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The Public Secret and Private Pain of Wartime Sexual Violence: Comparing the Heroinat Memorial and the 2020 Newborn Monument from the Perspective of NGOs in Kosovo

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The Public Secret and Private Pain of Wartime Sexual Violence: Comparing the Heroinat Memorial and the 2020 Newborn Monument from the Perspective of NGOs in Kosovo

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This paper is dedicated to all victims and survivors of sexual violence and domestic violence, both those who choose to speak out and whose names we know, and also those that choose to speak in and whose names we may never know. Sexual violence does not stop when wartime stops, so I also want to acknowledge and support those who continue to experience sexual violence and domestic violence.

Abstract

In a rare year where there are two monuments dedicated to survivors of wartime sexual violence in Kosovo, the permanent Heroinat Memorial and the year-long Newborn Monument have different approaches and effects in their processes of commemorating wartime sexual violence. This paper approaches a comparison of these two monuments through four interviews with representatives of women-centered civil society organizations in Pristina, Kosovo. This paper finds that the Heroinat Memorial and the 2020 theme of the Newborn Monument are sites of contested meanings, because of the different approaches of each respective monument, each of the monuments' gendered implications, and the implications of the nation-building process found in both. Ultimately, the contested meanings and understandings enumerated by the participants about the monuments speak to a broader trend of contested memories of wartime sexual violence in Kosovo.

The Public Secret and Private Pain of Wartime Sexual Violence: Comparing the Heroinat Memorial and the 2020 Newborn Monument from the Perspective of NGOs in Kosovo

Separated by the busy street Luan Haradinaj in central Pristina, there are two public monuments.¹ The Newborn Monument sits on one side of the street, whose theme changes each year. For the year of 2020, the big letters that spell out “NEWBORN” stand for “Never Ending Wars Bring Oppression, Rape & Neglect” for the year of 2020, accompanied by painted designs of flowers and short sentences in Albanian and English (Bami, 2020). Across from the 2020 iteration of the Newborn Monument sits a permanent monument, the Heroinat Memorial, or “Heroines” in the English translation. The Heroinat Memorial is made up of 20,000 circular medals, representing the estimated 20,000 to 46,000 people who experienced wartime sexual violence, and these medals then form a larger, three dimensional face that stretches eighteen feet tall (Blakçori, 2014, “Heroinat Memorial”). Standing at one of these memorials, you can see the other from across the street. In the only year where there are two monuments dedicated to victim-survivors² of wartime sexual violence, the year 2020 is a pressing time to research feelings and thoughts toward public commemorations of wartime sexual violence in Kosovo.

In findings issued by the United States’ Center for Disease Control and Prevention, victims and survivors of sexual violence number between 23,200 and 45,600, a number which only accounts for the two year war-period in 1998 and 1999, so the actual number is predicted to be much higher (Hynes & Lopes Cardozo, 2000, p. 821). Many oral histories and testimonies establish patterns in the systematic sexual assault and sexual humiliation of ethnic Albanians; Serbian paramilitary troops and police usually targeted young women in their homes or traveling

¹ See the Appendix for photographs of the Heroinat Memorial and the 2020 Newborn Monument.

² I use the term “victim-survivor” as a conscious choice to include a variety of terms that people who have experienced sexual violence use to describe themselves. Additionally, experienced in domestic violence and sexual assault work, my organization used the term “victim-survivor.” However, when the interviewed participants use the term “survivor,” I use “survivor” as well, for specificity’s sake.

in convoys, or targeted people during other systematic attacks on villages, and many times, people were often abducted and/or drugged at the time of the violence (OSCE 1999). Although less common relative to sexual violence toward Albanian women, sexual violence and public humiliation against Albanian men was common, as well, especially among men detained by Serbian troops (OSCE 1999). Importantly, though, sexual violence toward men is widely-underreported globally and there is a lack of estimates that suggest how prevalent this phenomenon was during the conflict between Kosovo and Serbia.

Because nationalist-patriarchal hegemonic narratives in Kosovo tend to ignore completely the experience of those who experienced wartime sexual violence, a majority of whom are women, public commemorations in the last ten years have sought to include a discussion of wartime sexual violence, like the Heroinat Memorial, erected in 2015, and the 2020 theme of the Newborn Monument, unveiled in February of 2020. By interviewing members of civil society in Kosovo, this paper seeks to answer the following questions: from the perspective of people who work at women-centered NGOs, how do ethnic Albanians in Kosovo feel toward and think about public commemorations of wartime sexual violence, like the Heroinat Memorial and the Newborn Monument in Pristina? The answer to these questions will be found in interviews with four different representatives of civil society organizations. The aim of this research is to gain insight into how Kosovar civil society thinks about the public monuments' contributions to the collective memories of wartime sexual violence.

Literature Review

Contested Memories of Sexual Violence

Even after the war officially ended, mnemonic battles began over who would control the construction and perpetuation of narratives surrounding the war and the preceding years of conflict with Serbia. Scholar Anna Di Lellio argues that wartime sexual violence survivors went through times of having great voice and then periods of being silenced in Kosovo before and during the nation-building and state-building process. Initially, during the war, mainstream Kosovar culture accepted domestic advocacy for survivors and victims of sexual violence, because it helped in the narrative struggle for support of Kosovo's independence; however, the narrative precedent in dominant culture forced survivors and their advocates out of public discourses and into the periphery (Di Lellio, 2016, p. 622). For many scholars, like Linda Gusia, the narrative attached to the war is dichotomized into a masculine, heroic figure and, if women are mentioned at all, they become the long suffering mothers, sisters, and daughters of an idealized masculine, Albanian man (2014, p. 139). In what became hegemonic narratives about the war, victimhood itself becomes a gendered phenomenon allocated to Albanian women, while Albanian men, especially Kosovo Liberation Army fighters, are glorified as national heroes (Gusia, 2014, p. 142). In this way, memory is "socially mediated," to use Vjollca Krasniqi's term, because outward social factors, like gender roles and patriarchy, contribute to the narrative creation of memory (Krasniqi, 2014, p. 152). Masculine "heroes" like Adem Jashari and Ibrahim Rugova became memorialized through public statues and art, reinforcing who and what to remember in the public sphere.

