

Kosova Memory

I

Woman's share of inheritance

(oral history)

The National Library of Kosova

"Pjetër Bogdani"

Special editions, 2017

Kujtesa e Kosovës

I

Hisja e gruas *(histori gojore)*

Biblioteka Kombëtare e Kosovës
"Pjetër Bogdani"
Botime të veçanta, 2017

Botues: Biblioteka Kombëtare e Kosovës “Pjetër Bogdani” © 2017

Biblioteka: Botime të veçanta

Kryeredaktor i botimeve: Fazli Gajraku

Redaktor: Arsim Canolli

Intervistuesit: Bjeshka Guri, Fjolla Thaçi, Iliriana Blakaj, Linda Hiseni, Petrit Bytyqi

Ballina / Faqosja: bubrrecat

Shtypi: X-Print

Publisher: The National Library of Kosova “Pjetër Bogdani” © 2017

Section: Special Editions

Chief editor: Fazli Gajraku

Editor: Arsim Canolli

Interviewers: Bjeshka Guri, Fjolla Thaçi, Iliriana Blakaj, Linda Hiseni, Petrit Bytyqi

Cover / Layout: bubrrecat

Print: X-Print



“This project was funded through a U.S. Embassy, Pristina grant. The opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed herein are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect those of the Department of State.”

“Ky projekt u financua përmes një granti të Ambasadës Amerikane në Prishtinë. Mendimet, rezultatet dhe përfundimet apo rekomandimet e shprehura në të janë të autor,~it, ~ëve, dhe nuk i pasqyrojnë medoemos qëndrimet e Departamentit Amerikan të Shtetit.”

“Për çika me u dhanë diçka pô. Tash qe ni (1) vit e dimë qi ktu kem me lshu për banesa. Mos e lshöfshum qitash, dej qitash mot-mot e lshöjmë se po marrin krejt ksajde banesa. E kemi me ja u dhanë çikave...”

“To provide girls with something, yes. It’s been a year that we know that we will give our land to property developers and get a number of flats in return. If we don’t exchange it now, we will have to in a year’s time, because all around here are doing this exchange. And we will give them (meaning “a flat each”) to our daughters...”

Zyla Imeri Duli, fq. 65/pg. 167

PËRMBAJTJA

PARATHËNIE	9
INTERVISTA I	13
INTERVISTA II	25
INTERVISTA III	33
INTERVISTA IV	43
INTERVISTA V	49
INTERVISTA VI	61
INTERVISTA VII	71
INTERVISTA VIII	77
INTERVISTA IX	83
INTERVISTA X	93

CONTENTS

PREFACE	107
INTERVIEW I	111
INTERVIEW II	127
INTERVIEW III	135
INTERVIEW IV	145
INTERVIEW V	151
INTERVIEW VI	163
INTERVIEW VII	175
INTERVIEW VIII	181
INTERVIEW IX	185
INTERVIEW X	195

Kjo përmbledhje e rrëfimeve me temë “hisja e gruas” mëton të jetë një ftesë në histori gojore të përvojës dhe kujtesës personale për hisen e gruas në Kosovë. Në këtë përmbledhje do të gjeni raste të ndryshme ku flitet për hisen e gruas si koncept, si praktikë, si përvojë, si tabu, si ligj, si kompensim, si lloj shkëmbimi, etj., ashtu sikurse është përjetuar, kuptuar e perceptuar në të kaluarën por edhe si kuptohet e interpretohet në të tashmen. Të intervistuarit/rrëfimtarët flasin për hisen e vajzës, vendimin e babës, vëllait, kompensimin jetësor në formë të *t’panit* (vizitave të gjata javore e mujore të motrës te familja e saj - *n’gjini/n’opçinë* - dy e më shumë herë në vit), *pajës* (veshjeve e dekoreve të tjera personale të vajzës) apo *çeizit* e me radhë. Ata tregojnë përvoja personale nga e kaluara, tregime për të tjerët, raste nga koha e sotshme, synime për veprimet e ardhshme, etj. Çfarë del nga kjo përmbledhje e këtyre rrëfimeve, pos shumë të tjerash, është fakti se, sipas kujtesës së të intervistuarve, hisja e motrës në familje konceptohet se ekziston në parim por ajo “nuk merret” për arsye të ndryshme - prej varfërisë e deri te tabuja. Po ashtu, koncepti i hises dhe e drejta e pronës së vajzës e garantuar me ligj në ditët e sotme, në praktikat e përditshme kanë nisur të negociohen si “dhuratë” kompenzuese për të.

Fakti se në traditën shqiptare, në përgjithësi, thuhet se “çika ka hise te baba”, tregon se në parim edhe tradicionalisht njihet dhe ekziston hisja e saj në të drejtën pronësore familjare. Por, fakti se thuhet se “motra nuk u hin n’hise vllaznive”, dhe në realitet kjo ka qenë praktikë (me vullnet apo e imponuar) e zakonshme, tregon se hisja ka mbetur vetëm koncept, peng e mjet ndërmjetësimi, sigurie e kompensimi në të drejtën pronësore patrilokale për arsye të ruajtjes së ekuilibrit familjar, fisnor e social në kushte të varfërisë dhe të mbijetesës në katun/fshat. Si duket, rregullimi i jetesës përmes një sërë parimesh praktike kanunore ka krijuar një marrëveshje të pashkruar shkëmbimi në institucionin e martesës: motra nuk merr hise, gruaja nuk sjell hise. Ky parim duket se ka mbizotëruar. Sidoqoftë, ka përvoja dhe raste të shumëta të ndarjes së hises së gruas, varësisht sipas kontekstit familjar, religjioz, politik e ekonomik, sikurse jipet edhe në këto intervista. Kjo tregon se janë marrë vendime praktike e pragmatike gjatë kohëve të ndryshme për të rregulluar reciprocitetin, kohezionin dhe ekuilibrin shoqëror brenda kontekstit historik, ekonomik e social të traditës shqiptare. Megjithatë, në shumicën e rasteve (disa sosh

janë dhënë edhe në këto rrëfime) shfaqet parimi se hisja e motrës te familja e saj ekziston si e drejtë e cila nuk merret por arkëzohet dhe shfrytëzohet si dhuratë përhershme në forma të ndryshme si *t'pani*, gostie, kujdesi e kthimi në familje në rast të prishjes së martesës, etj. Sidoqoftë, kjo mbetet për t'u kërkuar e analizuar më shumë.

Nga rrëfimet e përvojat autentike të dëguara e të vrojtuar me nge, punë që bëhet kryesisht nga antropologët e kulturës, mund të njihet shtegu kulturor e social i së drejtës pronësore e trashëgimore dhe hisja e gruas si aspekt i veçantë i këtij shtegu. Si cekëm më lartë, rrëfime të tilla ka në këto 10 intervista me burra e gra nga vise të ndryshme të Kosovës të transkriptuara brenda kësaj përmbledhjeje. Intervistat janë kryer nga studentët e antropologjisë kulturore në Departamentin e Antropologjisë në Fakultetin Filozofik të Universitetit të Prishtinës "Hasan Prishtina" gjatë dhjetorit të vitit 2016. Secili student ka zgjedhur vetë subjektet e intervistës pa u bazuar në zgjedhje selektive apo të imponuar.

Ndonëse projekti është kryer brenda një afati të dhënë mjaft të kufizuar, secili student ka transkriptuar intervistat e veta. Transkriptimi është bërë duke përfillur disa udhëzime nga mentori i projektit: të ruhet autenticiteti dialektor i të folmes duke u përkthyer në tekst përkatës me shenja diakritike vetëm mbi zanore. Në traditën e transkriptimit të të folmeve popullore dialektore në gjuhën shqipe ekzistojnë disa modele të cilat janë të ndryshme dhe nuk kanë ndonjë konsistencë të caktuar. Si përrallat e mbledhura nga Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, si studimet mbi rrëfime personale gojore, si fjalorët e ndryshëm të gjuhës shqipe, të gjitha përdorin variante të ndryshme të përdorimit të shenjave diakritike mbi zanore, madje edhe brenda një teksti. Andaj, studentët janë udhëzuar që të ndjekin traditën e transkriptimit duke përfillur disa trajta të gjuhës së standardit dhe disa të formës dialektore gege si në rastin e traditës folklorike të mbledhjes së përrallave e anekdotave. Pa dyshim, se transkriptimi i rrëfimeve të përmbledhura këtu nuk është i përsosur dhe madje as nuk mëton të jetë i tillë. Redaktori dhe transkriptuesit e këtyre rrëfimeve mirëpresin secilën analizë, kritikë, sugjerim mbi transkriptet, gjithnjë për të hapur një konverzacion më të gjerë dhe më të frytshëm akademik mbi transkriptimin dialektologjik të gjuhës shqipe, përkatësisht të folmeve të ndryshme të rajoneve e vendeve të ndryshme të Kosovës dhe viseve shqiptare më gjerë. Kjo, është një ftesë si për komunitetin akademik ashtu edhe për të gjithë shqiptarët dhe folësit e studiuesit tjerë të gjuhës shqipe. Sepse

edhe në këto rrëfime, ka raste kur i/e intervistuar, ~i, ~a, përdor zanore me theks të ndryshëm brenda një fjalie për të njëjtën fjalë me kuptim të njëjtë. Ndonëse për transkriptuesin është sfidë, kjo tregon pasurinë e të folmeve, nëndialekteve dhe dialekteve të gjuhës shqipe, një trashëgimi kjo e pasur kulturore shpirtërore, por edhe thekson ndryshimet që ka pësuar e po pëson gjuha shqipe (të folmet e saj), relievi zanor i dialekteve shqipe, i fjalëve dhe fonetikës së gërshetuar me gjuhë të tjera e ndryshime të tjera.

Shpresojmë se këto rrëfime do të shërbejnë si material autentik për studime të mëtutjeshme si në fushën e antropologjisë ashtu edhe në studimet filologjike e studimet e tjera akademike. Me këtë përmbledhje vjen edhe një CD me rrëfime të incizuara të cilat mund të dëgjohen e të analizohen edhe si material zanor. Pra, do të ishim më se të kënaqur nëse këto rrëfime shërbejnë sadopak për ta zgjeruar konverzacionin mbi gjuhën, kulturën, historinë e përvojën shqiptare.

Si mentor i projektit dhe redaktor i kësaj përmbledhjeje rrëfimesh, dua t'i falënderoj së pari të gjithë të intervistuarit për rrëfimet personale dhe lejet për t'i ndarë ato me gjithë botën. Pa bashkëpunim e vullnet të tillë mbledhja, ruajtja dhe studimi i kujtesës së Kosovës as do të ishte dhe as do të jetë i mundshëm në të ardhmen. Faleminderit! Dua t'i falënderoj studentët/intervistuesit për përkushtimin e tyre në realizimin e kësaj pune. Ata janë: Bjeshka Guri, Fjolla Thaçi, Iliriana (Lira) Blakaj, Linda Hiseni dhe Petrit Bytyqi. Me pasionin, zellin dhe punën e tyre, ata kanë treguar se po bëhen antropologë të zotë dhe studiues profesionistë. Falënderoj Këndin Amerikan të Bibliotekës Kombëtare të Kosovës, i cili ka siguruar një grant nga Ambasada Amerikane për financimin dhe realizimin e një projekti të vogël për të drejtat pronësore të grave dhe vullnetarët e këtij Këndi (Elza Berisha, Fitore Misini, Florida Kastrati, Jehona Gjergji dhe Qëndresa Imeri Ferizi), të cilët kanë ndihmuar në përkthimin e intervistave brenda një kohe relativisht të shkurtër. Jemi jashtëzakonisht falënderues ndaj Ambasadës së SHBA-ve në Kosovë, për ndihmën financiare në realizimin e këtij projekti që na mundëson ta kuptojmë më mirë problemin e hises së gruas në raport me kulturën, traditën dhe ndryshimet shoqërore mes shqiptarëve të Kosovës në veçanti. Falënderoj Ambasadën Amerikane edhe për përkrahjen e vazhdueshme që i jep Bibliotekës Kombëtare të Kosovës, Këndit Amerikan dhe Departamentit të Antropologjisë, në kuadër të Fakultetit Filozofik të Universitetit të Prishtinës "Hasan Prishtina". Falënderojmë Bibliotekën Kombëtare të Kosovës, për botimin e kësaj

përmbledhjeje në kuadër të botimeve të veçanta të Bibliotekës Kombëtare të Kosovës. Biblioteka Kombëtare e Kosovës mëton të dokumentojë e të botojë materiale të ngjashme, e sidomos rrëfime gojore për periudha të padokumentuara të historisë shqiptare të Kosovës, në kuadër të projektit të saj afatgjatë “Kujtesa e Kosovës”. Po ashtu, falënderoj studion “bubrrer-cat” për dizajnin dhe ballinën e kësaj përmbledhjeje. Falënderoj Alexandra Kelly-n nga Biblioteka Publike e New York-ut për vizitën dhe punëtoritë e saj që ishin inspirim për studentët tanë.

Ky material do të vendoset edhe në internet në kuadër të ueb-sajtit të Bibliotekës Kombëtare, Këndit Amerikan dhe në ueb-sajtin e grupit të studentëve të antropologjisë ANTROKOS [http://anthropology.atkosova.com] me qëllim që të mundësohet sa më shumë shfrytëzimi i tij dhe të lehtësohet qasja në të.

Shpresojmë që pos të tjerash, ky projekt të jetë edhe një sprovë e mirë dhe një hap i mbarë për vazhdimin e mbledhjes, dokumentimit dhe promovimit të historisë, kulturës dhe përvojës së Kosovës përmes historisë gojore.

Pra, shpresojmë se në të ardhmen do të vazhdojmë mbledhjen e Kujtesës së Kosovës përmes zanit të njerëzve të saj.

Arsim Canolli

Janar 2017

INTERVISTA I

Bjeshka Guri (intervistuesja)

Igballe Morina (e intervistuarë, 86 vjeçe)

Data: 07.12.2016

Vendi: Ferizaj

Akronimet: BG=Bjeshka Guri, IM=Igballe Morina

Kohëzgjatja: 38'.53"

- IM: Emri i babës Ibrahim, i nonës Rabije. Une kûm lindë n'Gjakovë. Kûm ardhë n'Ferizaj shtatë vjeçare. Edhe ktu jûm martu. N'47-ën jom martu. At'here i marrshin çikat partizonka. Brigada...n'atë kohë.

- BG: Sa vjet i ke pasë kur je martu?

- IM: I kûm pasë gjashtëmdhetë. Gjashtëmdhetë vjeçare, a burrin e kûm marrë 42 vjet.

- BG: Pse ashtu?

- IM: M'ka dhonë nona edhe daja. Babë s'kom pasë, baba m'ka deké.

- BG: Kur t'ka deké? Sa vjet i ke pasë?

- IM: Shtatë vjeçare ô m ka lonë... Moti. A m'ka dhonë nona edhe daja.

- BG: Pse t'kanë dhonë aq e re?

- IM: I marrshin çikat partizonka.

- BG: Qysh o konë me konë partizankë?

- IM: Partizonka si qe'tahi kur dulen n'UÇK. A po t'bjen n'men?

- BG: Po

- IM: Brigada i qitshin i marrshin. Pi tute, m'dhanë. M'martun, burri 42 vjeçar, as temel t'shpi së as kurgjo, hiç. Veç trupi i gjallë. As shpi as kurgjo. At'here ai o konë polic. Kemi jetu mot-mot n'Ferizaj, pi Ferizajit kemi shku n'Mitrovicë.

- BG: N'Mitrovicë keni jetu a?

- IM: N'Mitrovicë kena nejë dy vjet. Pi Mitrovices n'Istog katër vjet. Aty m'ka deké burri.

- BG: Pse i ndrrjshi venet ashtu?

- IM: Po qishtu i çojshin policia at'here, 'tahi jo, at'here i çojshin qash-tu. Edhe aty m'ka deké burri, n'Istog.

- BG: A ke pasë fmi me to?

- IM: Dy, qata dy qe i kom pasë, djalë e çikë. Tóni jom ardhë n'Ferizaj. Si m'ka deké burri kûm ardhë n'Ferizaj. N'Ferizaj mot-mot te nona. As nona s'ka pasë shpi, me qira. Tóni jom shku n'Greme u martova n'Greme me dy thmi.

- BG: Kush ta gjet burrin n'Greme?

- IM: Burrin ma gjet ni shoqe, u konë, ka punu aty te Ramiz Sadiki, ajo ô konë kuvaricë. Ajo o konë per ni komandant t'milicijes, tóni u nda pi ti, thmi s'ka pasë, u da. E tóni ish konë ardhë n'Ferizaj. At'here um zateti ajo. Ajo ma gjet, shkova n'Greme.

- BG: E s'ke pasë ti me veti kurgjo? Pare, naj hise...

- IM: Dy kauça, kreveta se jo kauça, kreveta. Edhe ni armon, t' drunit.
- BG: Prej burrit t' mahershëm s' ke pasë kurgjo?
- IM: Kurgjo tjetër.
- BG: Veç qata dy fmi?
- IM: Qata dy fmi edhe qato t' sobes teme, edhe shkova atje, u martova. Pesëdhet vjet kom rrnu atje n' Greme. Tòni jom ardhë pi luftës, jom ardhë ktu.
- BG: Sa fmi i ka pasë burri?
- IM: Pesë thmi. I kûm rritë, i kûm martu, krejt.
- BG: Burri, çka o bo me to a ka vdekë?
- IM: E myti lufta, shkijet. Me gjithë at' babgjyshin (nuk kuptohet). Edhe erdha e zuna qit banesë qitu.
- BG: A keni pasë tokë atje te burri yt n' Greme?
- IM: Kemi pasë boll, po toka huj jo e jàmja.
- BG: Ti e ke pase burrë ato... (qesh)
- IM: Ato e kom pasë burri e aty kemi pasë tokë, po ata e murren.
- BG: Ty nuk t' kanë dhonë kurgjo a?
- IM: Kurgjo s' ûm kanë dhonë. As qekaq [prekë majën e gishtin tregues]. Hiç.
- BG: A ja u ke permenë? A ju ke thonë qe ki hise aty?
- IM: S' ju kom permenë hiç. Shka me permen, me shku nëpër gjugja, nëpër asi, une s' du. Nuk kûm deshtë me shku.
- BG: Pse s' ke shku?
- IM: Mustafa m' ka lutë, bonju [nuk kuptohet], thash ja-aaa. Ja kûm lonë perenijës. Ai nxjerr hak.
- BG: Veç a menon ti qe o dashtë me t' dhanë tokë.
- IM: Po ajo o deshtë ajo o konë e dane.
- BG: E dane prej tyne?
- IM: E dane prej tyne. Une jom konë me burrin tám, shpija u kall mo, áborrin e murrën. Tash e kanë maru shpijen n' áborr tem.
- BG: Ti me konë ke jetu masi je nda me fmitë e burrit ton?
- IM: Me plakin, veç me plakin. Vet, na dy. T' danë jena konë prej tyne. Tòni ma vonë erdha n' Ferizaj pi mas luftës, e zuna qit banesën e shkinës edhe qetu meta.
- BG: A ju ka kontaktu ajo për me ja u marrë banesën a diçka?
- IM: Jo jo, e kûm ble.
- BG: Qysh e ke ble?

- IM: Me pare. Kûm punu, me plum. Tu shkri plum i kom mledhë, dinar-dinar, ka ni qin ka ni qin ka ni qin, e bleva banesën.

- BG: A ke shkri plum atje n'Greme?

- IM: Po, pesë vjet. Po n'Greme s'ka pasë pare. Ja ni shishë tomël ta prushin, ja ni parë qarapë, ja ni peshkir. S'ka pasë pare atje. A ktu si jom ardhë pi luftës, kom pasë pare. Ka bo vaki 30, 40, 50 ero n'ditë i kom fitu?

- BG: Edhe e ke bo hisen tone?

- IM: E kom bo shpijën teme. Ja kom ble Hysenit ni banesë... me plum.

- BG: Djalit t'djalit a po?

- IM: Djalit t'djalit edhe çikës t'vllaut ja kom ble ni banesë, edhe Lumës i kom nimu 8000 ero, djalin qe e ka pasë t'smut. E ka pasë n'Gjermoni ju shnosh djali. Me durë t'mia jom merakatë.

- BG: E me fmitë e burrit ton a folë mo?

- IM: Me ata djemt jo, nuk m'folin. Kurr s'jom shku as s'jonë ardhë.

- BG: Pse nuk t'folin?

- IM: Kurgjo s'kûm me ta. Une sa kûm mujtë, ju kûm nimu. Se jo qi kûm marrë diçka prej tyne. Tej n'luftë Rexhën e kom majtë, se i kanë qitë prej pune. Une e kom majtë, me mill me dru me krejt.

- BG: A po menon qe o dashtë me t'dhanë tokë ata?

- IM: O dashtë me m'dhonë, ajo e jàmja ô konë. 50 vjet kur ti bon mun, qysh ajo ashtu? Po shqiptarhanja nuk jep. Des burri s'ki fmi, del, gjo s'ki. A ki thmi q'i di me nejë qaty, a din, me i ru thmijën, e ki hisën tone, t'bohen thmija. Po edhe me pasë, don mi lonë don mu martu, kurgjo s'ki.

- BG: E ma heret a o konë qishtu?

- IM: Qishtu dajm o konë. Ma herët, tash e krejt.

- BG: A e njeh najkon qe e ka marrë hisen e vetë te baba?

- IM: Po te baba, po. Naxhija e ka marrë.

- BG: Qysh o konë puna e Naxhisë?

- IM: E ka rritë gruja e mixhës.

- BG: Kur ka ndodhë kjo?

- IM: Frik u konë. Para lufte. E ka marrë hisen, dy motra jon konë, te dyjat e kanë marrë hisen.

- BG: A din ma n'detaje, qysh ka ndodhë, çfarë periudhe?

- IM: Ato jonë rritë jetime me gjyshën. Baba ju ka deké, nona ju ka deké. Ni vlla e kanë pasë. Edhe vllavi mas tyne u deké. Eh, ni shpi e kanë

pasë. N'xhade t'Gillanit e kanë pasë shpijën. Qitu bile ngat. Kanë bombardisë n'luftë.

- BG: N'cilen luftë?

- IM: Qíkjo Lufta e Dytë Botnore. Kanë bombardisë, i ka ra n'shpi, o konë gjyshja vet n'shpi, u mytë. Gjyshja ju ka mytë, luftë u konë ato jon metë. Bile nana jàme e ka shti n'dhe n'âborr gjyshen e tyne.

- BG: Pse n'âborr?

- IM: E ka shti n'âborr se luftë, tóni mas luftës e kan hekë e kanë qu te vorret. Ato meten tóni dy çika edhe ni djal. Ai djali ish konë i smut prej veremit, gjyksi, mushknitë. Ni arë e kanë pasë ato çikat, e kanë shitë qat arë me shnoshë. Pô pô nuk i ka dalë ilaç, diq djali. Shpija u prishë, buma e prishi shpijën, e qat âborr e ka shitë daja jàm, mixha i tyne, edhe i ka marrë çikat, i ka rritë n'shpi, i ka martu i ka çeju. Krejt... i ka marrë n't'panë si o adeti e krejt. Dikur ato u knellën, dumë hise me marrë, edhe ja u dha daja. Dy here kanë marrë hise, se jo niherë po dy herë.

- BG: Pse dy herë?

- IM: Qashtu ju dhoke atyne. Ja me ju dhonë, ja s'ka. Ja ka dhonë hisen. S'treti herë erdhë te une, me ju bo une dëshmitar ni djalit t'dajes qetër, jonë përtej Bibajve gati. E ai e ka ble arën e tyne, qe t'kallxova qe e kanë shitë kto. Edhe ajo, ju m'tek ashtu, me ardhë te une me ju bo dëshmitare n'gjugj qe ai se ka ble arën po ja ka zapu. A po kupton?

- BG: Jo, qysh?

- IM: Qat arën qe t'kallxova qe e ka shitë daja jàm për me ja shnoshë vllavin. Eh, tashti kjo i ka ra, ju ka ngushtu puna, katër djàm me ni shpi. Po du me ja marrë arën atyne, mi shliru djemt, a po kupton?

- BG: Po, për interesa t'veta.

- IM: Ehh...Edhe erdhë ktu, une me shku me ju bo dëshmitar asaj. Thash: "Naxhije, kurrë. Une dëshmitar s'bohna. Une me shku nëpër gjugja me m'thon hallki me ja koritë vorrin djalit, vorrin burrit. Kujtojne hallki qe jom tu e lypë hisen kha." Thash: "Une kurrë jo." Thash: "Fort mirë e din ti, u shitë ajo arë për vllavin tond." Po ja kish pasë vjedh dokumentat grus t'dajës tem pi sandëkit, i ka marrë me veti dokumentat. Tha: "Une i kom dokumentat." I thash: "Ni qin parë dokumenta me i pasë ti, une se boj atôhën." Edhe i thash: "Marre për ty me bo", edhe i foli i piskata. I thash: "A p'e dinë vetë ku je, pse pe hup vetin për djem, djemt jonë t'ri, punojnë, gjojnë rrugdalje." "Jo po ngusht jonë", thash: "ani ti ke metë me i shliru a, me mall t'huj a?" I vikata, mo s'ka ardhë. Ka

dekë e ka shku mu nuk m'ka ardhë. Tash çka po don? [qesh]

- BG: Ama përpara kallxom qysh o konë. Çfarë dallimi ka pasë me u konë çikë me lypë hise edhe çfarë dallimi - [më ndërpre]

- IM: Çika me le s'jena gzu hiç. [qesh]

- BG: Hiç a?

- IM: Hiç vallahi (vazhdon të qeshurën). Jonë rritë çikat. Kur o hi çika n'bylyk që o rritë te baba te nona at'here ka hi n'bylyk e ka vnu ferexhen. Nuk ka dalë pa ferexhe pi derës t'sakakit. As vet s'ka dalë kurrë. U feju, e ka feju nona baba, a daja, a axha. Tõni ka ardhë msiti e ka lypë, alla nemrile.

- BG: Çka osht alla nemrile?

- IM: Qashtu q'i e marrin dorën. Eh, e ka lypë e ka marrë dorën. Çika o çejzitë, a ni vjet a gjashtë muj a, qysh i kanë pasë puntë. Sha po dihet, u çejzitë çika n'shpi. U martu çika, o shku te burri. Kena shku n'kry t'dy javë s'pari me marrë. Se nuk ka ardhë menihere, sikur qetahi që po shkojnë, t'nesrit po shkojnë çikat. (qesh) Dy javë i ka bo. Kanë shku miqt, dy tre vetë, kanë shku kanë bo zifafet aty. E ka marrë çikën. Çika ka qitë kuleç, ka bo do sene gati. Se ktyne herë me kuleç, kanë shkue, kanë prue, kanë çue. Kur shkojke nusja, çika te burri ose nusen e marrshmi.

- BG: Per çejz çka kanë çu?

- IM: Kan çu kuleçë t'pites, kollpites, veç i kanë bo qishtu kuleç-kuleç [e tundë dorën në formë rrethore] i qojshin. U gzojshmi kur ardhke çika nt'pamë, "Po na bje kuleçtë." (qesh)

- BG: E kur jon martu, çejzin qysh e kan çu, qysh e kan bo gati?

- IM: Çejzin e kanë bo me tona gati. Me kauça me...kreveta at'here kauça s'ka pasë, t'qinista, krejt. T'qinista për zid... Tõni burrit, tõni vjehrrit, vjehrrës. Vjehrrës ja kanë çu boshqallëkin, vjehrrit boshqallëkin, qinist krejt n'ari. Burrit qashtu, najkujna t'ngat qe e ka pasë qef vjehrra me neru, edhe ati. Dy soba çejz i qojshin. E tash jo. Tash telefonat keni me i çu. (qesh)

- BG: Pse menon, pse nuk ja u japin çikave edhe grave hisen?

- IM: Qýky ligji i shqiptarve nuk ja ep. Baba mu konë gjallë, me deshtë baba ja jep çikës hisën. Amo vllavi s'ja jep, po ja merr me gjugj hisen ajo mo nuk shkon te vllavi kurrë.

- BG: Pse nuk shkon te vllavi?

- IM: S'e don. Pi ja merr hisen. A baba me ja dhonë po.

- BG: A vllavi nëse ja merr me gjugj nuk t'don mo, as nuk t'don me

shku n't'pame hiç?

- IM: Hiç, leqitët. Qashtu e kanë tont, shqiptaria e ka se çetër kush jo. Shqiptaria e ka qat zanat. S'don me ja pa sytë motrës kur ja merr hisën.

- BG: Boll keq.

- IM: Keq pra. S'do... Qashtu osht. Zakoni jonë. Baba q'i don sùkur çikës sùkur djalit, për s'gjalli t'vetë ja bon me shkrim. Ni copë tokë a... shembull ja ep pare a...tash qysh i ka ai mundsitë. Baba po, a vllavi jo.

- BG: Ti a ja kishe marrë vllaut ton, nëse kish pasë shumë tokë, a e kishe marrë hisen tone?

- IM: Jo, une s'e kisha marrë.

- BG: Pse?

- IM: S'kisha mujtë.

- BG: Nëse kish pasë shumë tokë ai?

- IM: Me pasë sa me pasë shumë, s'ja kisha marrë. Pse me u leçitë une pi vllavit?! Merzitna te burri, shkoj te vllavi rri ni javë ditë, dy javë! Pesë fmi jonë kanë, vet e shtata, qita fmi i kùm rritë te vllavi ma shumë, se ju diq baba, atje i kum rritë, opçinë s'ka pasë nusja. Eh, qishtu. Eh dikush o e terrpijavt e merr, a une perveti s'e kisha marrë.

- BG: Çka nëse vllau nuk t'ish idhnu ty hiç?

- IM: Paj noshta ish idhnu noshta s'ish idhnu une për veti nuk kisha mujtë me ja marrë... s'kisha mujtë.

- BG: Ajo ty t'takon?

- IM: Qe çika vet o. Kjo qetahi munet me marrë. Baba i ka deکہ, shpijen e kanë, i ka tre vllazën. Vllaznia i kanë thonën qe si t'shitet shpija edhe kto me shti n'hise. Kjo ka thonë jo, po ata ja apin.

- BG: Ama ti s'e kishe marrë?

- IM: Ja une s'e kisha marrë. S'kùm pasë une, ni vlla e kùm pasë. S'kùm pasë dy tre vllazën, me ju idhnu ktina e me dalë te ai. Une njo e kùm pasë, edhe ai i shkreti s'ka pasë, sum ka shti n'zahmet. E ka bo me thoj t'durve shpijën.

- BG: Domethonë as ai s'ka pasë tokë t'trashegume prej babës?

- IM: T'babës e kemi pasë shpijën po mixha na e ka shitë. Çfarë shpije kena pasë na...mjedis Gjakove. Tri shpija jonë maru n'áborr t'babës tem. Po mixha na murrë n'qafë... baba na diç. Na pruni n'Ferizaj, pa shpi, pa [nuk kuptohet], pa kurxho. Jena rritë për gazepi.

- BG: Me qera a?

- IM: Dikun me qira dikun pa qira...qashtu, për kijameti. Edhe mixha

tôni diq, metem kerkun hiç. Nana ka dalë ka la tesha te bejlert, e na ka rritë.

- BG: As nana jote ska pasë hise a?

- IM: Hisen s'e ka marrë ajo n'vakt. E ka lutë daja kur jonë dalë Shqipni qe e kanë shitë n'Ferizaj, e kanë lutë s'e ka marrë kjo hisen.

- BG: Ska dashtë me marrë a?

- IM: Daja e ka lutë me marrë se pesë vllazën ja ka mytë Serbia e Parë nonës teme.

- BG: Serbia e Parë?

- IM: Po, kur u konë lufta e parë. N'atë vakt, pesë vllazën edhe babën. Ky daja Ahmet që o konë ka pshtu, binak me nonën teme u konë. Ferexhe o veshë, e me gra ka shku n'katun, ka pshtu.

- BG: Daja yt?

- IM: Daja jám, katërmndhet vjeç o konë, me nonën teme binak. Ka pshtu n'ferexhe, o veshë si gru edhe ka pshtu.

- BG: E kanë pasë shumë tokë a po?

- IM: Ata kanë pasë shumë at'here. Si Jashar Goga qe o konë.

- BG: Kush o konë Jashar Goga?

- IM: Jashar Goga babgjyshi jám. E ka pasë hamamin e vet.

- BG: N'Ferizaj a?

- IM: Qitu n'Ferizaj, hamamin e vet e ka pasë. Ka ni lirë prej hamamit e ka marrë. Qato i kanë mytë. Ni sandýk me lira ja kanë marrë edhe i kanë mytë.

- BG: Edhe kanë pasë shumë tokë?

- IM: Shumë tokë, shumë mall e...tonat t'mirat i kanë pasë. Pô pô i mytën mashqit, tôni daja qashtu, n'ferexhe ka pshtu, qeky binak me nonën. tôni do vjet ka nejë ktu e ka dalë n'Shyjni. Ka nejë n'Shyjni s'di sa vjet. tôni kur u lirim na, Lufta e Dytë Botnore, tôni ka ardhë.

- BG: Ama a menon që nana jote o dashtë me marrë hisen ktu?

- IM: Po u deshtë me marrë, po ajo s'e ka marrë. E ka lutë ai daja, i ka thonë 'Na po shkojmë për Shypni, ti hajde ta apmi hisen tone. Po nona nuk ka deshtë.

- BG: Ama, ma mire ish konë nëse e kish marrë?

- IM: Po nashta ma mirë u konë, u konë iftijaqë, po se ka marrë. Qashtu ju ka dhonë. Tôni kur ka ardhë kjo mas 'qi di save, ajo s'ka ditë bile, se kur u konë n'Shyjni ai as nuk ka shkru. S'kanë guxu at'here as me shkru as mu enë as hiç. Masi u lirim erdhën ata prej Shqipnie. Tona

henez e ka ble qit shpi qe e ka te Stacioni.

- BG: Ktu a kanë pasë toka kur jonë kthy?

- IM: Jo jo s'ka pasë tokë, qato shpija i kanë ble edhe kurxho qetër.

Qajo arë o konë e çikave, atò e kanë me shnosh djalin. Kurgjo s'kanë pasë tjetër.

Përpara çikat n'djep i kanë dhonë, n'bark i kanë dhonë. Ne' bofsh çikë ki me ma dhonë, ne' bofsha djali ki me dhonë çikën. Qishtu o konë.

- BG: E tash nese jon nda çika me djalin kur jonë martu, a e ka marrë çejzin gruja me veti?

- IM: Çejzin e vet jo. Veç çka ka çu prej babe. As dukatin s'e ka marrë.

- BG: Po çejzi a o konë çka ka pregaditë nusja?

- IM: I ka pregaditë po çejzin e ato i ka pru burri, ja ka pru patiskën, paftin harxhin.

- BG: Domethonë burri ja ka ble krejt ato?

- IM: Po burri ja ka ble. A çka ka pasë prej babe po. A mi deké për shembull burri, tashti osht e ve, ka t'drejtë me marrë qato t'sobës vet çka ka pasë.

- BG: Edhe pajën?

- IM: Po krejt, çetër sen kurgjo.

- BG: Ti çka ke çu kur je martu? A ta ka pru harxhin burri?

- IM: Une n'luftë jom shku. S'ka pasë sen, as pejë me ble s'ka pasë, as patiskë. Luftë u konë.

- BG: Lufta e Dytë Botërore?

- IM: Bone hesap, u shlirum na tòn, po s'di sa vjet tóni s'jon rregullu senet mas lufte. Eh...do shamija jonë konë t'mavihta edhe t'kuqe. Qato shamija pionert i vnojshin, i kom marrë i kom prishë per pej, e me qinisë diçka. S'ka pasë pejë me ble, as jomaka as vulina, tel as basëm. Muhaxherka, i ka deké gruja n'lindje, qato tesha mi kanë pru mu, mu bo nuse.

- BG: Ama nese t'kish vdekë burri - [më nderpren]

- IM: Po burri m'ka deké po une dy thmi i pata tjetër kurgjo s'ka pasë. Dy kauça t'drunit, ni ormàn edhe pesë metra dru. Qato i kom marrë. Kom ardhë n'vagon.

- BG: E nanën e ke pasë n'Ferizaj?

- IM: Po.

- BG: Me vagon ke ardhë a?

- IM: Me vagon kom ardhë, rrangadanga-rrangadanga. Fmija ratë n'krevet, une llo më n'dorë qishtu [e ngre dorën më lartë] n'sabah kûm

mrri. U nalshin vagonat ven m'ven, që bojnë manovra... vagon mo. Une t'ngarkum 5 metra dru, dy kreveta, ni ormàn rrang-dang ton natën. Gjith natën n'vagon. U tutsha. Fmija vogjël. Kom hekë boll.

- BG: Amo hisen vllaut s'ja kishe marrë?

- IM: Ja hisen jo valla.

- BG: Po paske pasë nevojë ti shumë për pare.

- IM: Po kom pasë nevojë, po nuk ka pasë ai.

- BG: Amo qe nëse kish pasë?

- IM: Valla jo s'kisha mujtë, isha shku s'ja kisha bajtë gajle isha knaqë po ai s'kish, u dashke une me i qu me majtë. Po... s'ka.

- BG: E qe thojnë s'ja sheh hajrin kur t'ja merrsh vllaut, a ka ndiku edhe kjo qe s'ja ke marrë?

- IM: Jo hajrin ja sheh kur ta jep me qef, a kur t'a jep pa qef, qajo s'ja sheh hajrin. A kur ta jep me qef, vllau yt thotë "po motër, si ti si une", ta ep..

- BG: A duhet qashtu mu kanë, si ti si une?

- IM: Eh tash, tuli njeri ka. Ka njo ta ep me qef ka njo s'ta jep, shkon n'gjugj bahësh kahre, jo knej jo anej, jo kshtu jo ashtu, jo gjuqi vonon shume kohë. Qajo, qajo osht. Hisja bjen, ktyneherë ô konë, dy motra ni vlla, qe i kanë nda hiset. A po kupton.. dy motra jonë bô sa ka dhanë hise ni vlla, dy motra. A tash jo, tash ô si motra si vllau.

- BG: At'here dy motra jonë konë e barabartë me ni vlla, nese ja kanë dhonë hisen, ja kan dhonë - [më ndërpret]

- IM: Po, dy motra jonë bo e kanë marrë sa ni vlla. Qeshtu u konë at'her, a tash jo, tash ka t'drejtën si çika si djali.

- BG: Ma mirë tash a po?

- IM: Ma mirë tash o.

- BG: E qysh menojnë shoqet e tua, a ke folë najhere për hise?

- IM: S'na ka ra puna me folë kurgjo per hise. Ja ja, kurrë per hise. Une t'allxova veç qekjo Naxhija prej neve qe ka lypë.

- BG: Veç ni rast e din, prej krejt jetës, veç qat rast e din qe e ka marrë tokën?

- IM: Ja, ja çetërkun, kerkun nër neve hise nuk ka marrë. Na kena pasë bija, katër kunata i kom pasë. Ja kurrë s'kanë lyp hise.

- BG: Edhe t'burrit kanë pasë shumë tokë edhe s'ja u kanë dhanë?

- IM: Po edhe ka tokë, edhe tash ka e ka pasë, po ja s'kanë marrë. Tre vllazën jane kanë, janë nda krejt i kanë nda tre vllaznit, po bijat hise nuk

kanë marrë. Katër motra janë kanë e tre vllazën, shtatë, ato s'kanë marrë hise.

- BG: Edhe...

- IM: Hisja t'takon, po mos m'i prish marrëdhoniet me vlla, me shku serbez e me nejt serbez, qajo osht mos me ja marrë, po kur shkon krytë çelë e kideren çelë e ki. A kur t'ja marr hisen, dera mshelet. Ti shkon nashta, po qysh shkon me kry t'zont. A kshtu je shlrë.

- BG: E pse po menon qe se ki krytë e shlrë nëse ja merr vllaut?

- IM: Po s'e ki, s'e ki shlire – ma ke marrë hisen tash ça po don?

- BG: Po nuk o kanë e vllaut ajo.

- IM: E vllaut po ti te burri je shku. [Qesh]

- BG: As te burri s'ta kanë dhanë.

- IM: As te burri, se s'ka hise. Femna o e shtypt, hyp se t'vrava, zh-dryp se t'vrava.

- BG: E pse menon qe o ashtu?

- IM: Eh, po qeshtu e kanë zakon, çka ki me i bo? S'do me t'a dhonë, edhe me ta dhonë, moter thotë, s'ki punë ktu. Edhe çikat përpara i kanë dhonë, nuk i kanë marrë burrat vet. Me ikë çika ma s'e kanë lonë mrena me hi. E ka pëzonë baba, nana, vllavi krejt e kanë përzonë. Nana s'hjeket apet dikur tinxa pa e pa, pa asi... nuk e le. Po me ardhë në atë shpi ma kurrë. Qeshtu e kanë zakon te na. A qe'tahi jo, 'tahi i kanë lanë ato.

- BG: Ma mirë qetash a po?

- IM: Po ma mirë, çika po shkon po ja bonë përhajr, hajt.

- BG: Edhe pronën e merr tash.

- IM: Prape kqyre knëjna, resë tàm kur i ka vdekë burri, ka ardhë baba i vet, djali i mixhes, mixha me nda prej fmijve, me marrë nusen. Ajo ka thanë unë nuk vë pesë fmijë i ka. Ata ja me ardhë ja t'leçitmi. Edhe e kane leçitë, edhe s'ka deshtë me ardhë. Une kesh aty e po ju thamë "Kjo o gjaki i juve", per nusen, "a qeta zòj janë t'mitë" fmija t'vogiël ishin krejt. "Qeta zojë janë t'mitë, a kjo e juvja o çka doni boni, une me zor s'un e nali. Me nejt e ka vënin qetu, [prekë kokën] a qe s'rri smuj me nalë me zor." Ajo priti tha, "Ti me m'qitë per dere unë hi prej dollapi."

- BG: Ty t'tha a?

- IM: Po, nusja e djalit. Qe m'diq djali me pesë thmi e la. Edhe erdhën me nda ata me marrë me martu tjetër kun. Kjo nuk ngoj.

- BG: Tani s'ka shku te ata?

- IM: Tòni s'ka shku i ka rritë thmijën. 20 vjet as s'ka hi as s'ka dalë

me ta. E leçiten ma, e s'kish nusja ma opçinë, te vllau i kom rritë fmitë, mi hjekë prej shpisë me dalë.

- BG: E nëse ja kishe marrë vllaut hisen s'kishe mujtë me shku as në opçinë.

- IM: Ee, jo pra. Vet e shtata kom shku, ka dy javë rrishmi në Gjakovë. Qeshtu, lehtë ô, po don me marr hise ti, hisja e vllaut s'mirret, po don baba me ta dhonë me të sajdis sikur ato evlad t'ka, po baba, nana evlad, a vllaun e ki ma larg. Vllau qysh t'thotë gruja bon ai. Ndryshe osht vllau ndryshe baba, nana. Kunata s't'don, ei thotë e ke marr hisen ti. Çka kujtove?! S't'don, qeshtu...

- BG: Amo vllau munët edhe me ta dhanë tokën vetë.

- IM: Vllau ta jep qe koçitësh, e du e du. Ai ta jep, po thotë ma qét derë nuk ki me shkelë, qajo o puna. A baba s'thotë ashtu, baba ta jep me gjithë qef.

- BG: Po qe edhe daja yt qe ka dashtë me ja dhanë nanës tane.

- IM: Ai o nda prej ktu krejt edhe i ka shitë me tokë me krejt, e ka dashtë motrës me ja dhonë. Po motra s'ka deshtë me ja marrë, tóni ka ardhë prapë ktu e ka pasë derën çelë. Ka shku nona ka nejti, e ka ardhë daja k'tu. Ma mirë...

- BG: Ma mirë qe s'e ka marrë.

- IM: Ma mirë ô...

INTERVISTA II

Bjeshka Guri (intervistuesja)

AR (e intervistuarë, anonime, 39 vjeçe)

Data: 14.12.2016

Vendi: Ferizaj

Akronimet: BG=Bjeshka Guri, AR=AR

Kohëzgjatja: 24'04"

- BG: A po m'tregon për fmininë tane pak?

- AR: Po unë kom lindë n'viti 1978, edhe kom qenë vajza e parë n'familje, pas dy vllazërve. Fminija jem ka qenë si fminija e çdo vajze shqiptare, kosovare. Në një familje patriarkale ku gjithmonë vajza ka qenë ajo që o marrë me punët e shpisë. Me i kry puntë e shpisë edhe jo me dalë ose... Normal n'atë kohë s'ka qenë liria me dalë, mirëpo kam pasë t'drejtën me u shkollu t'paktën deri n'moshën pesëmdhjetë vjeçare, shkollën fillore për me e përfundu, përndryshe raportet kanë qenë t'mira. Mirëpo si n'çdo familje, edhe ni herë, përparsi ju kanë dhanë meshkujve gjithmonë. Une jom marrë vetëm me ato puntë e shpisë, jo diçka tjetër.

- BG: Çka për edukimin e juaj, qysh ka vazhdu ma tutje?

- AR: Pasi që e kom kry shkollën fillore, kom vazhdu me t'mesmen, katër vjet. At'herë ka qenë gjimnaz, n'Lipjan. Kom fillu shkollën e mesme, ma shumë nuk kom vazhdu. Kom nejt n'shpi. S'osht që kom tentu faktikisht me shku n'fakultet, pasi që "Une jom vajzë edhe nuk duhet me vazhdu studimin ma tutje."

- BG: Domethanë ai ka qenë mentaliteti i at'hershëm?

- AR: Po. Pastaj kom nejt domethanë n'shpi, jom marrë me punë t'shpisë, si çdo vajzë tjetër. Kohën kur vllazërit e mi kanë dalë, e kanë shiju jetën, une jom marrë me puntë e shpisë. Mas ni kohe jom martu.

- BG: Si kanë rrjedh ngjarjet e mëtutjeshme?

