



ETHNICALLY AND GENDER INCLUSIVE GRASS-ROOT LGBTI MOVEMENTS IN MACEDONIA



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Executive Summary

The “*Ethnically and Gender Inclusive Grass-Root LGBTI Movement in Macedonia*” Project, implemented with the support from the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the period from September 2012 until September 2013, represents a policy study for awareness raising activities.

The need for this kind of study stems from the current situation and position of LGBTI people, as one of the most vulnerable groups in Macedonian society. Practically, there is no legal protection against discrimination for the LGBTI people, nor there are existing institutional policies for their social inclusion. A sensible public discourse, which will be sensitive to the human rights of these people, is also missing. On the other hand, until recently, within the movement there was lack of visibility of lesbians, transgendered people and other ethnic minorities.

The main purpose was to make a long-lasting project which will influence the capacity strengthening of the of LGBTI movement in Macedonia in a time characterized by widely expressed homophobia, hate speech and numerous physical attacks of LGBTI people. One of the research motives was also the increased activation between the “invisible” groups in the LGBTI community like the lesbians, transgendered people and gays from other ethnicities.

The research part consists of a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. The ISSH-S through its closed forms of debates (focus groups, discussion groups) contributed in the networking between formal and informal organizations that work towards ethnically inclusive LGBTI activism and the feminist - lesbian part of the activism. During the realization of the project, the informal LezFem group was established as a group which is connected to the work of the LGBTI Center which is managed by the Macedonian Helsinki Committee on Human Rights. Also, the multiethnic non-governmental LGBT United became an active and vivid part of the activism since fall 2012 (and was registered in May 2012). It should be noted that LGBT United actively contributed to the realization of this study.

The main idea of the project is to initiate a discussion among activists themselves regarding the needs in the frames of the movement through grass-root level debates, as well as for those in the wider societal context. One of the goals was to design a context specific approach in the strengthening of the LGBTI community. The project activities should result into mobilization of the LGBTI community in the country toward a more vibrant and locally informed/context-sensitive movement that establishes priorities and forms of activism adequate to the social and cultural specificities of Macedonia.

Background and legal framework

LGBTI community is facing social and legal prejudices, homophobic and transphobic behavior and discrimination not just from the surrounding, but from the competent institutions as well, which should be doing the opposite. LGBTI people are not treated as citizens with equal human rights and freedoms while appropriate institutions are not showing interest to change this situation.

One of the main problems of LGBTI community, which was indicated by the respondents as most important, is their exclusion from the Law for the prevention of and protection from discrimination (Official Gazette n.50/2010)¹. “Sexual orientation” as basis of discrimination is not mentioned neither in the “National Strategy for Equality and Anti-Discrimination (2012-2015) adopted by the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy. All of this proves that LGBTI people are treated like second-class citizens and that the state does nothing to protect them.

Equality of all citizens, including sexual orientation, is guaranteed only in few Laws in Republic of Macedonia, as in the following: *Law on Protection of Patients Rights*,² *Law on Public Health*,³ *Law on Higher Education*,⁴ and in the *Ethical Code of the Law on Civil Servants*.⁵

The discrimination nonrecognition on sexual orientation basis is constantly criticized in the annual reports of the European Commission progress reports for the Republic of Macedonia. In the Report for 2011 it is stated that the LGBTI community is subject of discrimination and stigmatization, and that there is an urgent need to raise awareness not only in terms of law, but regarding the principles of respect and tolerance for differences as well.⁶

The observation that the LGBTI community is a subject of discrimination and stigmatization is still a subject⁷ in the conclusions of the European Commission with recommendation that sexual orientation - as a special basis, must be covered in the *Law on Non-Discrimination*.⁸

A year later, the remark remains that the LGBTI community is subject of discrimination and stigmatization, on which the conclusions of the European Commission states that the *Law on Protection against Discrimination* must include sexual orientation as a separate basis.

