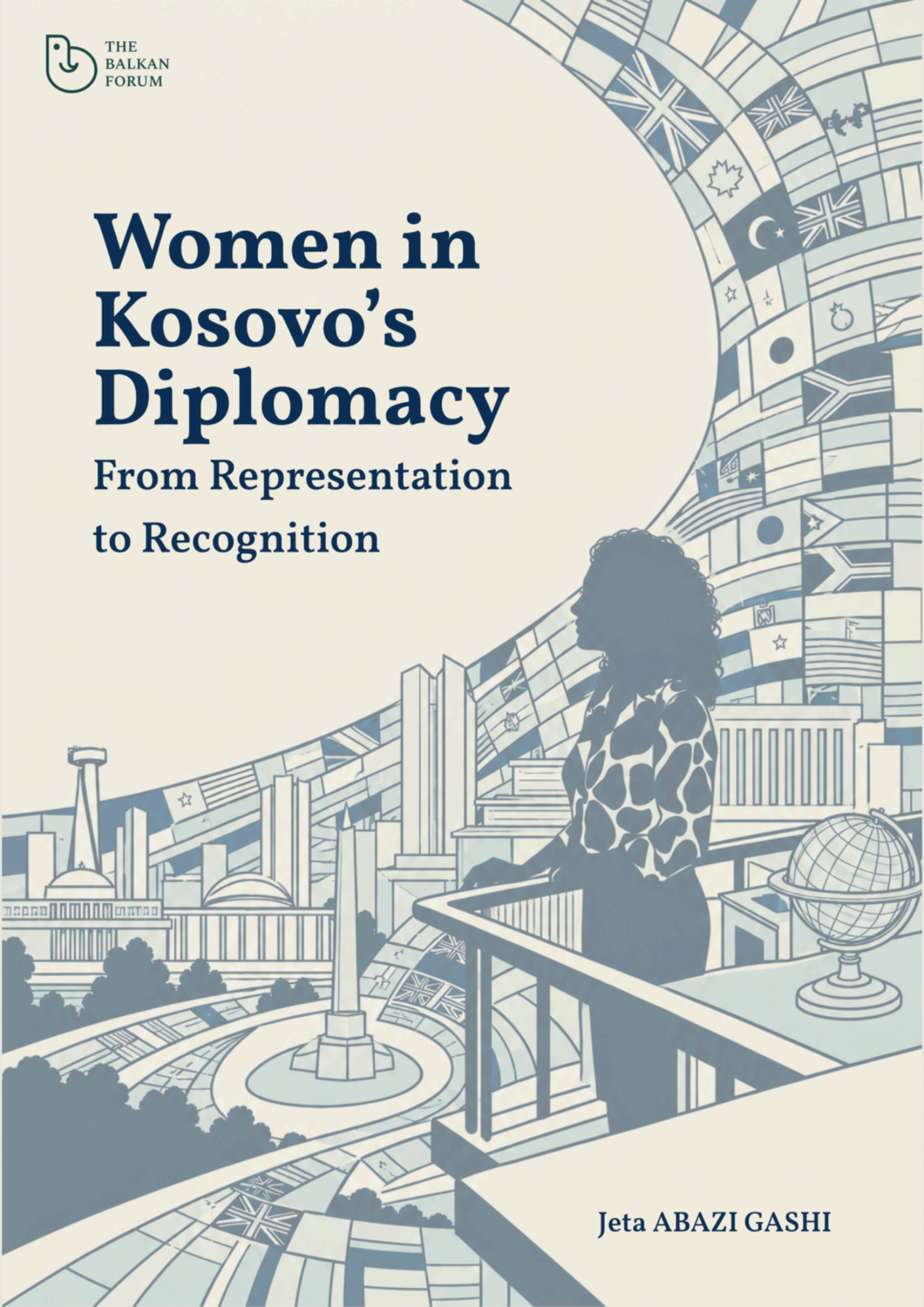


Women in Kosovo's Diplomacy

From Representation
to Recognition



Jeta ABAZI GASHI

Women in Kosovo's Diplomacy: From Representation to Recognition – Remembrance, Visibility and Recognition among Kosovo's Post-War Generation.

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*To strong women,
to my aunt Teuta (Tuti)*

About the Author

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Disclaimer

This paper was written by Jeta Abazi Gashi within the framework of The Balkan Forum. The views, findings, and recommendations expressed are solely those of the author. They do not necessarily reflect the official position of The Balkan Forum, its partners, or its funders, which supported this publication. Nor do they reflect the views of her current affiliation.

The research is based on interviews conducted in Albanian between September and October 2026. Quotations from the interviews have been translated into English by the author. Every effort has been made to ensure the information is accurate at the time of writing. Any errors or omissions, including in translation, remain the sole responsibility of the author.

While every care has been taken in preparing this paper, some errors or oversights may remain. Readers who notice any inaccuracies are warmly invited to contact the author at jeta.abazi@gmail.com, and corrections will be made in future versions of the paper.

Interviewees' statements are presented anonymously.

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Women in Kosovo's Diplomacy: From Representation to Recognition

Youth Perceptions and Representation Data

Introduction

Readers will not agree on what the word “diplomacy” means. It is used as a synonym for foreign policy and for negotiation. It also names the machinery through which negotiation is carried out, and a branch of the foreign service. Finally, it denotes skill in conducting international negotiations, and with it, tact (Nicolson 1939, 3). Behind each of these meanings, however, are people. Diplomacy is also a human story (Neumann 2012): the story of the diplomats who negotiate, who exercise tact, who make up the machinery of foreign policy, who represent their states and build relations on their behalf, and of whether they are seen and remembered. This paper is concerned with the individuals involved, and in particular with the women among them.

So let me begin with a story. It is not a fairy tale, but it offers an early glimpse into the changing role of women in diplomacy. Not far from Kosovo, geographically and historically, comes the story of a woman frequently referenced in the history of gender and diplomacy. Nadejda Stancioff, born into a wealthy and well-connected Bulgarian diplomatic family, entered a field from which women had long been excluded at a time, the early twentieth century, when diplomacy remained an overwhelmingly male profession. After taking part in the international peace negotiations that followed the First World War, she was appointed First Secretary at the Bulgarian Legation in Washington in the early 1920s (Firkatian 2008, 224–234). Women have a long legacy in diplomacy, as queens, as diplomats and as diplomats’ wives. There may have been other pioneering women diplomats in other countries, but I want to bring this story closer to our audience, as a starting point. Stancioff’s appointment marks an important moment in women’s formal entry into diplomacy, particularly in Southeastern Europe. More than a century later, however, the question extends beyond women’s access to diplomatic institutions. It concerns their remembrance, visibility and recognition within society.

Kosovo, a young state that declared independence in 2008 and continues to pursue international recognition, offers a particularly relevant case for examining these questions. If the historical question was whether women could enter diplomacy, the contemporary question is whether their presence and contributions are recognized and remembered.

Kosovo has used nation branding. Its “Young Europeans” campaign, launched in 2009 at a cost of €5.7 million and developed with BBR Saatchi & Saatchi, presented young people as the face of the country, building on Kosovo’s status as the youngest population in Europe (Wählich and Xharra 2011). According to Kaneva (2018, 89), Kosovo “has tried to parlay its reputation as a good pupil of neoliberalism into assurances of continued foreign aid and political support”. Earlier research used photo elicitation to explore how young people in Kosovo construct themselves and the European Other (Abazi Gashi 2022). Historical narratives in Kosovo have long overlooked women’s political roles (V. Krasniqi 2007), and public memory has been built largely in masculine

terms (V. Krasniqi 2026). Guided by this research, this study turns the question around and asks whether the women who represent Kosovo are visible to those same young people.

Women have contributed to Kosovo's history and state-building in many roles and capacities: as organizers of political protests, members of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), lobbyists, journalists, activists and mothers, as well as in formal positions of political and diplomatic authority, as diplomats and as spouses of diplomats.