- AR: Une jom martu në një familje shumëanëtarshë. Burri im ka qenë hala n'shkollim gjatë martesës sime, edhe o dashtë me u kujdes për burrin, me u kujdes për shkollimin... gjatë procesit t'shkollimit t'tij, edhe me u kujdes për anëtarët e tjerë t'familjes. Veç tjerash, burri e ka pasë edhe axhën edhe grun e axhës që o dashtë me u kujdes për ta, pasi që nuk kanë pasë fmi ata, edhe burri ka qenë i falt te axha i vet. Domethanë prindt e vet e kanë falë djalin e tyne te axha për me u kujdes për ta. Axha i burrit ka jetu n'fshat, ndërsa burri n'Ferizaj, edhe o dashtë me shku çdo fundjavë atje me u kujdes për ta, pasi që ata nuk kanë dashtë me ardhë n'qytet me jetu. Domethanë o dashtë me u kujdes për kta ktu, edhe me u kujdes për ata atje, edhe për procesin e shkollimit t'burrit, që me u kujdes për to si çdo grue, normal, me u çu, me u bo gati [nuk kuptohet]. Kemi pasë edhe lopë.

- BG: N'Ferizaj a?

- AR: N'Ferizaj. Kemi pasë edhe lopë, o dashtë me u kujdes, normal, edhe për to.

- BG: A ke jetu me prindt e burrit?

- AR: Po, kom jetu me prindt e burrit edhe dy kunet. Dy kunet kanë qenë t'martum, kanë jetu te burri domethanë.

- BG: Me kunet edhe kunata, a po?

- AR: Po, kemi jetu ni kohë t'gatë ashtu bashkë, deri n'kohën e luftës. Mandej n'kohën e luftës, kur kemi dalë me u shpërngul prej Kosovës, domethanë, mos t'harroj me e përfundu që burri e ka përfundu shkollimin edhe osht mjek, mjek i përgjithshëm. Mandej n'kohë t'luftës, jemi shpërngul domethanë. Jemi shku unë edhe burri bashkë me familjen tem, kemi shku n'Itali, ndërsa kunati i madh ka shku m'Francë, mandej prej Italisë. Kur jemi shku n'Itali e kom pasë vetëm djalin, domethanë veç ni fmi, edhe jemi kthy prej Italisë. Nuk kemi nejt, jemi kthy prap n'Kosovë. Masi që jemi kthy prej Italisë kemi jetu vet, pasi që kunati i madh ka jetu n'Francë, edhe nuk o kthy. Kunati tjetër, osht vendosë me grun e vet me ni shpi tjetër, dhe kemi jetu vetëm unë, burri, djali edhe dy prindt e burrit. Kshtu kemi vazhdu, domethanë, edhe tu u kujdes normal edhe për axhën e burrit n'fshat. Pas ksaj, pas shtatë viteve t'djalit, une kom lindë edhe ni vajzë, edhe jemi bo me dy fmi. Raportet e mia me burrin kanë qenë shumë t'mira dhe martesë jonë ka qenë shumë e shëndoshë dhe shumë e mirë, përkundër asaj që unë kam qenë shumë e angazhume me punt e shpisë, me u kujdes për familjen, edhe njëkohësisht me u kujdes për axhën e burrit, pasi që burri ka qenë shumë i ngarkum me punë si mjek. Mandej, masi që u rritën fmitë, domethanë mas shtatë vjete t'vajzës, para ksaj domethanë mas sdi sa viteve, vdiq axha i burrit edhe grua. Njëkohësisht kanë me dikun difference ni javë ose dy javë, nihere njani masnej tjetri. Para se me vdekë kanë qenë shumë t'smutë edhe o dashtë me u kujdes n'ekstrem shumë për ta.

- BG: Veç ti e vetme je kujdes për ta?

- AR: Vetëm unë edhe me ndihmën e burrit, normal. Po ai ka qenë shumë i angazhum, edhe shumicën e kohës domethanë, osht dashtë une me u kujdes vet. Me ndrru pampersa, si për ni fmi t'vogël me u kujdes, pasi që ata kanë qenë t'paaftë. Edhe vdiqën ata, pastaj metem domethanë veç na edhe dy prindt e burrit. Mas shtatë viteve t'vajzës madhe une e kom lindë edhe ni vajzë tjetër. domethanë i kemi bo dy vajza edhe ni djalë. Masi që e kom lindë vajzën, ka qenë n'gusht kur une e kom lindë vajzën edhe masnej kanë fillu problemet me burrin tem, gjithë ka qenë e pabesushme fakti që ni çift qysh kemi qenë na shumë t'lumtur, edhe

shume... kemi pasë dashninë shumë t'shëndoshë, kemi kalu për mrekulli, kemi shku n'pushime si çdo familje, kemi dalë, ka qenë habi për krejt edhe për mu personalisht, kur neve na u prishën marrëdhانيت, mes burrit edhe meje. Për arsye se burri, domethanë, veq e kish gjetë dikon tjetër, kishte qenë n'lidhje me dikon tjetër... po që une nuk kom pasë dijeni për to. Masi që e linda vajzën e vogël kisha probleme me kamën, mu koqitë kama edhe nuk mujsha me ecë. Për këtë arsye vendosa me shku te familja jem, pasi që nuk kishte kush me u kujdes për mu n'shpi. Djali ka qenë dikun 15 vjeç edhe dy vajzat i kisha t'vogla, u dashke dikush me u kujdes edhe për vajzat edhe për mu. Vendosa me shku n'familjen tem deri sa t'm'lirohet kama. Edhe pastaj kom shku n'familje kom nejt dy javë. Une kisha dyshimet e mija qe burri jem ishte n'lidhje pasi që sjelljet e tina fillun me ndryshu, tanë kohën ishte n'telefon... e ksi gjanash. Mandej pasi që nejta dy javë, burri jem ka ardhë çdo ditë, vazhdimisht pasi që ka pasë me m'dhanë terapi dhe ineksione. Pas dy jave vendosa me u kthy n'shpi pasi që e kisha atë dyshimin, pra, qysh thashë edhe ma herët se diçka po ndodhke. Pas dy jave vendosa me u kthy n'shpi edhe me e marrë vajzën e vllau qe me u kujdes per vajzat n'shpi. Kur u ktheva n'shpi vazhdoja prap me terapitë edhe m'thirri burri me ma dhanë ineksionin edhe shkum nalt, m'dhomën tonë. Masnej po m'tregon që duhet me u nda edhe smun me vazhdu mo me mu. E kërkoja veç ni arsye se ku kisha gabu, edhe pse po ndodhte. M'dokej ma shumë si andërr se sa realitet. Përndryshe sa ishte e pabesushme për mu, ishte edhe për të tjerët. Vendosa me qajt. Tani erdhi djali edhe po m'pyste se çka u bo, po i tregoja edhe kështu vendosëm përfundimisht me u nda me burrin. Kom vazhdu jetën n'shpi aty edhe ni muj. Domethanë isha e ndame.

- BG: Pse vendose me qëndru aty?

- AR: Vendosa me qëndru aty se nuk dojsa me i lonë fmijen edhe dojsa ose me nejt aty, n'shpi domethanë, kuptohet jo me u kujdes për prindt e tij mo, që u dashke me u kujdes, edhe nuk kom pasë përkrahje prej prindve t'burrit, asni grimë.

- BG: Prej prindve t'burrit ske pasë përkrahje?

- AR: Prej kërkujt prej familjes t'burrit s'kom pasë përkrahje.

- BG: Pse mendon që ka ndodhë ajo?

- AR: Nuk e di. Nuk e di pse... po noshta pse djali osht ma afër se unë. Edhe kom vazhdu ni muj jetën aty, me ata njerz që ma nuk dojsa me i pa as me sy. Po shkaku i fmise, që mos me i lonë fmitë vet, kom

vazhdu ni muj aty kom jetu.

- BG: A ke dashtë me i marrë fmitë me shku dikun? A ja ke propozu këtë option burrit?

- AR: Po, i kom thanë burrit une fmitë nuk i la, ka me jetu qoftë ktu n'shpi veç pa ty edhe pa prindt e tu ose dikun që ti duhet me m'siguru jetesë, vendbanim tjetër, por jo në një kulm me ty. Kemi vazhdu domethanë, edhe ni muj aty. Edhe pse e zgjaste procedurën burri, edhe mendojke noshta që une ka me hek dorë edhe ka me u kthi te familja jem edhe me i lonë fmitë aty. Gjë që ska pasë me ndodhë kurrë. Masnej ka pasë presion edhe prej vllaznive t'mi që me u vendosë dikun tjetër, domethanë mos me jetu mo bashkë me to.

- BG: Burri nuk e ka pasë problem nëse edhe ti ke jetu n'atë shpi?

- AR: Jo se ai gjatë tonë ditës ka dalë s'o konë n'shpi, me t'dashurën e vet, edhe n'punë normal. Po që nuk m'ka ra me pa gjatë tonë ditës. Në nëntor t'ati viti ma vendosëm me ble ni banesë, me presionin, kuptohet t'vllaznive që ja bojshin, që na mos me nejt aty, se ishte gjendja shumë e keqe me nejt n'atë ambient ma... edhe për fmitë edhe për mu. Fillimisht e ka ble ni banesë t'vogël n'qendër n'qytet, për mu edhe për fmitë.

- BG: N'Lipjan?

- AR: N'Ferizaj, pasi që dojsa me vazhdu shkollimin aty ku e kanë nisë, edhe mos me u largu prej venit t'vet, kom vendosë që n'Ferizaj prap me jetu. Edhe na e ka ble ni banesë. Kemi jetu n'atë banesë dikun... ni vit, pothuajse, për tu vendosë pastaj me ni banesë tjetër, pasi që ajo ka qenë, kushtet nuk kanë qenë aq t'mira, edhe u kanë... shumë e vogël... ni dhomë edhe ni kuzhinë e ka pasë. Edhe vajza ka qenë shumë e vogël, nuk kishte nxemje, u dashke me u ngrohë, domethanë, me rrymë, edhe kemi pasë një pagesë n'fillim, prej 150 euro n'muj prej tij, që na osht dashtë unë me tre fmitë, me ni vajzë t'vogël, që ende nuk fliste, kishte nevojë për gjërat elementare me i ble, me 150 euro.

- BG: Domethonë ja u ka pagu qeranë, edhe ja u ka dhonë 150 euro?

- AR: Jo banesën e ka ble, banesa o konë e bleme. Mandej, banesa o konë e bleme po jo n'emër t'tem ose t'djalit po u kanë n'emer t'tij.

- BG: Domethonë prap se prap, banesën e ka marrë ai?

- AR: Domethanë u kanë n'emer t'tij. Mandej pas ni viti gati atje, e kemi ble ni banesë tjetër, na e ka ble ni banesë ma t'madhe. O dashtë me shitë banesën ku kemi jetu na edhe me i shtu ai do pare për me e ble ni banesë ma t'madhe për ni ven ma t'përshtatshëm për fmitë edhe mu.

- BG: A e ka pasë problem me ja u dhonë fmitë juve? A ka ardhë me i vizitu shpesh?

- AR: Jo, fillimisht, menihere mas ndarjes sa jemi kanë n'atë banesën e vogël, po, ka ardhë. Ka ardhë shpesh me i vizitu, manej pasi qe e ka marr, mas dikun ni muji masi që na jemi dalë n'banesë, ai e ka marrë grun tjetër edhe e ka pru n'shpi. Edhe masi e ka marrë at grun tjetër, ma nuk... nuk o interesu shumë për fmi. Edhe jemi dalë domethanë n'ketë banesën tjetër edhe i kemi paraqitë n'gjykatë rastin për me u nda me u shkurorzu. N'gjykatë kur o ardhë puna me pagu për alimentacion, me u vendosë për t'ardhunat e fmive, ai ka thanë që mu nuk munët me m'pagu alimentacion edhe nuk munet me nda as prona as kurgjo, pasi që ato nuk ishin n'emën t'tina, po kanë qenë n'emën t'axhës t'vet edhe babës t'vet. Po... domethanë nuk i ka n'emën t'vet po faktikisht ai ka mujt me i qitë n'emën t'vet edhe me i nda, po për shkak mos me i humbë edhe mos me m'dhanë mu kurgjo, i ka lanë n'emën t'atye. Gjykata ka vendosë që ai me i qitë 200 euro n'muj... çdo muj për fmi, edhe... kurgjo najsen tjetër. As me m'pagu mu alimentacion as kurgjo, edhe tash dyshoj qe ai e ka korruptu gjykatsin qe gjykata me u konë ma shumë n'favor t'tij. Gjykata poashtu ka vendosë që fmitë ai me i pa dy herë n'mujt, jo ma shumë. Mandej këtë punën e pronës, mo nuk e kemi... nuk e kemi diskutu, pasi qe kom pritë djali me i bo 18 vite edhe me e kërku pasurinë e vet. Mas ksaj...

- BG: A nuk e keni iniciu çështjen n'instanca më t'larta? Nuk jeni anku?

- AR: Jo pasi që une e kom marrë avokatin tem. Jom kanë me avokat temin. O kanë... e kisha bindjen që ai munët me korruptu gjykatsin, munët me gjetë t'njofshëm, pasi që jetojshim n'atë qytet, mo nuk kom tentu, pasi që i kisha shpresat që kur djali i mbushë 18 vjet, munët me e kërku pasurinë e vet. Isha n'atë presionin ose n'atë gjendje psikologjike jo t'mirë që unë me vazhdu hala pasi që dojsha veq me qenë rehat, mos me qenë n'atë presion edhe... mos... mos me pasë mo asi probleme. Kisha domethanë nevojë për qetsi shpirtrore edhe psikologjike edhe me u rahatu me fmitë e mi.

- BG: E kët banesën e dytë që e keni marrë, a ka qenë pronë e tij, a e ka qitë n'emër ton?

- AR: Kemi pasë konflikt edhe për këtë punë, pasi që, unë mendojsha që banesën me qitë n'emër t'djalit, nëse jo n'emër tem, që e di që nuk

ka shanca, edhe ai nuk e qet kurrë n'emën tem. Domethanë, t'paktën n'emën t'djalit, që me m'ndodhë mu najsen me ditë që e kanë ni strehë, që kanë diçka që ju përketë. Mas kësaj, kur e kemi bo pagesën e kështit t'fundit, që e ka bo ai Domethanë, t'banesës, e ka qitë banesën n'emrin e vet, çka Domethanë që tash, ajo banesë, osht ende n'emër t'tina. Unë jetoj me frikën që një ditë, ai mundet me ardhë edhe me m'qitë prej asaj banese, edhe unë pa asni... smuj qysh me kundërshtu. Djali i ka bo tash 21 vjet, domethanë... po problemin që e kanë fmija mi osht që ata nuk dojnë me pa babën e vet. Përkunder asaj, pas t'gjithave që mi ka bo ai, unë prap insisto që ata me pa babën e vet edhe me shku. Mirëpo me marrëveshjen e gjykatës ai e ka që dy herë n'muj, çdo dy javë me ardhë me i marrë fmitë, gjatë vikendit, edhe me i pasë ai fmitë nëse don me i pa. Por, gjë që nuk ndodhë, muj me shku ndoshta gjashtë muj që ai nuk i sheh fmitë e vet.

- BG: Nuk don me i pa?

- AR: Sigurisht që nuk don me i pa masi që veç nuk i merr, nuk don me i pa. Edhe mas gjashtë mujve për shembull noshta shkojnë dy muj, tre muj, gjashtë muj që i merr vetëm vajzat, pasi që djali nuk don me pasë kontakt me to edhe nuk i intereson përkundër insistimit të me lyp t'drejtën domethanë, t'drejtën e pronës, t'drejtën e pasurisë, pasi që burri e ka edhe ni djali me atë grun tjetër, domethanë nuk kom qef që fmija mi mos me i taku kurgjo. Edhe, kur i kemi thanë prap që me e nda pronën ai osht arsyetuar me atë se "Jo, juve ju kom ble banesë edhe ma u kry me qato".

- BG: Edhe pse nuk osht n'emër t'juj?

- AR: Edhe po, as banesa nuk osht n'emër tem ose t'djalit. Kshtuqë, domethanë... puna e pronës edhe e alimentacionit ka mbetë, hala kurgjo hiç nuk o bo n'atë drejtim. Edhe pse mendoj që noshta prap tasht kto kohë duhet me u anku ose me bo diçka. Gjithmonë për hatër t'fmive, që ata me pasë ni t'ardhme ma t'mirë, edhe me pasë diçka t'vetën, normal.

- BG: A ju mjafton 200 euro në muaj për fmitë?

- AR: 200 euro, nëse folim për kohën e tashme, që osht vshtirë me jetu me 200 euro. Me ni djalë n'fakultet, me një vajzë n'shkolle fillore edhe njo tjetër që tashma osht edhe ajo n'shkolle fillore. Me i shkollu tre fmi, me jetu me ni qytet, ku osht mjaft i zhvillun edhe me kërkesa t'fmive t'mdhaja padyshim që me 200 euro as ni javë nuk munësh me mbijetu. Domethanë me 200 euro osht shumë e pamundur. Por unë duhet me

punu dy puna, punoj si kuzhinierë edhe punoj, pastroj ni shpi, ni herë n'javë te ni gru. Gjithmonë për me arritë për me i përmbushë dëshirat edhe me i knaqë tre fmitë e mi, për t'cilt tashma jetoj, janë arsya e vetme që vazhdoj me qenë e fortë edhe me u mundu për ta.

- BG: Tregom për familjen tane, pse ske trashëgu diçka?

- AR: Vllezrit e mi edhe prindt e mi, m'nimojnë vazhdimisht, pa përkrahjen e tyre une skisha mujt as me qenë ktu ku jam edhe je vazhdu me jetu kaq e fortë, po që ata m'nimojnë vazhdimisht financiarisht, për çdo nevojë t'fmive, pasi që edhe djalin e kam në universitet privat, domethanë ata m'nimojnë vazhdimisht me pagu fakultetin. Po që për pronë ose diçka nuk m'kanë nimu pasi që skanë as vet.

- BG: A menon që ish konë e udhës nese kishin pasë me t'dhanë, a e kishe lypë hisën?

- AR: Po patjeter, masi që na jemi kanë pesë fmi, pse mos me u nda ajo hise n'pesë pjesë t'barabarta. Mendoj qe çdo kush, çdo gru duhet me lypë t'drejtat e pronës, edhe me pasë pasurinë e vet, qoftë te prindt e vet, qoftë te burri apo domethanë n'shpi t'burrit me i lypë t'drejtat e pronës, dhe çdo t'drejt tjetër.

INTERVISTA III

Fjolla Thaçi (intervistuesja)

Flora Batalli (e intervistuarë, 60 vjeçe)

Data: 06.12.2016

Vendi: Prishtinë

Akronimet: FB=Flora Batalli, FTH=FjollaThaçi

Kohëzgjatja: 36'7"

- FTH: A mundesh me m'tregu n'cilin vit keni lindë edhe ku jeni rritë?

- FB: Kom lindë me 3 qershor n'58-ën n'Pejë, rastësisht (qesh)

- FTH: Pse rastësisht?

- FB: Se ka qenë babi im zyrtarisht, a e din at'her na thojshim me detyra partiake, ka qenë sekretar i partisë po me gjithse ka shku mandej menjëherë n'Zagreb studimet me i kry. Babën e kom gjakovar, mamin e kom t'Prizerenit, kshtu që na prej tre femijëve, t'tret kemi lindë me detyra partiake. Vllau jem n'49-ën n'Rahovec, motra n'Prizeren. Une thom burrin e kom t'Mitrovicës me prejardhje gjakovare po jetojmë krejt n'Prishtinë e thom që jom bash kosovare me plot kuptimin e fjalës. Unë jom rritë n'Prishtinë prej t'60-ës.

- FTH: E përmende familjën a mundesh me m'tregu diçka ma shumë për familjen e ngushtë?

- FB: Te familja e ngushtë te babi jemi 5 antarë, e kom një vlla edhe një motër. Vllaun e kom 10 vjet ma t'vjetër se un', motrën 5 e une jom fmija ma i vogël.

- FTH: Ju si fëmiju më i vogël, keni trashëgu pronë?

- FB: Jo na s'kemi trashëgu pronë, na e kemi nda d.m.th., është mënyra e edukatës së fëmijëve, prindërit qysh i edukojnë. T'njejtin rast e kom edhe une. E kom një djalë edhe dy vajza, si i ka pasë mami jem edhe gjithmonë une thom dashunia është sipas meritave, a po kupton? Ata thojn' duhen krejt fëmijët njisoj, une s'besoj që duhen krejt fëmijët njisoj, se naj njani t'bon për veti, është ma i kujdesshëm. Nuk mundësh si atë t'mirin e si ata që ta ka thy zemren e që t'bon nervoz dit' për dit' e që t'i shkakton 100 probleme... dhembshuria është e njejt' për t'gjithë fëmijët që thojnë me ta pre ket' gisht e tjetrin dhamin krejt njisoj. Larg qoftë me ju ndodhë diçka, po përderisa t'jetojnë besoni që vyn me meritë dashnin si t'partnerit, si t'prindit, si t'vllaut e si t'motrës. Mirëpo une thom pavarësisht sjelljeve edhe veprimeve që i kryni ju edhe fëmijëve t'mij muj me ju dallu me dashuri por me pronë të gjithë e keni 33.33 % ato që keni me trashëgu pavarësisht a je i mirë a je i keq, je fëmija jem. Zgjedhja ka qenë e jemja për me i lindë ata tre fëmijë apo dy apo pesë, prindi d.m.th., n'momentin kur vendos me ba fëmijë ka me vendos me i pas të barabartë e mos me bo dallime. Çka? Ti po i lindë tre djem edhe nuk e mendon ato, kërkush kërkujt s'ja fal hisen, a po kupton? I ka tri çika shkojnë edhe ato. Po si t'jôn t'kombinim menjihere dalin ato problemet, a e din shumë,

doesn't matter [nuk ka rëndësi]. Po ne jse tash qekjo gjenerata jonë është diçka tjetër, që mendoj' une, nëse njëni fëmijë jeton me prindër edhe është n'qat shtëpi, ti... kur vdesin prindërit nuk mundesh, ti tash me e qitë at' vlla prej shpisë e më thon qetash me e nda pronën, se ai tanë jetën ka nejt' e është kujdesë për prindërit ktu. Tash krejt jonë marrëveshjet n'pytje, megjithatë jon' disa specifika tash n'ditë t'sotit që kërkush me kërkand s'po jeton si që ka qenë rasti edhe me prindërit e mij, që prej ditës së parë kur është martu vllau jem për kundër asaj që ka qen' veç një djalë, ka dalë prej ditës së parë ka marrë banesë edhe n'fund normal që edhe qajo pronë ndahet. Tash o' diçka tjetër, t'gjith po jetojnë vetë, a po? Kërkush me kërkend, po me dashtë me u kujdesë munden t'atë me u kujdesë po s'do t'thotë me jetu njëni me tjetrin. Ka pasë raste që jetojnë, po mendoj ma përpara me një shpi, po tash edhe pak është ndrru te dikush, dikush normal edhe standarti edhe ke trashëgu edhe ke fitu vet' edhe normal qe një bazë për fillim gjithmonë kur e krijon ki me qyr me ju bo mas nejt' t'gjithë fëmijëve njisoj.

- FTH: E përmende ma herët që luan shumë rol edukata familjare, a munesht me fol ma specifikisht për qasjen e prindërve t'juaj ndaj juve n'këtë rast?

- FB: Po, une po thom n'shtëpi ka qenë pikërisht ajo që prindërit e mij s'kan' bo kurr' dallime n'mes gjinive, përkundrazi bilem, bilem ndoshta pse ka qenë situata e tillë gjithmonë na kanë favorizuar diqysh si vajza, me pas' ma teper kujdes d.m.th., që vijnë me u respektu.

- FTH: Kujdes n'çfarë aspekti?

- FB: N'gjitha aspektet, edhe vllaun n'anën tjetër e kanë edukuar që me qenë të barabartë, që me i respektu motrat. D.m.th., krejt o' kjo fryma që ndoshta se ka specifika t'ndryshme, te babi jem për shembull kanë qenë katër vllazën edhe një motër apo te gjyshi jem tre vllazën kanë qenë, gjyshi jem i ka pasë katër djem d.m.th, veç halla jeme vajzë, e u rritë qashtu si mbretnesha gjithmonë ka thon une jom motra e dhjetë vllazënve edhe gjithmonë qashtu kanë pasë një respekt t'posaçëm për femrat. Mandej njisoj edhe te une n'shpi përderi sa te mami kanë qenë krejt motra s'kan' pas vlla, edhe nana jem e ka trashëgu, po ndoshta ka trashëgu pse s'ka pasë vlla edhe atëherë o' nda krejt n'pjesë t'barabarta hisja d.m.th., edhe pse m'ka vdekë mami 82-3 vjeçare, diqysh nën'dije e kemi pasë me u edukuar t'gjithë qashtu që ska dallime e asi. Po edhe kujdesi ndaj prindërve nuk është si ashtu që vijnë mashkulli me u kujdes për

prind, të gjithë njisoj e kush t'mundet.

- FTH: Perveç asaj pjese që prindërit e juaj ju kanë msu mos me ba dallime edhe që ju kanë msu me e konsideru njani tjetrin t'barabarte, sa i kanë dhanë rëndësi n'anën tjetër edukimit (shkollimit)?

- FB: Po që të tret kemi shkollim universitar, të gjithë kemi kry fakultete edhe vllau im edhe motra, ajo ka qenë primare ka qenë trashëgimia ma e madhe që gjithmonë na kanë shty: shkollimi, edukimi e vlera materiale s'kan' pas' vlerë. Nese e ki edukimin adekuat, nese e ki shkollimin së paku at'her ka vlej, se tash ka ra çdo vlerë e po m'duk te edukimi universitar e shkollor, u bo si pazar. Që thojnë me bo mos me t'shkelë tramvaji e tramvaj n'Prishtinë s'ka d.m.th., e kry gjith'qysh e kshtu që ka qenë ajo shumë me rëndsi at'her. Kqyre kto krejt kanë ardhë spontanisht, tash ma teper po diskutohet, po flitet për kto vlera materiale. Ndoshta fëmijët e mij ma t'ngarkum jon tash n'ditë t'sotit me: ky ka, aj ka, kto e kemi, kto se kemi se që kemi qenë na n'at' kohë. Te na ka qenë një mesatare ka qenë një kohë tjetër, ka qenë një mesatare për t'gjithë. Me një rrogë që ke punu apo dy rroga n'shpi ke pasë sigurim shëndetsor, ke pasë me studiju veç a ke qenë i zoti me msu edhe ata që i kan pasë 10 fëmijë t'10-it kanë mujtë me e kry fakulltetin e s'kan pas' me pagu semestra, s'kan pas' me pagu dentist, shumë ka qenë një standart i njëjt për t'gjithë tash u' bo kjo diferenca diçka enorme.

- FTH: A mujmë me bisedu pak për rrethin e shoqërisë tane, edhe nese n'atë rreth ke pas rast ku ka ndodhë naj padrejtësi ndaj gjinisë femrore? Edhe qysh ndihesh ti për rastet kur gjinia femërore diskriminohet?

- FB: A e din qysh, për rrethin tem tash ma specifike. Une po thom, na jemi rritë në një rreth ku pavarsisht diferencave klasore kemi qen' të barabartë edhe s'kemi mujt' d.m.th., nuk e kom ndje unë ato që ôsht si sot me u ndje ma superiore ndaj dikujt, ndaj shokëve ose shoqeve. Une veç muj me thonë që kom qenë fëmij i një politikani, babi 8 vjet ka qen' drejtor i Odës Ekonomike, ka qen' drejtor i bankës, ka qenë kryetar i deputetve n'at' kohë, ka qen' për Kosovë n'federate t'Jugosllavisë kryetar i delegacionit t'Kosovës, po ato biseda neve s'na kan' ... d.m.th., kom qenë e njejt me t'gjithë shokët e shoqet e mija. S'ka pas qesi diferenca që tash, ktu menjhere e dijnë, je femija i dikujt edhe bjen n'sy e at'her' ka qen' si kurgjo, ndoshta s'kom qenë edhe shumë e vet'dijshme edhe si kemi jap randsi se nuk na kanë eduku n'qat' mënyrë. D.m.th., qajo shkollë, qaj xhimnaz, qaj fakulltet ka pas qasje për t'gjithë t'nejtë. Sa për trashëgimi,

une nuk po di, muj me thon që edhe rrethi jem njisoj si une kan marrë trashëgimi, kanë trashëgu se i kanë pasë ndoshta edhe prindërit intelektual. Po kom pas raste kur shoqe kan' pas vllazën që kanë pas shpija n'Taslixhe, e kur ka ardhë puna për trashëgimi nuk kan' marrë aty kurgjo.

- FTH: Tash si ndiheni për atë pjesë t'shoqnisë t'juaj që nuk kanë pas rastin me marrë kurgjo si trashëgimi? Përderi sa jeni msu e jeni rritë me ni frymë ku gjith' secili është i barabartë edhe kto ju e keni konsideru si shumë normale.

- FB: Edhe m'duket shumë normale. Edhe nuk është normal që n'momentin që kërkon [pjesën e pasurisë që të takon] prishën marrëdhانيت me motrën e vllaun. Qikjo reflektohet te na, në prishje të marrëdhanieve familjare. Edhe krejt x raste i kemi marrëdhانيت e prishuna mes vllazënve e motrave pikërisht për ktô. Nese nuk lyp ti je n'rregull n'momentin që lyp at'here prishen marrdhaniet. Une po thom shumë ma lehtë ôsht kur ki shka (çka) me nda e n'momentin kur nuk ki çka me nda krijohen kto probleme. Une po mendoj që deri qetash ka qen' një situatë kur s'kan pas' çka me nda, deri n'kto vite. Tash gjenerata jonë, e prindve tu, e une, e fëmijët e mij. Se prindërit ton' nuk kan' kriju naj pasuri t'madhe. Çka kom nda une, babi jem e ka pas një banesë t'cilën e ka marrë prej shtetit at'here po viteve '90-'95ta Millosheviqi privatizoj. Po ke fati që ke banesë e mirë, banesë n'qendër t'qytetit edhe që i ka hyp vlëra. S'ka pas as tokë, babi jem gjith' jetën as s'ka maru shpi as s'ka bo kurgjo kshtu. Po e kemi një vikendicë n'Brezovice edhe qet banesë që u privatizu, e mas luftës u shit mas vdekjes t'mamit tem edhe e ndamë.

- FTH: Qysh e keni nda?

- FB: N'tri pjesë, t'barabarta une, motra edhe vllau.

- FTH: E keni shitë atë banesë?

- FB: Po e kemi shitë.

- FTH: Edhe i keni nda paret.

- FB: Po vlerën materiale e kemi nda. E po kto pe thom ôsht shumë normale kur t'mbetet një trashëgimi mas prindërve ajo mundet me u nda n'pjesë t'barabarta për t'gjithë fëmijët. Sepse n'momentin për shembull t'kish vazhdu vllau jem t'kish jetu aty, pavarsisht që e kisha pas at' t'drejtë e nëse nuk kish pasë aj banesë t'ma hershme nuk mundesh tash me e qitë prej shpisë.

- FTH: A mendon që n'ketë rast kish me lindë naj konflikt?

- FB: Paj jo, shumë herë nuk lindin konflikte.

- FTH: Mosmarrëveshje, keqkuptime?

- FB: Lindin konfliktet pikërisht për shkak se njeri...si me thanë për shkak të apetiteve, normal. Ka raste për shembull kur djali e trashëgon krejt pasurinë prej prindërve edhe e ka një pasuri enorme t'prindërve, t'babës konkretisht, edhe tash vjen një vajzë martohet dikun ku nuk ka fare pasuri edhe normal që asi [lindin konfliktet] se edhe ajo o' fmij i qatij prindi. Pse për shembull edhe ajo mos me pas t'drejtë? Munden me ja kompenzu. Ka raste kur munden me kompenzu e nuk dojnë pikërisht pse është ajo femer është shumë një mentalitet i vshtirë.

- FTH: A mendon që praktikat tradicionale ndikojnë në këtë mentalitet?

- FB: Kan me vyjt me kalu edhe një dy-tri gjenerata për mu bo pak ma open minded [mendje hapur]. Se jon kto sene te shqiptart. Nuk e di a jon veç te na, po jom shqiptare e po foli veç për shqiptarë, se ndoshta është edhe tjetër kund. Se për lindjen e vajzave njëjt jon edhe malazezt. Krejt në Ballkan kur t'ju lindin vajza në qat moment ta lypin djalë po është ajo java e parë e kshu që a e din. Është temë e ndijshme edhe tash gjitha kto arrihen për mes t' gjyqit. T'rralla jon rastet që me marrëveshje, kur shkon përmes gjykatave e zgjatet edhe prishen marrëdhëniet edhe lindin konfliktet. Po une po mendoj...që prindërit kanë faj.

- FTH: Po rastet që shkojnë në gjykata a mendon që ndodhin në mes dy mashkujve të familjes apo që femra merr guximin me e paraqite në gjyq në lloj t'mosmarrëveshjes t'tillë? Me që dihet që shumë femra për hirë të ruajtjes së qetësisë familjare nuk i paraqesin rastet e padrejtësive në instanca ligjore.

- FB: Kqyre ajo është gabim i tyre pse friksohen me shku. Tash para ligjit është fati që jemi t'barabartë, po jo veç sot se para ligjit ti ke qenë i barabartë edhe para 30 e 40 vjete nuk është ky ligj i sotit, qiky ligj ka qenë edhe para 40 vjete, trashëgimia, ndoshta është ndrru në at' aspektin... se përpara ka qenë që nëse vdes bashkshorti automatikisht pasurinë e trashëgon bashkeshortja e mas vdekjes së dy prindërve pasurinë e trashëgojnë fëmijët deri sa tash nuk është pra, nëse vdes njëri prind at'here fëmijët e nana e kanë të drejtën e barabartë. Po prap te na prishen marrëdhëniet aty pa diskutim. Çdo gjë që kalon nëpër gjykatë, aty ma marrëdhëniet familjare definitivisht prishen. Po për at' arsye mendoj që vijnë prindërit ktu. Ata kanë faj, gjithmonë ata kanë faj që ju lajnë prob-

leme fëmijëve edhe që nuk i zgjedhin me kohë. Krejt kto jon që prindërit me kohë nuk ju kan' than djemve që je i barabartë me motrën e me i rregullu kto para vdekjes, testamentin, qekjo i takon atij.

- FTH: Kur familja veçon djaln kundrejt vajzës.

- FB: Ajo te na ôsht pa diskutim. Po tash pe shoh një dukuri që po ju kompenzojnë motrave me një pjesë, përqindje t'vogël a e din sa për një ngushllim por asesi n'formë t'barabartë me ligj sa i takon. Ja u blejnë nga një banesë, ata që kanë ma shumë, normal. Unë po thom gjithmonë kur ki çka me nda ôsht ma leht.

- FTH: E nese ka pasuri shumë, shumë të madhe a mendon qe mundet edhe aty me ekzistiu barazia apo me lindë mosmarrëveshje më të mëdha?

- FB: Ajo n'pjesë t'barabartë s'ka diskutim që nuk ndahet. Shumë t'rrallë jon ata që e ndajn' n'pjesë të barabrta. Aty vyjnë vet'dija e njeriut e vyjn shumë me u emancipu e para t'gjithave me ja nisë gjith kush prej vetes.

- FTH: A e konsideroni veten me fat që keni lindë në një familje të tillë?

- FB: Pa dyshim që po. Në një, kom qenë me fat që kom lindë në një familje t'tillë e që i kom pas ata prindër që na kanë eduku n'qatë mënyrë edhe kom qenë me fat që jonë kriju rrethana t'tilla e që prej fillimit ka qenë një situatë jo konfliktuoze. Gjithsesi une po thom që trashegimi duhet me pas edhe femrat. Normal fëmijët se edhe ti je fëmij i dikujt, kerkush nuk e ka zgjedhe gjininë n't'cilën ka lindë. Mirëpo ekziston edhe ajo puna që ti edhe nese e ki një vlla e nesë vllau yt jeton me prind, prindërit vyjnë me thanë që pjesën temë përshembull t'tashëgimisë ja jepi qatij që ka jetu me ty e pjesa tjetër ndahet n'katër-pesë pjesë per nanën edhe tre fëmijë. E qat pjesë që je kujdes me favorizu. Mundesh me e favorizu qato që ka qenë ma i kujdesshëm. Ka qenë ni periudhë e pa përshtatshme për prindërit e mij. Se ata kan punu 40 e disa vjet edhe n'fund kan' mbetë pa pensione, kjo një periudhë që kan' mbet 20-25 vjet pa pensione d.m.th., prej viteve 90-ta kur i kanë pasë do rroga shumë t'mira ato kontribute pensionale mbetën n'Serbi e mos ti hyjmë k'saj temë. Kjo ôsht temë shumë e ndijshme, ka shumë specifika për rrethin tonë ôsht shumë e papranushme për momentin.

- FTH: E papranushme n'çfarë aspekti?

- FB: Po për me u nda pasuria n'mënyrë t'barabarte n'mes mash-

kujve edhe femrave. Bilem nuk dojn' me e diskutu kshu se është si tabu temë nëpër fshatëra për deri sa n'qytete është diçka tjetër.

- FTH: Ktu po du me ndërhy. N'fshatëra dihet që niveli arsimor i femrave është dukshëm ma i dobët edhe femrat janë shumë ma t'diskriminuara. Ta ndërlidhim me rastet e mosmarrveshjeve në ndarjen e pasurisë dhe dorëzimin e këtyre problemeve para ligjit. A mendon që edukimi/arsimimi luan rol në ngritjen e vetëdijimit tek femrat në mënyrë që ato t'i kërkojnë të drejtat e tyre mbi pronën? Dhe a mendon që këtu qëndron problemi që sidomos në vendet rurale kjo ende konsiderohet si tabu temë?

- FB: Pa dyshim që edukimi është numër një. N'fshat një femër pa shkolim, pa arsimim jo që nuk e ka guximin ajo ndoshta nuk i din as t'drejtat e veta. Se ajo qaq e shtypun është sa që ato në nën vet'dije e kanë bindë që ajo kurfar t'drejta nuk ka. N'momentin që martohet deri vonë e kanë konsideru si mall e as si njeri për person nuk e konsiderojnë. N'qytet është diçka tjetër, shumë po m'pëlqen që po e sensibilizojnë kët' temë qeshtu edhe vyjnë sa ma tepër jo vetëm ju që po boni projekte po edhe nëpër media po i ndëgjoj po ka edhe emisione t'posaçme me e ngritë vet'dijën e femrave edhe t'drejtave t'tyne.

- FTH: A mundesh me bisedu pak për rrethin e ngushtë familjar me t'cilin jeton tash? Për fëmijët e juaj?

- FB: Mbasi m'pyte une t'thom që une e kom një djalë edhe dy vajza se gjithmonë kur t'm'pytë dikush përshembull sa fëmijë i ki? Unë ju thom tre fëmijë e nese i intereson dikujt bash gjinia masnej ju tregoj se mas pari është me randësi që une i kom tre fëmijë. Interesant me e cekë është diferenca e moshës n'mes t'fëmijëve t'mij: jan' si une me vllaun e motrën. Vajza e vogel me vllaun e vet i kan 10 vjet diferencë edhe vajzat n'mes veti si une me motrën tem' 5-6 vjet diferencë. Kshu që po mundohna ato çka m'kanë eduku prindërit e mij me e përcjellë. Shumë jom e knaqun me mbrri me ju ofru aq fëmijëve t'mij sa m'kanë ofru ata mu. Se po ndrrohen kohërat e po vijnë kohëra shumë ma t'vështira, se kemi mendu që kan me ardhë koh'ra shumë ma t'lehta që me ju eduku e me ju rritë. Tash për momentin te na tash ma shumë është vështirsu për një pjesë t'popullatës.

Kshu që Fjolla unë po t'thom që e kom pas fatin, ndoshta pak e kom pas fatin se thotë burri jem që kom pas fat po unë thom jo unë kom qenë e meçme që kom lyp ksi bashkëshorti d.m.th., as kjo nuk është punë fati

po gjithmonë n'jetë ki me e gjetë ata çka e lypë edhe n'jetë e ki moton:
Respekto vetën nëse don të t' respektojnë të tjerët. Nëse ti nuk e respekton
vetën harroje që ka me t' respektu dikush tjetër. Mbaje unin tënd.

- FTH: Ky ke një mesazh përmbyllës shumë i mirë.

- FB: Unë me këtë mesazh kom ecë vetë nëpër jetë. Mas pari e kom
respektu vetën kur e kom respektu vetën t' tjerët t' m' respektojnë. Nëse
lejon që të tjerët me t' nëpërkamb edhe të tjerët me vendos për fatin tënd,
të tjerët me diskutu për ty at' here qetu lindin ato problemet.

- FTH: E patëm një bisedë shumë t' mirë bashkë. Faleminderit që keni
pranu.

- FB: Po m' vjen mirë, hiç s' ka problem. Unë me t' vërtetë jom e hapun,
po mendoj kështu, nuk kom barriera. Bilem kom qef' me u sensibilizu sa
ma tepër kjo temë atëhere i kishim liru edhe gjykatat tona me u marrë
me do çështje shumë ma madhore e shumë ma me rëndësi se që merren
me gjana thelbore t' cilat dihen. Kjo është matematikë e thjeshtë, kjo është
matematikë elementare e klasës t' parë. Veç vijnë me ju ngulitë njerzve
n' kry edhe ngritet vetëdija.

- FTH: Faleminderit edhe një herë.

- FB: Faleminderit Fjollë edhe taman mu kry edhe orari i punës e nuk
t' pyta as për kafe as për kurgjo.

- FTH: Nuk ka aspak problem.

- FB: Çdo t' mirë e mirëupafshim.

- FTH: Ditën e mirë, kalofshit mirë.

INTERVISTA IV

Fjolla Thaçi (intervistuesja)

Anonim (i intervistuari, 75 vjeç)

Data: 09.12.2016

Vendi: Prishtinë

Akronimet: X=Anonim, FTH=FjollaThaçi

Kohëzgjatja: 26'0"

- X: Përshembull une i kam dy vajza e dy djem, djemve ja u kom nda pasurinë kurse vajzave fat'keqësisht nuk ju kom dhanë. [Ndërhyrje nga djali i të intervistuarit]

DJALI i X :N'fakt ato jon deklaru që nuk dojnë, qashtu ka ndodhë.

- X:Ato kanë thanë se djemt e kan obligim për mi kqyr pleqt e na shkojmi n' derë t'huj, e na nuk kemi mundësi mu afriu e me ju ba shërbime nanës e babës po i keni djemt afër vetit. Për qato ato janë tërheq prej asaj pasurie.

- FTH: Nëse nuk ishin terheqë vajzat prej pasurisë a ja u kishe nda edhe atyne hisën n'mënyrë t'barabart?

- X: Qysh jô, barabar' ja u kisha nda. Po ato jân' deklaru se qitashi ata t'njejt jân', fmij jân'. Une përshembull e kam qet banesë që kushton nja 70.000 euro edhe o' dasht me jau kompenzu diqysh barabar po ato kan thanë vet' babin edhe mamin masi e keni ju përsipër për mi kqyr gjithë jetën, na kursesi s'kemi energji me marr pasuri prej juve masi keni mbikqyrje për nanën edhe për babën, se shumë ôsht' obligim i madh. Se për çdo sen kta kujdesen me na çu n'deti me na çu n'pushim për vikend, krejt senet djemt. E në vendet tjera nâpër fshatra nuk o' praktiku me dhanë pasuri a e din, po qitashi e praktikojnë shumë njerz edhe e kanë parasysh ket' punë se ata t'drejtat i kanë t'barabarta.

- FTH: Po menon që jon vetëdijësu njerzt?

- X: Janë vetëdijësu se n'krejt botën, n'shumë vende t'civilizume e marrin parasysh ket' punë se fëmijt janë t'barabart si vajzat, si djemt.

- FTH: Paj jon edhe rastet kur vajzat nuk i marrin n'konsiderat hiç, a menon qashtu?

- X: Po ka raste, po ato raste jan t'gabume ajo ôsht shumë gabim i madh që nuk i marrin n'konsiderat vajzat. Se fmija ôsht fmij edhe pikë. Une për shembull kom pas konsiderat ma shumë për vajzat, e mi shkollu s'kom kursy asgja. Dy vajza i kam njana e ka kry mjeksinë o' specialiste tjetrën e kom arkitekte. Çka kanë pasë nevojë për shkollim ja u kom kompenzu edhe ja u kom pru asnjherë si kom lanë me pritë. Menjiherë ja kom pru, krejt paisjet e arkitekturës ja kom përgadit çikës edhe kom pas vullnet t'madh se e ka meritë se ka msu shumë mirë e nuk m'ka shku bosh ajo punë. Se g'zimin ma t'madh e kam që fmijën me pa që nuk e qon kohën bosh po ka msu edhe ka arritë me kry qysh o' ma s'miri.

- FTH: Une t'njoh, po për ata që nuk t'njohin a po na tregon pak për familjen tane.

- X: Nana ime edhe babi im i kanë pas 8 djem e asnji vajzë. T'gjithë vllaznit janë qetash pos njani n'moshën 62 vjeçare që ka ndrru jetë e qitashi i kam edhe 7 vllazën. Edhe krej vllaznit kena fëmij, krejt fëmijt janë t'mirë nuk kan deviju jan t'urtë nuk kan ba probleme...jam shumë i knaqun n'at' aspekt, se asnji gja, asnji punë n'tokën e zotit nuk ôsht' ma me randsi se me kanë njerzit e moralshtëm edhe t'sinqertë...edhe n'kundërshtim me ligjin nuk kanë ardhë asnji here si njerzit që i marrin përshembull për naj përçamje mes veti a naj rrahje, asnjani s'kanë pas probleme me norma ligjore...