The *International organization ILGA- Europe*, which advocates rights and interests of LGBTI people at European level, publishes a yearly list regarding the state of human rights of LGBTI people. In 2013 Annual Review, Macedonia takes the 43-th place (of 49 countries). Macedonia has achieved only 13% in LGBTI rights in categories like: Anti-Discrimination Laws, protection from hate crime and hate speech and respect for freedom of expression.⁹

The political structures in Macedonia have no interest at all in improving the rights and status of LGBTI people. Very often, sexual orientation is used as a method for discrediting political opponents and as such has been used in the recent local elections.¹⁰

One of the most commented statements last year, which illustrate the current politics of ignorance and homophobic agenda of the government, was the statement of the Minister of Labor and Social Policy, Spiro Ristoski who said that “marriage is a union between a man and a woman and concessions on that issue will never be made while his party is in power”. The Minister also added that “for a child, in order to be properly developed, should have a mother and a father in the real and biological meaning of the word.”¹¹

One of the most commented statements last year, which illustrate the current politics of ignorance and homophobic agenda of the government, was the statement of the Minister of Labor and Social Policy, Spiro Ristoski who said that “marriage is a union between a man and a woman and concessions on that issue will never be made while his party is in power”. The Minister also added that “for a child, in order to be properly developed, should have a mother and a father in the real and biological meaning of the word.”¹¹

This statement was used in a Government campaign for promoting family values. A campaign for which a half million Euros were used from the state budget.¹²

During the realization of the project, especially after opening the first LGBTI Center for Support in the Old Bazaar, there were frequent attacks on the centre, numerous life threats against the LGBTI activists, including stoning the home of an activist who publicly came out. Influential media, in January 2013 published news that NGO's for LGBTI rights are preparing the “Gay Parade” in Skopje.¹³ Instead of a “Gay Parade”, activists organized a “Pride Week” - a festival of events like discussions and movie projections related to LGBTI rights. Social networks were full of negative comments and threats. Also, a “Contra-Gay Parade”¹⁴ was planned, a contra protest versus the imagined “Gay Parade” which didn't take place. On the same day (22 June 2013), the LGBTI Center for Support was attacked and stoned by 40 masked people who tried to enter the movie projection during the “Pride Week”¹⁵. This event was followed by criticism from the diplomatic representatives in Macedonia and a letter from the “Human rights watch,”¹⁶ but only the Liberal Party from the Macedonian political parties, gave a statement responding to the attack.¹⁷

Description of the research problem and findings

The study is based on the need for better integration (on the basis of ethnicity and gender) in advocacy platforms of LGBTI people, as well as for a more organized and visible LGBTI movement in Macedonia. Based on previous research, conducted by the members of the ISSH-Skopje, our departing presuppositions were: (1) the invisibility of LGBTI people is a result of the retreat and self censorship of the members themselves; (2) fear of public exposure in a patriarchal society; (3) perception that the NGO's are generally corrupted and are exploiting the grievances of the concerned groups¹⁸ and (4) general sense that one's sexuality is one's own private matter rather than political and thus public issue.



Through its phases of qualitative and quantitative research, the project covered a hundred LGBTI people in Republic of Macedonia. Because of the sensitive nature of the issue, their statements will remain anonymous. The participants are a representative group in regard to gender; place where they live; ethnic background and social status, while their age was limited on 18-45 years.¹⁹

Qualitative methods, including oral histories and focus groups were used for the targeted groups of the project: lesbians, bisexuals, transgendered people and gays from other ethnicities.

The quantitative method (questionnaire) was conducted with a representative sample from the the LGBTI movement, in order to determine the general problems and priorities.

1. Oral histories

Oral histories as a method of sharing intimate perceptions and experiences that are established between the researcher and the respondent, allow us a close insight into the everyday reality that LGBTI people face,²⁰ especially regarding lesbians, transgendered people and gays from other ethnicities. Oral histories included nine lesbians, transgendered people and gays from ethnic minorities. During the long hours interviews they had the chance to establish trust and speak intimately about the challenges and the problems they are facing every day during their activist struggle.

