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The Effectiveness of Women's Leadership

Recognising and Addressing Wartime Sexual Violence

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Abstract

Wartime sexual violence is increasingly used as a weapon of war. After the war in Kosovo, around 20,000 women and men suffered tremendously after having been sexually violated. The patriarchal mentality in Kosovo kept the issue silenced for years. However, when Atifete Jahjaga, the first female President in Kosovo, took office, she advocated for the establishment of rights for the survivors. Moreover, she fought for further inclusion of women in the society. Existing research centres around women's NGOs in the Balkans and their advocacy efforts. However, women's leadership in a national context has not been researched. This dissertation aims to address the research gap by exploring how women's leadership affects the recognition of wartime sexual violence. To further understand the topic at hand, gender theories are examined. Furthermore, to understand how Jahjaga's power affects her discourse, a comparative angle is used. Thus, frames analysis is applied, because by using it, one can see how an issue is viewed from different angles. As such, one can establish patterns and understandings in the data at hand; here, speeches and comments made at various events. I explore two dimensions within Jahjaga's discourse, the power dimension, and the audience dimension. The hypotheses put forward are that her discourse changes when she leaves office, and, that her discourse changes depending on whether she addresses local, or international audiences. I claim that Jahjaga uses a gender essentialist and nationalist rhetoric. For instance, Jahjaga does not mention male survivors of sexual violence on a local level. Moreover, she primarily mentions them after leaving office. Further, Jahjaga repetitively links women to victimhood, which according to gender theorists, marginalises men, and the gap between men and women continues to broaden. Thus, the concluding argument is that power can be restricting even though it can provide a lot of opportunities.

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Acknowledgements

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1 Introduction

The conflict in Kosovo ended in 1999 and peace-building and international intervention shaped the years that followed. More than a decade after the war, sexual violence permitted during the conflict by Serbian forces had still not been recognised due to the stigmatisation in the society. Victims remained silent due to the patriarchal culture of the local society, and nothing was done to restore justice. Instead, the primary focus during the post-war period was mainly directed towards the male-fought war of liberation which supposedly saved Kosovo from foreign brutality and embarrassment (Di Lellio, 2016).

The first female President in Kosovo, Atifete Jahjaga, took office in April 2011 and served until April 2016. Jahjaga's presidency was noteworthy with regard to gender, due to the fact that during her tenure she worked towards greater inclusion of women in Kosovo's political, economic and social life. Moreover, she pushed for the recognition of wartime sexual violence survivors. Jahjaga led the establishment of the National Council for Survivors of Sexual Violence During the War in Kosovo, which aims to provide legal remedies to the survivors. Her efforts further mobilised public support of the survivors of wartime sexual violence. Jahjaga pushed for the inclusion of Kosovo in global efforts towards prevention of wartime sexual violence, as well as developing strategies to further establish rights for the survivors and needed legal remedies. Following her presidency, Jahjaga has been active in traveling around the world and discussing her experience as President in a post-conflict society and has participated in conferences aimed at empowering women and supporting the survivors of wartime sexual violence (College of Europe, 2018).

There is a myriad of studies which focus on women's non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the Balkans and on women's advocacy. However, existing literature has not focused on women's leadership in a national context. Therefore, there is a significant gap in the literature which I aim to address by exploring women's leadership in Kosovo in relation to

wartime sexual violence. Thus, my dissertation attempts to make a further contribution to the existing literature. The dissertation is based on a discursive frames analysis of speeches and comments made by Atifete Jahjaga. Powerful individuals gain success by using language, and when speakers present information, they use different frames in communication to emphasise one dimension over another (Druckman, 2011). Frames analysis is particularly useful when analysing leadership since it allows one to investigate the different frames Jahjaga uses within her discourse, and on different levels with respect to power and audiences. Frames analysis allows the researcher to look at whole statements and what they represent and thus, it is particularly useful when analysing and comparing discourses. The dissertation is focused on studying discourses but concurrently it aims to examine women's political agency. The dissertation unravels how Jahjaga's leadership affects her effort in recognising wartime sexual violence, and thus, it builds on the following research question:

How does women's leadership bring about the recognition of wartime sexual violence?

Using discursive frames analysis, I unfold two different dimensions, the audience dimension, and the power dimension. In the audience dimension, I argue that Jahjaga's discourse changes depending on if she is speaking to international actors or local actors. Second, in the power dimension, I claim that her discourse changes when she leaves office. Moreover, certain frames overlap throughout all her speeches. By looking into the different dimensions using frames analysis, it allows us to see what effect leadership has on her effort in bringing about the recognition of wartime sexual violence. Therefore, this research is particularly important because it sheds light on dimensions which have not been researched before. It aims to show how leadership can be used as a powerful tool since it gives Jahjaga a platform to influence different actors, however at the same time, it can be restricting, as we see how she silences certain stigmas while not others.

The theoretical framework builds on gender due to their usefulness in exploring power and critical issues due to their usefulness in revealing hidden truths. I will be studying gender and post- colonialism and gender essentialism in war and peace, linking it to the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325. By not focusing on gender relations, I claim that as a consequence, we risk enforcing the essential notion of women's victimhood and men as agents of war.

I argue that women's leadership can be used to advance issues such as wartime sexual violence, though the leadership itself can hold one back as the power can be restricting. Moreover, there is a definite difference between how women leaders address local and international audiences. Powerful individuals can be persuasive, and they use different frames to influence different actors on subjects such as wartime sexual violence.

The dissertation is structured as follows. I first review the existing literature and theoretical debate on gender issues to be able to identify the gap in the literature which needs to be further investigated. Second, I present the data and methods used. I proceed by briefly providing a historical context regarding events which unfolded in Kosovo. I subsequently present the findings, which are followed by careful analysis. Finally, I conclude and provide key findings concerning the research question.

2 Wartime Sexual Violence, Women's Leadership, and Gender

2.1 Women's Agency

Existing literature has mostly focused on studying women's NGOs in the Balkans. For example, Elissa Helms (2003) researched how donors often pressured women's NGOs in Bosnia. The international community cooperated with women's NGOs during the post-war period because the international community was inclined to the idea of women as peace lovers and passive individuals that rejected nationalist division. Therefore, women were emphasised as a respective category. Helms argues that women NGOs were often pushed to emphasise ethnic reconciliation to be able to get funding, even though the NGOs did not believe there was any ground to do that (Helms, 2003). These findings illustrate, in my opinion, the politics behind donor business. Gender issues are put aside since the focus should be, according to donors who often ignore local initiatives, on pushing NGOs to create a superficial priority on ethnic reconciliation.

Jill A. Irvine wrote about how Serbian, Bosnian and Kosovan women's NGOs use UNSCR 1325 as a tool for advocacy (Irvine, 2012). Further, Jagoda Rosul-Gajic's work focuses on Bosnian women NGOs, who as norm advocates, used a double strategy model to push for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 into policy. They worked with international allies to receive financial and logistical support. Moreover, they worked as a national network to push for changes with both national and international authorities in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Rosul-Gajic, 2016). Though these findings are interesting, and I do not doubt that using UNSCR 1325 could work as a tool for women's empowerment. However, I doubt that the long-term results will be satisfying. Even though they managed to raise the issue to higher ground, the path made is not necessarily the right one. I argue that using UNSCR 1325; one should be aware of on what grounds inequality is being fought.

Anna Di Lellio (2016) researched lobbying by women activists in Kosovo which aimed for the incorporation of female perspectives in transitional justice efforts. Di Lellio mentions

their struggle in dealing with wartime sexual violence and their difficulty in distancing gender from ethnicity and finding the balance between local culture and international norms. She argues that for human rights to transform, women's agenda and their struggle, need to be included. Di Lellio's argument is a convincing one, though she does only acknowledge the efforts of the women's NGOs without acknowledging, for instance, Jahjaga's role in advancing the recognition of wartime sexual violence.

Studying women's agency is crucial research work since women's NGOs have been central to efforts aimed to empower women and address the issue of wartime sexual violence. Even though existing research has made a necessary input, none has investigated state-led leadership of women. Therefore, I aim to address an enormous gap in the literature.

