity, that identity is not the only one which matters to them. Many interlocutors prefer an “Albanian” identity over “Kosovar” or “Kosovar Albanian.”

The interviews portrayed within this chapter show that Albanian national identity has meaning for those who take it on. Hence, Albanian identity appears as an “empty signifier,” a term left unfilled of content, to unify particularistic elements in horizontal relations within a “chain of equivalence.” However, because the Albanian identity has meaning for informants, rather than as a mere vessel, I take an adapted view of Laclau's framework by arguing that the concept of Albanian identity may then be seen as a contingent, rather than “empty”, signifier with which agents have identified with, resulting in the creation of a discursive formation in the public sphere which is connected with concepts such as *besa* and *nder*. This formation is drawn on by agents in public spaces through rhetoric.

Indeed, this dynamic is reflected during interactions in public spaces. As described in the previous chapter, Rita's explanation that she had to have been trusted in order to convince others to work with her indicates that her social reputation as a trustworthy person prompted reactions from other agents within and outside her network, as observers in public spaces. Consequently, it can then be seen that the others who chose to work with her had been persuaded that she was reputable, because she had “put her hand in the fire”. Considering the link between *besim* (“trust”) and *besa* (“oath”), as discussed in chapter 4, it

can be seen that Rita had drawn on a discourse of Albanian national identity through being seen by observing agents as able to hold a *besa*.

Transitioning towards a larger scale, a similar development may be seen with the Albanian flag, which appears in the narratives of several informants, such as Rozafa, who have described themselves as being attached towards it and disconnected from the Kosovo flag. The Albanian flag, as a visual symbol of Albanian identity, then unifies its elements through representing the contingent signifier. Terms such as *nder* and *besa*, linked with the concept of Albanian identity, are linked with the signifier of being Albanian on a conceptual level, as the previous chapter on honour shows, as well as interviews in this chapter such as Bardhyl's and Behar's. By referring to *besa*, *besim*, *nder* or the Albanian flag, for example, agents invoke the signifier of a discursive formation of Albanian national identity, one which emerges through the rhetorical process of hegemony and possesses force through its effects when drawn upon. To informants, this discursive formation comes to represent solidarity, a togetherness which is co-produced through performed, immaterial symbolism and material elements in public spaces. In terms of "cultural intimacy," it represents identification with signifiers of Albanian national identity which fosters perceptions of recognition with others who identify similarly (Herzfeld 1997: 2-4, 41-42, 45, 72-73). This interest in solidarity appears throughout this chapter, with numerous accounts associating Albanian national identity with perceptions of togetherness with others who identify similarly.

However, through rhetoric the discursive formation of Albanian national identity has also become associated with a notion of spatiotemporality discussed in the previous sections where memories of previous experiences in material spaces, including houses and public spaces such as cafés and squares, frame interpretations of the present. As discussed by Jansen (described in the previous section of this chapter), the frustration felt by informants towards political figures in Kosovo may also be considered part of this spatiotemporal framework, and, henceforth may become incorporated under the discursive formation, as seen with the noted reference of disillusion during the January protests and present in



interviews where frustration is expressed alongside a perception of Albanian identity.

This coexistence within the discursive formation between solidarity and spatiotemporal frustration over the government may be explained through a concept drawn on by Laclau, “antagonism” (Laclau 2005: 85). According to Laclau, hegemonic discursive formations take shape when a heterogeneous context becomes split between “two camps” (Laclau 2005: 83). As the gulf between them widens, elements (or “agents”) become forced more and more to choose between them (Laclau 2014: 68). Correspondingly, as this happens, discursive formations become more and more solid, as there exists little alternative than to choose between one or the other (Laclau 2005: 138). Elements are more prone to become attached to a signifier when the identity they are moving towards becomes “negated” by the appearance of the “enemy” (Laclau 2014: 106). That is, they move towards a signifier when their own identities are being threatened (Laclau 2014: 106, 113). Through antagonism, viewed by Laclau as necessary for the production of hegemonic discursive formations, disparate elements are then brought together under a signifier.

For the question of Albanian identity and sociality in Pristina, antagonism appears in narratives concerning the events of the 1990s. When Rita describes her motivation to engage in activism, a key element within her narrative is the actions of the Serbian regime, the rhetoric of Albanian women as being “producers of milk,” a descriptor having sub-human connotations which, for Rita, had indicated that Albanian women would be targeted following Milosevic's rise to power. Another example of antagonism during the 1990s may be seen spatially: because the Albanian population had been prevented from meeting in the centre of Pristina, the population would then move towards cafés in outlying neighbourhoods (as discussed earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 4), thus widening a gulf in between the Serbian and Albanian populations. The resulting protests against the Serbian regime could then also be seen as a solidifying of the population under the identity of being Albanian, as shown by the participation of Ariana and Rinor in protests at young ages. Hence, the rhetorical production of

antagonism in public spaces prompts these activists towards the signifier of Albanian national identity, fostering in turn perceptions of solidarity as the emerging discursive formation comes to represent togetherness.

However, this process has not ended with the 1998-1999 Kosovo War. Instead, this process continues, with Albanian identity appearing as an affiliation among informants in many of the interviews presented within this chapter. In Green's terms, the discursive formation of Albanian national identity is hegemonic because it has power, "teeth", through remaining in the public sphere continuing to shape interactions in Pristina's public spaces (Green 2005: 158). Responses from some informants, such as Rozafa and Idriz, indicate that antagonism persists, but between the promoters of the Kosovar identity (implicitly, Kosovo's government) and those who prefer the Albanian identity. Idriz, for example, states that, for him and his associates, there is no choice but for them to consider themselves Albanian in the face of attempts to create a Kosovar identity which are backed by those referred to by Idriz as the "new" UÇK leadership. Rozafa's narrative portrays the government as being aligned with Serbia through the perceived attempt to destroy the Albanian identity, and Genc's statement that one who considers themselves Kosovar will be seen as "giving up" on the struggle shows that there are few alternatives but to consider oneself Albanian or Kosovar, with taking on the latter being seen by some as an act of betrayal. Additionally, the spatiotemporal frustration described in this chapter and Chapter 6 may be viewed as antagonistic as well, as it is grouped by informants with antipathy towards Kosovo's official flag. Hence, both perceptions spatiotemporal frustration and solidarity coexist within the discursive formation of Albanian national identity, which, through performances in public space, has become hegemonic within the public sphere.