1.1 Oral Histories data findings

Lesbians who participated in the oral histories don't have the impression that they are especially discriminated from the surrounding, because they succeeded to make their own circle of supportive friends and acquaintances. Talking about their families, some of them had examples of supporting parents, even in their LGBTI activism. Some of them have "silent agreement" not to speak openly about their intimacy and that feels comfortable for them, but for the same reason, some of them have problems. Most of the girls are feeling discriminated, at first as women in one patriarchal society and they underline the need for louder fight for their rights. According to the girls, one of the most important things is "coming out", especially for those who don't have problem with self accepting. This can appear as encouraging to those LGBTI people who live in more conservative, especially rural places. One of the main listed problems was the "hidden tolerance" towards lesbians and the frivolous treatment which gives them a sense of societal invisibility. Every one of them feels more invisible as a community compared to gay men who are more prominent but also gather more public anger.

According to the female respondents, priorities of the LGBTI community should be implemented in three levels. The first one is the legal framework- creating strategy for anti-discrimination of LGBTI people. The second level is media's correct approach to LGBTI people (without sensational titles, insults, stereotyping and hate speech), as well as more visibility in the influential media which is often politically incorrect. The third level is strengthening the community that is not well organized and better integration among the members (in clubs, formal and informal centers for support, shelter centers etc.)

Also, gays from ethnic minorities share the same priorities and needs as the lesbians but they noted the economic moment as one of the main reasons why LGBTI people live a double life in constant fear. Their oral histories revealed examples of extreme violence and intolerance.

Some of them are victims of constant verbal insults and physical attacks, some of them fear for their life because of numerous threats from “their people”. They are portrayed as shame and disappointment for their ethnic group.

Transgendered people who participated in this part of the research said that they are the most disadvantaged group in the society. At first, they constantly face prejudices from the closest people, who need a long time to accept them, and secondly, from the wider surrounding. They are exposed to ridiculing and misunderstandings about their condition which brings them towards mental suffering and suicide attempts. Beside everyday problems, they face discrimination from the institutions (in changing ID's, discrimination from Macedonian health system which does not support their operations). According to the transgender people, the biggest problem is people's mentality that can't empathize and accept “something that can't be understood”. Transgendered people's priority is changing the legal framework which at this moment cannot regulate their basic needs.

II. Focus groups

The qualitative part of the research included three focus groups - one with gays from other ethnicities and two with lesbians and female bisexuals. Sadly, transgendered people weren't comfortable to speak openly in front of others about their problems, so the planned focus group with them wasn't performed.

Fear and distrust, reflected in their answers, characterized the focus group with gays from ethnic minorities (they talked only about “other's” problems, not for themselves). All of the men have a feeling about a bigger discrimination from their own ethnic group, but at the same time, they face the hypocrisy of the Macedonian society. Members of other ethnic groups don't feel compassion or anything, because they are not “one of them”. Data findings show that Albanians feel the worst discrimination of all the gays, because they can't find any kind of support at home because of the high religiosity and beliefs that everyone should have “normal” family of their own. Albanian gays characterized the Macedonian gays as “elitists” who act only in urban places and they don't include gay people from other ethnicities. Albanian gays think that those kinds of people, with the least support, should be included in NGO's agendas as soon as possible.

Organized visibility and common acting are the priorities between gays from other ethnicities. They think that in Macedonia “there is no LGBTI community, only LGBTI people” and “the personal relations between LGBTI people should stop impacting their common cause and societal useful purpose”.

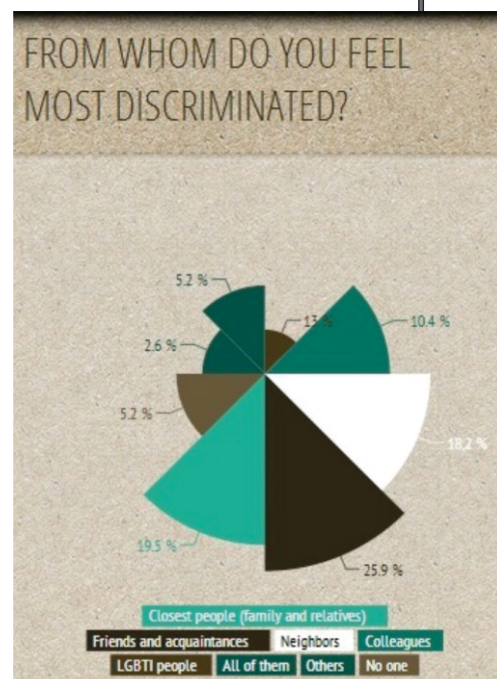
The focus groups with lesbians and bisexual women revealed many examples of psychological and physical violence against them, especially for those who live in smaller cities. They said that the worst problem is the unserious, but “favored” treatment in a different context. Lesbians are treated like high school experiment, party behavior, transit phase and they are experiencing vulgar comments related to the image created by porn movies. Almost every questioned girl said that, at some point, she faces comment like: “Probably there is a real man who can satisfy and change you”. They are consent that they are more acceptable because they are more invisible as a community. On the other hand, bisexual women are facing much more misunderstanding because of their “incomplete identity position”.