2.2 Gender as a Tool

I consider gender theories a very fitting tool when analysing discourses. It is particularly useful to use critical approaches when analysing power dimensions and conflict issues related to gender because they can shed light on aspects not been considered before.

2.2.1 Wartime Sexual Violence

Historically, conflict research has concentrated on the number of deaths when accounting for the seriousness of the conflict. It is easier to measure victims of killings than victims of sexual violence (Cohen et al., 2013). Sexual violence and rape are defined as a war crime and a crime against humanity (UNICEF, 1996). Wartime sexual violence is often used as a weapon of war as part of ethnic hatred. The aim is to embarrass the ethnic opponent, which could cause the displacement of the ethnic population (Cohen et al., 2013; Skjelsbaek, 2001). The aftermath of wartime sexual violence is deeply severe. Socially, victims are often rejected by their families and children born out of rape are continuously dismissed (Aroussi, 2017, p.291).

Women more often than men become victims of sexual violence due to their principal status in cultural and family structures. However, Alison (2007) argues that existing

international mechanisms are based on the assumption that men are the primary perpetrators while women are the main victims. Even though that might be the case in many instances, one needs to be able to account for the victimhood of men. Furthermore, more men than women are killed and harmed during armed conflict due to their presence as combatants (Onyinyechukwu, 2010, p.77).

Legal accountability mechanisms have specific hindrances which include an absence of protection for witnesses. For instance, perpetrators of conflict-related sexual violence have not often been convicted. Feminists criticise the lack of reparations programs formed with a gendered dimension. Sexual violence and its effect on society and economy has implications for the future because it reinforces inequality beyond peace-building measurements (Björkdahl & Selimovic 2013, pp.205-207).

Wartime sexual violence was a major problem in Kosovo during the war. Therefore, the following sub-chapters will explore the different theories which can be used to further understand the subject of wartime sexual violence in relation to women's leadership.

2.2.2 Post-Colonialism

The work of Michael Foucault has been highly influential in post-colonial literature. Foucault (2003) argues that discourses; how we explain practices and understand individuals, are shaped by those in power. Those who are powerful can shape their discourse in an influential way which other people tend to accept as facts. Through influential discourses, ideas are created, reinforced or varied. Foucault claims that truths are set up by the powerful. The powerful determine if and how we discuss issues.

Edward Said (1978) argues that the powerful can affect the opinion or vision that less powerful groups have on certain issues by shaping and framing them in a specific manner. Said claims that the West is often described more positively as rational and surrounded by ideas of

masculinity and domination while the East is defined as more feminine, sensitive and subordinated.

Feminist post-colonial writers criticise the representation of Western feminists of women in the South, claiming that they build their work on their privileged experience. Chandra Mohanty (1988) argues that third world women are usually portrayed in the same oppressed manner. Scholars have highlighted the fact that women from former colonies should not be put in the same category, even though they share similar views. As a result, women's diverse realities are rejected (McEwan, 2001).

Cynthia Cockburn (1998) argues that a person's identity is not restricted to being just a victim, or, just a militant. Individuals posit in a particular place within a net of power where they are never completely powerful nor completely powerless. Discourses about individuals of contrasting genders or ethnicities can illustrate what power system is present.

I argue that using the post-colonial lens, we can unravel gender relations during and after conflict in a different manner, taking into account the power structure at hand.

2.2.3 Gender Essentialism and Peace-building

Post-conflict peace-building is centred around the idea of strengthening the outlook for sustainable peace and to avert the recurrence of armed conflict (UN General Assembly, 1993). Women's representation at the peace negotiations table has been on the rise due to support from the United Nations (UN), regional organisations, civil society, and donors. Women's groups often propose ways to guarantee women's rights, women's property ownership and making the perpetrators of sexual violence responsible for their crimes. However, these measures only promote women, but not gender equality. A key in conflict resolution and peace-building from a gender perspective is to encourage structural improvements within and between groups institutionally as well as within structural power relations. Nakaya (2003, pp.461-462) argues that only that way, sustainable peace can be built. The argument on

addressing the structural roots of gender inequality is a convincing one in my opinion. However, it is essential to not only address legal issues but also issues concerning the society and their perceptions. Nonetheless, the scholarly work remains an important tool in exploring the topic at hand.

Gender essentialist ideas centre around the notion that all women are in essence homogenous, and the same applies to the male category (McEwan, 2001). The common gendered assumption is that men go to war to fight and women and children are victimised. Cockburn (1998) argues that war remains directly connected to ideas of gender and that war and militarism revolve around concepts of masculinity, such as bravery and aggression. However, men are also victims and women do too take part in conflicts. When conflicts take place, men are favoured, and this affects what happens when peace is established.

One of the main hurdles to women's effort in peace-building is the notion of them as peaceful pacifiers. By focusing on such categorisation, one reinforces the stereotypical gender roles. Hilary Charlesworth (2008, 348) argues that the literature on peace and conflict is often centred around the notion that women are more peaceful than men. Also, Nicole Puechguirbal (2010, pp.172-173) argues that it is counteractive to use gender essentialism to fight for peace. Women's instrumentality in peace-building is disregarded, and their responsibility for their conducts during times of conflict is ignored. Similarly, by only associating men with aggression, we risk rejecting them as victims and thus, minimise their accountability for sustaining peace.

To be able to establish sustainable peace, taking into account all genders, the power structure of the current system needs to be restructured. International advocacy to bring women to the negotiating table could work short-term while this categorisation does not affect the required sustainable change at the local level. Therefore, the domestic society plays a crucial role in promoting gender equality (Nakaya 2003, 471). However, if women are included in

peace-building, using the argument of gender equality with men, their agency is not blocked as a consequence (Charlesworth, 2008, 350).

2.2.4 Local vs. Global Peace-building

Annika Björkdahl and Ivan Gusic (2015, p.267) claim that the usage of the term "global" often refers to the universal moral frameworks and how it can travel between borders. As for "local", suggests to the particular and obstinacy. Björkdahl and Gusic note that the "global" has liberal democratic peace underpinnings in international peace agreements and the processes that follow. Norms that come from other kinds of social entities such as national and regional groups are barely identified in the peace-building discourse (Björkdahl and Gusic, 2015, p.268).

Björkdahl and Gusic (2015, p.265) researched the peace-building mission in Kosovo. They argue that peace-building is centred around a discourse focused on the considered responsibility of the international community which has the obligation to democratise and bring post-conflict societies up to date. Thus, these societies are supposed to be filled by "global" norms which are based on Western ideas. However, the liberal democratic peace norms are often resisted by the post-conflict societies which the global North aims to democratise. Thus, Björkdahl and Gusic argue that the peace-building mission in Kosovo was political:

> *"In Kosovo, imposed norms usually fail to resonate with local actors, but even when there is congruence between local and global norms external actors are portrayed as inadequate partners for peace and democracy. The situation on the ground seems to be shaped largely by local values and practices. Even in cases where there is movement towards 'global' norms, local actors rather than external ones seem to be the driving force"* (Björkdahl and Gusic 2015, 282).

Theodora-Ismene Gizelis (2011) argues that peace-building processes need to focus more on the local authority, but not merely the central authorities. Without this focus, sustainable peace will not be established.

In the example of Kosovo, I speculate if this is the case mainly because of the nationalist rhetoric and the patriarchal nature of the society. Thus, the Kosovar society opposes

international intervention because of disrespect for their values. For instance, Western efforts often value gender equality, which has not been the case in Kosovo the past decades, until possibly now. Jahjaga has also faced criticism from the Kosovar society for her representation internationally (Plesch, 2015). This might be caused by advocacy work for the inclusion of women. However, this also makes one think if we should always aim to feed into local norms or not, since they are not necessarily humane, with respect to human rights. Thus, when you seek to advance the rights of a marginal group, it can be a delicate process.

2.2.5 Gender Essentialism in Policy: Women, Peace, and Security

I include a sub-chapter on UNSCR 1325 to give a brief example of how policy aimed at gender equality can be gender essentialist, and thus, fails to address the root problems of gender inequality. I argue that legislation might not solve the structural problems of prejudice, which comes from within.

