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**EDUCATION AND RECONCILIATION
In the Post-Conflict Kosovo
1999-2009**



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Abstract

This thesis lies within the framework of the 2009 UN International Year of Reconciliation. It studies the relationship between education and reconciliation in the post-conflict Kosovo. Education and reconciliation are two concepts which may connect with each other. However, in the social history of inter-ethnic tension in Kosovo between Serbs and Albanians, and particularly in the previous decade, education was more used as a tool to promote conflict. This thesis analyses the Kosovan educational system as it was developed since 1999, and focuses on its potential to reverse this situation and to promote reconciliation, something that is both innovative and urgently needed.

Drawing from political, educational sciences, and social psychology, the present thesis explores the educational objectives promoted in laws, policies, and societal initiatives, and their concrete results on the ground, through interviews with key actors in both formal and nonformal education. Data are interpreted by employing concepts of peace building, reconciliation and human rights. The thesis puts forward educational practices which could foster reconciliation in Kosovo but recalls the importance of an empowering political context.

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ACRONYMS

CIDA : Canadian International Development Agency
CRS : Catholic Relief Services
DoES : Department of Education and Science of the UNMIK
EDC : Education for Democratic Citizenship
EU : European Union
FRY : Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
HCNM : High Commissioner on National Minorities
HRE : Human Rights Education
KEC : Kosovo Education Centre
KEDP : Kosovo Educator Development Programme
KFOR : Kosovo Force
KLA : Kosovo Liberation Army
MEST : Ministry of Education, Science and Technology
MCYS : Ministry of Culture, Youth, and Sports
MwB : Musicians Without Borders
NATO : North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCF : New Curriculum Framework
NGO : Non Governmental Organisation
OSCE : Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
ODHIR : Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OHCHR : Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
UN : United Nations
UNESCO : United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR : United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF : United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNMIK : United Nations Interim Administration Mission In Kosovo
SSF : Sport Sans Frontières

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INTRODUCTION

Ten years ago, a small region in the heart of the Balkans became world news, due to the violent conflicts and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) bombings which occurred. However, this was only a part of a protracted inter-ethnic conflict and tensions between Serbian and Albanian residents in Kosovo lasting for decades.

Ten years later, the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN), "recognising that reconciliation processes are particularly necessary and urgent in countries and regions of the world which have suffered or are suffering situations of conflict that have affected and divided societies in their various internal, national and international facets", declared the International Year of Reconciliation (2009), and invited governments, civil societies, international and Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to take part in this process.²

Within this international context, this paper studies the relationship between education and reconciliation in the post-conflict Kosovo, considering education, as written in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as a goal and a means to "promote understanding, tolerance, friendship among all nations, racial ethnic or religious groups and [to] further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace".³

Before dealing with the research question and the methodology of the thesis, it is necessary to explain the concept of reconciliation and its interaction with education, and then, to give an overview of the historical inter-ethnic tensions and the current political situation in Kosovo.

CONCEPTS

➤ The concept of reconciliation

According to the etymological roots of the Latin word *reconcilio*, *re* means "again", and *concilio*, "make friendly", "bring together", so reconciliation would be to bring people together and to foster friendship.⁴ However, behind this simplistic idea, a complicated and blurred concept is hidden, particularly when applied to post-conflict situations. There is indeed no agreement in

² United Nations, 2009 International Year of Reconciliation, General Assembly Resolution A/res/61/17, 23 January 2007. See Appendix I.

³ United Nations, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10 December 1948, Art. 26.2.

⁴ *Latin = English dictionary*, at <http://humanum.arts.cuhk.edu.hk/Lexis/Latin/>, (consulted on 23 June 2009).

the academic field on what exactly reconciliation entails. Common criteria to measure the progress accomplished towards reconciliation are lacking. Nevertheless, its positive implications on peace is not an object of any discord. The idea of coming together again, of rebuilding relationship after a conflicting period is seen as an essential element in fostering a sustainable peace. Reconciliation has thus a powerful meaning in terms of social change. As stated by the Archbishop Desmond Tutu, President of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, it is a "way to transform individuals and the whole society".⁵ Therefore, the concept implies changes at two levels: the inter-personal and the inter-group. It has to be understood both as a goal and a process.

Reconciliation came to be a widely used concept since the emergence of truth and reconciliation commissions in South America and particularly since the establishment of the famous Commission in South Africa.⁶ The concept was indeed initially associated with Justice, but with a new way of making justice: rather than retribution, the focus was more on restoring humanity, through truth and mercy. However, further studies emphasised the broader societal nature of reconciliation.⁷ Most of society's concerns like security, prosperity, rule of law or returns of refugees are significant factors in reaching this goal. Thus, reconciliation is now considered as an integrative process which embraces all the actors of society, especially mass media and civil society in order to change perceptions about the past and the future.

Working on perceptions is the main element of the reconciliation process according to social-psychology, which stresses the importance of altering the adversaries' relationships from that of hostility and resentment to recognition, tolerance and co-operation. A socio-psychological approach is very useful in understanding the concept of reconciliation, since it focuses both on inter-personal and inter-group relationships. Bar-Tal, a social-psychologist specialised in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, set up a theory on 'societal beliefs' in cases of 'intractable conflicts' which has to be briefly presented since it underlines the socio-psychological dimension of reconciliation.⁸ 'Intractable conflicts' can be characterised by their durability and their independence from any formal conflict resolution. They are maintained by the presence of a 'conflictive ethos', enabling people to cope with the current situation in which they are involved. Eight 'societal beliefs' are entailed in the 'conflictive ethos': the justness of one's own goals (the

ones that led to the conflict); the security concern (for personal safety and for the nation's survival); the positive self-image (ethnocentric tendency to attribute positive traits, values and behaviour to one's own group); one's own victimisation (focus on the unjust harm, evil deeds and atrocities perpetrated by the adversary); the delegitimising of the opponent (denial of the adversary's humanity through, among others, dehumanisation and attribution of extremely negative traits); patriotism (attachment to the country and society by propagating loyalty, love, care and sacrifice); unity (ignoring internal conflicts and disagreements); the societal belief of peace as the ultimate desire of the society.⁹ All of these beliefs and attitudes are the main challenges to reconciliation, and their removal is the very focus of the reconciliation process, in order to create a new societal ethos, a 'peace ethos'.

Therefore, despite the complexity of the concept, reconciliation can be understood both as a process and a goal, working out on reducing negative perceptions between former enemy groups in order to build relationships based on respect, tolerance and peace. A socio-psychological approach is essential when dealing with perceptions and intergroups relations, and thus, with reconciliation. Education may be regarded as a particular useful agent in this long-term process.

➤ Interaction between education and reconciliation

Education is a powerful vehicle for social change. Indeed, it does not only impart pedagogic instructions but carries values, attitudes and behaviours, as well. Education can be formal, nonformal or informal.¹⁰ The first type is the most well-known, as it refers to the education taking place within the school context. The second type includes educational programmes, organised outside the school walls, which are less directed than formal education but which have also defined pedagogical objectives. Finally, everyday life learning, through interaction with the family, friends, and with the society in general, constitutes informal education. Thus, education is an everywhere process. Even formal education crosses the school borders and reaches the overall society since pupils may carry attitudes learned in the classroom into the broader community. These two environments are permeable. The powerful socialisation effect of education makes it an essential factor in reconciliation, both with a positive and negative impact on this process.

⁵ Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Mpilo Tutu, Foreword in Daly & Sarkin, 2007, p. ix.

⁶ The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was set up in 1995 in order to deal with the apartheid past of South Africa. It represents a new model of Justice, based on truth and reconciliation.

⁷ Daly & Sarkin, 2007.

⁸ Bar-Tal, 2000, pp. 351-365.

⁹ Bar-Tal defines a 'societal belief' as "a society member shared cognition on topics and issues that are of special concerns for society and contribute to their sense of uniqueness"; an ethos, according to him "combines central societal beliefs in a particular configuration and gives particular meaning to societal life in a given society". Bar-Tal, *idem*, p. 353.

¹⁰ Meintjes, 1997, pp.64-79.

Indeed, various educational policies can negatively impact on the process of reconciliation. Examples of such policies, according to Bush and Saltarelli, can be:¹¹ an uneven distribution of education, since when groups are denied access to education, they are also deprived of economic, social and political privileges; a use of education as a tool of cultural repression particularly through the imposition of the dominant language on minority groups; a manipulation of history for political purposes highlighting the role of one group at the expense of the others; a manipulation of textbooks through the presence of negative stereotypes towards the other group; a diminishing of self-worth and an encouragement of hate; a segregated education as a means to ensure inequality, lower esteem and stereotyping. These elements are only examples showing how education can be taken over by politics and by extent, hinder reconciliation.

On the contrary, education can foster this process, promoting tolerance and peace, by providing its pupils with, among others, an intercultural and bilingual education, a disarmed history, and a human rights and peace education. Thus, working on curriculum and textbooks content, teacher training and the construction of a peaceful learning environment are of significant importance.

The double potential of education with respect to reconciliation depends on the structure of the education system and on the way it operates in practice, as expressed by Daly and Sarkin. "Should students from different groups be integrated or separated? What language should they be taught in? Should the pedagogy style be lecture (where students are given information to learn) or dialectic (where learners are encouraged to question and analyse and view things from multiple perspectives)? Specifically, what should be said about the recent events? [...] How should they be taught to treat the children in their classes from a different group? Will specific attention be paid in the schools to teaching multiculturalism and diversity? And likewise, what should be said about history? Who are portrayed as being the aggressors?"¹² These questions are particularly relevant in the Kosovo context of protracted inter-ethnic conflict.

KOSOVO HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Images of the NATO bombings during Spring 1999 can equate, in the public opinion, to the Kosovo conflict: internationals attacking the Serbian forces responsible of human rights

¹¹ Bush and Saltarelli, 2000.

¹² Daly & Sarkin, 2007, p.248.

violations against the Albanians¹³. However, this is a simplistic representation which does not take into account the long history of inter-ethnic tensions prevailing within this region. Indeed, since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Albanians and Serbs kept struggling for the control of the territory. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), which was created in 1946, intended to reduce these inter-ethnic tensions: behind the slogan "Brotherhood and Unity" no national group could claim the right to possess the region. Kosovo was given the status of an autonomous province inside the Republic of Serbia.

However, the Albanians kept on demanding independence, which led to the revocation of the autonomous status of Kosovo in 1989. The province was taken over by Serbia which started a discriminatory policy against the Albanians in order to prevent the increase of separatist ideas. Albanians were dismissed from public positions and regular human rights violations by the Serbian security forces were reported.¹⁴ As expressed by their leader, Ibrahim Rugova, the Albanians's strategy was to struggle in a non-violent way, building a parallel society, with respect to key public sectors (education, health, political institutions, among others), and to promote the internationalisation of the issue. Nevertheless, this passive resistance came to be questioned, especially since the Dayton Agreement in 1995.¹⁵ Indeed, the Kosovo issue was not included on the agenda, which challenged the Albanians faith in an international solution. Resistance became more radical with the emergence of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), a clandestine guerilla group. A full civil war began between this group and the Serbian police, military and paramilitary troops, controlled by the President of the FRY, Slobodan Milosevic. The horde of refugees and the massive human rights violations led to the intervention of the NATO forces. After two months of bombings, the Serbs surrendered, and the province was put under the control of the UN, according to the 1244 Resolution.¹⁶

Internationals organisations arrived in order to administrate the territory. They had to deal with many challenges in the very post-war period since everything was destroyed. Infrastructures had to be rebuilt, key public sectors to be developed, and inter-ethnic violence to be prevented. The United Nations Interim Administration Mission In Kosovo (UNMIK) was divided in four pillars: the European Union (EU) was in charge of the economic reconstruction and development; the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), was responsible for

¹³ The word "Kosovan" is employed in accordance with the terms used in the "Ahtisaari Plan".

¹⁴ Mertus, 1999.

¹⁵ The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina was signed in December 1995 and put an end to the war in this country.

¹⁶ United Nations, Security Council Resolution 1244, S/RES/1244, 10 June 1999.

democratisation, institution-building and human rights; the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) focused on humanitarian questions, while the UNMIK had to deal with civil administration. Besides, the Kosovo Force (KFOR), the NATO-led military security force, was established as the organisation responsible for security. This force, outside the UNMIK structure was hugely needed in the very post-conflict situation, as the feelings of revenge were high.

The international institutions' tasks were as well to work on capacity-building in order to enable the territory to administrate itself. Within this perspective, a provisional Government of Kosovo started to work in 2002. The status issue was always underlying, increasing inter-ethnic tensions, since nothing was foreseen in the UN Resolution. Therefore, talks on the final status of the province were initiated and resulted in the 'Ahtisaari Plan',¹⁷ which considered independence as the "only viable option for Kosovo".¹⁸ The latter was presented in March 2007 to the Security Council, but was not endorsed. However, this international opposition did not prevent the Kosovo leaders to unilaterally declare the province an independent state. Yet, the Ahtisaari Plan was not put aside, rather its provisions were recognised as compulsory by the Kosovo Government and integrated in its Constitution.¹⁹

Therefore, a tolerant and inclusive approach towards minorities is promoted in the Supreme Law presenting the country as a "multi-ethnic society". International conventions protecting minorities are mentioned in the Kosovo Constitution, which thus, guarantee the former the highest legal protection.²⁰ Moreover, the Constitution allows for positive discrimination in the political and administrative area, to enable minorities to participate in the decision-making. Finally, the affirmation of the decentralisation nature of Kosovo represents as well a strategy to ensure more power to communities in places where they constitute the majority. Nevertheless, behind this official approach for a peaceful multi-ethnic state, the reality is still challenging in terms of inter-ethnic relations, particularly between Serbs and Albanians.

¹⁷ Martti Ahtisaari is a Finnish diplomat. He was designed by the UN to manage negotiations on the final status of Kosovo in November 2005. His final report is known as "the Ahtisaari Plan".

¹⁸ United Nations, Report of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on Kosovo's future status, S/2007/168, 26 March 2007, p.2.

¹⁹ The article 2 of the Kosovo declaration of independence, adopted on 17 February 2008 clearly expressed adherence to the "Ahtisaari Plan". Likewise, the article 143.1 of the Kosovo Constitution adopted on the 15 June 2008, foresees the full implementation of the proposal.

²⁰ The article 58.2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo states that Kosovo shall "respect the standards set forth in the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages".

Since the end of the war, the Serbs are confined in protected enclaves because of security concerns. The case of the divided city of Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, between the north inhabited by Serbs and the south by Albanians, is emblematic of this *de facto* segregation. In addition to physical separation, Serbs and Albanians are separated by administrative, social and political barriers: the Serbs are governed by Belgrade, and all the public institutions to which they refer are Serbian ones. Thus, two states are currently in competition in the Kosovo territory. Although, the Serbs are nowadays supposed to be able to move freely in this region, insecurity feelings are still strong. Indeed, indirect forms of intimidation and pressures are still current against this community.²¹ Moreover, the impact of the March 2004 events, remains in people's minds: at that time, the media stated that three Albanians children got drowned in a river because they were pursued by Serbs, an information that led to a massive attack from Albanians against every Serbian municipality. Properties were destroyed and people killed and wounded.²²

These physical and psychological ethnic boundaries result from the long history of inter-ethnic tension and from the current political situation: on one hand, the Serbs refuse to recognise the Kosovo independence and thus, boycott the Kosovan institutions²³; on the other hand, the Albanians strive for the international recognition of the independence. The existence of competitive nationalistic myths is an essential factor in this conflicting inter-ethnic history.²⁴ The Serbs regard Kosovo as their sacred land, for which they had to fight, since the time of the Ottoman Empire. They support their claim, among other arguments, by the physical presence of Orthodox churches and monasteries on the territory. On the contrary, Albanians consider themselves as the descendents of the Illyrians, who are known as the first settlers of the Balkans. They put forward the right of first occupation. These two antagonistic myths are symbolised in the naming of the region: "Kosovo and Metohija", meaning "the land of [eastern Orthodox] monasteries", is the Serbian designation, while "Kosova" is the term employed by the Albanians.

²¹ Interview with Milos Drazovic, project co-ordinator for the northern branch of the Mitrovica Rock School, NGOs "Musicians Without Borders", Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, 17 April 2009, and with Milja, a Serbian teenager who participated in an inter-ethnic summer camp organised by the Council of Europe, Graçanicë/Gracanica, 16 April 2009.

²² Human Right Watch, Not on the Agenda, The Continuing Failure to Address Accountability in Kosovo Post-March 2004, May 2006, at <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/kosovo0506web.pdf>, (consulted on 23 June 2009).

²³ They are looking for a legal support through particularly a judgement of the International Court of Justice : UN, General Assembly Resolution, Request for an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on whether the unilateral declaration of independence of Kosovo is in accordance with international law, A/RES/63/3, 8 October 2008, at http://www.asil.org/files/ilib081017_r3.pdf, (consulted on 23 June 2009).

²⁴ Pavkovic, 2001, pp.3-10.

