

CONTESTED HERITAGE: SOCIALIST-ERA MONUMENTS IN THE POST-WAR REALITY

Jelena Pavličić Šarić^{1*}, Marija Randelović²

¹University of Priština in Kosovska Mitrovica, Faculty of Arts, Department of Scientific Areas, Serbia,

e-mail: jelena.pavlicic@art.pr.ac.rs

²University of Priština in Kosovska Mitrovica, Faculty of Technical Sciences, Study Program in Architecture, Serbia,

e-mail: marija.randjelovic@pr.ac.rs



Abstract: The period during and after the Kosovo war (1999) was followed by a process of heritagization. The destruction of cultural heritage sites and monuments that glorify the earlier periods was evident. The heritage that unambiguously testifies to the Serb existence in this area has suffered first, but the monuments that commemorate shared struggle, both Serbian and Albanian, in WWII were not spared either. Since these monuments were largely unprotected by law, heritage protection services did not monitor them. Beyond the physical destruction of entire monuments or their parts — reflecting an intent to erase them from collective memory — various interventions in the form of symbolic additions or revisions have also been noted. Different kinds of violent de-contextualization and re-contextualization of a monument makes it invalid and ‘obsolete’ for the new society, which does not acknowledge the ideas that inspired it, but ascribes new meanings to it. This attitude toward the socialist (antifascist) past reveals a general tendency to neglect such memorials. However, the direct destruction as well as re-contextualization that they have undergone, especially within the Albanian community, indicates the identity crisis this society is experiencing, as well as the construction of a new self-awareness. Managing socialist past in Kosovo in this paper will be examined in the context of the building the new image of the nation, while also situating it within the broader global interest for socialist past and WWII memorials that were erected at that time. This paper will highlight the role of past events in identity building by strategies of oblivion, appropriations and creation of new connections and reconnections to them. These strategies will be explored as part of critical heritage studies.

Keywords: socialist-era monuments, WWII memorials, contested heritage, postwar Kosovo, collective memory

Field: Humanities

1. INTRODUCTION

In many societies undergoing political and social transformations, perspectives on the past tend to shift. This is particularly evident in newly formed countries and in the aftermath of deep conflicts, which often raise questions of collective identity and prompt a re-examination of cultural roots. The past that holds meaning for such societies is typically the one that aligns with a contemporary and desirable vision of reality – reflecting the preferred identity. The relationship with the past is most commonly materialized through the treatment of its heritage, particularly physical objects imbued with symbolic meaning. It is not rare that throughout history, cultural heritage sites associated with previous regimes have been intentionally targeted and destroyed. This destruction often serves as a means to erase or suppress the cultural and historical narratives of former dominant nation(s). In new societies, such heritage may be neglected and repressed but also affirmed, or repurposed for new functions. The latter is understood as the recontextualization of heritage, which often involves the inscription of new meanings while suppressing the old ones. All these phenomena relate to heritage whose existence and interpretation become challenging within new communities and altered contexts, different from those in which it was originally created. Given their increased frequency in recent decades, heritage studies have introduced new terms to describe these dynamics. These terms are closely connected – difficult heritage (Macdonald, 2009), contested heritage (Silverman, 2011), dissonant heritage (Tunbridge, Ashworth, 1996), unwanted past (Light, 2000) and so on. The term contested heritage is maybe the wider one, and is used to describe heritage that is interpreted and valued differently by various interest groups. Such heritage is accompanied by multiple, often conflicting, viewpoints, interpretations, and perspectives. The surrounding community faces a dilemma over whether and how to preserve it. However, all these terms are the product of an effort to “expand the scope of heritage studies and diversify heritage meanings, recognizing that heritage is multivocal, controversial, and frequently problematic” (Thomas et al, 2019, p. 1).