This paper utilizes the theoretical concept of collective memory to understand how public commemoration comes to reflect memory, specifically how civil society members both articulate

collective memory and critiques of those memories. Scholar Jasna Dragović-Soso argues that memory is continually and dynamically socially constructed, and “refers to public discourses and images of the past that speak in the name of collectivities,” citing the work of Jeffrey Olick (Dragović-Soso, 2010, p. 30). Importantly for understanding the symbolic role of the Heroinat Memorial and the 2020 iteration of the Newborn Monument, public commemorations help to cement and unify, or contest and complicate, collective memory, meaning that the monuments create new memories in the process of trying to retell the past. Because the Heroinat Memorial and the 2020 Newborn Monument seek to encapsulate individual memories as collective memories, these monuments participate in the construction, deconstruction, and/or reconstruction of Kosovar collective memory.

Gender and Nationalism

Taking into consideration the specificities of wartime sexual violence in Kosovo, many factors of positionality come into play, especially gender, nationalism, and ethnicity. Sexual violence, scholars argue, must be put in context of positionality, involving the intersections of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, religion, colonialism, nationalism, time, place etc. (Copeland, cited in Žarkov, 2007, p.170). The aforementioned construction of a female-victim/male-hero dichotomy has participated in– and continues to contribute to –nation-building in Kosovo. According to the scholarship of Vjollca Krasniqi on the intersection of gender and everyday nationalism, masculine heroes “personify the state” (2014, p. 153), while feminine victims are “ceremonial battlefields” where the conflicts of the state are waged, as scholar Linda Gusia argues (2014, p. 141). The gendered narrative construction of war remembrance centers the conflict in terms of the “nation” rather than in terms of victim-survivors’ agency. Illustrating the importance and relevance of narrative construction in making sense of wartime sexual violence

in a related case study, scholar Wendy Bracewell analyzes Serbia's narratives about sexual violence in the 1980s that stoked fear and contempt of Kosovo Albanians. Serb nationalists spread unsubstantiated claims that Albanian men attacked Kosovo Serbs (both men and women) as an act of aggression (Bracewell; 2000, p. 564). Overall, the issue became "a matter of competing masculinities," in turn, asserting "that political conflicts and understandings of gender are part of the same whole" (Bracewell, 2000, p. 572, 586). Bracewell makes a compelling argument that is useful for this paper's framework: the construction of gender and the construction of nation are intertwined, and therefore ought to be analyzed in relation. In applying this gender-nation relation, one victim-survivor, for instance, is not just a woman but an Albanian woman.

Public Comemorations of Sexual Violence

Apart from the memorials of sexual violence that will be the subject of this paper, the Heroinat Memorial and Newborn Monument, there have been other public art projects and installations that have created public discourses around wartime sexual violence in Kosovo. Perhaps the most famous example of this is Alketa Xhafa Mripa's art exhibition "Thinking of You" (2015), in which Kosovar women donated 5,000 skirts and dresses to be exhibited in a football stadium in Pristina in order to symbolize the women who had experienced wartime sexual violence during the conflict (Di Lellio, Rushiti, & Tahiraj, 2019, p. 1543). Anna Di Lellio, an American academic and one of the producers of the art installation, and her colleagues, argue that "Thinking of You" helped to create awareness and solidarity with victims about the "public secret" of wartime sexual violence, and in doing so, collapsed the public and private distinctions that had once kept wartime sexual violence out of public discourse (Di Lellio, Rushiti, & Tahiraj, 2019, p. 1549). Important to this paper's study of other public art installations, Di Lellio and

colleagues argue that art has the power to initiate strong emotions which in turn initiate change, like the turn in favor of support for pensions for victim-survivors of sexual violence (2019, p. 1552). If the “Thinking of You” art exhibition, according to Di Lellio and colleagues, created and instigated so much change, this social impact begs the question of the applicability of this phenomenon to the Heroinat Memorial and the 2020 theme of the Newborn Monument.

Other scholars critique the success of “Thinking of You” and the messages that the art exhibition sent. Krasniqi, Sokovlić, and Kostovicova argue that the effect of “Thinking of You” was the “recognition of the war crime but not the victim,” because the art installation reinforced binary gender roles and instigated actions of “everyday nationalism.” For Krasniqi, Sokovlic, and Kostovicova, the use of skirts and dresses to represent victims and survivors of wartime sexual violence essentializes women into female-coded objects, which therefore reduces victims and survivors as diametrically opposite to masculinity, creating and reinforcing a gender binary (2020, p. 468-469). The dresses also insinuate, according to the critique, that wartime sexual violence was women’s “sacrifice” during the war, making sexual violence the price that women pay during war, erasing any other type of war experience that women may have had, and erasing discussions of how men were also victim-survivors of wartime sexual violence as well (Krasniqi, Sokovlić, & Kostovicova, 2020, p. 468-469). The essentialized and gendered body serves as a nation-building process in “Thinking of You,” because it focuses on a crime against *a people* (ie. Albanians) rather than a crime against *individual people* (ie. women and men who were sexually abused and assaulted). This critique of “Thinking of You” challenges scholars to complicate the silence-speech dichotomy; even when public commemorations seemingly honor and give voice to victims and survivors of sexual violence, such commemorations can simultaneously reinforce gender roles and nationalism. Analyzing the Heroinat Memorial and Newborn Monument, this

paper seeks to understand the ways in which these memorials relate to the nation-building project and the extent to which nation-building has become a gendered process.

Methods

In understanding the success or failure of public commemorations of sexual violence in Kosovo, members of civil society have an aerial view of the current situation in Kosovo and some organizations even work with victim-survivors of wartime sexual violence, either directly relating to their experience as survivors or indirectly with regard to women's empowerment work. By gaining civil society members' thoughts and perceptions of the public memorials, I attempted to understand how the memorials work or do not work, according to their perspective within Kosovo public discourse. Additionally, I wanted to garner a perspective that is not rooted directly in academia but in civil society agents who are generally focused on the day-to-day lives of victim survivors approach, but not necessarily directly tied to the framework of feminist theory. Additionally, civil society workers have entry into the thoughts and beliefs of survivors.