These beliefs represent a particular challenge when thinking about reconciliation in Kosovo, and can be analysed as part of the 'conflictive ethos' theorised by Bar-Tal. Another challenging phenomenon, among others, is the competition between Albanians and Serbs for the "status of principal victim".²⁵ In brief, the 'societal beliefs' fostering conflicting attitudes are still present in Kosovo and maintained by family, community and political pressures. Moreover, apart from beliefs, wider societal issues linked to reconciliation have to be taken into account such as communities and property returns, unemployment, insecurity, and the rule of law. The situation of youth is also particularly alarming: while they constitute half of the Kosovan population, most of them drop out after the compulsory education period and constitute potential targets for drugs traffic and violence.²⁶ The principal actors of the March 2004 events, for instance, were young people.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

The current inter-ethnic situation in Kosovo is problematical, since the ethnic boundaries between the former enemies are physically, socially, symbolically and mentally, still present. They represent both the obstacles to and the very justification for any reconciliation process in this region. The socio-psychological and societal characteristics of Kosovo suggest that the road towards reconciliation will be hard and long, requiring the involvement of the whole society. Education can play a particular important role in this process, fostering attitudes, values and beliefs with positive implications on reconciliation in pupils' minds. In this way, young people could be empowered to be agent of change able to counteract the vicious circle of intergenerational transmission of hate and to promote a culture of reconciliation.

It is thus interesting to study the relationship between education and reconciliation in the post-conflict Kosovo. How do these two notions interact since the end of the war? Does the Kosovan education have the potential to foster reconciliation?

This thesis lies within the framework of the 2009 International Year of Reconciliation. It aims to examine one facet of the concept, which is not very emphasised in the existing academic

²⁵ UNICEF Kosovo, Quality education for all in Kosovo, 2006, p.34, at http://www.se-educop.net/education_in/pdf/Unicef-QualityEducationforAllinKosovofinal.pdf (consulted on 23 June 2009).

²⁶ 53% of the Kosovan population is under 25 years old, according to the UNICEF website: http://www.unicef.org/kosovo/children_3540.html, (consulted on 23 June 2009).

literature, namely its link to education. The specific situation of protracted conflict in Kosovo embedded in politics and ethnicity makes the province a complex but particularly interesting field to study the interaction between reconciliation and education.

The outline of the topic was drawn while exploring the Kosovan reality. The author's idea was initially to study the role of recreational activities for inter-ethnic youth groups in reconciliation, but as it was really hard to find them on internet, and as the researches led to the conclusion that few activities, if not any, exist on a regular basis, that, thus, could be analysed as case-studies, the study evolved focusing on education in its broader meaning, namely in its nonformal and formal aspect.

As far as the formal educational system is concerned, the thesis analyses its development and its current state in the light of reconciliation. It does not aim to study in detail the educational content through an analysis of the curricula and textbooks for instance, but rather to draw an outline of the educational environment in general and to evaluate if it can provide potential for reconciliation. The focus is thus, not on the nature of the societal beliefs transmitted through education, but on the overall educational context that can impact on them. Similarly, as far as nonformal education is concerned, the purpose is not to assess the impact of specific projects on reconciliation but rather to present their potential for reconciliation and the challenges that they face in their implementation. Potential for reconciliation in this paper is understood as the existence of educational policies, legislations, projects, and actors' willingness, which could represent a basis for reconciliation. The central question of the thesis therefore is not "Is the education in Kosovo effective in promoting reconciliation?", since it would require a long and deep expertise impossible due to the nature of this thesis, but rather, "How is education in Kosovo? Why? Who are its actors? What are the positive and negative aspects in terms of reconciliation? Which educational theories and practices could convey reconciliation? What are the challenges for the implementation of an education promoting reconciliation?"

Practical constraints of time and length criteria, compelled to limit the subject to primary and secondary education, and to focus only on reconciliation between the two principal actors of the conflict, the Serbs and the Albanians, while a study of the relationships between the other communities would have been as well very interesting. Besides, the same reasons could be invoked to justify the unique focus on the Kosovan education. Since two states are ruling on the same territory, a comprehensive analysis of education and reconciliation between Serbs and

Albanians would require studying both educational systems. However, practical constraints prevented to adopt such a holistic approach. Thus, the interplay between education and reconciliation is analysed in the perspective of the Kosovan Government, which does not imply any political position of its author.

The academic background of the thesis is mostly political sciences with a special emphasis on educational sciences. But as reconciliation is a multidimensional concept, it requires an interdisciplinary perspective, thus, a sociopsychological approach is adopted in some parts as well as an historical one. The sources used are various: official reports, academic literature, press articles, legal and policy-making documents and interviews realised during a field trip. Among the difficulties to find materials, the fact that most of the documents were not in English can be mentioned, which limited the range of local sources that could be consulted. Moreover, as the field trip was limited in time, not every actor could be met. A special difficulty to highlight also is related to the identification of educational projects and of the key persons to meet during the field trip. It required several hours of internet research. Finally, twelve organisations, and eleven projects have been selected, depending on their potential for reconciliation and their accessibility. Twenty-two persons have been interviewed, representing most of the actors involved in the educational sector: officials from international organisations, from the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST), from the Ministry of Culture, Youth, and Sports (MCYS), from NGOs, and pupils and teenagers. The interviews were semi-structured and based on guidelines designed in advance for the purpose of the study.²⁷ They are used either as an additional way of gathering information about the educational system and projects, or as a data themselves so as to analyse the interviewees' discourses.

Theories and datas from the field are intermingled in accordance with the thesis's thematic structure. The projects are not treated in the same way, some are merely mentioned while others are analysed more precisely.²⁸ A particular place is granted to the actors involved in education and to their views, since no social change can happen without them. The thesis is organised in two main parts: the first one studies the current Kosovan educational system, resulting from a decade of education development, in the light of a reconciliation perspective; the second one analyses the educational initiatives, either formal, or nonformal, that are or should be taken, and the challenges that they face, in order to work towards reconciliation.

²⁷ See the list of the interviewees in the bibliography. See the interviews' guidelines in Appendix II.

²⁸ For a summary of the projects studied in this thesis, see Appendix III.

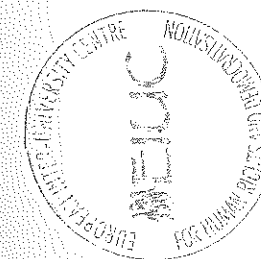
At the very end of the war, the situation in Kosovo was alarming, both in terms of issues linked to infrastructures and administration, and in terms of inter-ethnic relations. Education was not spared. The internationals in charge of the governance of the territory had many tasks and reforms to carry out simultaneously, as well as many challenges to face. The previous decade of educational segregation represented their main challenge. Key sectors such as curricula and textbooks, as well as pedagogy and teachers policy, had to be developed. Reconciliation appeared as an implied objective of this educational reconstruction context. The main aim was to build a quality education system in accordance with the European standards.

The current legal education system indeed corresponds to the criteria of these standards, particularly in terms of minority rights. In practice, the presence of a human rights education, as well as of active nongovernmental actors contribute to this quality education which can be considered as a basis for reconciliation. However, the discrepancy between theory and reality, and the issue of the Serbs integration into the education system, represent the main challenges for reconciliation.

Different key educational practices, such as peace, intercultural and coeducation and the teaching of a history devoid of any prejudices and shared by the two conflicting groups, shall be regarded as key elements in the establishment of an education for reconciliation. However, several factors still hinder their implementation, as revealed by a presentation of NGOs and International Organisations' projects dealing with education, and, by an analysis of the discourses of the actors involved in and aiming to impact on formal education.

As far as nonformal education is concerned, inter-ethnic projects based on recreational activities and targeting at children and teenagers may represent good tools to promote reconciliation. An analysis of the projects implemented in Kosovo and the views of their actors shall allow an overview of such projects potential in educating for reconciliation.

Education and reconciliation are two notions that intersect in Kosovo but many challenges are still hindering their connection and the establishment of an education for reconciliation.



PART I

RECONCILIATION WITHIN A DECADE OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

From 1999 to 2009, the Kosovo educational system has gone through a heavy reconstruction and development phase. The very post-war period, that is until the establishment of a provisional Government in 2002, brought many challenges to deal with, by an international community in search for co-ordination. Key sectors had to be developed. Reconciliation appeared to be an implicit objective, lying behind the scene of the reconstruction battle. Yet, the current educational framework, resulting from this process, do provide a preliminary basis enabling a further and deeper work on reconciliation. However, its implementation and the chief issue of the Serbs integration into the educational system are of major concern.

CHAPTER I: POST-CONFLICT EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION, RECONCILIATION IN THE BACKGROUND

At the end of the NATO bombings, the educational needs were huge. A whole system was to be rebuilt. Many actors started to get involved in this field. The UNMIK, responsible for the Kosovo governance had many challenges to face, among them, how to establish its authority, contested by the locals, and how to deal with the several but non co-ordinated initiatives from the international governmental and non governmental organisations. Reconciliation stood out as an implicit matter of concern between emergency and challenges (Section 1), and appeared between the lines through the development of key educational sectors (Section 2).

Section 1- Post-conflict education: between emergency and challenges

The post-war period brought several challenges that had to be dealt with in parallel and quickly. The issue of the actors responsible was even a challenge in itself. Beyond mere reconstruction, the Kosovan educational system needed a whole reform to reach modern standards (B). The previous decade of educational segregation added more complexity to this process and represented another powerful challenge for reconciliation (A).

A- Challenges from the Kosovo post-conflict situation

Besides classical post-war challenges (1), the previous decade of educational segregation represented a main hindrance both in terms of educational development and reconciliation (2).

1- Post-war challenges

"The challenges that post-conflict reconstruction of education face which are very much the same as those faced by all educational systems struggling with reform, are complicated by an added sense of urgency and the additional debilitating aftereffects of war".²⁹

²⁹ World Bank, *Reshaping the Future, Education and Postconflict Reconstruction*, 2005, p. xvi, at [http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/lib.nsf/db900sid/SODA-6C57V8/\\$file/Reshaping_the_Future.pdf?openement](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/lib.nsf/db900sid/SODA-6C57V8/$file/Reshaping_the_Future.pdf?openement), (consulted on 23 June 2009).

As far as Kosovo is concerned, the refugees' return was the main challenge in the education reconstruction. Indeed, during the three weeks following the war, half a million people came back.³⁰ Thus, the capacities of schools were quickly overloaded. Moreover, educational buildings were severely damaged or even destroyed by the war; 65% required repair or reconstruction. Besides, the distress and traumas, due to the experience of the war and the exodus, asked for a considerable psychological support. The post-war Kosovo therefore raised lots of issues in terms of educational reconstruction. A key one was the quality of education. Indeed, schooling was disturbed since Spring of 1998 and totally interrupted during the bombings. In addition to the inadequate academic level of children after the war, the extreme material poverty of the educational system had also to be taken into account. Apart from this damaged operating educational environment, the destruction of the data on the Albanian system of education (numbers of teachers, schools and facilities for instance) during the conflict brought another challenge for the reconstruction policy.

As in every post-conflict period, the Kosovo situation generated several challenges for the reconstruction of education, as well as significant opportunities to operate positive changes. Reconciliation would be particularly challenged by this troubled situation but could be fostered as well by this very opportunity of educational reform. However, both reconstruction and reform processes would have to take into account the Kosovo specific past of educational segregation.

2- Post-educational segregation challenges

A comprehensive understanding of the reconstruction and reform process in education since the war, cannot be reached without an overview of the educational state of affairs that existed before. Indeed, a glance back at history would underline the fact that the long period of inter-ethnic tensions was both impacting on and nurtured by the educational system.

Indeed, even before the parallel system and the communist period, education was a central matter of argument between Serbs and Albanians. When one group was in power, it tended to enhance its domination through the control of the school accessibility and the imposition of its

³⁰ UN, Rapport soumis au Comité des droits de l'homme par la Mission d'Administration Interiméaire des Nations Unies au Kosovo sur la situation des droits de l'homme au Kosovo depuis le mois de Juin 1999, CCPR/C/UNK/1, 13 mars 2006, [http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/898586b1dc7b4043c1256a450044f331/b37767aaf9a64f90c12571b200489271/\\$FILE/G0640862.pdf](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/898586b1dc7b4043c1256a450044f331/b37767aaf9a64f90c12571b200489271/$FILE/G0640862.pdf), (consulted on 23 June 2009).

language.³¹ However, the communist ethic aimed to put an end to this educational conflict circle preventing any ethnic approach to education. Under the slogan "Brotherhood and Unity", education was ensured both for Serbs and Albanians in their native language. Moreover, bilingualism was promoted through the provision of classes in the other's group languages. Nevertheless, the issue of national identity quickly dominated the educational area. The 1980's Albanian students protests for the independence of the province were followed by a reform of the Albanian-language curricula aiming at increasing nationalistic values. Serbs associated therefore the Albanian education with secessionism and irredentism. They adopted several educational measures to counteract it: Albanian textbooks were purged of their nationalistic contents, writers banned, students expelled and educators fired.

The early 1990's fostered the gap between the two ethnic groups. The province autonomy was abolished by Serbia and Albanians were fired from the influential public institutions. Education was not spared: all the legislation on education, science and culture was removed. Teachers were dismissed, Albanian-language classes, closed by force, as well as Albanian publishing houses. In contrast, Kosovo education was "serbianised" with Serb-oriented curricula and textbooks. This assimilation policy was strongly rejected by Albanians which resisted pacifically organising their own parallel system of education.

This led to a segregated education, to "walls of division" which would constitute "the grounds for a flourishing of prejudices [...] charged with animosity and inviting revenge", estimates Kostovicova.³² As primary education was compulsory, primary school pupils were allowed to use educational buildings but in a system of ethnic shifts. However, secondary school students were not allowed to enter them. Thus, an intricate system of solidarity in the Albanian community was activated: private houses were used as schools and a rudimentary tax system was created to finance it. Teachers got only symbolic salaries but their involvement was considered as a "patriotic sacrifice". Every Albanian was contributing in his way to the nation construction process. Indeed, as highlighted by Kostovicova, "by demonstrating their ability to run the independent education system, they showed also an ability to run their own independent state.[...] The parallel education system emerged as a focus of resistance to Serbian rule".³³ Therefore, Serbs lost control over the Albanian educational contents. Albanians children learnt a history and a geography different in many points from the one taught to Serbian children,

³¹ Kostovicova, 2001, pp. 11-19.

³² Idem, p.14.

³³ Idem, p.15.

focusing on an independent Kosovo. Parallel schools were indeed a means to preserve the Albanian culture and language but also to raise strong political beliefs in children's minds. Education and politics were thus highly connected. As stated by Kostovicova, "the Serbian-Albanian battle over education was a battle for Kosovo in miniature".³⁴

The parallel system lasted approximately until the NATO bombings. At that time, education was clearly used as a weapon towards the other ethnic group. In denying its access to Albanians, the Serbs considered that the other ethnic group's economic and social development, and thus, the other group's power, would be strongly hindered. However, even if forced into a survival mode, the Albanians managed to provide education for their pupils, using it as a means to build a parallel citizenship against the Serbs.

This politicisation of education was a considerable factor in the bursting of the armed struggle in the latest 1990's and would impact on the educational reconstruction process in the post-war context. Promoting ethnic tolerance and reconciliation after such a segregation and conflicting educational history would be far from easy.

Therefore, besides classical post-conflict challenges, the social history of conflict in Kosovo and particularly the post-educational segregation represented an important point to be considered and addressed by the education policies of reconstruction and development, in order to foster a quality education promoting diversity and tolerance, which is a basis for reconciliation. However, reconciliation was not among the explicit priorities of the post-conflict policies and actors.

B – Education objectives and actors: emergency times

In addition to mere reconstruction, the whole educational system was to be reformed. A combination of short-term and long-term objectives represented supplementary challenges to the Kosovo post-conflict situation (1) and raised the question of the actors in charge of it (2).

1- A system to rebuild and to reform

Just after the bombings, priorities were directed towards the physical reconstruction and repair of the educational buildings and towards the quick return of pupils to schools, which turned out to

³⁴ Kostovicova, quoted in Bjelica, Jelena, 2006. , at http://balkans.courriers.info/IMG/article_PDF/article_6284.pdf.

be a success. Indeed, within three month after the stopping of the bombings, 80% of school-aged children from primary and secondary schools were back in school.³⁵

In the context of post-educational segregation explained above, an even deeper and societal objective was the rebuilding of human relations. Education should not be conceived anymore as a tool for conflicts. Textbooks and curricula needed to be purged from their conflicting symbolic aspects and the right of minority education to be implemented. Implicitly, the education potential for reconciliation was alluded to, through these objectives, in this very post-war context.

Another complex and long-term objective was the necessity of reforming the whole system. The aim was to create the conditions for a quality education on equal footing with the European educational standards. As a first structural reform, a new model of education in which the entrance age to school was lowered, was decided.³⁶

However, the adoption and implementation of educational reforms was seriously challenged by the post-war conditions. Several urgent needs led to some "chicken and eggs" concerns since issues were interrelated and actions on all fronts were required: schooling could not be separated from the curricula and textbooks issue, and from teacher development, for instance. Moreover, as in any post-conflict context, as shown above, Kosovo lacked human and material resources and even a legislative educational framework of action. Besides, this process had to take place in parallel with the establishment of a civil authority and administration.

The main document for the development of education policies was the "Education Policy Statement", adopted by UNMIK, in 2001, in order to provide guidelines for action. It highlighted the need for educational reforms and presented the fostering of a quality and depoliticised education, namely an education purged from nationalistic elements conveying particular political ideologies, as the two main aim of the education development in Kosovo.³⁷ These two objectives can be analysed as essential elements for reconciliation as it will be argued in the following parts of the thesis.

(consulted on 23 June 2009).

³⁵ Sommers & Buckland, 2004, p. 142.