In the territory of Kosovo and Metohija, following the Kosovo War of 1999, the survival of a significant portion of heritage became uncertain (Legnér, Bravaglieri, 2021). As this was an ethnic conflict that

*Corresponding author: jelena.pavlicic@art.pr.ac.rs



contributed to the fragmentation of Yugoslavia, it also generated negative sentiments toward the heritage of the others (Kisić, 2023; Pavličić, 2023). Monuments with significant symbolic value for the Serbian people were among the first to be targeted. Since the Serbian population is largely relocated from the territory of Kosovo (term is used in accordance with the UN Resolution 1244) after the war, many monuments were left without their original heirs and custodians, making them particularly vulnerable to the actions of the new ruling society of Kosovar Albanians. As a result, numerous churches and monasteries, as well as public monuments, were damaged or destroyed. The oblivion of such sites of memory – whether from the distant or recent past – was aimed at building the identity of the newly formed state, which is based on the mythologizing of its own past and origin (Pavličić Šarić, 2023). Kosovo Albanians see themselves as an autochthonous nation on the territory of Kosovo (Abdullahu, 2017). So it is preferable to suppress the presence of other nations in public discourse, erase them from collective memory, physically destroy their artifacts – being seen as threat to the national cultural identity – or incorporate them in new image of national history (Šešić Dragičević, Mijatović, 2014, p. 12). However, not all heritage was treated equally, and the approach to World War II heritage presents a particularly interesting case.

The memorials dedicated to the victims of WWII, national heroes, or innocent civilian casualties were mostly built during the 1970s and 1980s across whole Yugoslavia (Lajbenšperger, 2023). The conception and realization of these memorials involved some of the most prominent Yugoslav artists of the time. The socialist past of Kosovo is a shared experience of both Albanians and Serbian, so the monuments were raised in their honor.

In many European countries, societies have distanced themselves from such monuments – either through forgetting, which has led to the deterioration and destruction of these sites (e.g., Partisan Memorial Cemetery from 1965. in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, by Bogdan Bogdanović), or through remembrance rooted in the process of musealization. The establishment of museums of socialism and similar institutions aimed at objectively examining, studying, and preserving this heritage, without necessarily keeping it alive through commemorative practices or assigning it an active role in contemporary society. An interesting example is a Monument to the Soviet Army in Sofia, Bulgaria from 1954 (by multiple authors), that sits at the intersection of these two approaches. The act of painting its military figures – initially perceived as vandalism and destruction – breathed new life into the monument under the slogan “only current topics”, highlighting how reinterpretation can shift a monument’s relevance within the public sphere. As a result, the figures were frequently repainted to reflect contemporary mainly political struggles around the world. In this manner, new interventions reaffirm the concept of struggle as a universal means of achieving freedom – the highest value – while transforming the soldiers into modern heroes and pop culture icons.

A similar approach to monuments dedicated to the battles, fighters, and victims of World War II is developing in Kosovo, mirroring trends seen across Europe.

2. SOCIALIST-ERA MONUMENTS IN THE POST-WAR KOSOVO

The fate of socialist-era monuments raised to celebrate antifascism in Kosovo, became a topic of discussion in period after 1999 war. They have inevitably been perceived as a burdensome legacy, serving as a reminder of the former Yugoslav federation interpreted as Serb domination (Maliqi, 2012). This association often carried negative connotations, despite the fact that Kosovo gained its highest level of autonomy in 1974 during the socialist period. At that time, emancipatory policies led to widespread literacy among previously illiterate populations (Gatalović, 2016), and the very monuments in question embody the shared struggle of Serbs and Albanians during World War II. These intentional monuments, as materialized memory of an idea or historic figure (Riegl, 2006, pp. 351–411), are designed to foster eternal trans-generational remembrance. They are intended to offer and enable the recognition and identification of a community with the antifascist values they embody, and should guarantee the preservation of that value. However, the meaning attributed to a monument is often subject to change, influenced by evolving social and political contexts. Current communities intervene to show which values and history it wants to remember (Asman, 2002, pp. 51–53). After Kosovo war the majority of intentional monuments in Kosovo have suffered changes both in Albanian and Serbian milieus, and since they were mostly unprotected by law, they were largely unmonitored by heritage protection services. This study highlights key examples of the direct destruction, appropriation, and recontextualization of these monuments.