According to lesbians and bisexual women, the relations between LGBTI people should improve and strengthen and then the political priorities should be defined. The public should be more objectively informed about them, and the safety must be guaranteed through implementing the “sexual orientation” as a basis for discrimination.

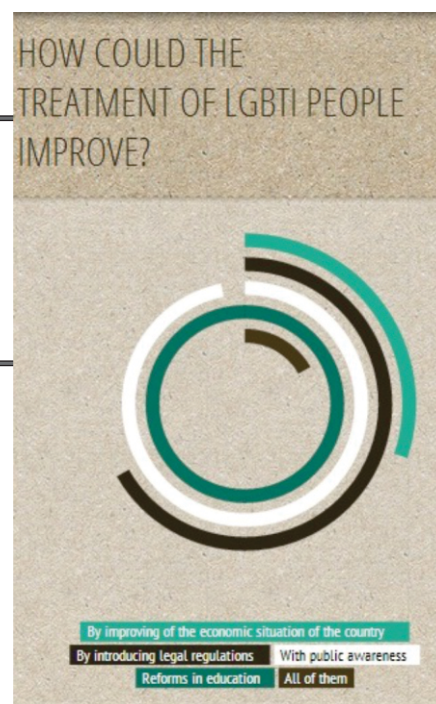
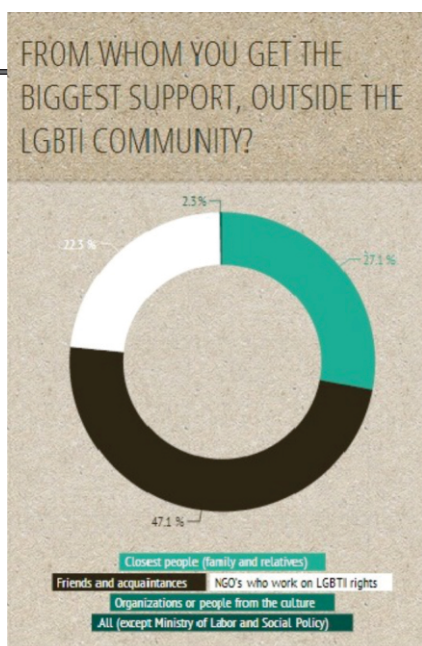
III. Survey

The survey was conducted on over 140 LGBTI people from all of over Macedonia and with cooperation with LGBTI Support Centre. The purpose was to gain insight into the attitude of as many LGBTI people on key issues and challenges for the community. On the first question: “Do you, as a LGBTI person, feel discriminated? ”, a defeating 93% answered positive. The other 7% never felt any kind of discrimination because of their sexual orientation.

On the second question: “From whom do you feel most discriminated? ”, one quarter of the participants (25%) answered that the discrimination comes from their friends and acquaintances. 20% felt discriminated from their closest people (family and relatives), while 18% are victims of discrimination by their neighbors. An interesting fact is that 13% participants felt discriminated from the LGBTI people. 10% said that they were disadvantaged by their colleagues, while 2% said that the authorities are their main discriminator. Five percent from the participants chose all alternatives, while same percent said that they never felt disadvantaged on the grounds of their sexual orientation.