The intended participants worked in women-centered NGOs and had some sort of work involving victim-survivors of wartime sexual violence, and I interviewed four individuals from different civil society organizations. While only four to five organizations in Kosovo are recognized to work directly with wartime sexual violence, and the interviewees were not restricted to only these four organizations, the organizations whose representatives I interviewed are engaged either directly or indirectly with survivors through memory activism or women's social and economic empowerment. I interviewed one representative from each of the following organizations: Jahjaga Foundation, Kosova Center for Torture Victims, Kosova Women for Women, Youth Initiative for Human Rights. In this paper, I refer to the organizations as participant one, participant two, etc., but these representatives are anonymous both in their

personal name and their association with their corresponding organization.³ While two of the participants were in their twenties, two were above/older than their twenties. Three of the participants were women and one was a man.⁴

Because of the COVID-19 outbreak, these interviews were conducted online via Skype, WhatsApp, and Zoom. A group of civil society organizations were emailed and I interviewed all that responded. All interviews were conducted in English and did not require a translator. The interviews were semi-structured in format, with more questions added depending on context. The questions concerned the atmosphere around wartime sexual violence in Kosovo, how participants thought about the Heroinat Memorial and Newborn Monument, and how these monuments help in dealing with the past.

Regarding my own positionality, I am an undergraduate student educated in the United States who studied abroad in southeastern Europe until the outbreak of COVID-19. Raised and educated in the West, I can reflect on my own experiences and biases about southeastern Europe. Orientalist thinking about southeastern Europe has been pervasive in my understanding of the region, and part of studying abroad has been deprogramming what Vesna Goldsworthy (2002) calls the “rhetoric of Balkanization” that reduces the region into an essentialized area of endless fighting between unchanging, hateful ethnic groups. When discussing the situation in Kosovo, which is still a site of contested nationhood in geopolitics, I as a researcher must not lose sight that the “ancient ethnic hatreds” narrative in and about the region has been weaponized and has led to more conflict (Goldsworthy, 2002, p. 26). This paper does not seek to perpetuate this

³ By keeping the participant’s organization anonymous, I aimed to respect each organization’s work even while analyzing and critiquing some of the participant’s statements. For this reason, I do not list what participant one’s organization is, for instance.

⁴ See chart in appendix for information on participants.

narrative and instead tries to add the conceptual framework and specific Kosovar context necessary to questions of memorializing wartime sexual violence.

Furthermore, the topic of this paper deals with feminist theory, which came out of Western academia initially and was subsequently critiqued for its lack of regard for women and nonbinary folks who fall outside of the West. Trained in feminist theory and critique in the West, I must acknowledge the ways in which my thinking may be different even from feminist thinkers within Kosovo. Additionally, the international presence in Kosovo to this day, largely represented by the United States, is involved in the functioning of Kosovar politics and everyday life so much so that the international community has mapped onto Kosovo society a gendered expectation of the roles that Kosovar men and women inhabit (Krasniqi, 2007, p. 21). My positionality as holding American citizenship cannot be divorced from the actions of the government whose citizenship I hold, even if I participate in critiquing those systems.

Interview Findings and Analysis

Approaches of the Monuments

All works of art are a combination of what the creators ascribe the meaning of that work to be, and how the public perceives and thereafter understands the meaning of that artwork. Because the Heroinat Memorial and the 2020 iteration of the Newborn Monument are attached to the public discourse and collective memories of wartime sexual violence, they take on a public meaning, as actors in the public sphere create narratives around their purpose. The meaning of the 2020 iteration of the Newborn Monument is far more agreed upon than the Heroinat Memorial's meaning, because the participants more monolithically identify a point of view and approach in the former. However, there is a tension in participants' perspectives between the Heroinat Memorial's ascribed and perceived meanings; because of the Heroinat Memorial's

contested meaning, the monument becomes a site of contestation over *how* survivors of wartime sexual violence should be remembered and given agency.

The Heroinat's Symbolic Approach

No singular symbolic meaning of the Heroinat Memorial emerged in the participants' thoughts toward it, and therefore the Heroinat appears as a site of contested meaning.

Participants disagreed about who the Heroinat Memorial was about: either all women who engaged in the war at some point, or only women who experienced sexual violence during the war. Participant one spoke repeatedly about how the Heroinat Memorial is a symbol that only represents the survivors of wartime sexual violence, and participant three acknowledged the tension between who the monument is about:

Because it has a number, and it is the number that corresponds to the approximate number of survivors of sexual abuse. It is kind of given more the symbol of the survivors of sexual abuse during the war. Although I think it belongs to all women, the way it is explained is that it's more about the the sexual violence survivors.

There is a tension between what the placard attached to the Heroinat explains and how people generally think about it. As the quote above points out, the Heroinat Memorial is dedicated to all women who participated in the 1998-1999 war, yet most people in Pristina associate it with women victim-survivors of wartime sexual violence. The outcome is a tension between what the monument is intended to represent—all women—with the group that most Kosovars consider the monument to truly be about—victim-survivors of sexual violence. The ultimate result of this tension disregards centering victims of sexual violence: survivors do not really have a memorial solely for them and yet it would be difficult to get another monument when the opposition could label it as redundant. Participant four articulated the idea that the Heroinat Memorial is about all women:

It's quite important for the survivors, but it's not enough. As I mentioned Heroinat is not only dedicated to survivors of sexual violence, it's also dedicated to women who have

contributed to the last war in Kosovo in different forms: by participating directly to the war, or being part of medical teams that offered different medical and social support to the war, but it's not exclusively dealing with the survivors of sexual violence.

For participant four, the Heroinat Memorial's symbolic meaning is not limited in recognition only for women who experience wartime sexual violence but also to women who actively and self-decidedly participated in the war through their own actions as combatants, medics, cooks, etc. The combination and collapse of these different representations and experiences of women overly essentializes the historical and present situation. Even if one is to continue with the understanding that the monument is dedicated to all women during the war, it is incongruent to have a monument for women who experienced sexual violence and women who fought as combatants. For example, participant two did not see the inclusion of all women in the Heroinat Memorial as a good thing:

It says that it's about sexual violence survivors and women's contribution to the war, which are very horrible things to be put together. They did not contribute to the war by being raped. These are two different things. And it said that we only have one memorial for 20,000 women and we have one memorial for each man who was a hero.

For participant two, equating the women victim-survivors of wartime sexual violence with the women who actively chose to serve as medical help, cooks, direct fighters, etc. frames being a victims of sexual violence as a "contribution" to the war rather than a war crime itself. This confusion and lack of agency erases the true meaning and intensity of being a victim-survivor of sexual violence. Even further, participant two sees the inner contradiction of the Heroinat Memorial as symbolically lacking support for victim-survivors of sexual violence during the war: "I don't see victims. I don't see survivors." The tension of who the monument is for prompts further inquiry into whether public commemorations are for victims or are for the greater Kosovar public.