Through the discursive formation's continuing presence, and the above discussion on antagonism, we see that hegemony also involves dominance over other discursive formations. Implicit in Laclau's formulation is the idea that the signifier unites the elements within a chain of terms through being a

metaphor. Fitore's statement that she is dismayed that some of Kosovo's contemporary politicians are moving away from the Albanian identity (because one would have said, "I'm fighting because I'm Albanian") illustrates attachment to the label of being Albanian both on her part as well as those she is referring to. This is also shown in Idriz's account of his motivations to become involved in *Lëvizja Vetëvendosje*, where he states that, due to idolising both the UÇK and the Partizans, there is "no choice" for him to consider himself as a nationality other than Albanian. Furthermore, Rita's narrative of becoming an activist due to perceiving the Serbian regime's rhetoric as being against Albanian women displays a similar attachment to the Albanian identity which intersects with a gender identity. As such, there is an attachment among signified elements towards a signifier, although it appears to be contingent on the context of the interaction rather than empty. The hegemonic discursive formation discussed by Laclau also reflects Green's formulation of hegemony in another way, in that agents felt they did not have the choice to decide whether they considered themselves to be of Albanian nationality.

This argument is reflected within post-Yugoslav ethnography by Hromadzic, who illustrates that the rise of ethno-national discourses in Bosnia and Herzegovina "emptied" formerly shared spaces, as the frameworks re-organised the "political imagination" along ethno-national lines (Hromadzic 2015: 11, 13, 16, 185). Gordy's argument that the Serbian government's control rested on the "destruction of alternatives" or potential challenges to its rule applies in this case, where the power of the hegemonic discursive formation of Albanian national identity prompts actors in Pristina to feel as if they have no choice but to identify with its signifiers (Gordy 1999: 200, 206-207).

Therefore, this discussion suggests the identification of agents with the discursive formation of Albanian national identity, reflecting Laclau's description of a formation of elements bound together by a signifier. Laclau's examples in *On Populist Reason*, where he theorises the hegemonic discursive formation of a group under the empty signifier of populism ("the people"), create a picture of a people identifying with a signifier (Laclau 2005: 134-138). Here, the signifier would be imagery associated with

“Albanian” identity. Thus, Albanian identity continues to be a discursive formation in Pristina's public sphere, with many informants considering themselves to be Albanian due to a perceived lack (or “destruction”) of alternatives, feelings of solidarity with others and spatiotemporal frustration with Kosovo's government. It has power within the public sphere through shaping the agents' choices and maintaining its salience within dialogues in public spaces.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter on rhetoric and hegemony in Pristina, I show that a discursive formation has emerged in Pristina's public sphere which is focused upon Albanian national identity. In order to argue this, I present accounts from interviews where informants discuss their perceptions of identity. I argue that these accounts portray a heterogeneous context where perceptions of Albanian national identity are not universal and multiple aspects of identity are emphasised, thereby linking the discussion with Bryant's use of “multi-scalar sovereignty” and characterising identity in Pristina as multi-faceted. I then investigate several interviews to show how informants negotiate this milieu, asserting that, alongside this heterogeneity, the accounts portray a notion of spatiotemporality which links past experiences in the built environment, including houses alongside the cafés and squares of public space, with symbolism of Albanian national identity, consequently showing that the discursive formation draws on memories of the past while responding to the present and representing solidarity.

Utilising the theory of hegemony outlined in Chapters 1, 2 and 3, I thus contend that this process occurs through the discursive formation of Albanian national identity, located within the public sphere, which encompasses experiences of spatiotemporality and terms that are then drawn upon by agents through rhetoric in public space. As agents draw upon it to affect ties with other agents, the discursive formation is reinforced and persists within the public sphere after its emergence, with many informants in Pristina identifying with signifiers associated with it due to a perceived lack of alternatives, spatiotemporal frustration with Kosovo's government and feelings of solidarity with others who perceive

themselves similarly. Emerging and remaining through rhetoric in Pristina's public spaces, the discursive formation dominates within the public sphere.

## Chapter 8: Conclusion

### **The Argument Thus Far**

In the introduction, Chapter 1, I set the stage for the following ethnographic exploration of rhetorical action in Pristina. First, I provide a vignette of a protest witnessed on 24 January 2015 in order to illustrate the context of political action in Pristina. Second, I apply additional layers of nuance by presenting a brief account of socio-economic and political developments in Pristina since 1974, highlighting modes of sociality centring on networked relationships and the emergence of concepts of Albanian national identity. Third, I add a theoretical framework drawn from the growing field of post-Yugoslav anthropology, Green's ethnography of north-western Greece and Laclau's theory of rhetorical hegemony, basing the dissertation on a formulation of hegemony as a simultaneously immaterial and material process which links the dominance of discursive formations with the agents which utilise them through rhetoric. Fourth, after summarising the dissertation's argument, a focus on the role of rhetoric by agents in hegemony, I then explain the dissertation's methodology as a combination of formal Social Network and Cultural Domain Analyses alongside more traditionally anthropological participant observation, unstructured interviews and semi-structured interviews.

In Chapter 2, I engage with literature on rhetoric, commencing with Burke, progressing to the "Rhetoric Culture" theorists (including Girke, Strecker, Carrithers, and Fernandez), covering Herzfeld's concept of social poetics, and turning towards Laclau's formulation of rhetorical hegemony (Herzfeld 1997; Laclau 2005; Laclau 2014). I view rhetoric as a persuasive tool employed by agents, consequently placing the focus on dialogues and performances between agents. Laclau's contribution to these debates as visualising the emergence of hegemonic discursive formations through rhetoric linking terms with signifiers. Next, I combine this insight with Green's focus on the effects of hegemonic discursive formations on sociality in social locations, illustrating through ethnographic examples that such

formations emerge from the rhetoric appropriated by agents during dialogues in public spaces. The terms appropriated by rhetoric have force by referring to hegemonic discursive formations, which, re-configured through these interactions, henceforth alter dialogues.