The third question was: “From whom you get the biggest support, outside the LGBTI community?”. Almost half of the participants (47%) said that those are their friends or acquaintances. Relatives as people who support LGBTI persons are chosen by 27% of the participants, while 22% placed the NGO's who work on LGBTI rights in this category. Only 2% of the participants receive affirmation from organizations or people from the culture, while 1% said that all the above mentioned groups provide them with the biggest support. It's important to mention that the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, as an appropriate institution should provide some kind of support and security for LGBTI people, but no one choosed this answering option.

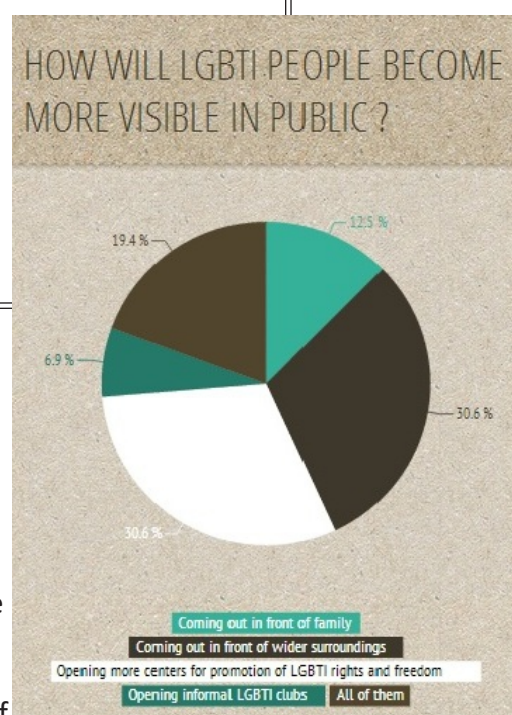
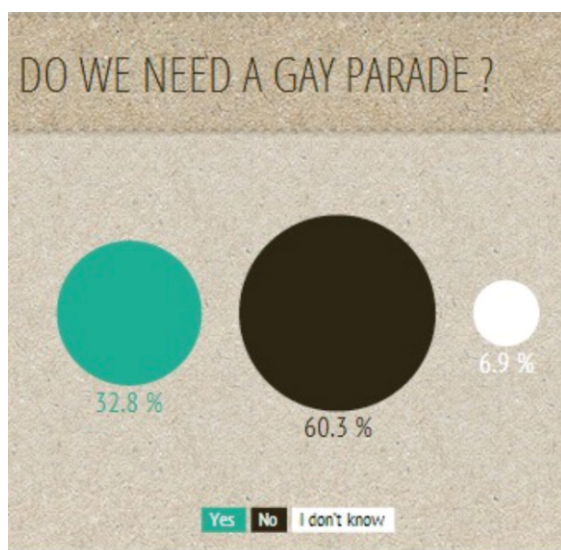


For the forth question: “How could the treatment of LGBTI people improve? ”, biggest percent (32%) think that it can be achieved through reforms in education (withdrawing all homophobic textbooks; education from the youngest age for human rights and freedoms ; introducing sexual education in schools...) Almost the same percentage (31%) view public awareness as the most important thing (through campaigns, public coming out of famous people, occupying public space etc). Smaller number of participants (21%) think that the treatment of the LGBTI people will improve by introducing legal regulations (Law for Anti-Discrimination, prevention from mobbing, social and healthcare protection of LGBTI partners...) Only ten percent think that everything will be better if the economic situation of the state improves (decreasing poverty and unemployment, and with that the economic dependence from the family will cease). Nine percent of the participants couldn't choose one option so they chose all of them as equally important for improving the situation with LGBTI people.

On the question: “Which of these human rights you see as most important for LGBTI people in Macedonia? ”, most of the participants (43%) said that it is the including of the sexual orientation as a ground for discrimination in the “Anti-Discrimination Law”. There are 22% who as most important benefit see the social and healthcare protection of LGBTI partners, while 17% think that that is right to same-sex marriage and family. Prevention from mobbing will be most useful for 8% of the participants, while 9% of them couldn't choose only one option because they see all of them as equally important.