³⁶ Pupovci, Dukagjin & Hyseni, Halim, 'Policy on Education for Democratic Citizenship and the Management of Diversity in Southeast Europe', Stockating Research project, Country Report : Kosovo, 2002, p.5, at http://www.sec-educoop.net/education_in/pdf/edu_pol_demo_cit-yug-kos-enl-t05.pdf (consulted on 23 June 2009).

³⁷ Daxner, Michael, "Education Policy Statement 2001", unpublished policy paper, UNMIK. Pristina, 2001, in Christian Duhamel, Rapport de mission au Kosovo auprès du Département de l'Education et de la Science de la MINUK en mai, juin et juillet 2001, 2001, at http://www.sec-educoop.net/education_in/pdf/synopsis_of_the_report_mission_in_kosovo-kos-frn-t05.pdf (consulted on 23 June 2009).

To put it in a nutshell, the phase of emergency which covers the period from the end of the war until the appointment of a provisional Government (2002), had to deal both with the reactivation of the educational system and the preparation of fundamental reforms through the adoption of general laws and documents like the law on primary and secondary education.³⁸ Reconciliation was alluded to through the explicit necessity of de-politicisation of the educational system and of fostering a quality education system promoting diversity and tolerance, but not directly mentioned as such. However, a comprehensive picture of the post-conflict education reconstruction cannot be portrayed without focusing on the nature and the role of the actors involved in this process.

2 -Actors to co-ordinate and to conciliate

The actors of the education reconstruction and reforms are key elements to consider, since the well sequencing of this process depends on their power balance, coordination and interrelations.

In June 1999, the vacuum of authority was suddenly filled by the arrival of the international community, namely intergovernmental organisations and international NGOs. According to the 1244 UN resolution, UNMIK was in charge of the administrative governance of the country, and by extent, of education, through its Department of Education and Sciences (DoES). However, its authority was contested by the two former educational systems' leaders. The Serbs, feeling that Kosovo belongs to Serbia, claimed that Serbia must rule on its territory, whereas the Albanians saw internationals as occupiers challenging their fight for independence. These feelings were reinforced by the heavy top-down approach of UNMIK. Ideas of change and reforms were defined by internationals. Both former educational systems were rejected. Thus Serbian and Albanian officials were marginalised from the reconstruction and reform process during the post-war period. Likewise, local educators were mostly not invited to participate in these processes. This approach would have consequences with respect to the acceptance and implementation of the policies adopted, particularly with respect to "sensitive" policies similar to the ones promoting minority rights, representing as such, a basis for reconciliation.³⁹

³⁸ Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, UNMIK, Law N° 2002/2 on Primary and Secondary Education, 2002.

³⁹ Interview with Miranda Kasneci, Director of the Department for Pre-University Education Development, MEST, Pristina, 14 April 2009.

Besides, the post-conflict period raised the issue of local educational actors' inter-ethnic relations. Making Serbs and Albanians worked together was a main challenge. The feelings of a Ministry of Education official on this topic are revealing: "It was very hard for us after 1999 to overcome the war, to arrange ourselves, to overcome the stress of war and all the things going through. It was a hard time. In the beginning, it was very hard to talk to somebody, to be able to sit maybe with one Serb or one Roma at the same table. The two or three first years, it was very hard. The internationals put us to discuss".⁴⁰ This quotation underlines the role of internationals in trying to make both communities work on education, keeping in mind that one of the goals for the education post-conflict development was to facilitate an inclusive system promoting diversity and tolerance, and thus, reconciliation.

The concrete strategies adopted to co-ordinate the international organisations acting in the field of education have to be considered as well. An approach relying upon Lead Agencies was adopted: three international organisations were in charge of specific area and responsible for delivering services and building capacities, as represented by the following table:⁴¹

LEAD AGENCY	AREA
United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)	Curriculum development Pre-school education
Kosovo Educator Development Programme (KEDP) <i>financed by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)</i>	Teacher training
German Technical Cooperation (GTZ)	Vocational Education
Finnish Support to the Development of Education in Kosovo	Special Education

The agencies were considered a support to the UNMIK Department of Education action. The aim of this strategy was to encourage the co-ordination of all the various actors working within the three different areas. It was recognised as successful. However, this approach was questioned in terms of inter-agency co-ordination.⁴²

The international community was therefore the key actor in the post-war period. However, the locals were officially associated with the UNMIK administration, with the existence of a co-head system: each sector was headed both by an international and by a local. In 2002, the Kosovan

⁴⁰ Idem.

⁴¹ Sommers & Buckland, 2004, p. 145-146.

⁴² Idem, p. 98.

Ministry of Education was created and assumed the responsibilities in this area. However, UNMIK remained strongly influential for the new leaders.

From a reconciliation point of view, this influence could be welcomed since positive changes were pushed by the internationals, particularly in the development of key educational sectors, which will be presented in the following section. However, as in any strategy aiming at social change, a neglect of the actors directly concerned in its design, can challenge its implementation, particularly regarding policies dealing with sensitive issues, such as diversity and minority rights promotion.

Reconciliation was not recognised as the primary focus of the post-conflict period policies and actors since many other issues were regarded as superior. These emergency objectives contrasted with the long-term nature of reconciliation. Nevertheless, reconciliation appeared through the development of key educational sectors, beyond the *de facto* recognition of the importance of the de-politicisation of education and the establishment of a modern education, which are essential steps in fostering reconciliation.

Section 2- Key sectors to develop: preconditions for reconciliation

Both objectives of education reconstruction and development implied a focus on key educational sectors, linked to the educational content and the transmission of this very content, namely curricula and textbooks (A), and, teachers and pedagogy (B). Their development was symbolic of the Kosovo post-conflict challenges and led to the establishment of a basis for reconciliation, even if the latter was not mentioned as such.

A- Curricula and textbooks for a new society

Curricula and textbooks can positively influence the reconciliation process (1). Their development in Kosovo started in a double situation of post-war and post-educational segregation, and as such reflects its associated challenges. The politicisation of the educational contents, that is the inclusion of nationalistic elements conveying particular political ideologies, was the main one. Yet, the reform of this sector focused on a de-politicisation process and on the

establishment of a quality educational system which would represent a basis for reconciliation (2).

1- Curricula, textbooks and reconciliation

Curricula and textbooks are at the heart of the educational system and represent educational issues that often generate the highest level of concern in post-conflicts context.⁴³ Indeed, they are powerful vehicles of 'societal beliefs'. Their content goes much more beyond mere facts and knowledge. They enable skills and attitudes to be developed in relation with explicit and officially recognised pedagogical objectives but also with implicit objectives often not clearly mentioned and realised, even by their own developers. Through the various curriculum areas, such as history, language, geography, culture, art or music, values and views on society and particular lenses through which understanding the surrounding world, are transmitted. They are both the society's mirror and the society's driving force. Curricula and textbooks are thus not only knowledge transmitters but convey as well explicit and more often implicit political messages. They may contribute to the formation of national identity and as such are deeply embedded in political interests.

In post-conflict context, the 'societal beliefs' tend to be connected under the banner of a 'conflictive ethos' as shown by Bar-Tal, promoting biased images about the other and one's own group. Thus, curricula and textbooks would reflect this ethos, hindering reconciliation.⁴⁴ Therefore, the role of textbooks and curricula development for the fostering of a new ethos of peace is fundamental in post-conflict situations.

2- Curricula and textbooks development in Kosovo

The Kosovan post-war period called for a quick change in the textbooks, since the one used during the parallel system fostered the gap between Albanians and Serbs and conveyed strong political identities. The 1999 back-to-school campaign required the provision of textbooks as soon as possible. Consequently, UNMIK set up an emergency textbooks programme: a panel of educators was tasked with scrutinising the existing textbooks in order to remove their offensive content prior to their massive printing and distribution. 130 titles were reviewed and distributed

⁴³ World Bank, 2005, *ibidem*, p.52.

⁴⁴ Bar-Tal, 1998, pp. 723-742.

for the start of the 1999 school year. However, if this emergency policy was efficient in the reestablishment of the schooling system, it was not holistic since it concerned mainly the Albanian teaching material and did not include the other ethnic communities' learning supports. The latter were provided with textbooks coming directly from their respective origin countries, at least in the years after the bombings.

This first phase of de-politicisation of the textbooks, was followed by a deeper development taking place in parallel with curricula development and materialised with the adoption, in 2006, of a law on publication of school textbooks and education materials, which forbids incitement of human rights violations and of "political, national and religious hatred".⁴⁵

Therefore, the textbooks post-conflict development had positive consequences in terms of reconciliation since the elements vehicle of the 'conflictive ethos' were erased before the start of the 1999-2000 academic year. However, this emergency process left aside non Albanians ethnic communities whose textbooks came from their respective countries. An edition of the school materials in all communities' languages was yet essential and recognised as such through the adoption of the 2006 law.

As far as the curricula are concerned, the particular history of inter-ethnic conflict on and through education in Kosovo required a very careful approach from the curricula developers. Indeed, both ethnic groups would keep pushing for the transmission of their nationalistic political views to the pupils.

However, the very post-war priority being reconstruction and children return to schools, the question of curricula reform was secondary. The primary issue was: which curricula would be used in order to make the schooling system work again as soon as possible?

Indeed, the Albanian-language previous curricula, from the parallel structures, aimed at building an independent country, mostly Albanian, and thus fostered inter-ethnic tensions contrary to the promotion of unity and diversity supported by the internationals. The first action of UNMIK then consisted in bringing together educational specialists in order to identify critical sources of conflict in the previous system. A rapid de-politicisation of the previous biased curricula was thus carried out to cope with the emergency imperatives. During the years following the conflict, curricula from the past system were thus used after the purge of their nationalistic elements.

The development of curricula complying with European standards, and thus, guaranteeing a quality education and promoting a 'peace ethos', would be done over a longer period of time. Indeed, as expressed in a World Bank report: "Curriculum reform is a major national undertaking requiring strong and clear political leadership, extensive consultations, considerable technical expertise, and comprehensive training programmes for teachers. It cannot be rushed".⁴⁶ This view fits perfectly with the approach chosen by UNICEF, the Lead Agency in charge of curriculum development, which was guided by three principles in this mission: ownership of Kosovars, consensus and capacity-building.⁴⁷ Contrary to the general UNMIK top-down approach, the curriculum development was done in cooperation with locals, either educational specialists, or practitioners. Large consultations with stakeholders were organised following a strategy that was thus both bottom-up and top-down.

Curricula development was foreseen to take place in two stages: first, the production of a curriculum framework, and then, the redesigning of each subject curricula, based on the framework. Designing general guidelines before dealing with each subject curricula was considered as essential in order to ensure the latter's coherence in terms of pedagogical objectives, methodology and content. A curriculum framework indeed "stipulates the parameters that should be considered when setting curriculum goals and contents, when choosing learning methods and materials and for assessment of the attainment of education standards".⁴⁸

As such, in addition to updated knowledge, values, attitudes and skills linked to the promotion of a democratic and pluralistic society, and by extent of reconciliation, are referred to in the Kosovo New Curriculum Framework (NCF).⁴⁹ Human dignity, peaceful co-operation with others, respect for human rights and tolerance of diversity are example of such values clearly mentioned in the Framework. Key competencies like critical thinking, empathetic abilities or problem-solving techniques are equally emphasised. A particular attention is dedicated to the respect of the identity and needs of different cultural groups. The curricula guidelines foresees the implementation of such values, through the establishment of a particular subject curriculum, Civic Education, but recommends as well, their promotion through a cross-curricular approach and through the establishment of a child respectful and peaceful learning environment. Thus, with

⁴⁵ MEST, Law No. 02/L-67 on publishing school textbooks, educational teaching resources, reading materials and pedagogical documentation, 29 June 2006.

⁴⁶ World Bank, 2005, *ibidem*, p.xviii.

⁴⁷ Pupovci & Hyseni, 2002, *ibidem*, p. 5.

⁴⁸ The New Kosovo Curriculum Framework, Pristina, 2001, p.12, at <http://www.masht.gov.net/advCms/documents/New%20Kosova%20Curriculum%20Framework.pdf>, (consulted on 23 June 2009).

the promotion of multi-ethnic and human rights values, skills and attitudes, the Curriculum Framework developers provided for the creation of a 'peace ethos' within schools and for the establishment of an education encouraging reconciliation.

The Kosovo Curriculum Framework was largely approved in 2002, after two months of public consultation. In terms of methodology, the participation of the local stakeholders in its designing was certainly a decisive factor in the positive attitudes with which they welcomed curricula and pedagogical changes. However, it was not officially endorsed by the Kosovan Ministry of Education at that time. Indeed, with respect to the development of specific subject curricula, the Government distanced itself from the UNICEF approach. It considered that the methodology based on extensive consultation and consensus was too long and too complex. Rather, they chose to work with a small team of specialists to draw each specific curricula in a few weeks. Their methodology was used for all the other curriculum.⁵⁰ Therefore, in 2007, all the curricula were reviewed, the post-conflict curricula development process was over.

The internationals' strategy for the post-conflict curricula development can be analysed as really successful with respect to the involvement of local actors and to the quality document produced. Indeed, besides drawing the main lines for the fostering of a quality education, the New Curriculum Framework emphasises key values linked to reconciliation. However, conflicting views between actors resulted in the fact that it was not used as foreseen by its designers. Yet, even if an analysis of the Kosovo curricula contents is lacking, the introduction of a Civic Education focusing on human rights in primary and secondary schools, and promoting values in accordance with the Framework, can reveal that the latter inspired, to a certain extent, the subject curricula development. Besides the importance of the educational content, the role of the transmission of this content, and thus, of the teachers and their methodology, have to be considered.

B- Pedagogy and teacher training for a new education

The previous decade of parallel system in which teachers were isolated from educational evolution called for huge changes which were influenced by the difficulties of the very post-

⁴⁹ Idem.

conflict Kosovo. Yet, their role was essential in promoting a quality education (2) based on a modern pedagogy (1), representing as such a basis for reconciliation.

1- Pedagogy modernisation: critical thinking to question 'societal beliefs'

Pedagogy is an essential part of education and cannot be separated from the curricula, textbook and teachers development. Indeed, it represents the link between them. It is the way by which the transmitter will convey knowledge, skills and attitudes. Pedagogy is an educational science and as such, evolves with the progress of scientific knowledge. However, due to the decade of isolation most of the Kosovan teachers were excluded from this process. The conception of teaching was traditional and authoritarian, and rather far from modern pedagogical approaches focusing on interactive and learner-centred strategies.⁵¹

These new approaches have been theorised by many authors, among them, Freire.⁵² His perception of the role of the pupils and teachers challenges the classical authoritarian model. Indeed, the student would not appear as an empty box waiting to be filled. Rather, he should be active and participate in the learning process. He should, as well, be critical towards the knowledge taught. In parallel, the teacher should not be considered as a powerful and indisputable master, but rather as a life-long learner, able to question his own knowledge. Moreover, he should encourage the pupils critical skills through the use of a participatory and experience-centred methodology.

These new pedagogical approaches are highly connected with reconciliation. Indeed, facilitating independent and critical thinking enables pupils to question the world surrounding them and by extent, the 'societal beliefs' preventing reconciliation, even if, obviously other factors, linked to the whole society and politics plays a central role in the 'conflictive ethos' maintenance. Modern pedagogies are a way to empower children and teenagers to reason independently and as such, represent a basis for the development of an education encouraging reconciliation.

⁵⁰ Peffers, Reid, Stylianidou, Walsh, Young, Institute of Education, University of London, The National Curriculum in Kosovo - A review of its first steps, July 2005, p.7, at <http://www.masht.gov.net/advCms/documents/KosovaReport-Final%20IEL.pdf>, (consulted on 23 June 2009).

⁵¹ Among others: Pupovci, Dukagjin, Teacher Education System in Kosovo, 2005, at http://www.see-educoop.net/education_in/pdf/teacher_education_in_kos-enl-t05.pdf, (consulted on 23 June 2009).

⁵² Freire, 2007.

The New Kosovo Curriculum Framework stresses the importance of the adoption of modern pedagogical approaches, in accordance with the evolution that took place in all the rest of Europe⁵³. Pedagogy modernisation was thus promoted in the New Curriculum Framework and through teacher trainings, which, focus, since the end of the war, on the implementation of these new methodologies.

2- Teacher qualification for a quality education

Teachers are the concrete and human interface between written objectives and real pupils. Their role and their need of pre and in-service training, is particularly important in post-conflict circumstances as recognised by the Kosovo "Education Policy Statement", which stated that teachers would "play the central role and be the core of the reforms".⁵⁴ Indeed, they would have to implement the new curricula and to personalise themselves in a new pedagogy, in accordance with the guidelines set in the Curriculum Framework. They would be the guarantors of a friendly learning environment, promoting openness, tolerance and critical-thinking in children's minds.

As a model for the pupils, teachers may be powerful vehicles in promoting values with a positive impact on reconciliation. However, they are not neutral machines without any cultural attachments and political ideas. Taking into account the gathering power of ethnicity in Kosovo, the strength of the national myths and the barbarity of the war crimes, it would be hard to conceive them as impervious to the influences of the 'conflictive ethos'. Thus, non-discriminatory and positive attitudes towards the former enemy ethnic group in order to comply with the pluralistic approach of the Kosovo Curriculum Framework required teacher trainings; in particular, in the context of the introduction of a new subjects such as Civic Education, focusing on human rights and democratic citizenship. Besides, teacher training was urgently needed considering the previous decade of isolation in which teachers had been through. They had to thus to be reconnected to the international evolutions in education.