Including women in peace-building has been a global goal since the 1995 Beijing Declaration of the Fourth World Conference on Women, which noted that: "equal access and full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and resolution of conflicts are essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security" (United Nations, 1995).

The goal set out in 1995 was further established in the UNSCR 1325, which was adopted in 2000. However, existing instruments have not been able to address the structural roots of gender inequality, relating to culture, patriarchy, and history. The cultural relationship between men and women are ignored while the primary focus is on women as a holistic group. These cultural hindrances were recognised by the UN when Resolution 1889 was adopted in 2009 (Onyinyechukwu, 2010, p.79). Peace-building is usually not considered in terms of gender and cultural-specification. Instead, current discourses within international bodies focus on ideas of societal infrastructure and new institutions (De la Rey & McKay 2006, p.141).

Charlesworth (2008, pp.350-351) argues that the language of UNSCR 1325 is centred around the notion of women's unique role as peace lovers and that this specific position should lead to equal participation. The language mentions the importance of women and their crucial involvement in promoting peace and security. Charlesworth analysed UN documents and identified four elements which they seem to follow in relation to women and peace. First, women are assumed to come before men when sustaining peace. Second, women are more often considered vulnerable. Third, the need to include women at the peace negotiating table without mentioning why that is, Charlesworth argues that it is because of their role as peaceful individuals. Lastly, the concept of gender is only associated to women since men are not mentioned in needing particular attention, for instance, in UNSCR 1325.

Sahla Aroussi (2017) claims that the UN agenda on WPS has emphasised sexual security instead of focusing on securing women's empowerment overall, concerning legal remedies, political representation, and social and economic rights. The main aim of the resolution was the empowerment of women, but now, other concerns except for those relating to sexual security, have been diminished. Again, the agenda mainly focuses on women rather than gender, and therefore, it leaves the structure that sustains the violence as it is. However, one must also keep in mind that gender is not just men and women, but, instead something that is intersectional. Relating sexual violence only to women and girls leaves the root causes untouched. The agenda should instead focus on gender as a power structure if the issue of sexual violence is to be solved (Aroussi 2017).

Thus, the main issue with UNSCR 1325 is that it is based on essentialist notions about men and women. Men's victimhood remains unaddressed while at the same time, women are identified as a homogenous category. Therefore, mutual responsibility for gender equality is not established, which has severe consequences for every society. Using theoretical

understandings as tools, such as ideas on gender essentialism and post-colonialism, one can better understand the limitations of policies that build on UNSCR 1325, and more.

2.3 What about Women's State-led Advocacy?

Existing literature has not yet focused on the effect of women's leadership relating to the recognition of wartime sexual violence. Therefore, it is essential to address the gap by attempting to answer the following research question: *How does women's leadership affect the recognition of wartime sexual violence?*

To understand the topic of the research question in detail we need to focus on different dimensions. I aim to analyse the contrast between state-led vs. society-led advocacy and the effect leadership has on that. Discourse is the basis of political debate and leaders have the power to bring issues to the fore. The President can be hugely influential when it comes to recognising harm since the role of the President is to be a union symbol of nations and speak on its behalf, both at home and abroad. Therefore, power can significantly influence the perception of individuals. Thus, it is interesting to analyse Jahjaga's discourse both before and after she leaves office.

Moreover, I explore whether there is a difference in Jahjaga's choosing of frames when on the one hand, she addresses local audiences, and on the other hand, international audiences. That way, we can compare what frames leaders prioritise to influence international actors, and then local actors. Thus, we could see how the recognition of harm is constructed and what effect leadership has when frames are changed depending on audiences. Further, by analysing both audiences the research will be more substantial and robust. The diagram below portrays the two dimensions and how they are comparatively explored.

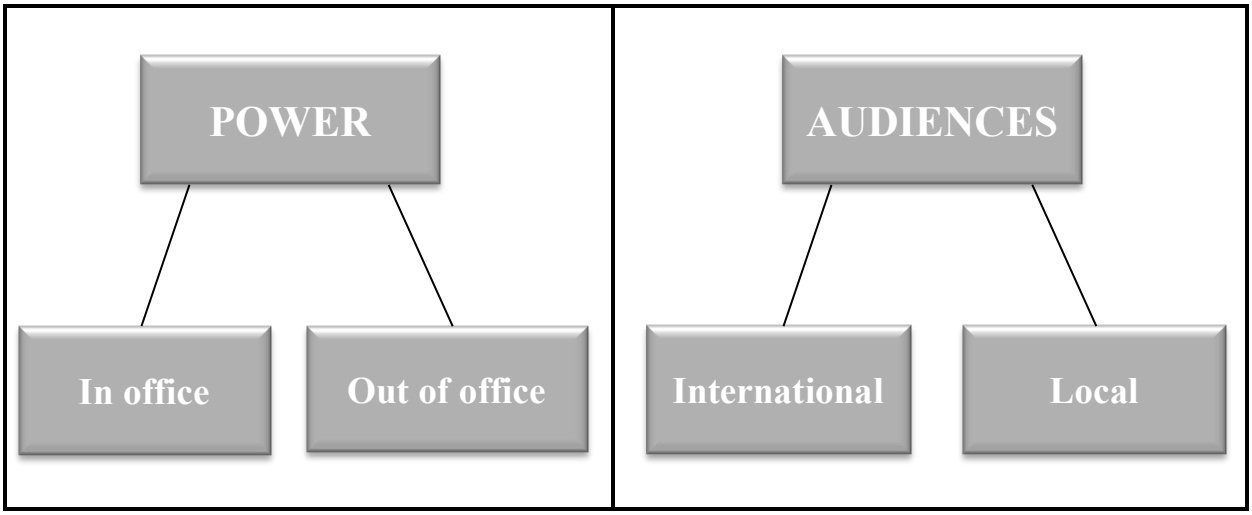

Figure 1: Diagram of the two dimensions explored.

Therefore, the hypotheses put forward in the thesis are the following:

H1: Jahjaga's discourse changes when she leaves office.

H2: Jahjaga's discourse can change depending on if she is speaking to local or international audiences.

To understand these different dimensions, we need to use theories that are relevant to the topic. As previously stated, I consider gender theories relevant tools to make sense of the empirics. Theoretical work based on the gendered aspects of war and peace, as well as post-colonialism, reveals ways to understand discourses and the effect of power. With reference to theory, we can expect Jahjaga's discourse to be based on gender essentialist notions of victimhood and heroism. Moreover, her discourse may feed into either typical international norm discourse on the importance of gender equality, or, it may feed into the local ideas based on patriarchy.

3 Methods and Data

3.1 Methodology

The dissertation is based on qualitative research methods. The approaches to qualitative research methods are diverse, but what they have in common is that they all seek to explore a social phenomenon to gain a deeper understanding of it. Qualitative work focuses on understanding and explaining the meaning that people put into their circumstances. Therefore, in this research, it would have been harder to understand the topic using quantitative research methods. The researcher approaches the subject comprehensively, with an open mind, by looking at situations and people as a whole. Qualitative research work is not based on standardised processes or fixed approaches, but emphasising the consistency of research data and what people said and did (Mayan 2016). However, it should be kept in mind that qualitative research does not have universal value, but they can give us evidence of the world we live in (Morgan 1996).

I use discursive frames analysis to explore the data. Frames analysis has recently been used as an analytical tool in various fields of study to understand how individuals or groups interpret a particular event. Frames analysis has been applied in political science, but primarily in sociology where it has been used in research on social movements (Kostovicova, 2017). Sociologists Robert Benford and David Snow (1988, pp.197-198) describe these social movements as messengers of norms and ideas that encourage people to act, but also as participants in the process of a particular sense of meaning. Such a method involves framing where circumstances are interpreted and described so that the public joins the movement. However, such framing could also be challenged against opponents of the movement to reduce their ability to fight. Snow and Benford believe that the popularity of some movements depends on the relationship between the activities, goals, and ideology of the movements with the values, attitudes, and interests of its potential supporters. If these factors form a certain continuity and conform to each other, a framework alignment is established, where the activity

of the movement is useful and is strongly supported. If such an alignment is not present, the movement does not receive support, according to the theory.