[Ndërhyrje nga djali i të intervistuarit]

DJALI I i - X: A e pyte për ndarjën e pasurisë, a u përgjegj? Po se për shembull motrat e mija janë deklaruar kategorik që mos me marrë pasuri. Se na edhe e respektojmë çështjen e ndarjës së pasurisë te gjinija femërore si nga aspekti shtetëror ashtu edhe fetar. E na masi jemi t'fesë islame gjithqysh jemi kanë për me marrë pasurinë si shembull motrat e mija. Po ato kanë thanë jo se i kemi krejt nuk na duhet kurgjo, për shembull banesën me nda ska pasë nevojë edhe skanë dasht me marrë. Tokën e kena nda veç me vllaun.

- FTH: As tokë nuk kan dashë ato a?

- X: Vajzat a?

- FTH: Po.

- X: Jo nuk kan dasht hiç pasuri. Se e kanë lanë pasurinë veç që e kanë pasë djemt obligim me na kqyr neve. Se ata që merren me përkujdesjen nuk ôsht bash punë e lehtë se nëpër botë ka shumë raste që nuk i kqyrin prind. E unë jam i knaqun se për shembull ni banesë ktu jam me djalin e vogël me nusen e djalit edhe me fmij t'djalit, e kaloj tepër mirë. Verës shkojmë n'fshat e kta vijnë n'vikend e kemi një jetë tepër t'lumtur. E une kur rri n'fshat i kam edhe disa fmij n'thojza, bletët. Bletët i du shumë e përkujdesna për to sikur fmijt që përkujdesen për mu (qesh), identik.

- FTH: Ku jeni rritë ju?

- X: Une jam rritë n'fshat.

- FTH: N'cilin fshat?

- X: N'fshatin Begracë. Nana ime ka qenë amvise edhe baba bujk e ata dy kanë pas harmoni t'madhe mes veti na kan kqyr me t'madhe sipas mudsive aso kohe. Jemi rritë t'gjith' pa asnji t'metë, t'shëndosh, t'shnetshëm kurr s'kemi pas naj smuj a diçka pos naj ftohje dimrit që o' kan naj grip a naj sen se naj far' problemi me shëndet s'kemi pas asnji vlla edhe

prindt kan jetu n'moshën babi ka jetu 75/6 vjet nana qasi moshe 72 vjet e.

- FTH: E ata a kanë pasë naj pasuri që ja u kanë lanë juve?

- X: Na kan lan' tokë edhe disa gjana shumë t'mira male e dru. Kemi mal për ngrohje edhe tokë t'punushme. Po qetash nuk është populli aq shumë i interesum mu marr me bujqësi. Veç kemi pas sene shumë t'mira deri sa jemi bā t'zot t'vet'vetit tani kur kemi fillu nëpër puna t'ndryshme kemi pas secili një jetë mesatare.

- FTH: E malin edhe tokën e punushme që ja u kanë lanë juve prindërit a e keni nda ju qat pasuri me fëmij?

- X: Po dy djemve.

- FTH: A e ke nda n'pjesë t'barabarta?

- X: T'barabarta po. Te dytë e kan ka një banesë n'Prishtinë edhe ka një shpi n'fshat si vikendicë... Spo di çka me fol ma shumë.

- FTH: Cili ka qenë edhe cili është roli i gruas n'familje te ju?

- X: Gruja e ka rolin normal t'barabart. Punt i kemi t'ndame, gruja i ka punt e shpis brenda une i kry punt e jashtme po tash jemi vjetru. E tash nusja e djalit është n'punë edhe djali, fëmij i lajn me neve qe na kujdesemi për ata e kta na bijn rrogë edhe kalojmë mirë bashkë.

- FTH: Sa ka rëndsi roli i gruas n'këtë rast?

- X: Ja n'kohnat e ma hershme gruja ka qenë shumë e nënçmume po qetash krejt jonë t'barabart me ligj se edhe gratë i kryjnë t'njejtat punë sikur meshkujt. Djali thash punon nusja punon rrogat barabart n'shpi i bijn.

[Ndërhyrje nga djali i të intervistuarit]

DJALI i X: Po t'mos kishin drejta grat n'familjen tonë nuk ishin shkollu mas pari çikat e tij, gjithë e ka pas prioritet gjininë femrore.

- X: Po valla, prioritet.

- FTH: Për çfarë arsye?

- X: Tu i krahasu kohnat ma t'hershme shumë jam kan i brengosun që nuk kan pas t'drejta boll femrat e atë brengë e kom pas prej fëmijërisë thojsha qysh është e mundur që gjinia femërore mos me kanë e barabart me mashkujt n't'drejta. E aty e kom marrë unë atë besim e kom angazhu vetën që kurr nuk do t'baj dallim n'fmijt e mi e unë atë andërr e kom realizu. E vajzat i kom shkollu si djemt kurfar dallim s'kanë për vene t'punës a diçka. Detyrë ja kom shtru vetës se nuk do t'baj dallime se e kom pa une nëpër vende t'ndryshme që femra është nënçmu...

- FTH: A e ndjekin shembullin e njejtë vllazërit e tu?

- X: Po e gjithë familja e kanë tretmanin e njejtë e nuk kanë bo dallime kurrë. Edhe mbesat i kam qashtu edhe nipat secilin e du ma shumë se tjetrin. 5 nipa i kam, 5 mbesa. I kom lyp zotit barabart mi ka dhanë zoti 5 nipa 5 mbesa që mos mu kanë mangu e secili ma i mirë se tjetri, secila ma e mirë se tjetra (qeshë).

- FTH: Po fëmijëve tu a jau ke përcjellë t'njejtat virtyte?

- X: Thojn një fjalë popullore: Ka shkojnë rrotat e para shokojnë edhe t'mramat. E edhe fëmijët kanë me kan njejtë qeshtu sikur prindërit. E une kto biseda i kam parasysh gjithëherë kur jemi me naj mbledhi me vajzat e mija t'rrituna me djemt e mi që kurr kurfar dallimi mos me bo me fëmij se nuk ka punë ma e rand, ka aspekti fetar e kulturor nuk lejohen kto gjana. Vetëm njerzit e prapambetun i dallojnë gjinit ose fëmijët.

- FTH: E kur vjen puna për me nda pasurinë, çka ju thu atyne që i veçojnë djemt prej vajzave?

- X: Une kisha me thanë që çdo prind që ka fëmijë dy gjini kur vendosin mu nda, duhet me qitë aty sikur n'parlament mi vet a jeni t'interesum, qysh jeni t'interesum me nda këtë pasuri edhe një zërit me ra dakort t'gjithë, se mos me ra dakort ajo pasuri si vyjn kërkujt se duhet me qenë t'gjithë t'knaqun kur është n'pyetje pasuria. Mos mi lënë njerzit me vujt po krejt mu kanë t'barabart se ku nuk ka drejtësi e ku nuk ka respekt aty nuk ka bereqet. Ajo punë o' shumë e ndalushme mos me nda drejtsinë.

- FTH: E tash kur e keni nda pasurinë n'mes dy djemve a jeni taku për me u dakordu, a ka shku farë diskutimi aty, a ka shku gat?

- X: Nuk ka shku i gatë, shumë shpejt. Djali ma i vogël i ka thënë vllaut t'vetë zgjedh.

[Djali i vogël i të intervistuarit ndërhyr]

DJALI i X: Po ta kallxoj ni detaj i kom thënë vllaut po ta lshoj banesën po shkoj n'Begracë se qat'herë për momentin e kena pas veç banesën edhe shpinë n'Begracë. Jo ka thënë se pe marr une ni banesë e ti maje kto. Tani ktu jena nda aj me një banesë une me një banesë po shpinë n'Begracë e kena pas bashk e tani mas ni kohe aj e ka ndreq edhe shpijën e vet' n'Begracë e ka dalë edhe n'shpi n'veti edhe n'banesë n'veti. Tani ni arë që e kena 50 ari përafërsisht ja ka dhënë aga krejt se masi ka marr' aj ma pak, se banesa e jon është ma e madhe. Aga ja ka dhënë 50 ari, po aj ka thënë jo, juve po jau la 15 ari e aj i ka marr 30 tjera se ato sakt janë 45 ari

d.m.th., aga ja ka dhanë 50 ari e aj neve tani 15 se i ka ardhë keq. Tani për shembull afër shpijave për shkak se aj o' dasht me sakrifiku ma shumë që me ndreqë shpijën n'Begracë aga ja ka dhân 20 ari afër shpijave. E qat' sistem. U munu d.m.th., mos me demtu asnjënin.

- FTH: Nuk ka lind asnjë konflikt as kurgjo?

- X: Jo, jo.

[Djali i të intervistuarit]

DJALI i X: Absolut asnjë. Për shembull, kur ka dal Zena n'banesë t'vet' kena pas mi nda senet krejt barabart kauqat, senet. Me djemt e axhës p.sh., komoden e televizorit ja kena qu n'banesë, tavolinën ja kena qu atje n'banesë t'tij ka marr shumë pak sene që mos me demtu ket' banesë që jena na. E ska pas kurfar' konflikti absolut. E na i kena lutë motrat gjith-qysh me marrë pasuri ato kanë thân jo se shyqyr zotit i kena krejt edhe kan ra dakort gjithqysh edhe pse sidomos unë ju kom thân a jeni t'sigur-ta ato kan thanë 100% që nuk dojmë pasuri se si shembull me pas dashtë ato pasuri ato skishin mujtë me marrë një, faktikisht 1/4 e banesës se ish' kan e pashfrytzushme e ish' dashtë me shitë banesën që mi shfrytzu pa-ret, po ato s'kan' dasht'. Si shembull, munesh ti mi vetë ato e mu vërtetu.

- X: Një gjë ma karakteristike. Ma interesant diçka. Une prej 74-es e kom pas ni pushkë t'gjuetisë që ôsht shumë e mirë e ja kom lanë n'tes-tament, po deri sa jom une gjallë do ta maj atë pushkë kurse kur vdes do t'ja fali djalit t'djalit nipit që ôsht ma i madh. Djalit t'Zenës edhe atë punë e kemi kry. Bilem qetash i kom thanë merre qite mbi veti se une ma jam vjetru i kom 76 vjet nuk po shkoj ma n'gjueti, e ka marr pushkën për kujtim t'gjyshit.

- FTH: A ke lanë testament?

- X: Jo veç gojor kshtu. Po une e kam një farë fondi që na kan plaçkit pensionet ku jan' ndoshta mbi 20 mijë a 30 mijë euro, se afër 17 vite nuk mi kan dhân Serbia paret. E paret nese kthehen e une mos me qenë gjallë ja kom lanë me gojë nipit Trimnorit. Se deri tash nuk ma kan prish naj-çka fjalën.

INTERVISTA V

Iliriana Lira Blakaj (intervistuesja)

Petrit Bytyqi (i intervistuari, 29 vjeç)

Data: 10.12.2016

Vendi: Prishtinë

Akronimet: LB= Lira Blakaj, PB=Petrit Bytyqi,

Kohëzgjatja: 32'28''

- IB: Petrit, n'fillim të intervistës kisha pasë qef m'u prezentu; prej moshës ose gjithçka tjetër që e cilëson relevante për qet' intervistë, n'fillim me ditë njerzit për ty kush je dhe çka bon Petriti?

- PB: Yeah, no problem. Po, unë jôm Petriti, Petrit Bytyqi. Kôm lindë edhe jam rritë n'Prizren. Shkollën e kôm kry në "17 Nëntor", filloren, t'mesmën e kôm kry në gjimnazin "Gjon Buzuku", drejtimi Matematikë-Shkenca Natyrore. N'fakultet kôm ardhë n'Prishtinë qysh prej vitit 2005-2006, jôm regjistru n'Shkenca Kômputerike n'UP, në FSHMN, kôm vazhdu tri (3) vjet, kôm pauzu dy (2) vjet, kôm vazhdu dy (2) vjet në UBT, kôm pauzu dy (2) vite tjera edhe tash jôm në degë të Sociologjisë. Vi pi ni' familjes shumë interesant t'strukturune, për faktin që jena n'Prizren edhe Prizreni ka shumë, shumë familje nashta qishtu t'kômbinume edhe interesante, vetë si qytet. Familja jême, gjysa jena me prejar-dhje nga Drenica, gjysa ose nana jêm me prejardhe t'Korishës. Korisha ôsht' ni' fshat afër Prizrenit edhe si shumica e fshtarave në rreth të qyteteve të Kosovës, si shumica në krejt Kosovën edhe kjo familje kanë m'rri që me punë me tregti ose me shitje t'druve edhe premjë qysh n'vitin një mijë e tetëqind e nëntëdhjetë (1890) e diçka nuk jam i sigurt sa, kur stërgjyshi ka qenë vetëm nimdhet' (11) vjet, ata kanë ardhë n'Prizren me tregti. Me rritje t'punës kanë m'rri që me ble ni' vën edhe me maru shpinë. Shpija ku jôm edhe unë tash është, po foli për t'njejtën shpi. Ajo shpi është e gjyshit, pra babës t'nanës, nuk është e babës t'babës si zakonisht qysh i kena, edhe është ni' familje jo qe po kam qef, po sinqerisht është ni familje shumë interesante se u rritë me nifar dashnie t'veçantë për dallim pi krejt dashnisë normale qe e kanë krejt familjet. Jôn' kanë shumë fmi, kanë pasë disa vetë edhe i kanë lanë dy (2) dhoma si konvikt për studenta, si t'shkollave t'mesme si t'shkollave t'nalta edhe kanë jetu me përplotë ... [Cingrron telefoni]

- IB: OK...

- PB: Pra, është ni' famlje që u rritë me shumë dashni me shumë qarullim për brenda saj. Kanë pasë edhe konvikt siç të tregova edhe gjyshi si kryesori i familjes ka pasë punë edhe shtetnore edhe jashtë-shtetnore, ka pasë t'përfundune nëse s'gaboj master ose këtë t'zgjatnit (shkolla e lartë) qysh ka qenë n'kohën e Jugosllavisë-Kriminalistikën në Beograd. I ka pasë nëse s'gaboj shtat' (7) ose tet' (8) fmi, i kanë mbijetu vetëm tri (3) çika, çika ma e vogël është mami jêm. Fmitë pse i kanë dekë është si shumica n'atë kohë qysh s'ka pasë mjekim s'mundjet e rana, kanë vdekë

kryesisht t'ri e tjerë e tjerë e tjerë...

Mami jëm ose familja e mamit tëm janë edhe t'shkollun. Mami jëm e ka t'kryme Tregtinë, Shkollën e Lartë Ekonomike, dy (2) tezet janë msim-dhanse, njana ka dhanë msim bile ka qenë edhe kolege me profesoreshën Drita Statovci, ka dhanë Gjuhë Shqipe. Tezja ma e madhja ka qenë msuse n'Prizren edhe jetojna afër, afër qendrës n'Prizren, ôsht ni' vend ku n'përfundim kanë përfundu motra e madhe edhe motra e vogël, pra tezja jëm e madhe edhe nana jëm- motra ma e vogël jetojnë hala edhe jetojnë bashkarisht hala edhe shumë ni' harmoni shumë interesante.

- IB: Ti the që prej krejt fmive kanë mbijetu veç vajzat...

- PB: Jo ka pasë edhe vajza që kanë vdekë, kanë vdekë dy (2) djem edhe dy vajza (2)

- IB: Po, po du me thonë prej krejt fmive vajzat kanë mbijetu.

- PB: Vajzat kanë mbijetu.

- IB: Edhe si rrjedhojë djemtë kanë vdekë. Po, prona që është trashëgu edhe që është bartë te vajzat, a kish me qenë e njejtë qasja e gjyshit ton, po mendon në qoftë se i kishin mbijetu edhe djemtë, apo është një histori ku djemtë vdesin edhe mandej shkon prona te vajza?

- PB: Paj... m'û bo i singurtë unë thellësisht besoj edhe nifar m'nyrë mûj edhe me argumentu pse mendoj që kishë qenë qasja e njejtë për arsye se ... po kthena pak ma përmas. Gruja e gjyshit-gjyshja jëm, Nëna Time i kena thanë krejt, e ka pasë emrin Fatime. Ajo ka qenë jashtëzakonisht shumë e lidhun me stërgjyshin tëm, pra me vjehrrin e saj sepse jo veç gjyshit tëm që i kanë vdekë fmitë, pra dajtë edhe tezet e mia tjera që s'kôm pas rast asnihere m'u taku, mirëpo edhe prindit t'tij edhe vetë atij gyshit, i kanë vdekë shumë motra e shumë vllazën edhe baba i tij-stërgjyshi ka pasë disa vite rresht për shkak t'sëmundjes se ai ka jetu shumë gjatë nëse s'gaboje deri nadhetë e ni' ose dy (91 ose 92) vjetë nëse s'gaboje. Nuk jam i sigurt edhe pse halla thojke jo tedhetë e nanë (89), gjyshi thojke jo nadhetë e dy (92) se u regjistru 3 vjet me vonesë, qysh kanë thonë, mirëpo bukur shumë ka jetu. Ai ka qenë qaq shumë i lidhun me gjyshën sa që ai u konë ai që kur e ka pa tu punu i ka thonë le nuse k'to dil sa je e fortë se qy çka um ka gjetë mu. Nifar m'nyrë kena tregime edhe storie me m'nyrën e sjelljes të vjehrrit t'gjyshës teme, sa që unë menoj që edhe nëse i kish pasë gjyshja jëme djemtë, prap kish me pasë konsideratë t'njejtë edhe me vajzat e saj për shkak se me t'vërtetë e kanë pasë nifar dashnie shumë interesant mes veti. Për shembull vllau i gjyshit ma i vogli ka

qenë shumë problematik. Ata kam pasë rast me taku, ka jetu deri para nëse s'gaboj para 4 vjete qashtu n'dymijë e nimdhetën (2011) ka n'drru jetë, katër pesë (4, 5) vjet qashtu n'fun të dymijë e nimdhetës (2011) po. Ai ka qenë shumë problematik qysh si i vogël. Ai edhe ka bo probleme edhe n'shpi edhe jashtë shpisë. Ai u konë n'mospajtim edhe n'mospërputhje nashta edhe me kulturën edhe me edukatën tonë si shoqni, edhe ai ka përfundu jashtë, u martu me sllovene, tash i ka fmitë atje, ju kanë asimilu nuk vinë ma k'tu edhe vetëm gruja i ka mbetë gjallë.

Tash, n'lidhje me to, e di që stërgjyshi disa herë e ka përmene edhe tregojnë k'ta që edhe Shabani nëse ish kthy edhe pse ai kurrë s'na paska dashtë neve, e di që na don edhe na respekton po s'ka dashtë me jetu qetu, s'paku djemtë e tij kishin trashëgu diçka prej krejt neve k'tu. Pra, ôsht' ni' familje shumë e gjanë që shumë thellësisht menoj që edhe nëse kishin jetu djemt, n'këtë rast djemt e gjyshit tëm, kish me qenë ndamja e njejtë për faktin se edhe djemt e vllaut t'tij janë konsideru që për bashkim me nda do trashëgimi. Po edhe djemt e vllaut t'tij jo të k'tij Shabanit që i përmene, kjo ôsht' për t'ni vllaut tjetër t'gjyshit, Rrahmanit, t'cilët ende kanë toka t'përbashkëta në Korishë afër Prizrenit, ku me qatë rrugë kanë tentu me i rikthy t'gjitha ato toka edhe deri te stërnipat me u trashëgu një pjesë e madhe qoftë për vajza edhe qoftë për djem. Ka qenë e njejt mirëpo me luftën e fundit ka n'drru ajo logjikë. Ka n'drru ajo logjikë se ato toka s'janë marrë mo kurrë edhe pas vdekjes së stërgjyshit po ashtu edhe pas vdekjes edhe të gjyshit tëm edhe n'diskutime t'tjera se si mi marrë ato toka, unë e di shumë mirë që daja jëm, në fakt djali i axhës t'nanës ose djali i Rrahmanit që sapo e ceka, pat ardhë te na së bashku me mammin, tezet, vllaun e tij e shumë do tjerë, kanë ardhë me diskutu qysh me ja bo tokave n'Korishë edhe si n'hajgare pat thonë hajt se ju edhe t'gjithë t'kishit me qenë, k'ta që e keni n'Prizren për të gjashtë apo shtatë (6 apo 7) s'di sa kanë qenë, kishit pasë trashëgimi t'mjaftushme.

Pra, jôn' do elemente edhe jôn do storie shumë minimale t'vogla përreth si për nga familja e ngushtë si për nga familja e nivelit t'dytë nashta me e qijtë, që jôn do gojëdhana që unë thellësisht jam i bindun që krejt kjo qasje kish me qenë totalisht e njejtë si me vajza, sikur me djem.

- IB: Dakord. Tash na po flasim për një hierarki në qoftëse mûj me qijtë hierarki, ku n'krye t'saj gjenden tezet e tua, në oborrin e shpisë tane. Tregom pak për burrat e tezeve edhe për babën t'an'. Ata faktikisht kanë ardhë te gratë me jetu...

- PB: Kanë ardhë nusa.

- IB: Po nusa, a kanë ata hise t'vetën, apo e kanë edhe kanë vendosë megjithatë me u shpërngulë edhe me atë hise me bo diçka tjetër?

- PB: Hmmm shumë interesant... paj, qysh me thonë edhe mos me pasë hise t'vetën unë vet' e kôm ni' edhe burrin e tezës me që jena me ni' oborr, muj me thonë si ni' shpi edhe pse jena t'ndamë në dy objekte, si burri i tezës si baba jëm, gjatë gjithë kohës nëse u cekë ndërkohë kjo temë, ôsht "me ransi kena fmive qa me ju lane". Kështu që hierarkia ka qenë nifar mirëkuptimi i stimulun prej historisë t'familjes t'tezës edhe t'nanës tem. Unë besoj që nuk jôn qaq t'veçantë, qoftë prindi-baba jëm, qoftë burri i tezës sa që t'mos kish' qenë kjo storie ata kishin me vepru njëjtë. Jo, t'jôm i sinqertë qe ata sigurisht e kishin bartë pjesën e kulturës tonë me ato qasje ku baba ôsht' kryefamiljari, ai bënë trashëgimin edhe i ndanë ato sene. Mirëpo, kjo ju ka n'drru kjo qasje kur kanë ardhë aty sepse e kanë pas fatin që edhe pse kanë ardhë me jetu ni' kohë t'gjatë bashkë me gjyshin edhe gjyshën tonë të cilët veç kanë qenë pronarë t'shpisë. Kështu që nuk menoj që kish me qenë qasja e njëjtë, mirëpo ka qenë e ndikume prej familjes, prej gjyshit, gjyshës, tezeve, mamit tëm e tjera.

- IB: A mendon ose a ke qenë prezent në naj moment ku mendon që në naj mënyrë, meqenëse qysh e the edhe vet kultura jôn përgjithësisht e dikton burrin si në krye të hierarkisë, babi ose burri i tezës e kanë ndi naj lëndim t'krenarisë se ata nuk janë në atë pozitë ndoshta?

- PB: T'jem i sinqertë nuk mendoj që e kanë ndi qaq lëndim t'krenarisë ...

- IB: Ose qe e kanë pritë jo në m'nyrën ma t'mirë t'mundshme?

- PB: Nuk mendoj për shkakun se edhe pse nuk e di qysh i kanë puntë në fshatrat, në tokat e veta prej ka kanë ardhë, *jám* i bindun që sikur baba jëm, sikur burri i tezës, të dytë kanë edhe hise prej ka kanë ardhë, nashta nuk është e ndane te burri i tezës, te babi nuk është e ndane. Babi e ka pasë një familje tepër interesante s'ka as motër as vlla prej të njëjtës nanë edhe babë, ôsht i vetmi. Masanej gjyshi ka vazhdu, u martu edhe i ka edhe dhetë (10) fmi tjerë. Kanë bukur shumë toka, kena kontakt, kanë trashëgimi, rrijmë me ta jeni si n'i familje shumë normale si t'gjithë, nuk e konsiderojna pse axhallartë edhe hallat e mia janë prej ni' ane tjetër nuk janë prej gjyshës-nanës që është baba jëm. Ata kanë trashëgimi atje edhe nuk menoj që ju ka cënu; po menoj që kanë

qenë shumë krenarë për fatin që edhe vet atyne ju ka dhonë mundësia që nashta m'u largu prej zonave rurale me ardhë në qytet ku kanë pasë edhe mundësi punësimi edhe dinamikë t'jetës... ma shumë zhvillim, edukim ma shumë për fmitë e tyne e tjerë. Nuk menoj që...nashta thellë te ata m'rena thellë diku po ..por kur pe menoj po m'lidhet me krejt qat' trashëgimi t'paprekshme, qatë trashëgimi shpirtnore që e kanë të dy (2) shpitë me gjithë atë familje të madhe bashkë që kanë jetu... kur te mendoj qata, mendoj që nuk e kanë atë lëndim për shkak që qaq ôsht ni' storie edhe shumë e thjeshtë edhe shumë e bukur saqë mendoj që jau ka ndrru pak qat lëndim t'krenarisë lidhur me trashëgimi sepse prej kur kanë ardhë menoj që edhe jeta e tyne ka n'drru, nifar mënyrë mendoj që janë befasu ueeeeeee paska edhe k'shtu. Po në anën tjetër, tash po foli ma shumë për babën tem. Baba jëm rreth nizet (20) vite ka jetu jashtë, qysh prej moshës shumë t're. Dy -tremdhetë (12-13) vjet ka dalë jashtë edhe ka jetu atje, ka ardhë u martu me mamin, kanë vazhdu me jetu, nevojat ekonomike e kanë pru prapë ka dalë jashtë edhe kohë mas kohë ka udhëtu. Për babën tēm menoj që nuk e ka këtë kômpleks ose këtë lëndim për shkak se ai ka pasë ma shumë ndryshime shoqnore edhe kulturore edhe ka jetu jashtë, ka jetu në Gjermani, ka jetu në Austri, ni' kohë t'vogël n'Zvicër, n'Kroaci edhe ai ka pasë qasje në shumë nashta muj m'i qujtë civilizime t'zhvillune kulturalisht ose shoqnisht sa që ja ka thy pak atë ngushtimin kulturor edhe t'vetëm që e kena na si shqiptarë. Menoj, nuk jam i sigurt, po tu e ditë storien edhe m'nyrën e jetës së babës menoj që nuk e ka atë lëndim.

- IB: Dakord, t'kthehemi tash pak te ti...Fminija jote, sa ke qenë prezent ne faktin që familja jote është ma ndryshe se ndoshta të tjerat? A e ke ditë, a ke mujtë me vrejtë si fakt, jo vetëm për faktin që gratë kanë qenë pronare të shpisë edhe të oborrit, mirëpo edhe mënyrën qysh është strukturu me krejt qët' histori që po na i tregon ti që e bojnë familjen ma ndyshe?

- PB: Po, sigurisht, kôm marrë pjesë, edhe pak para se me vdekë gjyshi edhe pasi që ka vdekë ideja ka qenë, na e dijmë na shqiptartë kaniher' gutemi m'i marrë hiset paraprakisht, po naj here edhe gutemi sa t'është gjallë le t'len diçka me shkrim se mos po ndodhë diçka në të ardhmën. Asnjana nuk ka ndodhë në familjen teme. N'familjen teme kjo temë u hapë pasi ka dekë gjyshi, pasi t'gjitha motrat e gjyshit kanë qenë t'martume tjera kah edhe si plaka, si t'vejtra kanë thanë që "qe, na mujna

me interpretu diçka t'gjyshit. Na s'dojna absolutisht kurgjo, juve ju kanë rritë fmitë, na po vijmë k'tu si n'shpinë tonë hala, nuk ka ndrru dashnia e shpisë, për neve ajo mjafton. Mirëpo edhe pse ka vdekë duhni me ba ju motrat nifar marrëveshje s'paku m'u ditë se e ardhmja nuk i dihet kujna qysh na vijnë puntë" me këto arsytet normal sikur krejt qe i kanë "qe tash djemtë po martohen". Ni' djalë i tezës u martu e ka nusen, i ka katër (4) fmi. U martu djali i tezës tjetër, afër ka m'u martu, duhet me pas nifar ndamje mos me me lanë këtë punë në ajër. K'ta e kanë ba masi ka vdekë gjyshi.

- IB: Sa kanë ndiku burrat në krejt qat mbledhi edhe në ndarjen e pasunisë? A kanë ndiku burrat e k'tyne motrave ?

- PB: Me thon nuk kanë ndiku hiç hiç hiç nuk muj me thanë, mirëpo nuk kanë ndiku për arsye se gojarisht vetë e kanë shprehë që "qe kto e dinë ma mirë, ôsht shpia e k'tyne, u kanë baba e k'tyne, për neve mjafton që jena qetu edhe nëse na s'kena hise nuk menojna që k'to na l'shojnë tash, na jena tu jetu me to, e kena venin e përbashkët"...nuk e di nuk kôm qenë në krejt temat sa jôn'diskutu, kam qenë disa here në atë temë, dy-tri(2-3) herë u majtë krejt, nashta kanë folë kur s'jena konë na, nuk kôm vrejtë diçka ashtu, sa që edhe kur kanë nisë mû folë k'to tema edhe burri i tezës edhe babi jëm në nifar m'nyre ose kanë dale n'dhomë tjetër me lajme ose nuk kanë dashtë m'u përzi sepse gjithmonë është arsytetu me atë që "këto motrat e dijn mas miri, jô kôn t'shkollume nuk o qe s'i dijnë senet, këtu janë kanë qe sa, k'to e dijnë qysh ja bojnë". Tezja e mesme, ajo nuk ka dashtë me pranu hise për arsye shumë konkrete edhe shumë funksionale. I ka kushtet shumë t'mira, ka qenë profesorëshë n'Prishtinë, ka banesë n'Prishtinë, ka shpi shumë t'madhe me tokë shumë t'madhe me burrin e saj në Llapushnik, po ashtu edhe burrin e ka të ngritun intelektualisht edhe ai ka qenë professor i Gjuhës Shqipe, i kanë dy-tri (2-3) banesa n'Vjenë, kanë pasuri, jetojnë me rrogat edhe pensionet e arsimit të shteteve t'jashta, edhe tezja krejt çka ka thanë është "veç ni' qosh, qat saksi t'babës qe e ka hala te krytë me ardhë me pa, me ja hjekë pluhnin, për mû mjafton". Edhe ka mbet puna mû nda qaj oborr prej pes (5) e diçka ari mes dy (2) motrave, pra tezës t'madhe edhe mamit-motrës t'vogël, e kanë nda shumë thjeshtë, motra e madhe prap ka konsideru që "edhe unë s'guxoj mû përzi se baba nuk um ka thonë qe po ta jepi qet' tokë si hise a kurgjo, po kur e ka ndërtu këtë shpi na ka pa tu jetu me ni' banesë t'vogël, um ka thirrë mû edhe Sylejmanin edhe

ka thanë a pe sheh ku o bashqja e dredhzave?- Po. Krejt kam me hjekë. Thirrre Sylejmanin t'qet temel. Na i ka falë, bile bile edhe e kena shpinë e madhe", edhe pikërisht qeshtu ka qenë, i ka thirrë edhe jau ka falë, "ti me maru shpinë qeshtu, se unë s'po du mû përzi se Ganimetja"... se harrova me prezantu n'fillim, Ganimetja ôsht nana jêm, Myrvetja ôsht tezja jême e mesme e cila jeton n'Vjenë tash e ni' kohë shumë t'gjatë, prej fillimt të 'nadhetave ('90-ve) ka migru, edhe Shyhretja-tezja e madhe. Gjyshi shumë shpesh e ka qujtë mamin têm si djali jêm i vogël, pse se mami edhe nuk u martu shumë herët me kohë, ka dashtë me kry shkollë, ka punu në Ndërrmarrjen Publike të Prizrenit, u qujtë atëherë "Liria", kanë pasë edhe prodhim edhe importim edhe eksportim të produkteve t'tekstilit, kryesisht tepiha, perde, mbuloja, çarçafa, këto sene t'shpisë. Mami jêm ka nejtë n'shpi bile shumë shpesh e ngucim "ti kur je konë e re je konë e kômpleksume, ke bërtitë, ke kajtë, s'du mû martu kurrë s'e la babën vetë, s'e la nanën vetë, unë këtu kam me nëjt e tjerë e tjerë e tjerë. Edhe tezja gjithmonë e ka thanë qe Ganimetën e kanë pasë - se tash stori-storien p'e ngrehë, fjalë mas fjale po mblidhen, sepse djali i fundit që ... fmija i fundit që i ka vdekë gjyshit ka qenë djalë edhe e ka pasë emrin Gani për shkak se vllau i tij e ka pasë dikon shumë të dashun me emrin Gani edhe i ka thonë vllaut që po kam qef me ja lonë emrin Gani. Edhe nuk ka mbijetu ai (Ganiu) edhe fmija i fundit ka qenë Ganimetja edhe gjyshja me gjyshin sikur te krejt shqiptartë "le t'mbetë Gania qeky i fundit" edhe i ka metë mamin emrin Ganimete. Edhe tezja gjithmonë e thotë "Ganimeti është djali i shpisë, kjo duhet me vendosë". Edhe kur ka ardhë puna qashtu qe tezja nuk ka dashtë as me - [a po incizon? a po shkon.... mirë?], nuk ka dashtë as mû përzi për faktin se ekstremisht mirë e ndinë veten të nderume për shkak se baba i saj ja ka dhanë ni' pjesë t'tokës, edhe e ka maru shpinë ngjitë, dy (2) metra larg shpia njana me tjerën, me babën e saj. Kjo ka qenë diçka, prap pe ceku tu e lidhë kulturalisht, plus koha kur ka ndodhë para pesdhetë (50) viteve, katërdhetë e pes, pedhëte (45,50) viteve qysh ka qenë struktura edhe ndamja e familjes te na, në atë kohë me pas k'si sene ka qenë, s'spaku qysh e shprehë tezja, ka qenë diçka e "mbindershme për to". Edhe tezja e madhe nuk u përzi, tezja e mesme ka thonë, ashtu, mjafton me ardhë me e pa saksinë n'shtratin ku ka nejtë baba jêm, edhe nifar m'nyrë i ka mbetë barra mamin, të cilën, këtë barrë e ka zgjidhë me, bashkë me babin, edhe kjo ôsht njana p'i pikëve që nuk menoj që ju janë lëndu ndoshta krenaria e atyne si mash-

kull i shpisë për shkak se babi vetë ka vendosë: “ok atëherë nëse teza e madhe e ka shpinë, na e kena shpinë qetu përpara edhe përpara e kena ni’ oborr, le ta konsiderojmë që krejt oborri përpara” edhe i bike shumë përafërsisht ndamje e barabartë mes tri (3) shpijave, “le t’a konsiderojmë që është e saj, p’i thirrim pleqtë që i dijmë”. Ka qenë n’atë kohë edhe daja Zeqir, e quj daja Zeqir, ka qenë plak sepse ai ka marrë pjesë edhe në ndërtimin e shpisë tonë, përveç që ka qenë djali i axhës t’gjyshit, ka qenë kryepelnar i fshtatit t’Korishës, Zeqir Ukaj. Pra edhe gjyshi jëm Imeri, (k’ta mbiemrin Ukaj të rrethit t’Kolishës, fshat shumë afër Prizrenit), edhe ka thonë babi “p’e thirrim Zeqirin, edhe ka marrë pjesë n’ndërtim të shpisë edhe është pelnar i Korishës për juve, mirëpo po e thirrim edhe dhandrrin e gjyshit”. Dhanrri i gjyshit është ni’ burrë prej fshatit Seletisht, edhe ai ka marrë pjesë në ndërtimin e shpisë edhe ka thonë babi që nifar m’nyre “pe bojmë nifar bilanci se e kana dikon t’Korishës dikon jashtë Korishës shumë t’vlersun për këtë shpi, për familjen e juv edhe le të vendosin”. Edhe sigurisht kanë ardhë daja Zeqir, baci Miftar, ka ardhë baci Jonuz, djali i hallës t’gjyshit, po ashtu ka qenë babi jëm, kanë qenë dy (2) motrat e gjyshit edhe t’gjitha motrat pra, nana jëm, dy (2) tezet e mia me burra edhe u konë ni’ mbledhje ku unë s’kôm marrë pjesë n’ata. S’kôm marrë pjesë për arsye shumë palidhje se s’kôm pasë as ven ku mû ul n’dhomë se dhoma ka qenë e vogël me shumë musafirë. Edhe vullnetarisht, pra babi jëm edhe mami jëm kanë vendosë që me pagu tezën, vetë për faktin që as nuk po don, as s’ka dashtë me prishë diçka as me i bo....(qysh jena m’su na qysh ndodhë fatkeqsisht në shumë raste te na), edhe ja kena pagu ni’ pjesë po qaq sa ka kushtu ajo tokë edhe familja vazhdon krejt njejt, kjo ndamje ka ndodhë, po ndamje mes fmive, mes tezeve mes burrave t’tezev, asnihere s’ka ndodhë. Hala verës vjen teza me fmi, me fmi t’fmive, rrijnë me ka ni’ javë sikur qysh ka qenë ktyneher - kthehet ajo atmosfera n’shpi shumë e t’ngrohtë edhe nifar dashnie interesant se gjithmonë duhet mû bo ka dy-tri (2-3) dreka, herë te teta e madhe, herë te teta e vogël, se neve na qujnë ashtu shpia e gjyshit edhe është teta e madhe edhe teta e vogël. - Kjo është prej perspektivës t’tëzës t’mesme edhe prej qikave t’djalit t’saj. Òsht shumë mirë. E vetmja që ka metë e gjallë prej t’vjetërve t’ktyne është halla e mami. Òsht teza Zylfi e cila ka qenë e dyta prej krejt fmive t’mdhaj, pra e dyta mas gjyshit tem. Hala është gjallë edhe ajo hala vjen nifar m’nyre n’rehabilitim kur s’muhet pak ose mërztet. I merr teshat vjen ni’ (1) javë, dy (2) javë, tri (3) javë te

na n'shpi çmallet edhe kthehet n'shpi. Pra nuk ka ndrru struktura sa i përketë ndamjes edhe strukturimt t'trashëgimisë sidomos n'qet rastin te unë qe burrat kanë ardhë "nuse", gratë nuk kanë shku nuse.

- IB: Çka ka qenë ndikimi i k'saj strukture t'familjes te ti? A mendon që ka ndiku diçka n'formën qysh je rritë edhe në qoftëse po, qysh? Çfarë njeri je sot për shkak të një "realiteti ndryshe"?

- PB: Ok, kjo pak pyetje e madhe që i prek te unë disa tema përnjëherë. Njana prej gjanave është edukimi, kanë qenë t'edukum. Jo babi - fatkeqësisht babën nuk e kôm t'edukum edhe pse ajo s'do me thonë ku me ditë diçka, se zakonisht edhe e kanë neutralizu këtë problem shqiptartë tu thonë "hajt se shkolla njeri nuk t'bon", megjithatë, edhe t'bon edhe s't'bon, jôn tema shumë t'gjana. Babi jëm e ka lonë shkollën e mesme gjimnazin, n'vitin e dytë, nuk ka pasë as mundësi ekonomike, as mundësi t'tjera për me vazhdu shkollën...por është domethonë edukimi. Baza edukuse ka ardhë prej gjyshit. Ai vet ka qenë i edukun. Ai ka qenë vet i edukuni edhe për mu hala sot është..., t'jem i singertë, kqyre ti Lirë (tregon dorën e rrëqethur). Me gjyshin jôm shumë i lidhun pe shëh edhe vetë po rrqthena kur po foli për to sepse unë mendoj që ndikimi ma i madh ka ardhë pi gjyshit. Ai, atë e kam edhe ka me pas gjatë gjithë jetës sa të jëm gjallë, hero temin t'mbrendshëm për arsye se e ka pas nifar bilanci shumë interesant n'shoqni, e ka pasë atë egon e rritun të një shqiptari tipik, mirëpo të zbukuruar me edukatën. Domethanë e ka pasë atë qasjen shqiptare, e ka pasë atë burrninë edhe pse ka pasë veç vajza, me vajzat u kanë shumë liberal. E ka pasë atë vendosshmërinë, e kanë ngu edhe shumë prej fshatit t'vet edhe nëse nuk gaboje ka qenë i vetmi i edukun prej familjes t'madhe t'tij që ka ikë prej Korishit. Ka studju n'Prishtinë, ka ikë prej Prishtinës në Beograd, Kroaci-Beograd e ka kry kriminalistikën. Kjo o sa i përket qasjes edhe elementeve t'gjyshit, po unë si pjesë -

- IB: N'qoftëse mûj m'û ndërlihdë, sepse duket se gjyshi është qajo figura që ka ndiku në respektimin edhe ngritjen e grave në familje t'ane.

- PB: Po...

- IB: Pandaj edhe pytja ke e tillë që qysh ka ndiku te ti ai edukim i dhanun në lidhje me respektimin edhe barazinë gjinore?

- PB: Unë jôm konë shumë i vogël për me pasë ndoshta naj ndikim, por jôm konë boll i rritun për me majtë n'men. Kështu që s'paku kôm fat që e kôm majtë n'men edhe nashta e kôm kuptu me vonesë shumë. Se

kôm mujtë me qenë hala ma i vogël edhe noshta mos me majtë n'men. Te unë ka ndiku, s'po di nashta a ka ndiku, ndoshta s'ka ndiku fare hiç për shkak se prej ekzistencës teme unë jôm rritë veç në atë frymë. Te unë nashta ma shumë kish me ndiku n'drrimi i kësaj qasje sesa vetë kjo qasje. Jo, jo nuk ka ndiku vetëm se...

- IB: Ose përballja me një realitet tjetër të jashtëm, qysh t'ka bo mû ndi, kur ke mujtë me krahasu ?

- PB: M'ka shti me ndërhy me doemos, m'ka shti me ndërhy me doemos edhe me thon që: "Hej kqyr se te na ôsht' qishtu edhe kurgjo tkeqe s'ka!" Edhe e kôm pa, t'jem i singhtë e kôm pa një dobësi te shoqnia jonë për k'to qasje, sa që në hise të fmive shumë ma pak konsiderohet femna se mashkulli, ose mashkulli mbikonsiderohet n'lidhje me hisen. Për mu është bukur vepër jo e mirë, por nuk e di sa ka ndiku prej ku kôm ardhë, sa kish me ndiku t'kish ndodhë e kundërta se unë veç kôm lindë edhe jôm rritë në atë frymë.

- IB: Ti i ki edhe dy (2) motra apo?

- PB: Unë i kôm edhe tri (3) motra. E kôm ni' motër ma t'madhe, tash qe ni' (1) mûj ma ka bo edhe nipin e dytë (2-të). I kôm edhe dy (2) motra binake ma t'vogla - edhe po, jam i vetmi djalë.

- IB: A menon që je i privilegjum në naj' m'nyrë që je djali i vetëm n'shpi?

- PB: Po, për arsyen se, menoj që sado pak dozë t'rebelimit edukativ prej gjyshit e kôm marrë ose ma ka dhonë ai, edhe jam i privilegjum për faktin se s'...shumë rrallë u hapë kjo temë mirëpo sa herë u hapë, sa herë që u përmend edhe kena hi n'ksi diskutime, unë kôm thonë që s'du me jetu n'kët' shpi, unë du me maru ni' shpi vetë tjetër. Kjo shpi ôsht' gjynah mu prek ma, kjo duhet me mbet si muze i krejt familjes tonë.

Jám i privilegjum që nuk e kam edhe një vlla sepse po të ishte, kish mujt me qenë asi: Jo këtë shpi e mbajë tash unë edhe ty s't'intereson, edhe krejt k'to probleme qysh ndodhin. Jám i privilegjum që jam vet si djalë, m'û ka dhonë mundësia me pasë ndikim ma t'madhë në ndamje t'hises, po unë nuk e boj ata, unë e boj kômplet t'kundërtën. Unë jo që nuk po e marr, ose nuk po ja jap dikujna, po unë s'po du me prekë fare hiç mo! Edhe kjo po rezulton se tash qe dhetë (10) vjetë veç jôm stabilizu n'Prishtinë, ndodhë që prej vitit t'tjetër du me bo edhe banesën edhe kushtet i kôm mesatarisht shumë t'mira, ka zhvillim, po edukohna edhe tentativisht po shpresoj që qat shpi kam me lonë si nifar lloj muzeu si nifar

lloj vikendice, jo për m'û, jo për motrat e mia, po për krejt, si për fmitë e tezës t'madhe, si për nipat e tezës t'vogël, si për nipat e hallës, mamit domethanë t'gjyshës, sepse s'di qysh tingllon Lirë, mirëpo ôsht,...shumë ôsht dashni e veçantë. Unë e kôm pa te shoqnia jême "Halla e mamit –eh halla e mamit hajt". Unë hallën e mamit e kam si gjyshe. Fmitë e saj i kôm si djem t'tezës, tezën e kam si nana numër dy. Ashtu shpijat, kur t'hi unë e te nd'rroj shpinë edhe pse aromat e shpiave jôn t'ndryshme, për mu nuk ôsht diçka e re kur hi te halla e mamit, te tezja ose te tezja n'Llapushnik, për mu ôsht pikërisht ajo aroma që kish deshtë me qenë me ni' familje.

- IB: Motrat e tua kanë me trashëgu, a po?

- PB: Sigurisht që po.

- IB: Edhe ti je krejt OK?

- PB: Sigurisht që po. Shumë jôm OK. Unë jôm qaq OK saqë nuk kisha marrë diçka që me ju metë atyne ma shumë, mirëpo paraprakisht kisha tentu me ju thonë që hajt mos e prekni as ju, lene le t'jetë trashëgimi e paprekshme e t'gjthve.

Po shpresoj, nashta po ting'llon ide ashtu uaaaauuu, diçka e madhe, mirëpo jâm sinqerisht shumë i sinqertë që qasi historie ka përmas, sa që nifar m'nyrë në jôm produkt i qasaj histories. Tash me ardhë ni' qesi ndikimi, nifar qesi qasje, mendoj që nuk jâm unë. Kështu që te unë ôsht shumë solide, shumë e prekshme, e dukshme, krejt kjo far qasje.

- IB: Dakord. Petrit shumë falemnderit për intervistën.

- PB: Falemnderit prej teje. Kërkoj falje se shumë storie, po mendoj që u dashtë nashta me i tejkalu shpejtë e shpejtë, gjatë kohës m'bijshin n'men storie tjera, shumë ôsht' storie e madhe, po mendoj vka përmbrenda shumë raste interesant. Mirëpo po menoj që e kôm përmbledh dyqysh sado pak.