2.1 DESTRUCTION OF MONUMENTS AND ITS OBLIVION

The greatest heroes of the anti-fascism struggle, in the context of Kosovo and Metohija’s socialist past, were Boro Vukmirović and Ramiz Sadiku. To commemorate their shared struggle and death, many

streets, schools and cultural facilities were named in their honor. In Landovica near Prizren a monument that symbolically presents their embrace moments before they were both executed was raised (Socijalističko Kosovo, 1975, p. 51). The monument was designed by significant artists of that time – architect Miodrag Pecić, sculptor Svetomir Arsić-Basara and painter Hilmija Čatović. It was completely destroyed after the conflict 1999 to make way for a monument honoring the fallen fighters of the so-called Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). Although new monuments can be erected to embody the new positions of a community – and in the case of Kosovo have been in many places – this case shows that they cannot survive next to old memorials or share the same public space with them, which is markedly media space as it formulates and transmits the messages of its society.

The memorial bust of Vukmirović is also moved from the municipal park in Pristina. It stood next to Sadiku's bust originally, on the same platform. One more erasure of this heroes is noted in the city – the cultural center that was once named after them was renamed the Palace of Youth and Sport. A poster of the leader of KLA was visible here for years after the war, celebrating the nation's new hero (Pavličić, 2017, p. 492).

Numerous WWI monuments have been destroyed throughout Kosovo. We generally have no written information about the acts and time of destruction, just the place itself bears witness to the event. But there is one interesting example related to the destruction of the monument celebrating the national heroes of WWII – Serbs and Albanians in Vitina. The memorial was destroyed in 2013 by Kosovar Albanian extremist in presence of the Kosovo police members (Dašić, 2023). The absence of their reaction justifies the fear that the monuments in question will not be safe in the future either.

The denial of a monument's past is the first indication of its endangerment, often manifested through neglect, partial damage, or complete destruction. In Leposavić, the northernmost Serbian municipality in Kosovo, there is a memorial park erected in municipal school park. It was made in 1977 in honor of fallen fighters in the anti-fascist struggle, according to the inscription on the monuments. Although the memorial tomb and main monument – an obelisk – have survived, many stone cubes with marble plates with names of the fallen have been removed around 2005. This was preceded by the erasure of Albanian inscriptions on the plates. The destructive act does not in itself indicate the denial of the joint antifascist struggle that transcended ethnicity, but instead suppresses the socialist past in general. An indication of this is the simultaneous name change of the local elementary school where the memorial complex in the aforementioned park is located – from Slobodan Penezić Krcun (Yugoslavian national hero and politician) to Leposavić Elementary School (Pavličić, 2017, p. 494).

2.2 REUSE AND LOADING NEW MEANINGS INTO THE MONUMENT

Beyond the physical destruction of entire monuments or their parts — reflecting an intention to erase them from collective memory — various interventions in the form of symbolic additions or revisions have also been observed. The remains of numerous victims of fascism had been interred in the Partisan Cemetery in Pristina, where an ossuary and a memorial designed by architect Svetislav Ličina were erected in 1961. After 1999, a memorial ossuary for the fallen members of the so-called Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) was constructed in another section of the cemetery. In January 2006, Ibrahim Rugova, the first president of the self-proclaimed Republic of Kosovo, was buried in close proximity to the original ossuary. While the new memorials occupy the former space, they do not revive the original meaning of the Partisan memorial; instead, the old monument, now seen as 'obsolete', is being supplanted by a new one. Commemorative practices, which keep monuments alive, are organized around the two new memorials at the Partisan Cemetery, but not at the memorial from 1961 (Ermolin 2015, p. 168; Pavličić 2017, p. 493).