Kosovo is not alone in this story: only in the last 40 years have women gained meaningful representation in diplomacy. Where does Kosovo, a small and relatively young state, fit into the broader picture of women in diplomacy? Public discourse often highlights women's political representation, pointing to women presidents, ministers and other prominent political figures. But does this visibility in political leadership also reflect women's representation in diplomacy? According to Kosovo's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Diaspora, 121 states have recognized Kosovo, the most recent being the Bahamas in December 2025 (MFAD 2026)¹.

Existing research on women in Kosovo's politics has focused on political participation, representation, media coverage and their roles in state-building. Vjollca Krasniqi (2007) examines gender and power in political imagery in post-war Kosovo, while her more recent work (2026) explores how women's experiences and contributions have been marginalized in dominant historical narratives and collective memory. Musliu and Mujika Chao (2024) offer feminist readings of international state-building in Kosovo, problematizing women's and feminist subjectivities in relation to the state. Their edited volume challenges the tendency to treat the 1999 international intervention as the starting point of state-building and the assumption that liberal intervention is in itself gender-progressive. Sylejmani Nimani (2021) documents a rise in sexist statements against women politicians in Kosovo, ranging from comments on their body weight to open insults, and shows that formal commitments to gender equality in the media have not prevented such treatment in practice.

Feminist scholarship in Kosovo has documented women's roles in the country's political processes. It covers women in civil society (Farnsworth 2008) and the gendered construction of nation and memory (Luci 2014; Gusia, Krasniqi and Luci 2016), as well as civic engagement and the public sphere (Luci and Gusia 2015; Gusia 2016) and the intersection of gender, class and nation in women's political engagement (E. Krasniqi 2021). However, women's contribution to Kosovo's diplomacy leaves much room for exploration. Little is known about the women who represented Kosovo abroad, negotiated on its behalf, or helped build its foreign service. Scholars have argued that Kosovo's post-war narrative is dominated by masculine figures and marked by a collective amnesia about women's contributions. This raises the question of whether younger generations, who did not live through the war and early state-building, inherit that narrative. This study therefore first examines how young people in Kosovo perceive women in political and diplomatic roles. It then analyzes women's representation in Kosovo's diplomatic service and the distribution of ambassadorial appointments between women and men. It does not seek to advocate for greater or mandatory participation of women in diplomacy, nor does it attempt to explain their historical underrepresentation. It also does not compare patriarchal struggles across countries or

¹ MFAD (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Diaspora of the Republic of Kosovo). 2026. "Lista e Njohjeve" [List of Recognitions]. <https://mfa-ks.net/lista-e-njohjeve/>. Accessed 14 October 2026.

present Kosovo as a success story. Rather, it is a pilot study whose data future research could extend. Its main objective is to provide a snapshot of the current situation in Kosovo. It also cautions against reading women politicians or diplomats as a single community, since they are not a homogeneous group.

It asks three questions:

1. *How do young people in Kosovo perceive women in politics, diplomacy and public leadership, as revealed through photo elicitation?*
2. *To what extent are women represented in Kosovo's diplomatic service, and how has this representation changed over time?*
3. *Are Kosovo's women ambassadors appointed to countries with different levels of economic development and gender equality compared with men ambassadors?*

To address these questions, this study draws primarily on photo-elicitation interviews with fifteen young people in Kosovo, conducted in 2026, complemented by the Gender and Diplomacy (GenDip) dataset (Towns and Niklasson 2025). The findings on ambassadorial postings are compared with earlier research on established diplomatic services (Kreft, Niklasson and Towns 2022).

Women and Diplomacy: The State of the Art

Much of the literature begins from the premise that “*foreign policy and diplomacy have been men's departments.*” Women were not only underrepresented but often formally excluded (Aggestam and Towns 2019; Towns and Niklasson 2017). Closely related is the observation that the qualities traditionally associated with diplomats have been understood through a Machiavellian lens that emphasizes strategic calculation, power, and authority, traits conventionally coded as masculine (Ruane 2006). At the same time, diplomats have been framed in feminine terms and dismissed as members of a kind of tea club who sit and gossip. This framing includes a range of feminized figurations of the diplomat: “the ‘soft’ non-fighter,” “the relationship builder,” “the gossip,” and “the cookie-pusher” (Towns 2020). These figurations sometimes cast the diplomat as a woman, but more often as a feminized man. Beyond these debates on women's underrepresentation and on diplomacy as a “feminine art,” in which gender can be used strategically, the literature agrees on two further points: gender remains understudied in diplomatic research, and diplomacy itself is expanding, both in who practices it and in what it encompasses (Aggestam and Towns 2019).

Policy papers on gender and diplomacy largely call for greater representation of women. They examine women's underrepresentation, structural barriers, unequal career advancement and the need for institutional reform (Smith and Kozielska 2024). Drawing on gender and peace studies, these papers also advocate involving more women in peace processes and negotiations (Bigio and Vogelstein 2016), although some policy discourses conflate gender with women and rest on the essentialist assumption that women are inherently peaceful (Palmiano 2014).

Earlier feminist research challenged the absence of women from conventional accounts of diplomacy (Enloe 1990). Enloe went further and examined the roles of diplomats' wives. Although these women held no official positions, their unpaid work as hostesses and informal representatives

contributed to diplomatic life. More recent contributions, including Cassidy (2017) and Aggestam and Towns (2018), examine historical barriers, women's participation in diplomacy and international negotiations, and their positions within diplomatic institutions. Neumann (2008) explores gender discrimination in diplomacy and perceptions of women's professional competence.

Research in political communication has also examined how photographs shape the recognition, memory and evaluation of political figures. Photographs of political candidates can aid memory of their political positions (Glenberg and Grimes 1995), and judgments of political competence can be formed from facial appearance alone (Todorov et al. 2005). Individuals also assess politicians' competence from the way photographs frame them (Casey 2022). Other studies examine the role of gender and appearance in the representation of women politicians (Sanghvi and Hodges 2015) and young adults' perceptions of women in political leadership (Taylor-Robinson and Geva 2023).

The media play a central role in how women in politics are represented visually. Images have become increasingly important in political communication (Flicker 2013), yet visual representations of women politicians are often shaped by gender stereotypes. Media coverage pays greater attention to women candidates' clothing than to men's (Falk 2010). Such representations reflect broader gendered expectations, whereby women are judged not only on their political abilities but also on their conformity to traditionally feminine characteristics (Eagly and Karau 2002; Mandziuk 2008). Appearance and clothing thus become important elements in the public evaluation of women politicians, and they feed into more negative coverage of women candidates (Carlin and Winfrey 2009).

These studies examine women's representation in diplomacy, their visibility in public communication, and the role of photographs in shaping perceptions of political figures. Less attention has been given to how young people recognize and remember women diplomats and political leaders.

Theoretical Framework

This study draws on two perspectives. The first is gendered memory and media framing, and it guides the first research question: how young people come to know, or not know, the women who have shaped Kosovo's politics and diplomacy. Framing means selecting some aspects of reality and making them more salient, which promotes a particular interpretation (Entman 1993, 52). Historical narratives in Kosovo have long overlooked women's political roles (V. Krasniqi 2007), and public memory has been built largely in masculine terms (V. Krasniqi 2026). What young people know about women in public life therefore depends largely on how the media frame them. Coverage of women politicians tends to frame them through their appearance and clothing (Falk 2010), and in Kosovo it has included sexist comments and open insults (Sylejmani Nimani 2021). Visual framing matters as well: photographs aid memory of politicians (Glenberg and Grimes 1995), and competence is inferred from appearance alone (Todorov et al. 2005). Photo elicitation draws on this link between image, framing and memory, and earlier research has used it to explore how young people in Kosovo construct themselves and the European Other (Abazi Gashi 2022). This matters for a state that has branded itself through its youth. Kosovo's "Young Europeans" campaign, launched in 2009 at a cost of €5.7 million and developed with BBR Saatchi & Saatchi,

presented young people as the face of the country (Wählich and Xharra 2011). This study turns the question around and asks whether the women who represent Kosovo are visible to those same young people, and how media framing shapes what they remember.