The task for UNMIK at the end of 1999 was huge in terms of teacher development policy. Indeed, qualified teachers had to be fostered through pre and in-service training, and through the ousting of low-qualified educators from the previous system.

One of the first matters of concern was: how to deal with the numerous teachers from the previous decades? Whom to incorporate in the educational system? Indeed, the massive

⁵³ The New Kosovo Curriculum Framework, *ibidem*.

movement of emigration during the previous decade led to an educational system in which the pupil-to-teacher ratio was very low, and the teachers quality, not always ensured. UNMIK had thus to find ways to select the competent ones. Around two thousands "ghost teachers" were excluded, but this was not easily accepted due to the high reputation they had acquired for their "patriotic sacrifice" during the parallel system.

Another huge question in the very post-conflict period was related to the co-ordination of the actors involved in teacher trainings. Indeed, teacher trainings workshops represented the main activities of NGOs during the return-to-school phase. They were not necessarily targeted to the greatest needs, either in terms of content or geographic distribution, and were provided on an *ad hoc* basis without being part of any coherent strategy of assessment of training needs. UNMIK did not have the capacity to control all these initiatives. Thus, within the Lead Agency strategy, "the Kosovo Educator Development Programme" (KEDP), sponsored by CIDA, was created in 2001 and assigned the task to manage teachers development. A framework for in-service training was established, within which donors were supposed to operate. Pre-service training was not forgotten, and to remedy the lack of unification between the different providers, one new institution, the Faculty of Education, was created. KEDP also supported the Ministry of Education in developing its teacher policy, especially through the creation of the "Teacher Training Review Board", an advisory body to MEST, in charge to develop Standards of Professional Practices for Teachers.⁵⁵ The content of the trainings mostly focused on new subject areas such as Human Rights Education (HRE) and new pedagogies.

Thus, teacher development faced challenges linked to the post-conflict period. Strategies were adopted to cope with them, and particularly to develop pre and in-service trainings fostering qualified teachers familiarised with a modern pedagogy, and then, able to awaken critical thinking in pupils' minds, which is a precondition for any reconciliation process.

The development of these four key sectors, key sectors both in terms of education and reconciliation, is symbolic of the challenges brought by the post-war context: who will co-ordinate the plethora of actors? How to make the schooling system functioning as soon as possible? How to make the whole educational system functioning as soon as possible? To

⁵⁴ Daxner, Michael, "Education Policy Statement 2001", quoted in Pupovci & Hyseni, *ibidem*, p.7.

⁵⁵ MEST, Teacher Training Review Board, Standards of Professional Practice for Teachers, public consultation, 2002, at http://www.see-educoop.net/education_in/pdf/standards-of-propractice2-yug-kos-enl-t03.pdf, (consulted on 23 June 2009).

summarise it: how to deal both with emergency and development? Reconciliation appeared in the background of these questions. The need for the creation of a peaceful country with positive inter-ethnic relations was recognised, and can be noticed through the curricula and textbooks strategies, but had to cope with other urgent issues. The promotion of modern pedagogy in teacher practices can be analysed as a precondition for reconciliation, since it can lead pupils to question the surrounding 'conflictive ethos'. An analysis of the current educational system and its implication on reconciliation will be provided in the following chapter with a particular emphasis on the Serbs integration issue.

CHAPTER TWO – RECONCILIATION POTENTIAL OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The emergency and development phases led to the establishment of a quality educational system according to its legal and policy framework. Its structure and objectives are aligned with the European standards particularly with regards to the inclusion of diversity and human rights, and, as such, provide a rich ground for reconciliation (Section 1). However, behind written documents, the situation on the ground is different and rather problematical. Beyond the issue of the implementation of the official texts, the exclusion of Serbs from the Kosovan educational system remains the main challenge for reconciliation (Section 2).

Section 1- A quality educational system as a basis for reconciliation

The current Kosovan educational framework provides the country with the potential for a quality education following the educational evolution that took place in Europe. Quality can be understood in terms of updated knowledge enabling students to fit into the European labour market. However, with respect to the topic of the thesis, a quality education, will refer to more substantial aspects linked to the promotion of values of inclusiveness, tolerance, diversity and democracy within the whole school system, and to a new pedagogy, as explained in the previous chapter. This conceptualisation of a quality education is closely connected with the reconciliation process. Educational laws and policies in Kosovo follow the European standards in terms of inclusiveness, diversity and human rights promotion (A). Non governmental actors have an essential role in the development of a quality education (B).

A- An educational system in conformity with European standards...

The European standards dealing with education emphasise specific notions, such as inclusiveness and human rights, and promote particularly minority rights.⁵⁶ The Kosovan official

⁵⁶ Council of Europe, European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 1950; Council of Europe, Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 1995; Council of Europe, European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, 1992; OSCE, Hague Recommendations regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities, 1996 ; OSCE, Oslo Recommendations regarding the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities, 1998.

norms are in accordance with these standards (1) and with the principles of Human Rights Education (2).

1- An accessible, inclusive and minority respectful education

The Kosovo educational system, designed during the post-war period, aims to reach the European standards in terms of quality education. The law on education in primary and secondary school, adopted in 2002, constitutes the main framework of the system.

It expressly mentions the elements constitutive of the right to education, as affirmed in several international and European texts.⁵⁷ Indeed, more than the mere negative obligation not to deny the right to education to any child, Kosovo is committed to the positive obligation to provide free primary and secondary education. Moreover, special measures to ensure this right and to create a child friendly schooling for all, are foreseen. For instance, textbooks for pupils in primary education must be provided free of charge. Besides, the law enables the creation of a democratic school system, taking into account parents and pupils' voices through the creation of a "Pupil Council", a "School Board" involving parents representatives and a "Parents' Committee for Education".

The law on primary and secondary education guarantees as well the inclusiveness of all pupils through a non-discriminatory approach. It emphasises particularly the rights of communities in accordance with the Constitution.⁵⁸ The issue of mother tongue education is equally of primary importance and promoted through the Kosovan legal system.⁵⁹ Indeed, it represents one of the most recognised rights of minorities since native language is considered to be the main characteristic of one's cultural identity and recognised as such by many international and European instruments.⁶⁰

Similarly, values of tolerance and promotion of diversity are embedded in the core of education as promoted by international instruments and as expressed in the New Curriculum

⁵⁷ UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989; UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966.

⁵⁸ Art. 4 and 5 of the law on primary and secondary education, *ibidem*.

⁵⁹ Assembly of Kosovo, UNMIK, Law N° 02/L-37 on the use of languages, 27 July 2006; Law on primary and secondary education, *ibidem*.

⁶⁰ OSCE, The Hague Recommendations regarding the education rights of national minorities, 1996; Council of Europe, European Charter for regional or minority language, 1992; Council of Europe, Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 1995.

Framework presented previously.⁶¹ These values are as well promoted in the Ministry of Education organisation and policy especially in the 2007-2017 Strategy for Development of Pre-University Education in Kosovo, the main policy guideline for the action of MEST.⁶² Equity and respect for diversity are one of the seven key strategy objectives of the current period. As far as educational institutions are concerned, the presence of a special office within the Ministry of Education in charge of inter-community relations, and of another one dealing with human rights, indicates the governmental interest in establishing an inclusive and human rights respectful education.

As a conclusion, we can agree with the statement of a OSCE report considering that "the education [...] legislation meets international standards and guarantees the protection of the interests of non-Albanian communities".⁶³ The Kosovan legal and policy framework has evolved to align itself with the European standards, promoting a quality education. The accessibility for every pupils and the inclusion of respect for diversity and of values such as tolerance and non discrimination in the overall educational system represent an important basis for reconciliation, particularly the emphasis on human rights.

2- A Human Rights Education

The current Kosovan educational system promotes values conducive for peace particularly through the teaching of human rights in Civic Education. However, Human Rights Education can go further than the mere teaching of one academic subject. A comprehensive understanding of the concept will emphasise its three dimensions: education for human rights, human rights in education and human rights through education.⁶⁴ To which extent does the Kosovo education reflect a holistic approach to human rights?

Education for human rights refers to the principles and objectives of such an education. It aims at contributing to the creation of a free and peaceful society with the least amount of human rights violations possible. Thus, the education should provide particular skills (e.g. listening to the other, co-operating, communicating, thinking critically), knowledge (of the international and

⁶¹ See article 4.1 of the law on primary and secondary education, *ibidem*.

⁶² Strategy for development of pre-university education in Kosovo 2007-2017, MEST, Pristina, 2007.

⁶³ OSCE, Background Report, Human Rights, Ethnic Relations and Democracy in Kosovo (Summer 2007 – Summer 2008), p.11, at http://www.osce.org/documents/mik/2008/09/32879_en.pdf (consulted on 24 June 2009).

⁶⁴ UN, General Assembly, Plan of Action for the first phase of the World Programme for Human Rights Education, A/59/525/Rev.1, March 2005, p.7.

regional documents, the rights and their violations), values, beliefs and attitudes (recognition of human dignity, responsibility, tolerance, among others). The Kosovo system recognises in its legal and political frameworks, the importance an education fostering such skills, knowledge and attitudes in the children's minds, as shown above.

Human rights in education relates to the integration of human rights within the overall educational system: at the policy and institutional level, at the legal level, and at the school level. With respect to the latter, examples of good practices in Human Rights Education highlight the importance of a human rights based approach to school governance consisting of an inclusion policy without discriminations and of the involvement of parents in education, for instance.⁶⁵ Human rights within this conception should be part of the daily life of school, allowing the participation of all the educational actors. This approach is promoted in the New Kosovo Curriculum Framework. In practice, the establishment of a "School Board" in which parents are represented, and of a "Pupil Council" through which children can raise their voice and criticise the school system can be analysed as elements of a human rights based school. Besides, the presence of a human rights office within the Ministry of Education, in charge, among others tasks, to design a human rights strategy for pre-university education, indicates a willingness to integrate human rights at the institutional level.

The concept of "human rights through education" has a double meaning: it refers both to the content and to the processes of learning.

Teaching materials should respect the diversity of all learners including a multiple perspective on key events. The right of minorities to be educated in their mother tongue would also be an essential element in creating a human rights learning environment. In a more general way, teaching, learning practices and tools should put cognitive knowledge on equal footing with skills, values and attitudes. Indeed, a human rights approach implies a new way of conceiving the link between pupil and teacher. The first is not an empty vessel waiting passively to be filled by an all powerful knowledgeable professor. On the contrary, according to the theory of Freire explained previously, both should learn from each other; children should be encouraged to participate actively and to interact, in order to be able to think critically. Thus, human rights are also embedded in pedagogy, a learner-centred and dialectic pedagogy. An implied objective is the transformative power of the pupils: instead of reproducing the society in which they live, they

⁶⁵ Council of Europe, UNESCO, OSCE/ODHIR, OHCHR, Examples of areas of good practices - human rights education, citizenship education and education for mutual respect and understanding, at http://www.hrea.org/index.php?base_id=175, (consulted on 24 June 2009).

should be empowered to realise social change, conducive for human rights. This new methodology corresponds exactly to the one promoted by the New Curriculum Framework, as shown in the previous chapter.

In terms of content, human rights can be included either as a separate subject on its own, or through a cross-curricular approach. Both options are promoted in the New Curriculum Framework. Yet, without any substantial analysis of the curricula, it is difficult to assess the implementation of a cross-curricular approach. Rather, the presence of human rights in the Kosovan educational contents can be noticed through the presence of a specific subject, Civic Education, in primary and secondary school which emphasises human rights. Democracy, participation, respect for diversity, fight against intolerance and pupils' empowerment are some of the concepts taught within this particular subject.

To put it in a nutshell, the Kosovo educational system has adopted a holistic human rights strategy respecting its three dimensions.⁶⁶ The connection between Human Rights Education and reconciliation, while obvious, can be clarified in a few words: knowledge on key concepts such as human dignity and non-discrimination, and attitudes and skills enabling to promote them, can reduce the 'conflictive ethos' and enable to replace it by a 'peace ethos'. Therefore, a human rights based education is a solid basis for reconciliation.

The Kosovo educational framework encourages a quality education, diversity and human rights respectful. However, putting into practice these objectives calls not only for formal educational actors, namely actors working in the public education administration, but also for external actors, from international organisations or NGOs.

B – An educational system promoted by non-governmental actors

The quality education system claimed in the Kosovan legal and policy-making documents is considerably relayed in practice, as it was since 1999, by organisations outside the Ministry of Education. Indeed, many international organisations are present in the region and work in the educational field, as well as NGOs, either international, or local. Among them, a brief study of the projects of UNICEF (1) and Kosovo Education Centre (2), an international and a local

⁶⁶ See Appendix IV, for a table on Human Rights Education in Kosovo.

organisation, on the basis of interviews with their representative, can illustrate the contribution of the non governmental sector to the establishment of a quality educational system.⁶⁷

1- The role of international organisations through the case of UNICEF Kosovo⁶⁸

UNICEF had a strong role in the reconstruction and development of the post-conflict education, managing in the very post-war context the rebuilding of infrastructures and later on, being the Lead Agency for curricula development. Thus, by its previous considerable involvement in education, the organisation remains very influential in this field.

Its "Child Friendly School" programme can be analysed as a contribution to the quality of education. It is presented as "a key approach to simultaneously improving access, quality and attainment" of education.⁶⁹ It started in 2000 with 30 pilot schools. The project convey a new, modern approach of the school: in terms of pedagogy, modern teaching and child participation are emphasised; in terms of relation with the surrounding environment, it promotes the involvement of parents and communities in the School Board; in terms of accessibility, these schools are conceived to be all children-including; and, in terms of values, the stress is put on tolerance and peace building through conflict and trauma-management. UNICEF is also involved in teacher training, capacity-building being the *sine qua non* condition for the development of this programme. The "Child Friendly School" could thus be analysed as the best way of putting in practice the quality education promoted in the official texts.

This programme is therefore a means to support the Ministry of Education in its mission. However, beyond mere support, the international organisation aims "to influence the policy-making", according to one of its officials. Its objective is that the Ministry will make every school "Child Friendly". By now, the number of schools having adopted this approach is more than one hundred. Thus, international organisations such as UNICEF can have a key role in fostering a quality education.

⁶⁷ For a summary of the projects, see Appendix II.

⁶⁸ This part is based on an interview with Aferdita Spahiu, Head of Education Section, UNICEF Kosovo, Pristina, 15 April 2009. All the following quotations not referenced to are from this interview.

⁶⁹ UNICEF Kosovo website, at http://www.unicef.org/kosovo/development_3480.html, (consulted on 24 June 2009).

2- The role of local NGOs through the case of Kosovo Education Centre⁷⁰

Kosovo Education Centre (KEC) is a local NGO, created in 2000, very influential in the educational field and recognised as a main partner of the Ministry of Education. It drives several projects contributing to the development of a quality education, and centres particularly on human rights.

It focuses as much on the educational system, as on content and pedagogy. For instance, the project "Governance and Leadership in education" aimed at building capacities for the education officials while the "Education Participation Improvement Project" focused on the accessibility of primary and secondary school for every children, especially those belonging to vulnerable groups. As far as pedagogy is concerned, programmes like "Step by Step" and "Reading and Writing for Critical Thinking" are working towards the implementation of modern methodologies. KEC tries to help the process of transition between the old traditional educational system and the new modern one, particularly through pedagogy modernisation. Besides pedagogy, the NGO is committed to enhance values leading to a peace and democracy, through child and Human Rights Education particularly. The NGO focuses mostly on teacher training.

KEC's projects support the MEST and aim to influence it in developing a quality Kosovan education. However, this potential support and influence from a local association on a governmental institution cannot be extended to each NGO. Indeed, KEC has acquired a special legitimacy since many of its projects are done in cooperation with well-known international organisations and since it is a prominent in-service training provider. Besides, its legitimacy is reinforced by its sustainability. Indeed, many NGOs are dependent from donors' agendas and see their projects flying away as the donors change their mind. KEC on the contrary, in addition to external finance found its own way to ensure its sustainability.⁷¹ KEC is thus not representative of every local NGO working in the educational field. Its credibility enabled it to become a main partner of the Ministry and to support and to influence it in the development of a quality education in Kosovo.

Beyond fostering a quality educational system, international and non governmental organisations, such as UNICEF and KEC, work for reconciliation. Indeed, a quality education,

⁷⁰ This part is based on an interview with Veton Sylhasi, Kosovo Education Centre project officer, "Kosovar Association for Human and Children's Rights" Director, Pristina, 16 April 2009. All the following quotations not referenced to are from this interview.

⁷¹ KEC owns a private school in Pristina, whose benefits are redirected to the NGO.

through a modernised pedagogy, promoting human rights and citizenship values, is a solid preliminary basis for reconciliation. The projects of these organisations participate in a process of indirect reconciliation, in the sense that even if they do not expressly work towards reconciliation, the values and skills promoted (critical thinking and human rights) are factors enabling to challenge the "conflictive ethos" and to replace it by a "peace ethos".

The current educational system, as expressed in legal and political texts, and as supported by international and locals actors, represents thus a potential basis for reconciliation. However, powerful obstacles still challenge this potential.