Chapter 3 builds upon Chapter 2, drawing connections between theoretical discussions on rhetoric and hegemony with scholarship on networks, public space and cultural concepts. Through literature on Social Network Analysis, I conceptualise networks as configurations of agents in rhetorical exchanges and embedded in shifting relationships with other agents. Networks are linked with hegemony as a result of being systems of relationships between agents which are structured and re-structured through rhetoric referring to hegemonic discursive formations. I then review the scholarly discourse on public space and the public sphere, conceptualising public spaces as both material and immaterial locations where actors appropriate rhetoric to negotiate networks of relationships and engage with other agents within view. Material elements provide meaning to public space through interpretation by human actors participating in meaning-making processes through performances and practices. Meanwhile, influenced by Yeh, I view the public sphere is theorised as a contested realm of discursive formations which arises from performances and interactions in public space (Yeh 2012). Within this dialogue between public sphere and public space, rhetoric persuades agents in public space through appropriating discursive formations within the public sphere. Public spaces are then locations where people interact with discursive formations and, henceforth, public spaces are vital to consider for hegemony due to being settings where discursive formations formed and shaped. In the third section, I expose a connection with ideas of national identity in Greece and Kosovo and illustrate that concepts such as honour and shame are linked through an association with a hegemonic discursive formation of national identity in the public sphere. Rhetorical references to honour and shame affect the conduct of agents in public spaces, shaping the performances which may be undertaken and re-configuring networks through distributing symbolic capital towards particular agents.

In Chapter 4, I follow from the section in Chapter 3 on spatiality by describing the dialogue between public space and public sphere in Pristina. First, I present ethnographic accounts of Pristina's public spaces, such as cafés and bars, in order to flesh out the meanings of public space in Pristina for informants and conceptualise the rhetorical appropriation of discursive formations located within the public sphere. Second, I present data from a pile sort exercise, part of the Cultural Domain Analysis, in order to illustrate how people in Pristina perceive the immaterial and material spatial environment. Third, I explain that the case studies and pile sort results are complementary in that they illustrate a meaning of public space for people in Pristina as being within view, while the public sphere is visible through the discursive formations rhetorically appropriated by agents. I conclude that it is from performances drawing on discursive formations in the public sphere that a dialogue persists between Pristina's public spaces and public sphere.

In Chapter 5, I discuss the cultural concepts of *nder* (“honour”) in Pristina as well as the associated concepts of *turp* (“shame”), *inat* (“envy” or “spite”), *familje* (“family”), *besa* (“oath”), and *Kanun I Lekë Dukagjinit* (“Code of Lekë Dukagjini”). I include ethnographic perspectives on *nder* from semi-structured interviews, discussing the concept and illustrating connections between it, *turp*, *besa* and *kanun*, highlighting in particular their association with a hegemonic discursive formation of Albanian national identity in Pristina. I will then incorporate results from a free list analysis of the terms listed above and explain their significance for the concepts' ethnographic descriptions. From both the ethnographic accounts and free list results, I argue that the connections drawn between *nder* and the associated concepts are substantial, leading to six inferences: a) considering *nder* in relation with national identity and gender identity; b) viewing *nder*, *besa*, *turp*, and *Kanun* in relation with the “parallel system” of governance initiated by the Albanian community in Kosovo during the 1990s as a response to Serbian repression; c) conceptualising *nder* as a form of symbolic capital determined by practices and displays; d) conceptualising *turp* as a technology of a politics of the body which works with *nder* to shape the flow



of power within networks; e) arguing that the terminology of *fytyrë* (“face”) associated with *nder* and *turp* points towards a focus on representations and the judgement of representations; and f) visualising *inat* as an expression of agency in response to the judgements underpinning the determination of *nder* and *turp*. Linked with a hegemonic discursive formation of Albanian national identity, these concepts shape agents' practices within networks and public spaces when referred to through rhetoric.

In Chapter 6, I utilise a combination of ethnographic data and a Social Network Analysis to analyse how agents in Pristina utilise rhetoric to alter ties between themselves and other agents. I present a Social Network Analysis of meetings between agents at cafés, contending that the analysis shows networks of agents emerging through dialogues at cafés. With examples from interviews, I then describe how rhetoric is used by agents in public spaces during their interactions with others, with examples focusing in particular on the projection of trustworthy reputations and placing reputations in doubt. Illustrating the force of rhetoric in public spaces, I show that in these examples the phrase “To put your hand in the fire” references *besa*, a concept described in Chapter 5 as associated with the hegemonic discursive formation of Albanian national identity in the public sphere. In Pristina, the rhetoric used by agents in public spaces draws force from this discursive formation, thereby altering ties between agents during inter-personal interactions and re-structuring networks.

In Chapter 7, I centre on the discursive formation of Albanian national identity in Pristina discussed in the previous chapters and its rhetorical construction in the public sphere. First, I provide expressions of identity expressed by informants, showing that national identity is not the only concept of identity considered, with categories such as femininity, masculinity, urbanity, rurality and religion also having value for informants. I complicate the notion of a static Albanian identity through illustrating the presence of additional perspectives of national identity in Pristina, such as “Kosovar” and “Albanian in Kosovo,” arguing that identity in Pristina is multi-faceted and that these accounts portray a heterogeneous context. I go into further depth with several of the interviews, asserting that, amidst this heterogeneity, a

discourse of Albanian national identity emerges which links informants with each other. From recent post-Yugoslav ethnography, especially Jansen's work in Sarajevo, I argue that this formation draws on cultural terms such as *besa* and show that they thereby refer to a notion of spatiotemporality located in memories of resistance to the Serbian government and solidarity in public spaces. Employing the concept of “hegemony”, I explain the rhetorical emergence of the discursive formation of Albanian national identity within the public sphere. In Pristina's public spaces, agents appropriate rhetoric which, drawing upon cultural concepts such as *besa*, fosters the emergence and continuation of a discursive formation of Albanian nationality. This formation is associated with solidarity, spatiotemporal frustration with Kosovo's government and a lack of alternatives, and its signifiers are identified with by numerous informants.

In this chapter, I arrive at a conclusion by focusing on the theoretical question provided in the introduction of the relationship between hegemony and agency. First, I further flesh out the argument presented thus far through an ethnographic vignette of a protest in Pristina on 27 January 2015. I show how shared identification by informants in Pristina with signifiers associated with the discursive formation of Albanian national identity in the public sphere is mobilised in Pristina's public square through rhetorical references. From the argument provided so far, I conclude that rhetoric moves agents by drawing upon cultural concepts associated with discursive formations as part of the hegemonic process. I then describe the contributions brought by this research for the anthropology of Kosovo, the wider field of post-Yugoslav studies and discussions of rhetoric and culture. Returning to the theoretical debate presented in the introduction, I put forward that a common thread within the discussion is hegemony, a process where discursive formations in the public sphere are formed and gain dominance through performances in public spaces. As agents rhetorically appropriate hegemonic discursive formations, networks of relationships are re-structured.