The erasure and transformation of monumental meanings is also evident in an intervention on the Monument to the Revolution in Pristina that was erected in 1961. and designed by famous Serbian and Yugoslavian sculptor Miodrag Živković (Putnik, 2014, p. 117). It consists of a 22-meter tall obelisk that symbolizes the unity of the three main nations living in Kosovo and Metohija, which participated in the National Liberation War, and a semi-abstract figure representing eight Partisans, i.e. anti-fascists. At the very beginning of the war in Kosovo and Metohija in 1998, unknown individuals attempted to destroy the monument with explosives. The damage from this attempt at bombing could still be seen at the base of the obelisk — part of the memorial complex — until recently. After the end of the armed conflict, around the year 2000, the local authorities changed the name of the square from Square of Brotherhood and Unity to Adem Jashari Square. This act of renaming was seen as a sort of controversy, given the name of military leader of the separatist movement of KLA, stood in stark contrast to the idea of "brotherhood and unity" under which the monument and the square were originally established (Pavličić, 2023, pp. 196–198).

Like many other monuments from the Yugoslav era, the Monument to the Revolution in Kosovo is often seen as a symbol of the local conflicts of the 1980s and 1990s, even though these monuments

were built during a much calmer and more prosperous period of former Yugoslavia, in the early 1960s, to symbolize peace and freedom.

Over the past two decades, the monument and the square have been in a state of neglect and degradation, frequently covered in graffiti. After several unsuccessful attempts to remove the semi-abstract figure of eight partisans – part of the memorial complex, it was painted over in the colors of the flags of countries that have recognized Kosovo as an independent state. This kind of violent de-contextualization and re-contextualization of a monument makes it invalid and “obsolete” for the new society that does not acknowledge the ideas that inspired it but ascribes new meanings to it (Novaković, 2015, 160).

In the mid-2010s, reports emerged in the media that the Pristina city administration was considering the demolition of the monument to repurpose the space as a car park. The statement made at the time by the current director of the Institute for the Protection of Monuments in Pristina, is also paradigmatic. He stated that the monument was no longer desired by the people of Pristina, describing it as a “political monument devoid of any historical value”.

In the case of the Monument to the Revolution, the care afforded to it in subsequent years is particularly interesting, when the monument was renovated, albeit not according to the original design. The rectangular surfaces that framed the obelisk and the sculptural ensemble of partisans were replaced with a combination of grass and concrete, in place of the original granite paving. Furthermore, the aforementioned sculpture, which depicts eight fighters, was conserved with a painted coating that symbolizes the recognition of the self-proclaimed Republic of Kosovo by certain countries. The monument has been layered with meaning, and it appears that this has determined its physical survival in the space.

The fate of this monument confirms that the concern for heritage often conceals a narrative that reflects collective identity. The restoration of the monument (2018) was initiated by the City of Pristina in 2018. One of the strongest voices in favour of the restoration of the complex came from the international association DOCOMOMO – Kosovo branch, advocating for the preservation of urban heritage and the built environment more broadly. But the original project was not respected during the renovation – so numerous professional codes were violated. Behind the seemingly positive initiative and the advocacy for adherence to European protection standards, however, lies support for the politicisation of heritage. This, unfortunately, went unrecognised by the domestic and international professional community, whose commentary on these events was absent.