Section 2- A challenging educational system for reconciliation

According to legal and policy-making documents, the education should be in accordance to European standards, and thus should provide children with skills, values and beliefs enabling them to be active and peaceful citizens. The Kosovan educational system is therefore supposed to be a basis for the reconciliation process. However, behind this positive portrait lies a reality which questions the very reconciliation potential of the Kosovo education, particularly with respect to the implementation of the educational legal and policy framework (A), and to the Serbs integration into the Kosovan educational system (B).

A- The implementation question

Contrary to the legal and political Kosovan framework following European standards, reality of education on the ground revealed to be different, and thus challenging for reconciliation (1), although supplied by the work of NGOs (2).

1- Discrepancy between rhetoric and reality

As shown above, official texts and policies insist on the establishment of a quality learning environment and educational content, transmitted through a modern pedagogy, and vehicle of positive values and skills for reconciliation. However, reality proves to be far away from words written on paper.

As far as learning environment is concerned, infrastructures bring about fundamental concerns: lack of space leads most of the schools to take place in two shifts, and sometimes more, especially in urban areas. In addition, according to the law on primary and secondary education, textbooks should be provided free of charge to every primary schools pupil, but, actually many students have to work without them.⁷² This unreliable supply of textbooks, and more generally, the material deprivation of schools, challenge the quality learning environment promoted in laws and policies. Of particular interest is the situation of communities. Indeed, the Kosovan government is supposed to provide them with a native language education. Yet, this right is not fully respected in practice. There is, for instance, a lack of minority trained teachers. Curricula in communities languages are not available for all educational levels.⁷³ With respect to the Serbs, there are no curricula at all in their language, which is linked to the exclusion of Serbs from the Kosovan education system that will be dealt with in the next part.

Besides learning environment, the teaching methodology also shows a gap between norms and practices. Modern pedagogies promote a child-centred and interactive approach. However, in reality, its application raises issues as described in a UNICEF report: "In both primary and secondary school teachers' understanding of participatory teaching and learning is limited and seems to focus almost exclusively on adapting a teacher-led didactic methodology that asks students many questions or put students into groups. [...] Teachers' understanding of participatory learning pedagogies in all sectors lacks sophistication".⁷⁴ The pedagogy issue refers to teacher training. Indeed, the difficulty noticed in implementing modern learning methodologies questions the very quality and efficiency of the pre and in-service trainings.

Moreover, the curricula and textbooks contents seem far away from the norms affirmed in the Curriculum Framework. Besides a general concern about their overloading and their connection with the professional world, their impact on the reconciliation process can be questioned.⁷⁵ Firstly, the very post-conflict situation is not dealt with. Indeed, in such situations, children can have special needs and suffer from traumas. Curricula should thus emphasise psychosocial elements and conflict prevention and resolution, which is currently not the case.⁷⁶ Secondly,

⁷² Peffers, Reid, Stylianidou, Walsh, Young, 2005, p.9, *ibidem*.

⁷³ Interview with three officials from the OSCE who preferred to remain anonymous, Pristina, April 2009.

⁷⁴ Peffers, Reid, Stylianidou, Walsh, Young, 2005, p.32, *ibidem*.

⁷⁵ Interview with Miranda Kasneci, *ibidem*.

⁷⁶ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Examen thématique des politiques nationales de l'éducation - Kosovo, Pacte de stabilité pour l'Europe du Sud-Est, CCNM/DEELSA/ED(2001)6, non classifié, 6 Novembre 2001, at http://www.see-educoop.net/education_in/pdf/oecd-report-yug-kos-frn-t05.pdf, (consulted on 24 June 2009).

curricula and textbooks continue to promote nationalistic and ethnocentric perspectives according to Kostovicova.⁷⁷ The latter stresses the role of the “new myths” particularly the “victimisation rhetoric”, and the different approaches towards sensitive subjects with respect to national identities, such as history or geography. She considers that the current biased content of curricula and textbooks “has prevented from any possibility of reconciliation”. Since available analyses of the Kosovan curricula and textbooks are lacking, it is difficult to assess the veracity of this statement, which can appear strong. Yet, it reveals the importance of the gap between norms and reality in this area.

However, the establishment of a New Curriculum Framework by the end of 2009, and the following revision of all the specific subject curricula in order to adapt the societal and academic evolutions, can bring hope. Besides, the 2007-2017 MEST Strategy highlights the necessity to remedy the current drawbacks of the system, related to infrastructures and quality of teacher training, among others. The strategy emphasises that the period considered should “mark a final move of Kosovo away from the emergency phase and a natural transition into the development phase; [...] a move from the long isolation [...] towards integration into respective trends of the European education area”.⁷⁸ This raises high expectations with respect to reconciliation as well. However, while waiting that the politics take effect, that the laws are applied, that the content of curricula and textbook are reviewed, thus, in general, that the norms are transformed into practice, NGOs keep supplying to the shortcomings of the current educational system, especially in terms of implementation.

2- The supplying role of NGOs through the case of KEC and the Pupil Councils⁷⁹

The role of Kosovo Education Centre in the Pupil Councils development can be analysed as an illustration of the supplying role of the non governmental sector to the general lack of implementation of written educational norms.

The “Pupil Council” is an institution foreseen in the law on primary and secondary education which should exist in each school and be constituted of representative pupils. It should “work towards the improvement of the learning environment, working conditions and welfare interests

⁷⁷ Kostovicova, quoted in Bjelica, Jelena, 2006, at http://balkans.courriers.info/IMG/article_PDF/article_6284.pdf (consulted on 23 June 2009).

⁷⁸ Strategy for development of pre-university education in Kosovo 2007-2017, MEST, 2007, p. 88, *ibidem*.

⁷⁹ This part is based on the interview with Veton Sylhasi, *ibidem*. All the following quotations not referenced to are from this interview.

of pupils and to make representations on these matters to the Director and to the School Board”.⁸⁰ However, the existence and well running of Pupil Councils is very irregular and depends mostly upon the willingness of the school director. KEC decided thus to tackle this issue, and to work towards the implementation of the legal provisions. As shown above, KEC is involved in fostering a quality education which would empower children and provide them with extra-values. It considers the establishment of these councils as a means for pupils to improve their learning environment and, by extent, to develop extra-skills useful for their development as enlightened citizens.

KEC strategy was to mobilise these councils through teachers’ empowerment. Indeed, the aim was to establish teachers operating as human rights counselors in each school, who could advise pupils on the ways to activate such committees. This project was supposed to last three years but, since a real need on the ground was observed, it was continued through the creation of another NGO, the Kosovar Association for Human and Children’s Rights.

The work of these NGOs on the development of Pupil Councils is presented as a support to the Ministry in its mission: “many issues written in law are not really implemented so we tried with our project to as much address these issues”. Therefore, the two NGOs participate in the implementation of the provisions written in the law. They supply the needs of the ground. However, if the civil society has a role to play in fostering a quality education, it should act as a support, not as the initiators. Even if the financial constraints faced by the Government could be invoked to justify their limited involvement in implementing some provisions of the law, the initiative should come from itself and not from the NGOs. Political willingness should be firstly displayed.

The role played by NGOs to remedy the discrepancy between theory and reality, analysed through the Pupil Councils case could be observed in various other areas presented above, such as training in pedagogy or material supplies. The issue of political will shall be dealt with in respect to another challenge for any reconciliation process, precisely the very main challenge: the establishment of an ethnic inclusive educational system.

⁸⁰ Section 30, Law on primary and secondary education, *ibidem*.

B- The issue of the Serbs integration into the Kosovan educational system

Beyond the issue of the norms implementation, the main issue when dealing with the reconciliation potential of the Kosovo education is the exclusion of the Serbs from the Kosovan educational system. Indeed, two educational systems are currently competing in the Kosovan territory: the Kosovan one supported by the international community, and the Serbian one depending on Belgrade. A brief look into the issue of the Serbs integration in education since 1999 (1) will allow a better understanding of the current situation (2).

1- Educational separation as a temporal post-conflict solution

"Reconstructing an education system in a situation where education lays at the heart of the conflict should never be described as easy [but rather as] difficult, complex and even dangerous".⁸¹ This quotation illustrates particularly the post-conflict Serbo-Albanians relations in the very reconstruction phase. The two main protagonists of the conflict were opposed to any kind of discussion after the conflict.⁸² Their rejection to the international community interference was also a factor in their refusal of co-operation, and was particularly important within the Serbian community. Indeed, as UNMIK authority was challenged by Albanians at the beginning, Serbs were even more reluctant to accept any kind of decisions not coming from Belgrade. As Serbian citizens, living in a Serbian territory, why should international organisations come and rule the province? This argument added to the security concerns from that very post-conflict time, when inter-ethnic violence was widespread, led to the establishment of parallel schools, namely schools depending only on Belgrade.

This situation was not the one expected by UNMIK, which advocated for an inclusive educational system able to overcome the previous negative role of education in the ethnic conflict. However, the situation on the ground was far from theory, and separate schooling became a *de facto* reality. UNMIK saw it as the only way to ensure an equal access to education for all, at that time. Its long-term objective however, was the unification of the system, which should begin with the unification of institutions. Indeed, the internationals tactic was to merge the physically closed Albanian and Serbian schools into a single institution with common name,

⁸¹ Sommers & Buckland, 2004, p. 142

⁸² For instance, the first meeting on the 15th of July 1999 of the Joint Civil Commission on Education where the two ethnic communities were supposed to discuss essential educational issues failed.

management structure, staff and trainings. But both ethnic communities rejected this strategy: Albanians considered any form of separate schooling as unacceptable and wanted the Serbs to be allowed to attend only schools belonging to the Kosovo system, while political and security reasons were invoked by Serbs to justify their refusal. Although UNMIK was opposed to the establishment of a whole parallel educational system in which the Serbian teacher salary and learning material were supplied by Belgrade, their primary objective being to ensure all children the right to basis education, the UN Mission provided facilities for Serbs children to reach their schools.

Nevertheless, during the education reconstruction phase, UNMIK kept trying on negotiating in order to include Serbs into the Kosovan system, for instance on the symbolical issue of teachers salaries. Indeed, being paid from Belgrade meant preserving the ties with Serbia. UNMIK thus struggled to reverse this political control and managed to make its salary accepted by Serbs teachers, who, consequently, were getting a double salary.

Curricula development was also another essential but problematical issue for the Serbs integration in the Kosovo educational system. Internationals managed to involve them in this process, but the March 2004 events destroyed this fragile cooperation. As a result, Kosovan curricula and textbooks are not available in Serbian language.

Therefore, despite the internationals' ambitions, reality proved that a unified education in Kosovo was far from easy to achieve. The parallel educational system which was planed to last only during the very post-war period as a transitional solution, is still in existence.

2- A segregated educational system

Consequently, the exclusion of the Serbian community from the Kosovan educational development led to the current situation of a whole segregated educational system, which is obviously the main hindrance in the reconciliation potential of the education in Kosovo. Curricula and pedagogical materials may reflect their own 'societal beliefs', separate schooling may emphasise and promote suspicion between pupils and between teachers.

Politics are obviously the first reason justifying this situation, since getting into the Kosovan educational system would mean for Serbs a *de facto* recognition of the independence of the province. Security concerns, especially since March 2004, have also to be taken into account.⁸³

⁸³ UNICEF Kosovo, Quality education for all in Kosovo, ibidem, p.19.

Besides, even if Serbs would be willing to integrate into the Kosovan system, it would be impossible since no Serbian language education is provided, curricula in Serbian language having not yet been enacted.

Beyond political and security concerns, the issues of identity can be analysed as a main factor in the Serbian refusal to integrate into the Kosovo educational system. Indeed, according to the human needs theory of conflict of John Burton, identity, belonging, security and recognition are seen as fundamental human needs which have to be fulfilled in order to achieve any peace process.⁸⁴ Education plays a fundamental role with respect to identities, through curricula, textbooks and particularly through the teaching language. Indeed as stated by Stavenhagen, "through its language, a given group expresses its own culture, its own societal identity; languages are related to thought processes and to the way the members of a certain linguistic group perceive nature, the universe and society".⁸⁵ Although some legal provisions aim at promoting the cultural rights of minorities, their lack of implementation echoes the more general gap between rhetoric and reality, which challenges the declared quality educational system. Therefore, protecting, respecting and promoting Serbian identity within Kosovan schools would constitute an important step in undermining the 'conflictive ethos' and in enhancing the participation of Serbs in the educational system.

The Kosovan politics responses to this situation are principally linked to the implementation of the decentralisation process affirmed in the Ahtisaari Plan and supposed to enhance competencies of municipalities, and by extent, of Serbian majority municipalities. A law on education in the municipalities was adopted in 2008 and deals particularly with the education for Serbs.⁸⁶ It represents a way to recognise the *de facto* parallel system and to regulate it. For instance, it provides with the creation of an independent commission, composed both by Serbian and Albanian educationalists, in charge of reviewing Serbian-language teaching materials and curricula. The Commission has just been launched, which is hopeful in working towards an inclusive Kosovan educational system. Moreover, this Commission should be involved in the process of revision of the New Curriculum Framework, which should be done before 2010. Therefore, concrete initiatives are taken to include the Serbs into the Kosovan system through an agreement on the educational contents.

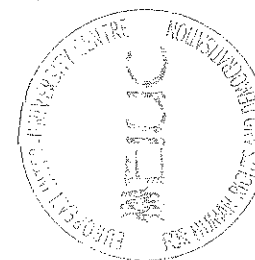
⁸⁴ Hicks, 1997, p.85.

⁸⁵ Stavenhagen, quoted in Bush and Saltarelli, *ibidem*, p.21.

⁸⁶ Law No. 03/L-068 on Education in the municipalities of the Republic of Kosovo, Assembly of Kosovo, 21 May 2008.

However, the integration of Serbs in the Kosovan educational system is still very problematical. International and governmental strategies did not reveal a great success. The existence of these parallel and totally separate educational structures is the main challenge to be dealt with in order to foster an education conveying reconciliation. Yet, the process of integration of the Serbian curricula and textbooks within the Kosovan system brings hope in establishing an inclusive education.

While in the post-war context, reconciliation appeared in the background, behind many other priorities, the educational system is now functioning and reconciliation could find a primary place in. As studied previously, the quality of the Kosovan education, in as much as in promotion of diversity, tolerance and minority rights, as in learning environment and pedagogy, represents a solid basis for reconciliation, since it can enable pupils to be critical towards 'societal beliefs', particularly towards the prevailing 'conflictive ethos', and to foster values pertaining to a 'peace ethos'. However, behind official documents, the implementation on the ground of this quality education is challenging. Yet, the chief obstacle to the reconciliation potential of the Kosovan education remains the current educational segregation, which is rooted in the ethnic conflict and particularly in the last decade of parallel educational system. Which educational theories and practices could contribute to the development of a Kosovan education for reconciliation?



PART TWO : TOWARDS AN EDUCATION FOR RECONCILIATION ?

From the concepts defined in the introduction, an education for reconciliation, could be regarded as an education fostering the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes which enable reconciliation such as, objective knowledge about the "Other" and one's own group, empathy, tolerance, peace and human rights respectful behaviours. The current Kosovan educational system although containing positive elements for a culture of reconciliation, remains still challenging and does not deal with the particular issue of the relationship between Serbs and Albanians. How could the Kosovo education progress towards an education for reconciliation? Which are the obstacles to this process? How do the actors involved in education comprehend this process? Are they likely to become reconciliation actors? An analysis of their discourses and projects combined with a presentation of educational theories, and practices from other countries can bring suggestions of solutions. Education is understood in its global meaning, including thus formal and nonformal education, in school and outside school.

CHAPTER ONE – A FORMAL EDUCATION FOR RECONCILIATION : BETWEEN THEORY AND REALITY

Educational theories and practices from other countries highlight elements that can be considered as essential for reconciliation, but which are lacking in the current Kosovan educational system (Section 1). Their introduction, however, is challenged by the reality on the ground, as interpreted from the actors' projects and discourses on reconciliation and education (Section 2).

Section 1- A Kosovan education for reconciliation

Knowledge, skills and attitudes fostering a reconciliation culture can be acquired through various subjects, methods and learning environment, such as the one currently foreseen in the Kosovo educational system. However, peace education, history teaching, intercultural and coeducation have a special role to play, as shown by theories and practices from other countries, in humanising and conciliating with the "Other" (A), and in knowing and understanding him (B), and thus should be part of a Kosovan education for reconciliation.

A- Humanising and Conciliating

Re-humanising the "Other" and conciliating each group's views may enable to change 'societal beliefs' from destructive to constructive in terms of reconciliation. Peace education (1) and the teaching of a non-conflicting history (2) are key elements in this process and particularly needed in the current Kosovan educational system.

1- Peace education for reconciliation

Peace education is obviously linked to reconciliation. It aims to promote attitudes, skills and beliefs directly peace-conducive in young people's minds. The latter shall realise that they can be social change actors and thus, an essential driving force in the transformation of the conflict. Peace education's primary aim is the re-humanisation of the supposed enemy, which goes hand in

hand with its legitimisation. Indeed, how could peace be brought if the other's point of views is systematically rejected? Peace education represents, thus, a new form of socialisation enabling the internalisation of the 'peace ethos' by children and, has thus to be understood both as a philosophy and as a process. Skills of negotiation, problem-solving, communication and in general, conflict resolution, are examples of the abilities enabling children to become peace actors. These can be developed through a modern teaching method based on experiential education, which can be summarised as 'learning by doing'.