The second perspective is gender and international status, which guides the second and third research questions. Ambassador appointments signal how states rank their relations with other states. Research shows that women remain underrepresented among ambassadors and are less often posted to economically and militarily important states (Towns and Niklasson 2017; Kreft, Niklasson and Towns 2022). Appointment patterns therefore reveal how status is distributed within a foreign service.

Method and Research Design

The study draws primarily on interviews with young people². Rather than relying on questions alone, the interviews used photographs of women who have contributed to Kosovo's state-building in different roles. The photographs were selected by the researcher, guided by previous research on women in Kosovo's political history. Each participant was shown fourteen photographs in a fixed order: Edita Tahiri, Kaqusha Jashari, Luljeta Pula-Beqiri, Vlora Çitaku, Bukurie Gjonbalaj, Atifete Jahjaga, Flora Brovina, Valdete Daka, Vjosa Osmani, Donika Gërvalla, Ulpiana Lama, Heroina Telaku, Ilir Dugolli and Justina Shiroka Pula³. Participants were also shown a poster of the television series *The Diplomat* (Netflix, 2023–), which features a woman ambassador, to explore how popular culture shapes their image of diplomats. The photographs were selected to include women from different periods, from the late socialist years and the 1990s to the present, and in different roles: political leaders, negotiators, career diplomats and public officials. One man, Ambassador Ilir Dugolli, was included for comparison. For each photograph, participants were asked whether they recognized the person, what they knew about her (him), and what the image conveyed to them.

Photographs are introduced into the interview to prompt discussion, and participants' responses become the data (Harper 2002; Clark-Ibáñez 2004). Images draw out memory and emotion more readily than verbal questions alone, and the method suits a generation used to presenting itself through images on social media. Photo elicitation has been used to study national identity (Marcella-Hood 2021) and the reception of nation branding (Fernández 2017). It has also been used to study young women's views of political leadership (McMaster 2016). In Kosovo, it has been used to explore how young people construct themselves and the European Other (Abazi Gashi 2022). In the region more broadly, Pali and Malaj (2024) used it to examine grassroots feminist discourses on gendered violence in Albania and Kosovo. To the author's knowledge, no study has yet used it to examine how young people perceive women in diplomacy.

The interviews are complemented by the GenDip (Gender and Diplomacy) dataset, developed by Ann E. Towns and Birgitta Niklasson at the University of Gothenburg, which maps the gender of ambassadors that states appoint to bilateral postings, for selected years between 1968 and 2024 (Towns and Niklasson 2025). It has been used to study gender patterns in ambassadorial

² An AI tool was used for language editing; the research, analysis and interpretation are the author's own.

³ This selection is not exhaustive. Many other women, including protest organizers and members of the KLA, contributed to Kosovo's state-building but fall outside the scope of this study. Future research should extend this list.

appointments across countries and over time (Niklasson and Towns 2023; Kreft, Niklasson and Towns 2022). Drawing on these data, the present study focuses on Kosovo, examining women's representation in its diplomatic service and the countries to which its women ambassadors are posted.

Recruitment and Ethics

Participants aged 19 to 29 were recruited through a call circulated at the University of Prishtina, in the Faculty of Philosophy and the Faculty of Education, and through volunteer networks. The call was shared as a poster, and interested young people contacted the researcher by email. Participation was voluntary, and participants were informed that they could withdraw at any time without giving a reason. Before each interview, participants were informed, both in writing and orally, about the purpose of the study, how their data would be used, how their anonymity would be protected, and their right to withdraw at any time. To protect anonymity, each participant is identified by a code combining a number, gender (F or M) and place of residence (U for urban, R for rural). For example, P14FU denotes participant 14, a woman from an urban area. Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed manually.⁴

This study has several limitations. First, the sample is small: fifteen young people recruited through university and volunteer networks. The findings are therefore exploratory and not representative of young people in Kosovo. The sample does, however, cut across disciplines and places. The youth community should not be considered homogeneous. Participants came from fields including political science, computer science and engineering, law, economics, psychology, social work and sport, and from different cities, including Gjilan and Ferizaj, as well as from villages (in Lipjan and Obiliq). Second, as in any qualitative research, the interpretation of responses is shaped by the researcher's subjectivity. Researcher positionality may also have influenced the data: participants may have been subject to social desirability bias, tailoring their answers to what they perceived a woman researcher would expect, or offering performative rather than candid responses. Third, some participants appeared uncomfortable at not knowing the women they were shown and apologized for it. Many did not try to guess who the women were, and answers were often short, at times mixing in English expressions. Not knowing a person is itself a finding, but it limited how much some participants could say. Fourth, the photographs were selected by the researcher, drawing on professional experience. The aim was to capture different protagonists and different periods, from the late socialist years and the 1990s to the present. This selection is necessarily subjective: other photographs, or other women, might have produced different responses. The photographs also differed in type, from official scenes to portraits and group photographs, and only one man was included for comparison. A list of participants can be found in Appendix 1.

⁴ I thank Bekim Baliqi and Teuta Danuza for circulating the call at the University of Prishtina, and Rita Maliqi of the Department of Sociology for her support. I am also grateful to The Balkan Forum and Dhurata Bersha for helping me reach young people aged 19 to 29.



Figure 1. Photographs shown to participants in the photo-elicitation interviews. Images have been stylized using generative AI; the original photographs were sourced from official websites and media⁵.

Youth Perceptions about Women in Politics and Diplomacy

Between Remembrance and Amnesia

In a photo-elicitation exercise, fifteen young people aged 19 to 29 were shown a 2011 photograph of Edita Tahiri, then head of Kosovo’s delegation in the EU-facilitated dialogue with Serbia, standing beside her Serbian counterpart, Borko Stefanović. Only four of the fifteen identified her by name or role; one recognized her face but could not place her, and ten did not recognize her at all. One participant put this down to age: *“I was young, I didn’t know what role she had”* (P1FU).

Those who did not recognize her still read the scene accurately from its setting, inferring an official or EU-level meeting from the flag, the bookshelves (spotting the term of the book *DIPLOMACY*) and the posture of the two figures. Without knowing who she was, however, several turned to her appearance and bearing. One saw “a woman with white hair” posing for the camera (P4MU); another noted approvingly that she was dressed, made up and holding herself “as she should” (P14FU); a third felt that the man “occupies the position more than the woman”, partly because of his height (P8FU). Not knowing her did not settle whether she spoke for them: one male participant said she “does not represent me” (P4MU), while one female participant said, “as a woman I feel represented” (P15FU). By contrast, the four who recognized Tahiri spoke of what she had done: leading “our delegation” in the dialogue with Serbia (P5MU), and “building Kosovo and representing the country” (P13MR). As one of the participants put it, *“when I see Edita, the word diplomacy comes to mind”* (P5MU).

A studio portrait showed Kaqusha Jashari (1946–2025)⁶ against a plain background, with no flag, symbol or other indication of who she was or what office she held. Jashari headed Kosovo’s provincial government from 1987 to 1989, later chaired the Social Democratic Party and sat in the Assembly from 2007 to 2010. Only two of the fifteen participants identified her. One placed her in

⁵ Participants were shown the original, unaltered photographs during the interviews. For publication purposes, the photographs reproduced in Figure 1 were subsequently stylized using generative AI. The AI-stylized versions were not used during data collection and therefore did not influence participants’ responses.