The Monument to the Revolution continues to spark debates regarding its position and significance for the city of Pristina, as well as the place it occupies in the collective memory of the new community. It serves as a good example for understanding the culture of remembrance and its variability. This is why it was also part of an artistic intervention within the Manifesta 14 international art festival (22 July – 30 October 2022), during which the monument was wrapped in pink aluminum foil. This installation by Swiss artist Ugo Rondinone “invites people to reflect on the constantly changing culture of memory and unity, and to indulge in a pure sensory experience of color, form, and mass” (Manifesta 14, 2022, p. 428)

2.3. PRESERVATION OF MEMORY

There are, however, various examples of preserving the memory of socialist heritage. An example from North Kosovska Mitrovica confirms the fact that the local population is building its attitude to monuments on beliefs not shared across all of its milieus. The memorial to fallen miners designed by architect Bogdan Bogdanović in 1973 still dominates the city landscape (Bogdanović, 2001, 212). Wreath-laying ceremonies and commemorative gatherings are still held at the memorial ossuary nearby, where the names of Serbs and Albanians killed in World War II are inscribed. The letters on the plate were restored in fresh paint except for a part of the ‘introductory’ text, which is in Albanian and had not been damaged.

3. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Socialist-era monuments in post-war contexts often become focal points of contested heritage, reflecting the complex interplay between historical memory, national identity, and political change. The fate of socialist-era monuments in post-war realities underscores the complexities of heritage management in societies transitioning from socialist regimes. The presented attitude toward the socialist (antifascist) past in Kosovo through the few crucial examples both on north and south of Kosovo (where Serbians and Albanians lives) reveals a general tendency to neglect these memorials, but the direct destruction as well as re-contextualization that they have undergone, especially in the Albanian community in Kosovo, indicates the identity crisis this society is experiencing, as well as the construction of a new self-awareness. The acts of destruction and especially re-contextualization of monuments, we have seen in Albanian

milieus, has always been related to the promotion of the KLA and the preservation of the recent past in Kosovo. In a sense, these monuments represent a contested heritage to the point where society wonders whether they should be preserved and why. But, when the community acts towards them, by destroying them, (re)contextualizing and using them, their dissonance awakens. It shows how something that has been rejected and neglected can be used and interpreted in a way that suits the goals of the interpreter, i.e. a community, without respecting the integrity of the heritage.

The selected examples discussed in this paper convincingly attest to the forms of devastation that the socialist heritage – together with other heritage – in Kosovo and Metohija has suffered in the past and continues to suffer to this day. Physical destruction is but one of the forms of intentional oblivion, albeit an ancient one; in addition, different (mis)interpretations and construed new identities ascribed to monuments have emerged as an increasingly pressing problem that indicates the new trend that has emerged in the devastation of heritage (Pavličić, 2017, p. 503).

Due to the current state of these monuments, how can this heritage be protected? Beyond safeguarding the material structures, it is essential to preserve their meanings, requiring an integrated approach. The approaches to preserving the memory of socialist heritage are diverse – ranging from musealization and recontextualization to digital archives and artistic interventions. The musealization of socialist-era heritage as demonstrated by the Museum of Socialist Art, established in Sofia in 2011, along with other similar institutions across Eastern Europe, is very possible and welcomed. However, not all heritage can be relocated to museums; a significant portion must be preserved in situ. In such cases, the process of musealization – as a means of recognizing and valuing heritage – can be achieved through alternative forms and media.

The development of heritage theories in recent decades led to modern solutions to these increasingly numerous and diverse challenges. The theoretical postulates of heritage studies hold that the preservation of heritage can only be ensured if it is treated as a living organism that endures and develops. They suggest that the ideal form of protection includes comprehensive treasuring as an expanded form of materialistic protection, which mostly implies the conservation of material evidence. The concept of treasuring, however, implies the conservation of the material evidence of its meaning – the monument itself, as well as preserving the process of testifying about the monument as a way of ensuring remembrance (Bulatović, 2009, p. 12), i.e. the memory of the notions/perceptions/knowledge pertaining to it and stored in the different mediums (Maroević, 1993, p. 171).