- IB: Patjetër!

INTERVISTA VI

Iliriana Lira Blakaj (intervistuesja)

Zyla Imeri Duli (e intervistuarë, 69 vjeçe)

Data: 03.12.2016

Vendi: Fushë Kosovë

Akronimet: IB=Iliriana Blakaj, ZD=Zyla Duli

Kohëzgjatja: 23'13"

- ZD: Unë jôm Zyla Imeri Duli. Kôm lindë n'Tupallë. Nâna Fazile, bâba Bajram. Une jam vet' e shtata môtër e i kom tre vllazën. Veç ni môtër na ka dekë, nânë (9) jemi gjallë.

- IB: A po na kallxon pak për fmininë tane në Topallë, si çikë e re...

- ZD: Pô, pô t'kallxoj. Atje u kanë republikë tek jôm lé une, Jugoslavia u kanë në atë kohë. Na mirë e kemi kalue, jemi rritë shumë mirë. Kemi pasë pas' (pasuri) e, e kemi pasë gjallni, t'mira si n'at kohë. E mirë jemi kanë, mirë kemi kalue. Shkollë veç pesë (5) vjet i kôm shkollë, se s'na kanë lanë me shku n'shkollë. Katër (4) vite i kôm në Tupallë, ni (1) vit e kôm në Medvegje. Serbisht kemi msue. S'na kanë lanë prinja ma me shku në tjetër shkollë.

- IB: E sa vjet je feju? Sa vjet je martu?

- ZD: Une jom feju pesëmdhet (15) vjet, edhe kôm nëjt tri (3) vjet e fejume. Tetëmdhet (18) vjet jôm martue.

- IB: Okej. A ka qenë atëhere, domethanë a ke pasë të drejtë ti me marrë, pronë ose tokë ose pasuni te bâba?

- ZD: N'atë kohë u kanë për serbt, a për shqiptarë atje s'ka marrë kërkush. E kemi ditë qi duhet me marrë edhe çika, po si...na, na kanuni ynë, shqiptari, nuk ka marrë pronë në ôpçinë bija. Jemi shkue, jemi çezue ka dy (2) vjet, tri (3) vjet, si t'kallxova unë me pesëmdhet (15) vjet jôm fejue, tri (3) vjet kôm nëjt nër unazë, na ka nimue edhe prinja, po na s'e kemi përmen - as s'e kemi marrë kërkush. Çika pronë nuk ka marrë në ôpçinë... dej qitash, tash që u dalë qikÿ ligj, e ky... që po thojnë se tash-ti, rrallë se s'po merr kërkush.

- IB: Ti m'ke kallxu që bâba edhe vllaznit t'kanë thanë merre hisen tâne...

- ZD: Pô m'kanë thanë po une s'e marr, edhe sot s'e marr, edhe sot s'hi n'hise. Kurrë -

- IB: Pse? Pse nuk ishe hi n'hise?-

- ZD: Se qishtu jemi kanë na...

- IB: A ka pasë naj gru, a e ke njoft ti, ça kanë thanë për ato çika që (e kanë marrë hisen)?

- ZD: Na... Ne na kanë thanë... Na... veç ni vën kur jem shkue, te burri khâ (ktu), te Dulovit, ni grue e kojshive t'tyne ka marrë prônën se nuk ka pasë nânë, e i ka dekë bâba edhe i ka dekë vllau. Tanaj e kanë shti ata në hise, ajo e ka marrë, se unë nuk e di kërkon qi ka marrë... edhe nuk po bôjke me marrë n'ôpçinë.

- IB: E pse nuk bon me marrë në opçinë?

- ZD: Po kush e di qysh osht' e mallkume... nuk bôn nâna. Kanë thanë, dej qitash as s'ka marrë kush, as nuk marrim as... çka me lakmu masi e bâ vet... e tash ma po shkollohi, po bâ qe, ti rrogën tane, ai rrogën e vet... me ja lanë naj lezetllak vllau motrës ja... qe nâna e bâba e dëjnë si çikën si djalë, po ti s'merr. Se e bô ti rrogën tane, je e zoja për veti, e je shkollue qe dy fakullteta gati po i qet. Çka t'vje (të vye) ty po bjen llafi edhe me pasë, tona edhe qi i kini.. po edhe me pasë, e ki rrogën tane, e ki jetën tane, i bôn tana qysh je shkollue edhe ato i bôn.

- IB: Domthanë, ti menon qi femra, ose grua s'ka pse me marrë pronë, hise te bâba i vet... a edhe sot a veç për kohë tânën?

- ZD: Unë për tek terti qitashti, na që jemi në Tupallë, kemi lindë... jonë nën (9) katune n'Tupallë qi e maj n'men asnjë as qi e ka përmen bile bija me shkue me marrë diçka në opçinë. Na, jonë ardhë vllaznia... niher' jonë ardhë prinja na kanë marrë, nâna e bâba sa jonë kanë gjallë, na kanë marrë vjeshtë e pranverë, kur kemi pasë dasëm e, na kanë marrë për qef e ktyneher kanë majtë hashure, i kanë mbledhë bijat e, kanë pre gjâ e, kanë... E na kemi pasë bletë, na kur i kemi rregullue bletë qi kemi pasë mjalhtë, i kemi marrë tana bijat, e u ardhë nâna e bâba na kanë marrë. Tani m'kanë dekë dy prinja, krye dy vjete m'ka dekë bâba, krye dy vjete nâna. E u ardhë vllau na ka marrë. Muharrem e ka ai emnin. U ardhë na ka marrë, na ka gzue, na ka nerue -

- IB: Sa shpesh ka ardhë me ju marrë? Sa herë ki shku ti (në opçinë) -

- ZD: Po, ma shpesh u ardh ai, se na... û i kom pas pesë (5) fmi, dej u rritën fmija...unë jôm shku hej si rrallë. Tani kur janë bâ fmija, i lejsa çikat e mdhaja e kqyrshin shoqja-shöqen, shkojsa n'tre katër (3-4) muej, pesë gjashtë (5-6) muej a, a kur i kôm pasë t'vogël jôm shkue n'shtatë tetë (7-8) muej, n'tetë (8) muej, gati ni (1) vit, se i kôm pasë t'vogël pesë (5) (fëmijë). Veç û jôm e knaqt me fmi, jôm e knaqt me opçinë. Na nerëjnë, sot shkoj në opçinë, bujë, rri, m'kanë dekë prindja të dyt, po vijnë vllaznia na marrin. Na köra (korja) jënë, hisja jënë, qi jemi kânë n'qat kohë... na as s'e permësëm për tokë kurrë, as s'ju marrim vllaznive kurrë, as ne.. për ata as n'men nuk e bëmë kurrë.

- IB: E në qoftse prindërit, për shembull, nuk kanë pasë djalë, a i ka taku hisja çikës apo djalit të vllaut (axhës)?

- ZD: Djalit t'vllaut i ka takue. E ka marrë mixha. A na s'kemi marrë, na bijat nuk kemi marrë kërkush. Veç qi familjarisht, fara jeme nuk ô',

asnjo nuk ô pa djël. E për familje teme, Imeri qi osht, krejt kanë djël. E për tjetrt kôm ni qishtu llaf nëpër llaf që ia ka lanë djalit të vllaut, a na kemi djel nuk na ka bâ vaki, as nuk na kanë thanë kurr' prindja a po doni hise, a u kanë...s'po di qysh me t'kallxu, ai llaf u kanë i rân' mu përmen te na në atë kohë, se edhe s'ka bâ, edhe se përmësëm kurrë.

- IB: E kur t'kanë thanë bâba edhe vllaznit merre hisen, a t'kanë thanë për shkak t'ligjit qi u kanë, a t'kanë thanë pse përnime kanë dashtë me ta jep?

- ZD: Jo, kanë pasë me ma jep, po du me thanë, edhe me m'pa thanë une nashta ma kishin dhanë, po s'u përmen nânë aj llaf.

- IB: A veq u kanë, domethanë, me vet.

- ZD: Po, na nijshim, atje, atje, serbt i dhajshin se atje u kanë Republikë, atje dëjm shkijet e kanë pasë ligjin e fortë, e kanë kqyrë çikën, e kanë kqyrë djaln, janë shkollue. Na jemi kanë pak ma të varfun, jo na, po krejt shqiptart. Jemi kanë dyqin (200) shpi në Tupallë... pos ma shuum'. E janë shkollue, tani dulën napër Zvicërr, napër Gjermani, u shkollun. Ai llaf për bija s'u përmen kurrë me marr prônë, qi po thoni ju...jak'a. A serbt po! Atje kanë dâ barabar. Ata i kanë pas tre, katër (3-4) fmi, pesë, gjashtë (5-6) fmi, a na jem kanë nânë (9) e dhetë (10) e nimdhetë (11) e tetë (8) e... jemi metë gjallë vet. E ka marrë...u shku n'atë kohë e ka marrë shoqi-shoin, e ka lyp, e ka çejizu e qu te burri, te shpija vetë, mirë, si e ma mirë me dasëm e me... ai llaf (hisja e gruas) s'u përmen kurrë.

- IB: (pohon) Sa fmi... ti i ke pesë fmi, tri çika edhe dy djem –

- ZD: Unë i kom dy djem e tri çika-

- IB: Dy djem e tri çika (me buzë në gaz)...

- ZD: Pô.

- IB: E çikat e tua a e kanë lyp hisen e vet?

- ZD: Jo vallahi kurrë s'e kanë lyp hisen as kurrë s'u kom thanë –

- IB: E pse?

- ZD: Pse! Se kanë çikat, kemi na, jemi t'knaqta. Shkoj e i marr, vijnë te nâna, shkoj te çikat. Jemi t'gzushëm, shkojmë, vijnë...a qi me dalë naj ligj a najsën nesër me l'shu ktu për banesë¹, ja jepi çikave për qef kâ ni (1) banesë. Nânë (9) banesa, dhetë (10) banesa dalin qitû tuk e kemi na tokën. Për qef jua jepi se kanë...-

- IB: A u diskutu najherë kjo temë, shembull, në shpi mes teje dhe

1 Projektet e fundit në komunën e Fushë Kosovës të cilat ndërtojnë banesa në këmbim të tokave në prônë të familjeve atje.

burrin tòn' për hisen e (e çikave)-

- ZD: Për çika me u dhanë diçka pô. Tash qe ni (1) vit e dimë qi ktu kem me lshu për banesa. Mos e lshöfshum qitash, dej qitash mot-mot e lshöjmë se po marrin krejt ksajde banesa. E kemi me ja u dhanë çikave... ja ka ni banesë, na e shesim jua jepim ni banesë e gjysë... Zøjës (çikës) kemi thanë me ja dhanë ni (1) banesë, a Razës e Lumnisë kem m'ja u shitë ni banesë me ja u dhanë gjysën e parës njonës, gjysën njanës. A Zøjës, Zøjës dëjm i kemi thanë kemi me ta dhanë ni banesë. Edhe Fadili (djali i vogël) ka thanë edhe Rexhepi (djali i madh) edhe na... e-

- IB: E me lyp ni çikë hisen, çka i kishit thanë?

- ZD: Po ja jepim bre qitash masi u dalë ky ligj! Ja jepim, oj nane, pse mos me ja dhanë? Evlad e kemi, si djaln, si çikën si, evlad e kemi.

- IB: A kish vlejhtë qaj fenomeni i mallkimit edhe për çikën tash?

- ZD: Une.. une qyre çka nâna: Une jepi me zemër. Po ma para e shes e i jepi pare se i jepi tókë e i jepi hise, se ajo osht e mallkume, djal'ëm. Ngo nânën ti! Hiqmu ti ligjit e thash e m'the... shkau ka pàsë dâjm, shkau ma, serb, ai ka pasë si ligj e si... a na jemi shqiptarë, kemi tjetër kanun, tjetër ligj. Qi i jep pare e qi e don e, pse mos mi nimu njeri evladid t'vet? Edhe i jepi. A ma para e shes qata që i bjen e i jepi pare, i thom 'qe djal'ëm', se qi i jepi qita hise se kto janë t'mallkume hiset.

- IB: Ëee, t'mallkume! E a ke ni ti për ato gra qi e kanë marrë hisen te bâba çfarë mallkimi, shembull (u ka ra)?

- ZD: Në kojshi, tuk jôm e martume, e ka marrë ni grue e ka pasë emrin Salë. E ka marrë tokën, qi t'kallxova, t'vllaut. Atje s'e ka marrë kërkush e e ka shitë. Tash, a ka thanë Zöti a nuk e di, veç ni djalë e ka pas me t'meta. E tanë thojshin qysh e ka marrë tókën atje. Edhe do pleq aty thojshin nuk bân, se na shqiptart jemi t'mallkum! S'bân me marrë hise te prinja, te vllau. Duhet me shku bija me nëjt e me u knaqë e, me shku me marrë bin' e, me gzue me fmi e me nerue. Ani ti blej veshë, e blej mathë, e jepi pare e jepi çka t'dush, po e mallkume osht (hisja) me marrë!

- IB: E nëse ja jep, për shembull, bâba hisen çikës, a ka të drejtë çika tani me shku te bâba në opçinë?

- ZD: Qysh jooo! Qi ja jep me zemër! Po qysh s'ka të drejtë! E manë edhe çika bâbën, e manë nânën... A po e sheh qysh po m'manë Zöja! Po vjen, po fshinë, po lanë, krejt po m'nimon. A e kom evlad? Çka t'muj ja ngjes dorën. Qe kjo, ma s'çpeshti po m'vjen kjo prej çikave. Të dyja, të tana m'dojnë, po kjo po vjen çpesh. Qe, njeri i dallon fminë e vet. I due

fort fminë, i due fört, fört, fört. I due nipat, i due mésat pa kufi. E di qi s'bân (me i dashtë kaq shumë), po nâshtë, vet kom qef, marak me deshtë qashtu.

- IB: E nëse një gru është martu, ka shku te burri, po i ka dekë burri e ka mbetë vejushë, ku ka pasë ajo hise?

- ZD: Nuk ka marrë te ôpçina. E qata hise që i ka ra, n'kôfshin kanë pesë (5) vllazni, janë nda n'pesë (5) vëna e ka nëjt aty (tek të t'burrit). Ka pasë thmi, i ka rritë aty me vjehrrin. Vjehrria janë t'mirë si prinja. E i ka rritë ata fmijë, e ka terezitë. Qe kjo bija e, reja e dad's Kadë në Sofali, janë dâ vllaznia, katër (4) i ka ajo. Janë nda katër (4) vllazni, kjo ka nëjt i ka ruejtë dy djel edhe i ka rritë. Njanin e ka martue e tash e martô edhe tjetrin. Ka nëjt në hise të burrit t'vetë me vjehrrin. Vjehrrin i ka dekë, vjehrrën e ka gjallë. Qaty ka nëjt... ka nëjt ajo s'e ka ditë qi, as kërkush nuk e di a i des gruja a i des burri qi martohen, cili des përpara. Veç ajo ka nëjt, dy djel i ka pasë e ka nëjt në shpi t'burrit. E i ka rritë, edhe âsht e re halë qaty me vjehër, vjehrrin i ka dekë që të kallxova pare.

- IB: E çka konsideron ti që osht hisja jote? Në qoftë se s'ke marrë te bâba, çka osht pasunija jote? A ki ti pasuni personale?

- ZD: Në ôpçinë a?-

- IB: Jo në ôpçinë. Te burri.

- ZD: Kam.

- IB: Çka ki?

- ZD: Ka bôll.

- IB: Diçka që osht e jotja tamôn..

- ZD: Po. Kom bôll. I kom dy djël. Kta janë nda, gjysën e ka marrë njani, gjysën njani. Unë jôm shku me djalë të vogël. Po prap e du edhe ata (të madhin) edhe ma fort. Me bâ me u smu, m'majnë të dyt.

- IB: Domethanë, qikjo osht pasunija jote? Ti diçka k'shtu, tokë, banesë, shpi, kerr, nuk ki...

- ZD: Kôm, kôm kunorën me burrë tem. E tash qi dâhmi, se nifar vëni janë nda, si me shkue tash, bâbgjyshi yt me Rexhepin (djalin), Bejta, e tash unë me shku me Fadilin. Tash na dy e dajmë përgjyst tokën, e prônën e krejt. Krejt! Për gjyst e kemi. Tash gjysën e merr ky shkon te tjetri djalë, gjysën e marrë unë e shkoj te Fadili. Po prap na dy sjemi dâ, as s'dâhmi, na jemi me Fadilin. Po dy djelve ja u kemi dâ barabar. S'kemi marrë hise na hiç qi me thanë nu m'man njani ja jepi hisen teme. Jo, se kemi boll. Ky e ka penzinë (burri) edhe e kemi hisen e munimin tönë. Ja

u kemi dâ barabar. Barabar ua kemi dâ djelve.

- IB: Ti nanë i ki dy djem. Njonin e ki në Gjermani, Fadilin, të voglin-

- ZD: Po, djalin e vögël...

- IB: Ai i ka dy çika, nuk ka djem hala...

- ZD: Jo hala s'ka djalë, veç dy çika.

- IB: E pasunija e tij, a ka me shku për çika, apo ka me u kthy te axha?

- ZD: Fadili sa qi... edhe ka me nëjt dëjm, se n'fmini u dalë. Na kemi ikë prej shkau, se na i marrke ushtarë djaln (djemt). Djali i ka pasë, pa i bâ tetëmbdhet (18) vjet. E kemi qitë prej shpie, sikurne kur e hup. Edhe zemra m'kanë sot për tâ. Une ja la ktu Fadilit, jemi da si t'kallxova pare. Ja la hisen teme krejt Fadilit, e jemi me Fadilin. Ai sa qi (nëse) i falë zoti djalë, ai ia le hisen qysh po ja lajmë na Fadilit, ja le hisen e vet djalit t'vet. A çikave mun me ja u ba banesat atje n'Gjermani, mun me i afrue, sikur motra jeme â n'Zvicërr. Ajo i ka katër çika. Tre kat, ja u ka bâ ka ni kat çikave, njo përveti. E nja hala e ka pa martue, e ka n'shpi. Qashtu edhe Fadili, mun m'ja lanë djalit t'vet. A qi u nimon çikave t'veta që â me rrogë, e i gzon, e i shkollon, e i afron sikurne bâba evladin, ai e din atja çka ban. A na kem me ja lanë (hisen) Fadilit, hisen teme.

- IB: Nëse Fadili nuk ka djem, kujt ka me i shku pasunija? Çikave?

- ZD: Fadilit ia jepum.

- IB: E tani çka bon ai?

- ZD: Fadili i ka çikat. Qysh menoj une për Zöjën, me ia dhanë ni banesë, ja me ja bâ ni shpi, kismet, e kom me i nimue, qishtu edhe ai iu nimon çikave t'veta. A jua blen ka ni shpi ktu, a jua blen ka ni banesë, veç ai tani i ka... po jonë t'ri! Maj uzdajë që u falë zoti një a dy a, se le ma një, veç dy a tre a, sa t'donë! Veç ai ua le çikave t'veta. Qysh po ua lajmë. Une mos me pasë djalë, maspari ia la Zöjës. Edhe mu ka gjetë dëjm, e vogël u kanë, dëjm m'ka nimue. Dëjm, dëjm u kanë kjo afër, prej pesë (5) fmive. Te tana m'kanë nimue! M'ka nimue Raza, m'ka nimue Lumnija, se apet shkun te burri k'to dyja e ajo ka hjekë shumë, veç mas e afërtja. Pes (5) vjet u kanë i ka la ênt' Zöja, nana e Lirës. E dëjm mu ka gjetë, e m'gjinen. E qashtu për Fadilin, i ri osht, kur do Zoti, me i falë, ai ia le djalit t'vet! Po qi i ka çikat, na ja jepim Fadilit, Fadili çikave t'veta, i gzon, i rrethon. E ishalla Allah i falë Zoti dej sot ni vit, shkojmë dikun me naj hotel qatje e zâmë, lujmë e kcejmë, me ni djalë t'Fadilit.

- IB: E qysh menon ti, çka osht dallimi ma i madh mes kohës kur ti je kanë e re edhe tash, rinia, mesave t'tua.

- ZD: Dallimi a? Une në atë kohë nâna, u kanë si... si nifar' nerê, nifar' respekti, nifar' nerê u kanë! A t'kom kallxue qi bâba jem kur u shku n'Bajram, ka bâ Bajram, m'ka ardht marre me bâ Bajram me tâ, qaq qi jemi kanë të larguem prej prindve. Jo qi na kanë tushkitë², po koha u kanë at'here. Tash na jemi, une jôm shumë e gzushme qi jôm gjallë, e po i shoh mesat e i kôm t'mira e po shkollohen. E qe Lira dy fakullteta, e qe ajo, Tina e ka kry ni fakulltet tash po magjistrin, qe edhe Tesa në fakulltet. Jôm e gzume, jôm e knaqt me nipa me mesa. Kur mbjen n'mên, m'doket qe kurr' s'kôm hjekë.

- IB: Po tash çikat a kanë të drejtë? A osht tash e drejtë e çikave, n'qit kohë, me lyp hisen e vet te bâba?

- ZD: Po s'e di nâna-

- IB: Çka ju kishe thanë ti çikave t'reja?

- ZD: E di çka nâna? Une çka ju kisha thanë a? Une ju kisha thanë masi po shkollohi, qi u nimojnë prinja, e kanë, bân, veç qi, une mesave t'mija nuk u thôm me e çelë gojën me thanë "Mam, po marr hise qitu". As të trijave nuk u thôm, asnjove. Pse? Masi jonë t'zogat, jonë t'shkol-lume, i kanë ka dy fakullteta, çka u vjê hisja, prona qi po thoni ju. Te na ktyneher' kemi thanë hise, tash prona. Çka u vjen (u nevojitet), masi jonë t'zogat vet'? Po i majnë prinja! E man Zöja çikën e vet, e Raza çikën e vet, e të dyja i man, Tinën e Kujtesën e... E tash ju e dini! Po shkollohi, jôm e knaqt me ju. Ma fort u du un' ju, se çikat e mija.

- IB: Domethanë që ti kurr nuk i ke ra pishmôn që s'ke lyp hise te bâba?

- ZD: Ja, as mesave nuk û thom me marrë hise tu ôpçina. Pse me marrë? Qe une e kôm bâ vet'! Kôm hjekë, po i kôm bâ tana. Shpi, plan, kerr, po dalim, po hijmë, rrögën. Kôm qef me ardhë dikush, çka â ni e mirë ja qes, se kam! A, kimi hjekë! Për bukë s'kimi duru, a tana tjerat i kemi hjekë, se u kanë këha qashtu.

- IB: E pse menon ti që është e drejtë çikat mos me marrë hise e djemt po?

- ZD: E po, qyre. E kemi qat traditë hale, a din. Masi jonë t'zogat... po i majnë prinja. Tash i majnë prinja. S'ka nevojë çika me lyp pse e don nâna e vet e e don bâba i vet ma fort, i gzöjnë! A une nuk u thôm as mesave, as une. Tash jemi gjashtë (6) mötra, nuk u thôm me çelë göjën, me thanë 'po marr hise'. Se s'bân. S'po jet kurgjo aty tanaj. As s'jet me shku ma

2 Fjalë tjetër për "zahmetue" ose "mundue" ose "shtyp"

n'öpçinë. A kur t'jesh e knaqt e merr rrögën tane, merr çka ô ni e mirë, shkon te mami yt, te bâba, shkon te vllau. Ju qet çkamos, dalin, t'pritin, gzöhen, ku ka ma lezet? Ku ka ma g'zim se ajo? Çka po t'vjë hisja?

- IB: E diçka për fund nanë, a ki me shtu? A ka diçka që menon që duhesh me përmen patjeter... A ki me shtu najsen?

- ZD: Une kshtu, une po thôm: Une jôm e knaqt. A edhe m'kânë shkue do vjet, po kurrë s'jôm kanë smut. A besbeli (sigurisht) najherë, veç ratë s'kôm nëjt kurrë dy ditë. N'jetë! Qito vjet i kôm bâ. Veç une jôm e knaqt me öpçinë, jôm e knaqt, veç nâna m'ka dekë e re...une qaq di mërzi për tâ, si n'qat minutë qe e kôm shti në dhe, qashtu mërzitna për tâ. Veç m'dhimen çikat e mija, e s'e përmeni nërsy çikave. Jôm kanë, jôm e knaqt me öpçinë, me nânë me bâbë. Jemi kanë, a t'kallxova shtatë motra, tre vllazën. Jonë ardhë na kanë marrë. Jemi shkue, jemi dalë. Prinja na kanë dekë të dyt, tash shkojmë te çikat. I marr (çikat), dalim e pijmë kafe. A un' zemra, dêjm te nâna e kam. Përse ni gjum qi e bâj, a ha a pi, une... zemra jeme, shpirti jem, damart e jeme janë te nâna jeme. Se ka hjekë shumë-

- IB: Edhe ni pytje të fundit se i ke përmen shumë çikat në kët' intervistë... A t'dojnë ma shumë çikat a djemt? A t'majnë ma shumë çikat a djemt ty?

- ZD: Jo vallain çikat. Jaaa, djelt m'dojnë, kur smuhna mêt i lajnë. A kshtu, çikat, se pse? Djali i madh e ka ni evlad, shyqyr... edhe shumë mirë. Veç, m'dojnë edhe djemt. S'ja u hupi munimin. Veç çikat m'dojnë ma shumë. M'gjinën ma shumë. Faleminers prej t'pesve, kta i kam evlada, zoti mi ka falë si pesë (5) ylla drite, secili ma i shnosh e ma i mirë se shöqi. Tân' kanë fmi, tân' jonë gzushëm, tân' i kôm martue si e ma mirë. E jôm e gzushme qi i kam. Kôm qef me rrnue edhe do ditë, po jo mu dergj, po me kanë shnosh e me shkue te ta e mi gzue, e me ardh te nâna me ja u bâ do bukë, e me ja u përvlu do çaj, e me u knaq me ta. Edhe me mésa edhe me nipa. Fort i due krejt. I due me zemër.

- IB: E a bâjnë ma shumë çikat mas djemve t'tu, a djemt mas çikave?

- ZD: Tybe se di bre nânë ça me thanë tashti.

- IB: A janë çikat ma t'kujdesshme ndaj vllaznive, a vllaznit...(mas motrave)?

- ZD: Jo völlahi çikat. Edhe kta veç çikat, çikat. Çikat i dojnë ma fort vllazninë. Dêjm u kanë ajo. Qe un' ma fort e due vllaun tem, se qi m'don ai mue. Dhet' (10) here e thrras n'telefon deri te m'thret nihere. Se qash-

tu janë t'mallkume motrat për vlla. E dojnë vllaun! A vllau as për hiç, për hiç.. e don motrën, po hiç s'e dô kundraj motra qysh e don vllaun.

- IB: Ëhem. Okej. Faleminderit nânë shumë!

- ZD: Ani! Edhe prej teje faleminderit... (qesh në fund).

INTERVISTA VII

Linda Hiseni (intervistuesja)

BH (e intervistuarë anonime, 52 vjeçe)

Data: 13.12.2016

Vendi: Prishtinë

Akronimet : LH= Linda Hiseni, BH= Bijë Hazreti (pseudonimi i pëlqyer)

Kohëzgjatja: 18'16''

- LH: A kishit mujt me më tregu qysh asht nda prona?

- BH: Po, prona që m'ka taku mu, unë kam qenë fëmi i vetëm i familjës, i prindve t'mi edhe domethanë krejt ajo pasuri e patundshme, edhe pasuria tjetër që ka qenë, gjithë ajo më ka taku mu, ka qenë ni pasuni, ni tokë, patundshmëri shumë e madhe, edhe senet tjera domethanë çka janë kanë me vlerë matriale ose gjanat tjera, të gjitha që janë kanë t'prindërve t'mi janë metë pronë e jemja.

- LH: Atëhere e gjithë pasunia, qoftë patundshmëri qysh e thatë edhe ju, qoftë edhe gjanat matriale apo personale t'prindërve t'juv i keni trashëgu plotësisht ju, po kisha dashtë me ditë për ni gjeneratë ma herët për tek ndamja e hises edhe pronës tek prindt e juv', tek baba i juv', për atë pronë që ju edhe faktikisht e keni trashëgu, kisha dashtë nashta me folë për ni historik rreth qasaj prone, me e ditë pak a shumë se qysh i asht nda babës tandë prona.

- BH: Po, babgjyshi jem i ka pasën katër djem edhe ni vajzë. Sa e di une vajza nuk ka marrë pjesë n'ndamje të pronës, domethanë s'ka pas hise te vëllaznit. A nuk ka dashtë ajo, a nuk ka dashtë babgjyshi me ia dhanë, aty nuk jam kanë e informume se atëhere nuk asht bisedu qe femnës munet me i taku ni pjesë e hises, ose ni pjesë e barabartë me vëllazën, por këtyne katër djemve babgjyshi ja'u ka nda tokën. Sipas mendimit tem ka qenë i padrejtë, po ndoshta ai e ka pa qashtu t'arsyeshme. Vëllaut t'madh t'babit tem, axhit t'madh, atina ia ka nda ni pronë që u kanë ma e mira, megjithëse ai e ka pasë edhe ni pozitë për kohë t'atëherit, ka punu si shitës në ni shitore, e vetmja që ka qenë në at' pjesë, edhe babi jem ka qenë punëtor krahu, kështu me thanë, e ka lut gjyshin tem që "nese ti ma jep qat hise që ia ke dhonë vëllaut t'madh, unë t'jepi edhe ni shumë kogja t'madhe t'parave". Po ai nuk ka pranu, kështu qe këta tre vëllaznit tjerë, domethanë i dyti, i treti ka qenë babi jem edhe i katërti, kanë met n'atë pjesën ku janë kanë t'u jetu, domethanë në qatë rrethinë. Vëllaut t'vogël i ka metë shpija si zakonisht, gjyshi me gjyshën kanë shku me vëllaun e vogël domethanë me axhin e vogël. Babit tem ia kanë qitë ni tokë që ka qenë e papunushme, pra ka qenë livadhe jo e lavrume për drithna e këto. Arsyja ndoshta, gjyshi jem e ka pa se ky e ka pasë vetëm ni fëmi, domethanë vetëm ni vajzë që ajo jam kanë unë, edhe s'iu ka dok' e arsyeshme me i dhanë tokë ma t'mirë, po kjo ka qenë ndoshta ni padrejtesi e madhe e gjyshit, megjithëse u dashtë me i nda t'gjithë barabartë, ai migja i dytë mas ni kohe e shet atë pjesë qe

ia kanë nda aty afër, edhe shkon me ni vend pak ma larg, ia shet migjës t'vogël, kështu që kjo ka qenë ndamja prej gjyshit te babi jem.

- LH: Ju thatë që kjo pjesa e tokës në t'cilën kanë jetu, para se me u nda hisja prej gjyshit tek babi dhe migjallarët e juaj, pjesa asht nda në tre vena, ajo pjesa ku keni jetu tek tre vëllaznit e mesëm apo?

- BH: Po

- LH: Ju thatë që vëllau i dytë e ka shit tokën-

- BH: Po mas ni kohe.

- LH: Mas ni kohe t'caktume, po tash kjo pjesa kur është shitë toka prej vëllaut te vëllau, a ka pasë interesim me ble atë tokë babai –

- BH: Jo jo, nuk ka dasht me ble babi jem, s'ka dasht se ka mjaftu për shembull për mu me jetu, ka mjaftu qajo pjesë e tokës, edhe ashtu ky ka qenë i vetëm. S'ka mujt me punu për shembull ma shumë, ajo nese u kanë livadh u duft me kosit, nese u kanë arë u duft me punu, e ky vet i treti nuk ka mujt a e din me punu. Edhe shkurt-shqip, s'ka dashtë me investu për shembull në qatë pjesë qatje. U kanë i knaqëm me pjesën që ia kanë nda, edhe s'ka pasë rrugë tjetër.

- LH: Kur e përmndët tek halla që nuk i asht nda asni pjesë e pasurisë prej anës të gjyshit, po sa i përketë t'panës kur ka ardhë ajo në t'panë te familja, a asht ardhë te gjyshi apo edhe te vëllaznit?

- BH: Une kur jam bo me ditë, nuk e maj menë shumë hallën që ka ardhë me nejtë n't'panë shumë gjatë, po zakonisht u ardhë te gjyshi, se une gjyshin domethanë gjyshi jem ka vdekë mas gjashtë mujve qe kam lind une, gjyshja ka vdekë kur kam qenë në klasë t'parë domethanë jam kanë n'atë kohën kur si kam majtë edhe qaq shumë n'menë, po une e maj menë shumë mirë hallën që ka ardhë te t'gjithë vëllaznit e vet, e për t'panë nuk e maj në menë që ka bujtë shumë po dy-tri ditë se ma tepër jo.

- LH: Mirëpo a asht ardhë shpesh halla me iu vizitu?

- BH: U ardhë po jo edhe qaq shpesh se edhe ajo ka qenë e vetme, burri i ka punu, fëmijtë i kanë shkollu, domethanë gjithë janë kanë në shkollë këtu n'Prishtinë, edhe nuk ka pas kohë aq t'mjaftushme me ardhë me nejtë për shembull, me javë, me mujë ose diçka po dy-tri netë edhe u kthy në shpi t'vet.

- LH: Kur vjen puna te trashëgimia, ku ju e keni trashëgu pronën, gjithçka që e kanë pas prindt e juv', a ka pas ndonjë reagim prej migjallarëve apo fëmive t'tyne ?

- BH: Jo nuk ka pas kurrëfar reagimi, as prej migjallarëve, as prej

hallës, as prej ketyne t'burrit për shembull ku jam tasht, me thanë: "jo ti e ki edhe ni hise ose diçka" , jo, s'ka pasë kurrfar reagime. Muj me thanë kjo pjesa që unë e kam trashëgu prej prindëve t'mi, asht pjesë tamon e jemja edhe s'më asht përzi kërkush në to.

- LH: Deshta me bo edhe ni pyetje rreth asaj se si migjallarët e tu e kanë nda hisën, apo pronën e tyne fëmive t'vet. Kur e kanë nda a ka qenë ndamja e hises-

- BH: Ata kur ja'u kanë nda fëmive t'vet?

- LH: Po, ata kur ua kanë nda fëmive t'vet.

- BH: Po ky migja i madh i ka pas tre djem, e ja'u ka maru ni shpi. Sa e di une, atë pjesën që baba jem ka deshtë me marrë, ato e kanë shitë edhe e kanë ble ni pllac të vogël domethanë ku e kanë maru ni shpi, edhe ato e kanë maru ni shpi tre katëshe për t'tre vëllaznit, po çikat e migjës as ato nuk kanë marrë pjesë në trashëgimi. Vëllau i dyti, që tregova ma herët që e ka shitë pjesën e vet, edhe ai e ka maru ni shpi, ia ka lanë vetëm djalit. Vetëm ni djalë e ka pasë e as atina nuk i kanë marrë pjesë vajzat në ndamje t'hises. . Migja i vogël, i njejtë si me t'tjerët, domethanë vetëm djemëve ja'u ka nda hisën, vajzave jo. Dy vajza i ka pas edhe ky, po as ato s'kanë marrë pjesë në ndamje t'tokës.

- LH: Ju e përmendët edhe mbasi jeni martu prona që e keni pasë gjithë hisja gjithëhere ka mbetë vetëm mbi ju, edhe keni pas administrim t'plotë ndaj asaj prone që e keni trashëgu prej prindërve t'juv e ajo që deshta me i'u pyet asht se ju tash jetoni vetëm me bashkëshortin e juv' edhe fëmijët, familje bërthamë, e kur asht nda prona nga ana e burrit a ka pas ndonjë ndikim në ato se sa pasuni ka trashëgu burri i juv, për shkak t'pronës që ju e keni trashëgu prej prindëve, apo asht nda në mënyrë t'barabart për t'gjithë vëllaznit?

- BH: Jo, në mënyrë t'barabart për t'gjithë vëllaznit asht nda. Jo nuk ka ndiku pjesa jem në atë rast edhe burri e ka ni motër, janë tre vëllazën e ni motër, edhe ajo nuk ka marrë pjesë domethanë n'trashëgimi t'asaj pjese ku kanë jetu.

- LH: Nuk ka dashtë me marrë pjesë apo thjesht nuk-

BH : Nuk ka dashtë me marrë pjesë, nuk ka dashtë. Jo e ka atë hisen e vetë te burri edhe nuk ka dashtë me ardhë e me u përzi te vëllaznit.

- LH: Diçka tjetër që kisha dasht me i'u pyet asht: çka menoni ju për krejt kët punën e ndamjës t'hises, për ndamjet qysh janë ba, nashta prej gjeneratës t'gjyshit tand te baba juv', edhe tani prej babës tand tek ju,

qysh keni me nda ju n't'ardhmën, qysh menoni me nda pasuninë që ju e zotnoni, se në këtë rast ju keni pasuninë e juv'-, në njanën anë por e keni edhe pasuninë që ka trashëgu burri prej anës t'tij, qysh e kishit nda ju për fëmitë e juv'-?

- BH: Sa i përket pasunisë që unë e kam trashëgu prej babit tem, thashë edhe ma herët asht ni patundshmëri kogja e madhe, unë mendoj fëmive të mi, i kam dy vajza e ni djalë, me ja'u nda barabart. Nuk muj me bo dallim se kjo asht vajzë a djalë qysh kanë bo dallime përpara, unë ato nuk e mendoj, e sa i përketë ksaj që asht te burri ma merr menja që t'njeitin mendim e ka edhe burri, megjithëse nuk kemi bisedu se fëminë i kemi ende t'ri, po ma merr menja që i njeiti rast ka me ndodh edhe me trashëgiminë që burri e ka prej anës t'vet. Këto përpara që nuk i'u kanë dhanë hisen edhe nëse femna u kanë kambëngulëse në qato gjana që mos me u përzi te vëllaznit si qysh e thojmë te na sipas kanunit a sipas atyne ligjeve tjera, nuk asht e drejtë, se po ndodhin raste t'ndryshme: po ndahen, po jesin me fëmi e nese ajo e ka sado pak ni dhomë t'vetën ose dy-tri ari truall dikun ajo domethanë i kish pas durtë ma t'shlira, me kanë ma e lirë edhe në familje t'burrit edhe gjithkun. Ndoshta nuk i kishim duru shumë padrejtësi që na bohen, po kur e din që s'ka kah me shku, bon vaki shumë gjana i duron edhe nuk ka kah ia mbanë, e sado pak me pas t'vetën asht ma mirë.

- LH: Do t'thotë ju pronën e shihni si ni vlerë që u jep liri e ni llojë barazie kundrejt pozitës s'juv n'familje?

- BH: Po, po. Asht ni mbështetje shumë e madhe për ni femën, sado pak me kanë po. Kur e dinë për shembull [që ka hise] e ndahet, kam ndëgju raste që i kanë thanë femnës që s'ki kah me shku a e din; i kanë ba trusni, po i duron gjitha se s'ka kah shkon. E me ditë ajo që e ka ni banesë t'vetën ose ni trull t'vetin ose shkurt-shqip kah ana matriale ni shumë të parave n'bankë, n'shemicën e rasteve nuk kishin me u sjellë për shembull me ni femën ose me ni nuse n'shpi qysh sillen njerëzit.

- LH: Qysh e shihni ju pozitën e femnës sot t'u e ditë që po ndahet hise edhe për vajza prej prindve, menoni që kjo po i jep ni llojë të drejte e po i vendosë n'ekuilibër me thanë pozitën , edhe pse asht e drejtë me u nda pasunia në mënyrë të barabartë pa marrë parasysh gjininë?

- BH: Po kjo asht mënyra e drejtë, edhe fakt që u jep ni pushtet, ni forcë ma t'madhe femnave, ni përkrahje ma t'madhe se që u kanë për shembull hiç ma larg se dikun para pak vitesh, mos t'thojmë edhe

dhjetë vjetë se po më doken shumë, po ma pak vjetë. Deri tashti, ndosh-
ta dikush se asht ni kusheri i babit tem ai për shembull e ka pas vetëm
ni djalë edhe tri vajza po hisen jau ka nda normal djalit i ka dhanë ma
shumë, po edhe vajzave të veta ja'u ka dhanë nga pesë [5] ari truall, ku
secila prej tyne i gezojnë shpijat në qat ven ku babi i vet ja'u ka nda, e ajo
asht ni përkrahje shumë e madhe. Pa marrë parasysh nashta edhe pse
burri t'jenë kushedi çfarë pasaniku, po ni diçka që asht e jotja asht ma
ndryshe, se njeri kur martohet e krijon familje mendon për qatë shpi, po
diçka që e din që asht personale e veç e jotja e trashëgimi veç e jotja asht
diqysh shumë ma e mirë.

- LH: Atëherë, unë i'u kisha falënderu shumë për kohën edhe për të
gjitha që i ndatë sot me mu, i'u faleminderit edhe ni herë.

- BH: Me nder qofsh, faleminderit edhe prej jush që e keni nda kohën
me ardhë me ba ni intervistë për gjitha ato që mujnë me i taku ni femne,
po nuk iu kanë dhanë ma heret, ishalla jep Zoti edhe neve na përkra-
hin e ndajnë ato që na takojnë, e nuk bojnë dallime në gjini siç i kanë ba
deri tash. Edhe ju kalofshit mirë e ishalla gjitha t'mirat, në studime edhe
n'jetë.

- LH: Faliminderit!

INTERVISTA VIII

Linda Hiseni (intervistuesja)

SZ (i intervistuari anonim, 58 vjeç)

Data: 10.12.2016

Vendi: Prishtinë

Akronimet : LH= Linda Hiseni, SZ=SZ

Kohëzgjatja: 12'23''

- LH: Kisha dasht me i'u pyet qysh e keni nda hisen, pronën të cilën e keni pas në vendin e juaj?

- SZ: Po nuk mund të thuhet që ka qenë një rregull i përcaktum, në një formë të shkrume të cilit i'u kanë përmbajtë përpara njerëzit, veç në bazë të asaj që unë kam pa e përjetu, gjyshi pasurinë që e ka pasë, zakonisht toka ka qenë pasuri që është nda në mes të anëtarëve të familjës, edhe bagëtia e bujqësia që kanë hy si pjesë e saj [pasurisë], dhe në bazë t'ktyne [kanë hy si pasuri për ndarje]. Prona për shembull si pasuri është nda, mund të thuhet në bazë të interesit prej prindërve. Zakonisht djemëve, për shembull nëse kanë pas shumë parcella¹ të tokës, i është nda me pjesë ku disa kanë qenë ma pjellore, e disa ma të varfëra nga aspekti i pjellorisë, e aty janë shënu për shembull tokat me një numër, që është ditë e është emëru për cilën tokë është fjala, edhe aty janë shënu në letëra emrat e tyre [tokave] dhe janë fsheh letrat, e më pas është hudh shorti mes vëllezëerve. Tash secili qysh e ka përzgjedhë i ka ra ajo pjesë, por ka pas raste edhe kur ka pas konflikte në mes tyre, por jo te rasti ynë konkretisht po në disa familje të kushërive. Zakonisht për ndarjën e pasurisë ka kalu një kohë e gjatë deri sa është bërë ndarja e pronës, ku kanë mbërri një gjenratë ose dy dhe prona është mbetë e njejtë. Në rast se ka lindë ndonjë mosmarrëveshje, është ardhë deri te ri-ndarja e pronave. Aty zakonisht kanë marrë pjesë anëtarët meshkuj për ndarjën e këtyre pasurive, ndërsa femrat në përgjithësi janë përjashtu, ku edhe lirshëm mund të thuhet që nuk është respektu e drejta e femrës në pjesëmarrje që t'i ndahet pronë. Edhe ndarja është bërë në bazë të disa interesave e simpatie ndaj njërit prej fëmijëve, gjyshi ose vëllau, varësisht prej rrethanave që kanë egzistu.

- LH: Do të doja të di, ma specifikisht për rastin se si e keni nda pronën në familjën e juaj?

- SZ: Në bazë të marrëveshjes, sepse ka pasë një pronë bukur të madhe gjyshi ynë dhe vëllezërit mes veti kanë ba marrëveshje me mirëkuptim: "unë po e marrë këtë pjesë, e unë këtë pronë", e dy vëllezërit e tjerë janë pajtu edhe në bazë të kësaj forme me marrëveshje, në mënyrë të qetë kanë arritë deri te ndarja e pronës që e kanë pasë.

- LH: E si ka ardhë deri te ndarja e pronës, a ka ndodhë kjo më kërkesën e ndonjërit prej fëmijëve apo-

- SZ: Po, po. Ka qenë rasti kur është hap tema e ndarjes të pronës

1 Parcella- pjesë e tokës

edhe ndarja e vëllezerve, ku veç fillojnë secili me i pas kuletat e pasuritë e veta me i kriju, pasi që të tre kanë qenë të punësuar në punë të shtetit. E aty kur fillojnë secili me i mbajtur kuletat në veti, ku si rregull ka qenë që i pari i shtëpisë me e mbajtur kuletën në këtë rast gjyshi, në këto momente edhe ka filluar mosrespektimi i rregullit të prindit. Nga kjo edhe fillon ajo që “masi secili po bojka me majtur kuletë në vete, ma mirë është me u nda, e me i nda e me i ditë çka e kujt është”. Këto kanë qenë rrethanat në të cilat ka lindur shfaqja e interesimit për me u nda pronat, ndërsa prona është nda pa ndonjë formë konflikti ose diçka të tillë. Tre vëllezër kanë qenë dhe kanë marrë pjesët [prona, pasuri] sipas dëshirës së vetë, e vëllau i vogël [axha i vogël] ka marrë shpinë që ka qenë pronë e përbashkët përpara, se pak a shumë ka qenë si rregull në të cilën pak a shumë janë mbështetur ku i vogli e ka marrë shpinë e bashkallakut, e bashkë me të ka pas për obligim t’i mbajtur edhe prindërit, si pjesëtari më i vogël i familjës, ndërsa këta dy të mdhenjëtur kanë pasë dalë prej asaj shpije. Ka pas rrethanat në të cilat për shembull nuk kanë pasë për të gjithë shtëpia, po kanë bërë forma të ndryshme të kompenzimit; i është dhënë një pjesë e tokës apo pjesë ku ka pasë mal për me ia mundësu me e krye një pjesë të ndërtimit të objektit. Nëse kanë pas lopë ose dhenë ose dele, në atë kuptimin e pasurisë apo pronësisë në atë kohë kur kemi qenë na, atëherë i është dhënë një [1] ose dy [2] lopë ma shumë ose u kanë dhënë dele ma shumë ose një pjesë e malit për me mujtë me shitë që përmes saj me mujtë me kompenzuar ndërtimin e një shtëpie në të cilën janë vendosë më pas familjet. E pasuri tjera kanë qenë ma të rralla edhe nuk është ba naj formë të veçantë për ndarjen e tyre.