Peace education is seen as an essential subject in post-conflict situations and tends to be integrated in the curricula as in Bosnia and Northern Ireland, for instance.⁸⁷ With respect to Kosovo, peace education is part of the curricula as an item of Civic Education. However, the "Clubs for Peace" which pertain to nonformal education could serve as a model to improve peace education within the formal system. "Kids and Teenagers Clubs for Peace" have been implemented by an international NGO, World Vision, for the past seven years. It is an extra-curricular activity which takes place within the school infrastructure, and with pupils selected on a voluntary basis. The participating pupils are supposed to spread out the values learnt in these Clubs, acting as peace vehicle. According to Mr. Graicovci, "peace facilitator", a local employee of the NGO, the goal of the Clubs are to make children "peaceful with themselves, their friends, their communities and other communities; to understand the changes which are happening; to analyse the issues that we are facing everytime; not to be victim of rumours and public opinion, but to have their own thinking".⁸⁸ Particular skills such as problem-solving, communication, self-confidence, inclusion and exclusion are worked on. Stereotypes are also given a particular focus. Recreational games are the principle teaching vehicle. This methodology is very successful according to Mr. Graicovci who estimates that "when you learn through playing, it is easier to remember".

Therefore, "Kids and Teenagers Clubs for Peace" can be regarded as an external support, allowing a concrete experimentation on peace education, in addition to the conceptual notions that can be taught to the children within the Civic Education curriculum. However, as in every NGOs' projects, issues of sustainability and of all children inclusiveness can be raised as shortcomings. Formal education should thus be inspired from nonformal projects. An idea would be to create in each school "Clubs for Peace" that would function in a nonformal way, with a

⁸⁷ Danesh, 2008, p.158. MacGlynn ; Niens ; Hewstone, 2004, p.150.

⁸⁸ This part is based on an interview with Fazli Graicovci "Kids Club for Peace" Co-ordinator, NGO World Vision, Janjeve/Janjevo, 16 April 2009. All the following quotations not referenced to are from this interview.

pedagogy based on interaction and play. Peace education is indeed a necessary area to promote reconciliation. It is a powerful tool in conciliating opposite views under the larger integrative framework of peace, as should do history.

2- A shared history for reconciliation

History teaching can have a powerful impact on reconciliation, either positive, or negative. This has been recognised by several researchers and institutions, among them the Council of Europe, which considers it as a "decisive factor in reconciliation, recognition, understanding and mutual trust between peoples".⁸⁹ Indeed, history influences our understanding of the past, but as well of the present and the future. However, its positive impact on reconciliation does not go without saying, particularly in a post-conflict context.

Indeed, history tends to be exploited for ideological purposes, since it is associated with the nation-building process. Beyond educational objectives, states often regards history as a vehicle for strengthening national identity. In the Balkans, history has been and is still used to promote a particular model of nation, an ethnic model of nation. Indeed, it represents an "ideal field for the construction and reproduction of images of the national 'self' and the national 'other'".⁹⁰ History is seen by politics as the foundation of the national consciousness, and they, thus try to manipulate it so that it would amount to the "matrix of desirable national identity", as expressed by Stojanovic.⁹¹

In a conflicting historical context such as that of the Balkans, teaching this subject has an even more considerable importance. An analysis of the South Eastern history curricula and textbooks revealed that historical facts are presented in a way that one's own state is portrayed as righteous and moreover, as a victim of most neighbouring peoples, who are viewed as potential threat to the integrity of one's territory.⁹² The same facts are interpreted in different and even opposite ways: the national heroes of one state are regarded as the enemies of the other. As well, geographical names are also controversial subjects. As stated by Bush and Saltarelli, "in the Balkans, the ethnic cleansing of villages names followed the ethnic cleansing of villages".⁹³

⁸⁹ Council of Europe, White paper on intercultural dialogue, 2008, p.30, at http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/Source/White%20Paper_final_revised_EN.pdf, (consulted on 24 June 2009).

⁹⁰ Kapsalis, Andreou, Ismyrliadou, Loykidou, Bonides, Hatzisavvides, Xochellis, 2001, p. 44.

⁹¹ Stojanovic, 2001 (a), p.30.

⁹² Repe, 2001, pp 89-92.

⁹³ Bush and Saltarelli, *ibidem*, p.12.

South Eastern countries history textbooks still contains national myths, stereotypes and prejudices which could be explained by external factors, such as political pressure, or oral history, namely the stories transmitted from generation to generations out of the school context. According to Bar-Tal's terms, they are both resulting from and generating a 'conflictive ethos'. The predominance of one-sided facts, ethnocentrism and war myths, among others, in history led authors like Simoska, to estimate that all the Balkans countries suffer from an "overdose of history".⁹⁴

The particular case of Kosovo does not differ from its overall regional situation according to Kostovicova who studied both Albanian and Serbian-speaking textbooks.⁹⁵ She stresses that they both nurture national identities and present their ethnic group as the victims of the other one. Similarly, the same historical facts and characters are described in a very different perspective.

History distortions can have a very negative impact on the educational potential for reconciliation. Indeed, socialised in this conflicting context, children will tend to have a biased perception of their own countries and of the surrounding ones. Stojanovic speaks about the fostering of a "paranoid model of historical awareness".⁹⁶ Therefore, the collective memory of conflict, or 'conflictive ethos' in Bar-Tal's words, may be nurtured by history. The question is thus: what can be done to erase the negative impact on reconciliation of history education? How can history teaching impact positively on reconciliation?

Of primary importance is the necessity to promote an inclusive history, meaning an history which would present both Albanian and Serbian views. For instance, the complex identity of historical characters should be dealt with in a balanced way; as well, the different names of geographical places should be mentioned. In general, history textbooks should emphasise more common cultural heritage and mutual influences rather than conflicting events. Thus, the process towards a positive history for reconciliation should focus not only on the elimination of stereotypes and prejudices but also on the introduction of positive elements which would link both communities. The main point is to depoliticise history teaching in order to advance a critical history, recognising that there are competing sets of facts and multiple interpretations of events.⁹⁷

The role of teachers in this process is essential. Murgescu suggests, in this respect, the creation of a network of in-service teachers trainings in parallel with national debates on this topic.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Simoska, 2001, p.98.

⁹⁵ Kostovicova, quoted in Bjelica, Jelena, 2006, ibidem.

⁹⁶ Stojanovic, 2001 (b), p.116.

⁹⁷ Murgescu, 2001, pp. 81-87.

⁹⁸ Idem.

However, in the Kosovo case, this appears to be really difficult due to the very presence of national myths in both ethnic groups, and to the questioned political willingness: how can officials from both educational system agree on a shared view on the very nation-building elements? This leaves a current space that could be invested by civil society and international organisations, like the Council of Europe with a project that will be presented in the next section.

A review of history therefore could lead from a destructive to a constructive approach in term of reconciliation, in other words, from a 'conflictive ethos' to a 'peace ethos'. Intercultural education and coeducation have to be considered as well as key elements in operating this change.

B- Knowing and understanding

Intercultural education (1) and coeducation (2) are practices that go hand in hand in the promotion of reconciliation. The Northern Irish case is a perfect illustration of their positive impact in knowing and understanding the "Other", and, by extent in reconciling with him. However, the Kosovo situation remains challenging for their implementation.

1- Intercultural education for a multicultural society

Intercultural education is an approach promoted by many international organisations and their declarations.⁹⁹ For instance, UNESCO considers it as a central mission so as to foster a culture of peace.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, the main principles of intercultural education are to educate for empathy, solidarity, intercultural respect and against the nationalistic way of thinking, fostering openness towards other people and eliminating national stereotypes and prejudices, according to Essinger.¹⁰¹ These values are directly linked to the promotion of peace and reconciliation. Intercultural education shall be analysed as a tool for social change, promoting a multicultural society which, according to Tatar, "acknowledges and preserves the legitimate existence of people from different cultural backgrounds and orientations".¹⁰² Therefore, this approach respects the cultural rights of minorities. Contrary to assimilation theories, the aim is not to socialise minority children in order to make themselves adapt to the dominant majority community, but

⁹⁹ Among others : Council of Europe, White paper on intercultural dialogue, 2008, ibidem.

¹⁰⁰ UNESCO, *From a culture of violence to a culture of peace*, 1996.

¹⁰¹ Kesidou, 2003, p.4.

¹⁰² Tatar, 2003, p.379.

rather to encourage "multicultural personalities", able to deal with the different members of the society.

Besides, bilingual education is directly connected with intercultural education. Language is at the heart of the identity, and being forced to accept the linguistic dominance of the majority is regarded as a major cause of tension and political instability.¹⁰³ On the contrary, the promotion of mother tongue in schools, both as a teaching language and as a specific teaching subject would reinforce minority children's self-esteem, and their sense of identity and belonging, without jeopardising the learning of the second language. Rather, it has been shown that the good acquisition of the mother tongue is an essential factor in the good acquisition of the second language.¹⁰⁴

With respect to practices, intercultural values can be promoted within a specific-subject curriculum, such as Civic Education, but as well, within a cross-curriculum approach. Fostering an intercultural education implies obviously a change in the curricula content. Prejudices and stereotypes against other cultural groups have to be removed and replaced by an inclusion of their views so that they could feel integrated in and considered by the educational system. As well, the specific subject "Civic Education" should be reviewed with respect to the multicultural society in which it takes place. This approach goes together with a critical and dialectic pedagogy, a pedagogy which values the intrinsic worth of each individual, aiming to emancipate the individual in accordance to Freire's principles. As far as bilingual education is concerned, UNICEF estimates that it can be achieved following three stages: first, the pupil must learn his mother tongue and study the second language as a subject; secondly, more lessons could be taught in the second languages, like music or art; thirdly, all the curriculum should be bilingual.

Therefore, more than intercultural education, intercultural bilingual education aims to enable all cultural groups to participate in the society and can be regarded as an interesting approach in fostering reconciliation in Kosovo. However, the reality is challenging. Indeed, yet both Serbian and Albanian curricula do not provide any instruction in the other language. The same conclusion could be drawn with respect to the teaching of intercultural skills and values: even if the Civic Education curriculum mentions the existence of a multicultural environment, the overall curriculum does not reflect this perspective especially towards the Serbs.¹⁰⁵ Teachers should thus

be particularly educated to these issues in order to promote common values and an understanding of ethnic diversity.

Indeed, the principles, attitudes and skills endorsed by intercultural education are intrinsically linked to reconciliation. Inflecting ethnocentric perspectives, fighting prejudices, promoting solidarity, human dignity and respect for the plurality of cultural identities are essential elements of an education for reconciliation. However, this is more likely to happen in a coeducational environment.

2- Coeducation for a mixed society

Contrary to a separate school system, mixed schools prevent the marginalisation of minority group pupils and thus, can be reconciliation promoters. As expressed by Auernheimer and as shown by the Northern Irish case, integrated education impacts positively on social identity, intergroup attitudes and reconciliation.¹⁰⁶ However, its implementation may be problematical.

Northern Ireland since the 'Troubles' is a highly segregated society, in several areas such as work, leisure, marriages, friendship and education. Yet, in the 1980's a joint initiative from Catholic and Protestant parents emerged to oppose the religious educational segregation. They set up an association "All children together" and lobbied for a law which would allow integrated schools. Their cause was legally recognised ten years later with the promulgation of the 1989 Education Reform which promotes the establishment of integrated schools. However, the creation of mixed schools has many implications as explained by Smith: further than the mere change in name and some structural adjustments to management, staffing and enrolment, there is a plethora of qualitative issues to be addressed such as the display of religious and cultural symbols, the identification of holidays, celebrations, commemorations, and obviously, the development of a more diverse and inclusive curriculum.¹⁰⁷ Nowadays, the Northern Ireland education remains mostly segregated. Mixed schools include only 5% of all the pupils. However, studies have been done on the impact of this type of education on children's attitudes. Among the results, 93% of the children surveyed felt a positive impact of mixed education and consider it as a vehicle of respect for diversity and security feeling in a plural environment.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, an increase in the number of inter-religious friendship is noticed as well as the recognition by the pupils of a new

¹⁰³ UNESCO, Guidelines on intercultural education, 2006.

¹⁰⁴ Kesidou, *ibidem*.

¹⁰⁵ Hoti & Zabeli, Grade 9 Civic Education, textbook, Prishtina : Libri Shkollor, 2006.

¹⁰⁶ Kesidou, *ibidem*, p.6.

¹⁰⁷ Smith, 2001, p.572.

¹⁰⁸ MacGlynn ; Niens ; Hewstone, 2004, p.153.

identity, in addition to their religious and social identity: they speak about an integrated identity with respect to the shared attributes of broad-mindedness, understanding and tolerance. This new inclusive identity is particularly important in a context of conflict in which social identification is strongly emotionally invested by the conflict and plays an essential role in its maintenance. The Northern Irish example of integrated education in a segregated environment shows the benefits of mixed schools in terms of reconciliation, and this, through both formal curricula and informal everyday encounters.

As far as Kosovo is concerned, despite the affirmation of a multi-ethnic society, few mixed schools exist, and none including Serbs and Albanians. Besides, the understanding of inter-ethnic school in Kosovo does not involve coeducation, it implies only a mere sharing of the same physical infrastructures. As noticed by a local UNICEF officer, "a multi-cultural school is viewed as one building where two or more sets of youngsters with separate mother-tongues coexist in the physical setting of the school building and who share and use together the play areas. They are taught by separate teachers, in separate classrooms and indeed in some places at different times of the day and in most case have a different curriculum".¹⁰⁹ However, even this very narrow conception, which at least may enable children to meet in the courtyard, does not concern Serbs and Albanians together.

The establishment of inter-ethnic schools is indeed really challenged in the highly politicised Kosovan context. Prejudices remain strong both in parents' and children's minds.¹¹⁰ Besides emotions, the principal challenge to overcome is linked to security. These two factors question the fact that parents could be at the origin of any joint educational project as happened in Northern Ireland. Rather, NGOs can be considered as the potential initiators of such ideas.

Thus, an education for reconciliation in Kosovo should be established step by step. The first one could be the integration of the "Other" within the curriculum with intercultural education, the inclusion of the "Other's" language as a specific subject, a shared history and a stress on peace education. Then, physical integration could be promoted by inter-schools links, then, by sharing the same building and finally, by sharing the same class and curricula with more space granted to bilingual teaching. Obviously the overall process, and particularly the second phase, depends on political willingness. Beyond theory, it is important to know the views of the actors and projects on the ground with respect to reconciliation.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Aferdita Spahiu, *ibidem*.

Section 2 – Education for reconciliation on the ground

The idea of an education for reconciliation finds concrete applications on the ground: real projects exist and are led by physical actors. A brief analysis respectively of their implementation (A) and discourses (B) shall allow a comprehension of both the challenges and the hopes raised by the establishment of a Kosovan education for reconciliation.

A- Projects on the ground: between challenges and hopes

The presentation of two projects, based on an analysis with their officers, one from an NGO (1), the other from an international organisation (2) can provide a general idea of how an education for reconciliation is developed on the ground. The first, which is over, shows the challenges encountered in this process, while the second, that is starting, reflects the hope that it brings.¹¹¹

1- Learning from the past: "Dialogue in education"

Nansen Dialogue is an international network of NGOs located in the Balkans, whose main aim is to foster reconciliation through inter-ethnic dialogue. Education is therefore a central part in its mission. A study of a project implemented by the Kosovan branch, called "Dialogue in education", presented through the lenses of its project officer, Mrs. Salihu Bala, a Kosovan Albanian, allows an understanding of the challenges faced by actors willing to develop a Kosovan education promoting reconciliation.¹¹²

The project lasted from 2003 until 2007. Its general objective was to encourage inter-ethnic dialogue between the main educational actors, i.e. teachers, students, and national and local governments. For instance, both Albanian and Serbian young people were brought together to speak about issues linked to the conflict such as hatred or enmity, and beyond this, to discover and get to know each other. Mrs. Salihu Bala stresses the importance of this common space in an area where ethnic boundaries have been impermeable since, at least, ten years. She emphasises as

¹¹⁰ Sommers & Buckland, 2004, p.120.

¹¹¹ For a summary of the projects, see Appendix III.

well the existence of stereotypes and prejudices resulting from this absence of communication. Therefore, working out on cultural identity was also an important element of the project, through talks about social education, history, peace education, and conflict resolution, among others. The explicit goal was to change the educational system developing for instance language teaching from each other community, or privileging a multiperspective on history. The objectives and fieldwork of "Dialogue in education" corresponds perfectly with the educational theories encouraging reconciliation as shown in the previous section. However, its implementation generated many difficulties.

First, with respect to the participation of actors, Mrs. Salihu Bala estimates that around 20% of the teachers refused to participate. Lack of time, political concerns and absence of belief in inter-ethnic dialogue were given as explanatory factors by the actors to justify their refusal. The project officer stresses as well the importance of the conflict and the emotional involvement that such inter-ethnic projects imply from former enemies. Mixing students proved also to be challenging mostly because of the prejudices that were developed both in a post-war and segregated context.

Besides, the implementation of the ideas designed in the inter-ethnic workshops was far from easy. Mrs. Salihu Bala mentioned for instance cases when teachers wanted to implement projects in their regions but could not because of political obstacles. The discrepancy between ideas and reality was harmful to the project and led to its premature end. She attributes it primarily to the Serbian political pressure who refused any type of cooperation with Albanians, and which made the implementation of the project by Serbs in Serbian parts, really difficult. The example of one Serbian school director who was removed from his position because of his participation in "Dialogue in education" is considered as symbolic of the strength of the Serbian pressure, by the project officer.