⁶ Oral History Kosovo. 2021. “Kaqusha Jashari.” Interview by Erëmirë Krasniqi and Anita Susuri, Prishtina, 2 June 2021. <https://oralhistorykosovo.org/kaqusha-jashari/>.

the Social Democratic Party and recalled a media interview in which she seemed “well prepared” (P5MU). The other recalled that she had founded the Social Democratic Party in 1990, chaired it and served as a deputy, but confused her with Edita Tahiri, and added that she did not know her “as a personality” (P2FU). One other found her face familiar and guessed she might be a diplomat (P10MU); the remaining twelve did not recognize her. Participants explained this by their distance from politics and from the media in which she appeared: “*I don’t follow political developments*” (P3FU); “*I haven’t seen her in the media or on social networks*” (P11FR). One apologized for not knowing her, “*although one ought to*” (P14FU). Participants themselves pointed to the missing context: there was “no symbol, only her portrait” (P9FR), a “professional photo, without any symbol or reference” (P12MU). With nothing else to go on, they read her character from her face and clothes. She appeared “pleasant” and “trustworthy” (P1FU), “determined” (P4MU), “serious” (P6MU), “sincere” and, from her clothing, “professional” (P8FU), and her smile “shows confidence” (P13MR). One participant checked her presentation item by item: the hairstyle, the outfit, “everything is in order” (P14FU). The two youngest women remarked on her age, describing her as “shortly before retirement” (P11FR) and as having an “older style” (P15FU). Several nonetheless assumed she belonged to politics (P9FR, P11FR, P14FU).

An informal group photograph showed four people: Luljeta Pula-Beqiri, university professor and first president of the Women’s Association, which in 1990 became the Women’s Forum of the LDK. She opposed the Association’s merger into the LDK, but later served as the Forum’s vice-president (1998–2000) and went on to chair the Social Democratic Party of Kosovo (E. Krasniqi 2021). The photograph is informal: two of the four stand close together, one holds a drink, and all are laughing. Participants took it variously for a celebration, a friendly meeting or a family photo. Twelve of the fifteen participants named the late Ibrahim Rugova;⁷ only one named Pula-Beqiri. “*Of course I recognize Ibrahim Rugova, but no one else*” (P3FU). The one participant who knew her called her “one of the personalities the Republic of Kosovo recognizes least for her contribution” (P5MU). One other found the faces familiar but could not name her (P1FU), and thirteen did not recognize her. The two other men were no better known: only the same participant put a name to one of them⁸. Several participants began simply by counting the group by gender: “three men and one woman” (P10MU, P15FU), or “*a woman with some men*” (P4MU). What set Pula-Beqiri apart was how her presence was explained. Six participants read her as marginal to the group. She was “left aside” (P14FU), looked “like a guest” (P10MU), or was perhaps “an assistant or something like that”, close to power but “not in a high position” (P11FR). One thought she had ended up in the photo by accident or “got there through connections” (P4MU). Another saw her as “not equally included” and found this “normal, because there are three men and one woman; she is on her own” (P15FU). The most generous of these readings still cast her as an invitee: “a lady with a position worth inviting” (P12MU). None suggested that she might have led an organization herself. One participant went the other way, reading the photograph as a state-building process that “*could not have been realized without strong women*” (P13MR), though he too could not say who she was.

⁷ Ibrahim Rugova (1944–2006) founded the LDK in 1989. He served as President of Kosovo from 2002 until his death.

⁸ Joseph J. DioGuardi, US Congressman from New York (1985–1989), founded the Albanian American Civic League and campaigned for the rights of Kosovo Albanians.

Flora Brovina, a pediatrician and poet who was imprisoned in Serbia in 1999–2000 and later served six mandates in the Assembly of Kosovo, from 2001 to 2019, died on 15 September 2026. Five participants identified her, and one more had seen her in the media without knowing her name (P11FR). Her recognition was closely tied to her death: one participant knew her “more after her death than before” (P5MU), another “*did not know her before, now because of the news*” (P8FU), and one knew her from her mother, who had spoken of her as a political prisoner and “a courageous woman” (P1FU). Those who knew her remembered her as a political prisoner (P1FU, P2FU), a poet (P5MU), a doctor (P7FU) or a deputy (P2FU, P5MU). The nine who did not recognize her read her age first: she looked “old” (P12MU, P15FU), and “it is no longer her time” (P4MU).

Valdete Daka chaired Kosovo’s Central Election Commission and was reappointed in April 2018. Seven participants identified her, all through the elections she ran (P1FU, P2FU, P5MU, P7FU, P8FU, P10MU, P13MR), two knew her face but not her name (P9FR, P11FR), and six did not recognize her. What they remembered was how her tenure ended. Two called the dismissal unjust (P1FU, P2FU), one adding that she had been “attacked a great deal in the media” (P2FU), and another felt she had been “judged as a woman in the comments” while she “was always correct” in her position (P7FU). Others praised her professionalism and dignity (P5MU, P8FU) and her bearing as “a leader” (P10MU). Of those who did not know her, one read reluctance, “*she does not want to be in this position*” (P4MU), and another found that she “looks sweet” (P15FU).

Visibility of Women as Leaders

Kosovo’s presidency is largely representative rather than executive. According to the Law on the President of the Republic of Kosovo, the President is the head of state and represents the unity of the people of the Republic of Kosovo (Law No. 03/L-094, Article 1). The Constitution, however, also specifies that the President leads the foreign policy of the country (Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Article 84, paragraph 10).

In Kosovo, the most visible women are those who have held the highest office. Kosovo has had three women presidents, Atifete Jahjaga (2011–2016), Vjosa Osmani (2021–2026), with **no spaces** and Justina Shiroka Pula (elected in October 2026), as well as one woman acting president, Albulena Haxhiu (2026).

A photograph showed Atifete Jahjaga (photo taken from the official website of the Office of the President). Twelve of the fifteen participants identified her, one recognized her face without recalling her name, and two did not recognize her. Yet recognition came with the memory of how she had been treated in public. Several had been children during her mandate and knew her first through ridicule: one recalled “gaffes in the media” and “many memes”, adding that she had been “exposed more to the mockery of her than to her work” (P2FU). Another remembered the nickname “the envelope president” (P5MU). Participants set their own view against this image. She was “prejudged a great deal in the media”, and people “were very unfair to her” (P7FU); the coverage had taught one participant that “not everything seen in the media is as it is”, since Jahjaga was an uncorrupted president who did good work but lacked “good public relations” (P1FU).

Those who knew her spoke mainly of her significance as the first woman president (P5MU, P7FU, P10MU, P13MR) and of her work since leaving office, particularly through her foundation and on

women's rights (P2FU, P5MU, P12MU, P13MR). One participant argued that she had *"broken the perception that our country can have women presidents"*, and that *"we know how to value women more once their mandate ends"* (P10MU). Comments on her appearance were few and mostly incidental: she looked *"pleasant"* (P7FU), smiling and professionally dressed (P8FU), *"fine"* (P14FU), and one participant remarked on how much she had changed (P3FU).

Participants were shown Vjosa Osmani's official presidential portrait (2021-2026), the kind displayed in public offices. She was the only woman whom all fifteen participants identified, including the two who had recognized almost none of the others (P4MU, P6MU). Recognition here was not the end of the conversation but the start of a political judgment, and opinions divided. Seven participants were broadly positive. They credited her above all with Kosovo's foreign relations: she had *"represented our country very well"* (P9FR), led *"well in foreign policy"* (P5MU), and been *"a very good representation of Kosovo"*, with a manner *"suitable for diplomacy"* (P10MU); one described her mandate as positive *"especially in diplomatic relations"* (P12MU). Four were critical, and their criticism was of political conduct: changing parties and returning to the same one (P1FU), acting out of *"personal interest"* (P2FU, P4MU), or showing *"a kind of political hunger"* and interest *"only in power"* (P8FU). Two who had once admired her said their view had changed (P1FU, P8FU). Others held both views at once, admiring her determination in debate while disagreeing with her positions (P7FU).

Participants also read her as a woman in a male political field. One argued that *"as a woman you have to be a bit strong in an environment dominated by men"* (P3FU), another that she *"had a great deal of power as a woman in Kosovo"* and had built *"her own political group"* (P7FU), and a third called her *"a symbol of engagement"* and *"a motivation for women in Kosovo"*, tracing her path from translator and adviser to doctor of law and president (P13MR). Comments on her appearance were few: she *"looks good"* (P14FU), and one participant had *"always liked her hair"* (P15FU). One declined to discuss her at all (P6MU).