The framing theory was chosen because I aim to study representation and the meaning of it by addressing different dimensions within Jahjaga's discourse. The frames analysis allows me to view an issue from different perspectives. Frames analysis reveals repeated patterns in processes and various meanings; thus, it challenges the existing reality (Kostovicova, 2017, p.165). Framing furthermore allows us to understand the world around us since the basis of framing is that there are always distinct perspectives in place when there is an issue at hand (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p.104).

When conducting qualitative research, one needs to be careful not to overlook essential findings. I made sure to analyse the data holistically, and, on several occasions, to ensure that the most important patterns were identified and then addressed. Further, one needs to keep in mind the researcher's position towards the topic to be able to remain impartial. Thus, I recognise that as a feminist researcher I made sure to approach the data with a neutral, flexible mindset, leaving behind my personal opinions.

3.2 Data

Many speeches Jahjaga made during her presidency are available in English at a website owned by the Office of the President of Kosovo. The database on the website contains speeches where Jahjaga addresses both local actors and international ones. Since I do not speak one of the official languages of Kosovo I could not look up speeches or comments she has made in other languages than English. However, I trust in the English translation provided on the website previously mentioned. Further, I use both Western and non-Western media reports where Jahjaga is quoted, to give me broader data. Some would argue that language is a limitation, however, there was enough material available in English for me to establish patterns within

Jahjaga's discourse. Moreover, I analyse speeches and comments she made after she left office which were found through Internet search engines.

There are hundreds of speeches available during the reign of her presidency, but I limited myself to the speeches where she mentioned wartime sexual violence or victimhood, as well as the ones where she was either only addressing local audiences, or only international audiences, but not both. In total, I analysed 39 speeches or news reports[1]. It may seem like a lot of data, but the length of the different speeches and news reports varied. Therefore, it was not too extensive for me to analyse comparatively. Moreover, due to the fact I was investigating different dimensions, I wanted to have as broad data as possible to see repetitive patterns. As soon as I saw the same points being repeated, I stopped to make sure it would not be too excessive. I should note that again, this is qualitative research so one should not apply any statistical assumptions. My aim in putting forth this information is to describe the corpus I have qualitatively analysed.

There is less data available after Jahjaga left office, and it was harder to retrieve it since I had to carefully look online on different websites. Moreover, she was in office for five years but has only been out of office for nearly two years. One could argue that this is a limitation to my research, but I argue that it is not since she has been active in promoting issues of wartime sexual violence after she left office. Furthermore, I was able to find enough data in all dimensions to be able to analyse it comparatively.

I started out by mapping the data out into different categories, depending on power and audiences. I thoroughly read and re-read all the data and looked for emerging categories and repeated patterns with the research topic in mind. Next, I colour coded and wrote on the margins

[1] All the data I analysed is referenced in Appendix B to show the sample and the good rigorous study made. Only quotes directly quoted, or paraphrased from, are included in the bibliography.

the different frames Jahjaga used throughout her discourse and the thoughts I had while reading. I proceeded by linking everything together and creating categories on separate sheets to see how she used the frames and where she used them. I carefully found several examples of how she used the different frames in both dimensions and tried to link my ideas with existing scholarly work.

4 Background on Kosovo

Kosovo only accounts for 10.887 sq.km. and is located in Southeast Europe, bordering Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania, and Serbia. About 1.9 million people live in Kosovo and Albanians account for 92.9% of the population (Central Intelligence Agency, 2018).

The autonomous region of Kosovo used to be a part of Yugoslavia, which started to break apart in the 1990s (Judah, 2008, p.50; p.12). However, the story of Kosovo is led by Albanians and Serbs, who have debated throughout the decades about who arrived first to Kosovo. Thus, the area of Kosovo remained poisoned by ethnic tension for years (Judah 2008, 18-19). I will not go into detail of what led to the war in Kosovo due to the difference in opinion on when the pre-war tension began. Some suggest it started when former Yugoslavia was created (Judah, 2008, pp.76-77) while others claim that tension rose when former Yugoslav President, Slobodan Milosevic, put Kosovo under the rule of Serbia and dismissed its autonomy (Behnke 2002, p.135).

In February 1998, a violent conflict had broken out between Albanian and Serbian forces in Kosovo. The conflict ended in June 1999 when the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) intervened (Central Intelligence Agency, 2018). After the war, almost the whole population became displaced, and law and order had completely fallen apart. Kosovo became a UN protectorate and during the years that followed economic and social development was emphasised (Judah, 2008, pp.93-95). Kosovo declared independence in 2008. However, Serbia continues to refuse Kosovo's independence (Central Intelligence, Agency 2018).

A dark shadow remained over Kosovo after the war due to wartime sexual violence which was used as an instrument of ethnic cleansing. News media reported that there were around 20.000 victims of rape after the war, a number based on statistics from the Centre for Disease Control of Atlanta (Di Lellio, 2016, p.630). Wartime sexual violence such as rape causes a lot of physical damage and trafficking increased due to the presence of international

aid staff (Desai & Perry, 2004, p.1305). In post-war Kosovo, investigators and advocates were silenced until 2012. Even though Milosevic's regime was abolished, domestic elites and international actors did not formally support women's rights. Women advocates received threats and survivors were left without any social or economic support, or worse, their families abandoned them. The crime had been silenced on purpose by the patriarchal society, to ignore what had happened (Di Lellio 2016, pp.630-631).

The situation started to change in 2011 when Kosovo's Government elected Atifete Jahjaga, a former second in command in the Kosovo Police, as the first female President of Kosovo. The politics in Kosovo had been fragile with nearly every government collapsing, so there was hope that Jahjaga would establish a relatively stable situation. Jahjaga was a non-partisan President, and she held office for five years (Hebda, 2014, p.212; Popova & Muhxheri, 2016)

In 2012, shortly after Jahjaga took office, female advocates proceeded their efforts towards women's empowerment. They decided to join hands with the Kosova Women's Network (KWN) and protested under the message "We don't want flowers. We just want justice for women who suffered sexual violence during the war". After the protest, Atifete Jahjaga decided to meet the survivors of wartime sexual violence in a private meeting. Her powerful support meant a lot. Further, Jahjaga established the National Council for the Survivors of the Sexual Violence during the War (Di Lellio, 2016, pp.635-636). Therefore, Jahjaga has changed the perception towards wartime sexual violence in Kosovo and ever since she left office she has been traveling around the world to advocate for the issue.