Implementation and politics goes hand in hand, and in this case, against the project. However, if the Serbian Ministry of Education was clearly opposed to any kind of cooperation, its Kosovan counterpart was not willing to involve in this type of project either. Mrs. Salihu Bala reported the priorities of MEST at that time: building schools, making new curricula, printing books, among others. "Inter-ethnic dialogue in education [was] not a priority for the [MEST]".

Besides, the March 2004 events represented an additional challenge to the project. Indeed, all the project work was "destroyed", they had to restart everything from the beginning since the

¹¹² This part is based on an interview with Mihane Nartile Salihu Bala, "Dialogue in education" project officer, NGO Kosovo Nansen Dialogue, Pristina, 15 April 2009. All the following quotations not referenced to are from this interview.

participants did not want anymore to be involved in inter-ethnic initiatives. Six months were necessary to find people willing to invest in this project.

Finally, "Dialogue in education" was stopped because of the lack of participation of Serbian people, due to political pressures as interpreted by Mrs. Salihu Bala. Thus, the international donors cut the funds. This refers to the sustainability issue at stake in every NGO project. Therefore, the influence on MEST, which was an explicit objective of the project could not be reached.

As a conclusion, Mrs. Salihu Bala insisted on the post-conflict and post-educational segregation context which justifies the reluctance of the actors to participate in inter-ethnic projects. Nevertheless, she feels confident that the current Kosovan political actors will invest more in dialogue in education, clarifying, however, that an education promoting reconciliation will need time to be established. This long-term view is the one reported by most of the educational actors, whose discourses will be analysed in the following parts. "Dialogue in education" illustrates thus the challenges faced in the implementation of a Kosovan education for reconciliation, as well as the hopes that it brings: Serbs and Albanians may be willing to change the segregated education system; civil society has the potential to lobby and to oppose political divisions. International organisations can also play a crucial role in this process.

2- Dealing with the future: "Interculturalism and Bologna process"¹¹³

The Council of Europe is, since August 2008, implementing a project called "Inter-culturalism and the Bologna process", whose components have the potential to make education a vehicle for reconciliation. The aim is to establish a modern education, in accordance with the European standards and best practices, to enable Kosovo to integrate into the Bologna system. Setting up "sustainable conditions for strengthening intercultural understanding among all communities [...] based upon human rights and intercultural education" is seen as the main means to achieve it.¹¹⁴ The project is expected to last three years.

Key areas for reconciliation are targeted: Education for Democratic Citizenship, history teaching, language policies, legislation and teacher training. The overall aim is to influence the

¹¹³ This part is based on an interview with Emir Adzovic, "Interculturalism and Bologna process", Programme coordinator, Council of Europe, Pristina, 15 April 2009. All the following quotations not referenced to are from this interview.

¹¹⁴ Council of Europe, "Interculturalism and Bologna process", Description of Action (2008/157-924), personal communication, 2008.

legislation in order to develop such areas. The production of several guidelines is expected on human rights and democratic citizenship, among others. Moreover, a "European curriculum standards in languages" should be developed as well. The official interviewed insisted on the importance of the project's history since the deficiencies of the current curricula and textbooks are seen as a main obstacle in the improving of Serbo-Albanians relations. The international organisation approach, in this respect, focuses on the training of history teachers and textbooks writers as well as on the production of a manual about a multi-perspective history teaching. These are only an overview of the expected results of the Council of Europe project. The overall components of the project fit thus with the educational practices which may impact positively on reconciliation.

"Interculturalism and Bologna process" in general aims to influence the legislation and particularly, "to support the educational authorities in the revision and modernisation of the curricula and textbooks". Indeed, the project is justified by the deficiencies of the current educational system. Mrs Adzovic estimates that the revision of the curricula initiated by UNICEF was done at a time not ready for "a very drastic change", at a time "when the system needed to work", to be reshaped, but not allowing to "completely rethink the philosophy behind". Thus, substantial issues like multicultural elements promoting tolerance are currently not part of the curricula and textbooks, and this is what the international organisation is planning to remedy.

The methods focus on teacher trainings in order to "initiate a snowball effect". With respect to intercultural education and dialogue in particular, a network of teachers should be created so that they could become "agents of change". In general, pre and in-service teachers shall be trained in accordance with European standards. Recognising that in many projects implemented by internationals, locals were put aside, which was harmful to the projects' objectives, the Council of Europe displays a strong willingness to make locals participate and discuss the projects components.

To put it in a nutshell, the Council of Europe project brings many hopes for the establishment of an education for reconciliation, especially in the perspective of the curricula review which will start in 2010 and which will allow substantial changes. However, the challenges to overcome are huge for such a short period of time (2008-2011). The international organisation approach being holistic, e.g. aiming at influencing the whole educational system, needs to take into consideration the issue of coordination of the existing initiatives in order to create a coherent system, while cooperating on an equal basis with the Government.

The Council of Europe and the Nansen Dialogue projects illustrate the efforts on the ground to make education impact positively on reconciliation. The first brings hope for the future, while the second enables to learn from the past. Difficulties to overcome are strong and are mainly political. Pressure is exerted on Serbs not to cooperate with Albanians, while a Kosovan political willingness to foster inter-ethnic projects in education remains doubtful. However, both projects reveal a potential willingness from both civil society sides, able to overcome fears and prejudices. Both projects reveal that non governmental or international organisations can work to counteract the segregationist tendencies and the political inertia. These are small but essential steps in the establishment of a Kosovan education for reconciliation. Educational actors' views have to be considered then, since they represent the main force, either positive, or negative in this process.

B- Educational actors' views on reconciliation

What is reconciliation? Is it needed? Is the current educational system a vehicle for reconciliation? Should it be? How? Who should be the actors? What are the hindrances? The answers given by various educational actors from different organisations, international, governmental or nongovernmental, to these questions draws a general picture of the challenges implied in the establishment of an education for reconciliation on the ground.¹¹⁵

1- Reconciliation, education, rhetorics and reality

a) Reconciliation as positive but not a main objective in Kosovo.

"Reconciliation is to re-establish or to have different parties coming together, the parties that were in conflict before, so it is a process where they would interact".¹¹⁶ This definition summarises the general perception of the actors on reconciliation understood more as a process than a goal, since the latter seems far from being achieved as will be shown in the following analyses. The notion of bringing together the former enemies and to link past and future is clearly stressed as the aim of the reconciliation process. The interviewees, especially the officials from

¹¹⁵ The interviewees are officials from the OSCE, the Council of Europe, UNICEF, MEST, Nansen Dialogue, World Vision, KEC, Sport Sans Frontières. One is a Ninth grade pupil, and one a teenager involved in an inter-ethnic project. See the list of the interviewees in the bibliography. The locals are mostly Albanians, only one official from the OSCE, and Milja, a teenager, were Serbs.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Aferdita Spahiu, *ibidem*.

MEST, agreed on the fact that reconciliation is a positive element, but do not explicitly affirm that it is needed.

b) Education as a potential tool for reconciliation, but currently promoting segregation.

Education is granted a considerable role in promoting reconciliation, being "the only way that children can grow up together, discuss and overcome barriers created since centuries".¹¹⁷ Curriculum is seen as a tool for reconciliation. In this way, it should be purged of nationalistic elements and dogmas. However, the actors surveyed do not establish connection between reconciliation and the current Kosovan educational system. Some like officials from the OSCE, even clearly stated that besides its double potential of change and stagnation, education in Kosovo is rather "a tool for ethnic segregation", resulting from years of conflict: "Through the education, separation became much more wider. Education cannot be an entry point for any reconciliation policy here".¹¹⁸

c) Language differences as obstacles for reconciliation and revealing a lack of implementation of reconciliation conducive policies.

As concrete obstacles to reconciliation the existence of separate schools and languages barriers are emphasised and connected. According to Mr. Adzovic: "There is a deeper problem. There is a physical problem of communication. Serbian and Albanian children are not being taught the other language. So how do we have joined schools if they don't understand each other?". The absence of the other language teaching shows the gap between legislation and reality, which creates a "paradox" in the current Kosovan society: "on paper" there are two official languages, but in practice, only Albanian speaking citizens are formed. "There is not a system in place to provide that education. You must have curriculum, textbooks and then, you must have teachers. You don't have anything of them on the two sides", noted an official from the OSCE who considers that this situation challenges the very label of "parallel system", "in the sense that there is no possibility for Serbian [to learn] within the Kosovar system for education".

d) Protracted conflict as obstacle for reconciliation.

As an hindrance in the establishment of an education for reconciliation, the impact of the historical tensions on education is stressed in Mrs Salihu Bala's words: "the misunderstandings and differences are not just from this time. But they date back from twenty or thirty years ago, so we are speaking about children and students who were born in separate systems, parallel systems

and the goal was to hate each other and this is the difficulty that we face everyday in such kind of work".

e) Politics of Serbia as an obstacle for reconciliation.

Nevertheless, the main hindrances in fostering an education with positive implication on reconciliation indicated by all the actors surveyed are political. The opinion of the actors could be summarised by the following sentence from the OSCE: "Education would not be a tool for separation if the status issue was solved, then the Serbs could participate and develop curricula and everything would be better, but this is a highly politicised issue". Politics and education are closely connected in their discourses. Coeducation or curricula development are directly associated with political obstacles. Serbia policy is presented as responsible for the current separate educational system through the Albanian and international perspective. The Serbs living in Kosovo are presented as passive subjects submitted to the influence and political pressure from Belgrade, thus reconciliation will happen "when the Serbian government will let the Serbs from Kosovo do what they want and be free".¹¹⁹ The participation of the Serbs in the Kosovan state and, by extent, their recognition of the independence, is seen as obvious and natural because of their physical situation: they are present on the territory, thus they must be part of the society organised on this territory. The implied meaning of this view is explicitly expressed by an Albanian teenager: "This is the reality. [...] They will understand that we are a free country and if they want to be part of it, they have to be with us. I mean they could be with the Serbs of Serbia but so they could go there. If they want to be with us they have to accept us as a country".¹²⁰ The conflict around the status of Kosovo is therefore seen as a key, if not, as the main obstacle in the fostering of an education for reconciliation. But, beyond this argument presented as an external factor, some actors question the very willingness of pupils and of the Kosovan government to act for such a reconciliation process.

f) The issue of the students willingness to work towards reconciliation.

The example of the language is symbolic of the actors' doubts on the pupil willingness to open themselves to the other community. The responsible of an NGO considers indeed that "trying to teach Albanian to the Serbs and Serbian to the Albanians would appear to be difficult. [...] For many people, just to listen to Serbian is painful"¹²¹, which is emphasised by a Serbian OSCE

¹¹⁷ Interview with Merita Jonuzi, Human Rights Unit Officer, MEST, Pristina, 14 April 2009.

¹¹⁸ Interview with three officials from the OSCE, *ibidem*.

¹¹⁹ Interview with Ramush Lekaj, Head of the Insurance Quality Division, Pre-University Education, MEST, Pristina, 14 April 2009.

¹²⁰ Interview with Dorina, an Albanian Grade 9 pupil, Pristina, 16 April 2009.

¹²¹ Interview with Delphine, Liégeois, Project officer, NGO "Sport sans frontières", Pristina, 13 April 2009.

official: "My impression is that there is no willingness in both communities to learn each other language. For example, you cannot find Serbian students in primary school or secondary school who are willing to enrol in Albanian language classes". Dorina, an Albanian teenager, on the contrary, shows willingness to learn Serbian if the Serbs would learn Albanian. Milja, a Serbian teenager expressed the same opinion.¹²² Even if not representative, these two discourses may indicate that the very subjects of educational policies do not appear as the main obstacle to an education fostering knowledge about the "Other" culture and language.

g) A questioned Kosovan political willingness to promote reconciliation.

However, an important issue is the Kosovan political willingness to work towards an integration of the Serbs in the educational system. All the officials from MEST interviewed expressed a strong willingness to include them, but referred to Belgrade policy to justify the impossibility of this approach. An opposition is drawn between the Kosovan government, "very open and very ready for all initiatives", and the Serbs, who "isolate themselves" and are "politically very closed-minded people" even if they are granted "many rights with the Ahtisaari proposal and the decentralisation process", according to a MEST Head of Department.¹²³ Stereotypes and reluctance towards minority rights are present in Kosovan educational officials' discourses and question their political willingness to work towards reconciliation. Some international actors analysed the political argument invoked by the Ministry of Education, as an "excuse" justifying the lack of action with respect to Serbian integration: political issues would be put in the forefront to hide the fact that reconciliation "is not really high on the agenda for them".¹²⁴ To put it in a nutshell, education and politics in Kosovo goes hand in hand, as summarised by the following quotation: "Each side is using education for its own point. Albanians would say we are willing but the Serbs don't want to participate, and then the Serbs would say we are willing but we don't want to recognise the sovereignty of Kosovo".¹²⁵ An important issue would therefore be: who can bring change into the educational system?

¹²² Interview with Milja, a Serbian teenager who participated in a Council of Europe inter-ethnic summer camp, *ibidem*.

¹²³ Interview with Miranda Kasneci, *ibidem*.

¹²⁴ Interview with three officials from the OSCE, *ibidem*.

¹²⁵ *Idem*.

2- Actors, attitudes, action and inertia

An analysis of the discourses of the educational actors answering the question, "who should be the actor of reconciliation through education and how to promote it?", reveals the complexity of the issue and of the actors' interrelations.

THE ACTORS OF RECONCILIATION

a) Kosovan government and civil society shall be the actors according to internationals

As far as the international community is concerned, OSCE officials explicitly stated that it is not their role to act "on behalf of the other". They followed: "It is not for us to take step. We have to be clear about the fact that there are institutions that have competencies and mandate, and budget to do it". Policy and legislation should be implemented by governmental actors. However, they admitted that the government was not showing strong commitment to work on reconciliation. Thus, they mentioned as well the role of civil society as in every democratic society; the local stakeholders were indicated to be the one responsible for any reconciliation process. "It cannot be imposed by external actors, it has to be part of an internal process". This sentence could be considered as the symbol of the internationals' rhetoric. However, they recognised that they have a role in "pushing" and "pressuring" the national government.

b) Locals NGOs calling for governmental action and criticising internationals projects.

Local NGOs on their parts, even if they admit their role in awareness-raising on specific issue such as human rights and peace education, either do not consider reconciliation as an important topic to deal with directly, or put in evidence their weaknesses in terms of budget, staff, and thus, sustainability. They call for a support and for an action from the government itself. International projects implemented by internationals are criticised for their lack of sustainability.

c) The Kosovan Government reluctance towards international pressure for reconciliation.

The discourse of the Ministry of Education, as explained above, is constantly referring to Belgrade pressure to justify the non participation of Serbs in the educational system, and the failures or absence of projects aiming at integrating them. However, a brief look into the speech of one official reveals that elements fostering reconciliation are not coming from nationals but rather from internationals, and that this pressure is not always well accepted.¹²⁶ The "pressure" put on the government to de-politicise the curricula and textbooks is felt as unfair since the Serbs

¹²⁶ Interview with Miranda Kasneci, *ibidem*.

are not pushed as well in this direction according to her. "For example, they are telling us that maybe it is good to learn Serbian language. And for Serbs, this is not a standard to learn Albanian language to integrate themselves. This is somehow an unpleasant situation because you cannot press just one side".

THE STRATEGIES FOR RECONCILIATION

d) Implementing projects step by step.

Faced with this complex situation, some actors like UNICEF choose to keep acting step by step, meaning that even if political obstacles prevent the application of their projects in both communities, they do not give up. They are looking for other ways to reach education in Serbian areas for instance. They adapt thus their strategy to the concrete and complex reality.

e) Implementing the educational legislation.

A first element for the OSCE in improving the situation is the implementation of the legislation in place, and particularly of the Commission in charge of reviewing the curricula and textbooks from the Serbian community, in order to have a Kosovan system giving a possibility for Serbian children to integrate.¹²⁷

f) An indirect approach towards reconciliation.

Other actors stresses that reconciliation does not need to be worked on directly but rather indirectly, creating a sustainable basis for its implementation, through a quality educational system and content, especially through the promotion of peace and human rights values: "Through helping [the Serbs] participating in the society, we are making that reconciliation. I mean, we do not have to mention it or to force it but we can really do it by giving the opportunities"¹²⁸; "what we can aim for and hope for is to increase the standards of education, to make schools the best environment for learning and to support tolerance and better welfare of the student [...]. I don't think that working exclusively on reconciliation between two communities would bring the welfare to all the people in Kosovo".¹²⁹ The approach promoted is rather indirect and reflects the importance of a quality education as a solid basis for reconciliation, as shown in the previous chapter.

g) A holistic and long-term approach.

¹²⁷ The interviews were realised during the second week of April, the Commission was not launched yet.

¹²⁸ Interview with Veton Sylhasi, ibidem.

¹²⁹ Interview with Emir Adzovic, ibidem.

Finally, all the actors emphasised the need for a holistic perspective when dealing with education and reconciliation, since inter-ethnic relations depend also on economic development, civil society strength, and more largely on regional processes. Some mentioned the integration in the European Union as a potential positive factor for reconciliation, since the respect of human rights and minority rights standards are a precondition of such integration both for Kosovo and Serbia. All the actors surveyed agreed on the fact that the process should be thought in a long rather than short-term perspective since it involves the change of the attitudes and values of one generation.

h) A concrete strategy of inertia.