One of the most commented recent topics, associated to LGBTI people in Macedonia is mentioned in the sixth question: “Do we need a gay parade?”. 60% answered negative, while 33% were positive. The last 7% didn't have an opinion about this issue.

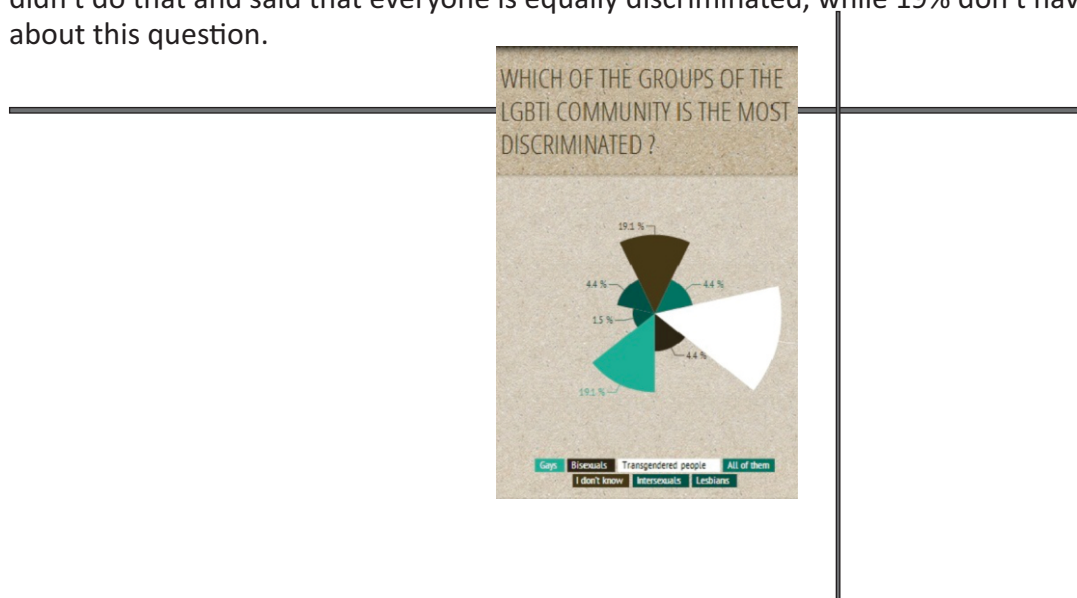


The seventh question: “How will LGBTI people become more visible in public?” made respondents not to choose only one answer. Two of the most important things with identical percent (30%) are: coming out in front of wider surroundings and opening more centers for promotion of LGBTI rights and freedom. Almost 13% from the respondents think that coming out in front of family is most important, while 7% are for opening informal LGBTI clubs. The other 19% think that everything mentioned above is important for making LGBTI people more visible in public.

On the eighth question: “How will LGBTI community strengthen, using its own potentials? ”, respondents were asked to indicate their own answer and maybe because of its open character, most of the answers were “I don't know” (47%). From the selected choices, the biggest percentage (29%) think that LGBTI members should be more organized (less discrimination between themselves; education of LGBTI people; support groups...). An increased public visibility (campaigns, debates, actions, gay parades) as most important aspect for strengthening LGBTI community was chosen by 16% of the respondents, while only 4% think that coming out by more LGBTI people strengthen the community. Very few of them, only 2% think that LGBTI people's potential is in taking over more space in the media and exerting bigger influence on the authorities. Only 2% think that currently, the LGBTI community is strong enough and doesn't need many changes.



The last question: “Which of the groups of the LGBTI community is the most discriminated? ” was also an open question and respondents wrote for themselves. Almost half of them (47%) answered that it is the transgendered people who are most discriminated. Gay men as most disadvantaged group are chosen by 19% of respondents, while same percent see bisexuals (4%) and intersexuals (4%) as such a group. Lesbians result as less discriminated group in LGBTI community. Although it was mentioned to chose only one group, 4% from the respondents didn't do that and said that everyone is equally discriminated, while 19% don't have opinion about this question.