- LH: E përmendët që e gjithë pasuria nga gjyshi juaj është nda në mes të djemëve të tij, mirëpo sa anëtarëshe ka qenë familja?

- SZ: Familja ka qenë tri [3] vajza dhe pesë [5] djem, jo më fal (buzëqesh) tre [3] djem dhe pesë [5] vajza. Vajzat nuk janë marrë në konsideratë absolutisht asnjëra prej tyre, përveç në rastin kur është kërkuar nga shteti ndonjë dokument shtesë për realizimin e të drejtës së tyre pronësore, në kushte tjera nuk është marrë parasysh ekzistenca e të drejtës së tyre në përgjithësi. Nuk i është ndarë asnjërës prej tyre, e në të shumtën e rasteve as që janë pyetur a don apo jo pronë.

- LH: Në rastin e juaj në veçanti kur është bërë ndarja, ju thatë që është nda me marrëveshje, a është përcjellë menjëherë edhe me ndarjen ligjore?

- SZ: Jo, jo jo, tek kur është ardhë në pyetje në realizimin e ndonjë të drejte në aspektin e pronës. Zakonisht kanë qenë rastet kur ata që ishin të punësuar në punë shtetërore i është kërkuar për shtesa të fëmive ose për realizimin e ndonjë mundësie apo të drejte tjetër të posedimit në aspektin shëndetsor, në ato raste është dashtë me qenë person i cili nuk posedon pronë të patundshme, tokë ose diçka të ngjashme, për me mujtë me pas qasje në këto të drejta të mirëqenies sociale. Qoftë librezë e shëndetit apo diçka e tillë, në këto raste kanë shty deri te kërkesa për mënyrën ligjore dhe vërtetimin e pronës.

- LH: Kur ka ardhë puna tek vërtetimet prej anës shtetërore e administrative, në rastin e juaj në veçanti, a ka pasë ndonjë mospërputhshmëri në mes të ndarjës qysh ju e keni ba me atë se si shteti e kish nda pronën?

- SZ: Po gjithëherë kanë qenë ato mospërputhje e mangësi, e aty zakonisht është dashtë me deklaruar motrat në këtë rast, gjoja se kanë hekë dorë vullnetarisht nga prona, për me mundësu procedurën [e ndarjës së pronës], sepse ligji ka qenë asisoji që është dashtë të bëhet ndarja e barabartë e pronës, pa marrë parasysh a është vajzë apo djalë, ndërsa për t'u liru nga kjo formë e përgjegjësisë para ligjit atëherë është dashtë me bo deklarimin vullnetarë [nga hallat] që hekin dorë nga pasuria ose diçka tjetër që e kish kushtëzu naj të drejtë të tyne [të drejta të mirëqenies sociale]. Kjo edhe ka qenë forma ma e shprehur e ndarjës së pronës, që gjoja se është ba në mënyrë vullnetare dhe femrat nuk kanë shprehur pakënaqësi se mos acarojnë situatën në të shumtën e rasteve, mes vëllezërve ose mes familjës në përgjithësi. Zakonisht i kanë vujtë këto në heshtje.

- LH: Po rasti me hallat e juaja, a kanë qenë ato të pajtimit apo kanë shprehë ndonjë pakënaqësi përderisa është ba ndarja e pasurisë e ato nuk kanë qenë trashëguese ?

- SZ: Asnjëra prej tyre në mënyrë të hapur nuk e ka shprehur atë vullnetin apo pakënaqësinë që nuk ka qenë e përfshirë në atë formë të ndarjës [së hises] ose që kanë pas për qëllim me marrë diçka nga pasuria e gjyshëve tanë. Zakonisht nuk janë shpreh, e tash në atë formën e vet, në mënyrë të qetë ose në kanë pas dëshirë apo jo nuk kam mujtë me ditë. Nuk janë shprehë, thjeshtë nuk e kanë qitë atë padrejtësinë [ndaj tyre] në shesh që me e kuptu na që kanë qenë në kundërshtim ose kanë shpreh mospajtim me këto rrethana që janë kriju.

- LH: E përse i përketë raportit mes vëllezërve, prona pak a shumë

është nda me marrëveshje por a ka pas ndonjëhere konflikte masandej rreth ndarjes së pronës apo mënyrës si janë nda edhe pse parimisht janë nda me marrëveshje?

- SZ: Jo, këtu në rastin tonë jo, po ka pas raste kur është dashtë me vendosë një grup tjetër jashtë familjeve [për me nda trashëgimin] se ka pas raste konfliktoze ku pasuria s'ka mujtë me u nda. Shkaqet kanë qenë që toka ka qenë një parcellë ma e frytshme se parcella tjetër ose njëra palë është ndje e dëmtume, ka pas raste kur s'kanë mujtë me u pëlqy edhe është dashtë me ndërhy dikush, zakonisht pleqët e katunit që kanë qenë [më autoritar, të urtë dhe të drejtë] por edhe aty ndarjet janë ba në bazë të shortit. Janë shënu emrat e parcellave edhe është bo zgjedhja me short, që edhe ka qenë forma ma e shpeshtë e vendosjës së rasteve, në krahinën tonë. Në përgjithësi kështu ka ndodhë ndarja e pasurisë e pronave.

- LH: Unë i'u falenderohem shumë për kohën dhe të dhënat që i ndatë-

- SZ: Me nder qofshi! Edhe uroj me u hy në punë

- LH: Ju faliminderit shumë!

INTERVISTA IX

Petrit Bytyqi (intervistuesi)

Erëmira Binakaj (e intervistuara, 29 vjeçe)

Data: 13.12.2016

Vendi: Prishtinë

Akronimet: PB=Petrit Bytyqi, MB=Mira Binakaj

Kohëzgjatja: 15'97''

Pjesa I

- PB: U lëshu, mirë është mu prezantu në fillim për hirë të korrektësisë për krejt ndëgjusht, prej nga vjen, prej nga vjen familja etj..

- MB: Unë jam Ermira Binakaj, kômb lindë n'Deçan n'88-ën.

I vetmi f'mij i familjes. Mami: Shehije Sadrijaj, ka qenë gjinekologe, ka vdekë 2001'tën kur i kômb pasë 13 vjet, babi ka vdekë kur i kômb pasë 5 vjet.

- PB: Edukimi/Shkollimi?

- MB: Arkitekthe e diplomume, tash studimet master.

- PB: Pra, kjo intervistë është tu u bëtë për ni hulumtim, financohet prej Ambasadës Amerikane, është hulumtim për hisën e grusë. Nuk është e thanun me e ditë se ju ka nda ose nuk ju ka nda hisja (najkuj në familje), po mjafton nëse ka marrë pjesë dikush që din diçka, ose din ni situatë apo din naj rast në lidhje me hisën e grusë. A ki naj rast apo a ki - (marrë pjesë)?

- MB: Unë e kisha kallxu rastin tēm, mos me kallxu raste për tjerë se di edhe raste për tjerë se unë vi prej Dukagjinit edhe n'Dukagjin puna e hisës është sen që diskutohet edhe nuk është sikur në vëne tjera, se zakonisht në vëne rurale pak mëtë ndryshe favorizohen djemt etj. Për shembull, unë e kômb rastin tjetër se masi që jôm kônë fmi i vetëm që m'ka vdekë baba që e ka trashëgu ni pjesë, ni t'treten e familjes masi është vllavi i tretë. Kështu, unë jôm trashëgimtari i qasaj pjesë të tokës, po... masi nuk kômb pasë nevojë se jam rritë prej ni prindi që ka pasë pare, mami, edhe m'ka majtë ajo vet e nuk jôm marrë me punën e tokës nuk kômb pasë nevojë me marrë ose me pasë naj beneficion dej tash pi sajna, po e kom diskutu me axh't e gjithçka është n'rregull, unë kômb me e marrë pjesën tēm një të treten dmth, pjesën e babit tēm. Që është në favor për, se noshta t'isha kônë unë tu jetu me prind edhe te kisha pasë babin gjallë, ajo tokë kish qenë e babit tēm edhe nëse kisha pasë v'lla ose kisha pasë edhe antarë tjerë të familjes garant ajo pjesë i kish shku vllaut ose -

- PB: Po ti je krejt e vetmja?

- MB: Po unë jôm e vetmja në familje, kështu që unë e marr pjesën e babit tēm, jo pjesën tēm.

- PB: Po, mirë. E sa an'tarë jonë? Sa vllazën, sa motra i ka babi yt? Qysh është struktura, gjyshi, gjyshja? Si për kah nana si për kah baba?

- MB: Te babi jem jôn 3 v'llazën, kanë qenë, tash jonë dy, edhe jônë

5 motra, 5 halla domethônë. Po me vet faktin që hallat nuk kanë hise i bjen që unë nuk kisha pasë pjesë t'isha kônë me an'tarë tjerë, sidomos me v'lla, ajo ndahet në djem zakonisht po masi që unë nuk e kom babën ajo pjesë ôsht e jemja. Domethônë ôsht e ndame në 3 pjesë, gjyshja ka vdekë para 4 vjete, pra, ka qenë permi gjyshën toka, kshtu që tash me të renë ka mju da 2 axh've që jônë edhe mu ni pjesë.

- PB: As gjyshi nuk âsht gjallë?

- MB: As gjyshi, gjyshi ka vdekë po unë nuk e maj n'men, ka vdekë para se me lindë unë.

- PB: Domethanë ka vdekë shumë moti

- MB: Po, domethônë toka ka qenë nër gjyshën edhe para se me vdekë babi jem.

- PB: At'herë.. k'shtu pak ma konkret nashta, a ke pasë rast kur janë diskutu në familje këto punë? A ke pasë rast me ni çfarë menime kanë hallat? Në këtë rast gjinia femërore, prej axhallarëve? Na pe dijmë qe traditën e kena nderi i burrit, e don ma shumë, e ka poziten ma të naltë e qysh jonë krejt kto tradita tona etj.. a ke pasë rast me kanë edhe a munesh pak me na tregu?

- MB: Po, kôm marrë pjesë në nja 2 - 3 debate që jônë bo, po jônë kônë konkretisht për mu edhe për këtë pjesën që m'takon mu.

- PB: Okej, a munesh me kallxu pak qysh ka ecë?

- MB: Me hallat nuk kôm pasë kontakt, kôm pasë kontakt me dy axh't, edhe kjo ka ndodhë masi m'ka vdekë mami në 2001-ën ku unë jôm kônë me moshë 14 vjeçare, edhe u disku ajo se a po shkoj me jetu me axh't apo po rri me jetu me gjyshën e me dajtë.

- PB: Po –

- MB: Me vet faktin që kôm vazhdu me jetu me dajtë edhe me gjyshën, unë jom financu pi daj've për gjithçka çka mu ka dashtë.

- PB: Shumë mirë që (ke pasë mbështetje)-

- MB: Kshtu që ata kan thonë, okej pra, e ki hisën masi, masi që na nuk po mujna me të ndihmu edhe nuk po e don ndihmën tonë edhe po ka kush me t'perkrahë financiarisht. E jona ôsht token e babit tôn kurdo që don me e marrë, e qesim me dokumenta mi ty edhe ajo ka me qenë e jotja. Edhe tash, pjesa tjetër qe kôm marrë pjesë në debate me ta, ka qenë se cilla pjesë osht e jemja, qysh ndahet toka. Se unë asniher' nuk kôm marrë pjesë në asi oda t'burrav kur u nda ose qysh e kan nda ata. Ata më kanë thônë që ajo u diskutu me babin têm gjatë kohës që ai ka qenë

gjallë, edhe u nda me fjalë tokat, se nuk jonë nda me dokumente, me dokumente qysh tregova osht krejt permi gjyshen hala... e... kanë thonë që ka pjesë në katune dikun, ôsht ni pjese pak ma e mirë dikun afër qytetit edhe babi jëm masi nuk ka jetu me ta edhe gjatë kohës kur ka qenë gjallë, a din, ai e ka zgjedhë qatë tokë se ôsht ma afër qytetit e ma shumë ju ka pershtatë, edhe ateherë qatë tokë po ta lojmë ty edhe pjesën tjetër që ôsht në katune që nuk t'konvenon ti me pasë e ndajmë na e që me kqyre me vlerë ôsht e barabartë. Nashta atje ka tokë ma shumë ktu ka ma pak po me kqyrë pozitën gjeografike qysh ôsht ka vlerë ma shumë edhe qashtu jena marrë vesh, nifar mesi.

- PB: E gjatë debatit? A jonë konë edhe hallat edhe (tjërët)?

- MB: Jo, nuk jonë konë hallat.

- PB: Nuk jonë konë hallat a? Shumë interesant, pse po ta merr menja që nuk jonë konë hallat?

- MB: Nuk jonë konë hallat se unë kôm shku jo pa paralajmërim, po unë ju kôm thônë isha ardhë me folë për tokë edhe veç e kemi folë. Nuk ô ni punë qaq e madhe, nuk u bo asniher' qaq e madhe që mu diskutu kshtu në nivel ma të madh, se veç u konë e kryne, toka ôsht e jotja, a po vendosim ti me e marrë qet pjesë... unë kom thônë që nëse veç babi jem ka vendosë me e marrë qat pjesë, çka tem jepni unë ju marr, nuk ôsht që [drejton flokët]... Ndihmë nuk kôm pasë diçka pi tyne që me thônë që fmija i vetëm i vllaut t'tyne qô m'ka lonë edhe për (mërzitshëm)... 30 vjet që pi boj tash nuk kôm pasë naj ndihmë financiare, pi tyne diçka nuk kôm lypë asniher', asniher' nuk më kanë jep diçka... se edhe ajo konsid-erohet pjesë e hisës, diçka mujore me t'jep ose naj shtymje për shkollë ose se ata i kan shkollu fmit e vet.

- PB: Po, sigurisht. Edhe unë vetë në familje kam rast edhe në traditë te na, shumë âsht përmenë që edhe nëse nuk kanë lanë me shkrim që kanë nda toka ose për shembull si në rastin e juj që ja kanë lanë babit t'jujë. A ka lanë me gojë gjyshi ose gjyshja diçka, si që thojnë: me gojë e ka lanë...?

- MB: Po.

- PB: Qysh âsht, a ka metë edhe kjo me gojë apo âsht e shkrune apo qysh ka ardhë deri te babi yt?

- MB: Po qekjo puna që thojnë që qekjo pjesa që e ka zgjedhë babi jot, qajo ôsht me gojë, se unë nuk e di çka ka thanë babi jem. Sipas fjalëve të tyne sipas fjalëve nashta të gjyshës që s'ma thonë mu po ju ka thonë

atyne at'herë, babi jem me gojë paska zgjedhë qat tokën afër qytetit, e jo tokat tjera. S'po di naj rast tjetër.

- PB: Po po.

- MB: Qekjo ôsht me gojë se me dokumenta krejt ôsht e përbashk't hala, ka metë unë me shku e me marrë iniciativën që mu nda toka me dokumenta në tri pjesë.

- PB: E çka menon ti personalisht, a ndahen korrekt në Kosove, në traditën tonë pasuritë edhe hiset mes vllaznive, motrave, fmive ose ma konkretisht për grunë a dahet hise në mnyre të drejtë?

- MB: Jo, s'ndahet drejtë kisha pasë me thonë, se tokën qysh e din kur ndahet ajo veç shkon tu u përgjysmu e tu përgjysmu e tash në kohën tonë nuk ôsht mo qysh njerzt po blejnë toka edhe pe kanë tokën diçka sen primar si t'pasunisë, po rahatohen edhe ajo tokë veç po shkon tu u nda edhe po shkon tu u zvogëlu sipërfaqja ma shumë e ma shumë në gjeneratën tjetër.

- PB: Tu u pashitë –

- MB: Po, (buzëqeshje) edhe zakonisht ju ndahen djemve, femna mar-tohet edhe e ka pasuninë që i takon burrit t'vet, sidomos në t'kalunën kur femra u martu edhe ka shku me jetu në bashkësi t'mdhaja kërkush nuk ka thonë valla merre qet pjesë tokë baraz me vllazën edhe edhe merre ta shfrytezojnë familja tjetër, se nuk kanë jetu ndamas veç me burrin e vet, une menoj që edhe qaj o faktor ka ndiku shumë, se ka shku me ni familje tjetër jo veç me ni person, ndërsa tash, tash edhe ju ndahet e sidomos nëse ka nevojë.

- PB: Në nifarë m'nyre ajo u ba nifarë ndrrimi, demek e ka dhanë vajzën, po e ka marrë për djalin ni vajzë tjetër, nifarë si bilanci nifarë...

- MB: Po, edhe qashtu ka shku. Po tash menoj që tash ju jepet, edhe nëse nuk ju jepet toka mu nda me dokumente në pjese të barabarta me fmi me djem, ju bohet naj kompenzim me naj vlerë sidomos tash, n'ko-hen e tashit jo ni banesë, jo pare noshta.

- PB: Për shembull, unë e kam rastin shum interesant, te unë i ka trashëgu nana te gjitha senet prej babës saj. Po, ôsht e vërtetë. S'ka pasë gjyshi djem, ka mujtë edhe mi shitë, mirëpo ai ka vendosë që qikave të veta mi jau dhânë krejt shpinë edhe nâ jetojmë me tezën me ni oborr, krejt kontrollohet prej tezës e prej mamit tem, edhe unë menoj shumë njejtë, që nëse ka me ardhë puna herdo-kurdo, unë vllazën nuk kâm, kâ mu kânë e barabartë me krejt motrat e mia.

- MB: Une tash meno, e kom ni banesë e qysh me bo edhe njo qe mi ju lonë 2 fmise barabar.

- PB: Dy fmi, ti e ki ni djalë edhe ni çikë a po?

- MB: Po, vajzën edhe djalin, edhe nëse kom me metë me ni banesë që kish me pasë me e trashëgu dikush unë ja kisha lonë vajzës.

- PB: Vajzës?

- MB: Po, ndërsa pjesa tjetër e pasunisë që është e jemja edhe e burrit i kisha nda përgjyse se unë kom pasë banesë, mu m'ka metë banesë pi babit tem, noshta s'kom pasë motër ose vlla tjetër që ish nda me to, po e di qysh osht me konë femën edhe me pas ni pronë tonën edhe ta rritë vlerën, kshu që nëse krejt femnat kishin pasë pjesë të barabartë, hise të barabarte me djem. Vlera kish pasë me qenë e njejtë e qajo është që i lenë femnat me e pasë vlerën pak ma të vogël në familje. Edhe sado që thojmë që është e barabartë, sidomos në vene të vogla edhe në vene rurale, nuk është. Rasti që e tregove ti është i veçantë.

- PB: Nuk është shumë i veçantë, ka edhe raste tjera qe unë i njoh, kom ni edhe disa.

- MB: Se ka n'ksi raste, për shembull që nuk ka djalë, ka veç vajzë, e i trashëgohet pasuria të axhës, për shembull, që ka djem e jo që ki vajzë.

- PB: E mami ku të ka lindë?

- MB: Mami ka lindë në Deçan.

- PB: Në Deçan edhe mami, domethanë edhe babën edhe nanën prej Deçanit?

- MB: Po.

- PB: A ki dajë, teze?

- MB: Po. i kom tash dy dajë që pi 5-ve që kan qenë se gjyshja i ka lindë dhetë (10) fmi po dy tash jon, dy dajë edhe tri teze.

- PB: E, a kanë da ata hise, a ki rast a ke ndëgju ose a e din pak a shumë qysh e kanë da hisën?

- MB: Po edhe ata e kanë kshu ni histori me hise, ata jetojnë hala bashkë fizikisht toka është, edhepse shpiat i kanë t'ndame me ni oborr, domethonë toka nuk është e ndame.

Qka ndodhë me tezet e mia ato jonë dy të martume njo e pa martume, tezja qe është e pa martume jeton me gjyshën edhe e g'zon shpinë e vjetër që e ka ndërtu gjyshja me gjyshin, ku në t'njejtën shpi janë edhe dhomat e dy tezeve t'mia që nuk jetojnë aty edhe dhoma e mamit tem ka qenë që tash unë e trashëgoj edhe e shfrytëzoj saherë që shkoj, edhe kur shkoj i

kom të njejtat si dajtë qysh i kanë.

- PB: Kush jeton tash në atë shpi?

- MB: Tash jeton gjyshja me tezën, dhomat e tezeve jon t'zbrazta e i shfrytezojnë n'vikend kur shkojnë n'pushime t'verës, dajtë jetojnë n'shpi ndamas.

- PB: Po -

- MB: Edhe qekjo ôsht. Çka oshtë e çuditshme ôsht se, për n'Deçan sa e di, shumica e pronave jonë permi dikon qe hallën për shembull, ose gjyshën.

- PB: Pse menon që - ?

- MB: Ni person që i kanë besu ma shumë edhe që me fjalë ja kanë tregu se qysh ka me shku puna e ndamjes. Nuk e di a ôsht çashtë e besimit a pse. Për shembull, toka e dajve t'mi ka qenë permi hallën e tyne.

- PB: E pse menon qe ja kanë lanë hallës, se shum interesant n'ket anë?

- MB: Halla nuk ka pasë fmi, edhe nifarë lloj besimi që ajo ka mi jau lonë ktyne. Po nuk e di, për dokumenta pse permi hallën ka qenë devonë, hiç s'muj me e kuptu pse ka qenë permi hallën, po ka qenë permi hallën.

- PB: Mujnë me e ditë dikush nashta edhe kur të degjon këtë intervistë.

Okej, Mira, shum falemnderit për kohën, për intervistën.

- MB: Besoj që nihmon.

- PB: Falemnderit.

Pjesa II

- PB: Mas intervistës parë, na e patëm ni diskutim edhe na ra në mën që mujna me vazhdu intervistën, edhe u kthymë pe vazhdojmë pjesën e dytë. Pra Ermirë kallxona tash, ti je e martune, je me ni familje t'madhe, i ki dy fmi. Kallxona pak për familjen e burrit, qysh menon që, ose a ke pasë rast me pa qysh i kanë da hiset ose qysh i ndajnë ose...?

- MB: Po, tash unë po tregoj muhabetin që e bonëm ma herët e që nau kujtu që mujme me vazhdu intervistën.

- PB: Falemnderit.

- MB: Pasi qe unë tash jom e martume e i kom dy fmi, e ceka edhe ma herët n'pjesen e parë t'intervistes, këtu ôsht krejt tjetër muhabet me

punën e familjes t'burrit, puna ndryshe shkon e hisës se burri jem e ka edhe ni vlla edhe ni motër edhe pjesën që e trashëgojnë e trashëgojnë të tret baraz, po është e çuditshme se edhe cikrrimat ma t'vogla i dajnë bashkë me motrën, kjo është krejt e kundërta e krejt rasteve, e shumicës rasteve që unë i kom pa ma herët –

- PB: Pra si motra si vllau këta jonë ?

- MB: Po, motra është e mesmja me moshë si me thonë, vlla, motër, vlla, edhe te tretë i trashëgojnë senet e njehta, bile-bile edhe n'shpinë ku na jetojmë është tri kate te tretë e posedojmë ka ni kat edhe pse motra është e martume edhe nuk jeton në atë kat.

Nuk jeton aty po kati i sajë është, kur ajo don me ardhë n'vikend edhe është identik tri katet e njehta. Prindi i tyne çka ka bo ka bo për tretë njejtë.

- PB: Për tret njejtë.

- MB: Banesat që ju ka lonë ju ka lonë tre t'njehta, mos t'thom edhe me sipërfaqe edhe me senet që jau ka ble janë të njëjtat.

- PB: Kush ka vendosë për ta, a veç baba i tyne? Apo edhe nana? Bashkarisht apo?

- MB: Baba edhe nona besoj, po është traditë e familjes që me ju nda e -

- PB: Çfarë tradita kanë familja që munësh pak me kallxu, prej kahit kanë ardhë? A janë të Prishtinës apo?

- MB: Jonë rritë në Prishtinë. Kanë jetu k'tu. Po babi i burrit tem ka jetu në vene të ndryshme, ka udh'tu me prind't e vet. Me prejardhje prej Gjakovës, mandej Mitrovicë. E kanë ni traditë ndryshe prej qysh jemi msu me ni.

- PB: A ke pasë rast mu konë pjesë e ndamjes ose e diskutimit mes burrit t'juj me motrën edhe vllaun e tij? A ke pasë rast kur kanë diskutu për kto gjana? Qysh ka shku, a ka pasë apo a u vrejtë ndonje lëndim?

- MB: Nuk e besoj, se jonë rritë n'qasi fryme që jonë m'su si gjithmonë mi pasë t'barabarta bashkë me motrën krejt senet. S'besoj që edhe jonë diskutu k'to sene, s'jonë diskutu hiç, kan rrjedhë natyrshëm. Çka kanë kta dy me pasë edhe ajo njejtë. Edhe unë s'kom vrejtë qe o diskutu najherë mes tyne që motra e tyne mos me pasë çka kanë kta. Edhe nëse marrin dhuratë, për shembull për vitin e ri ose pushime verore ose, çkado t'vogël dhuratë edhe ajo e ka, edhe pse është e martume edhe e ka familjen e vet.

- PB: Po familja e motrës burrit? Ata a janë kshtu?

- MB: Ata individualisht veprojnë. Kan pasuni që kanë kriju vet, unë nuk e di qysh shkon puna e ndamjes te ata, nuk kam informatë qysh e kanë... qeshtu (me gezim në ftyre).

- PB: Falemnderit shumë.

- MB: Falemnderit juve.

INTERVISTA X

Petrit Bytyqi (intervistuesi)

Ymrane Shala (e intervistuarë, 56 vjeçe)

Data: 14.12.2016

Vendi: Prishtinë

Akronimet: PB=Petrit Bytyqi, YSH=Ymrane Shala

Kohëzgjatja: 21'31"

- PB: Po shpresoj që nuk t'ka mëtej punë n'gjysë.

- YSH: Jo jo

- PB: Mirë teta Ymran. Pra, kjo u lëshu me inçizu e le të rrin këtu, unë po e boj veç ni prezentim të vogël edhe pse pak ta permëna. Domethënë, është ni projekt i financum pi Ambasades Amerikane, ata po dojnë me bën ni hulumtim për hisen e grusë edhe m'nyrat qysh kan vepru n'ndamje t'hisen për grunë. Niju e lirë me m'kallxu, nuk ka mu keqpërdorë as zani yt as kjo (dora në drejtim të telefonit që po inçizon), ka mu përdorë me studenta e për hulumtus. Mirë ish kân' mi ja nisë veç me ni prezantim të vogël tani ma vonë bashkarisht, unë boj pyetje ti m'përgjigjesh e m'tregon diçka edhe -

- YSH: Unë jom Ymrane Shala, e lindun n'Gilan, jetoj n'Prishtinë. Kam dy fmi e jam kryefamiljare se pasi burri m'ka vdekë para 25 viteve. Tash jom me dy fmi, fmive ju kam përkushtu maksimum.

- PB: Domethënë, krejt fmitë i kqyr e je kujdesë prej fillimit?

- YSH: Jam kujdes prej fillimit deri tash, dha zoti fmia tash janë. Punë, të dyt' punojnë, janë t'zot e vetit, edhe unë punoj n'qet lokal ku e kam, pastrim kimik. Kështu që i arrina bashkë, bashkarisht për krejt.

- PB: E, teta Ymran a ke pasë rast me kënë pjesë e familjes nëherë kur o da hisja? Për shembull, baba juj kur i ka da vllaznive t'jui ose -

- YSH: Po, unë jom kënë prezent aty.

- PB: A po?

- YSH: Po, se m'kujtohet shumë mirë, shumë mirë ai rast se unë at'herë domethënë nuk jom kënë e martume, jom kënë tu punu këtu në Prishtinë me djemt e hallës, e kanë pasë ni - me fotografi janë marrë, edhe unë punojsha, e në mramje m'ka thirrë baba e m'ka thënë nesër e dille, n'mëngjes këtu me qenë.

- PB: Po.

- YSH: Se kom vendosë me i da djemt, e masi je antare e familjes du tha me kënë prezent edhe ti (bashkon duart me emocion)...E, at'herë jom shku unë të nesrit, kemi qenë gjyshi, axha jem, baba jem, dy vllaznit edhe unë aty, qaty n'dhomë. Edhe baba kish pasë vendosë me i dâ djemt, e ka pase qef që edhe unë mu kënë prezent.

- PB: A te kujtohet pak a shumë çka ka folë, qysh u qas', qysh - ?

- YSH: Po!

- PB: Se shume mirë që t'paska thirrë, ai paska pasë konsiderate për vajzat e veta.

- YSH: Po. Se at'herë baba e ka pasë bô edhe ni shpi, aty në oborr, e vllaun e vogel dojke me e qite aty në shpi, se normal dy djem, dy nuse, fmija e kallabllaku-

- PB: Po është pak traditë te na vllaun e vogël e rujnë pak mâ shumë për -

- YSH: E jo! Qe, vllau i vogël ka pasë dalë n' shpi, po, baba ka pasë metë me vllaun e madh, e at'herë m'tha mu, tha, ti i din renet ma s'mirti n' shpi çka shkojnë për shembull, te vllau i vogël, çka i vyn atyne për ni jetë normale. Thash po.

Krejt çka duhet tha, ja bartë atyne atje jau çonë n'shpi. Edhe unë tani, masi e kryten ata ceremoninë, qikjo të takon ty e qikjo është e jotja, qitu ki mu vendosë ti me gru e me fmi i tha vllaut t'vogël. Tash tha, kjo ju çonë senet shka ju vyn për jetë.

- PB: E moter a ki?

- YSH: Motrën e kam ma t'madhe po ajo ô martume, me fmi me gajle te veta, probleme t'veta e me punë tveta, un' jôm kônë e pa martume at'herë mu m'thirri.

- PB: E tash te ajo shpia është vllau i madh a po?

- YSH: Jo, i vogli është, shpia është vllau i vogël me gru, e vllau i madh është me shpi ku ka qenë edhe baba edhe na ku jena rritë qaty.

- PB: A u ni najkush pi vllaznive se zakonisht na n' traditë e kena pak ashtu krenaria e burrit, kishe unë duhet ose jam ma i madhi ose ?

- YSH: Ja ja ja, na kena pasë mirëkuptim nërmje veti.

- PB: Shumë mirë, e a të kujtohet në atë kohë baba qysh ka folë me djemt ose qysh e ka çelë ketë temë të hises edhe, a munesh pak me kallxu qysh ka folë baba?

- YSH: Po tash unë po t'thôm qitash kallabllaku e boni të veten, ne bashksi është ma telashe, ma mirë duhet secili jetën e vet me e pasë se mi majtë krejt grumbull, se ardhmëni s'ki aty, at'herë vendosen vllau i vogël ke i pajtimit me dalë me gru, ne atë kohë i ka pasë dy djem edhe ni vajzë, e mas luftës edhe ni djalë e ka, domethënë tash i ka tre djem edhe ni vajzë.

- PB: Tre djem edhe ni vajzë? Qofshin me ymër ata.

- YSH: Po. Amin falemnderit. Edhe, qikjo ka qenë, qikjo ka qenë. Ma tepër nuk ka pasë aty pse, ja qysh... e kena disku shumë familjarisht aty, e afërt, as s'ka pasë probleme aty as s'ka pasë fjalë, as s'ka pasë qí me thonë jo qíshtu unë po du jo unë qíshtu. Aty ô vendose shumë shumë

qetë edhe shumë mirë.

- PB: Shumë mirë, e ju a keni hise të trashegune prej babës?

- YSH: Jo, unë nuk kôm. Se s'kôm dashtë.

- PB: Ske dashtë..? Hajt kallxona pak pse s'ke dashtë, pse ke vendosë mos me dashtë, ose qysh u kânë situata ?

- YSH: Po qyre tash, ajo nashta duhet mi ja nisë i pari, ajo fakt osht, veç qí unë nuk kom mujtë për shembull as s'kom dashtë se nuk e kom ni veten mirë, se megjithëse ajo i takon secilit, po, secilit fmi. Amo unë tu e ditë çfarë respekti m'kanë bo vllaznit, e kunatat, e fmija e krejt. Tash, nuk mu ka dokë mu e arsyshme.

- PB: Nuk tu ka dokë e arsyshme.

- YSH: Nuk mu ka dokë e arsyshme se ai me pasë dashtë... veç qe, nuk mu ka dokë, mu thjeshtë nuk mu ka dokë e arsyshme.

- PB: Edhe ke vendosë vet me vazhdu..

- YSH: Edhe kôm vendose vet. Une nuk kôm dashtë, se megjithëse unë po them me dy fmi, nejse kôm jetu niherë në bashkësi e krejt veç qe para tremdhjetë vjete a katërmndhetë unë jôm dalë vet, e me qita dy fmi qata vllaznit m'kan nimu, m'kanë nimu shumë. E, tash unë mi jau kthy atyne ajo pi bjen si bumerang. A ôsht qashtu? Tash, t'flasmi realitetin se unë kur jôm kônë nashta qe sa vite n'zorë shumë, qata vllazën m'kanë n'ihmu.

- PB: Shumë mirë teta Ymran që âsht qekjo harmoni n'familje, e qe i keni nda gajlet.

- YSH: E, kryesorja ô harmonia se pasunia shkon e vjen.

- PB: Me ktâ po nënkuptojmë qe edhe në t'ardhmen ti ki mi jau 'da baraz vajzës edhe djalit?

- YSH: Po, gjithsesi, qa t'kôm atë mun'si.

- PB: Po, e pronën ktu në Prishtinë që e keni, me punë e keni arritë? Keni bâ banesë?

- YSH: Banesë per momentin nuk kôm, me qera jena.

- PB: Me qera jeni?

- YSH: Me qera jena, veç që mire, masi po mujna mi ja dalë apet duhet me thanë mirë.

- PB: A keni shpi?

- YSH: Kena shpinë e vjetër, t'vjehtë, po menoju ku kena jetu, tash aty osht kunati i katërt, e qaty po mendojnë me e nda për banesa, e atëherë ai kunati m'ka thënë, m'ka premtu që ni banesë ka me ma dhënë.

- PB: Edhe kunati njejtë qasja?
- YSH: Po, edhe ka ana e burrit.
- PB: E ka ana e burrit? Sa kunata janë, sa vllazën, sa motra? A munesh me kallxu pak për strukturën e familjes?
- YSH: Po, kta janë 6 vllazen edhe 2 motra, edhe domethônë burri jem ka vdekë para 25 vite po edhe ni kunat mas luftës, shator, me pesëm-dhetë shtator, n' 99'ten ka bô ndeshje n'Suedi edhe ai ka vdekë.
- PB: Më fal që po të pys, nashta janë pak tema të ndishme, burri a ka qenë i smutë?
- YSH: Po, i smutë, i smutë prej kancerit. Edhe 2 vite, boll u mundum, shko në Lublanë e shko në Beograd e... për mjek e për ksi sene s'ka metë anash kurgjô, veç që ma tepër jetë nuk ka pasë. Edhe qekjo.
- PB: A janë vjehrria gjallë?
- YSH: Jo, asnjô. Bile unë kur jom martu vjehrrin se kom gjetë, veç vjehrrën, edhe vjehrra para 8 viteve ka vdekë.
- PB: E tash aty ôsht kunati ma i vogli?
- YSH: Jo, i katerti ôsht.
- PB: Kânë edhe vajza tjera mâ vonë apo?
- YSH: Ka, vajza ôsht. Domethônë, kunatat e mija, motrat e burrit, domethônë kunati ôsht ma i madhi, e dyta ôsht kunata edhe i pesti fmij ôsht vajzë, tani edhe tre kunet janë ma t'ri se kunata.
- PB: E tash janë 7 fmi qysh pe kuptoj a po? Apo janë 8 pa burrin e kunatin që kanë vdekë?
- YSH: 8 kanë qenë krejt, domethônë 2 kanë vdekë e tash 6 janë. 4 djem edhe 3 qika.
- PB: Qysh âshtë puna e hises? A munesh pak?
- YSH: Te ata puna e hises ôsht shpia e vjetër, qaty ku kena jetu na, aty kushte për ma tepër nuk ka, veç edhe kta vllaznia e krejt e kan lanë qat shpi, asni hise s'kan lypë se secili ka marrë banesë për veti, kanë bô banesa. E tash qaj kunati i 4't që ôsht, m'ka premtu që ka mu dhônë ajo pjesë për banesa, e at'herë m'ka thônë një mu, një ty. Qeshtu na ka premtu ai.
- PB: Edhe kjo familje âshtë n'Gjilan a po?
- YSH: Jo ktu n'Prishtinë janë ata, po po kta janë në Prishtinë mrapa teatrit, te Parku i Qytetit, shumë afër.
- PB: Me prejardhje a e din?
- YSH: Kta janë t'Gadimes, moti, para 150 vjetë nashta kanë ardhë në

Prishtinë. Llogarite ti gjyshi, vjehrrri jem ka lindë në Prishtinë.

- PB: Pra, kokan banorë t' vjetër.

- YSH: Banorë te vjetër, qytetarë të vjetër jônë.

- PB: Mirë.

- YSH: E kur ke puna te hisja, krejt ja kanë lônë atij kunatit, i kanë thônë shpia si te ipet për banesë, një ty e një për mu se kta tjetër krejt kanë.

- PB: Kush ja ka lânë kunatit?

- YSH: Kunetët, motrat edhe vllaznit jônë dakordu qe ajo shpi mi metë atij, edhe ai frikë e ka qitë mi veti se krejt jônë kônë të pajtimit, ajo shpi ôsht në emën të kunatit, veç që ôsht në pritje tash veç kur te marrin për banesë.

- PB: E a ke pasë rast me qëllu kur kanë diskutu ose kur kanë debatru për këtë punë mu nda motrat me vllaznit e vet?

- YSH: Jo,

- PB: Apo veç e din qysh e kanë?

- YSH: Une e di se ai kunati kur ka shkue aty te secili, se kshtu që me thônë tybe mu kônë jo, veç i ka thônë atij kunatit qishtu qishtu. Kunati ka thônë sa i përket meje nuk ka problem. Ai tjetri njejtë ka thônë e ai tjetri e, edhe qeshtu jônë kônë të pajtimit njejtë krejt.

- PB: A janë gjithë të martum?

- YSH: Gjithë jônë t' martum.

- PB: A kanë fmijë?

- YSH: Krejt kanë fmijë.

- PB: A kanë shumë fmijë?

- YSH: Jo tash secili ka 2 i ka, tash ai i madhi i ka 3 djem, kunata i ka 5, qajo motra e burrit, ajo i ka 4 qika, ni djalë, kunati qaj qe ô n'Suedi ai i ka 3, 2 djem 1 çikë, domethônë, prej meje e knej jônë veq ka 2.

- PB: E a ta merr menja që fmijtë e njanit kunat që kanë vendosë mos mu kanë pjesë e shpisë janë ni nashta pak t'lëndun ose të cenun ose thjesht kanë thânë nashta baba s'ka dashtë?

- YSH: Nuk ma merr menja, se jônë të ri. Nuk din ata, nuk ma merr menja që mujnë me mendu ata thellë.

- PB: Jo perderisa janë n'ksi familje edhe unë nuk menoj që kanë mujtë.

- YSH: Sigurisht se ata jônë 17 -18 vjet 16... 14, qatÿ sillen e domethônë qe nuk jônë bash ata që... se i kan prindët. Ata hala nuk jônë

ne moshën madhore që me ditë, e tash masi i kan prindët e prindi vendosë për të vet.

- PB: Çka po menon ti k'tu te na n'Kosovë? Tash pe dim, e kem pak traditën interesant në lidhje mes burrit-grusë, vllaut-motrës, e sidomos në raste me ndâmje të hises.

A ta merr menja që bahen ndâmjet e barabarta në Kosovë?

- YSH: Jo, jo.

- PB: A ke pasë naj rast? Ose a din ni rast që me të vërtetë u kanë nashta rast i keq me e qijtë... dikush osht i lëndun, ose dikush nuk ju ka da hise, ose dikush ka lypë me e pasë krejt përvete, as vllaznive as motrave mos mi jau dhanë? Çka ta merr menja?

- YSH: Nuk e di unë, unë çka kôm pa përmes televizionit, a din, raste.. se kshtu në familje jo, nuk muj me të thônë kurgjo për familje.

- PB: Veç në Kosovë po menon qe nuk ndahet drejtë?

- YSH: Jo, nuk jônë, ka me shku kohë.

- PB: Pse po menon që ka me shku kohë?

- YSH: Pse? Se prindët i kan fajet.

- PB: Prindët i kanë fajet?

- YSH: Po, prindet i kanë fajet. Ata edhe pa u martu, se fmiu kur të martohet ôsht diçka tjetër e edhe pa u martu prindi si prind duhet mi thanë ti e ki qito, ti e ki qitô.

Duhet mi jau nda baraz, se fmi ôsht ai, për prindin ôsht njëjtë si vajza si djali...

Veç qe te na jo. Hala nuk o mentaliteti.

- PB: Po, nëpër zona rurale, nëpër fshatna oshtë pak ndryshe puna e tokave.

- YSH: Qe ku e the se rasti mu kujtu tash, ni rast. Çika e kunatës dojke me marrë banesë ktu në Prishtinë, edhe nuk ja mrrike, se u dushke me kredi e me sene. At'herë u qun prindët ja blejten.

- PB: Qysh ja kan ndihmu prindët? A kanë shitë naj tokë të veten për mi ja mbulu, apo?

- YSH: Jo, nuk kan shitë (kollitet), po kunata ka hi në kredi, domethônë nana e vajzës, kunata e jeme ka hi n'kredi edhe ia ka mundsu ni kest që po dufke me pasë, me dhônë ti pjesemarrjen për qatë banesë, me pasë pjesëmarrje. Tash sa u kanë shuma aty nuk e di.

- PB: Po varet prej bizneseve, dikush e ka ni shumë t'caktune, dikush një tjetër.

- YSH: Varet qysh jane marrë vesh, veç që po, kunata ka hi n'kredi edhe edhe ja ka kry.

- PB: Shume mirë, shume rast i mirë. E naj rast tjetër jo nashta n'familje t'ngushtë po n'familje ma t'gjënë te mixhallar't e babës ose dikun ma larg? Qa t'kujtohet ty për ndamje t'hises, qysh e kanë pas ata?

- YSH: Qe te halla jem për shembull, djali i hallës tem i dyti. Çikën qeshtu u da, i kishke kushtet atëhere, djali i hallës teme i vogli i tha a p'ja jep paret për ni banesë a p'ja jap unë, se e drejtë e çikës asht edhe ki me ja dhônë. Edhe u qu ja blejti banesën n'Fushë Kosovë. Po n'Fushë Kosove ia ka ble banesën, edhe që thojnë ajo sot e atë ditë n'qat banesë ôsht, po se i pat mundsitë edhe ia blejti. Do me thônë axha i çikës ke iniciator për m'ja ble banesën.

- PB: E çka menon ti personalisht teta Ymran, pse bahet ky lloj diskriminimi, se shumë mirë familja juj kokan rast ma i veçantë edhe shumë mirë që e kena edhe ni qesi rasti, po pse për shembull kryefamiljari, n'këtë rast baba po supozojmë që i ka tri çika edhe tre djem, cila oshtë arsyeya pse ai vendos veç djemve me ia da e vajzave jo?

- YSH: Epo ai mendon që trashëgu'si asht veç djali. Vajza thjesht faktikisht po shkon n'fis t'huj, tash merr mbiemër tjetër me krejt, a për babën trashëgu'si ôsht djali.

- PB: Për babën trashëgues âsht veç djali? Hala ka met n'kulturë mbiemri?

- YSH: E qe edhe ni rast kunata jem ma e vogla, baba i vet, thjesht, puntë i kanë super.

Edhe ai kur ju dajti qe djalit e asi, edhe çikave jau dha ka 5 ari tokë, edhe ato janë n'Matiqan. Tokat ka 5 ari.

- PB: Edhe ato mujnë me vendosë a mi shitë a mi-

- YSH: A mi shitë a çka, ajo ôsht e sajna, çka bôn ajo, pasunia ôsht e sajna ajo vendosë vet për ato. Qe, edhe te ai rast baba i vetë jau ka pasë dhanë.

- PB: Shumë mirë nëse ka raste.

- YSH: Ka raste, ka raste veç qe tash nashta edhe na nuk i dijmë sa duhet, veç qe raste ka. Nuk mujna me thônë që s'ka.

- PB: E a menon që në të ardhmen ose në të ardhmen ma të afërt ka mu përmirësu pak?

- YSH: Po gjethqysh, sigurisht që po. Në të ardhmen e afërt sigurisht që po, se tash prindët e rij nuk e kanë mentalitetin si t'babës, tash

rinia osht ndryshe. Thjesht, nuk bojnë dallime, a është çike a është djalë, thjesht -

- PB: Qe thojnë evlad.

- YSH: Evlad i tij. Tash dallime nuk bojnë, edhe po ma merr mendja që koha që po vjen ma shumë kanë me ju kushtu çikave se djalit.

- PB: A janë te shkollun fmihtë? A o vajza e shkollune? Djali?

- YSH: Po, po.

- PB: Çka ka t' krye vajza?

- YSH: Vajza ka gazetarinë, tash për momentin është' menaxhere në Albi, te kandi i lojname Plejlend, aty e menaxhon krejt Albin. Se është, turqit e majnë tash, sivjet e kanë marrë ata, domethënë qaq që ka qenë e përkushtune për punë, qaq që është e zoja për qatë punë, at'herë kur kanë vendosë me e çelë turqit, kanë thënë, nëse e merr me menaxhu ajo pe çelim përndryshe jo.