### **Rhetoric in Networks and Protests**

In this section, I present field notes from a protest in Pristina on 27 January and accounts from people involved in politics in Pristina to illustrate how rhetoric is used politically, within both networks and protests. From these discussions, I argue that rhetoric utilised in public spaces alters network ties by referring to concepts such as “honour” (*nder*), the “oath” (*besa*). This happens as part of a hegemonic process, discussed in-depth in the introduction and Chapter 7, whereby Albanian identity acts as a contingent signifier for an emerging discursive formation located in the public sphere which is linked with *nder* and *besa*. The speakers in this vignette, in referring to Albanian national identity, mobilise those they are connected with in networks. Public spaces may then be seen as spaces where agents, drawing on discursive formations, grapple with hegemony.

### **Pristina, 27 January, 2015**

Walking up to the Zahir Pajaziti square, I see that a scuffle has broken out at the entrance, with some police trying to prevent a truck carrying stands from getting onto the square. Seeing the scuffles, I decide that it would be best not to follow the truck, so I take some side streets over to Ibrahim Rugova square. Crossing, I noticed a large group of younger men and women walking onto the *sheshi* (the main pedestrian street, also known as “Mother Theresa Boulevard”) with a red-and-black Albanian flag.

It was crowded at the entrance but thinned out closer to where I settled, near the Benetton department store. There were cameras everywhere and many people were around me. The spokesman has appeared on top of the truck, and they have led a chant with the words “*Isë, Isë, Argat I Serbisë!*” (“Isa, Isa, Beggar of Serbia”) and well as “*Trepça është e jona, jo e Serbisë!*” (“Trepça is ours!”). The Albanian flags were here too, as well as a new flag: a yellow/orange miners' cross made out of miners' picks. They are now chanting “*Fashizmi nuk kalon!*” (“Fascism is not acceptable!”).

And there is also a guy selling things. There is a cheerful atmosphere. The young women in front of me look excited, cheerfully having a conversation. The elderly men next to me are having a passionate conversation and there is a group of younger and older women holding a banner behind me. People are

chanting “*Isën e japim, Trepçën nuk e japim*” (“We give Isa, we do not give Trepça”) slogan, and repeating the words “out, out!” with much pointing.

The speakers begin their speeches, with the first describing the context of the protest, stating that the government and police were “*kundër protestues*” (“against the protesters”), to much booing in response. The first speaker returns, and there is more booing at the mention of the “autobus”, a bus bringing protesters to Pristina which had been stopped by the police under mysterious circumstances. I can't catch all of the words as they are being spoken quickly, but I can clearly hear that the speaker is now talking about the police. He motions for people to get up closer to the truck, and the crowd suddenly breaks, with people running from the square and tear gas filling the air.

Not desiring to find myself in a confrontation, I make my way from the square to the other side of the street. The tear gas makes you feel fearful, confused, indecisive, but thankfully, the stinging sensation is not as strong today. I ask a couple younger guys, Kushtrim and Ilir, in Albanian and English about the protest and what is happening, as I am still quite confused by the protest's sudden ending. They say that the protesters provoked the police and then the police responded with the gas. We talk a little while, and Kushtrim invites me for a coffee one day and teaches me how to curse the government in Albanian. He says he is leaving, and gives me advice to not stay here. He says he is here just because is a student, laughing. So there is an element of boredom. But he tells me that I should leave. Ilir and I talk for a couple more minutes, but we leave as well because the tear gas and people are starting to run in our direction.

From this point, I make my way around the protest and back to the first square, Zahir Pajaziti, as the clashes seem to be further up and back towards the main square. In front of me are people charging towards the police, shaking their fists and screaming the words “*VETËVENDOSJE, VETËVENDOSJE*” (“Self-Determination, Self-Determination”). I ask a man what happened, and he said that no the protesters didn't do anything, the police did, contradicting what Kushtrim and Ilir had just said to me.

The police threw the gas without prompting. With the protesters moving towards me again, I decide that I've had enough and head to a café nearby named the Yellow Café, because I think it might be a safer place to watch the protest and figure out what is happening. The patrons glance at me as I go in, but they accept me there, perhaps because they have seen me in the café before. They have the protest on TV and the station, Kohavision, is reporting that there was a provocation.

After ordering a coffee, I talk with the person next to me and he says that the protest was peaceful until the police first provoked the protesters into tearing down the barricade and then again through tear gas. He says he was at the protest, and so was I. He nods. The protest won't end; the people are at their breaking point. There is some joking now. But more to keep the mood up I guess. I hear the word *katundarët* (“villagers”) muttered by one of the men, referring to the protesters.

A couple of young men come in. they are on their phones and having a coffee, looking like they are escaping the protest. They point out that Shpend Ahmeti, the mayor of Pristina, has been arrested and they cheer. The people in the café get into a confrontation with them, as one of the men explains later (the waiter). “Why are you protesting?” he said they didn't know, and he is laughing at them for their silliness. I ask who they were, and he says they were from somewhere else in Kosovo.

From watching the TV, it appears that the protest has moved out of the centre into outlying areas and that it is not safe to leave, so I decide to go to the Red Café, another establishment, in order to check the internet again. On my way, I see fragments in the road, from scorch marks and rocks. After checking with friends to see if they are safe, I head for home after it appears that the protest has cleared.

### **Protests, Rhetoric and Networks**

The description displays several aspects of the protest: the use of rhetoric related with identity, the significance of public space and the mobilisation of networks. Regarding the first, the chants “*Isë, Isë, Argat I Serbisë!*” and “*Isën e japim, Trepçën nuk e japim*” serve as examples of rhetoric discussed in the previous chapter, where the wording displays and reinforces a barrier between the protesters and the

government. The subject of the first chant, Isa Mustafa, is Kosovo's prime minister, and, by referring to him as “*Argat I Serbisë*” (“Beggar of Serbia”) the protesters proclaim that, rather than being a loyal head of state, Mustafa is a politician in the service of Serbia. As we saw in the previous chapter, the protesters then portray Mustafa as a traitor not only to Kosovo but to Albanians, because, as discussed in the previous chapter, representations of Albanian identity draw on the UÇK and the Kosovo War. As a result, in portraying Mustafa as a “Beggar of Serbia,” the protesters frame Mustafa, and the government, as being treacherous. Consequently, the discursive formation of Albanian national identity, described within the previous chapter, is maintained, because the antagonistic division between the protesters and government is reinforced through its appropriation.