The tensions in symbolic meanings of the Heroinat Memorial are enumerated by the participants. Participant one saw the monument as dedicated to victim-survivors from the very beginning, participant two critiqued putting all women who had some role in the war in the same monument, participant three acknowledged that it was dedicated to all women but only really saw it for victim-survivors of wartime sexual violence, and finally, participant four saw it as dedicated for all women. Though the participant pool for this paper was only four people, it is worth noting that even in the civil society sector, there is no consensus about what the Heroinat Memorial symbolically means and who it is designed to represent.

The symbolic meaning of the Heroinat Memorial was further critiqued for its symbolic rather than realized support. Participant two stated Heroinat as symbolic support rather than real support:

But it's more of a symbolic, I'd say, support rather than a real one. I mean, the same people who were in power at that time voted against, in the parliament, for these women and men to get reparations. I would be ashamed of myself if I was in their position. So it's very, very sad to see how they fail to give any support and then they just when they have to gain political points they appear. But I mean, regardless of this, institutional support is one of the most important things in helping these women and men, otherwise NGOs cannot do it forever.

A monument, even though state-sponsored, is not enough to make the lives of victim-survivors any better when they are afraid to tell their families about their experiences, seeing as interviewee participants described common circumstances in which victim-survivors' families were shamed them for their experience and/or victim-survivors of wartime sexual violence were living currently in a domestic violence situation. The symbolic meaning of the Heroinat Memorial, for participant two, was not enough to combat the pervasively unresponsive political sphere and the stigmatized social sphere. The Heroinat Monument, being state-sponsored, was a *performance* of recognition of survivors rather than a genuine shift in the culture and political discourse of prioritizing the support of wartime sexual violence victim-survivors.

The physical condition and surroundings of the Heroinat Memorial also relate to the narratives of contestation around the memorial. For example, participant two discussed that when the Heroinat Memorial was unveiled in 2015, it was “quite hidden” by overgrown bushes and could not be easily viewed from the street. For participant two, the hidden nature of the Heroinat Memorial when it was first unveiled hints at how people “did not, maybe subconsciously, want it to be that public.” The public neglect and disappearance even within the public sphere speaks to the ways in which wartime sexual violence is pushed into the level of “public secret” that seeks to avoid conversations of dealing with the past. Because the Heroinat Memorial was hidden in public view, its physical condition was an embodiment of the hidden truth of wartime sexual violence in Kosovo. In addition to participant two’s comment, participant three also expressed concern over the monument’s physical appearance and upkeep. Participant three stated that the memorial was not very well taken care of: “It’s like when you go now, a glass is broken, under there is kind of glass above the text that reads what it is. And it’s so dirty. You can see almost no trees. So you take someone to, to visit and to show it. And unless you explain what it is, people cannot really read.” In contradistinction to the Heroinat Memorial, the 2020 iteration of the Newborn Monument, however, was “very open and very public to everyone who would pass by,” although, several participants pointed out the unfortunate reality that the Newborn Monument will only recognize survivors as the theme of year 2020, and the following year the message and the theme will change. The physical embodiment of the Heroinat becomes a layered site of performance in which the public secret of wartime sexual violence is physically embodied by its hidden nature and unkept appearance. Even more broadly the symbolic approach of the Heroinat Memorial does not do enough to accomplish a goal of highlighting a victim-centered

memory of the past, because the dedication and approach is not agreed upon, even in civil society circles.

The Newborn's Descriptive Approach

Participants saw the meaning of the 2020 theme of the Newborn Monument as less abstract and more descriptive in its presentation, and thus the symbolic meaning was far more agreed upon than that of the Heroinat Memorial. Ultimately, the 2020 theme of the Newborn Monument contributes to the continued contestation of hegemonic narratives and memories of the war. Participant one observed the messages in the Newborn Monument as very powerful:

When you read them, you can just feel the pain, you can feel the loss, then you can have that kind of feeling that what happened to them is not easy to handle. And as a good reminder to show people that these are the feelings that these people have affected them all of the time and it is very difficult to read, but imagine how it is to handle all of them. And this was something that I would like, probably to share more and to have more attention because when you give them the facts, people will be much more sensitive, and understanding of the context.

For participant one, the messages on the Newborn Monument serve as a platform for the voices of victim-survivors, and the physical design of Newborn offers a model of how to honor and memorialize victim-survivors of wartime sexual violence. The 2020 iteration of the Newborn Monument has messages and stories of sexual violence written on it in paint, and participant one saw these messages as productive in dealing with the past in Kosovo because it supports an accurate memory of wartime sexual violence. This statement appears to encompass a shift to better the situation of survivors—the monuments show and increase public support simultaneously. Participant two agreed with participant one's comments on the descriptive nature of the Newborn Monument:

Because the Newborn is quite descriptive, quite raw, quite in your face, that of that story is part of our history. You cannot unsee it and see those words. I believe it stays with people's mind much longer than the Heroinat Memorial because it's much more artistic, and more symbolic in itself. And you have a Newborn which is quite, as I said, raw stories and quite traumatic ones.

In short, the physical design of the public commemorations led to either consensus or contention about the symbolic meaning of these memorials. For the Heroinat, its abstract design leaves more for the viewer and audience to interpret, no matter what the placard attached to the Heroinat reads, whereas the 2020 Newborn Monument has much less to be interpreted by the viewer, because the messages are written directly and unmistakably on the monument itself. These contestations over the symbolic meaning of the Heroinat Memorial relate to the ways in which, even in civil society circles pursuing counter-hegemonic narratives that re-center survivors of sexual violence, the participants did not agree about what the counter-narrative Heroinat Memorial stands for and who it recognizes. These monuments simultaneously and contestedly function as *for* and *about* victim-survivors, both affirming their agency whilst simultaneously the existence of these memories in the public sphere reduces their control of that discussion and turns them into objects rather than subjects. In these two memorials' approaches and meanings, collective memory of the war is being reshaped, reinforced, and questioned, as the subjects of gender and nationalism illustrate.

Representations of Gender

Like the approaches and symbolic meanings of the Heroinat Memorial and the theme of the 2020 Newborn Monument, the operation of gender within these monuments is very much also a contested ground inside civil society circles. The subject of gender is one component that further contests the collective memories of the war. Understanding of gender as related to wartime sexual violence is layered, and the participants' descriptions of this layering establishes three competing narrative understandings of gender as it is represented in the Heroinat Memorial and the 2020 iteration of the Newborn Monument.