In view of all this, it is crucial to understand the significance of the creation of modern, comprehensive databases (primarily digital) that would neglect none of the monument's aspects and pasts nor its present condition and knowledge about it, and would be continuously updated with the creation of new documents that contribute to our knowledge of it. In a way, documentation is an indicator of a society's interest in its own heritage. These databases would allow scholarly research of monuments and could provide new information on the pasts it bears (or has borne) witness to. They can also bring the heritage closer to the younger generations who have no memory of this era (Todorova et al., 2014, pp. 82–83). On the other hand, the lack of reliable documentation and its unavailability makes the process of restoration of damaged and destroyed monuments, as well as their contemporary remembrance in collective memory, even more difficult, especially in young and new societies such as post-war Kosovo.

In this context, an independent, non-institutional project by the American researcher Donald Niebyl holds particular significance. This is the Spomenik Database platform (www.spomenikdatabase.org), launched in 2016. This initiative plays a crucial role in preserving the memory of a heritage that is contested across various European countries. Consequently, both its original meaning and, in many cases, its very physical existence are at risk. The Spomenik Database serves to digitize and archive the anti-fascist monumental heritage of Yugoslavia, specifically the structures built between 1960 and 1990. This evolving database integrates GPS coordinates with both historical and contemporary photographs, postcards, promotional materials, academic literature, and historical accounts of the monuments, alongside real-time reports on their current condition and on-the-ground observations. Due to its open-access and interactive nature, the platform is widely used by scholars, who not only engage with the existing material, but also contribute their own research and findings, fostering a dynamic, reciprocal exchange of knowledge. Such a digitalization project provides a robust foundation for the remembrance, study, and valorization of this heritage. By increasing its visibility and accessibility to the public, it aids both conservationists and researchers in their work, while also safeguarding the monuments from misinterpretation and misuse.

The development of information activities using new applications on smart devices is also necessary. In other words, all forms of support need to be extended to those who have conceived and created the existing web presentations as well to those who constantly update them and all others who are willing to take on this task with energy, knowledge and love. Comprehensive and primarily institutional struggle

for the preservation of physical integrity of socialist monuments as well as its identity, should constantly developing their approaches and strategies. However, efforts to preserve this socialist heritage must be motivated by the desire to preserve anti-fascism as a universal value that connects the past with the future and its development.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovation Republic of Serbia for funding the scientific research work realized by the Faculty of Arts and Faculty of Technical Sciences, University of Priština in Kosovska Mitrovica [contract no. 451-03-137/2025-03 and 451-03-18/2025-03 from 27 January 2025].