A photograph taken from the media showed Justina Shiroka Pula at the Assembly in Prishtina on 7 October 2026, the night she took the oath of office. She was elected President of Kosovo at midnight (Al Jazeera 2026). Thirteen of the fourteen participants who saw it identified her, most of them through the news of her nomination and election: one had gathered *"most of the information when she was proposed as a name, shortly before she was elected"* (P12MU), and another noted that she *"has now become a public face"* (P14FU). Several framed their response as relief: *"collectively we were happy that the drama around the president had ended"* (P2FU), and one admired her *"courage in accepting to serve the country"* (P13MR), while another felt she had been called *"too late"* to the office (P4MU). The interviews took place shortly after her election on 7 October 2026, which ended a prolonged deadlock over the presidency and averted early elections. The relief that followed may help explain why participants spoke of her so warmly.

She had *"a good smile"*, was *"like an angel"* and the most *"positive person"* one had seen *"in a long time"* (P5MU), *"radiates"* and looked like *"a lady"* (P7FU), gave *"a warm feeling"* (P8FU) and seemed *"gentle"* (P9FR). Those who knew her biography cited her academic and political record (P2FU, P8FU, P12MU), and one saw her as *"an inspiration for young girls"* (P8FU). Her age was raised, this time as a question of fitness for office: one participant wondered whether, being older, she was *"the right person to represent Kosovo in diplomacy"*, and how an intellectual would *"fit*

in” among world leaders, before allowing that age “could also be an advantage” (P2FU); another called her “new, though not in age” (P13MR). Family appeared as a credential, with one participant noting that she “comes from an educated family” and “has a legacy” (P7FU). Most reserved judgment on her work: “we will see how she represents us” (P9FR). Her age was seen in two ways: positively, as a “grandmother” figure, and negatively, since participants accepted that she could run the state but asked how she would represent it abroad.

Is Diplomacy Invisible, or Understandably So?

Low public knowledge of diplomats is not unique to Kosovo. In the United States, a RAND survey of more than 2,000 adults found that most Americans knew little about their diplomats. Only a few focus-group participants personally knew one, and many drew their image of diplomats from films and television (Pollard, Ries and Amiri 2022). Since diplomats work mainly for audiences abroad, low recognition at home may be expected. For a young state that relies on diplomacy for recognition, however, it matters whether the people who represent it are known to its own youth. The responses below show how much young people in Kosovo know about their diplomats.

Participants were first shown a poster of the television series *The Diplomat*, which features a woman diplomat in the leading role. Four of the fifteen had watched it or were still watching it. Their comments, however, focused less on her diplomatic work than on her private life and appearance: they mentioned her ambiguous relationship with her husband, and described her as looking “bossy” and “tired”.

Participants were shown photographs of six people associated with Kosovo’s diplomacy: four ambassadors (Vlora Çitaku, Bukurie Gjonbalaj, Heroina Telaku and Ilir Dugolli), a Chargé d’Affaires (Ulpiana Lama) and a former foreign minister (Donika Gërvalla). Each was shown in a different type of photograph. Çitaku appeared in a posed portrait with no symbols or background. Gjonbalaj was shown meeting Pope Francis, and Telaku in an office where the flag of Panama was visible. Dugolli wore a pin with the flags of the United States and Kosovo. Lama, like Çitaku, was shown without official symbols.

Vlora Çitaku, Ambassador of Kosovo to the United States from 2015. She served as Kosovo’s Minister of European Integration and, before that, as Deputy and Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, where she helped establish the ministry and Kosovo’s first diplomatic corps. In 2014 she was appointed Consul General in New York. She sat in two legislatures for the Democratic Party of Kosovo, which she joined in 1999, and earlier worked as a journalist and interpreter for Western media during the 1998–1999 war.

Of the women associated with diplomacy, Vlora Çitaku was by far the best known. Unlike Dugolli, Lama and Telaku, who came to their posts as career diplomats, Çitaku was a political appointee. Eight of the fifteen participants identified her by name or role, two more said they knew her without saying who she was, and one found her face familiar; four did not recognize her. Participants knew her from the screen: from “interviews I have seen” (P7FU), from her “appearances in the media” (P12MU), from meetings where she stood beside the former president (P5MU). They did not all know the same Çitaku. Four remembered her as ambassador to the United States (P2FU, P7FU,

P10MU, P13MR), others placed her in the Democratic Party of Kosovo as spokesperson or deputy (P8FU, P12MU), and two were unsure which ministry she had led (P5MU, P12MU).

Those who knew her judged her on performance. She gave good speeches and had strong English (P1FU), was “competent in her duties” (P5MU), “articulate” and “persuasive” (P7FU), and “represented us better than other diplomats” (P10MU). One male participant said that she “represents me too, as an individual” (P12MU). Two female participants saw her as opening the way for others: she matters “for giving other women a chance in politics” (P7FU) and “sets a very good example” (P14FU). Being known also exposed her to political judgment. Participants noted that “*people have different opinions about her*” (P7FU).

Recognition did not end comment on her appearance. Participants who knew her still remarked that she “looks very beautiful” (P14FU), that her clothing and presentation were “dignified” (P10MU), and that her pose gave her a “stoic and professional” bearing (P8FU). Those who did not know her read the headshot as publicity: “a woman posing for a campaign” (P11FR), or someone “advertising something” in a “good suit” and a “nice pose” (P15FU).

Bukurie Gjonbalaj, Ambassador of Kosovo to Italy from 2012 and, by presidential decree of 2 November 2016 (DED-016-2016), Ambassador to the Holy See, presenting Pope Francis with a statuette of Our Lady of Letnica at an audience in St Peter’s Square, September 2013 (Telegrafi 2013). None of the fifteen participants could say who she was. Seven placed the scene through the Pope or the Vatican (P1FU, P4MU, P5MU, P6MU, P7FU, P11FR, P12MU), and one apologized: “*the Pope, but I’m sorry, I don’t know who she is*” (P6MU). The only participant who had identified each of the women in the earlier photographs (P5MU) said he knew her but gave no name or role.

Three photographs showed career diplomats: Ulpiana Lama, until 2025 Kosovo’s Chargé d’Affaires in Thailand; Heroína Telaku, Ambassador to Panama; and Ilir Dugolli, Ambassador to the United States since 2021. None of the fifteen participants recognized any of them. Unlike the politicians, who were known in proportion to their media presence, the diplomats were invisible.

In the absence of recognition, participants built a role from what the photograph offered. Lama, shown without official symbols, was not once read as a diplomat. She looked like “a flight attendant” (P4MU, P14FU), like someone “from the field of art” (P8FU, P12MU), possibly from “the world of technology” (P7FU), and one participant found her “a modern woman” who did “not look Albanian” (P14FU). Telaku, photographed in an office with flags and a portrait of then-President Hashim Thaçi behind her, was read through those symbols: six participants guessed she was an ambassador (P2FU, P3FU, P9FR, P12MU, P13MR, P14FU), others a minister, deputy or adviser (P1FU, P3FU, P7FU, P8FU), and several dated the photograph by the portrait (P5MU, P8FU, P11FR). One participant used the guess to explain what ambassadors do: “they repair relations if they are broken or create new ones” (P12MU). Dugolli, also photographed with flags, drew a different vocabulary. He looked “serious”, with “authority” and “sharp eyes” (P4MU), “educated, professional” (P10MU), and “very serious, a bit old, traditional” (P14FU); only one participant guessed he was an ambassador (P13MR). The only comment on Telaku’s appearance concerned her being “pleasant” with “a little make-up” (P1FU).