Indeed, the protesters' association with Albanian identity is shown through imagery associated with the Albanian “red-and-black” flag. The flag's use anchors the protest within the same discourse of Albanian nationality as the chants. Consequently, the flag's position a contingent signifier is reinforced, and the networks and agents are further drawn to it as part of hegemony. With informants often identifying with the Albanian national flag over Kosovo's state flag, we see competing discursive formations present and being drawn upon in the square's public space by agents. This action then translates into the public sphere, for the protest, through, according to Greenberg, being a gathering of bodies in public spaces, allows for the representation of their interests in the public sphere, effectively, as Yeh argues, creating a “public” through performance in public space (Yeh 2012: 716-717; Greenberg 2014: 61-62).

This gulf between the protesters and the government is then exploited by the speakers in their argument that the police are acting “against the protesters.” It had been reported on the day of the protest that buses carrying protesters had been prevented from coming to Pristina and, in referring to this episode, the lead speaker implies protesters are being provoked by the police. This point is further supported by the responding “boo” by those in assembly, and the instruction by the speaker to move closer to the truck

and towards what would be the police-protester confrontation near the barricade. In declaring that the police are acting against the protesters, the speakers invoke the term *fytyre* (“face”) and understandings of *nder* (“honour”) and *besa* (“oath”), as it is implied that the speakers' fortitude, and thus the ability to uphold *besa*, is also being challenged. Viewed in a hegemonic sense, the speakers utilise a concept associated with Albanian identity, *besa*, to imply that the protesters' honour, another concept, is being threatened. To preserve their reputation, and hence a reflection of the concern with individual reputations noted by Herzfeld in Greece, it is then necessary to show that they can respond to that challenge, and so the rhetoric utilised by the speakers prompts the protesters to respond to the perceived insults directed towards them, to move towards the barricade and the government building (Herzfeld 1985: 11).

In relation with antagonism, Laclau argues that the term relates to a confrontation where a separation has increased between “camps', or opposing sides, within a social space (Laclau 2005: 83). According to Laclau, the separation widens as the camps become more opposed to each other, with it becoming more difficult for actors, or elements within a chain of equivalence, to avoid affiliating with one or another of the sides (Laclau 2005: 82). For Laclau, a mechanism behind this process referred to as antagonism is the negation of the camp's identity (Laclau 2014: 106).

Through persuading the protesters that they are being challenged, the speakers further a perception that the government is threatening them, not only as individuals but as a group. The construction of the protest, a configuration of people recruited from networks and an entity in the public sphere according to Greenberg, is then put in jeopardy by the presence of the police (Greenberg 2014: 60-61). This may also be viewed in terms of identity, where the ability of the contingent signifier of Albanian nationality, with the flag as its visual representation, to unify the protesters under a single discourse is challenged by the government's actions, which asserts a Kosovar identity perceived by some informants to be artificial. Therefore, it is not only the protesters who are viewed as being threatened, but the protest itself, brought together by the contingent signifier of Albanian identity. Consequently, the

rhetoric deployed by the speakers mobilises the protesters through responding to the increasingly widening gap created by the perceived provocation by the police in the square's material space.

In discussing the widening gap between the “two camps,” we then also delve into the topic of public space. In Chapters 3 and 4, I describe public space as a location where agents act within view of others, communicating meaning in an interplay of materiality and immateriality. I show that Prishtinalis employ the built environment as a platform to transmit concepts towards observers, deploying rhetoric through performances. Examples of this interplay given so far include the creation of friendship between agents in cafés through exchanges of drinks, in a manner similar to the production of “commensal solidarity” noted by Papataxiarchis between men in Mouria's coffee bars, and the furthering of solidarity between protesters in Pristina's streets against the Yugoslav government during the 1990s (Papataxiarchis 1991: 169). Both cases rely upon projections of trustworthiness and fortitude, of willingness to extend oneself towards the other (also noted by Papataxiarchis), which imply the ability to uphold a *besa* (“oath”), described in Chapter 5 as a concept linked directly with a discursive formation of Albanian national identity which is shown by Chapter 7 to have emerged within the public sphere (Papataxiarchis 1991: 158, 160, 164-165). Hence, we can see that perceptions of solidarity have been co-produced through rhetorical projections of immaterial symbolism related with Albanian national identity and the square's material built environment.

Public space may be considered in this case as the location where the protest is taking place, Ibrahim Rugova square in Pristina, a built environment including the monument to Skanderbeg, a depiction of the legendary Albanian figure riding a horse, and located adjacent to several official government buildings. The protest's placement near the Skanderbeg monument and outside the government complex is itself quite significant, because it places the protesters at odds with the government. Reflecting the earlier discussion on antagonism, the protest's position outside of the government complex, unified by the Albanian flag and alongside the Skanderbeg monument, spatially



separates the protesters from the government. And henceforth, antagonism, as well as solidarity, has been co-produced by rhetoric referring to immaterial symbolism and the protest's placement within the material environment.

In being connected with other protesters, those within the square are drawn into a confrontation as a result of the perceived provocation by the police. Through highlighting the police force's actions as being “against the protesters,” the *Lëvizja Vetëvendosje* speaker creates an impression that the protesters' individual reputations are damaged by the police. Meanwhile, the protesters' appropriation of the Albanian flag, and position next to the Skanderbeg monument, associates them with the discursive formation of Albanian national identity. As described in Chapter 7, scepticism, ambivalence and at times loathing are expressed by some informants in Pristina towards both the Kosovar flag and idea of Kosovar identity, perceiving it as representing political figures and the government rather than themselves. Hence, through rhetorical references, the area outside the government building becomes associated with concepts of Albanian national identity, while the government building and area immediately around it becomes associated with the state of Kosovo and its political elites.

This spatial manifestation of Albanian national identity is utilised by speakers to unify the protesters, acting as a signifier and rhetorically strengthening the discursive formation versus the government-linked formation of Kosovar identity within the public sphere. Consequently, this example illustrates hegemony within the dialogue between public space and public sphere in Pristina, where the discursive formation of Albanian national identity in the latter is referenced and strengthened through rhetorical performances in the former, thus further illustrating hegemony within the context of the public sphere-public space dialogue as outlined by Yeh (Yeh 2009; Yeh 2012). Therefore, hegemonic discursive formations are not only constructed by rhetoric, as described by Laclau; they are also manifested and re-configured in public spaces.