First, as discussed in the literature review, there is a hegemonic narrative that excludes women and discussions of sexual violence from memories of the war, therefore reinforcing traditional gender roles. This hegemonic narrative began after the war and has been increasingly challenged since the early 2010s. None of the participants interviewed for this paper subscribed to the dominant, hegemonic narrative. The first competing narrative that challenges the hegemonic narrative is that women's experiences during the war should be acknowledged and made public as part of Kosovo state-building efforts. This first competing narrative was most common among the participants. The second competing narrative challenges both previously-described narratives because such critics seek to question essentialist gender representations of wartime sexual violence that simultaneously reinforce ethno-nationalism. The participants' discussion of the memorials represented the two latter narratives: first, a view that the memorials subvert hegemonic narratives, and second, a view that the memorials reinforce hegemonic narratives. This narrative disagreement illustrates the contested understandings of how the memorials work and therefore increase the ground for contested memories.

Monuments as Subversion of Hegemonic Narratives

For some participants, the very existence of these memorials transgresses the patriarchal, hegemonic narrative operating in Kosovo that recognizes men and completely erases the memory of women and women's experiences during the war. Participant one recognized "everything [was] more focused on men fighting during the war," and completely ignored the lives of women. Participant three similarly reiterated the dominant narratives in Kosovo about the war:

Not some of them, except Mother Teresa, they're all men. It's all men. And unfortunately, in this post war, masculinistic society—which was not the case before the war, I was one of the volunteers into establishing a parallel health system— and so the help of women, even in the direct fights was much bigger than it is recognized today, but everybody forgets. And everybody was in a rush to get the credits about the war and the crowd.

To these participants, the memorials serve as a counter-narrative to the extremely male vision of the war in hegemonic collective memories. The “credit” of the war went to men who fought, and this contributes to a narrative about Kosovo independence. Even further, participants one and four directly acknowledged the patriarchal system in Kosovo as a contributing factor that determines how the discourse of the war works. For them, the opposite of the extremely blatant preference for male statues and monuments is the existence of women-centered monuments which then correlates to stories of victim-survivors of sexual violence being the only depictions of women during the war at all. For participant four, part of the goal of these monuments ought to be to subvert the male-dominated hegemonic narratives by providing documentation. When asked what an ideal monument of wartime sexual violence may look like, participant four emphasized the need for a monument to center documentation as a method of combating the hegemonic narrative that erase the existence of wartime sexual violence.

Disappointing, though, is the accidental and unintentional use of language that perpetuates the idea of the “sacrificial woman” who has to be sexually abused and assaulted for the benefit of the nation-state. This occurrence was most common in those subscribing to the first competing narrative. Illustrating the pervasive nature of essentialized and stereotyped representations of gender, even participants who work at women-centered and feminist civil society organizations use language of the “sacrificial” woman that participant two critiqued. For example, participant one used language of “sacrifice,” even while recognizing its limitations:

I mean, at least it is something that should belong there, because we need to remind to ourselves, not only to survivors but even tourists out that these are women that sacrifice—I mean not sacrifice in the sense of they want to do—but we need to remind ourselves that they belong to society and they should not be stigmatized.

While, again, the participant does caveat the use of “sacrifice,” the use of the word does more to illustrate the pervasive nature of the narrative terminology attached to descriptions of those who

experience wartime sexual violence. The use of this term was exhibited by participant four, also, “But Heroinat at the same time remains one of the most important monuments in Kosovo after the war, because the monument of Heroinat express[es] the suffering and the sacrifice of the Kosovo woman during the war in Kosovo.” Once again, representatives of civil society organizations that are women-centered still fall into the cultural and social trap of referring to sexual violence against women as women’s “sacrifice,” when such a sacrifice was, by definition, nonconsensual and violent. The telling slip of “sacrifice” alludes to the popular, mainstream framework of how hegemonic narratives about the war place women. They are unwilling yet necessary casualties of fighting a war. And once they cannot be used strategically as a rallying cry to garner more sympathy to the Kosovo independence cause after the war, they can be disregarded and erased entirely from memory. Collapsing the category of women who participated in the war through physical confrontation, cooking, healthcare and the women who experienced wartime sexual violence –and de facto ignoring men who were victims and survivors–puts all women into one essentialized category that limits the plurality of women’s experiences during the war.

Monuments as the Reinforcement of Hegemonic Narratives

In contradistinction to seeing the subversion of patriarchy in the monuments, one participant saw the memorials, particularly the Heroinat Memorial, as reinforcing rather than subverting gender norms in Kosovo. This perspective further illustrates contestation and disagreement in how wartime sexual violence ought to be memorialized and remembered. For instance, participant two saw the Heroinat as essentializing women’s experiences and cannot commit to a survivor-centered message. The following quote from participant two, referenced in

the previous section on the Heroinat's symbolic approach, also has implications for representations of gender:

It says that it's a war about sexual violence survivors and women's contribution to the war which is very horrible things to be put together. I mean, we did. They did not contribute to the war by being raped. These are two different things. And it said that we only have one memorial for 20,000 women and we have one memorial for each man who was a hero.

For participant two, Heroinat Memorial's subject is confused and incongruent, because framing survivors of sexual violence as sacrificial contributors to the war is an unethical understanding of unwilling and unconsenting sexual violence against women. It places women and victim-survivors' bodies as the object and sacrifices of war rather than as subjects who did not consent to such involvement in the war. To describe the women who served as combatants and women who experienced wartime sexual violence in terms of sacrifice makes the latter group into collateral damage that stakeholders of the state strategically use to further an national independence movement. Simultaneously, this understanding of sexual violence objectifies women into becoming a physical embodiment of a wartime battlefield.

One major oversight of the Heroinat Memorial is the exclusion of men who experienced sexual violence during the war. This exclusion of men serves to perpetuate patriarchal hegemonic narratives about who is always a victim (women) and who is always a hero (men). The dichotomy of sexually abused women, on the one hand, and fighting men, on the other, reinforces traditional gender roles. Participant two mentioned the Heroinat Memorial's lack of inclusivity twice, as the only permanent public monument dedicated, at least in part, to survivors of wartime sexual violence:

So it lacks to be inclusive when it comes to survivors of sexual violence, again. Because of the narratives that are in place, only Albanian women suffered from that, when in fact it's not true. And as I said, not only women but also men [suffered].

By not including men, the Heroinat Memorial erases the experiences of men, which in turn, perpetuates a gendered understanding of sexual violence. Participant one also mentioned the lack of inclusion of men in the Heroinat Memorial:

And when it comes to society, I do not believe there was the message and then the impact for all, to whole communities. It was a lot of internationalized as a monument, but it was also criticized because it was not mentioning the survivors of sexual violence that were men in Kosovo.