A photograph showed Donika Gërvalla, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Diaspora from 2021 to 2026 and now Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice. From 1991 to 2018 she held senior positions in the LDK (*Lidhja Demokratike e Kosovës*), (Democratic League of Kosovo) and during the 1998–1999 war she was the LDK’s spokesperson abroad. She now leads “Guxo” (in English, Dare), which has been in a close political coalition and on a joint electoral list with Albin Kurti’s *Lëvizja Vetëvendosje* (LVV), (in English, Self-Determination). Nine participants identified her, one knew her without naming her (P9FR), and five did not recognize her. Five of those who knew her linked her to foreign affairs, and their verdict was largely negative: her time in diplomacy was “a failure” (P5MU), she played “a passive role in foreign affairs” (P12MU), “public opinion was not good” (P7FU), and, although she had “raised her voice where others did not dare”, she was “not right for diplomacy” (P10MU).

Participants were divided on whether gender played a part in how she was judged by the media. One participant stressed that the failure “is not connected to gender, to being a woman” (P5MU), another that it “relates to the government, not to her as a person” (P12MU). A third argued the reverse: the attacks on her seemed “sexist”, since “*she was definitely criticized more because she is a woman*”, even though, in her view, criticism of her positions was deserved (P2FU). A further theme was family. One participant knew her mainly as “somebody’s daughter” and did not know what she would be remembered for (P1FU), while another respected her “because of the family” despite her record (P5MU). Some saw strength: “a strong woman who does not back down easily” (P11FR), and proof that “*Kosovo is ready to trust women*” with major roles (P13MR). Those who did not recognize her turned to her appearance: she looked as if she had “been through a lot” and “needs a haircut” (P4MU), looked “fine” (P14FU), or was “a somewhat older woman” (P15FU).

Before turning to the representation data, several patterns emerge from the interviews. First, the media shape how women politicians are remembered: media portrayals served as the reference point whether participants accepted them or pushed back against them. Second, women leaders from earlier periods are remembered far less than recent ones. This lies somewhere between amnesia and avoidance: a shared forgetting, particularly of women who were active before independence in 2008, alongside a tendency among some participants to keep their distance from politics. Women presidents are widely recognized, likely in part because their time in office is recent, and former ministers are also fairly well known. Women diplomats, by contrast, are largely unknown: no participant recognized any of the career diplomats, and only one, a political appointee, was widely known. Third, when participants spoke about women in public life, they referred not only to women’s experiences but also to their age, appearance and style. Some participants read these women as less competent or as headstrong, while others described them as “sweet”.

What Can We Learn from the Data?

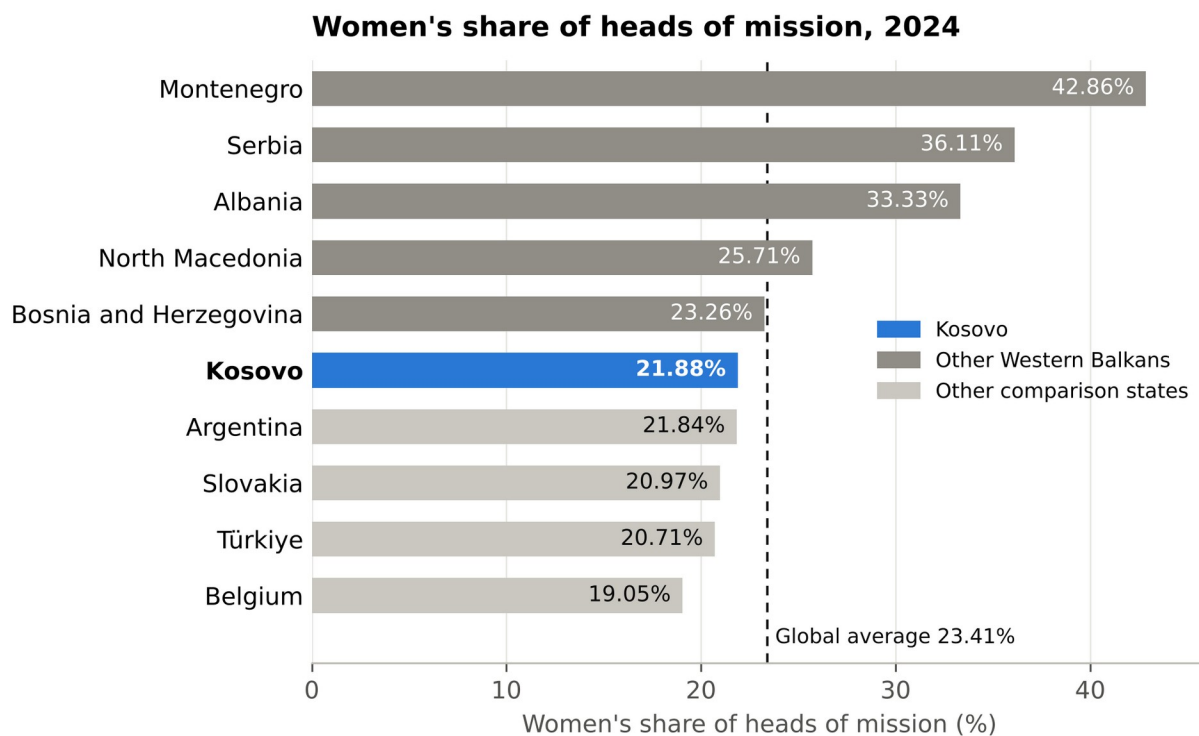
This section draws on the Gender and Diplomacy (GenDip) dataset, which records the gender of ambassadors appointed by states worldwide, to see where Kosovo stands and how women’s representation in its diplomacy has changed over time (Towns and Niklasson 2025).

Globally, women remain underrepresented among ambassadors, although in a number of countries they now hold 25–40% of posts. In the United States, only 9% of the more than 4,600 ambassadors

appointed throughout its diplomatic history have been women, and 27 of the 191 countries with which the United States had diplomatic relations had never received a woman as US ambassador (Zainulbhai 2016). Kosovo is a contrasting case: it has hosted two women US ambassadors, Tina Kaidanow (2008–2011) and Tracey Ann Jacobson (2012–2015).

Where Does Kosovo stand?

In 2024, women made up 21.88% of Kosovo's 32 heads of mission. This placed Kosovo 71st among sending countries, slightly below the global average of 23.41%. Kosovo ranked ahead of several larger and older diplomatic services, including Argentina (21.84%), Slovakia (20.97%), Türkiye (20.71%) and Belgium (19.05%). Within the Western Balkans, however, it had the lowest share: Montenegro stood at 42.86%, Serbia at 36.11%, Albania at 33.33%, North Macedonia at 25.71%, and Bosnia and Herzegovina at 23.26% (Figure 2).



Source: GenDip dataset (2025).

Figure 2. Women's share of heads of mission in ten selected states, 2024.

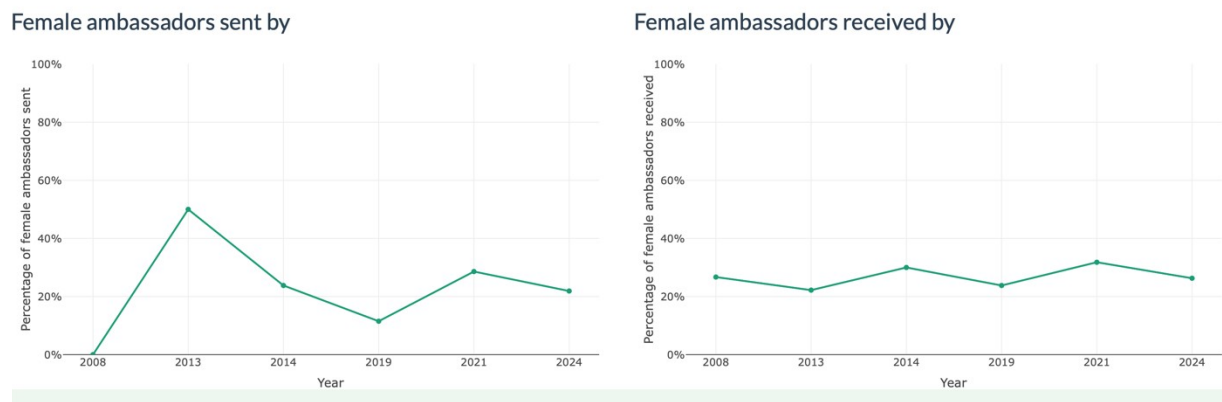


Figure 3. Share of women among ambassadors sent and received by Kosovo, 2008–2024.