- PB: Shumë mirë, e djali?

- YSH: Djali, edhe ai punën e ka mirë, po punon programer me ni firmë amerikane, mirë i kanë puntë. Qikaq.

- PB: Shumë mirë, ma s'pari po me vjen mirë që e kena ni rast që ti je kryefamiljarja edhe e ki ni rast që ke vendosë mu kujdesë për fmihtë edhe çka osht hala ma interesant nuk ke dashtë qëllimisht me marrë hise, jo veç pse të kanë n'imu vllâznit, po kjo është shumë mirë, besoj që njëjtë ki mi pasë edhe fmihtë në të ardhmen.

- YSH: Sigurisht, përiherë duhet, se unë ju kom përkushtu shumë, se fmia në vegjëli e merr ato, çka osht ma kryesorja i kom pasë msu që me rrejtë nuk bon. Qikjo është, me rrejtë nuk bon edhe nuk rrejnë. Liritë i kanë pasë, ani qe ô çikë e qe ô djalë, dalin shetit, rrin në 1, 2 e 3 te nates, veç me tregon edhe u kry. Qikaq. Ma tepër, un' kur e di ku është s'ka nevojë me më rrejtë. Fmija edukata kultura e krejt.. është shumë. Kurrë mo nuk rren, jo mu po kërkonin se u msu në qat rreth.

- PB: Sigurisht...

- YSH: [çon durt dhe me mimika thotë: qikaq]

- PB: Teta Ymran, ju falemnderit, po m'vjen mirë që e patëm edhe ni qesi rasti e edhe ni qesi qasje, po besoj qe qito raste kanë mu rritë sikur qysh jeni edhe ju.

- YSH: Dhashtë Zoti, dhashtë Zoti.

- PB: Falemnderit shumë.

- YSH: Ishalla rriten, ishalla vetëdij'sohen, se mu po ma merr menja

qe po, se rinia e sotit është tjetër. Mendime tjera ka.

- PB: Falemnderit shumë edhe niherë

- YSH: S'ka përse.

English version

PREFACE

This collection of interviews is an invitation to read personal stories of how people experienced, understand and remember custom, behaviour and change on women property rights and inheritance in Kosova.

The interviewees tell us their life stories, experienced and opinions on woman's share of inheritance, they talk about decision-making within different families, they discuss how *tpani* (a kind of lifetime compensation for the married daughters by inviting them to take toil for weeks or months, usually twice a year) and dowry or *çeizi* (girl's personal goods, clothing, handcrafted work and decorations) and so forth. They also give their opinions on current affairs on inheritance rights, social and cultural changes happening everyday and propose alternative choices to traditional norms.

In general, the stories given in interviews indicate that the right of the daughter to get the share of family inheritance exists as a concept in traditional way of thinking. However, inheritance rights in practice were not granted nor used for many reasons, ranging from taboo to poverty. In the patrilocal context, kinship and tribal relations and poverty, land was secured to sons as family heirs and daughter's share of inheritance remained a token of gift. In traditional form and practice, sister's share of family wealth and inheritance was kept by her brothers and in return they received hospitality (such as *tpani*), continuous care and support and refugee in case of divorce. Yet, some interviews indicate how traditional social practices are changing. Traditional concepts and practices and the property rights guaranteed by Kosova laws are negotiated in everyday practice to produce "gifts", a form of compensation for the daughter. For example, "an apartment/flat for the daughter" is common practice as a "gift".

In public discourse it is common to hear that "the daughter has her share", when talking about inheritance rights. This indicates that in principle women are recognised as heirs. On the other hand, it is often repeated that a daughter/sister does not take her share because "a sister does not take her brother's property". This points towards the hypothesis that her share of inheritance has survived mainly as a concept, pledge and a way of negotiation, security and compensation in the patrilocal context of property rights mainly to maintain family, kinship and social balance and power in village life. This is an indication but it obviously invites further research and interpretation.

This collection of 10 interviews presents many authentic experiences told by men and women from different parts of Kosova on the theme of woman's share of inheritance. The interviews were conducted in December 2016 by students

of anthropology, Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Prishtina "Hasan Prishtina". Informants were chosen by students themselves. Despite the fact that the project was completed in a short period of time, each student has transcribed their interviews themselves. As a project mentor and an editor, I have provided some transcribing guidance for students. They followed this principle: to remain as close to authenticity as possible. This means that spoken language (in dialect and subdialect) was transcribed into text by following some traditional norms of transcription using diacritical signs.

This collection is accompanied by a CD with recorded audio interviews on it. We hope the material presented in this book and in the disc is useful for researchers, scholars and others and used as an invitation to discuss and study Albanian language, culture and history. It can be used as research evidence of everyday life and discourse for various academic disciplines.

As a mentor and editor of this project, I would like to thank the interviewees, all of them who agreed to share their stories, opinions and experiences with our students and with the world. Without such individuals willing to participate, any study of oral history and memory would not be possible. Thank you! I take this opportunity to thank the students of anthropology (the interviewers) for their dedication and tireless work to ensure this project is completed. They are: Bjeshka Guri, Fjolla Thaçi, Iliriana (Lira) Blakaj, Linda Hiseni dhe Petrit Bytyqi.

I would like to express my gratitude to the American Corner of Prishtina, who have been awarded a grant for the funding of a small project on women property ownership and volunteers at the American Corner (Elza Berisha, Fitore Misini, Florida Kastrati, Jehona Gjergji, dhe Qëndresa Imeri Ferizi) who have helped with the translation of the interviews for a relatively short period of time. Thank you to American Corner for inviting anthropology students to take part in this project! We are exceptionally grateful to the U.S. Embassy in Kosovo for financially supporting the project which enables us to understand and comprehend better the issue of women's share of inheritance in relation to culture, tradition and to social change in particular. I also thank U.S. Embassy for offering continuous support to The National Library of Kosovo, American Corner, and the Department of Anthropology. A special thanks goes to The National Library of Kosovo for financing and producing this publication as a special edition. The National Library of Kosovo seeks to document and publish similar materials, especially oral narratives pertaining to undocumented periods of Albanian history of Kosovo in line with library's long-term project on Kosovo memory. I thank Alexandra Kelly from New York Public Library, whose visit and workshops were an inspiration to our

students.

I also thank the design studio “bubrrcat” for the layout and the cover of this book.

This material will also be uploaded to the Library’s Webpage, American Corner’s webpage and on the anthropology student webpage ANTROKOS [<http://anthropology.atkosova.com>] to ensure easier access for all.

We hope that this project paves the way to continue collecting, documenting, preserving and promoting the history, memory, culture and the experience of Kosova through oral history.

Arsim Canolli

January 2017

INTERVIEW I

Bjeshka Guri (interviewer)

Igballe Morina (interviewee, female, 89)

Date: 07.12.2016

Place: Ferizaj

Acronyms: BG=Bjeshka Guri, IM=Igballe Morina

Duration: 38'53"

- IM: Fathers name: Brahim, Mothers name: Rabiye. I was born in Gjakovë. I came to Ferizaj when I was seven. And I got married here. I got married in 1947. In that time, the system took girls to the army, as partizans, a part of brigade...in those days.

- BG: What was your age when you got married?

- IM: I was sixteen. I was sixteen and my husband was forty two.

- BG: Why?

- IM: My mother and my uncle decided to get me married... My father had died.

- BG: When did he die? How old were you when your father died?

- IM: He died when I was seven, a long time ago. So my mother and my uncle decided to get me married.

- BG: Why did they get you married at that age ?

- IM: Because they (the system) took girls to the army.

- BG: How was to be an army (partizan) girl?

- IM: Partizan girls were the same as girls in KLA . Can you remember?

- BG: Yes

- IM: The army brigades recruited girls. Since my mother and my uncle were afraid of Brigade (which could have taken me), they decided to get me married. I got married to my husband who was forty two years old and he no roof over his head. No house, no money, nothing. He worked as policeman. For a year we lived in Ferizaj and then from Ferizaj we moved to Mitrovica.

- BG: Did you live in Mitrovica?

- IM: We lived in Mitrovica for two years. From Mitrovica we moved to Istog where we lived for four years. My husband passed away there.

- BG: Why did you relocated so often?

- IM: Because the Police Force relocated them (policemen). It is different now. My husband died in Istog.

- BG: Did you have any children?

- IM: We had two children, a son and a daughter. Then I came to Ferizaj, immediately after my husband passed away. I lived with my mother in Ferizaj for a period of one year. She lived in a rented house. Then I went to Greme with my children, where I got married.

- BG: Who found this marriage opportunity for you in Greme?

- IM: A friend of mine found this marriage opportunity for me. He

(the new husband) was working on Ramiz Sadiku Company and my friend was working as a cook. She was married to a police chief but they broke up. She had no children. They broke up. After this, she came to Ferizaj. Then, she met me. She found this husband for me, and I went to Greme.

- BG: Did you take anything with yourself? Money, any share (part) of wealth...?

- IM: Two sofas, actually there were beds, not sofas, and one wooden wardrobe.

- BG: So, you did not inherit anything from your ex-husband?

- IM: Nothing else.

- BG: Only those two children?

- IM: Only those two children and things (furniture) from my bedroom. I took the furniture with myself and I got married. I lived in Greme for fifty years and after the war we came here.

- BG: How many children does your husband have?

- IM: Five children. I raised and helped them to get married.

- BG: What happened to your husband? Did he pass away?

- IM: He got killed by Serbs during the war. Together with the grandfather (* it's not understandable here*). Then I came here and occupied this flat.

- BG: Did you own any land at your husband's village, in Greme?

- IM: We had enough land but it was someone else's land, not mine.

- BG: You were married with that man... (*smile*)

- IM: I was married with that man and we had land there, but they took the land from me.

- BG: And they did not give anything to you?

- IM: They did not give me anything. Nothing, not even this (she touched the top of the finger). Nothing.

- BG: Did you speak to them? Did you tell them that you have your share of wealth there?

- IM: I did not say anything. Not a mention. What should I have said? I do not like to go on courts and other places. No. I did not want to go on courts.

- BG: Why not?

- IM: Mustafa asked me to go. He said to do (*it's not understandable*), and I said no. I have let this issue to God. He will revenge for this.

- BG: Anyway, do you think that they should give the land to you?

- IM: They should . It (the land) was divided.

- BG: Divided by them?

- IM: Divided by them. Me and my husband had our own house. Our house was burned during the war. Then, they took our courtyard. They built their house on my courtyard.

- BG: Whom did you live with after your separation with your step-children?

I : With my old man. I lived only with my old man. Just two of us, alone. We were separated from them. After the war I came to Ferizaj and I took over this flat which was a property of Serbian woman and I remained here .

- BG: Did the Serbian women contact you for anything or to take her flat back from you?

- IM: No, no. I bought it.

- BG: How did you buy it?

- IM: With money. I worked with lead (molybdomancy, fortune telling with lead and water). I collected money, dinar by dinar, by melting lead. By saving the money, hundred by hundred, I bought the flat.

- BG: Did you melt lead in Greme?

- IM: Yes, I did it for five years. But I could not earn money in Greme. In return for my services, people brought me a bottle of milk, a pair of socks, or a towel. There was no money there. I earned money here, after the war. Sometimes I earned 30€, 40€, 50€ per day.

- BG: This means that you created your own wealth?

- IM: I bought my home by melting lead and I bought a flat for Hy-sen.

- BG: Your grandson, right?

- IM: He is my grandson. I bought a flat for my niece and I gave Lume 8000€ to help her son who was sick. She sent her son to Germany where he recovered. I worked with my own hands.

- BG: Do you still talk to your stepchildren?

- IM: With stepsons, no. They do not talk to me. I never visit them and they never visit me.

- BG: Why they do not talk to you?

- IM: I do not have any issue with them. I helped them as much as I could , because I wanted to, not because I took something from them.

Rexha was unemployed and I took care of him until the war broke out. I bought him food, paid for heating, and everything.

- BG: Do you think that they should give you land?

- IM: They should give me land. That land was mine. What happens? You work hard for 50 years, but Albanians do not give you anything. When your husband dies and you do not have children, you have nothing. When you have children, and you want to stay with them, you have your share of the wealth/inheritance because your children will grow up. Even though you have children, if you decide to get married again, you will have nothing.

- BG: Was it like this before?

- IM: It was always like this. Earlier, now, always.

- BG: Do you know someone who took her share of inheritance from her father?

- IM: From her father, yes. Naxhija took her share of inheritance (wealth) from her father.

- BG: What's the case of Naxhije?

- IM: She was raised by her aunt (uncle's wife).

- BG: When did this happen?

- IM: It happened recently, just before the war. She took her share of wealth/inheritance. They were two sisters and both of them took their share of wealth/inheritance.

- BG: Do you know any details? How did it happen? When did it happen?

- IM: They were orphans raised by their grandmother. Their parents died. They had a brother who also died immediately after their parents died. They had a house which was near to us, which was bombed during the war.

- BG: In which war?

- IM: During World War II. There were bombings going on and one of the bombs fell in their home and killed their grandmother. So, it was a war and their grandmother was killed. In fact, my mother buried their grandmother in the courtyard.

- BG: Why did she bury her in the courtyard?

- IM: She buried her there because it was a war time. After the war they took her out her grave and reburied her in the local graveyard. Only those two girls and a boy got out alive. The boy had a lung disease. Girls

had only one lawn which was sold to cure their brother from his sickness. He didn't recover. He died. Their house was destroyed by a bomb and its courtyard was sold by my uncle (the brother of my mother, who in this case was the brother of their father), who took these girls in, raised them and got them married. He helped them with dowries (handicrafts). He did everything. He took girls on regular long visits [alb. *tpanë/tpani*] as we have traditions. After some time they started to understand their case and asked for their share of inheritance which my uncle gave to them. They took their share not once, but twice.

- BG: Why could they get it twice?

- IM: They behaved like that. They wanted to take it without consideration. He (the uncle) gave the share of inheritance for the second time. When they asked to take the share of their heritage for the third time, my uncle came to me and ask me and one cousin who live beyond Bibaj hamlet to be witnesses. He was the person who bought their lawn. And she came to ask me to be a witness in court that he has not bought her lawn but took it from her by force. Do you understand?

- BG: No. Can you explain how did it happen?

- IM: I am talking for aforementioned lawn that my uncle sold in order to help their brother to recover. And the situation is like this: she [Naxhmije] was in a economic crisis because four of her sons were living in one house. So she wanted to take the lawn which was sold before in order to help her sons prosper. Do you understand?

- BG: Yes. She did that for her own interests.

- IM: Ehh...She came here to ask me to be her witness. I said "Never, Nexhmije. I will not be a witness. If I will go on courts, people will blame me, I can't dishonour my husband's grave. People will think that I am asking for a share of inheritance/wealth here". I said "I will never be the witness" and "I know quite well that that lawn was sold to help your brother." But, she stole the property documents of that lawn from the wardrobe of my uncles' wife, and brought them to me. She said "I have the documents", and then I said "Even if you have hundred of documents with yourself, I will not do that [being her witness]. I also said "Shame on you" and I screamed at her. I said "Why do you have to sacrifice [lose] yourself for you sons. They are young and they will work and find a solutions." She said "There is not enough space in the house for them". I said "And you want to make more space with someone

else's property?" I screamed at her and she never came to me again. She passed away but she never came to see me again.

- IM: What else do you want now? (She laughs)

- BG: I want you to tell me the situation before. Which was the difference between being a girl and asking for your property/inheritance rights - (she interrupts)

- IM: We were not happy when we gave birth to a girl. (laughs)

- BG: Not at all?

- IM: Not at all. (continue to laugh) Girls grow up. When a girl was raised by her parents, and when she became a teenager she wore a hijab [alb. *ferexhe*]. She did not walk alone in the street and without wearing the hijab. She got engaged by her mother, father, and uncles. Then, a mediator came and asked for the hand of the girl with "alla nemrile" ["In the name of God"].

- BG: What does "alla nemrile" mean?

- IM: It's when mediator came to ask for the bride's hand. Eh! He asked for the hand and he got the permission for the engagement. The girl worked on her handicrafts (alb. *çeiz*; eng. *dowry*)¹ for a period of six months or one year, depending on husband's situation. As it is known, the girl did her *çeiz* at her home. Then, she got married and went at her husband's home. Two weeks after her marriage we went and took her *spari* (alb. *spari* is the bride's first visit home after the wedding) to visit us. It was not similar with what happens nowadays. Nowadays, when a girl gets married she goes and visits her parents the next day after her wedding (laughs). In that time, after the wedding bride stayed at her husband's house for two weeks. Then, the family of a bride went to see the new family of their daughter and celebrated there. They took their daughter [the bride] back for the first visit. Their daughter prepared *kuleç* [small round baked bread, often sweet] and other dishes which she sent at her husband's house as gifts. This was the tradition before. When they took their daughter on a visit and vice versa they exchanged pies.

- BG: What did the bride send as *çeiz*?

1 Although the Turkish word *çeiz* means *dowry* in English, the same word in Albanian is mostly understood as dowry in the form of handicrafts, lace, knittings and other type of cloth which the bride brought with her. Another Albanian word is *pajë*. In general, *çeiz* is often financed by bride's family but also by husband's family. It is made in forms of clothes, useful to wear, and in form of lace useful to decorate and place on top of furniture.

- IM: They sent various pies (*kuleç* and *kollpite*) (She move her hands to show how they made pies.) We were happy when the daughter came back to visit home and we used to say “We are gonna have pies today!”. (laughs)

- BG: How did they prepare and send the *çeiz* when they got married?

- IM: We prepared our *çeiz* and all of it was handicraft. It was embroidery and lace for everything, for beds, for example, because there were no sofas at that time. We prepared embroidery for our husband, father in law, mother in law. We gave gifts such as *boshqallëk* (embroidery in gold) to the husband, to father in-law, mother in-law, and to someone whom our mother in-law wanted to respect. Our *çeiz* would fill two rooms. Nowadays, it's not the same. Nowadays you send cell phones. (laughs)

- BG: Why do you think a share of inheritance is not given to wives and daughters?

- IM: The Albanian law does not give the share of inheritance to wives or daughters. If the father is alive and he wants to give his daughter part of his wealth/property, then he can do it. A brother will not give her sister her own share of inheritance. If she takes her share through courts, she will fall out with her brother.

- BG: Why would she fall out with her brother?

- IM: Because (this means) she does not like him. She took her share of inheritance (in form of property/wealth). But, if the father willingly gives to her share to her, that is fine.

- BG: What happens when a sister sends the case to court and the court decides to give her the share of inheritance? Would her brother still love her and allow her to visit him (alb *tpanë/tpani* = regular visits) anymore?

- IM: Not at all. She will be excommunicated. This is a typical Albanian thing. Others don't have it. Albanians have this tradition. An Albanian brother would never like to see his sister who took her share of inheritance.

- BG: That's bad.

- IM: It is bad. He doesn't want to... It is like this. Our tradition is like this. But if the father wants to, then he can prepare a written testament for his inheritance/property and wealth. He divides his wealth for his daughter and his son. For example, he can give her a piece of land, or

compensate her with money in exchange for the land. This depends on how wealthy he is and what he can afford to do. A father can do this, but a brother will not.

- BG: If you brother had many acres of land, would you take your share from that land?

- IM: No, I would not take my share.

- BG: Why not?

- IM: I could not do it.

- BG: What if he has many many acres of land?

- IM: Even if he had many acres of land I would not take my share of it. Why should I fall out with him and stop seeing and being with my brother? Let's say I am sad at my husband's house. I can go and stay with my brother for one week or two weeks. I raised those five children by staying at my brother's most of the time. We were seven. Their father died, their mother had none at her family. It was me, her and five children. That's how it is! Yet, there are people who are greedy and would take the share of the property (inheritance) from their brothers. I would not do that.

- BG: What if he was willing to give you the share and not be angry about it?

- IM: Maybe he would get angry and maybe he would not. Nevertheless, I could not take the share of wealth from him.

- BG: It belongs to you?!

- IM: He has a daughter. She can take it now. Her father died. They (children) have the house. She has three brothers. Her brothers told her that when they sell the house they will give her the property share. She said that she does not want to take it, but I am sure they will give her the share that belongs to her.

- BG: You would not take it, would you?

- IM: No, I would not take it. I had only one brother. I did not have two or three brothers to visit in case I broke up with one of them. I had only one brother and he did not have that much wealth. He did not make me get into such messy stuff.

- BG: Does this mean that your brother did not inherit land from your father?

- IM: We inherited a house from our father. However, it was sold by our uncle. What a good house that was! Right in the center of Gjakova.

Three houses were built in the courtyard of my father's house. It was our uncle who jeopardised our lives. Our father died. Our uncle brought us in Ferizaj, without a house, without a ... (it's not understandable), nothing. We had hard lives growing up.

- BG: Then you rented a house, right?

- IM: Sometimes in rented homes, sometimes somewhere else... we hardly managed. Then, uncle died and we were left without a thing. Our mother got cleaning jobs in rich families earning just enough to feed us.

- BG: Even your mother did not take her share of inheritance, right?

- IM: She did not take her share of inheritance on time. Our uncle sold the land in Ferizaj and wanted to go in Albania. At that time, he wanted to give my mother her share of wealth. She did not accept it.

- BG: She did not want to accept it?!

- IM: Our uncle tried to convince her to take her share of wealth. My mother had five brothers who were killed by the First Serbia (1912-1916).

- BG: First Serbia?

- IM: Yes. They got killed during the First World War. In that time, Serbia killed her five brothers and her father. Uncle Ahmet, my mother's twin brother, escaped. He wore a *ferexhe* (a kind of hijab) and escaped together with other women.

- BG: Did your uncle escape from war?

- IM: My uncle and my mother were fourteen years old. They were twins. He escaped from Serbian regime because he wore a hijab to look like a woman.

- BG: Did they own many acres of land?

- IM: They had a lot. Everyone knew Jashar Goga.

- BG: Who was Jashar Goga?

- IM: Jashar Goga was my grandfather. He had his own "*hamam*" (public bath).

- BG: In Ferizaj, right?

- IM: He had his own "*hamam*" in Ferizaj. He got a lot of money hamam. He got *lira* (golden coins). Money was the cause of his death. They robbed him, took his bag full of liras and killed him.

- BG: So they had a lot of land?

- IM: They had land, wealth, everything. But all males got killed, besides my uncle, who escaped by wearing hijab. He stayed here for some years and then moved to Albania. He stayed in Albania for many years.

He returned when the Second World War was over.

- BG: Do you think that your mother should have taken her share of property?

- IM: She should have taken it but she did not. The uncle requested her to take the land. He said "We are going to Albania. So, we want to give you your share of inheritance". But my mother did not want to take it.

- BG: It would have been better if she took her share of inheritance, right?

- IM: Yes, maybe it would have been better to take it because she was in need. But she did not take it. She behaved like that. When she came back after a long period of time she did not know anything about his brother. When uncle was in Albania, he never wrote a letter to her. In that time, people did not dare to write or make visits with others in Albania. They came back from Albania after we won freedom. Then, he bought this house which is located near the Station (meaning the train station in Ferizaj).

- BG: Did they have any land after they came back from Albania?

- IM: No, no. They did not have any land. They just bought those houses and nothing else. That land was property of daughters and it was sold to recover the boy who was sick. They did not have anything else. In early days, parents got their daughters engaged when daughters were in cots or in mother's womb. If you gave birth to a girl, you will marry her with my son and vice versa. It was like this.

- BG: If a couple decided to divorce after the marriage, was the bride allowed to take her *çeiz* ?

- IM: Not her *çeiz* in total. Only those handcrafted lace and embroidery that she brought into marriage from her father's house. She did not take even her gold jewelry.

- BG: But wasn't *çeiz* prepared by the bride?

- IM: She prepared the dowry but the materials which were used to prepare them, were given to her by the husband.

- BG: So, husband bought everything.

- IM: Yes, husband bought everything. She could take everything she brought from her father. But, in case of her husband's death, she had the right to take everything from her bedroom.

- BG: Even the *çeiz*?

- IM: Yes, all the *çeiz*, but nothing else.

- BG: What did you bring with you when you got married? Did your husband give you the raw materials for *çeiz*?

- IM: I got married during the war. He did not have anything. There were no threads and textiles available for embroidery. It was a war.

- BG: Second World War?

- IM: Just imagine. We were liberated but things were not in order for many years after the war. Eh...There were some blue and red scarves! The pioneers wore them. I took those scarves and undid them to make new threads for embroidery. You could not buy threads, or threads stocks, textile for embroidery or other materials. *Muhaxherka* (a migrant woman) brought some dead women's clothes, as she died on childbirth, for my wedding.

- BG: What if your husband had died?... (She interrupts)

- IM: But, my husband died. I had only two children and nothing else. I had only two wooden couches, one wardrobe, and five cubic meters of chopped wood for fireplace. I took everything with me and I got into the train wagon. All that stuff in a wagon.

- BG: Did your mother live in Ferizaj?

- IM: Yes.

- BG: You came to Ferizaj in a wagon, by train?

- IM: I came in a wagon, rrangadanga-rragadanga. Children laid in beds. I held the lamp like this (she rises her hand a bit higher to show). The train stopped in different areas and I was afraid because my children were little, and I carried five cubic meters of chopped wood, two beds, and a wardrobe. I spent all night in a wagon. I suffered that night.

- BG: You would not take your share from your brother, would you?

- IM: No, I would not take the share?.

- BG: But you needed it very much.

- IM: I needed it, but he was poor.

- BG: What if he had more wealth?

- IM: I could not take it. In this way I would not be worried about him and would enjoy my visits at his house. Anyways, he did not have wealth, usually I assisted him for his living.

- BG: There is a saying "You will not benefit from the wealth that you take from your brother". Did this saying influence your decision?

- IM: No. You will benefit from that wealth if your brother wants to give that wealth to you. If he did not want to give it to you, but you took

it, then you will not benefit from that wealth. On the other hand, if he wants to give you your share of inheritance, he will say “Yes, we are the same.” Then, a sister can take and benefit from her share be that wealth or property.

- BG: Should it be like that, “we are the same”?

- IM: Well, there are different kind of people. There are people who are willing to give you your share of inheritance and there are some others who are not willing. Then, if you send the case to court you just make more troubles for yourself, with all that hear and say and also court delays. That is how it goes. Back in time, two sisters took the same amount of wealth share as one brother. Do you understand? Two sisters inherited one part and one brother took the other part of wealth. Nowadays, it’s not the same because, sister and brother are the same.

- BG: So, two sisters were equal to one brother. If they gave her share of heritage... (She interrupts).

- IM: Yes. Two sisters took the same amount of wealth as one brother. That’s how it was. Nowadays, the son and the daughter have the same rights.

- BG: Now it is better, isn’t it?

- IM: It is better now.

- BG: How do your friends think about it? Do they talk about the inheritance and share of property and wealth?

- IM: We did not have the chance to talk about it. No, we did not talk about inheritance issues. I have mentioned earlier that only Naxhije asked for her share of wealth.

- BG: So, you know only one case, when a woman asked for her wealth?!

- IM: No, nowhere. Nobody from our family took the heritage. Our family had our married daughters, four sisters in law and they never asked for heritage.

- BG: Even though the family of your husband had a lot of land they did not give you your share, right?

- IM: They had land and still have land, but we did not take it. They were three brothers. When they decided to not live together they split their wealth into three parts. Their sisters did not take anything from them. They were seven children in total, four sisters and three brothers. The sisters did not take their share of inheritance.

- BG: And...

- IM: Wealth/property share belongs to you but if you don't want to break up with your brother, then you do not take it. In this way you do regular and enjoyable visits at his house. On the other hand, if you take your share of wealth/property (inheritance), his door will be closed for you. You may go and visit him but you will be blamed for what you did.

- BG: Why do you think that you will be blamed if you take your share of inheritance?

- IM: You would be blamed – he would say “You took my inheritance. What do you want now?”

- BG: It was not his, was it?

- IM: It was your brother's because you got married.

- BG: The family of your husband did not give you either?

- IM: Even at your husband's, there is no share of inheritance. Females are discriminated. It's like being between two fires.

- BG: Why do you think so?

- IM: Eh, that was the tradition. What could I do? Brother would not give you the share of inheritance. Even if he does, he will break up with you. Girls also were not allowed to choose their husband. If a girl got married by choosing the husband herself, she would not be allowed to enter in her father's house anymore. She would be shut out by her father, mother, brothers, and everyone. The mother probably would see you after some time. But you would not enter in that house anymore. This was our habit before but it's not now.

- BG: Is it better now?

- IM: Now it is better. The girls marry who she wants and how she wants and everyone agrees.

- BG: Now you can take your share of inheritance?

- IM: Well, listen to me. When my son died, the father, uncles and cousins of my sister in law wanted to split her from her children. Then she did not go because she had five children. They said that she should go with them or she is not allowed to go at their house anymore. I was present there and I said that she (the daughter in law) has their blood but those little birds (children) belong to us even though they were young. Thus, I said to them, they could do anything with her and I could not stop her. If she wanted to stay she has her own place here, but if she wants to leave, I could not stop her by force. Then, my daughter-in-law

said "If kick me out of the door, I will enter through the window".

- BG: Did she say this?

- IM: Yes, my daughter in law did say this. So, my son died and left his wife with five children and it was her family who wanted to take away my daughter in law and get her married to someone else but she did not obey her family. She stayed.

- BG: Then she never visited them?

- IM: No, she did not visit them. She did not exchange visits with them for a period of twenty years. They shut her out and abandoned her which means that she did not have a family anymore. I used to send children on visits at my brothers house in order to break the monotony.

- BG: If you would take the share of inheritance from your brother, you could not visit your family anymore?

- IM: Eh, No. We were seven in our family who went on two weeks visit to Gjakova. It was like that those days. You were not allowed to take the share of inheritance from your brother. If your father wanted to give your share of inheritance, then he could do that. You are closer with your mother and your father rather than with your brothers. Brother would behave according to his wife's mood. It is different story with father and mother. Your sister-in-law doesn't like you. She would mention the share of inheritance to you, if you took it. What do you think? Of course, she would not like you...

- BG: But, your brother can give you the property, no?

- IM: Brother would give you the land if you insisted on it. He can give you the land but then ask you to never enter in his house anymore. That is the issue. Father would not behave like that because he would wholeheartedly decide to give you the land .

- BG: It was also your uncle who wanted to give the share of inheritance to your mother.

- IM: He left this country. He sold everything including land and the house, and wanted to give the share of inheritance to her sister. But his sister did not want to take it. So, the door of his house was open for my mother when he came back. My mother visited him and he did the same. It's better...

- BG: It's better that she did not take her share of inheritance?

- IM: It is better.

INTERVIEW II

Bjeshka Guri (interviewer)

Anonymous (the interviewee is anonymous, female, 39)

Date: 07.12.2016

Place: Ferizaj

Acronyms: BG=Bjeshka Guri, AR=Anonymous

Duration: 38'53"

- BG: Can you tell me something about your childhood?

- AR: Yes. I was born in 1978. My family had two sons and I was their first daughter. I had the same childhood as any other Albanian or Kosovar girl. I grew up in patriarchal family where girls were meant to do only the housekeeping. Girls were only suppose to do only housekeeping and and not go out...In that time, we did not have the freedom of going out and I had the chance at least to go to elementary education, to complete elementary school until I got fifteen years old. On the other hand, we kept good relationship with each other. As in each and every family, my family always gave priority to males. I was usually engaged in housekeeping and nothing else.

- BG: What about your education? How did it continue further?

- AR: After I finished my elementary education I went to high school for four years. In that time we had gymnasium located in Lipjan. I went to high school but I did not continue my education further. After I graduated from high school I stayed at home. Actually, I did not try to apply in university because "I am a girl and I should not continue my studies."

- BG: Is that the mentality of that time?

- AR: Yes. Then, I stayed at home and I did housekeeping as every other girl. In the time when my brothers went out and enjoyed their life, I stayed at home and took care of the house. After a period of time I got married.

- BG: What is the continuation of this story?

- AR: I got married and went to live in a large family. In that time, my husband was pursuing his education. Thus, I had to care for my husband, whilst he was getting a degree, and also his family members. Besides other thing, my husband's uncle and his wife lived there and I took care of them because they didn't have children. Since they did not have any child, my husband was gifted to them by his biological parents. This means that the biological parents of my husband gave their son to them so when he grow up he takes a good care of them. My husband's uncle lived in a village and my husband lived in Ferizaj. Hence, we used to go to the village and provide care for husband's uncle every weekend because his uncle and his wife did not want to live in the city. So, I had to take care for our family members in Ferizaj and in village, and I had to take care during my husband's education. I did all this as any other women would do. This means that I had to get up and get prepared... (It

is not understandable). We also had cows.

- BG: Did you have cows in Ferizaj?

- AR: Yes, we had cows in Ferizaj for which we had to provide care.

- BG: Did you live with the parents of your husband?

- AR: Yes I did. I lived with parents of my husband and his two brothers. I had two brothers-in-law who were married and lived with my husband.

- BG: Did you live with brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law?

- AR: Yes, I did. Up to the war [1999 war] we lived all together and during the war we left Kosova. I forgot to tell you that my husband graduated with a medical degree and he is a general physician, or GP. Then, because of the war we left Kosova and together with my husband and with his family and went in Italy. The oldest brother-in-law went from Italy to France. When we were in Italy, I had only one child, my son, and then we came back to Kosova. After we came back from Italy, I lived only with my husband and our children because my brother in law remained in France. The other brother-in-law lived in another house with his family. Thus, I lived only with my husband, our son, and the parents of my husband. We lived in this way, and we also cared for the my husband's uncle and his wife who lived in the village. When my son was seven years old, I gave birth to a girl, and we became parents of two children. My husband and I had a very good relationship. This means that we had good marriage even though my husband was very busy at his work and I did all the housekeeping and provided care for his uncle and his uncle's wife. After my children grew up (my daughter was seven years old on that time), my husband's uncle and his wife died in a difference of two weeks. They were very ill before they died and we had to provide intensive care for them.

- BG: Were you the only person who provided care for them?

- AR: Of course. I also had the assistance of my husband even though he was very busy and most of the time I had to take care of them only by myself. My husband's uncle and his wife had disabilities so I had to take care of them in the way we care for our children. This means that I had to change their diapers. Then, they died and I remained only with my family and the parents of my husband. After my daughter became seven years old, I gave birth to another daughter. So, we got two daughters and one son. After I gave birth to my second daughter in August, my hus-

band and I started to have problems. It was unbelievable for everyone how this could happen to us because we had a happy life, good love, and excellent relationship with each other. As every family, we went on vacations, we went out... So, it was very strange for me and for others when the relationship between us started to destroy. My husband found another woman...of whom I did not know before, and who was the reason of our break up. After I gave birth to my second daughter, I started to have problem with my leg and I could not move and walk on it. As a result of this, I decided to go to my parents because I needed someone to take care of me and my children. My son was fifteen and my daughters were young. Thus, I needed someone to take care of me and my children. Hence, I decided to go and live with my parents for two weeks until I would recover from my leg. I had my doubts that my husband was in a relationship with someone else because he started to change his behaviors and he spent all of his time with his phone... and so on. When I was staying at my parents house, my husband came each day to give my injection therapy. Then I decided to come back home because I knew that something was going on there. When I went back to my house I also took my niece with me to take care of my children. When I came back home, I continued my therapy. My husband called me in our bedroom to give me the injection and he told me that we should divorce because we cannot continue to live together anymore. I asked for an explanation: what went wrong. I could not believe what was happening. This was unbelievable for me and for others. I decided to cry and then my son came and asked what was happening. I told him everything and we definitely decided to divorce with my husband. I lived there for another month. But we were not together anymore.

- BG: Why have you decided to stay there?

- AR: I decided to stay there because I wanted to stay in that house, and I did not want to let my children there. It is known that I would not take care of his parents anymore as I did before, since I did not have any support from them regarding our problems.

- BG: You did not have any support from your husband's parents, did you?

- AR: I did not have support of anyone from my husband's family.

- BG: Why do you think this happened to you?

- AR: I do not know. I do not know why... maybe because his closer

(biologically) to them. Then, I continued to live there for one month with people whom I did not want to see anymore. This happened because I did not want to let my children there.

- BG: Did you try to live with your children somewhere else? Did you propose this to you husband?

- AR: Yes. I told my husband that I would not let my children and would neither live in that house (but separated from him and his parents), or somewhere else where he has to ensure our living. We lived in that house for one month. My husband wanted to extend the procedures of the separation because he thought that I will withdraw my requests toward him, that I will let my children, and will go back to love with my parents. This would never happened. I also had pressure from my brothers who asked me to live somewhere else without my husband.

- BG: Was a problem for your husband to live in the same house?

- AR: No, it was not a problem because he was always out, either with his girlfriend or at his work. I did not have the chance to see him all day long. In November of that year, my husband decided to buy me a flat. This was done because my husband had pressure from my brothers because they did not want me and my children to live there. Initially, he bought us a small flat in the city center.

- BG: In Lipjan?

- AR: In Ferizaj. I wanted my children to continue their education at the same place where they started and to not get away from their city. So he bought us a flat (which had one bedroom and one kitchen) where we lived for approximately one year. Then we relocated in another flat. The reason for the relocation from previous flat were the size the previous flat was very small, it has poor conditions and no heating. My daughter was very small (young) and needed proper care, and we did not have heating, so we had to use the electricity for heating which increased our living costs. I together with my three children had to cover our costs with 150€ at month.

- BG: So, you husband paid the rent and gave you 150€ ?

- AR: No. He bought the flat. The flat was registered under his name, not in mine or my son's name.

- BG: Either ways he took the flat, right?

- AR: It was registered under his name. After one year, he bought us a larger flat. He sold the flat where we were living and added extra

money in order to buy us a larger flat and to have a better living place for our children.

- BG: Was a problem for him to let children live with you? Did he visit you very often?

- AR: No, he did not. Immediately after our separation we were living in the small flat and he came more often to visit our children. After one month that we went out of the house he brought his new wife there. After he brought the other wife he was not that much interested for his children. After we started to live in the new flat we started our divorce procedures in the court. During court sessions he said that he could not pay the alimony and he could not divide his wealth with me because everything from his wealth was registered under the name of his father and his uncle. Yes... the wealth was not registered under his name even though he could regulate this earlier but since he did not want to give me anything he did not regulate the case of wealth earlier. The court decided that he has to pay 200€ per month as alimony... and nothing else. So, he had no need to pay the alimony for me, or to pay for anything else. Since the court was more on his favor rather mine, I have doubts that he corrupted the judge. The court also decided that he has the right to meet his children twice a month, and not more than that. We did not discuss the case of property further because I waited for my son to be eighteen years old and to ask for his own property. After this...

- BG: Did you initiate this case to higher instances? Did you complaint about this?

- AR: No because I hired my own lawyer. He was... I had my doubts that he can corrupt the judge, and find relatives who can help him because we lived in the same city. I did not try anymore because I had my hopes that when my son would be eighteen years old, he can ask for his property. I was on pressure and on a bad psychological condition to continue further. I just wanted to live in peace, to not face that pressure and to... not have those kind of problems. I needed spiritual and psychological peace, and to be comfortable with my children.

- BG: What about the second flat. Was it registered under your name or your husband's name?

- AR: We had a conflict also for this issue because I wanted that flat to be registered under the name of my son, and not mine because I knew that he would never register the flat under my name. I wanted that flat

to be registered under the name of my son because if something happens to me my children would have a roof to live or something of their own. When he paid the last rate of the payment of that flat, he registered it under his name. I live on fear because one day he might come up and kick us out of the flat since the flat is his own property. I live on fear because one day he might come up and dispatch us from the flat... and I cannot object him. My son is twenty one years old ... the issue is that our children do not want to see their father anymore. Despite everything that happened, I still continue to insist that my children should see and visit their father. Based on court's decision, he has the right to see his children twice a month or every two weeks, to take children for weekends if he wants to see them. But this did not happen because he does not come to see them in months (maybe for six months).

- BG: Did he want to see his children or not?

- AR: He does not want to see them since he never saw them or took them out. When he came to visit children after two, three, or six months he takes only our daughters because our son doesn't want to interact with him. Beside my insists, our son doesn't want to ask for his property rights on his father's wealth. My husband has another son with his wife. I do not want my children to remain without anything. When we raised the issue of division of property he said "No, I have bought you the flat and I am done with you."

- BG: Even though flat is registered on his name he says that he is done with you?

- AR: Yes, the flat where we are living is not registered on my name or my son's name. So... there is nothing done regarding the issue of alimony and property. I also think that maybe I should complain about this and do something nowadays. I would do this for an better future of my children and because I want them to have something of their own.

- BG: Is it possible to live with 200€ per month?

- AR: Nowadays, it is difficult to live with 200€ per month when my son is studying in university and my daughters are at the elementary school. It is very difficult to survive with 200€ per month when you have three children who study, when you live in a developed city, and when you have plenty requests from your children. So, it's impossible to live with 200€ per month. I also do two jobs at the same time. I work as cook and I clean a house once a month. I do this in order to fulfill my children

needs and to please them because they are the reason of my strength that help me continue further.

- BG: Can you tell me something about your family? Why didn't you inherit something from them?

- AR: My parents and my brothers are constantly helping me. I would not be here and I would not be that strong without their support. They continuously support me for every need of my children. Since my son is studying at a private university they help me to pay for his education. They did not help me to solve the issue of property because they also do not have wealth.

- BG: If they would have wealth, should they offer you a share from that wealth? Would you ask for your share of inheritance?

- AR: Yes, of course. We are five children and why not divide our wealth in five equal parts. I think that everyone, every woman, should ask for the inheritance rights from parents or husband, in order to have her own wealth.

INTERVIEW III

Fjolla Thaçi (interviewer)

Flora Batalli (interviewee, female, 60)

Date: 06.12.2016

Place: Prishtinë

Acronyms: FB=Flora Batalli, FTH=FjollaThaçi

Duration: 36'7"

- FTH: Can you tell me the year of birth and where you grew up?

- FB: I was born on the 3rd of June, 1958 in Peja , incidentally (lough)

- FTH: Why incidentally?

- FB: My dad have been officially appointed, you know at that time we said with party duties... he hwas a secretary of party, although he immediately went to complete studies in Zagreb. My father comes from Gjakova, my mother comes from Prizren, and us the children, the three of us, were born in Party duties (Communist Party). My brother was born in 1949 on Rahovec, sister in Prizren. My husband comes from Mitrovica, with origins from Gjakova, but we live in Prishtina. I say that I am literally Kosavar. I grew up in Prishtina , since I have been living here from 1960.

- FTH: You mentioned family, can you tell us more about your close family?

- FB: At my father's close family we are 5 members, I have a brother and a sister. Brother is 10 years younger than me, whereas sister is 5 years older than me and I am the youngest one.

- FTH: Have you inherited property?

- FB: No we haven't inherited property, we have divided it, e.i... is the way children are educated by the parents. Is the same case with me. I have a son and two daughters, as my mom did, and I always say that love is according to the merits, do you understand? Everyone is saying that parents love all children equally, I do not believe that all children can be loved the same way, because one of them is drawm more to you, is more careful. You may not like same way the one who is the best and the one who broke your heart and makes you upset every single day and causes 100 problems,... The compassion is the same for all children, as the saying goes: all fingers hurt the same when cut. Let's hope nothing bad happens to them but everyone deserves the love of partner, parents, love of brother and sisters. But I say to my kids thata despite the actions of behaviours that you do, I may differentiate in love, but with the property all you have to inherit 33.33 % of inheritnce whether you are good or bad. You are my children. It was my choice to give birth to three, or two or five children... from the moment that you decide to give birth, you decide to treat them equally not differently. What? You give birth to three boys and don't think that, nobody gives the share for free do you understand? She/he has three girls and they are the same. But when they are

mixed, problems arise immediately, you know too much but ... it doesn't matter. Anyways, our generations is different in my opinion. If one of the children lives with parents in the same house and when the parents die you cannot kick out your brother from home and say to him right now we will share our property, because he stayed there all his life and took care of the parents. Now, here are arrangements in question. But, there are some specifics nowadays that nobody wants to live with others, as it was my case with my parents. When my brother was married, although he was the only boy in our family, he left us and took the flat. It is normal that this property will be divided. Nowadays, it is different. Things has changed, everyone is living in its own, right? Nobody has to live with anyone, but if you want to take care you can do it, it doesn't mean you have to live with each other. There were times that people lived together, all lived in the same house together, but nowadays things have changed for some people and for some people have the standards to maintain change. It is normal when you create your minimal wealth and wellbeing then you want to ensure that you will create wealth for all the children equally.

- FTH: You mentioned earlier that family education plays an important role, can you tell us more specifically about your relation with your parents?

- FB: Yes, I am saying that my parents never made differences between us on gender basis. On the contrary, we were favorite as women probably because the situation was like that, to take care of us, i.e.. meaning that women must be respected.

- FTH: In which aspect?

- FB: In all aspects, they educated my brother in that way to be equal and to respect his sisters. There are a different specifications. For example, at my father's side there were four brothers and a sister, to my grandfather there were three brothers, my grandfather had four sons i.e... just my aunt was girl, she grew up like a queen and she says I am the sister of ten brothers and always they had a special respect for a woman. It is the same in my family. Whereas at my mother's side there were all sisters, they didn't have any brother, my mother has inherited but probably it happened because she didn't have any brother. The shares are divided into equal parts, i.e.. even though my mother has died, 82-3 year old, somehow in our consciousness we were taught not to make any

distinctions on gender basis. But also, caring about our parents wasn't just a male thing, we all care for them equally, whoever could do that.

- FTH: Except the part where your parents have taught you to not make differences and to consider each other equally, how much importance did they give to your education?