This dialogue between the public space and public sphere is also illustrated by the conflict within

the Yellow café. In the café, separated from the protest through a patio and a door, the protest is relayed and transmitted through Pristina's television stations, such as the Kohavision news broadcaster, which is depicting the developing protest on the screen when I enter the building. Watching the TV screen, and commenting on the progressing events, the café's cloistered patrons react to the protest, bringing the events from the square into the café. Later on, the coming of the young protesters, their coffee, and the ensuing debate with the café's patrons, displays contention within the material space as well as the translation of the protest from one setting to another, where the two locations are then linked to a wider public sphere composed of multiple "clusters of voicings", or discursive formations (Yeh 2009: 487, 489; Yeh 2012: 717-719).

These developments become part of the contention played out during the protest, with the young men being derided by the café's patrons for their participation in the events outside the cloistered café's doors and being mocked as "villagers" (*katundarët*). This dynamic of labelling and judgement, itself rhetorical, attempts to weaken the representation of the targeted protesters, an interpretation which is strengthened by the translation given to me by one of the patrons. To do so, they draw upon another discursive formation, the concept of urbanity highlighted especially in Chapter 4, by referencing the term "villager," implying that the young protesters are not suitable to present themselves within the café. Hence, from performances in the café, a material location within Pristina's public space, the public sphere is contested, with antagonistic discursive formations being referred to (Yeh 2012: 715-716). Hence, debate within the Yellow café is multi-faceted, and responses to the protest in Ibrahim Rugova Square are far from universally similar.

It can be seen that those taking part in the protest are agents within networks. The Lëvizja Vetëvendosje organisation had arranged the protest along with the other opposition parties as a follow-up to the preceding protest, but people did not participate merely as part of or through Lëvizja Vetëvendosje. Indeed, the young students I spoke with on the edge of the protest, after the protester-

police physical confrontation began, remarked that they had come to the protest out of frustrated boredom, not necessarily as part of an organisation. They arrived with each other, thus showing a similarity with the young men in the café bar, where they came to the protest alongside their social contacts. Zooming out, the Vetëvendosje activist featured in Chapter 6's discussion on the use of rhetoric in networks focuses his mobilisation efforts on his informal social connections in Pristina, and indeed the proceeding interviews in Chapters 6 explain how the organisation's leaders recruit through projecting images of themselves as being willing to “place their hands in the fire” for their cause and activists. They consequently refer to the discursive formation of Albanian national identity in the public sphere by implying the ability to hold a *besa* (“oath”). As described in Chapter 7, this emerging discursive formation has become rhetorically associated with frustration towards Kosovo's political elites, a release related with Jansen's discussion of spatiotemporality in post-Yugoslav Sarajevo through being a response to perceptions of uncertainty furthered by political and economic processes within post-Yugoslav Kosovo (Jansen 2015: 17-18, 185). Expressing disillusion towards the government, responding to the speakers' and organisations' antagonistic messages of betrayal and perceiving the corresponding imagery and symbolism of solidarity associated with Albanian national identity, networks of protesters arrive to the protest at Pristina's Ibrahim Rugova Square.

The above vignette of a protest in Pristina then neatly illustrates the dialogue between the public space and public sphere, where agents in the former appropriate and manipulate discursive formations in the latter to re-configure networks of relationships. It also illustrates one of the main aims of this dissertation: to explore how rhetoric mobilises networks of relationships between agents in Pristina's public spaces. Throughout the dissertation, I show how agents employ rhetoric in public spaces and delineate the connections between the terms used and discursive formations within the public sphere. I elucidate the effects of these performances on networks of relationships, arguing that, in utilising rhetoric as a tool to persuade, as Carrithers considers the purpose of rhetoric, agents alter their ties with those

they address, thus re-configuring their networks (Carrithers 2009a: 6, 8). As I show in the vignette, networks are mobilised through hegemony, in that the rhetoric utilised possesses force by referring to the dominant discursive formation of Albanian national identity, which continues to strengthen as it is increasingly referenced, consequently gaining primacy within the public sphere and privileging terms associated with it. Therefore, I conclude that rhetoric utilised by human agents in Pristina's public spaces mobilises networks by drawing upon cultural concepts associated with hegemonic discursive formations in Pristina's public sphere, creating altered networks and re-configured discursive formations in the process.

### **Contributions to the Anthropology of Kosovo and Post-Yugoslav Ethnography**

For the anthropology of Kosovo and post-Yugoslav ethnography, the dissertation collaborates with recent efforts to problematise concepts of national identity. A defining characteristic of discussions on Kosovo has been to place Albanian identity within the context of political and social developments. This tendency is represented by Schwandner-Sievers's discussion of the appropriation of *besa* and narratives of pre-1998 resistance to the Yugoslav government, Di Lellio and Schwandner-Sievers's account of the creation of the “Legendary Commander” myth of Adem Jashari's death in 1998 and its subsequent appropriation by Kosovo's political elites, as well as Duijzing's nuanced description of the contested characteristic of national and religious identity in rural Kosovo (Duijzings 2000; Di Lellio and Schwandner-Sievers 2006; Schwandner-Sievers 2013b). Luci's dissertation provides additional depth to this body of work by questioning the association between the discursive construction of Albanian national identity and concepts of masculinity as it is constructed in public spaces and tracing its historical development during the pre-1998 period of resistance (Luci 2014).

Indeed, the argument put forward within this dissertation similarly considers Albanian national identity as discursive, produced and re-configured through social practice. Yet, the dissertation contributes to the growing anthropology of Kosovo by incorporating recent insights from the broader

field of post-Yugoslav ethnography, which has begun to move beyond problematising national identity by focusing on the concerns expressed by informants on matters which are not necessarily directly-related with conflict (Jansen, Brkovic and Celebivic 2016: 10). To do this, the field focuses on questions such as the distribution of social care following the privatisation of social services, the networks of relationships this entails and the simultaneously spatial and temporal locations where these exchanges take place (Kurtovic 2015; Brkovic 2015a; Brkovic 2015b; Brkovic 2016; Jansen, Brkovic and Celebivic 2016: 2-3, 10-11). In doing so, the field directly questions configurations of power and dominance within the state, querying how they are shaped through exchanges, their effects on people in post-Yugoslav locales and the ways in which people interact with them (Jansen 2014; Jansen 2015; Celebivic 2016; Kurtovic 2016; Henig 2016). For the anthropology of post-Yugoslav Kosovo, this new focus contributes by broadening the scope of inquiry from the construction of national identity in particular spaces to the concerns expressed by informants, the webs of relationships they manipulate, forms of domination they interact with and the ways through which concepts of national identity are constructed and interact with social life.