Women’s share among Kosovo’s ambassadors has fluctuated rather than grown steadily (Figure 3). Kosovo declared independence in 2008 and began building its diplomatic service that year, so 2008 marks the start of institutional development rather than a meaningful baseline. Women’s share reached about 50% in 2013, fell to 23.81% in 2014 and 11.54% in 2019, rose to 28.57% in 2021 and declined again to 21.88% in 2024. With around 30 posts, a single appointment changes the share by roughly three percentage points. By contrast, the share of women among foreign ambassadors serving in Kosovo remained relatively stable, at about 22–32%, and stood at about 26% in 2024.

Kosovo’s record is close to the global average but the lowest in its region, and it shows no clear upward trend. Other states have sent women ambassadors to Kosovo at a steady rate, while Kosovo’s own appointments have been uneven. This suggests that women’s representation in Kosovo’s diplomacy depends on individual appointments rather than on an established practice. The data alone, however, cannot explain the institutional or political factors behind these appointments.

Where Are Women Ambassadors Posted?

Research on established diplomatic services shows that where women ambassadors are posted can reveal as much as how many there are. Previous research found that women were less likely than men to be posted to economically important states and to states in interstate conflict, but were not posted to gender-equal states more often than men. To see whether a similar pattern holds for Kosovo, the researcher examined Kosovo’s ambassador-level postings in the GenDip dataset in three ways: by host country, by the host country’s level of gender equality and by its income group.

Table 1 shows Kosovo’s ambassador-level postings in the GenDip dataset for four snapshot years: 2014, 2019, 2021 and 2024 (Towns and Niklasson 2025).

Table 1. Kosovo's ambassador-level postings by host country and gender, 2014–2024

Host country	Women	Men	Total	Women's share
Albania	0	3	3	0.0%
Australia	1	2	3	33.3%
Austria	0	3	3	0.0%
Bangladesh	0	1	1	0.0%
Belgium	1	3	4	25.0%
Bulgaria	0	3	3	0.0%
Canada	0	3	3	0.0%
Croatia	1	3	4	25.0%
Czechia	1	0	1	100.0%
France	0	4	4	0.0%
Germany	0	4	4	0.0%
Hungary	1	3	4	25.0%
Italy	3	0	3	100.0%
Japan	0	3	3	0.0%
Montenegro	2	1	3	66.7%
Netherlands	1	2	3	33.3%
North Macedonia	0	3	3	0.0%
Norway	1	0	1	100.0%
Panama	2	0	2	100.0%
Portugal	0	2	2	0.0%
Qatar	0	2	2	0.0%
Saudi Arabia	0	4	4	0.0%
Senegal	0	1	1	0.0%
Serbia	0	1	1	0.0%
Slovenia	0	4	4	0.0%
Sweden	3	1	4	75.0%
Switzerland	1	3	4	25.0%
Thailand	0	1	1	0.0%
Türkiye	0	3	3	0.0%
United Arab Emirates	0	3	3	0.0%
United Kingdom	0	3	3	0.0%
United States	1	3	4	25.0%
All observed postings	19	72	91	20.9%

Note: Main bilateral postings sent by Kosovo at ambassador level in four snapshot years (2014, 2019, 2021 and 2024); heads of mission of other ranks are excluded. Counts are observations across snapshots, not individual ambassadors or new appointments. Source: GenDip dataset (Towns and Niklasson 2025), version August 2025.

Across the four snapshots, women ambassadors from Kosovo held 19 of 91 observed postings, or about 21%. Their postings were concentrated in a few countries, notably Italy, Sweden and Montenegro, while 19 of the 32 host countries had only men as ambassadors. In the G20 countries in the dataset, women held 5 of 34 postings (15%), compared with 14 of 57 (25%) elsewhere. Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Japan, Canada, Saudi Arabia and Türkiye had only men as ambassadors in all observed years. Women have nonetheless headed some G20 missions, most notably Vlora Çitaku, who served as Kosovo’s ambassador to the United States from 2015. This pattern is consistent with Kreft, Niklasson and Towns (2022), who found that women are less often posted to economically important states.

Gender equality and income. To test whether gender equality in the host country is linked to where women are posted, Figure 4 plots women’s share of observed postings in each host country against its Gender Inequality Index (GII) for 2023, which ranges from 0 to 1, with lower values meaning greater equality (UNDP 2025).

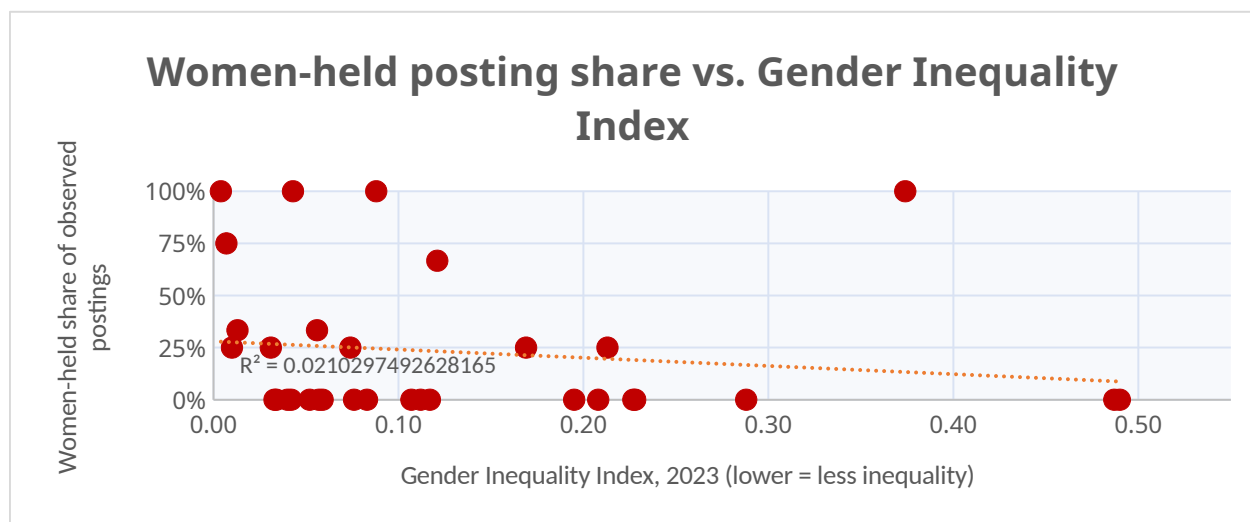


Figure 4. Women’s share of Kosovo’s ambassador postings and host-country gender inequality, 2014–2024. Each point is a host country. Sources: GenDip (Towns and Niklasson 2025); UNDP (2025).

The relationship is very weak ($R^2 = 0.02$): women and men alike were posted to both highly gender-equal and less equal countries, and most host countries, across the whole range, had only men as ambassadors. Grouped by income, however, a difference appears (Figure 5). Women held 22.7% of postings in high-income host countries (17 of 75), compared with 14.3% in upper-middle-income countries (2 of 14); the two postings in lower-middle-income countries were both held by men. Read together with the G20 data, this suggests that Kosovo’s women ambassadors are often posted to wealthy countries, but less often to the largest economies. Women’s diplomatic

representation is therefore not limited to a single category of host country. Taken together, the data suggest that Kosovo does not systematically send women ambassadors to more gender-equal countries, but that women are less often posted to the largest economies, a pattern consistent with Kreft, Niklasson and Towns (2022).