F.B Yes, the three of us have university education. We all got a degree. It was of primary importance, it has been a family heritage and legacy to ensure that we get an education properly. Education was more important than material wealth. In those days, having a proper and relevant education was valued, whereas nowadays every value is saturated and I think education, elementary or university one, it has become a marketplace. As they say only if the tram or train hits you otherwise you will complete your degree and in Prishtina there are no trams, so you will definitely complete your degree. In early days, education was much more important. Look, those things have all come spontaneously and nowadays people talk more about materialistic values. My children are preoccupied more with issues such as : he owns this, he has this, and so on . We were different in those days since everybody had the same. There was an average for everybody. With one or two salaries within the household, you had health insurance, free education and opportunity to study, you only had to have the will to learn. Even those who had 10 children, all of them have been able to get a higher education degree without paying semesters, without paying the dentist, it was the same for all, but nowadays there is an enormous difference between people.

- FTH: Can we talk about your friends, your circle of friends and if there was any case that has injustice has happened to women? And how do you feel in cases when women are discriminated?

- FB: Well, I will be more specific about that. I am saying that we were brought up in an environment where despite of our differences in social class we were equal, for example, I never felt more superior to someone, to my friends. What I can say is that I was a child of politician. My dad was a director of Economic Chamber for 8 years, he has been also the director of members of the Parliament in that time, he has been the leader of Kosovo's delegation to Yugoslavia but those discussions...I was equal with all my friends, there was no difference. Nowadays immediately, you know, you get an attention, whose child you are and that and this, whereas those days there was nothing like

that, maybe I wasn't as conscious and we didn't make much fuss about it since we were educated in that way. The elementary school, the high school, the faculty were all the same for all of us. And when we talk for inheritance, I don't know. I can say that my friends took their share of inheritance also, they inherited property, because their parents were educated. But in the one case my friend had brothers and they had houses in Taslixhe [Prishtina neighbourhood] when they want to share their inheritance they have not given anything.

- FTH: How do you feel for your friends that didn't receive inheritance, while you learn and grow up with the idea that each of us is equal and you have considered normal?

- FB: It is very normal to me. But it is not normal that at the moment when you want to seek the share of inheritance that belongs to you the relations between sister and brother break up. This is what happens amongst us: our family relationships break up. We have many cases when relations between sisters and brothers are broken just for that reason. If you don't want to take [the share of inheritance as a girl] it is okay but if you decide to take it then your relationships break up. I am saying that it is easier when you have what to split between you, but if you don't have what to split that problems arise I think that until nowadays, actual time, people didn't have anything to share or split between them as inheritance. It is a different story with our generation, you and your parents, I and my children. Our parents didn't create wealth. In my case, what to share? My father had a flat that he received by the state and during 90-95s those flats were privatized in the time of Milosevic. But I was lucky that the flat was a good one, in the city centre and its value increased. My father had not land and he worked all his life and he wasn't able to build a house. But we have a villa in Brezovica also the flat, and after the war it was sold and when my mother we divided the shares.

- FTH: How did you split it?

- FB: In three equal parts: my sister, brother and I.

- FTH: So you sold the flat?

- FB: Yes we sold it.

- FTH: Have you divided the money?

- FB: Yes, we divided the material value. I say this that because it is normal when parents leave property as a legacy that it should be divided into equal parts for all children after the parents die. For, if my brother

has continued to live there, regardless that I have the right to share of inheritance, if he didn't have any flat or palace to live you can't get him out of his home.

- FTH: Do you think that in this case a conflict might happen?

- FB: Well no, conflicts do not happen all the time.

- FTH: Disagreements, misunderstandings?

- FB: Conflicts arise for the reason that people are greedy. There are cases when the son inherits all the property and wealth from his parents and they have enormous wealth from parents, especially from dad, and then the girl gets married without any share of the property and wealth. In such cases it is normal to have conflicts because she is also the child of the same parent. Why doesn't she have the inheritance right? She could be compensated. There are many cases when they could compensate they they don't because she is a woman. It is a difficult mentality.

- FTH: Do you think that traditional practices affect this mentality?

- FB: Two –three generations need to pass for us to become more open minded [she says open-minded in English]. Those things happen in Albanian culture. However, I don't know if it is something that happens only to us or it happens to others as well. Because when it comes to the birth of girls it is the same in all Balkans. Montenegrins are the same. All in Balkans when a girl is born, they ask for a boy, in the first week, do you know? It is a sensitive topic but nowadays it could be resolved in courts. There are rare cases of agreement, but most cases that go to court end up in conflict. But I think, it is parent's fault.

- FTH: The cases that are examined in the courts, do you think they are cases between two males of family or the female takes the courage to present them in the court for any disagreement like this? We know that many women don't report those cases of injustice in legal instances for the sake of family peace.

- FB: Well, look! It is their mistake that they don't go. Now, thankfully we are equal before the law according to the law we all are equal. This has been the same in the past even 30 or 40 years ago. This kind of law was 40 years ago. Maybe inheritance law has changed in the sense of ... because in the early days, when the husband died the spouse inherited all the property and wealth and after the death of the parents it was children that inherited it. Whereas now it is not the same, if one parent dies, the mother and the children have the equal right. But, in most cases

relationships will break definitely. That is why parents are important in this sense. It is their fault, it is always their fault to pass such problems to the children and not solve them in time. All such bad things happen because parents do not tell their sons that they are equal to their sisters and do not sort out those things before they die. Things such as the inheritance will, this belongs to him, this belongs to her, and so on.

- FTH: You mean, when the family considers a son more special than a daughter.

- FB: It is unquestionably present here. I have recently witnessed a phenomenon: the sister is compensated for her share, a small percentage, just for the sake of it. But this is not an equal share, a share that belongs to her by law. Those who have more they buy a flat for their sister, for example. I always say it is much easier when you have wealth and property.

- FTH: If a family has a lot of wealth do you think that they will sort out equally or have more disagreements?

- FB: I think that there is no doubt that it will not be divided into equal portion. There are not many who would split that into equal parts. People need to be conscious of that, they need to be emancipated to be able to do that. Everyone should start from himself/herself.

- FTH: Do you consider yourself lucky to have been born into that family?

F. B: Yes undoubtedly. I was lucky to be born in that family and to have parents who educated us in that way. Also I was lucky for circumstances that are created and conflicting situations never happened to us. However, I am saying that women should take their inheritance. children should be given their share of inheritance because you are a child and have not chosen to be here and as such you haven't chosen your gender. But if you have only one brother and your brother lives with your parents, parents should say that they will give their share of inheritance to him who lives with them, whereas other parts should be divided into 4 parts for the mother and her 3 children. You can favour the one which takes care of you more than the others. It was uncomfortable situation for my parents. They have worked for 40 years and at the end they have ended up without pensions. It was a period for 20-25 years without pension i.e... from 90s when they had very good salaries but their contribution has remained in Serbia... let's not enter into this topic. It is a sensitive

topic that has a lot of specifics and for our mentality it is unacceptable for the moment.

- FTH: In what kind of sense it is unacceptable?

F.B.: Well to split the inheritance equally between males and females? We even don't want to talk about as a society because is taboo topic in the villages. But in the cities is still something else.

- FTH: Here I would like to intervene. As we know, in the villages women are less educated and more discriminated. Let's discuss this in relations to some cases of disagreements about sharing inheritance and wealth and addressing them in court. Do you think that education has the important role in the raising of awareness to females (alb. *femra*) in that way that they receive rights for their property? And do you think that here is the problem that in rural areas it is still considered a taboo topic?

- FB: Education is essential and in the villages females without education they don't have the courage to seek their rights and some might not even know their rights. She is so oppressed as they have persuaded that she doesn't have any rights. When you she gets married (a woman living in a village) they consider her as a commodity not like a person. In the city is something else. I like the fact that they are raising awareness about this topic and much more is needed and not only you who are doing projects but also in the media I hear that there are special programs to raises awareness of women and the their rights.

- FTH: Can you talk briefly about your close family with whom you live? About your children?

- FB: Well since you asked me: I have a boy and two girls and always when someone ask me how many children you have, I tell to them 3 but if they are interested to know the gender I tell to them later but the most important thing is that I have children. The interesting thing is the difference on the age of my children: it is the same as me, my sister and brother. My younger daughter has 10 years difference with her brother and, like me, 5-6 years difference between each other. What I am trying is to give them the same education that my parents gave to me. I am so satisfied to offer them what my parents offered to me. Because times have changed and things are harder than we thought they would be. But for a large part of the population it has become harder that it was. Fjolla let me say that I was so lucky, as my husband says to me too, that I was

lucky to have him, but it is not that, I have been smart to ask for such a husband, but this is not fate and luck. In life you get what you ask for. In life you have the motto: respect yourself and others will respect you. Be yourself.

- FTH: This was a good closing message.

- FB: With this message I've walked through my life. Firstly, I respect myself. When I respect myself other people respect me. If you allow others to trample on you, to decide your fate and do things on your behalf then problems arise.

- FTH: We had a very good conversation together. Thank you for accepting to talk to me.

- FB: I'm glad. There is no problem at all. I am really open, I think so I have no barriers. I am excited that this topic is being brought up and talked about. If we talked about this more maybe our courts would do a better and larger issues that we know are important. It is a simple math, this is an elementary mathematics. All we need is to get the message into people's head.

- FTH: Thanks again.

- FB: Thank you Fjolla. We finished just when my lunch break finished. I didn't even have the chance to treat you with a coffee.

- FTH: There is no problem.

- FB: All the best and hope to see you again..

- FTH: Have a nice day.

INTERVIEW IV

Fjolla Thaçi (interviewer)

Anonymous (interviewee, male, 75)

Date: 09.12.2016

Place: Prishtinë

Acronyms: FTH=FjollaThaçi, X=Anonymous

Duration: 26'0"

- X: For example, I have two girls and two boys. I have given the boys their share, but unfortunately not to my daughters.

(Intervention by the son of respondent)

SON of X: ..In fact they declared that they do not want their shares. This is what happened.

- X: They said that the boys have an obligation to take care of parents and we have to get married and cannot come to take care for them. You have your boys close to you. That's why they have withdrawn from that property.

- FTH: If the girls did now withdraw from taking their share of inheritance would you have split your share equally for them, too?

- X: Absolutely, I would give my inheritance in equal shares to everyone. But they didn't want to. They are my children, too. For example I have this flat that it is worth 70.000 Euros and I would compensate their equal share somehow. But they said that if you care about mum and dad until they are alive we won't take our share since you are providing that care which require a lot of energy and it is a big obligation. The boys take care of us and provide everything. They pay for our summer holidays at seaside, get away weekends and so many other get aways and visits. In other villages, they do not practice giving inheritance to girls, but nowadays many people do that since girls have their inheritance rights too.

- FTH: Do you think that people are more aware of this ?

- X: This is happening all over the world. In many civilized countries this is happening since all are equal, boys and girls.

- FTH: Do you think that are cases where girls are not taken in consideration at all, don't you think so?

- X: Yes there are some bad case, It is a wrong if you didn't take into a consideration your girl. Your children are your children. For example, I took care for girls more, I spent everything to educate them. I have two daughters, one has completed studies and has become a specialist in medicine whereas the other one is an architect. I gave them everything they needed for education. I never let them waiting for anything, I have bought all the equipments for architecture to my daughter so she can study and she deserved it because she was a top student. Is the great joy to see your children studying and doing things rather than wasting their time.

- FTH: I know you but for those who don't know you, can you briefly talk about your family?

- X: My mother and father had eight boys and no girls. We all are alive, my 62 year old brother has passed away and now I have 7 brothers. All my brothers have children, and all our children are well-educated, they have been wise and never have done any problem. I am really satisfied in that aspect, there is nothing important in the land created by God to be honest and sincere. Also, they never brought any trouble at home, never violated the law and none of them is known for conflicts and things like that.

(Intervention by the son of respondents)

SON of X: Did you ask for division of the property, did he answer? For example my sisters have categorically declared that they don't want to take property. We all respect the issue of giving the share of property to females according to state law and religious law. An since we are Muslims we really wanted our sisters to take the property. They said that they have all things that they need, and it wasn't necessary to split the flat. I split the land only with my younger brother.

FTH They don't want to take land?

- X: Girls?

- FTH: Yes

- X: No. They don't want property, they leave property to my sons who take care of us. For, the ones who take care of parents have a lot to do. I am satisfied here in this flat with my young son and his wife and children. We spent good time together. During the summer I stay in village, they come and visit during weekends. We have a happy life. in the village I have some other "children", too – my bees. I love bees a lot and take care of them as they are my my children (laughs).

- FTH: Where did you grow up?

- X: I grew up in the countryside.

- FTH: In which countryside?

- X: In a village called Begracë. My mother was a housewife and my father was a farmer and they both have had great harmony between them...

- FTH: Did they leave you any wealth ?

- X: They have left to us some very good things - mountains of wood. We have woods we use for tree chuncks for heating and arable land. But

today people are not so much interested in agriculture. Furthermore, we had a lot of good things until we become able for ourselves, and when we began working each of us had an average life.

- FTH: The woods and the land that your parents have left to you have you given to your childrens?

- X: Yes, to my sons.

- FTH: Have you divided it into equal parts?

- X: Yes equally, both of them have flats in Pristina and also house in village as vikendica (weekend villas). I don't know what to say.

- FTH: What was the role of the woman in your family?

- X: Women have an equal role in our family. Labour is divided. My wife has her own things inside the house, I care about things outside the house. But we are old. Now, my son and his wife are working and we babysit their children. They have salaries and provide for us, too. We are all happy.

- FTH: What is the significance of woman's role in this case?

- X: Well, in the past times, women were not respected but they are equal nowadays by law because women can do any men's job. As I said, my son works but so does his wife and both bring salaries equally at home.

(Intervention by the son of respondent) SON of X: If women had no rights in our family, his daughters wouldn't be educated. Women have been a priority in our family.

- X: Yes, a priority.

- FTH: For what reason?

- X: In terms of rights enjoyed in the past, I have been worried that women do not enjoy their rights and I have worried since childhood. I used to say how it is possible that the women do not have the same rights as men do. And there I got the confidence and I have committed myself that I would never distinguish between my children and I have realized my dream. The girls are educated in the same way as boys I don't do any differences. I gave myself a task that I would never differentiate between children because I had seen how women were treated differently in other places.

- FTH: Do your brothers follow the same example?

- X: Yes, the whole family is like this. We do not treat women differently. My nieces are like that and I love my nephews in the same manner.

I have 5 nephews, 5 nieces. God gave me 5 nephews and 5 nieces, echa better than the other (laughs).

- FTH: Doid you convey those virtues to your children?

- X: A popular proverb says: The rear wheels go behind the front wheels. I make sure that I discuss those thing when we gather round with my sons and daughters and ask not to treat sons and daughters differently beucase that is not right. It is not right from cultural and religious point of view. Only those lagging behind would differentiate between the children according to gender.

- FTH: When it comes to dividing the wealth, what do you say to those who differentiate between sons and daughters?

- X: I would say to them that every parent who has children of both sexes, he has to ask them, like in the parliament, whether they are interested, how do they think the wealth should be divided and ask them to decide as one voice and in unity so everyone is satisfied when we are talking about wealth. None should unhappy but all should be equal, because if ther eno justice there won't be respect and if there is no respect there will not be wealth.

- FTH: And when you divided the wealth between the two boys, did you meet, did you discuss, how long did it take?

- X: No too long, very quickly. My youngest son asked his brother to choose.

(The youngest son of respondent intervenes) SON of X: I am going to tell you in details. I said to my brother I am going to leave to you the apartment and I will go to Begrace. In that time we had just the apartment and house in Begrace. No, he said 'I get another flat and you to keep this'. Here we are separated, he has a flat and I have a flat. But the house in Begrace was shared between us. Then he built himself a house in Begrace and got into his own house and his own apartment. We had a lawn of 50 acres and father gave him that because our flat is much bigger and we thought he should have that as supplement to his flat. But he said 'no, I will give you 15 acres and take only 35 acres for myself'. So, he felt bad and woanted to give a piece of land. Then father decided to give him 20 acres near the old houses, because he had to sacrifice more to built his house in Begrace so father decided to give him the land near the old houses. This is how it worked. He tried not to damage neither of us.

- FTH: No conflcit or dispute has been noticed?

- X: No, no

(Son of respondent intervenes): No absolutely, for example when Zena got into his own flat, we split all things equally, couch and other things. I was joined by my uncles sons and helped him. We snet the TV table, the living room table, and many other things. Yet, he took only a small number of things because he didn't wat to damage the flat here. There was absolutely no conflict. We begged our sisters to take their share but they didn't want it. They said that thanks to God they had everything and agreed to leave their share here. I asked then 'are you sure?' and they said 'we are 100% sure that we don't want any part of the wealth'. They could take the flat if they wanted to, but they couldn't take the whole flat. She would take the share of it such as $\frac{1}{4}$ of it, which would not be useful to them. Then we would have sold the flat and use the money to compensate but they didn't want their share. As an example. You can also aske then to prove what I am saying.

- X: One characteristic thing. I have a hunting rifle from 1974 and it is very good. I will save it until I am alive and then I will leave it to my nephew and it is my will to do so. I will leave it to the Zena's oldest son and that is done. I told him to transfer the ownership since I am 76 and too old to go hunting and he can have that as a gift from his grandfather.

- FTH: Have you written your will?

- X: No. Just my oral will. I have a pension fund, where they stole our funds where there are nearly 20 or 30 thousands of euros, because Serbia didn't pay or me for 17 years. And if I get that money and I am not alive, I will leave that money to my nephew Trimnor. He has been very kind to me.

INTERVIEW V

Iliriana Lira Blakaj (interviewer)

Petrit Bytyqi (interviewee, male, 29)

Date: 10.12.2016

Place: Prishtinë

Acronyms: IB= Iliriana Blakaj, PB=Petrit Bytyqi,

Duration: 32'28"

- IB: Petrit, in the beginning of this interview I would kindly ask you to present yourself, your age and everything else that you consider as relevant to share for this interview, for people to know in the beginning who Petrit is and what does he do??

- PB: Yeah, no problem. Yes, I am Petrit, Petrit Bytyqi. I was born and raised in Prizren. I finished my primary education in "17 Nëntori" School. I finished my High School at "Gjon Buzuku" Gymnasium in Mathematics and Natural Sciences. I came for my university studies in Prishtina, since 2005-2006, I enrolled at Computer Sciences at The University of Prishtina(FSHMN). I continued my studies there for three years, I paused 2 years, then I started two years in UBT (University for Business and Technology) and now I am in the field of Sociology. I come from a very interesting family structure, for the fact that I come from Prizren and Prizren like a city has maybe a lot of interesting families like this. Half of my family comes from Drenica, the other half or my mother comes from Korisha. Korisha is a village in the suburbs of Prizren and like most of the villages in the suburbs of Kosova, this family managed to settle in Prizren as a result of trade work, mostly by selling wood, in the year of 1890. I cannot remember clearly, but my grandfather was only 11 when they settled in Prizren. As the work increased, they managed to buy a place and build a house. I am talking for the same house in which I live now...The house belongs to my grandfather my mother's father, not of my father's father, like it is usually common. And it's a family, not that I like to talk about my family, but sincerely is a very interesting family because it grew with a kind of special love in comparison with the normal love that all the families have. They were many children themselves, they had some people living there, and they let two rooms of their house like a dormitory for High School and College students
(Telephone rings).

- IB: OK.

- PB: So, it was a family that had much love and movement in it. They even had a student dormitory like I told you, and my grandfather as the main head of the house worked both state and off-state works. He finished masters or the higher education, if I am not mistaken, in the field of Criminalistics in Beograd, in Yugoslavia times. If I am not mistaken he had 7 or 8 children, but only three daughters survived, and the

youngest daughter of them is my mother. His children died because of different illnesses and because a lack of medication, etc etc...My mother or my mother's family is educated as well. My mother finished the field of Trade in the High Economic School, my two aunts are teachers, one of them taught and was the colleague of Drita Statovci, she taught Albanian language. My oldest aunt was a teacher in Prizren and we live near the center in Prizren, it's a place where my oldest aunt and my mother(the youngest) live yet, and they live together in a very interesting harmony.

- IB: You said that from all the children only girls survived...

- PB: No, there were boys and girls that died, two boys and two girls died.

- IB: Yes, but from all the children only girls survived.

- PB: Only girls survived.

- IB: After sons died, the property was inherited by girls. Do you think that your grandfather's approach would still be the same had his sons survived, or is it a history where sons die and the daughters inherit?

- PB: To be sincere I strongly believe and in a form even can argue why I think it would be the same approach. I will go back in time. My grandfather's wife – my grandmother, we all called her mother Time, her name was Fatime. She was extremely connected to my great-grandfather, to her father -in-law because not only my grandfather's children died, the other uncles and aunts that I didn't have the chance to meet, but even his father lost many sisters and brothers. And his great-grandfather ,although he was sick he lived many years, my aunt says 89 , while the grandfather says he lived 91 or 92 as he was registered after 3 years that he was born. He was strongly connected to my grandmother as when he saw her working, he said to her :look what happened to me, let the work and live the life while you are young". In a way we grew up listening to stories that tell a lot about an attitude of my grandmother's father in law, that make me think that even if my grandfathers' sons would have survived he would again have the same consideration for his daughters, as for real they had a very interesting love between them. For example the youngest brother of my grandfather was a very problematic person. I had the chance to meet him, I think he died by the end of 2011. He was a problematic boy since he was a child, he did problems inside and outside his house. He was maybe in disagreement and inconsistency with our

culture and education as society, and he went outside the country ,got married to a Slovenian, now his children never come here and only his wife is alive.

Now, regarding him, I know that my grandfather mentioned him many times, and the others say that grandfather said that if Shaban came back home ,even though he never loved us, I know that he respects and loves us but he did not want to live here, at least his boys would inherit something from us. So, it is a very big family and I strongly believe that if the sons had lived, in this case my grandfather's sons, the division of property would be the same, for the fact that the sons of his brother were considered to divide the property together. And the sons of Rrahman, grandfather's other brother, that still have lands in Korishe, near Prizren, have aimed at retrieving old properties which would then be a massive land that new generations of the family would inherit, be it boys or girls. But this logic changed with the last war. The logic changed because those lands were never taken even after the death of my great-grandfather and also the death of my grandfather. And in the discussions how to take those lands back, I remember it very well that my uncle, in fact the son of my mother's uncle or Rrahman's son that I just mentioned, came over at a visit together with his mother, aunts, his brother and other members of the family, they came to discuss regarding the lands in Korisha.

And jokingly he said " even if you all were in Prizeren..., 6 or 7 I don't know exactly how many of them were, ...you would have enough land to inherit".

So, there are some elements and some small stories around, from my close family, and to call it from the family of the second level, there are some sayings that strongly convince me that this approach would be the same, for boys and girls.

- IB: Alright. Now we are talking about hierarchy, if I may call it so, in the top of which are your aunts, in your house's yard. Tell me about the husbands of your aunts and your father; they actually came to live to their wives' houses.

- PB: They came as brides" go to their husband's house.

- IB:Yes,as brides... do they have their own inheritance from their families , or have they decided to come live with their wives and do with their inheritance something else?

- PB: Hmmmm...very interesting.. I don't know how to say it, even if they didn't have their own inheritance I have heard my aunt's husband myself, since we are in the same yard, I can say in the same house even we have two divided objects, like my father, he also said during all the time that this subject was mentioned "It's important that we have something to pass on to our children". So, that hierarchy was a kind of well understanding stimulated by the history of my mother's and aunts' family... I do not believe that they are that special, be it my father or my aunt's husband, that if this story had not been this way, they would act in the same way. No, to be honest, they surely kept the part of our culture with those approaches that the father being the head of the house, divides the inheritance and those things. However they changed this approach when they came there, and they had the luck to live together with my grandfather and grandmother, who were the owners of the house. So I don't believe that the approach would be the same, but it was influenced from family, from grandfather, grandmother, aunts, my mother... etc,etc.

- IB:Do you think or have you been present yourself in any moment (since our culture in general sets man in the top of hierarchy) when your father or aunt's husbands felt their pride hurt, that they weren't in that position, head of the hierarchy maybe?

- PB: To be sincere, I don't think that they felt like their pride was hurt...

- IB:Or that they did not accept it in the best way possible?

- PB: I don't think so, even though I don't know how they were in their villages, in their land where they came from, I am convinced that my father just like my aunt's husband, both of them have inherited land from where they came from too. My father had a really interesting family; he didn't have any brother or sister from the same parents (same mother), he was their only son. Then my grandfather remarried and he had 10 other children. They have many lands, we keep contact with them, they have property, we stay with them like a normal family .They have their land there, and I don't think that it was denied to my father. But I think that they (my father and aunt's husband) were very proud for their fate, for the opportunity that was given to them to live in the city where the dynamics and opportunities to get employed were bigger... there was more progress, education for their children, etc...

I don't think that... maybe somewhere deep in them yes... but when I think of all the intangible heritage that the two houses share with our big family, when I think of it, I think that they don't feel their pride hurt. Because it's a very simple and beautiful story that I believe that changed that possible hurt of pride related to inheritance, because when they moved in Prizren, I believe that their life changed, in a way I think they were surprised wow, there's another way of living. But in the other hand, now I am going to talk more about my father. My father lived abroad since a very young age, for about 20 years. He was 12 or 13 when he went abroad, he came and he married my mom, the continued to live here, but economic conditions made him leave the country again, and so he traveled from time to time back and forth. I don't think that my father had this complexity or his pride hurt because he has witnessed many social and cultural changes as he lived abroad, he lived in Germany, Austria, for a short time in Switzerland, in Croatia and he had access if I may call so, in many developed civilizations and cultures and societies and that it widened his cultural knowing that we have as Albanians. As a result, though I am not sure, knowing my father's story I think he does not feel intimidated in any way.

- IB: Okay, let's get back to you, to your childhood. How much you were aware of the fact that your family was different from other families? Did you know or could you notice is as a matter of fact, not only for the fact that women were owners of the house and yard, but also for the way that it was structured ,with all the stories that you think make your family different?

- PB: Of course I was aware. The idea was that before and after my grandfather's death, we know that we Albanians sometimes hasten to take our inheritance, but sometimes we hasten to have it documented, as nobody knows what will happen in the future. This subject in my family was spoken after my grandfather's death. His sisters said that they want to interpret something for grandfather, as they were all married and old. They claimed that they didn't want anything from the inheritance; they said that "the children are grown up and we come here as if it were our house. The family's love didn't change and that is enough for us". But they said that after his death, the sisters (my mother and my aunts) have to make a compromise, because as they said "we don't know what is going to happen next", with the explanation that the" boys will soon get

married". One of my aunt's son got married, he has 4 children. The son of the other aunt will marry soon, and "there should be a division, we shouldn't let this issue "in the air"". This was discussed after my grandfather's death.

- IB: How much did the men affect that compromise and inheritance division? Did the men have a say in the process?

- PB: I cannot say that they didn't affect it at all, but somehow they didn't affect it because they announced that "the sisters knew better it's their house, their father, it's enough for us to be here even if we don't inherit anything, we don't think that they will divorce us, we are living with them, and we have the all this place in common". I don't know, I wasn't present at all times when this subject was discussed. It was discussed 2 or 3 times in my presence, maybe they spoke when we weren't present, I didn't notice something like that. As whenever this subject was spoken my aunt's husband and my aunt in a way they left the room or didn't want to interfere in conversation because they always said: "the sisters know best, they are educated, they have been here for a long time, and they will know what to do with this issue" . My second aunt didn't want her part of share for a very concrete and functional reason. Her situation is very good, she was a professor in Prishtina, and she has a flat there, and a very big house and some land in Llapushnik, together with her husband. Also her husband is intellectually advanced. He was an Albanian Language professor, they have 2 or 3 flats in Vienna, they own property, and live with pensions and salaries of foreign countries. And everything aunt said was: "I want only a corner of the house, to come, see and dust that bed that father laid his head, for me is enough." And it was decided that the yard that is up to 5 acres to be divided between the other sisters, so my oldest aunt and my mother-youngest sister. They divided it very simply. The oldest daughter still considered: "I don't dare to interfere because father never said that he will give me the property as my share, but when he built this house, he saw us living in a small flat , he called Sylejman (her husband) and me and said : 'Do you see that strawberries garden?' We said 'Yes'. 'I will take it off he' said. 'Call Sylejman to start the building of the house. He gave us the land and our house is big", and it was exactly like this .He called them and gave it to them: "You will build your house." I forgot to mention that Ganimete is my mother, Myrvete is my second aunt who lives in Vienna for a long

time now, since 1990 she migrated there, and Shyhrete is my oldest aunt. My grandfather often called my mother "the youngest son", because my mother didn't marry very young, she wanted to finish her education, she worked in the public enterprise of Prizren, named "Liria". They exported and imported textile products, mainly carpets, curtains, blankets, sheets, and these homely things. My mother stayed home and we often tease her "when you were young you were a complicated person, you screamed and cried, 'I don't want to be married, I don't want to leave my father alone, I will stay here you said'" etc.. My aunt as well always said that Ganimete, because one story recalls the other, gathering word after word, that the last dead child of grandfather was a boy and his name was Gani, because his brother had a very closed person called Gani, he said to my father that he would love to name him Gani. But Gani didn't survive, and since the last child was Ganimete, my grandfather and my grandmother like all Albanians "let Gani be the last one" and so my mother was named Ganimete. My aunt always says "Ganimete is the man of the house, she must decide". And the other aunt didn't want to interfere in this issue as well (Are you recording, is it going everything alright?) for the fact that she feels herself extremely honored as her father gave her one part of his land, and she built her house next or two meters away from the other house, her father's house.

This was again relating it culturally, plus the time when it happened, 40-50 years ago, and happening in that time, having in the consideration the structure and the division of the family in here, at least like my aunt says it, it was something "over honorable" for them.

My oldest aunt didn't interfere, my second aunt said like that "it's enough to come and see the bed in which my father stayed", and in a way or the other the decision was left to my mother but she discussed the issue along with my father. And this is one of the points where I don't think that his pride as the head of the house was hurt because father decided that: if the oldest aunt has her house, we have our house and in front of our house we take the yard, and it was quite divided equally between 3 houses. But they considered calling the oldest people they knew in their family to make the division.

In that time was uncle Zeqir, I call him uncle Zeqir, he was old and back in the days he helped us to build our house, besides that he was the son of grandfather's uncle, he was the headman of Korishte village, Zeqir

Ukaj. So my grandfather Imer (their surname was Ukaj, in the suburbs of Korisha, a village near Prizren). And my father said let us call Zeqir as he participated while building the house, as he is the headman of Korisha, but let us call the grandfather's brother in law too.

Grandfather's brother in law comes from the village Seletisht, and he participated in our house's building and my father said to make a balance between someone from Korisha and someone outside of it. So, of course they came, uncle Zeqir, uncle Jonuz, the son of grandfather's aunt, my father, two sisters of grandfather and all of the sisters, so my mother and the other two aunts with their husbands. And they held a meeting, in which I didn't participate. I didn't participate in it for a very ridiculous reason, because I didn't have a place to sit on, as the room was very small and full of guests. And so my father and my mother willingly decided to pay to my second aunt, for the fact that she didn't want her land and we paid the part of the land in money. We keep the same relationship all the way, although this division happened, but there didn't happen any division between children, aunts and aunts' husbands, there never happened any division. During the summer, my aunt still comes with her children, nieces and nephews to visit us for weeks, just like they used to come. The atmosphere in our house is very interesting and warm, because there are always three meals prepared. Sometimes to my oldest aunt, sometimes to the second one, because that's how they call them – the grandfather's house, then it's the oldest aunt's house and the second aunt's house. This is from the second's aunt perspective and her son's children. She's so nice. The only person that is still alive from the family of my mother is her aunt. Aunt Zelfie, who was the second child after my grandfather. She's still alive and in a way she comes and visits us when she's sick or bored, like rehabilitation. She takes her things and comes for a week, two or three and then gets back in her house. So the structure regarding to the division of inheritance didn't change, especially in my case when men came as "brides", and women of the house didn't go anywhere.

- IB: How do you think that this family structure influenced you? Do you think that it influenced in the way that you were brought up? If yes, how? What kind of person you are today in regard to this "different reality"?

- PB: Ok, this is a big question that reminds me of many things at the

same time. One of the things is education: they were educated. My father unfortunately is not educated even though that is not a very big deal, because usually Albanians neutralized this problem by saying: "the school doesn't make the man a human" although I think it does make a human being out of man and it does not at the same time, these are wide subjects. My father left school in the second year of high school, for economic reasons he couldn't continue his education. The basic education came from my grandfather. He was educated himself and still is for me today, to be sincere. Look at this Lire (he tells his goosebumps), I am very close to my grandfather, and I always have goosebumps when I talk of him because I think that the biggest influence came from my grandfather. He is and he always will be my inner hero, because he had a very interesting equality in society, he had that grown ego of an typical Albanian, but he had it beautified with education. So, he had that Albanian approach, he had that manhood, even though he had only daughters, he was very liberal with them. He had that determination, and many of his village people listened to his words and if I am not wrong he was the only educated son from his big family that left the village of Korisha. He studied in Prishtina, he fled from Prishtina in Beograd, Croatia – Beograd and he finished there the field of Criminalistics.

This is regarding to my grandfather and his stories, but also me as a part of them. -

- PB: If I can relate it looks that your grandfather was the figure that influenced the respect and empowering of women in your family.

- PB: Yes...

- IB: So, my question was how did that education influence you in regard to the respect and gender equality?

- PB: I was very small for it to have had any influence but I was grown enough to remember it. So I am lucky to remember it, and maybe I later understood it. Because, I could have been younger and maybe I wouldn't remember it all. It influenced me maybe or it didn't influence me at all, I don't know, I was grown up in that environment. Maybe the change of this issue influenced me more than this issue itself. No, no it didn't influence only that...

- IB: Or when facing another external reality how did it make you feel, in the cases where you could compare it?

- PB: It made me necessarily interfere and say "hey, look in our

family is in this way, and there's nothing bad about it". And I noticed, to be sincere that in our society, in regard with inheritance share, women are less taken in consideration. For me this is not a good thing at all, but I don't know how much I am influenced in this aspect from the way I was brought up, or how much it would influence if the contrary would happen, because I was born and raised in that environment.

- IB: You have two sisters, right?

- PB: I have three sisters. My biggest sister has my second nephew now. And I have two younger twin sisters, and yes, I am the only boy in the family.

- IB: Do you think that you are privileged in any way, being the only son in your family?

- PB: Yes, for the reason that, I took a small influence of education from my grandfather, I am privileged in a matter of fact and this subject was seldom spoken, but every time we spoke about it, I said that I don't want to live in this house, I want to build another house myself. It's a pity to try and rebuild this house, because this should be kept as all our family's museum. I am privileged that I don't have a brother also, because he could have said: "I will keep this house now and this is not of your interest", and maybe problems would arise. I am privileged to be the only son, I was given the chance to have a bigger influence in property division, but I don't do that, I do the contrary. I am not taking it, or giving it to anyone, but I don't want to take it at all! And it's been ten years that I am living in Prishtina, there are chances that in the next year I will buy a flat. My economic conditions are averagely good, there's progress, I am trying to progress and I hope that I will leave that house a kind of museum, or kind of vacation house, not only for me, but for my sisters, for all my nieces and nephews of aunts, for nieces and nephews of my mother's aunt, I don't know how it sounds here but it's a very special love. I noticed that in our society they say: "mother's aunt, eh what's up with the mother's aunt". I consider my mother's aunt as my grandmother. Her children are like my own aunt's children, and my aunt is like my second mother. So their houses, even though they all smell different, for me it's not a new thing. For me it is exactly that smell that a family should have.

- IB: Will your sisters inherit something?

- PB: Of course, they will.

- IB: And are you okay with that?

- PB: Of course I am. I am all good with that. I am that okay with it that I wouldn't take nothing more than them, but I would previously try to reach an agreement to let it as a untouched property belonging to all. I hope, maybe it sounds something surreal, something "wow", but I am a very sincere person, in a way I am product of this history. So this is a very apparent and solid approach.

- IB: Alright Petrit. Thank you very much for this interview.

- PB: Thank you too. I am sorry if there were too many stories and I had to go through all of them, but in the meantime I remembered more important stories to say, because it's a big history on its own, and I think it has many interesting things. But I believe that I concluded it somehow.

- IB: Of course!

INTERVIEW VI

Iliriana Lira Blakaj (interviewer)

Zyla Imeri Duli (interviewee, female, 69)

Date: 03.12.2016

Place: Fushë Kosovë

Acronyms: IB=Iliriana Blakaj, ZD=Zyla Duli

Duration: 23'13"

- ZD: I am Zyla Imer Duli. I was born in Topallë. My mother's name was Fazile and my father's name was Bajram. I have six (6) sisters and three (3) brothers. One of my sisters died and nine (9) of us are still alive.

- IB: Would you tell us something about your childhood as a young girl in Topallë?

- ZD: Yes, I will. I will tell you. There, it was Republic in the time when I was born, it was the Yugoslav Republic. We had a good time, we were raised well. We had lively and good times. We were good and everything went well. I have just five (5) years of education, because back then we weren't allowed to follow higher education. I attended school in Topallë for four (4) years and one (1) year I went at a school in Medvegja. We studied in Serbian language, and our parents didn't allow us to go in other schools.

- IB: And when did you get engaged? How old were you when you got married?

- ZD: I got engaged at fifteen (15) and I didn't get married until eighteen (18).

- IB: Okay, how was life at those times? Did you have the right to take any property or inheritance from your father's house?

- ZD: The right of a girl to inherit from her father's house applied to Serbs at that time ... but not to Albanians. We knew that the girls should take something too, but we, our Kanun, Albanians, the daughters didn't inherit from their fathers. We got married, just like I told you, we stayed engaged two (2) or three (3) years, our parents helped us, but we didn't mention the inheritance and none of us took inheritance. The girl didn't take inheritance in her father's house... until now... that this law is made... But even now the law is seldom applied.

- IB: You told me that your father and brothers asked you to take your share of the inheritance...

- ZD: Yes, they asked me to but I didn't take it, I wouldn't take my part even now.

- IB: Why? Why wouldn't you take your part?

- ZD: Because we were like that...

- IB: Did you know any woman, did you hear of anyone that took their share of inheritance? What did people say about women that took their share of inheritance?

- ZD: They would say.....only once in the neighbourhood of my hus-

band, a woman in the neighbourhood took her part because she didn't have a mother, and her father and brother had passed away. Then they gave her the share of inheritance, but I don't know anyone else that took it... and it's not a good thing to take it.

- IB: Why it's not a good thing to take your share of inheritance from your family?

- ZD: I don't know, it's cursed somehow; it's not a good thing. That's what they say, until now nobody took it, we don't take it. Why should you take it when you can make it yourself?! You are getting an education, you have your own salary, so does he (the husband)... The parents love their children all alike, but we don't take it. You will have your own salary, you're educated, and you're finishing a double degree. Why would you need your share from family inheritance when you have your salary, your life, and you are becoming educated, you will have all the things!

- IB: So, you think that girls or women shouldn't take their share of inheritance from their father nowadays neither?

- ZD: I say until now, for us that were born in Topalle... there had been nine (9) villages in Topalle, and as far as I can remember no one has ever mentioned that daughters take something from their fathers' wealth. Our brothers came and picked us up to go visit home, when my parents were alive, they took us regularly in spring and autumn, for weddings, for fun and other occasions... Back in the days we celebrated Ashure, all the daughters would gather, and a sheep or cow would be sacrificed. We also used to have bee hives, and when there was enough honey all the daughters would take their share of honey back home. Both my parents died within a two years span. But Muharrem, my brother, would come and pick us up and take us to his house. He respected us and made us feel happy.

- IB: How often did he come to take you? How many times did you go for a long visit to your parents' house?

- ZD: He came more to visit us than we went there. I had five (5) children and very seldom could I visit them. After my children grew, I would leave my oldest daughters home to look after each other. I went there once in three to four (3-4) months, whereas during the time my children were very little I could only go once in a seven to eight (7-8) months, because I had five little children. But I am very happy with my children and with my family where I grew up. My parents have passed

away but my brothers come and take us for those long traditional stays at their houses, and I still go and stay there. Our generations that lived in that time never spoke about our part of inheritance and we would never take it from our brothers. A thing like that doesn't cross our minds!

- IB: If a family didn't have a boy, would the inheritance belong to the daughter or to the uncle's son?

- ZD: Usually it belonged to the uncle's son. The uncle took it. None of the daughters would take it. But in our family, almost every generation had boys. So for my family, that is Imeri family, we have always had boys. But I've heard from others that sometimes the property was inherited by the uncle's sons if there wasn't a boy in the family. But in our family it didn't happen as we have always had boys. My parents never asked if we would want our part/share of inheritance because... I don't know how to tell it, but it was a difficult subject to speak about at that time, and we never mentioned it.

- IB: When your father and brothers asked you to take your share, did they say that because of the law or maybe because they really wanted to give it you?

- ZD: No, they meant to give it to me, and if I would have accepted it maybe they would have given the share to me, but that subject wasn't mentioned after that.

- IB: So they did not really mean to give the share to you...

- ZD: We have heard that Serbians gave the share of inheritance to their daughters, because it was a Republic at that time, the Serbians had a solid law; they were educated and looked after their boys and girls. We were poorer, not only us, but all Albanians. We were two hundred (200) houses in Topalle at the time when I was a young girl, maybe more. They were educated (Serbians) and they went abroad in Switzerland, Germany and other places to get educated. And among Albanians the subject of girl's inheritance wasn't mentioned. But Serbians yes, they always had it. They had three to four (3-4) children, or five or six (5-6), while we were nine to ten (9-10), or eleven and twelve (11-12) children and we kept our families by ourselves. In that time people were married in the best way, with but the subject of woman's inheritance was never mentioned.

- IB: (Affirming) How many children...you have three daughters and two sons-

- ZD: I have two sons and three daughters.

- IB: Two sons and three daughters (smiling)...

- ZD: Yes...

- IB: Did your daughters ask for their part of family inheritance?

- ZD: No, they never asked for it and I never mentioned it to them.

- IB: Why?

- ZD: Because they have enough, and so do we! We are happy. I go and take them to our house, they come over my house and I go over theirs...We're happy, they come to visit us and we go pay them a visit as well. But if any new law is made or a decision is made that we give our property and the courtyard in exchange to multistory apartments I would give a flat to each of my daughters. Nine (9) or ten (10) flats would belong to us if the land was sold to build apartments. I would give a flat to each of them just because I want to, not because they don't have wealth...

- IB: Did you ever discuss this subject of inheritance in your house, between you and your husband?

- ZD: To provide girls with something, yes. It's been a year that we know that we will give our land to property developers and get a number of flats in return. If we don't exchange it now, we will have to in a year's time, because all around here are doing this exchange. And we will give them (meaning "a flat each") to our daughters... we will give to one of our daughters a flat and the money for another flat sale will be divided among my two other daughters. We always intended to give Zoja (one of the daughters) a flat. My youngest son Fadil and the oldest son Rexhep agreed to it.

- IB: If one of the girls would ask for their inheritance share what would you say to them?

- ZD: We would give it to them as the law nowadays says so, we would give them their share, why not? They're our children, like sons like daughters, they are same to us.

- IB: Would that cursing phenomenon be valid for girls now?

- ZD: Listen to mother: I give them their share wholeheartedly. But I would prefer to sell the land and give them the money rather than divide the land or property and give it to them because that kind of share is cursed, my boy! Listen to what mother is saying. Forget law and hear and say. Serbs had this as a law, but we are Albanians, we have another Kanun, another type of law. Of course you give her the money and love

her as she is your child, why shouldn't anyone help their child?! I would. Nevertheless, I would prefer to sell what belongs to her and give her money and say to her "Here my boy!" rather than give her land share as it is, because property shares are cursed.

- IB: Did you hear about any women that took their part of inheritance, what kind of curse fell on them?

- ZD: In my husband's neighbourhood, a woman named Salë took the share. She took the land, as I told you, the land of her brother and sold it. I don't know if God said so but she had a son with disabilities. And they all said it's because she took the land, and some elders said that we Albanian are cursed and it's not good to take it. It's not good to take your share from the parents, from brothers. After the daughter gets married she must go and stay and have fun (at their parents' house), she must be invited and taken to stay at parents' home and have great time with her family, they should respect her and her children. You can buy her garments and give her money and everything but the share of land is cursed!

- IB: If the father gives her part of land or inheritance to his daughter, can the daughter still go to her father's house regularly?

- ZD: Of course! If the father gives it willingly, from his heart! Of course, she can go. The daughter takes care of her father and vice versa... you can see how Zoja takes care of us! She comes and does the chores and helps me. Isn't she my child? I help her any time I can, too. Of all the daughters she comes to visit us most often. All of them love me, but she comes to help me mostly. I love my children very much, my nieces and nephews I love them unconditionally. I know that it's not a good thing to love them that much, but I am like that.

- IB: If a woman was married to her husband, but after some time her husband died, where would she have her part of inheritance?

- ZD: She wouldn't take anything in her father's house. That part that belonged to her husband, if they were, let's say five (5) sons, they would give a part to her. If she had children she would stay to raise them with her parents in law. The parents in law are nice just like your parents. She would raise her children and live there. I know one case in Sofalia (neighbourhood in Prishtina), the daughter of aunt Kada. When the brothers divided the property she stayed and took care of her two boys and raised them. One of her sons got married and one is about to

get married. She stayed in the share of her husband together with her parents in law. Her father in law died, but her mother-in law is still alive. She stayed in his house and raised her two children. She stayed there, she didn't know that her husband would die, nobody knows who dies first.

- IB: What would you say is your inheritance now? If you didn't take nothing from your father then what is your wealth? Do you have any personal wealth?

- ZD: In my father's house?

- IB: Not in your father's house but in your husband's.

- ZD: Yes, I have.

- IB: What do you have?

- ZD: I have enough.

- IB: Something that is only yours...

- ZD: Yes, I have enough, I have two sons. They live separately; they divided the inheritance, half-half. I live with my second son. But, I love the first one, even more. Both of them take care of me if I get sick.

- IB: So this is your wealth? You don't have any flat, house or car?!

- ZD: I have the marriage to my husband. And if we get divorced, because I know a couple who divorced, your grandfather Bejta would go on to live with Rexhep (Zyla's son) and I would go on to with Fadil (Zyla's younger son). In such a case we would divide the land and the property in half, all of it. He would take the first half and go to the other son and I would take the other and go live with Fadil. But we are not separated and we are living with Fadil. But we equally divided everything to our sons. We didn't take anything for ourselves, we took nothing, so to say, to have it as a share in case one of the sons doesn't take care for us so we than have the share of inheritance to make him care for us just because of the share. No, we have enough. My husband has his pension and we have our wealth, our life's work here. We divided everything equally to our sons.