While participant one did not mention directly *who* was criticizing the Heroinat for its lack of inclusivity, the fact that two participants mentioned this criticism at all suggests that the criticism is common in some civil society circles.

Simultaneously, the 2020 iteration of the Newborn Monument is dedicated to all victim-survivors of wartime sexual violence, presumably regardless of sex and gender, yet this is not the sole focus nor is it particularly emphasized in the Newborn Monument. Even further, participant two critiques the Newborn Monmuent's messages as further reducing women into objects who are violently acted upon:

And on the other hand, I was very disturbed to be quite frank when I passed through Newborn, and I saw the writings on the letters, because it's quite graphic. And it's quite a public space. And I was thinking how bizarre it is that parents take pictures of their children in front of the Newborn. And if you look closely, it says, "my body was burned with cigarettes." So it's quite an interesting installation because it gives you mixed feelings. But I think it could have been done with a feminist perspective, because it's very triggering for a lot of people to see those words and I think we should be very careful when we remember sexual violence.

To be clear, participant two's concern was not about whether the topic of wartime sexual violence *should* be the theme of the Newborn Monument for the year of 2020, but rather how the monument works. For the participant, the normalization of extremely violent material in a public sphere is not necessarily emotionally sensitive for not including a trigger warning. Even so, participant two still had positive stances on the Newborn Monument, as well:

The Newborn one definitely has this victim centered approach. I mean, you hear the words of the victim and what they went through. And not necessarily about Kosovo. I mean, there's nothing about the war, about what the general population went through.

In this excerpt, participant two asserts that the physical design of the Newborn Monument gives the impression of a victim-survivor-centered approach, which improves the gendered narrative surrounding the topic. So while, for participant two, the physical nature of the Newborn Monument is very violent in its depictions of victims' experiences, the participant still sees the value in having a victim-centered monument.

Moving Toward Gender-Inclusive Monuments

In order to reconcile the contested gender narratives of the war, there must be a new theoretical approach to monuments and frameworks of public commemorations. For participant two, the answer to the question of erasing women's subjectivity and plurality is adding more of a feminist lens. During the interview, the participant explained her background in the field of anthropology and stated that, "Maybe my anthropological perspective has more insights into the matter than civil society." Feminist critiques of how hegemonic memories consolidate the experiences of women are important to understanding the extent to which these memorials, particularly the Heroinat Memorial, subverts or reinforces veiled patriarchy. Memorializing wartime sexual violence through a monument of a woman's face underscores the existence and trauma of female victim-survivors, and participant two also recognizes and critiques the Heroinat Memorial's neglect of this group of people. Additionally, these memorials put sexual violence into the public consciousness only through the framework of war, ignoring the pressing issue of sexual violence and domestic violence concurrently happening in Kosovo today. By "memorializing" sexual violence, the monuments relegate discussions to past tense events rather than current realities. The Heroinat Memorial, in particular, reinforces a collective memory of

sexual violence against Albanian women, not men, and limits the memory of women's experience into a singularity.

In understanding the gendered representations of the Heroinat Memorial and the Newborn Monument, it is necessary first to acknowledge that the very existence of monuments to women transgresses patriarchal hegemonic narratives that erase women's experiences altogether. At the same time however, we must be critical when the only depictions of women reduce their experience to that of victimhood, or erase the reality that men also experienced wartime sexual violence. In terms of gender representation, the participants had more to critique about the Heroinat Memorial. The degree to which public commemorations reinforce rather than subvert gender norms in Kosovo is a worthy subject of study, one that could be benefited from a more survivor-centered approach and critical feminist theory. Ultimately, gender is very much a unit of analysis in identifying and critiquing collective memories that simultaneously include and exclude, according to the benefit of those with gender privilege.

Representations of the Nation

As reviewed in the literature, gender interacts with nationalism to form narrative understandings of socio-political objects and behaviors in Kosovo. Being one of the youngest states in the world, and continually battling non-recognition regionally and globally, hegemonic narratives about the Kosovo war has brought about a prioritization of viewing sexual violence as a crime against a nation and a state, which decenters those who actually experienced wartime sexual violence. The ultimate stake of nationalistic representations within public commemorations is the perpetuation of false narratives and false collective memories that do not serve victim-survivors, either in the way they view themselves, or outwardly in the way that society in Kosovo interacts with them. In conjunction with constructions of gender, the public

commemorations of the Heroinat Memorial and the 2020 Newborn Monument reinforce ethno-nationalist ideas of nationhood because of the way they articulate victim-survivors in the monuments as the symbolic battleground of Kosovo independence and national discourses. This nationalistic framing sets the terms for collective memory because the framing itself emphasizes a collective national identity.

The Heroinat and the Nation

The Heroinat Memorial comes to represent the memory of victim-survivors of wartime sexual violence as the symbolic battlefield of the 1998-1999 war because it articulates victim-survivors in ethnic terms. The Heroinat Memorial is really only dedicated to ethnically Albanian women, which limits its survivor-centered approach in favor of an ethnic-centered approach.

Participant two critiques the Heroinat Memorial's prioritization of Albanian women over other ethnic groups:

But I mean, as a policy student, I have to also think about how we talk about it and deconstruct it. But as a civil society organization, we have to work on advocating more for the rights of these women and men and to be as inclusive as possible, mentioning Serbian women, Askhali, the Roma, whoever was involved.

The mention of other ethnicities and groups of people whose members experienced wartime sexual violence points to a rather large oversight of the Heroinat Memorial's conceptualization of victim-survivors of wartime sexual violence. By reserving this monument to a sliver of those who experienced wartime sexual violence, the Heroinat Memorial nationalizes the question of wartime sexual violence rather than denounces the crime itself for the harm it does to individuals. Ultimately, viewing victim-survivors as part of an ethnic group rather than individuals, a majority of whom were Albanian, essentializes victim-survivors, a majority of whom were women, into a collective that is unseen and unknowable, but whose aforementioned "sacrifice" was necessary and led to the independence of Kosovo.

Furthermore, the lack of coordination with civil society organizations on the Heroinat Memorial may have led to its nationalist tribalism. Contributing to the problem of symbolic meaning attached to the nation, participant two recognized that the lack of a civil society perspective limited the Heroinat's approach:

It's quite problematic in the way they see this victimhood and surviving the trauma so I doubt that they had coordination with any NGO, and since this is much more artistic, from what I know is that they cooperated with artists more rather than an NGO to help them in making a concept which is much more inclusive.