5 Findings

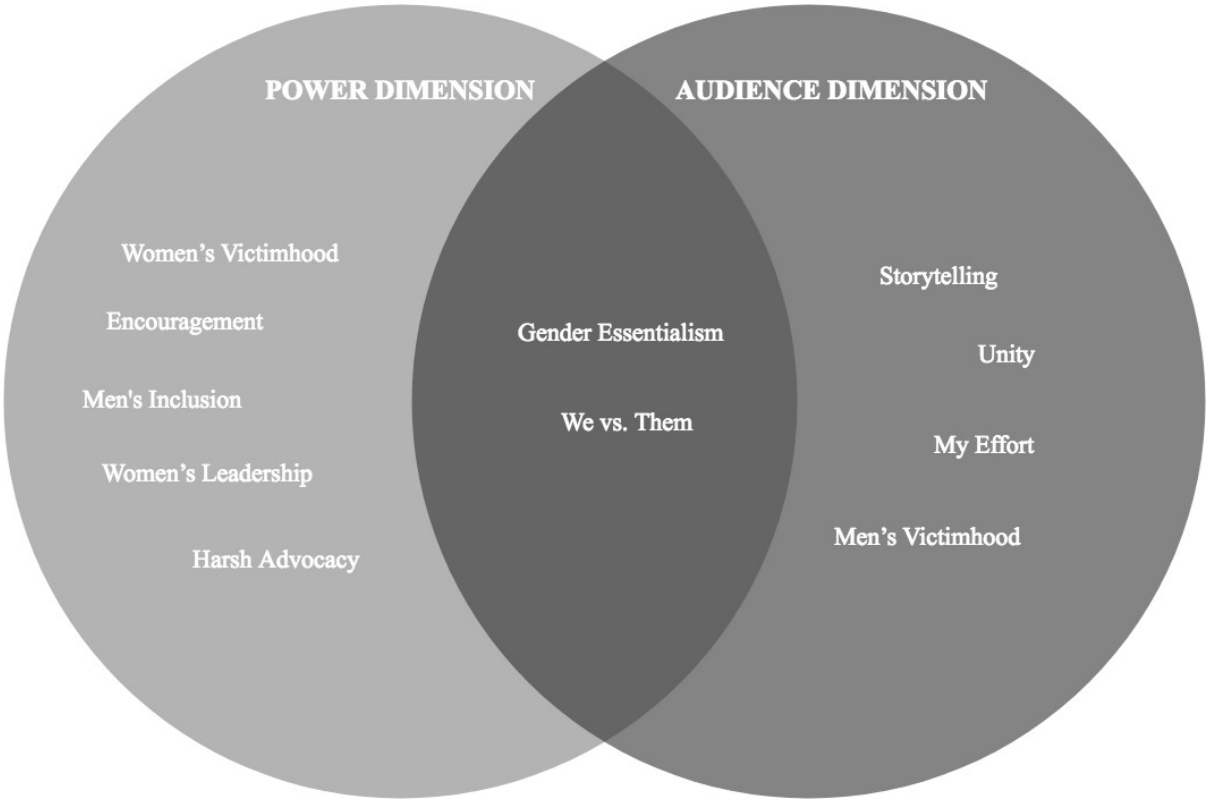

Figure 2: Diagram of frames identified.

The diagram above provides an overview of the frames identified within Jahjaga's discourse. One can see the two different dimensions and the frames identified beneath. The dark circle in the middle indicates overlapping frames which were identified in both dimensions.

5.1 Power Dimension

The section will explore how power affects Jahjaga's discourse and thus, it will give an overview of the extinguishing frames Jahjaga uses in her discourse both during her presidency and after.

5.1.1 Women's Victimhood Frame

"Women's victimhood frame" represents how women are referred to as victims rather than agents and thus, are further marginalised, when the intention is to empower them. During

Jahjaga's presidency, she occasionally frames women who have been sexually violated as victims. Jahjaga claims that women are the most affected and hardest hit by conflict, and thus they relate to each other and have an easier time cooperating (Jahjaga, 2012a):

> *"Women continue to strain and internalize the visible and invisible signs of their victimisation. They have been victims of sexual violence in Kosovo by Serbian forces that sought to repress their dignity, that of their families and of their children. Of rape as a tool of war"* (Jahjaga, 2014a).
>
> *"Statistical research conducted in Kosovo during this decade shows that the woman in Kosovo continues to be the main victim of the transition period"* (Jahjaga 2012b).

Furthermore, she uses the word "survivor" more often than "victim" after she left office to describe those who were sexually violated during the war. That is, a simple search of the analysed data reveals that Jahjaga uses the word "survivor" 113 times and the word "victim" 111 times, during her presidency. After she left office, Jahjaga uses the word "survivor" 95 times and the word "victim" 59 times.

5.1.2 Inclusion of Men Frame

The frame above represents how men are included and defined in the category of either victims or survivors of wartime sexual violence. At the end of Jahjaga's term as President, she mentions men as victims on two occasions. However, she only mentions them briefly ("…and men"):

> *"Sexual violence was used as a tool of war in Kosovo against thousands of women and men with the purpose to incite fear and oppression upon innocent citizens, it was used to incite ethnic cleansing, to emasculate the men, to strip the whole society from its human values…."* (Jahjaga, 2016a).

When Jahjaga left office she starts mentioning men more freely and more often, and thus, stabilises the frame:

> *"Hundreds of men were also sexually abused. To this day we do not know the exact number, but we rely on data provided by experts that put this number at twenty-thousand"* (Jahjaga, 2016b; 2017a).

5.1.3 Women's Leadership Frame

Jahjaga uses the "women's leadership frame" to further highlight the importance of women's inclusion and the significant progress other female leaders have made. During her presidency, Jahjaga mentions the effectiveness of women leaders, such as Hillary Clinton and Madelaine Albright, former Secretaries of the United States, several times, and adopts their views:

> *"As Secretary Clinton says: "When we invest in women, we're not just investing in one individual. We are investing in families, and we are investing in the next generation, we are investing in the community and the country"* (Jahjaga, 2012b).

> *"As former Secretary of United States, Ms. Madeleine Albright put it during the Summit, "our challenge remains to find a way to move on three fronts at the same time""* (Jahjaga, 2013).

On several occasions during her presidency, Jahjaga links investment in women to traditional ideas of family and society, without directly mentioning Clinton. Thus, women are associated with family values, which further relate to the prosperity of the society.

> *"The security for the woman means security for the child, the family and the whole society"* (Jahjaga, 2012b).

> *"To invest in a woman is to invest in a child, and in a family and in a society, followed by the best investment, in the state and the future of our country"* (Jahjaga, 2015a).

After she left office, this frame disappears within Jahjaga's discourse, except for one occasion where she addresses international audiences after she left office (Jahjaga, 2017a).

5.1.4 Encouragement Frame

"The encouragement frame" represents how Jahjaga frames encouragement discourse when encouraging authorities. When in office, she uses her power to push the sitting government to provide reparations to the victims. Moreover, she encourages the society to break the stigma. Jahjaga encourages them, especially mentioning the obligation the society and the authorities have in respecting the human dignity of the survivors (Jahjaga, 2014b). She is especially hopeful in her instrumentalisation of women's empowerment and her citizens, both locally and internationally:

> *"I expect from the new government and from you, members of parliament, to continue the cooperation and the dignified treatment of the survivors. Our liberty will not be complete without their liberty"* (Jahjaga, 2014c).

> *". . . Parliament of Kosovo promulgated the draft law through which it recognized the status of the victims of sexual violence during the war, a step which brought us in front of an obligation, obligation to build a reputable process, accountable as per highest international standards, which would enable the full implementation of this law"* (Jahjaga, 2015b).

> *"We cannot change the past but we can make sure to work together and guarantee a better future for everyone. Believe in your power to bring change"* (Jahjaga, 2016a).

5.1.5 Harsh Advocacy Frame

After leaving office, Jahjaga openly talks about her experience of being a President in a critical tone. During her presidency, this frame is not used. She frames advocacy using harsh discourse and her statements holistically represent criticism. That is, her discourse in advocacy for the rights of wartime sexual violence survivors is sharp and more representative of an advocate, as she was quoted at the EU Information and Cultural Centre (2016):

> *"Establishing legal support programs for all victims is the most difficult and painful process for Kosovo. The moment when lawmakers in parliament raised questions and required medical examination of the victims instead of unifying in support, I have to admit that this was a moment when I felt very disappointed by our lawmakers."*

Moreover, she uses her position of not being in power to express her feelings towards the issues, encouraging more survivors to sign up:

> *"The process is going well but I am not pleased with the number of applicants and the number of people who seek this right…. I publicly ask every victim to use this legal right of theirs"* (Jahjaga, 2018).

5.2 Audience Dimension

The section will give an overview of the extinguishing frames Jahjaga's used in her discourse both on a local level and on an international level.

5.2.1 Storytelling Frame

"The storytelling frame" refers to how Jahjaga tells stories about the crimes individual victims experienced. When Jahjaga speaks locally, she does not discuss individual stories about the survivors and what happened to them, though she does it on a number of occasions when she is speaking to international audiences:

> *"I have heard the story of a woman from the Drenica region who was gang-raped continuously by Serbian paramilitaries for over six months. I have spoken to a woman in Gjakova whose body was mutilated while she was raped during the war. Just recently, I met the child of a war rape victim who died without receiving the justice she hoped for, for so many years"* (Jahjaga, 2017b).

It is noteworthy that Jahjaga never tells stories about men, neither on the local nor the international level.

5.2.2 Unity Frame

The "unity frame" is used to unify Kosovar society in a societal obligation to fight the stigma against wartime sexual violence survivors. When addressing local audiences, Jahjaga talks about the citizens as a society which needs to tackle, or has tackled the problem of the stigma surrounding sexual violence together:

> *"We have done lots of work in awareness raising on this crime, with organisation of events, local and international initiatives"* (Jahjaga, 2015c).