In this dissertation, I collaborate with these recent developments in post-Yugoslav ethnography by viewing the construction of the discursive formation of Albanian national identity and its relationship with webs of social relations in terms of hegemony. As described in the introduction, hegemonic configurations in post-Yugoslav contexts have been specifically described by Jansen and implicitly addressed by Kurtovic and Gordy's separate accounts of domination by political elites and the ways through which agents interact with them (Gordy 1999; Kurtovic 2011; Kurtovic 2015; Kurtovic 2016). The question within this dissertation is not the construction Albanian national identity itself; rather, I focus on how it is appropriated by agents in public spaces as part of a hegemonic discursive formation in order to re-configure networks of relationships.

Hence, I contribute to post-Yugoslav anthropology by, first and foremost, explicitly focusing on

hegemonic configurations in Pristina and the ways they are interacted with by people within the city. I explore how discursive formations in the public sphere are utilised within networks of agents, thus exploring in a more direct manner the insight gained from reading Kurtovic, Jansen and Gordy altogether that domination within the post-Yugoslav state inter-links discourse with actors including political elites and those they negotiate with.

Second, in doing so, I highlight the rhetoric utilised by agents during interactions in public spaces. Although rhetoric has been queried in post-Yugoslav ethnography, particularly by Graan in his study of political discourse in contemporary Macedonia, I bring to light through this account of encounters in Pristina's public spaces how it, when appropriated by agents, impacts the networks of agents and both utilises and re-configures discursive formations, consequently illustrating how rhetoric impacts hegemony (Graan 2015). To do this, I add to Jansen's use of spatiotemporality, illustrated effectively through his ethnography of Sarajevo, by illustrating how expressions of frustration directly linked with perceptions of uncertainty derived from intersections of space and time are rhetorically linked to discursive formations in hegemony. Henceforth, I both describe hegemony in Pristina and systematically illustrate how it is constructed and re-produced, thus bringing additional depth to ongoing conversations on hegemony in post-Yugoslav contexts.

Third, alongside rhetoric and discursive formations, I also zoom in on the ways through which actors in Pristina negotiate their social relationships. In Chapter 6, I explain that, during my conversations, a frequent topic became the use of "connections," relationships with influential individuals in the city, to accomplish objectives such as finding employment. I relate this observation with recent discussions in post-Yugoslav anthropology, particularly by Brkovic, Celebivic and Kurtovic, on encounters between actors where needs such as employment or social care are obtained by recipients from providers who are often well-placed within the state's institutions and political parties (Brkovic 2015b; Brkovic 2016; Celebivic 2016; Kurtovic 2016). From fieldwork in Bosnia, Brkovic explains these

exchanges as occurring through the successful negotiation of “flexibility” by actors, who are able to utilise their relationships effectively for desired ends while accounting for uncertainty engendered by the privatisation of state institutions after the war (Brkovic 2015b: 279-280; Brkovic 2016: 96-97). Through this anthropological study of encounters in Pristina's public spaces, I show that the appropriation of rhetoric is a method for agents to negotiate ties with others, thus providing an additional vantage point from which to explore inter-personal relationships. Furthermore, in utilising Social Network Analysis as a tool to augment the methodology, the dissertation shows that exchanges between agents are placed within larger networks of relationships, and, thus, instances where people utilise rhetoric are questioned for their structuring effects on networks. Through the management of inter-personal ties, new systems of relationships emerge.

### **Contributions to Studies on Rhetoric and Culture**

With the emergence of systems of relationships from rhetoric, we then arrive at the contributions of this dissertation for anthropological discussions on rhetoric and culture. In Chapter 2, I explain that Carrithers argues for a view of rhetoric as a tool employed by agents to persuade other agents (“patients”) through drawing upon cultural concepts (Carrithers 2009a: 8). As a result of these encounters, Carrithers and others argue that new forms emerge, with rhetoric described as the “moving force of culture” (Carrithers 2009a: 6). Herzfeld provides a similarly dynamic view of rhetorical action through his concept of social poetics, a theoretical lens referring to the performances by agents towards others within social spaces, the discourses they appropriate and the ways these performances are received by onlookers (Herzfeld 1985: 25-26; Herzfeld 1997: 140-142). This dissertation collaborates with these anthropologists through conceptualising rhetoric as a persuasive device appropriated by agents, inquiring about the forms of social life which emerge through its use and viewing it as addressed through performances within social locations towards others. From this basis, I contribute to these discussions by exploring the systems of relationships emerging through agents' use of rhetoric, conceptualising rhetoric

as part of a dialogue between public space and the public sphere and, as part of this dynamic, clarifying rhetoric's force as stemming from hegemonic discursive formations.

Anthropological discussions on rhetoric have touched on relationships, particularly in Herzfeld's ethnography *The Poetics of Manhood*, where he explains that onlookers within the Cretan village judge the actor's actions according to the performance's strength; if it is an impressive display, then it conveys meaning (Herzfeld 1985: 16-18, 25-26). Meanwhile, Carrithers's image of dialogues between agents and "patients," where the former use rhetoric as a tool to persuade the latter, implicitly concerns inter-personal relationships through the ability of rhetoric to alter the agent's social environment by prompting their addressee to make a desired decision (Carrithers 2009a: 3). However, because neither Herzfeld nor Carrithers conceptualise these encounters outside of immediate instances, the influence of dialogues on wider networks of relationships enveloping participants is left largely unexamined.

Therefore, I fill this conceptual gap, thereby contributing to debates on rhetoric and culture, by exploring the ways which the appropriation of rhetoric by agents affects networks of relationships. As described in the introduction, explained further in Chapter 3 and illustrated ethnographically in Chapter 6, I utilise data gathered from a Social Network Analysis which portray systems of relationships connected through dialogues between agents at cafés. Hence, I show the emergence of inter-personal networks from appropriations of rhetoric in public spaces.