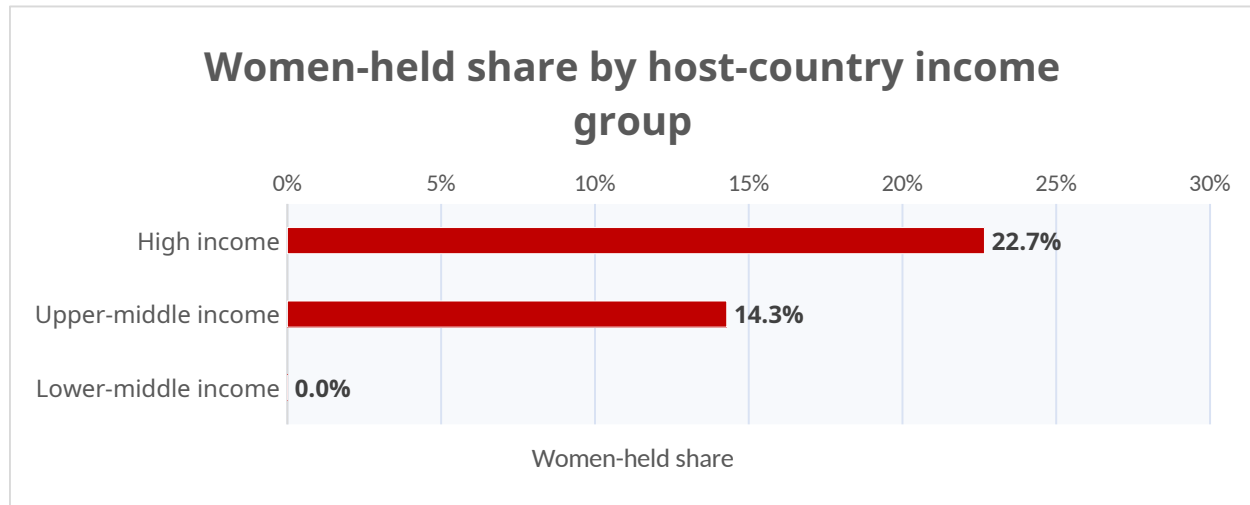


Figure 5. Women's share of Kosovo's ambassador postings by host-country income group, 2014–2024. Sources: GenDip (Towns and Niklasson 2025); World Bank (2026).

These observations rest on a small number of postings, so they cannot establish whether gender systematically shapes Kosovo's ambassadorial appointments. The GenDip counts refer to repeated observations rather than individual ambassadors, and they concern only heads of mission. Embassies employ other diplomats and officials, such as deputy heads of mission, counselors and attachés, whose gender composition these data do not capture. A fuller picture would require data on all diplomatic staff and on appointments over time.

Conclusion and Discussion

Diplomacy in Kosovo has never been the domain of men alone. Yet for most young people in this study, the women who shaped it remain largely unseen. One participant was an exception: “when I see [her], the word diplomacy comes to mind”.

This study set out to examine how young people perceive women in politics and diplomacy, how women are represented in Kosovo’s diplomatic service, and where women ambassadors are posted.

What young people remember. The interviews point to these patterns:

1. **Media and recognition.** The best-known women were presidents, all of them recent. Women whose main roles ended decades ago were almost unknown. Two cases show the media effect directly: one woman became known through the news of her death, another through the news of her election. One participant explained the gap simply: “I was young”.
2. **Diplomats’ work is not visible at home.** No participant recognized any of the career diplomats, women or men, including Kosovo’s current ambassador in Washington. Young people link diplomacy to the president rather than to ambassadors.
3. **Unknown women are read through their appearance.** When participants did not know a woman, hair, make-up, clothing, smile and especially age (“old”, “older style”, “shortly before retirement”) dominated their answers. Recognition reduced such comments but did not end them.
4. **Women are placed in relation to men and family.** Women were read as “left aside” next to male leaders, overshadowed by the men beside them, or measured against a male counterpart’s height. Others were known as “somebody’s daughter” or as coming “from an educated family”.
5. **Participants are aware of gendered media treatment.** They described women in public life as mocked in memes, “judged as a woman” or attacked in sexist ways. Some defended these women, while others separated their own criticism from gender (“not connected to being a woman”).

The sample does not allow us to conclude whether young people are interested in politics. A few participants did mention a lack of interest, and others kept their distance from political topics, though it is unclear whether this reflects disinterest or avoidance.

Representation and postings. The representation data add to this picture. In 2024, women made up 21.88% of Kosovo’s heads of mission, slightly below the global average of 23.41% and the lowest share in the Western Balkans. This share has fluctuated with individual appointments, from about half in 2013 to 11.54% in 2019, suggesting it depends on political decisions rather than established practice. Women are not systematically posted to more gender-equal countries. They held a larger share of postings in high-income than upper-middle-income countries (22.7% vs. 14.3%), but a smaller share in G20 countries (15% vs. 25% elsewhere), consistent with earlier research (Kreft, Niklasson and Towns 2022).

Discussion. These findings speak to the study's two perspectives and to wider debates on memory and visibility.

On memory and media framing, the findings support V. Krasniqi's (2026) argument that public memory forgets fast and in masculine terms, while women's contributions survive slowly, through family stories, as in the case of a participant who knew one woman through her mother's accounts. Media framing appears to reinforce this pattern: participants who did know these women often knew them through how the media had framed them, through appearance, mockery or political controversy rather than their work⁹.

On visibility, they echo Golovchenko et al. (2023): the main disadvantage women diplomats face is not hostility but lack of visibility. Kosovo's presidency, which the Constitution places at the head of foreign policy, is the exception that confirms the rule: women become visible when they hold office in the public eye.

On status, the representation data suggest that women reach Kosovo's diplomatic service but are less often posted to the largest economies, although the numbers are small. Whether appointments also serve to signal status abroad cannot be established with these data, but the question deserves attention for a state that still seeks recognition.

These findings also suggest that counting women in diplomacy is not enough. It is equally important to examine their degree of influence and leadership (Kaneva and Cassinger 2022, 310). Women, like men, are not a homogeneous group, and women diplomats do not necessarily contribute to advancing gender equality (Kaneva and Cassinger 2022, 310). Future research should therefore look beyond numbers and visibility to what women in Kosovo's diplomacy actually do, and with what effect.

These conclusions rest on a small, exploratory sample and should be read as a snapshot rather than a general picture of young people in Kosovo.

Recommendations

1. **Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Diaspora.** Create and maintain a simple, publicly accessible, non-partisan database of Kosovo's diplomats, past and present, including women. Kosovo's diplomatic community is small but valuable, and making its members known would help young people see diplomacy as a career open to them.
2. **Education.** Kosovo already benefits from valuable cultural diplomacy through women in sport and music, but women in politics and diplomacy remain far less visible. Although this study did not examine textbooks, the findings suggest that education could play a role, for example by giving more attention to women who shaped Kosovo's political life and state-building, including diplomats. This should be done with care, as part of a balanced account of recent history rather than as a separate addition, and in ways that connect to contemporary debates so that young people can relate to these narratives.

⁹ The Oral History Kosovo project and feminist scholarship offer a useful framework for recovering such accounts.

3. **Research.** Support research on how women in public life are framed in narratives, images and the media, including through grants for researchers.

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Appendix 1. Interview participants

Code	Age	Status	Field / workplace	City
P1FU	29	Employed	Law	Gjilan
P2FU	24	Student	Not stated	Ferizaj
P3FU	21	Employed	Economics	Prishtina
P4MU	23	Employed	Sport	Gjakova
P5MU	25	Student	Computer science	Peja / Prishtina
P6MU	21	Student	Sport	Prizren
P7FU	23	Student, employed	Informatics	Prishtina
P8FU	21	Student	Computer engineering	Prishtina
P9FR	25	Employed	Banking and finance	Village in Prishtina
P10MU	28	Employed	Political science	Gjakova
P11FR	19	Student	Social work	Obiliq
P12MU	22	Student	Political science	Prishtina
P13MR	23	Student	Psychology	Lipjan
P14FU	21	Student	Political science	Prishtina
P15FU	20	Student	Political science	Prishtina

Note: Codes combine participant number, gender (F/M) and residence (U = urban, R = rural). The sample includes 9 women and 6 men, aged 19 to 29, from Prishtina, Gjilan, Ferizaj, Gjakova, Peja, Prizren, Obiliq and Lipjan.

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