She also uses the unity frame to emphasise that we as a society and unity, have an obligation to fight the societal stigma. Often she links the societal obligation through the message of art:

> *"As these paintings clearly show, there is no division between us and them- their pain is the pain of every one of us and the engagement of the society with this grave wound of the war is our obligation towards the respecting of their human dignity"* (Jahjaga, 2014b).

> *"For these women, war has not ended as yet, and this change must start first within their own families, within our society, and this must change"* (Jahjaga, 2014d).

5.2.3 My Effort Frame

The "my effort frame" represents how Jahjaga frames her effort in helping the survivors of wartime sexual violence. Internationally Jahjaga often uses the pronoun "I", which she does not do locally. She does not stop using "we" when addressing international audiences, but she most often begins by talking about herself and her effort and how important it was and how she managed to get everyone involved:

> *"I have become the voice of the woman in our society, and the voice of equality for every citizen in my country"* (Jahjaga, 2014a).

> *"Since the very first day that I took office, I have raised the voice of support for all women and young girls. . ."* (Jahjaga, 2014a).

> *"I started to campaign on their behalf, I supported their legal status as civilian victims of war"* (Jahjaga, 2015d).

> *". . . and last year I created the National Council on the Survivors of Sexual Violence in War, taking the issue to the country's top office and putting it on the top of my agenda"* (Jahjaga, 2015d).

5.2.4 Men's Victimhood Frame

This frame represents how Jahjaga frames men as victims of wartime sexual violence. She never links men directly to wartime sexual violence on a local level. Therefore, men's victimhood is silenced on a local level. However, she does mention male victims on an international level on several occasions:

> *"We inherited a country that had around 20 thousand victims of sexual violence, men and women… and to our shame as a society, even after the end of the war, we have covered them with the veil of shame"* (Jahjaga, 2018).

5.3 Overlapping Frames

The following section gives an overview of the frames which remain the same and thus, she stabilises throughout all four dimensions.

5.3.1 We vs. Them Frame

"We" within Jahjaga's discourse refers to "us", the Kosovars, the national unity. However, who is included within that group depends on if it suits her discourse to include the survivors of sexual violence. Jahjaga speaks in a paradoxical manner throughout all of her speeches, both during and after she leaves office. Jahjaga emphasises the fact that "we", need to help "them", the victims: "Above all, we have given voice to survivors and we have restored their dignity." At the same time, she talks about how "we", as a unity, need to become "one":

> *"And through these messages let us tell them that they are not alone, that the silence has been broken and that we shall make sure that their voices shall no longer be rendered silent. We may not be able to change their past, but we will be working towards making sure that the future will not be determined by this past. As I have said many times before, on this issue there is no us and them- we are us and we are one"* (Jahjaga, 2014b).
>
> Jahjaga says the last sentence on several occasions locally.

5.3.2 Gender Essentialism Frame

Gender essentialism within Jahjaga's discourse refers to how she overemphasises women as a separate category in her discourse, how helpless they are, and how important it is to include them due to their subordinate status in society:

> *". . . sexual violence as a weapon of war mostly targeting women and young girls is a war crime and that we will make sure to punish the perpetrators and not its victims like we unjustly continue to do"* (Jahjaga, 2015e).
>
> *"Women are an inseparable part of the comprehensive progress of any societies, they are agents of peace, of conflict resolution, of state building processes, and their direct involvement ensures a safer and a more just world for everyone."* (Jahjaga, 2015e).

Jahjaga puts women in a specific category because she argues they bring about "more balanced and comprehensive policies" (Jahjaga 2013) and are "bridge builders between our communities

and countries" (Jahjaga 2011). Therefore, saying that women are better poised to carry out certain roles, while at the same time, she argues that she does not want to "divide women and men because the responsibility for all the developments falls on the two genders equally" (Jahjaga 2012a).

6 Analysis

The following chapter carefully analyses the main findings with reference to theories and further criticism.

6.1 Power Dimension

During Jahjaga's presidency, she describes women as victims on more frequently than after she left office. By continually connecting women to the status of being a victim, one is holding on to the essentialist notion that women are victims and men are warriors who are not sexually violated. If we look at her discourse from a post-colonial perspective, one can see how she, from her privileged position as President, frames women as victims. Theorists such as McEwan (2001) and Cockburn (1998) argue that by doing that, one does not accept the different factors that the identity of women holds. A person is never just a victim. Possibly she refers to them as victims rather than survivors during her presidency to attract widespread support and to ensure she could play on the emotions of people to care about the issue in the same way she does.

After Jahjaga left office, she uses the word survivor more often when referring to those individuals who were sexually violated during the war. However, she still also uses victimhood to describe them which further emphasises the fact that they are somewhat a minority in the society, by talking about them as victims 15-20 years after their victimhood. I argue that today they are survivors, and their future is threatened by continually talking about them as victims.

Even though one can argue that it is crucial to raise the issue of women to higher ground, one can also see that when Jahjaga is out of office, she is more open towards mentioning men, possibly because she is not as constrained by her position as a head of state. Politics today are centred around focusing on women and their subordinate status. Thus, it would not be popular if a President were to raise the issue of men at the same time as the issue of women. It would simply not suit her politically. At the same time, men's experience is neglected. It is assumed

that men are not worthy of being mentioned as a category which has been sexually violated during the war. During the end of her presidency, she started to mention men a bit, but only internationally. Kosovo is a patriarchal society and Jahjaga in a way respects that on a local level. It is noteworthy that Jahjaga considers breaking the stigma against one group is fine while not the other group.

During her presidency, Jahjaga uses a discourse that is typical for politicians, mentioning family values. Jahjaga links ideas of investing in women to the prosperity of the family and the society. This also feeds into the narrative of being gender essentialist, as women are considered a holistic category that always affects the welfare of the children and the family. By using arguments like these, it further establishes the differences between men and women that currently exists. Jahjaga repetitively mentions women leaders such as Madelaine Albright and Hillary Clinton when she was President. I argue that she uses it to stress the fact that women leaders can be effective. Jahjaga seeks women solidarity and legitimacy from mentioning peers. However, due to local values, I question if locals favour a discourse which highlights women's leadership. If we are to respect local values when speaking of peace-building, we need to think about it in detail since it can also be inhumane with reference to human rights, as local values may favour the marginalisation of women.

Moreover, during her presidency, Jahjaga argued that women are more peaceful than men. Jahjaga is a female leader, and research has shown that women leaders are more active in promoting the role of women in peace-building (Tinde, 2009). However, by arguing that women are more peaceful as a way to advance women's role in the society, Jahjaga further maintains the perception that women should hold caretaking roles while men fight, and thus, gender relations between men and women are discounted.

During Jahjaga's presidency, she encourages the sitting government to help out the victims. Therefore, she tries to influence policy using her status as a leader to raise her voice

on the issues of wartime sexual violence. Foucault (2003) argues that those in power can affect how certain matters are viewed or discussed by the general public. Jahjaga used her position in power and was hopeful and positive towards breaking the existing stigma towards wartime sexual violence.

After Jahjaga left office, she has been more open towards talking about her experience of being a President in a more critical note, and she is more open towards criticising the current government. Therefore, the office is undoubtedly constraining although it gave her a lot of opportunities.

6.2 Audience Dimension

When addressing local audiences, Jahjaga never uses the "storytelling frame", that is, she does not tell individual stories about those sexually violated during the war as she does on an international level. The patriarchal system in Kosovo possibly restricts her discourse on a local level, where the stigma towards wartime sexual violence holds Jahjaga back. Or, she tells individual stories internationally to raise awareness and support and, to influence listeners to further relate to the current situation in Kosovo. Either way, it is interesting how she uses the "storytelling frame" only when addressing international audiences. Further, she only tells stories about women, but never men. That is possibly the case because she fears it is politically frowned upon to go into detail on what has happened to men due to the importance of empowering women, or she has not met any male survivors nor heard any stories about men. However, one can argue that silencing the stories of one group further marginalises both men and women, instead of pushing for gender equality (Nakaya, 2003).