REFERENCES

- Abdulahu, D. (2017). Myths in Kosovar Textbooks: History in the Service of Identity Construction. In: Lichnofsky C., Pandelejmoni E. & Stojanov D. (eds.). *Myths and Mythical Space: Conditions and challenges for History Textbooks in Albania and South-Eastern Europe*. Göttingen: V&R unipress.
- Asman, A. (2002). *Rad na nacionalnom pamćenju*. Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek.
- Bogdanović, B. (2001). *Glib i krv, Svedočanstva 9*. Beograd: Helsinski odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji.
- Bulatović, D. (2009). Muzealizacija stvarnije budućnosti: baština i resursi, *Muzeji* 2, 7–15.
- Dašić, D. (2023). Unwanted Cultural Heritage of the Republics of the Former Yugoslavia. In: Hmood, K. (ed.). *Conservation of Urban and Architectural Heritage – Past, Present, Future*. London: IntechOpen. doi: 10.5772/intechopen.109127
- Ermolin, D. S. (2015). When Skanderbeg Meets Clinton: Cultural Landscape and Commemorative Strategies in Postwar Kosovo. *Politička misao: časopis za politikologiju* 51/5, 157–173.
- Gatalović, M. (2016). Kosovo i Metohija u državnoj politici Jugoslavije 1958–1965. Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju; Društvo istoričara Srbije „Stojan Novaković“.
- Lajbensperger, N. (2023). Spomen-kompleksi posvećeni antifašističkoj borbi tokom Drugog svetskog rata u Srbiji. U: Vuksanović, S. & Ereš, A. (ur.) *Spomenička skulptura posvećena NOB-u u Jugoslaviji 1945–1991*. Novi Sad: Muzej savremene umetnosti Vojvodine, 63–103.
- Legnér, M. & Bravaglieri, S. (2021). The Politics of the Past in Kosovo: Divisive and Shared Heritage in Mitrovica. In: Bădescu, G. et al. (eds.) *Transforming Heritage in the Former Yugoslavia: Synchronous Pasts*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 247–264.
- Light, D. (2000). An Unwanted Past: contemporary tourism and the heritage of communism in Romania. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6(2), 145–160.
- Kisić, V. (2023). Problem i iskustva baštinenja kulturnog nasleđa drugih. U: Vojvodić D. (ur.) *Zaštita, očuvanje i afirmacija srpskog kulturnog nasleđa na Kosovu i Metohiji*. Belgrade: SASA, 49–64.
- Macdonald, S. (2009). *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond*. New York: Routledge.
- Maliqi, S. (2012). Rat simbola: Sećanje na Kosovu. U: Brumund, D. & Pfeifer C. (ur.) *Monumenti. Promenljivo lice sećanja*. Beograd: Forum Živiler Friedensdienst, 26–27.
- Manifesta 14 – Otherwise: 22.07-30.10.2022. (2022). Lynden, E. et al. (coord.). *Priština: Manifesta 14*.
- Maroević, I. (1993). *Uvod u muzeologiju*. Zagreb: Zavod za informacijske studije Odsjeka za informacijske znanosti, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta.
- Novaković, J. (2015). *Damnatio memoriae – Socijalističko nasleđe u ratu različitih sećanja*. In: Srpski jezik, Književnost, umetnost III. *Umetničko nasleđe i rat & Muzika i mediji*. Kragujevac: FILUM, 155–162.
- Pavličić, J. (2017). Serbian Monumental Patrimony in Kosovo and Metohija in View of Contemporary Cultural Heritage Theories. In: Marković M. & Vojvodić D. (eds.). *Artistic Heritage of the Serbian People in Kosovo and Metohija: History, Identity, Vulnerability, Protection*. Belgrade: SASA, 485–505.
- Pavličić Šarić, J. (2023). Između negacije i aroprijacije: Kulturno nasleđe drugih u savremenoj albanskoj javnosti na Kosovu i Metohiji. U: Vojvodić D. (ur.) *Zaštita, očuvanje i afirmacija srpskog kulturnog nasleđa na Kosovu i Metohiji*. Belgrade: SANU, 175–206.
- Putnik, V. (2014). Memorijalna skulptura Miodraga Živkovića (Period 1960–1980). U: Živković N. (ur.), *Javni spomenici i spomen obeležja: kolektivno pamćenje i/ili zaborav*, Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda, 115–124.
- Riegl, A. (2006) *Moderni kult spomenika, njegova bit, njegov postanak*. In: Špikić M. (ed.) *Anatomija povjesnog spomenika*, Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 349–412.
- Silverman, H. (2011). *Contested Cultural Heritage: Religion, Nationalism, Erasure, and Exclusion in a Global World*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Socijalističko Kosovo*. (1975). Maletić M. (ed.). Beograd: Borba, OOUR Ekonomska politika.
- Sešić Dragićević, M., & Rogač Mijatović, L. L. (2014). Balkan dissonant heritage narratives (and their attractiveness) for tourism. *American Journal of Tourism Management*, 3(1B), 10–19.
- Thomas, S. (2019). Dark heritage. In: *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*. Springer, 1–11.
- Todorova, M. et al. (2014). *Remembering Communism: Private and Public Recollections of Lived Experience in Southeast Europe*. Budapest – New York: Central European University Press.
- Tunbridge, E. John & Ashworth, G. J. (1996). *Dissonant heritage, the management of the past as a resource in conflict*. John Wiley & Sons.