Summarized, the results from the survey with a representative sample of the LGBTI people show that they have almost no idea how to strengthen the capacities of the community. Their requirements are “simple” and, as most illustrative data shows, the most frequent answer is to add “sexual orientation” as a ground for protection against discrimination in the law. LGBTI people are aware that better integration leads to better results, but many of them don't want to do anything about it in public. LGBTI people fear the wider public, but on the contrary, coming out is seen as one of the biggest priorities. Similarly, the biggest support and the biggest discrimination towards them comes from their close relatives and friends. The LGBTI people are consensual only about the most discouraging fact - that almost every one of them was a victim of some kind of discrimination.

Conclusion and recommendations

The research has shown that focusing on immediate priorities of certain groups within the LGBTI community is necessary for their strengthening as an activist community. Lesbians as gay men from other ethnicities expressed and explained their experience as marginalized groups within the LGBTI community and wider society. The need of intra-mobilization into the specific subgroups has shown to be necessary and possible. During this project, through the frequent communication and organized debates with LGBTI Support Centre, ISSHS witnessed the making of the LezFem initiative and the increased effort from gays from other minorities for better integration into the LGBTI movement. Accordingly to the open debates, initiatives and collected data from the research, ISSHS gives these recommendations to the responsible state institutions:

1. First of all, the “sexual orientation” as a ground for protection against discrimination must be included into the Anti-Discrimination Law and in all other strategies and laws who guarantee equality among all citizens. Legislation should be adapted to European standards including recommendations from NGO's and experts.
2. Aiming to secure LGBTI community from violence, there must be a higher tolerance and awareness in the public discourse. Homophobic discourse must be abandoned and instead, there should be an open, modern, social inclusive debate about LGBTI rights.
3. The above mentioned recommendation cannot be implemented unless the main opinion makers, the media, don't show sensibility about LGBTI people. It is especially important for the media not only to promote these values, but also to introduce the public with certain facts which would prevent the prejudices.
4. Prohibition and public condemnation of hate speech (especially in media and Internet) by applying already existing laws that regulate hate speech which can incite violence and discrimination against LGBTI people
5. Mandatory inclusion in the educational programs in elementary schools of programs that will prevent the prejudices and stereotypes towards LGBTI people (training for teachers, appropriate sexual education).
6. Legal regulation of the status of transgendered people instead of free interpretation by officials, according to their knowledge and beliefs, during the requests for gender reassignment and changing identity documents (ID's, personal identification number, name).
7. Increasing visibility for the specific needs of lesbians and gays from other minorities by enabling separate legal provisions for their protection and promotion of rights by way of devising policies in the area of health protection, social protection, antidiscrimination and protection from family violence.

Recommendations for NGOs who work for LGBTI rights and gender equality:

1. Strengthening the relations between lesbian movement and gender equality movement as a first step for social integration and visibility.
2. Strengthening the relations between lesbian movement and gender equality movement for identification of gender equality (“discrimination as women”) as one that determinates their discrimination as lesbians.
3. Autonomization of lesbian movement in the LGBTI movement with a chance to make space for defining of their special priorities.
4. Strengthening the LGBTI activism for creating a community of gay men from ethnic minorities and their better integration in LGBTI movement, represented by influential NGO's in the state.
5. Promoting anti-nationalism and ethnic inclusion of LGBTI people as a model of social solidarity that is effective in its own purposes, but at the same time, manages to stay above ethnocentrism and nationalism.
6. Strengthening the community of transgendered people within the LGBTI movement, creating communication, trust and support which will help to move over the current situation of self-isolation of trans-gendered people in the movement