Furthermore, one of the most interesting findings of this research is that Jahjaga never associates men directly as being victims or survivors of wartime sexual violence. Again, this is a part of the patriarchal underpinnings in Kosovar society. It is as if she knows that the society is not ready to break the stigma against both men and women, but only women. As

theorists like Aroussi (2007) argues, we cannot reject men as victims if we aim to establish sustainable peace. If we want to establish full gender equality, it is not viable to minimise men's accountability for sustaining peace. If we only empower women, the structure that maintains the violence is left untouched. The case of UNSCR 1325 further highlights how by not recognising men's victimhood when aiming for further empowerment of women, it leaves other concerns untouched (Aroussi, 2017; Charlesworth, 2008).

On a local level, Jahjaga praises the effort of the national unity in helping the victims, unifying them, using the unity frame, into a category which includes herself, saying "we". I argue that Jahjaga knows that she needs to use a nationalist rhetoric when addressing local audiences to further advocate for the recognition of wartime sexual violence. Possibly, Jahjaga does this to bring the issues closer to the public and make them more relatable and a part of what they have all taken part in, in a unity. Nakaya (2003) argues that the domestic society plays an important role in promoting gender equality. Thus, Jahjaga's methods could be carefully thought out, to enable a shift in public opinion towards the issues of wartime sexual violence, away from the stigma. On an international level, she does mention what "we", the Kosovars, have done as a society to push for the recognition of wartime sexual violence. However, she also talks about her personal effort more. Jahjaga's frame on "my effort" values her great accomplishments and personal touch. The "my effort frame" probably feeds better into international audiences and further advances her personal position internationally, especially after she left office.

6.3 Overlap between the Dimensions

Jahjaga uses the same two frames throughout all the data. First, she centres her discourse on gender essentialist ideas, using the "gender essentialism frame". Women are associated with notions of family and peace while men are linked with masculinity (Cockburn 1998). By repetitively tying women to family and children, Jahjaga is holding on to essentialist notions

relating to women and their traditional role of being a caretaker. She claims that women are the most affected and the hardest hit by conflict. As Puechguirbal (2010) argues, such categorisation reinforces stereotypical gender roles. Jahjaga seems to assume that women are a certain way and that men are another.

I find it interesting that she does not have a problem with speaking about women as bridge builders of our communities and that they are in somewhat a particular category. While at the same time, she says she does not want to divide women and men since the developments fall on both sexes, but before saying that, she talks about the uniqueness of the woman. This is a paradox.

Moreover, by not recognising men as victims and only linking them with aggression is not successful long-term when trying to sustain peace. Men's victimhood has not been recognised on an international policy level to a great extent which I consider a weakness. One should not fear to talk about the marginalisation of men in specific areas, for it benefits women as well. We cannot establish sustainable peace and gender equality unless we explore the root causes of inequality (Nakaya 2003; Puechguirbal 2010).

Second, throughout all her speeches, Jahjaga uses the "we vs. them frame". Jahjaga argues that we, the unity of nationals in Kosovo, need to help them, the victims of sexual violence. At the same time, she says that we shall not divide ourselves from the victims, because "we are one". Therefore, she frames the issues in a way that the category of "we" gets separated, though her intention is the opposite. This feeds into the nationalist overtone in Kosovar society. Unaware of the paradox, Jahjaga categorises herself and other "non-victims" as another category than the ones that were sexually violated. Linking this to post-colonial ideas, Jahjaga in a way frames "we" as another privileged category, distinct from the "other". However, she aims to include them in the same category and certainly does mention that "there

is no us and them", I argue that if that is her intention, she should not talk about the issue by contrasting the two categories as separate ones in general discussion.

It is noteworthy to mention that when exploring the data, I noticed that Jahjaga repeated parts of her speeches on several occasions after she left office and addressed international audiences. It is as if she decided to stabilise the frames that she uses, so they do not change. It also indicates a lack of imagination since she uses the same phrases again and again. The frames she stabilises were "my effort frame", "men's victimhood frame", storytelling frame" as well as the overlapping frames of "we vs. them frame" and "gender essentialism frame". Moreover, since these are speeches made internationally after her presidency, I also want to note that she stabilised the "harsh advocacy frame".

7 Conclusion

This dissertation analysed the discourse of the first female President in Kosovo, Atifete Jahjaga, to explore how women's leadership affects the recognition of wartime sexual violence. I revealed a research gap by examining existing literature focused on studying female agency in the Balkan region, especially on women's NGOs. I argue that existing research has not explored women's leadership and thus, my research made a necessary contribution. Further, I introduced gender theories relating to peace-building, post-colonialism, gender essentialism and UNSCR 1325. The theories gave us a better toolbox when analysing the data since gender theories are particularly useful when exploring discourses and power structures. To answer the research question, I argue that we need to examine two dimensions, the audience dimension, and the power dimension. That is, I hypothesised that Jahjaga's discourse changes after she leaves office and that her discourse changes depending on if she addresses international or local audiences.

This dissertation argues that women's leadership affects the recognition of wartime sexual violence in several ways. Holding the office of presidency indeed allows Atifete Jahjaga to promote wartime sexual violence, while at the same time, it is restricting at the same time. For instance, addressing the stigma against women is allowed, while addressing the stigma against men is not emphasised in the same manner, and only tried on the international level and mainly after leaving office.

The comparative angle explored in this dissertation, comparing both the effect of holding office as well as, the impact of addressing different audiences, gives us a subtler understanding of the research topic. Therefore, this research makes a significant contribution to existing literature. Jahjaga keeps utilising nationalist rhetoric, though possibly unaware, and thus, her discourse becomes substantially instrumental. Jahjaga manages to marginalise men through her emphasis on women and the establishment of a significant silence towards men

who were sexually violated during the war, especially on a local level. If we look at this with reference to gender theories, one can see how the embodiment of women as victims and men as agents of war is held throughout Jahjaga's discourse. Therefore, the gap between men and women continues to widen as a cost of this overemphasis on women's empowerment rather than gender relations relating to inequality.

The findings surprised me since I did not expect this much difference between the different dimensions. Moreover, I did not expect Jahjaga to be as repetitive as she has been after she left office, repeating the same speeches several times, which indicates a lack of imagination.

Future research could include analysing her discourse after leaving office for several years to see if the stabilised frames have changed. Moreover, since I only managed to analyse two years of her time out of office, it would be useful to do a comparative analysis when more years have passed since she left office. Future research could also include analysing the discourse of other female leaders which have held office or other influential positions in post-conflict states to see if their discourse on the topic is similar.

Atifete Jahjaga continues to travel abroad and advocate for the recognition of wartime sexual violence and women's rights. She has stabilised the frames within her discourse, and I doubt they will change in the future. It will be interesting to see if she will pursue an international career relating to the topic, as her focus on using "my effort frame" indicates that she might be highlighting her accomplishments as a President in Kosovo.

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Appendix A: Example of a speech

"Healing through art" - Institute for Cultural Diplomacy Conference in Berlin

17/12/2016

It is an honour to be here with you in this effort to promote Global Human Rights through Cultural Diplomacy.

This conference and its key message that human rights matter and they must matter globally is timely. We meet to elevate human rights and their importance against a dramatic backdrop: as countless images of human suffering and unspeakable crimes against those caught up in the middle of a brutal conflict, of women and children, now stream almost in real time from Aleppo, creeping into our living rooms, in the newsfeed of our social media presence, in our consciousness even if and when we take our eyes away from them.

As someone who has been at the receiving end of Serbia's brutal war in Kosovo, this suffering is still very vivid, very close to my own skin. The only reason I stand before you today, the only reason I have a voice to represent my country and tell its story, it's because of people like yourselves who two decades ago rose up across capitals, from Washington DC to Berlin, from London to Paris, from Madrid and Rome, in governments and executive boardrooms, in media and civil society to say "No, not now, not ever again!" Because they stood determined to defend human rights of strangers, people they never met, with whom they didn't share neither blood and soil ties nor language, and despite the eventual political cost.

So today, I can't think of a better place to offer my thoughts on human rights and cultural diplomacy than Berlin, than in Germany, a country that has shown unmatched global leadership and vision in defence of human rights and in defending the most vulnerable: you have opened your gates to refugees who are fleeing war. Take it from someone who has lived through one: no one ever wants to leave their home. They were forced by brutality to make this difficult choice and I applaud those among you who embraced them.