While artists have a duty and a role to play in creating these public commemorations, discussions should center *all* victim-survivors' voices, not only those that are supported and put forward by the state. Once again, there is a tension between understanding sexual violence in Kosovo within the framework of ethnic conflict, or within the framework of patriarchy, or the alternative that acknowledges that both gender and ethnicity contribute to wartime sexual violence. Participant three also acknowledged how the Heroinat Memorial came about through the state rather than through civil society channels:

Well, we were not really involved in how the Memorial should look. I think it was more—it was the Parliament of Kosova, so it was Women's Caucus. I don't know if the other organizations were involved in the design, but I don't think so. I think it was more institutional, which is fine.

While participant three did not see the harm in a government-directed memorial, the victim-centered approach of NGOs could have resolved some of the critiques of the Heroinat Memorial's approach. The beliefs of the civil society members interviewed for this paper, however, did not articulate the same critique or disdain for what the Heroinat Memorial could stand for in reference to the nation. The other three participants did not engage in any discourse on the Heroinat Memorial's subjects as only being Albanians, perhaps because they are, not unrightly, concerned with including women, even if only Albanian women, in the narrative

discourse about the war. To further challenge the hegemonic discourse to include non-ethnically Albanians, as well, would be difficult to find support in the already male-dominated, hero-focused, and nation-focused narratives about the war in Kosovo that form the hegemonic collective memory of the war. In short, perhaps the other participants do not see the inclusion of Serb women or other ethnic minorities as a strategic possibility to shift hegemonic memories.

The Newborn and the Nation

Further echoing a narrative about the Kosovo nation and not victim-survivors, the Newborn Monument was designed to represent the independence of Kosovo, a design which then has implications for the theme of wartime sexual violence. Each participant mentioned the Newborn Monument's specific connection to the national cause. For instance, participant four described the Newborn Monument's link to the state:

Also Newborn is another monument that is interlinked, directly to Kosovo independence. And, as you may know, each year, the Newborn represents a different thing. And this year, we have strongly engaged that this thing to be survivors of sexual violence, not only in Kosovo but worldwide in different conflicts.

Because, admittedly, the Newborn Monument is linked to independence, it would logically follow that wartime sexual violence is linked to Kosovo independence. Once again, by making wartime sexual violence linked to the state, the crime itself becomes a question of the nation rather than the subjugation of women and the patriarchal dynamics of sexual violence toward men, as well. Admittedly, participant four's above comments allude to the 2020 Newborn Monument's discussion of sexual violence as a global problem, and such messages seek to internationalize the issue to all conflicts globally. At the same time, the Newborn Monument's status as a tourist attraction and association with the new state of Kosovo creates a tension with a global message that expresses support for victim-survivors of sexual violence during wartime. The war, insofar as it has been portrayed, is a battle between ethnic identities, but the recognition

that the crime of sexual violence is an act of gendered humiliation and destruction of one's dignity and autonomy is not necessary part of the conversation. At the very least, this critique does not appear to exist in the monuments themselves, or in the interviews with three of the four interviewed participants. Participant three described Kosovars' deep attachment to the Newborn Monument, beyond only 2020's theme:

It became a symbol of Pristina. I think whichever website you open, you write Pristina, the first thing you will see is Newborn. And I think it's excellent. Because it's kind of very original. We tend to, unfortunately, build all the time these sculptures of heroes, so it's their full body and they are everywhere. It's [Newborn] in such a good place that in an organic way, it made its place there and the name is you know, is excellent for the almost newest country, youngest country in the world. So it's an excellent monument. And now that it can have a different message every year. It becomes even more comprehensive, so everyone can relate him or herself with it.

While the tension of nationalism and national identity is not just a question of the 2020 Newborn Monument theme but of the Newborn Monument itself, the topic of wartime sexual violence highlights the degree to which certain victim-survivors are remembered and others are forgotten, along ethnic lines. Even recognizing the emphasis of the 2020 iteration of the Newborn Monument on international contexts of sexual violence, participants also recognize the degree to which the Newborn monument establishes itself as symbolic of the nation-state itself. Participant one mentions how tourists and internationals interact with the Newborn Monument:

But I think as a monument, it is internationalized. When people across the world come here, we can show something that is related to the war because these are things that we need to tell people on what's going on and historical context that happened during the war in Kosovo. At the beginning of Kosovo after the war, it was everything more focused on men fighting during the war, and the war [did] not mention the pain and the struggles that women had, especially these women that were raped during the war.

If the Newborn Monument's dedication to sexual violence is put in a nationalized context because it represents the state, or is at least considered to represent the Kosovo war by internationals, the conflation of Kosovo's war for independence and wartime sexual violence complicates the way in which sexual violence is gendered and ignores that victim-survivors were

also non-Albanian victim-survivors. The framework understanding sexual violence in the Newborn Monument leans toward one of nation, not one of gender or the framing of sexual violence as a war crime. Participant four's perspective on the issue reiterates an international lens:

And this year by dedicating the Newborn to all survivors of sexual violence, I mean, it was a very huge step with regard to the public awareness, not the public awareness onto rising the public awareness only locally, but also internationally.

This perspective reiterates that of participant one; the Newborn Monument has a meaning in the international community, and that meaning is tied to the Kosovo state. Mapping onto the monument the experiences of wartime sexual violence survivors complicates its division from its national origins. At the very least, the Newborn Monument confuses national and international narratives.

Even though the 2020 theme is dedicated to all those who experience wartime sexual violence, internationally, bringing the landmark into an international context further makes it synonymous with the state. This perspective reiterates that of participant one; the Newborn Monument has a meaning in the international community, and that meaning is tied to the Kosovo state. Mapping onto the monument the experiences of wartime sexual violence survivors complicates its division from its national origins. At the very least, the Newborn Monument confuses national and international narratives. While the tension of nationalism and national identity is not just a question of the 2020 Newborn Monument theme but of the Newborn Monument itself, the topic of wartime sexual violence highlights the degree to which certain victim-survivors are remembered and others are forgotten. Similarly, the Heroinat Memorial's recognition of Albanian women only frames public discourse in terms of ethnicity, not in terms of survivors. The collective memory of wartime sexual violence, established through both

monuments, emphasizes a collective identity of victimhood in order to legitimize the state of Kosovo. Having a political agenda such as this does not leave room for a victim-centered or survivor-centered monument, and thus weaponizes victimhood in order to create a national narrative that furthers political gains. The collective memory of wartime sexual violence in Kosovo has a gendered and nationalist tone, which further divorces the memorials from victim-survivors.