Yet, with the inclusion of additional ethnographic accounts, I portray further the ability of rhetoric to alter ties within networks, providing examples where performances drawing on cultural concepts such as *besa* re-configure networks by bolstering an agent's image of trustworthiness, increasing their ties with other agents and thereby improving their potential access to more networks. On the other hand, other examples show that rhetoric may also weaken agents, as in instances of gossip surrounding a person's observed activities, consequently cutting the agent off from networks and, like in the instances of bolstered trustworthiness, re-structuring the networks themselves. Still more examples in Chapter 6 and



7 reveal that rhetoric links agents together with signifiers in discursive formations, with Albanian national identity coming to represent solidarity and encompassing spatiotemporal frustration with Kosovo's government. As these formations are increasingly referred, they solidify, become hegemonic and remain through continued reference. The vignette provided at the beginning of this chapter then shows that, as people become linked with hegemonic discursive formations, they may then be persuaded to mobilise through rhetoric drawing on associated concepts.

Through these examples, I show that rhetoric is a force in the structuration of networks. According to Giddens, “structuration” refers to the “conditions governing the continuity or transmutation of structures, and therefore the reproduction of social systems” (Giddens 1984: 25). Consequently, Giddens states, “Analysing the structuration of social systems means studying the modes in which such systems, grounded in the knowledgeable activities of situated actors who draw upon rules and resources in the diversity of action contexts, are produced and reproduced in interaction” (Giddens 1984: 25). I build upon discussions of rhetoric and culture, particularly by Carrithers and Herzfeld, by showing that rhetoric, in addition to a persuasive force, structures networks of relationships, resulting in the emergence of new, re-configured systems.

Second, I also contribute to the literature on rhetoric and culture by focusing on the connection between rhetoric and hegemony, as argued in Chapter 2. Through bringing ongoing discussions into dialogue with the literature on hegemony, particularly Laclau's ideas of the rhetorical construction of hegemony, I show that rhetoric, in addition to leading to the emergence of new networks, is also a dynamic force in the construction of discursive formations. In order to argue this point, I show throughout the dissertation that rhetoric is performed in public spaces and draws on discursive formations within the public sphere. Hence, as discussed at length in Chapter 3, I also bring the literature on rhetoric into dialogue with scholarship on the public space, public sphere and the connection between them by anthropologists such as Low, Smith and Yeh, as well as Habermas, a major influence on the public sphere

writers. I collaborate with Low, Smith and Yeh by arguing that a dialogue persists between the public space and public sphere, and, in showing the role of rhetoric as a driving force within this dynamic, I bring further context to Carrithers and Herzfeld's descriptions of discussions between agents (Low and Smith 2006: 6, 16; Low 2017: 156-157, 159-160; Yeh 2012: 715-718). It is through this dialogue which rhetorical performances conducted by agents in public spaces manipulate discursive formations in the public sphere, re-configuring formations through, for example, reinforcing them through reference. I then elaborate on Laclau's discussion of hegemony by capturing the emergence of discursive formations through this ethnography of performance and networks in Pristina, and I portray the results of reference to cultural concepts, a prime component of Carrithers' argument (Carrithers 2005: 579; Carrithers 2009a: 3-5). I then also contribute to the anthropology of rhetoric and culture by picturing on the discursive formations emerging through rhetorical dialogues and the role these encounters play in hegemony.

Third, through querying dialogues between agents in Pristina for their effects on broader networks, and examining how the appropriation of perform in public spaces manipulates, and fosters the emergence, of hegemonic discursive formations in the public sphere, I add to ongoing discussions by Carrithers, Herzfeld and others by directly addressing the force of rhetoric. Carrithers's description of rhetoric as culture's "moving force" argues that, for such a movement to occur, cultural concepts are necessarily drawn upon by speakers (Carrithers 2005: 577). Yet, it is not entirely clear how these concepts are so effective, except through the statement that they have become part of an understood cultural "repertoire" (Carrithers 2009b: 49). Meanwhile, Herzfeld argues that public performances in Crete draw strength through drawing upon multiple notions of belonging understood by his interlocutors, including Greek national identity, the family and loyalty to the village versus the state (Herzfeld 1985: 11, 16, 26). Yet, as with Carrithers, it is not clear how ethno-national discourses have gained importance except through performative practices referencing them (Herzfeld 1997: 154, 165).

Hence, this dissertation contributes to these discussions by systematically explaining that the

concepts discussed separately by Herzfeld and Carrithers derive their force from being associated with hegemonic discursive formations in the public sphere. Through hegemony, certain discursive formations gain primacy over others, with the consequence that cultural concepts linked with them are privileged over others and correspondingly gain effectiveness when appropriated. The impact of such concepts thus depends on the discursive formations they are associated with. However, the emergence of hegemonic discursive formations also entails that those agents which utilise them seek to re-structure their positions within networks, leading to the result that, although rhetoric derives its force from discursive formations, its successful deployment depends on the speakers' ties with other agents as well. Therefore, through this discussion, I provide additional depth to the existing theoretical debates on rhetoric by pinpointing the importance of the frameworks associated with concepts, how these frameworks are formed vis a vis others in the public sphere and the speakers' structural positions within networks.

## **Conclusion**

In this dissertation, I conclude from the ethnographic and systematic data provided on uses of rhetoric in Pristina's public spaces that human agents mobilise networks by utilising rhetoric referring to cultural concepts associated with hegemonic discursive formations. Through hegemony, a process where discursive formations in the public sphere become increasingly dominant from reference in public spaces, cultural concepts associated with these discursive formations become privileged over others, thus giving rhetoric its force when appropriated by agents. Subsequently, agents utilise rhetoric tool to alter their ties with others, thus resulting in re-structuring networks of relationships. This study contributes to the anthropology of Kosovo by shifting the emphasis from problematising Albanian national identity to exploring how the discursive formation associated with it is configured and appropriated by people in Pristina as they socialise with others in the city's public spaces. Henceforth, I follow from recent advances in the wider field of post-Yugoslav anthropology by focusing on the negotiation of social relationships and connections between networks and hegemony, thus contributing to the field by showing that, from

rhetoric, networks of political elites and citizens are re-structured and hegemonic discursive formations are manipulated. Furthermore, for the literature on rhetoric and culture, I contribute by illustrating how uses of rhetoric in public space re-structure networks and lead to the emergence of hegemonic discursive formations in the public sphere, as well as illustrate that the force of rhetoric comes through reference to cultural concepts affiliated such formations. Running through these statements, a common thread is hegemony, a process whereby discursive formations are formed and gain dominance through performances in public space. From this process, networks of relationships are re-structured as agents rhetorically appropriate hegemonic discursive formations.

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