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Law on Prevention and Protection from Discrimination available at http://nkt.mtsp.gov.mk/nkt/content/Documents/anti_discrimination_law_mkd_2010.pdf
- ² Law on Protection of Patient's Rights (The Official Gazette of Republic of Macedonia, No.82 of 8 July 2008), Article 5 "Patient has right on his rights, written in this Law, without discrimination based on gender, race, skin color, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national or social origin, national minority, material status, birth origin, sexual orientation or any other status."
- ³ Law on Public Health (The Official Gazette of Republic of Macedonia, No.22 of 15 February 2010) in Institute for Public Health's activities, Article 16, "The Institute and the Centers govern their activities from Articles 10 and 11, based on principles of: 1) clearly defined goal of public health; 2) procedures based on modern scientific principles and evidence; 3) well-targeted interventions involving the optimal number of persons in accordance with public health standards; 4) taking the least restrictive interventions of the rights and interests of individuals in the public health; 5) undertaking interventions that do not discriminate individuals on the basis of race, sex or different national and social origin or property status, religious belief, gender, sexual orientation or status of a person with special needs and 6) respecting the dignity of every individual during interventions."
- ⁴ Law on Higher Education (The Official Gazette of Republic of Macedonia, No. 35 of 14 March 2008), Article 108, "University determines the procedure for selection of candidates regardless of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, birth, social status, disability, sexual orientation or age."
- ⁵ Law on Civil Servants (The Official Gazette of Republic of Macedonia, No.133 of 30 September 2011), Article 9, "Public Servant equally treats natural and legal persons without discriminating natural persons based on age, gender, ethnic or social origin, language or race, political opinions, marriage or family status, invalidity, sexual orientation or any other kind of base, and legal persons under their type, scope, place of registration and state of origin."
- ⁶ "The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2011 Progress Report" available at http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2011/package/mk_rapport_2011_en.pdf , accessed on 20.07.2013.
- ⁷ "The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2012 Progress Report" available at http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2012/package/mk_rapport_2012_en.pdf , accessed on 20.07.2013.
- ⁸ „Conclusions on The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia“, available at http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2012/package/mk_conclusions_2012_en.pdf, accessed on 20.07.2013.

- ⁹ „FYR Macedonia score sheet based on Rainbow Europe Map 2013”, available at http://www.ilga-europe.org/home/publications/reports_and_other_materials/rainbow_europe/score_sheet/fyr_macedonia, accessed on 20.07.2013.
- ¹⁰ „Петрески: Не сум двоцевка во мене да се заљубува некој си Бандини“ [Petreski: I'm not bisexual so some Bandini can fall in love with me] available at <http://a1on.mk/wordpress/archives/112618>, accessed on 16.07.2013.
- ¹¹ „Ристовски: Нема да се дозволи склучување на хомосексуални бракови во Македонија“ [Ristovski: We will not allow homosexual marriages in Macedonia] available at .
- ¹² „Владата ќе ги рекламира семејните вредности“ [Government will advertise family values] available at <http://novatv.mk/index.php?navig=8&cat=2&vest=1017>, accessed on 20.07.2013.
- ¹³ „22 Јуни - Датум за одржување на првата геј парада во Македонија“ [22 June- Date of the first gay parade in Macedonia] available at <http://www.sitel.com.mk/22-juni-datum-za-odrzhuvanje-na-prvata-gej-parada-vo-makedonija>, accessed on 16.07.2013.
- ¹⁴ „КОНТРА-гејПАРАДА“ [“Contra-Gay Parade”) available at <https://www.facebook.com/events/598108286888440/>, accessed on 16.07.2013.
- ¹⁵ Нападнат ЛГБТ центарот- повреден полицаец“ [LGBTI Center attacked- one policeman is wounded], available at <http://novatv.mk/index.php?navig=8&cat=2&vest=4946>, accessed on 16.07.2013.
- ¹⁶ „Letter to Prime Minister of Macedonia“ available at <http://www.hrw.org/node/117037>, accessed on 16.07.2013.
- ¹⁷ „Соопштение по повод нападите во Скопје брз ЛГБТ заедницата“ [Press after the attacks of LGBT community) available at <http://www.lp.org.mk/?p=2663>, accessed on 16.07.2013.
- ¹⁸ Åse Berit Grødeland, Public perceptions of non-governmental organizations in Serbia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, and Macedonia, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Volume 39, Issue 2, June 2006, Pages 221-246*).
- ¹⁹ The participation of minors in this research was incompatible with project's purposes, because respondents talked about vision and activism strategies, which means certain adult and other competences. LGBTI activists over 45 years weren't even available for the research.
- ²⁰ Donna M. DeBlasio et al., *Catching Stories: A Practical Guide to Oral History*. Swallow Press: 2009.



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