Conclusion

While I opened this paper describing the two memorials, the Heroinat and the Newborn, as sitting across the street from one another, this tiny patch of Kosovo that encompasses any mention whatsoever of wartime sexual violence will soon be reduced to only the Heroinat Memorial. Because the Newborn Monument has a yearly theme, survivors of wartime sexual violence in Kosovo will no longer have two monuments that even attempt to speak to their experiences. As a researcher myself, I cannot deny my own disappointment that this discussion of wartime sexual violence could be followed by a period of silence, like the one that scholar Anna Di Lellio (2016) located in the period right after the war, especially at a time when victim-survivors still need advocacy and platforms to express their own agency.

In this paper, I have sought to document and analyze the perspectives of civil society actors on the permanent Heroinat Memorial and the year-long 2020 theme of the Newborn Monument. By looking at the points of view of civil society, we can gain an understanding of both support for and critiques of public commemorations of wartime sexual violence in Kosovo. Because civil society in Kosovo does not have a singular perspective or subscribe to a singular narrative about the war, these findings of contested narratives further support the idea of complexity and tension in the collective memory of wartime sexual violence, and the overall war

itself. Hopefully, the material in this paper will lead to more nuanced, survivor-focused memorials in the future.

In analyzing the thoughts of civil society agents, I have found that the Heroinat Memorial, more so than the 2020 iteration of the Newborn Monument, does not allow or express the full extent of survivor's experiences, and, for that matter, does not even recognize all survivors of wartime sexual violence. By modeling indifference toward survivors that are men and survivors that are not Albanian, the Heroinat Memorial cannot be the only monument to raise public discourse or consciousness on wartime sexual violence. Likewise, the Newborn Monument's connections to nation-building and nationalism make its 2020 iteration about wartime sexual violence more centered toward the state rather than the survivors. An effective and successful monument should seek to be inclusive, accessible, and complicate dichotomies of gender and nationhood. Overall, the disagreements among the participants regarding the monuments' design approaches, gender representation, and representation of nationalism illustrate the degree to which there are contentions and critiques within Kosovo on the collective memory of wartime sexual violence in Kosovo. The Heroinat Memorial and the 2020 iteration of the Newborn Monument reinforce and perpetuate the hegemonic collective memory that places collective victimhood in gender and nationalist terms before doing so on the terms of victim-survivors. In order to deal with the past in Kosovo, the tensions between how Kosovars remember the war should be first recognized and then reconciled. For the sake of victim-survivors' well-being and fully-realized agency, these steps should be taken sooner rather than later.

Limitations and Future Directions

While this research was intended to be completed in Pristina with in-person interviews, the research had to be completed virtually while in a state of social distancing because of the COVID-19 breakout in early 2020. One limitation of this strategy of conducting research is somewhat intangible; the rapport and trust built in-person when two people sit across from each other shifts and something indescribably is lost over online interviews. Because of time constraints and the number of organizations that replied to emails, my participant pool was limited to four. It is possible that the themes that emerged from the data collected in this paper could have shifted with a broader participant base. Because all of my participants were not native speakers of the language in which the interview was conducted, some sentiments of the participants may have been lost because of the language, though I attempted to counteract such potential miscommunication through follow-up questions. Additionally, my analysis of the findings was inevitably filtered through the lens of an American-educated study abroad student, and one's own positionality can never be perfectly subverted into complete impartiality.

Future research should focus on interviewing victim-survivors themselves, because such a focus of voice would center victim-survivors experiences. In this way, the academic text could set an example for analogous endeavors to follow, like public commemorations. Because of a lack of training in counseling and trauma-awareness, I did not attempt to undertake this research goal, myself. Additionally, future research could put the public commemoration projects in Kosovo in conversation and comparison with other public art commemorations, both regionally and internationally. Adding a comparative lens across time and geography could offer a better idea of what factors make public commemorations of wartime sexual violence effective and successful from the point of view of civil society and/or victim-survivors.

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Appendix

Photograph of Heroinat Memorial (Blakçori, 2014, "Heroinat Memorial")



A'DESIGN AWARD
& COMPETITION



Detail of the 20,000 medalls



Medal portrait of the Heroine



Photograph of Newborn Monument for 2020 (Bami, 2020)

List of Interview Questions

- How would you describe the general atmosphere and general attitude around wartime sexual violence in Pristina today?
 - How is that similar, different, or the same as it was five years ago?
- Could you tell me something about this year's Newborn Monument in downtown Pristina?
 - What is its purpose? How do you see it?
- What are the effects of the Newborn Monument on honoring victims?
 - What are the positive effects of the Newborn Monument?
 - What are the negative effects of the Newborn Monument?
- Could you tell me something about the Heroinat Memorial in downtown Pristina?
 - What is its purpose? How do you see it?
- What are the effects of the Heroinat Memorial on honoring victims?
 - What are the positive effects of the Heroinat Memorial?
 - What are the negative effects of the Heroinat Memorial?
- In what ways do you think the Heroinat Memorial and the Newborn Monument are similar and different?
- What are the general public perceptions of these monuments?
 - What were the public reactions to the 2020 theme of the Newborn Monument?
 - Why do you think this theme was chosen now?
 - What does it mean to have an annual theme for the Newborn Monument?
- In your experience, what are the perceptions of these monuments in civil society circles?
 - What are the perceptions of these monuments in your organization?

- In your experience working with victims and survivors of sexual violence in Kosovo, what are their general perceptions and feelings toward the monuments?
- Do you think that there are discussions about wartime sexual violence in Kosovo?
- What are the effects of public monuments in general on the post-war healing process?
 - To what extent do you think that public monuments to sexual violence can help in the healing process?
 - What are the effects of these two specific monuments?
- In your opinion, what should a monument to victims and survivors of wartime sexual violence look like?
 - What would be the right/better way to honour the victims of wartime sexual violence?
 - What would be the right way to encourage healing and reconciliation processes?

Participant Chart

| Participant | Sex | Field of Work | Interview Date |
|------------------------------|---------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Participant one | Female | Civil Society | April 15, 2020 |
| Participant two | Female | Civil Society | April 16, 2020 |
| Participant three | Female | Civil Society | April 17, 2020 |
| Participant four | Male | Civil Society | April 20, 2020 |