One day, just like me, the people you are sheltering will be that powerful living proof of how your generosity, your principled stance for human rights, has made all the difference.

When I speak in front of audiences outside Kosovo, it is very important for me to point out that Kosovo is no longer a war-torn country. Since 2008 is an independent state, Europe's youngest state. This does not mean that we have it all figured out. We actually don't, far from it.

But, in these two decades of state-building, we have learned so much, mostly from our own mistakes.

There have been many positive changes, and numerous setbacks. We have triumphed, we have fallen, and we have shown tremendous resilience.

One of those positive aspects that I am confident - and even maybe somewhat subjective - has created direct and indirect lasting impacts has been the election of the first woman President, a position I was honoured and privileged to hold for five years.

But that is not the only positive aspect that I'd share about Kosovo, the young, but brave country. Today, I want to talk about how artists in Kosovo have found meaning in the collective trauma of the war, how they have used it to reconcile and provoke the society to break the barriers among us and in some cases to even dispel some traditional myths.

As witnesses to a physically devastated country and emotionally wrecked society, they took on their own hands the responsibility to heal the society through their art. In these times, as you can imagine, words became very hard to utter and what was left was a deep, wordless, silent, communication among us.

Our artists became our mediators that steered Kosovo toward a more universal understanding of human rights by using the universal language of art. They assisted the communication in families, in battered communities, across ethnic lines, across the globe.

How did they do that?

During the war, Kosovo Albanian men were singled out and killed; women were treated as a loot of war, often raped in order to dishonour them, to humiliate their families, to strike terror. Thousands of women were raped during the Kosovo war. Hundreds of men were also sexually abused. To this day we do not know the exact number, but we rely on data
provided by experts that put this number at twenty-thousand.

In the chaotic aftermath of the war, and in the absence of justice for survivors, most of them stayed in complete silence.

Some who decided to come forward to their family members were abandoned by them due to the stigma that rape carries in Kosovo, though Kosovo is not unique in this.

Survivors rarely came forward to speak of the horror exercised on them.

And Kosovo's society would just not talk about it, in part because for many years we did not know how to handle it.

When courts, local and international, failed to secure justice for fifteen years, I, as a President, made the pledge that the country we created, for which they had suffered so much, would no longer fail them. This issue became very personal to me.

With the help of women activists who had worked for years to help rape victims, I took institutional steps to provide access to justice and health as well as economic empowerment for the victims. We advocated strongly and managed to provide them legal protection.

But the issue of rape exceeded the institutions. It was about the society coming together as a whole to recognize the survivors, stop their stigmatization and join them in speaking out and seeking justice. It was about the society realizing that it could have happened to all us. It could have happened to me.

The Kosovo-born artist Alketa Xhafa had an idea how to close the void. She asked women and men across Kosovo to donate a skirt that she would hang in long clotheslines across a football

stadium of Kosovo's capital Prishtina to once blur the lines between the survivors and the rest of us.

To bring the issue visually to the forefront. To do it on the anniversary of Kosovo's liberation in a place so masculine and so big to drive the point of just how many it affected. That not all of us or more precisely those among us were liberated. And lastly, without much explanation, to show support for the survivors of wartime rape.

For a month, thousands of women and men throughout the country donated skirts in solidarity with the survivors. They spoke through their donations.

Many people, including survivors, shared dresses they wore on special occasions.

A skirt worn at a brother's wedding.

A dress a Member of Parliament wore the day she signed the independence declaration.

There were also dresses of sad occasions: a gown of a marriage that fell apart because of the rape.

A skirt worn on the day of the rape with an inscription: "This skirt conceals a horrific story." It also bears the date of the rape.

They were hung on the capital's football stadium to show the magnitude of this form of torture and to recognize that the shame did not fall upon the victims but the perpetrators of this horrendous crime.

Former fighters, celebrities, members of the parliament, ministers and thousands of ordinary people joined to symbolically tell them that they were not alone and they did it through the artist's engagement with them to create a truly moving piece of art that spoke universally across the world.

Its strong message of rape as a war crime, of quest for equality and justice, recognition and reconciliation was understood by everybody. We woke up to newspapers and televisions from

Spain to places as far as Australia featuring the installation because it spoke to so many raising awareness of this abuse of human rights. This grave war crime could not be silenced any longer.

In Kosovo, the impact of the art installation exceeded our expectations. I saw a society that changed the tone of the conversation and the attitudes around this issue. We also saw support from some unlikely places.

Just last month, imams in mosques across Kosovo, which continue to be important social and religious venues in traditional areas of Kosovo, dedicated a sermon - a weekly prayer - to guide their believers that survivors of wartime rape in Kosovo are treated with dignity. An important step not just of recognition and healing but of acceptance and awareness of human rights and dignity.

It is in these kind of actions that have used art as an avenue of expression to rally the society around social issue, I have found much inspiration and assurance for the future of our struggling country. Because art has proved to be an effective tool of education and debate, of awareness raising and of protest.

In exploring feelings and emotions of growing up amid war and carnage, amid major shifts from communism to fledgling democracy, combining Kosovo's bitter past and their personal experiences, Kosovo's artists have been able to speak to the larger themes in par with the conversations of their peers across Europe and beyond.

Through their work, Kosovo's young artists have put the country - which unfortunately remains the most isolated place in Europe - on the map and have been its most effective ambassadors.

From Rita Ora, the Kosovo-born British star and Kosovo's honorary ambassador who recalls her family's experience as refugees from Kosovo to United Kingdom to raise awareness of the plight of Syrian refugees to Dua Lipa, the upcoming queen of pop who is based in London, who just recently opened a foundation to provide an equal chance to Kosovo's young artists to

thrive, artists have shared our story of struggle and resilience. They have been the living proof of why human rights matter and how the humanity did not fail in Kosovo.

Due to travel restrictions imposed on Kosovo, as it is the only place in Europe where its citizens cannot travel visa free, artists have not surrendered. In the Ottoman-era city of Prizren, they have opted for a paradigm shift.

For fifteen years, they have ended their isolation and created amazing avenues of cooperation by bringing European and world class artists to Dokufest, a documentary and a short film festival themed on promotion of human rights and democratic values through film, which now proudly is listed among the most relevant cultural events of this kind globally.

They did this for the first time earlier this year as they walked the red carpet in the Oscar's ceremony for the first time with the 21-minute movie Shok, or Friend, to show the toll of Kosovo's war on the lives and friendship of two 12-year-old boys.

Their work has reached places that politics has yet to reach. In the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, there lies a long chain of containers filled with rubble that depict the precious stones of a necklace that belonged to the mother of Petrit Halilaj, the promising artist from Kosovo, who became the first contemporary artist to represent Kosovo in Venice Biennale. The necklace, which his mother hid in the garden, was the only piece of the past that survived the war. The rubble in the containers is the rubble of their burned down house.

But human rights in the context of war are not the only preoccupation of Kosovo's artists.

More recently, as an act of political resistance and social activism, we are increasingly witnessing artists challenge society's pre-conceived norms about gender and identity, especially in defending the rights of the most marginalized groups, including the LGBT community, which are constitutionally guaranteed but still face discrimination.

In Prishtina’s main square, the group “Haveit” of women artists read aloud and distributed poetry of famous Albanian authors, which had been forbidden because of its homosexual content. They kissed on Valentine's Day to demonstrate that love knows no boundaries.

To challenge nationalism and xenophobia, they vividly wrote "What colour is your flag when it burns?"

They shaved their faces to "shave off patriarchy", for, they said, “manhood cannot be measured with the moustaches and beards.”

Organizations, too, have relied on art as the common denominator to speak to audiences across cultural divides about the universality of human rights.

To raise awareness of the fate of 1,800 missing persons from the war in Kosovo, the Youth Initiative for Human Rights has covered the square with empty shoes. They built a wall with names. They lit 1,800 lanterns with question marks.

Again, no word was spoken. But it was all well understood.

Appendix B: Reference list of all the data which was analysed

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