- IB: You have two boys mother. The youngest one, Fadil, is in Germany.

- ZD: Yes, my youngest son.

- IB: He has two daughters and doesn't have a son.

- ZD: No, he still doesn't have any son, only two daughters.

- IB: Will his inheritance go to his daughters or to his brother?

- ZD: If Fadil... he went abroad as a young man. We run from the Serbs because the Serbs would forcefully take our boys to the army (during 80s and 90s in Yugoslavia). Before he turned eighteen (18) we send him abroad. Getting him outside the country was like losing him forever. My heart still aches for him. I leave my share to Fadil, we are living in Fadil's share. If God gives him a boy, he will inherit Fadil's share just like Fadil inherited his share. He can buy flats/apartments for his daughters in Germany. He can be close to them as my sister is with her daughters, the one living in Switzerland. She has four (4) daughters. She got three (3) flats for her three (3) daughters and one for herself. One of the daughters lives with her since she is still unmarried. Fadil can do the same for his boy. But if he takes care of his daughters, because he has his salary, if he makes them happy, pays for their education and keeps them close to him as a father should, then he knows what to do. But we will leave the share to Fadil, my share.

- IB: If Fadil doesn't have any boys, who will take his inheritance, his daughters?

- ZD: We give it to Fadil.

- IB: Then, what does he do with it?

- ZD: Fadil has his daughters. Just as I think for Zojë to give her a flat and help her, so does Fadil think for his daughters. Maybe he will buy a house or a flat for them here, he knows... but they are still young! I hope God gives him a son or maybe two or three as he wishes. But he will leave his share for his daughters, as we are going to do. If I didn't have a son, I would leave my share firstly to Zoja (one Zyla's daughters). She helped me since she was a little child, everytime I needed her. Of all my five children she was always here when I needed her. All of them helped me, Raza and Lumnija, too. But Zoja helped me mostly, she was closer to us. Zoja washed dishes as a five year old. They always helped me when I needed help and still do. So, for Fadil...if he has only girls he will give his inheritance to his girls. If God wishes to give Fadil a boy he shall leave that for his boy. But if he only has daughters, he will give the shares to her daughters and make them happy and bring them even closer to him. God willing, Fadil is given a boy and next year this time we go somewhere in some nice hotel and celebrate, dance and sing with Fadil's boy.

- IB: And what do you think, what is the difference between the time

you were young and now, the youth today, your nieces?

- ZD: The difference? In that time, there was a kind of respect. Did I tell you that I was shy to say to my father: "happy Eid Mubarak". We weren't that close to our parents. They didn't harass us, but the time was like that. I am very happy now, that I am still alive, seeing my nieces getting an education, they are all nice and they are becoming educated. Lira is studying in two universities, Tina finished her university and now is doing her Master's degree, Tesa is studying in university, too. I am very happy and pleased with all of them; it feels like I have never had any hardships, when I look back.

- IB: Do you think that girls have their right to ask for their part of inheritance at their father's house today, in our time?

- ZD: Well, mother doesn't now...

- IB: What would you say to young girls?

- ZD: You know what, sweetie? What would I say to them? Well, I say, if you are getting an education, if you parents can help you that is fine, but I would never say to my nieces to open their mouth and say: "Mum I want my share!" I wouldn't say this to any of them. Why? They are educated themselves, they have finished two universities, what would they need their share, property as you say nowadays, if they can have everything by themselves? In the past we called it "hise" (share/part). Your parents help you. Zoja is helping her daughter, Raza her daughters, both of them, Tina and Kujtesa, You are now going to school, getting and education. I am pleased with you and love you more than my daughters.

- IB: So you never regretted that you didn't ask for your part in your father's house?

- ZD: No, and I won't say to my nieces to take any share of inheritance from their father's house. Why would they take it? Look, I did it myself. I had hard times, but I overcame any obstacle, and now I have it all. Home, car, salary. We come and go whenever we like to. I am pleased when people come visit us and I put in my table all the best things, I serve them with all the best things. But we struggled! We had food for ourselves, but we struggled for other things since the time we lived in was like that.

- IB: Why do you think that boys should take their share of inheritance and girls shouldn't?

- ZD: Well, sweetie, listen. We have still that tradition, you know. Since girls are becoming more and more able to provide for themselves and their parents take care of them, there is no need for the girl to ask for it because their parents will provide them with everything they need. I don't advice my nieces to ask for their share. We are six sisters, and we don't open the mouth to say "we want our share of inheritance". Because it's not a good thing. There will nothing be left there anymore, nor would we able to visit our parents' house anymore. If you have your own salary, you are pleased with yourself and you get anything you like, you go then to your parents place and to your brother's place. They will be happy to host you in the best way. They put in their table everything for you, they greet you, they are happy you went for a visit. Is there anything better than that? What would you need your share of inheritance for?

- IB: Do you have anything else to add, mother, for the end of this interview? Something that you think you must mention?

- ZD: I will say so: I am pleased. I am quite old but I have never been sick, maybe a few times, but never in my life have I stayed in bed formore than two days. Even though I am this old! I am happy with my father's house, but my mother died at young age. I feel the void and long for her all the time. I have this void and emptiness which I still feel, like in the day we buried her. But I don't mention this to my daughters to make them feel bad. I am happy with all my family and my parents. I told you that we were seven sisters. Our brothers came and took us, we went with them. Our parents died, we go to our daughters now. We go out and drink coffee with my daughters. But every time I sleep, eat and drink I remember my mother,.. My heart, my soul, my veins are with my mother. Because she suffered a lot.

- IB: One last question: you mentioned your daughters a lot in this interview. Who loves you more, your daughters or your sons? Who takes most care of you?

- ZD: My daughters. My sons also get worried when I get sick and take care of me. My biggest son has a child, too. Everything is okay, thanks God. But my sons love me, too. Thanks to all of them. God gave me 5 children, five stars of light, all healthy and good. All of them are married and have children. I am happy to have them. I would like to live for some more years, to go to their homes and make them happy, and to host them in my house and prepare some mother's meal and tea for

them, and to spend good times with them. I love them all. I love them with all my heart.

- IB: Do your daughters care more about your sons, or vice versa?

- ZD: I don't know what to say now.

- IB: Are the brothers more thoughtful for their sisters or vice versa?

- ZD: My daughters. My sons also, but daughters more. Girls love their brothers more. I love my brother more than he loves me. I call him ten times until he calls me one time! Because it is like that: sisters are cursed for their brothers. They love their brothers! Brothers do love their sisters, but if we compare the love sisters share for brothers, we see a huge difference. Sisters love them much more.

- IB: Okay. Thank you very much mother!

- ZD: Yes. Thank you too! (laughs at the end)

INTERVIEW VII

Linda Hiseni (interviewer)

Bijë Hazreti (interviewee, female, 52)

Date: 13.12.2016

Place: Prishtinë

Acronyms: LH = Linda Hiseni, BH = Bijë Hazreti

Duration: 18'16"

- LH: Could you please tell me how the property was divided?

- BH: Yes, I was the only child, so my parents' entire property such as the immovable property and the other property that they had, belonged solely to me. It included a considerable piece of land and all other material things that my parents owned now belong to me.

- LH: So you mentioned that you have inherited your parents' immovable and material property and even their personal things, but I would like to know about the way that the division of property that you inherited was given to your parents, to your father, could you tell me how did this happen? How was the property divided to your father?

- BH: Sure, my grandfather had four sons and a daughter. As far as I know, the daughter did not inherit anything, she had no claim to the inheritance. I do not know whether she did not want any part of the inheritance or whether my grandfather did not divide property to her because in the past it was never appropriate for a daughter to claim part of a family's property, either a part of the property or an equal part like her brothers, but my grandfather divided his land between his four sons. In my opinion his decision was unjust, but perhaps he thought that he was being reasonable. My father's oldest brother, my uncle, was given the best property even though at the time held a good job, he worked as a salesman at a store, the only store in that part of the region. My father worked as a laborer and he had asked my grandfather: "if you give me the property that you gave my brother I will give you a considerable amount of money," but he did not accept, so the other three brothers; the second, my father was the third, and the fourth had to stay at the same part where they had been living before. The house was given to the youngest brother as usually, and my grandparents stayed with him, i.e. with my youngest uncle. My father was given a part of the land that was infertile; it was a meadow that was not arable for crops. The only reason for that division could be that my father had only one child, a girl, me, therefore he did not consider it reasonable to give my father a better part of the land. It was a huge injustice from my grandfather because he should have divided the property similarly. After a while, my second uncle sold his inheritance and went to live a bit further from us, he sold the land to my youngest uncle. So this is how the inheritance was divided by my grandfather to my father.

- LH: You said that that part of the land where you had lived before

was divided in three parts by your grandfather to you father and your two uncles, the land where the three younger brothers used to live?

- BH: Yes.

- LH: You said that your father's second brother sold the land?

- BH: Yes, after a while.

- LH: After some time had passed, was your father interested in buying that piece of land that one of his brothers sold to the other?

- BH: No, no, my father did not want to buy it because that part of the land that my father owned was enough for me to live in, anyway he was alone, so he could not have handled more work. If it had been a meadow it needed to be mown, or if it was a field it would have to be ploughed, it needed additional work. Since we were only three members my father could not work on it, and he simply did not want to invest in that part. He was satisfied with the part that was given to him, furthermore he had no other choice.

- LH: Since you said that your aunt did not inherit anything from your grandfather, when she visited the family where did she come, at your grandfather's or at your brothers' as well?

- BH: Since I remember, my aunt did not come for a long visit, but when she came she would stay at my grandfather's. My grandfather died when I was six months old, whereas my grandmother died when I was in first grade, so it means that I was very young and I do not remember a lot from that time. Although I remember my aunt very well when she came to visit her brothers', but I do not remember that her visit lasted more than two to three days.

- LH: Did your aunt visit you often?

- BH: Well, she visited us, but not very often because she lived only with her husband and her children. The husband worked and their children received an education, so all of them went to school in Prishtina, as a result she did not have enough time to visit us for weeks or months, but she stayed two or three days, and then went back to her home.

- LH: When it comes down to everything that you parents owned, i.e. the inheritance that you got, did any of your uncles or their children react?

- BH: No, no one reacted about that, neither my uncles nor my aunts, not even my husband's family where I am married, they did not say: "you inherited another property". I can freely say that no one interfered

in the part that I inherited from my parents, it belongs only to me.

- LH: I would like to ask you about the way that your uncles divided their property to their children. Did they divide it equally?

- BH: When they divided it to their children?

- LH: Yes, when they divided it to their children.

- BH: Yes, my oldest uncle had three sons, and he built a joint house for them. As far as I know, the piece of land that my father had wanted to take was sold by them, and then they bought a piece of land where they built a house, they built a three-story house for the three brothers, but my uncle's daughters did not inherit anything. My father's second brother that I mentioned earlier the one that had sold his part of the land had built a house that he left only to his son. He had only one son, so his daughters did not take part in the inheritance. Similarly, my youngest uncle did not divide the inheritance to his daughters, but only to his sons. He had two daughters, but they did not take part in the division of the land.

- LH: You mentioned that even after you got married your property has always belonged to you and you have completely managed it. Since you now live only with your husband and you children, your close family, I would like to ask you when the property was divided to your husband, did the property that you inherited from your parents affect in the way that your husband got the inheritance or was it divided equally to all brothers?

- BH: No, it was divided equally to all brothers. My inheritance did not affect it, my husband has a sister, they are three brothers and they have a sister, but she did not take part in the inheritance where they had lived.

- LH: Didn't she want to participate or they simply did not...?

- BH: She did not want to participate. She has her part of the property at her husband's, so she simply did not want to come and interfere with her brothers' inheritance.

- LH: Something else that I would like to ask you is: What was is your stance on the issue of the division of the inheritance, for the way that it was divided earlier by your grandfather's generation to your father, and now from your father to you. How are you going to divide the wealth that you possess to your children in the future having inherited property from your parents and also have the property that your hus-

band got from his family?

- BH: Regarding the property I inherited from my father as I mentioned earlier is considerably large property. I have two daughters and a son, I will divide it into three of equal parts. I cannot be gender biased as it had been in the past, whereas regarding my husband I believe that he thinks to divide his property in the same way as me, even though we have not discussed this issue. In the past, women did not receive their rightful inheritance even if they had insisted not to be part of the brothers' inheritance as it is written in the Kanun and other laws, it is unfair because there have been various cases: women are getting divorced, left to raise the children. So, owning a room or piece of land, would make them more independent even in their husband's families. Perhaps a woman would not bear the injustices that she has had to deal with when she knew that there is nowhere to turn, so having any kind of property is better for them.

- LH: So, it means that you consider the property as a valuable item that gives women a kind of equality in your position in your family?

- BH: Yes, yes. It is enormous support for a woman, regardless how little it is. When they know that she has property and divorces...I have heard that women were told that they had nowhere to go, they pressured her and was told that she has to bear everything because she has nowhere to go. If a woman owned a flat or a piece of land or simply a particular amount of money in the bank, they would not behave toward her how people do with a woman or a new bride as they do in most of the cases.

- LH: What is your point of view for the position of women having in mind that they are now inheriting from their parents? Do you think that this is bringing equality among the genders, even though it is fair to divide the property to the children regardless their gender?

- BH: Yes, this is the right way, it is true that it gives power to the women, a bigger support that it was not there a few years ago, perhaps even ten years ago, perhaps less than ten. My father's cousin had only one son and three daughters but he divided property to all of his children, of course he gave more to his son but he also gave to his daughters, a lot (1/8 of acre) where each of them build their house in the lots they inherited, it is such a big support. Regardless the fact the husband can be very rich, something that belongs to you is different. When one gets

married and creates a family, one thinks for that home, but it is different when you have something that you know belongs only to you.

- LH: I would like to thank you a lot for your time and for everything that you shared with me today, thank you once again.

- BH: You are welcome. And thank you for coming and for spending your time in interviewing me for all the things that can belong to a woman, but that were not given to her earlier. God willing we will gain the support and we shall receive everything that belongs to us and there will be no gender differences like they have been until now. I hope that you will have a good time in your studies and your life.

- LH: Thank you!

INTERVIEW VIII

Linda Hiseni (interviewer)

SZ (anonymous interviewee, male, 58)

Date: 10.12.2016

Place: Prishtinë

Acronyms: LH=Linda Hiseni, SZ=SZ

Duration: 12'23"

- LH: I would like to ask how you divided the property in your birth-place.

- SZ: I cannot say that it was a defined written rule that people obeyed from the past. Based on my experience, my grandparent's property, and the land was considered the primary property that was divided between family members, livestock was also part of the property for division. For instance, the property was divided by the parents' to their favorite children. If there were too many pieces of land usually, the land was given to sons where some were productive and some not very productive. The pieces of land were numbered in that way the lands could be distinguished. After that, there were written the names of the pieces of lands in pieces of paper and the letters would be hidden, later the brothers would draw a lot. Each of the brothers would chose a piece of paper and get the piece of land that was written on the paper, there were cases when they had conflicts for that in some relative families of mine, but not in our family. A long time passed until the division of property was done, sometimes there were one to two generations where the property would not change. Usually only the boys participated in the division of that property, whereas girls were excluded, the women's right for property was violated. Even between sons the division would take place due to grandparent's/brothers' favorite nephew/brother.

- LH: I would like to know how property was divided in your family.

- SZ: My grandfather had a great estate, so my brothers divided it between themselves in agreement: "I will take that piece of land, whereas I will take that property", my two other brothers agreed to it and as a result they divided it without any problems.

- LH: Why was the property divided, did any of the children request it or...?

- SZ: Yes, they did. It happened when my brothers started to talk about property division when each of them was working and started to work in their own. All of them were working in public institutions. Each of them started to keep the money that they earned, it was the first step when they did not respect the parent's rule because according to it the oldest man in the family keeps the family wallet (everyone's money). From this comes that: "since everyone keeps their own money, it is better to divide in order to know what belongs to whom". This is how the interest for property division came about, but it was divided without any

conflict or something like that. They were three brothers and they divided the land/property as they wanted, while the youngest brother (my youngest uncle) inherited the home where all the members had lived before. It had been kind of a rule where the youngest son got the home where the whole family had lived before and as a result he had to take care of his parents, whereas the other two brothers had left that home. There were cases when they did not have enough houses for every son, so they gave him/them something else instead of that such as a piece of land or part of a wood to help him/them build the house. If they had cows or sheep at that time, they would give one or two cows more to him/them or a part of a wood in order to help the one who had to build the house where he and his family would go to live. On the other hand, other properties rarely took place and did not have a special form of division.

- LH: You said earlier that your grandparent's property was divided between his sons, how many family members did your family have?

- SZ: My family consisted of three (3) girls and five (5) boys, sorry (smiles) three (3) boys and five (5) girls. Girls were not even considered for inheriting anything except when there was request from the state for any additional document for property rights, in other cases girls were not taken into consideration for their property right. There was not division of property for them, most of the cases they were not even asked if they wanted to get their share of inheritance.

- LH: You said that in your case the property was divided by a mutual agreement, was it immediately followed by a legal act?

- SZ: No, no, no it was done only when there was need for rights regarding property. It usually happened when those who were employed in the public sector were requested child support or for any other opportunity or rights of possession regarding health issues, in those cases it was required that from the person not to possess any immovable property in order to have access in these rights of social welfare, health insurance or something similar. In these cases they demanded for a legal verification of the property.

- LH: When it came to verification from the state and administration especially in your case, was there any discrepancy between the ways you divided the property and how the state would divide it?

- SZ: Yes, there were always those discrepancies and shortcomings.

Usually girls (the sisters) had to declare pretending that they willingly gave up the property in order to make possible the division of the property because according to the law then, the property had to be divided equally between the children regardless of their gender. As a form of being released from a legal obligation my aunts had to declare that they do not want to inherit for the sake of their rights (social welfare rights). This was the most common way for property division, for women did not want to inherit anything willingly and they did not declare dissatisfaction so that there would not be any conflicts between brothers in the family in general. They usually suffered in silence.

- LH: What about your aunts, did they agree or did they express disapproval that they did not inherit property when it was divided?

- SZ: None of them said anything openly that they wanted to inherit nor expressed the dissatisfaction that they were not included in the division of the property from our grandfather. Usually they did not say it openly, so I do not know if they wanted to get inheritance, but they did not say it. They did not talk about that injustice openly so that we could understand that they were against or that they did not agree with what happened in those cases.

- LH: More or less the property was divided in mutual agreement between the brothers, but has there ever been any conflict about the division of the property or the way that it was divided in terms of the relationship between the brothers?

- SZ: No, in our case no, but there were cases when only people that were not members of the family divided the inheritance because of the conflicts that did not allow the division to take place. It happened because some pieces of the land were more productive than other ones or when the other side felt disadvantaged. There were instances when they could not reach a mutual agreement as a result there had to intervene elders of the same village (more authoritative, smart and fair) where the division was done in drawing lots. The names of the pieces of lands were written on pieces of paper and then lots were drawn, this was one of the most often ways of deciding for the division of property in our region.

- LH: Thank you a lot for your time and the information that you provided us with.

- SZ: You are welcome! I hope that it will be helpful for you.

- LH: Thanks a lot!

INTERVIEW IX

Petrit Bytyqi (interviewer)

Eremira Binakaj (interviewee, female, 29)

Date: 13.12.2016

Place: Prishtine

Acronyms: PB=Petrit Bytyqi, MB=Mira Binakaj

Duration: 15'97"

- PB: It's on. In the beginning it's good to present yourself for the sake of correctness for all listeners: where are you from, where does your family come from etc...

- MB: I'm Ermira Binakaj, I was born in Deçan in the '88s. I'm the only child of the family. My mother, Shehije Sadrijaj, was a gynecologist. She passed away in 2001 when I was 13 years old, my father died when I was 5 years old.

- PB: Education/School?

- MB: I am a graduated Architect, pursuing studies in Master's degree.

- PB: So, this interview is being conducted for a research financed by the American Embassy, and it is a research about women's share or inheritance. It is not necessarily to know of cases where the share has been given or not, but it's enough if someone who knows something has participated in such situation, or knows any situation or case related to women's share. Do you have any case or do you have...

- MB: I'd like to tell my story, not to tell other peoples' stories, though I know many of them since I come from the Dukagjin region, and in this particular region the subject of inheritance is discussed unlike other rural areas where boys are favored. For instance, I have a different case since I've been the only child and whose father who inherited a part died, respectively 1/3 of the family's land since he was the third brother. Consequently, I am the heir (successor) of that part of the land, but.. since I didn't need it because I was raised by a parent who had money, my mother, she took care for me and I didn't deal with the land thing, I didn't need to take or have any benefit from it so far, but I have discussed it with my uncles and everything is alright, I will take my part, my father's part. It is favorable because maybe if I was living with my parents and if my father was alive, that land would have been my father's and if I had a brother or other family member that part would probably belong to my brother or..

- PB: But you're the only one..

- MB: Yes I'm the only one in my family, so I take my father's part, not mine.

- PB: Ok, good. How many members are there? How many brothers and sister did your father have? Describe the structure of your father's and mother's family?

- MB: From my father's side there are three brothers, they have been, now they're two, and there are five sisters, meaning I have 5 aunties. But the fact that my aunties haven't inherited their share/part means that if I had any family member I wouldn't get my part, especially if I had a brother: it is usually given to boys but since my father isn't alive that part of land is mine. The land is separated in three parts. My grandmother passed away four years ago, so the land had been legally hers, and now it's going to be divided (parted) between two of my uncles and me.

- PB: Your grandfather isn't alive neither?

- MB: My grandfather died but I don't remember him, he passed away before I was born.

- PB: So he died long time ago?

- MB: Yes, this means that the land belonged to my grandmother even before my father died.

- PB: So.. to be more concrete, do you recall any time when these things were discussed in your family? Did you have the opportunity to listen to the opinions of your aunties - In this case from the women of the house? What about your uncles?, We know that our traditions favor men, their "honor" and their higher position, but do you recall any situation where you have been present in a discussion on family inheritance?

- MB: Yes, I've been part of two or three debates, but they were concretely about me and the part that belongs to me.

- PB: Ok, can you tell us a little bit how did the debate go?

- MB: I didn't have any contact with my aunties, but I had a discussion with my uncles and this happened after my mother died in 2001 when I was 14 years old and we had discussed on whether I was going to live with my uncles or live with my grandmother and uncles, that is, from mother's side and -

- PB: Yes...

- MB: The fact that I continued living with my uncles and grandmother from mother's side means that I've been financially supported by them for everything I needed.

- PB: Very good so...

- MB: So they said " ok then, you have your share, since we cannot help you and you don't want our help and you have other people helping you financially. It's up to us that whenever you want to get your father's land, we will pass the documents on your name and it will be

yours". And then, another discussion we had was about the division of the land. I have never been a part of an "oda" discussion when this particular land was divided, but my uncles told me that they had agreed with my father while he was alive, that he would take a piece of land they possessed that was near the city since my father had not lived in the village at that time and it was more convenient for him to take the land near the city. Subsequently, I would take the land my father was supposed to take while my uncles would divide equally among them the land in the village..

- PB: Were your aunts present when the discussion took place?

- MB: No, they weren't.

- PB: They weren't? Very interesting. Why do you think they weren't present?

- MB: They weren't because I went there without notifying them, I told them I'd come only to talk about the land and we just talked.

It's not a big deal, it never was such a big deal so we'd have to discuss it in a higher level, because the land was already divided: "that part of the land is yours, shall we decide this way?" I only said if my father decided to take that part, I'll take whatever you give me.

I didn't have any help from them since I was the only child left from their brother and for(sad)... 30 years I never had any financial help, I've never asked for anything from them, they never gave me anything... because that is considered part of the share too-something monthly or any money for school. They have invested in the education of their children, however.

- PB: Yes, sure. For example, I have a case in my family too and in our tradition, it's mentioned many times that even if they didn't write any kind of will that they've separated lands or example in your case that they left it to your father. Did your grandparents made an "oral" testament?

- MB: Yes...

- PB: How's that, is this one oral or written or how did it come to belong to your father?

- MB: Well, they say that my father chose this part, which is an oral aspect of the division and not written, because I don't know what my father said back then. According to their words, maybe my grandmother's words (that she didn't say to me but said to them back then), my father

chose the land near the city, not other lands. I don't know any other case.

- PB: yeah yeah...

- MB: This is oral because according to written documents the land is still undivided., It's up to me to get the initiative to separate the land by documents in three parts.

- PB: What do you personally think on the division of share/land in Kosova? Do you think the share is correctly divided between brothers, sisters, children in Kosova according to traditions? Is the share of women given fairly?

- MB: No, I'd say it's not separated fairly, because as you know when a land is separated it keeps halving and halving and now in our time it's not like people buy lands and have a land as a primary source of wealth, they get comfortable and that land only goes halving and the space gets smaller and smaller for the next generation.

- PB: Yes, being separated...

- MB: Yes (smiles) and usually it's given to boys. Girls get married and have their husband's share, especially in the past when a girl got married and went to live in big families nobody said take this part of land equal to that of your brothers and take it in use of the other family, because they didn't live only with their husbands. I think that that was a factor that had a big impact, because she went to live with another family not only with one person. But now, women get their share, especially if they in need of it.

- PB: In one way it was a kind of exchange because they gave the girl, but took another girl for the boy, a kind of balance..

- MB: Yes... it went that way too..

- MB: But now I think the share is given to women, and if the land isn't divided by documents in equal parts for children both girls and boys.. they make a compensation by any value especially now, nowadays maybe an apartment... maybe money...

- PB: For example my case is really interesting, my mother inherited everything from her father, but it's true that my grandfather didn't have a son, he could have also sold the land, but he decided to give it to his daughters. We live in the same yard with my aunts, they're all controlled by my aunt and my mother, and I do not have any brother, but when time comes, I'll be equal with all my sisters.

- MB: Now I have an apartment, and I often think on how to buy

another one so I can leave an equal share to my children.

- PB: You have two children, a boy and a girl, right?

- MB: Yes, a daughter and a son, and if I'm going to have only one apartment I'm going to give it to my daughter.

- PB: To your daughter.

- MB: Yes, and the other part of the wealth that is my husband's and mine, I'll separate it equally because I had an apartment, that was left to me from my father, maybe because I didn't have any sisters or brothers to share it with, but I know how it is to be a female and to have your own property makes you more worthy, so if all the females had equal parts, equal shares with boys... the worth would be the same and that is what makes females less worthy in their families. And no matter that we say it's equal, especially in smallest things and in rural places, it is not. The case you told is unique.

- PB: It's not really special, there are other similar cases that I know, that I've heard of.

- MB: In cases like these, for example they don't have a son, they only have a daughter... and the share goes to the uncle who has a son.

- PB: Where was your mother born?

- MB: My mother was born in Değan.

- PB: Your mother in Değan too, which means that both your father and your mother come from Değan?

- MB: Yes.

- PB: Do you have uncles and aunties?

- MB: Yes... I have two uncles from five that have been alive because my grandmother gave birth to ten children but.. they're two now, two uncles and three aunties.

- PB: So, have they divided the property/ their share, do you know of any case or have you heard or do you know a little bit how they have divided their share?

- MB: Yes there is also a story of this theme in my mother's family. They still live together in a yard, in different houses but the property is not divided. Two of my aunts are married while one of them isn't so she lives with my grandmother in the old house that my grandparents built together. There are still the old rooms of my aunts in the house, and there is also mother's room which I use whenever I go there, just like there are rooms my uncles use when they visit.

- PB: Who lives now in that house?
- MB: Now my aunt lives with my grandmother, my other aunties' rooms are empty but they use them during the weekends when they go for summer vacations, my uncles live in separated houses.
- PB: Yes...
- MB: And that's it...What's strange in Deçan, however, is that , , most of properties are on someone's ownership... like on my aunt's ownership for example, or my grandmother's.
- PB: Why do you think that-?
- MB: A person that they've trusted and told him/her how the process of share division goes... I don't know if it's a matter of trust or why... for instance my uncle's land has been on their aunt's ownership.
- PB: And why do you think they left it to your aunt, because it's a very interesting aspect...
- MB: She had no children, and that's a kind of trust that she'll return it to them... but I don't know why the documents were on her ownership till late. I cannot understand why.
- PB: Maybe when they listen to this interview someone will know why...Ok Mira, thank you very much for your time and the interview.
- MB: I believe this will help you.
- PB: Thank you.

Part II

- PB: After the interview we had a discussion and we realized that we can continue the interview, and we came back to continue the second part. So Ermire, tell us now, you're married in a big family, you have two children... Tell us a little bit about your husband's family, did you have any opportunity to see how they handle the inheritance issue?
- MB: I will now unfold the discussion we had earlier and through which we found out we could continue the interview.
- PB: Thank you.
- MB: I'm married now and I have two children, as I mentioned in the first part of the interview. Here's a whole other story with my husband's family, the share's thing, it goes differently because... my husband

has a brother and a sister and the parts that they inherit, the three of them inherit equally, but it's strange that even the smallest things they share with their sister, this is totally opposite from other cases, with most of cases I've seen before.

- PB: So they're the same like sister, like brother.

- MB: Their sister is the middle child.. brother, sister, brother.. and the three of them inherit the same things, even the house we live in is divided into three floors, one also for the sister who does not even live there. She doesn't live there but it's her floor whenever she wants to come in weekends and three floors are identic. Whatever their parents did, they did the same for the three of them.

- PB: The same for the their three children...

- MB: The apartments he left, he left the same for the three of them, not to say for the space and the same things he bought for them. Their dad left three apartments for them, not to mention that their space is the same, and that he bought them the same things.

- PB: Who decided for them, only their father? Or their mother too? Or both of them...

- MB: Their father and their mother I guess, but this approach is a family tradition...

- PB: Can you tell us a little bit what kind of traditions the family has, where did they come from? Are they from Prishtina or..?

- MB: They've been raised and lived here, but my husband's father has lived in different places, he has travelled with his parents. With origin from Gjakova, then Mitrovica... They have a different tradition from what we're usually used to....

- PB: Did you have the opportunity to be a part on any discussion on the division of property of share between your husband and his brother or sister? Was there any case when they actually discussed about this? If yes, how did the discussion go, or did you notice any tension in the air?

- MB: I don't think so, because they were raised in such a way that they were used to share everything equally with their sister. I don't think these things were discussed, they weren't discussed, they just flowed naturally. Whatever they had she'll have the same. I didn't notice that it's ever been discussed between them that their sister can't have what they have. Even if they get a gift for example for New Year or summer vacations or... any small gift she has it too, even though she is married and

has her own family.

- PB: What about the family of their sister's husband? Are they like that?

- MB: They act individually. They have their own wealth that they've earned, I don't know how their approach to inheritance is, I don't have any information.. so this is it (with joy in her face).

- PB: Thank you very much.

- MB: Thank You.

INTERVIEW X

Petrit Bytyqi (interviewer)

Ymrane Shala (interviewee, female, 56)

Date: 14.12.2016

Place: Prishtina

Acronyms: PB=Petrit Bytyqi, YSH=Ymrane Shala

Duration: 21'31"

- PB: I hope I didn't interrupt you at work...

- YSH: No no...

- PB: Okay then aunt Ymran, the device is on for recording and let's leave it here, I'll make a short presentation though we had the chance to talk a little bit about it before. So, this is a project financed by the American Embassy. They want to make a research about the woman's share and the ways how people have handled this particular issue. .. So feel free to open up to me, your voice won't be abused nor will this (reaches his hand in the direction of the phone that's recording), it will be used by students and researches. It would be nice to start this conversation with a short introduction and then we will discuss together, I'll ask you questions and you answer and tell me things and..

- YSH: I'm Ymrane Shala. I was born in Gjilan, and I live in Prishtina. I have two children and I'm the head of the family since my husband passed away 25 years ago... Now I'm with my children, and I'm fully committed to them.

- PB: It means that you have been taking care of them since the beginning.

- YSH: I took care of them since the beginning till now, thank God now they're working, both of them, they take care of themselves, and I work here in this local dry cleaner's.. So we make it together, together for everything.

- PB: So, aunt Ymran, have you had the chance to be a part of the discussion or the decision making process on the division of share in your family? When your father divided the property or share to your brothers, for instance...

- YSH: Yes, I've been present in that process.

- PB: Yeah?

- YSH: Yes, I remember it very good, very good because back then when it happened I wasn't married, I was working here in Prishtina with my cousins, they had one... they worked with photography , and I worked there, and one evening my father called and told me be to be home the next day, which happened to be Sunday.

- PB: Yes...

- YSH: He told me he had decided to give my brothers their share, and since I was a member of the family, he wanted me to attend that meeting.

And, I went there the next day, there was my grandfather, my uncle, my father, my brothers and me, in a room. And my father had decided to give the boys their share , and he wanted me to be present.

- PB: Do you remember what your father said that day, how did he approach the situation?..

- YSH: Yes!

- PB: It was nice of him to invite you to be part of the discussion. It means that he had consideration for his daughters.

- YSH: Yes. Back then my father had built another house too, in the yard, and he wanted to give it to my little brother, as he had two sons, two daughters-in-law, children, and it became really crowdy.

- PB: I guess according to our traditions people take more care of boys/brothers...

- YSH: Not really. My youngest brother went to live to at his own house and father remained with the older brother. Then, father asked me to help my younger brother around his new house, that is, to take necessary things into the new house, things that are needed to lead a normal life. And after the ceremony ended, I did as my father told me to.

- PB: Do you have any sister?

- YSH: I have an older sister but she was married back then, she had her own life, and her own problems and her things, I wasn't married back then so father called me.

- PB: So now your bigger brother lives in that house, right?

- YSH: No, my younger brother lives in the new house with his wife, while my older brother lives in the house my father used to live, the house we all have been raised at.

- PB: Was any of your brothers feeling like superior to the other one because we have a tradition like that, the man's honor, like I'm the (older one or...

- YSH: No no no.. we had a very good understanding among each other.

- PB: Very good. Now, do you remember how the discussion of the division of share was brought up? Or, what did your father say to your brothers?

- YSH: I'm telling you that crowds make their jobs, living in communion has its troubles, it's better if each one has his/her life than to live together, because you don't have a future like that. Then they decided

and my brother agreed to leave and live with his wife, in that time he had two sons and a daughter, and after the war he had another son too, so now he has three sons and a daughter.

- PB: Three sons and a daughter..? I wish them a long life.

- YSH: Yes. Amen, thank you. And, this was it, this was it... there was nothing else there, not a discussion on how, or why... we've discussed it in a very familiar way, close way, there wasn't any problem or words, or there were no complaints like 'no I want it that way, no I want it this way'. It was decided in a very calm manner.

- PB: Very good, but have you inherited something from your father?

- YSH: No, I haven't. Because I didn't want to.

- PB: You didn't want to?

Tell us why you didn't want, why you decided not to, or how was the situation...

- YSH: Well, you see... it's just that I couldn't. I didn't want to because it didn't feel good because even though it belongs to everyone, yes, to every child..but then, my brothers respected me, my sisters-in-law, their children and everyone...

- PB: You've considered it unreasonable.

- YSH: I didn't think it was reasonable because if he wanted to... just because, I thought so, I just considered it unreasonable.

- PB: And you decided to continue alone...

- YSH: I didn't want to, and though I have lived with my two children, first in communion, thirteen-fourteen years ago I went on to live by myself with my two children and my brothers helped, they helped me a lot. And now, if I asked for my share it would be like I'd ignore everything they did for me, it would be like a boomerang. Don't you think so? Let's be honest! When I was struggling for years long, it was my brothers who helped me out.

- PB: Very good aunt Ymran, this is family harmony, and that you've shared your worries with your family members...

- YSH: Eh, harmony is the most important. wealth comes and goes...

- PB: By this we understand that even in the future you'll divide equally your wealth to your daughter and son?

- YSH: Yes, of course

- PB: The property you have here in Prishtina... You've earned it with your job? You got an apartment?

- YSH: I don't have an apartment right now, we're living on rent.
- PB: You're living on rent?
- YSH: We're living on rent, but we're good, since we can make it we have to say it's good...
- PB: Do you have a house?
- YSH: We have the old house, I mean it belongs to my mother-in-law where we used to live, now there is my fourth brother-in-law, and we think to give the land for the construction of multi-storey apartments , and then as my brother-in-law said... He promised me that he'll give me an apartment...
- PB: So your brother-in-law thinks the same?
- YSH: Yes, that's what my husband's family thinks as well.
- PB: From your husband's family? How many sister's -in-law, brothers and sisters do you have? Can you tell us a bit about the family structure?
- YSH: Yes, they are 6 brothers and 2 sisters... My husband died 25 years ago, and a brother-in-law died after the war, on September, 15th of september, in 1999 he had a traffic accident in Sweden and he died.
- PB: Sorry for asking, maybe these topics are very sensible... But was your husband sick?
- YSH: Yes, he was ill, he had cancer. And for 2 years, we tried everything, went to Ljubljana and Beograd and...We did everything we could with doctors and things like this, but he had no more life. That's it.
- PB: Are your parents-in-law alive?
- YSH: No, neither of them. When I got married my father-in-law wasn't alive, there was only my mother-in-law, and she died too, 8 years ago.
- PB: And now there is your youngest brother-in-law?
- YSH: No, it's the forth one...
- PB: They had other daughters later, right?
- YSH: Yes, they're... my sisters-in-law, my husband's sisters... My brother-in-law is the oldest one, then it's my sister-in-law and the 5th child it's a girl, then there are three brothers-in-law younger than my sister-in-law.
- PB: As I can understand now they're 7 children right? Or they're 8 without your husband and your brother-in-law that died?
- YSH: They were 8, 2 died and now they're 6. 4 boys and 3 girls.

- PB: How's the share's thing? Can you tell us a bit...

- YSH: For them the old house is the only bequest from their father, where we used to live, but that's with it. All of the brothers left that house, they didn't want share from it because each one of them has got an apartment for themselves, they have apartments.
As for the 4th brother-in-law, he promised me that he'll give to me one of the apartments, "one for you and one for me" he said. That's what he promised to us.

- PB: This family is in Gjilan too, right?

- YSH: No, they're here in Prishtina, They live behind the National Theatre, near the city's park.

- PB: Do you know where they come from?

- YSH: They're from Gadime, long time ago, maybe 150 years ago they came in Prishtina, the grandfather, my father-in-law was born in Prishtina.

- PB: So they're old residents.

- YSH: They're old residents, old citizens.

- PB: Nice...

- YSH: As for the share, they left it all to my brother-in-law, and told him if he exchanges the house for apartments, it'll be one for him and one for me because other brothers they all have their apartments.

- PB: Who left it to your brother-in-law..?

- YSH: My other brothers-in-law, sisters and brothers agreed that that house will be his, and he recently put it on his ownership since they all agreed so, that house is in my brother's-in-law name (behalf), but he's waiting now to exchange it for an apartment.

- PB: Have you been part of any discussion when they've discussed or debated about the share between sisters and brothers?

- YSH: No.

- PB: Or you just know how they did..?

- YSH: I just know that when my brother-in-law went to each one of them.. because I haven't been part of that,.. they all agreed to this option

- PB: Are they all married?

- YSH: They're all married.

- PB: Do they have children?

- YSH: They all have children.

- PB: Do they have many children?

- YSH: No each one has 2, now the bigger (oldest) one has 3 boys, my sister-in-law has 5, she has 4 girls and a boy, my brother-in-law that lives in Sweden has 3 children, 2 boys and a girl, me and the others, each one of us has 3 children.

- PB: Do you think that the children of one brother-in-law that've decided to leave the house felt a bit hurt or prejudiced or they just said that maybe their father didn't want to...

- YSH: I don't think so, they're young. They don't know, I don't think that they can think that way (that deep).

- PB: No since they're from these kind of families I don't think that either...

- YSH: Of course cause they're 17-18-16 years old...14, somewhere in between and they have their parents. They're not old enough to know, since they have their parents who decide for them.

- PB: What do you think about here in Kosova? We know that our tradition is a bit interesting relating to men and women, brother and sister, especially in cases when you have to divide the share. Do you think that the shares are divided equally in Kosova?

- YSH: No, no.

- PB: Do you know of any case? Or do you know any case that was a really bad case if we can call it so... somebody got hurt, or someone hasn't been given his/her share, or somebody wanted to have it all for him/herself, not to share it with his/her brothers or sisters? What do you think?

- YSH: I don't know, I've only seen these kind of cases in TV... I didn't have any case in my family, I can't say anything for my family.

- PB: So you just think that in Kosovo the share isn't divided equally?

- YSH: No, it is not, and it'll take a long time for this to change.

- PB: Why do you think it will take time?

- YSH: Why? Because it is the parents' fault!

- PB: The parents' fault?

- YSH: Yes, it's the parents' fault. Before they get married, because when their children get married it's another thing but even before they get married their parents should say you'll take this, you this. They should divide it equally, because they're their children, for parents it's the same like the daughter like the son... But not for us, the mentality isn't like that.

- PB: In rural zones in villages the issue on the share is differently approach

- YSH: Here! I

My sister's-in-law daughter wanted to get an apartment here in Prishtina, and she couldn't make it, because she needed a loan and stuff. Then her parents bought it for her.

- PB: How did her parents help her? Did they sell any land to cover the expenses? Or..?

- YSH: No, they didn't sell anything (coughs), but my sister-in-law got a loan, and made the covering of money installment that she needed to have. About the amount of money I don't know how much it was.

- PB: It depends on businesses, some have a specified amount of money, others don't.

- YSH: It depends on how they agreed, but yes, my sister-in-law got a loan and helped her.

- PB: Very good, a good case. Another case in your close family or in your big family like at your father's uncles or even further? What do you remember about the share, how they divided it?

- YSH: For example, at my aunt's house, my aunt's second son. He gave a part of the share to his daughter like that, he had good living conditions, my aunt's youngest son told her will you give her the money for an apartment or I will, cause it's her right and you have to give it to her. And she bought her an apartment in Fushe Kosove. Yes she bought her an apartment in Fushe Kosove, and like they say she's living in that apartment since that day, cause she had good conditions so she bought it for her. Means the girl's uncle was initiatory to buy the apartment for her.

- PB: So what do you think aunt Ymran, why is this kind of discrimination, because it's nice that your family is a special case and very good that we have a case like this, but why for example the head of the family, in this case the father we suppose, that has three daughters and three sons, which is the reason that he decides to give the share only to his sons and not to his daughters?

- YSH: Well he thinks that the inheritor is only the boy. The girl in fact is going to live in a foreign family, she changes her last name and everything, so for the father the inheritor is the boy.

- PB: For the father the inheritor is only the boy? The last name still

matters in our culture/tradition ?

- YSH: Another case, my sister-in-law the youngest one, her father just, they had great living conditions. And when he divided the share to his sons, he gave to each one of his daughters a part of land with 5 acre, and they're in Matiqan. The lands have 5 acre each one.

- PB: And they can decide to sell it if they want to

- YSH: If they sell it or not, whatever they do, it's their land and they decide what to do with it.

You see, in that case too their father gave it to them.

- PB: It's really nice if there are cases like these...

- YSH: There are cases, there are cases that we might not know about, but they still exist. We cannot say there aren't any.

- PB: So do you think that in the future, in the near future things will get better?

- YSH: Yes, of course yes. In the near future of course, because nowadays new parents don't have the same mentality as their father's, now the youth is different. They simply don't make difference, if it's a girl or a boy.. they just...

- PB: It's their child – “evlad” , like they say.

- YSH: Their child. They don't make differences now, and I predict that in the future parents will maybe commit more to their daughters and sons.

- PB: Are your children educated? Is the girl educated? The boy?

- YSH: Yes, yes.

- PB: What did the girl study for?

- YSH: My daughter studied journalism, now she is manager at Albi, at games corner playland, she manages all Albi in that part. Turks manage it now, they got it this year and that she was so committed to her job, she was so hardworking, when the Turks decided to get it, they said.. if she manages this section then we'll open it otherwise not.

- PB: Very good, and your son?

- YSH: My son, he has a good job, he works as programmer in an American firm (company), he has a good job... that's it.

- PB: Very good. Firstly I'm glad to know a case like yours where a woman is the head of the family, a case where a mother has decided to take care of her children alone, and what's even more interesting, a case where a woman decided on purpose to not take her share/inheritance of

family, not only because your brothers helped you. I believe your children will be just like you in the future.

- YSH: Of course. I have been committed to them, and I have been very careful of the way they grow up. What matters most, is that I have taught them to never lie.

That's it, you shouldn't lie and they don't lie. They had their freedom, no matter if she's a girl and he's a boy, they go out, they stay out till 1,2 or 3 at night, they just tell me and it's Ok.

That's it. When I know where he/she is it's not necessary to lie to me.

The children, education, culture and all of it... They never lie, not only to me but to no one because they've been raised like that.

- PB: Of course...

- YSH: (Raises her hands and says by gestures: that's it.)

- PB: Aunt Ymran, thank you, I'm glad we had this case and this connection; I believe that these kind of cases will increase in time.

- YSH: God willing, God willing.

- PB: Thank you very much.

- YSH: I hope they will, I hope people become aware, I think they will, because the youth nowadays is different, has different opinions.

- PB: Thank you once again.

- YSH: You're welcome.

Katalogimi në botim – (CIP)

Biblioteka Kombëtare e Kosovës “Pjetër Bogdani”

398.2(=18:496.51)(047.53)

Kujtesa e Kosovës = Kosova Memory / kryeredaktor
Fazli Gajraku. – Prishtinë : Biblioteka Kombëtare e Kosovës
“Pjetër Bogdani”, 2017. - libra ; 24 cm. –
(Botime të Veçanta)

[Libri] I : Hisja e gruas : (histori gojore) = Woman's
share of inheritance : (oral history). – 204 f.

Titulli dhe teksti paralel në gjuhën shqipe dhe angleze.
Parathënie / Arsim Canolli f. : 9-12.

1.Gajraku, Fazli

ISBN 978-9951-13-068-4

ISBN 978-9951-13-069-1