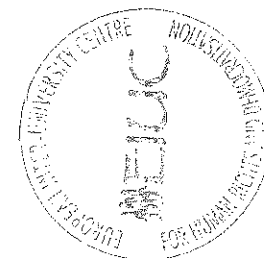
Behind the good willingness displayed by the actors in improving the educational potential for reconciliation, the constant reference to history and politics by some of them rather reflects passivity as in the following sentence from OSCE officials: "Everything is linked to the status. When the problem of the status will be solved, everything will go normally". However, a solution to the very essence of the conflict is not likely to appear naturally, and quickly. The steps that could make education in linking communities, even if small because of political hindrances, are not explicitly mentioned by the governmental actors. Besides, some discourses can be analysed as inertia discourses when referring to a repetition of history, a "chicken and eggs, never ending" situation.¹³⁰ This cyclical view recalls the cyclical history of inter-ethnic tensions and conflict and takes away thus, any reconciliation perspective.

i) Identity question as a main factor in reconciliation.

Another implied element that should be considered while analysing the educational actors' discourses is the identity issue. Indeed, the ethnic identity remains powerful for some actors such as an official from the Ministry of Education.¹³¹ The European pressure to accept diversity, through curricula denationalisation for instance, is seen as a danger for her Albanian national identity. Ethnic identity is deeply rooted in herself, she describes it as "part of herself", that she will keep "until her death". Conflict and struggle are very present in her words. With respect to a Kosovan identity, she explained that she is "a citizen" of Kosovo as the Serbs should feel, but her emotional ties are connected with her ethnic identity. However, ethnic identity is not important for all actors, but the common point in their discourses is the absence of a Kosovan identity as

¹³⁰ Interview with three officials from the OSCE, ibidem.

¹³¹ Interview with Miranda Kasneci, ibidem.



shown by a teenager's words: "I did not know that we could say "Kosovan". I did not know the word. I think that people know us just as Albanians".¹³²

The actors' views analysis reveals a real imbroglio in the establishment of a Kosovan education for reconciliation. International organisations would say that it is not their task to act on behalf of governments and that civil society should play an essential role. NGOs would say that they cannot act without the support of national institutions. The Kosovan Ministry of Education would say that Belgrade hinders any action. And the Serbs would say that they are willing to act but without recognising the independence of Kosovo. Politics are thus embedded in any educational initiative in favour of reconciliation. Besides, beyond the emphasis on the high politicisation of education, a certain philosophy of pessimism and passivity is hidden in some actors' discourses. However, elements of solutions as well can be drawn. Firstly, the current laws which are promoting quality and ethnic diversity within education shall be implemented, especially the provisions on languages. Moreover, some educational aspects shall be highlighted so as to promote intercultural, peaceful values and multiple identities, particularly through a shared history, peace and intercultural education. No magic solution can be designed in such a post-conflict context, but rather a long-term and holistic approach combining diverse educational theories and practices shall be privileged. All the educational actors have a role to play in fostering an education for reconciliation, and the Council of Europe project can be considered as very hopeful. However, the role of inter-ethnic projects bringing children and teenagers together outside schools have also to be studied, understanding education in its global meaning and not only limited to a school approach.

¹³² Interview with Dorina, *ibidem*.

CHAPTER TWO - A NONFORMAL EDUCATION FOR RECONCILIATION : THE ROLE OF RECREATIONAL INTER-ETHNIC ACTIVITIES

Education for reconciliation is not confined within the walls of the school institutions. Indeed, nonformal educational activities may be as powerful as the formal one in raising skills and attitudes conducive for reconciliation to its participants. Recreational inter-ethnic activities should be given a special weight in this process. Indeed, they are theoretically considered as a good tool to get to know and to reduce prejudices towards the "Other", to foster mutual empathy and tolerance and promoted as such by several actors in the Kosovan field (Section 1). However, their implementation faces many challenges. An analysis of such inter-ethnic projects, and of their actors' views, in the light of the Kosovan reality allows an outline of their potential for reconciliation (Section 2).

Section 1 -Recreational inter-ethnic activities and reconciliation in Kosovo: objectives and actors

To what extent can recreational inter-ethnic activities impact on reconciliation (A)? Who are their actors on the Kosovo ground (B)?

A- Inter-ethnic recreational activities and reconciliation

Social-psychology highlights the links between inter-ethnic projects and reconciliation (1), while the positive role of recreational activities in fostering peace and reconciliation is recognised by several institutions and actors (2).

1- "Contact hypothesis", "Co-operation hypothesis" and social identity

The principal assumption related to inter-ethnic activities, is that it enables both groups to socialise and to reverse prejudices and stereotypes. The unknown and different "Other" can become a fellow human being looking for the same objectives and with whom even a friendship could begin. Feelings of anxiety and threat due to the very existence of the other group would

thus be reduced. Inter-ethnic activities would be a means to alter the "rules of inter-ethnic games", which do not allow any place for socialisation.¹³³ Thus, they could create a space for reconciliation.

The effect of inter-group encounters can be analysed through a socio-psychological approach. The "contact hypothesis" initially formulated by Allport states that it can reduce prejudices and foster more favourable attitudes and friendly relations.¹³⁴ However, some conditions are required, particularly equality between the participants and a non competitive environment. Other factors like the personality of the participants and the surrounding social climate are important in considering the effect of mixed activities in reducing prejudices. Miller and Brewer stressed the role of 'mutual interdependence' in the success of this strategy: when both groups have shared goals, the differences between them will become less salient in reaching these objectives.¹³⁵ This has been theorised by Van Oudenhoven as the "co-operation hypothesis", going a step further than the "contact hypothesis" one, since common group goals are seen as the means to achieve better inter-group relationships.¹³⁶

Inter-ethnic activities are supposed to impact on social identity, especially on social categorisation, a cognitive process by which people simplify their environment and classify other people into groups. In cases of inter-group conflict, social categorisation can become negative, allowing the development of stereotypes and prejudices towards the out-groups. The principal effect expected by inter-group encounters is a "de-categorisation" whereby the out-group members are perceived as individuals rather than as members of the other group. Thus, the other group can be viewed as heterogeneous.¹³⁷ Beyond "de-categorisation", "re-categorisation" and "crossed-categorisation" are models enabling an even more important improvement of inter-group relations since, according to the first one, a common identity which supersedes group boundaries can be created, and to the second one, multiple identifications allowing differences and similarities to co-exist are promoted.¹³⁸ Social identity being an essential factor in conflict, as observed throughout this thesis, inter-ethnic activities can play a huge role in reconciliation through changing social categorisation.

¹³³ CDA Collaborative learning projects, CARE International, Has Peacebuilding Made a Difference in Kosovo ? A Study of the Effectiveness of Peacebuilding in Preventing Violence : Lessons Learned from the March 2004 Riots in Kosovo, July 2006, p.28, at <http://cdainc.com/publications/rpp/articles/CDAPeacebuildingReportKosovo.pdf> (consulted on 24 June 2009).

¹³⁴ Amir, pp. 320- 342, 1969.

¹³⁵ Jakobsson Hatay, 2005, p.66.

¹³⁶ Idem, p.68.

¹³⁷ Model developed by Brewer and Miller. Idem, p.67.

However, the link between inter-group encounters and reconciliation is not systematic. Such activities may enable a change of opinion about particular individuals but not about the group to which they belong as a whole. Moreover, if the contacts are casual and not established on a regular basis, or tend to foster a competitive atmosphere, positive perceptions of the "Other" are not likely to happen. Besides, apart from intra-community resistance and pressure, the "rules of the inter-ethnic games" can be deeply rooted and internalised, and thus difficult to be removed. Finally, the willingness of young people themselves to participate in such projects is far from evident. Nevertheless, they would be more eager to join them if recreational rather than serious activities are organised.

2- Recreational activities for reconciliation¹³⁹

Inter-ethnic encounters based on recreational activities, particularly on sporting and cultural activities can be a good vehicle for reconciliation since they fit with the desires and needs of young people. Indeed, playing is another way of educating oneself, as expressed in a UNICEF report: "Through sport, recreation and play, children and adolescents learn to exercise judgement and think critically while finding solutions to problems. They promote the spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play, teaching teamwork, self-discipline, trust, respect for others, leadership and coping skills".¹⁴⁰ Recreational activities thus carry social values which can be transmitted easily to the people involved. Inter-ethnic recreational activities are therefore more likely to attract young people due to their very entertaining nature, and to promote reconciliation through the transmission of peaceful values, rather than inter-ethnic activities based on formal learning and debates aiming directly at reconciliation. As expressed by a local NGO educator: "Leisure activities leads to a better result than compelling the children to sit down, to take notes and to listen what is peace".¹⁴¹

Sport and culture are both indirect ways towards reconciliation. The role of sport in peace and reconciliation has been recognised by international organisations as well as NGOs. Indeed, skills like communication, empathy, self-confidence, respect, values such as tolerance, inclusion,

¹³⁸ Theory developed by Tajfel. Idem, p.67.

¹³⁹ Recreational activities are leisure activities more organised than play. Sport is more organised again. See their definitions p.2 and p.15 in United Nations, Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals, Sport for Development and Peace, Report from the UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace, 2003.

¹⁴⁰ UNICEF, Sport, recreation and play, 2004, p.2.

¹⁴¹ Interview with Fazli Graicovci, ibidem.

solidarity and honesty are taught through sport. It is a way to communicate with the "Other" in an apolitical arena in order to reach the same common goals. Cultural activities represent as well another means to transmit positive values for reconciliation in a funny and participatory way. The NGO Art as a Resource for Reconciliation all Over the World (ARROW), stresses for instance the role of art in building bridges across boundaries. Theatre can be a particular vehicle of peaceful values and skills, especially the "theatre of the oppressed", a technique aiming at social change through empathy experiencing.¹⁴² Music as well has to be regarded as a powerful medium for social change. It represents a universal language able to transcend ethnic barriers. Recreational activities organised in an inter-ethnic environment appear thus to have a powerful potential for reconciliation. Is the Kosovo field equipped in terms of infrastructures and actors to promote such activities?

B- The Kosovo field

The needs for recreational activities and better inter-ethnic relations are huge in Kosovo. Different actors try to fill it working directly on inter-ethnic recreational activities (1). The role of other actors working upstream of these activities, creating the conditions to foster them, has to be taken into account (2).¹⁴³

1- Several actors for inter-ethnic recreational activities

The lack of recreational activities and infrastructures in Kosovo is recognised as an essential issue by the Government, NGOs, and youths themselves.¹⁴⁴ However, several actors and projects aim at promoting reconciliation through inter-ethnic recreational encounters. A brief presentation of them allows a general overview of the Kosovan field with respect to the provision of inter-ethnic recreational activities.

Inter-ethnic projects can be fostered by individuals as done by Mr. Dardan Islami, a former KLA member, who after the war decided to invest in this area, concerned by the lack of freedom

¹⁴² International Theatre of the Oppressed Organisation, at <http://www.theatreoftheoppressed.org/en/index.php?useFlash=1> (consulted on 30 June 2009).

¹⁴³ For a summary of the projects, see Appendix III.

¹⁴⁴ OSCE, Youth Assembly for Community Development, Recommendation for Change 2005, 2005, p.6. Interview with Kreshnik Xharra, Head of Division for the promotion of nonformal education and employment for youth, Ministry of Culture, Youth, and Sports, Pristina, 15 April 2009. E-mail from Lindsey Goossens, Project officer, NGO Community Building Mitrovica, 26 May 2009.

of movements for Serbs. His project "Roads of peace" gathered young Serbs and Albanians for two music trips in a train. These big cultural events involved more than 300 people.¹⁴⁵ Thus, individual initiatives can generate inter-ethnic projects for youths. However, these two events were not the best reconciliation promoters since they lasted only for some hours and were not reproduced on a regular basis. Besides, Mr. Islami is not a average Kosovan: he used to live in England before the war and was known as a famous DJ. He had thus the social and cultural capital enabling him to invest in this field. Personal initiatives are mostly very rare. Inter-ethnic recreational projects are more a concern of NGOs.

In the very post-war period, multi-ethnic activities were abounding, financed by international donors. Nevertheless, most of them were not sustainable: after a two or three years, the funding was withdrawn and they left, as mentioned critically by the actors interviewed.¹⁴⁶ The same problems still exist considering for instance the case of Catholic Relief Services (CRS), an NGO, based in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica for seven years but forced to leave because of financial reasons.¹⁴⁷ Political reasons challenge, as well, their sustainability; the sporting and cultural activities organised by Nansen Dialogue, were stopped after a few years for these reasons, for instance. NGOs' multi-ethnic activities can take place around sport and culture as promoted by the local NGOs Community Building Mitrovica and Fractal, among others. These NGOs are financed either by international donors, or by the international institutions working in Kosovo, such as the OSCE and the Council of Europe, which rather than merely financing, support the design of particular projects.

The Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sport, has obviously a role to play in fostering recreational activities as recognised in the Youth Action Plan.¹⁴⁸ However, apart from financing some inter-ethnic projects already designed by other actors, the Ministry does not especially promote mixed sporting and cultural activities.¹⁴⁹

Several actors are thus present in the Kosovo field working to remedy the lack of offers of recreational activities for youth. Such activities are used to promote reconciliation through an inter-ethnic approach. Nevertheless, their implementation proves to be difficult due to political

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Dardan Islami, Islami, Dardan, Urban Fm Radio Director, "Road of Peace", Project leader, Pristina, 12 April 2009.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Delphine Liégeois, *ibidem*; with Edon Ramadani, Project co-ordinator for the southern branch the Mitrovica Rock School, NGOs "Musicians without borders", Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, 17 April 2009; with Milos Drazovic, project co-ordinator for the northern branch of the Mitrovica Rock School, *ibidem*.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Enesa Medic, "Catholic Relief Services", Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, Project officer, 17 April 2009.

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Kreshnik Xharra, *ibidem*.

¹⁴⁹ *Idem*.

reasons and to the fragile nature of their main promoters, the NGOs, as it will be shown in the next section. Beyond actors aiming directly at implementing inter-ethnic recreational projects, others work upstream, on training local educators in order to increase the offer of recreational activities. Their actions have to be emphasised.

2- Sport Sans Frontières: upstream of inter-ethnic recreational activities

Sport Sans Frontières (SSF) is a French NGO using sporting and artistic activities as a vehicle for peaceful values such as inclusion, tolerance, or citizenship, in deprived areas.¹⁵⁰ It arrives in Kosovo in 2001 to respond to the lack of recreational activities for youth. It considers sport as a pedagogical tool, preventing youth from dealing with drugs and violence, to help them overcome war consequences, or to transcend ethnic boundaries and develop social links. This conception is thus particularly adapted in the Kosovo post-conflict.

SSF's projects focus on capacity-building, either at the formal, or at the nonformal level. They understand thus education through sport in its broader meaning. SSF aspires to enhance sporting and artistic activities within, but also outside, the school system, through the "Youth Centres" programme. Youth Centres are spaces for children and teenagers to join and to participate in activities organised for them.

SSF's objective is to make sport accessible for everybody and especially to encourage Serbo-Albanian co-operation. Forty young people between seventeen and twenty-two years old are trained by the NGO in order to be able to organise artistic and sporting activities within Youth Centres. The idea is to empower them reinforcing their role in their community and by extent, to enable them to create dynamism in their neighbourhood. A snowball effect is expected since "they become models for children and bring very positive elements in the communities". SSF aims to respond to the lack of recreational activities for young people in Kosovo, since "they have nothing to do, there is almost nothing organised outside schools", as considered by its project officer. Through reinforcing the capacities of Youth Centres leaders, SSF contributes to fostering recreational activities for young people. However, beyond this objective, the NGO intends as well to rebuild social links between Albanian and Serbian communities. The youth leaders are indeed coming from both ethnic groups and trained all together in a secure zone. This approach is most unusual in Kosovo since it represents mostly the first time for them to meet the

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Delphine Liégeois, *ibidem*. All the following quotations not referenced to are from this interview.

"Other". Commenting on the course of the trainings, the project officer confirmed the 'contact' and 'co-operation hypothesis', through the connecting role of sport: "When you make these young peoples working towards the same goals, they work together, on the same theme, so they forget that they are not from the same group, apart from the language; anyway, when you practise sport there is no languages anymore". Youth leaders are encouraged by SSF to organise joint activities with other Youth Centres, since no Serbo-Albanian mixed Centres exist, but until now it was impossible because of the tensions resulting from the independence declaration. The project officer is hopeful about their organisation in the near future, but stresses the importance first of the establishment of trust, between the youth leaders and both with the child and the parents, since "creating an inter-ethnic event between Serbs and Albanians is not ordinary at all".

Therefore, SSF's project can be considered as fostering reconciliation through inter-ethnic recreational activities but in a re-directed way: youths are trained together and empowered to encourage sporting and artistic activities within Youth Centres' structure, with the mid-term objective that they will create mixed events for children and teenagers. However, political difficulties remain the main hindrance to this objective as shown by the projects and actor's views on the ground.

Section 2- Reconciliation through inter-ethnic recreational activities on the ground

A brief analysis of particular inter-ethnic projects on the ground (A) and on their officers and participants' views (B) can provide an insight of their potential role on reconciliation and on the challenges that they face.

A- Projects on the ground: different approaches towards reconciliation

Different projects aiming at organising regular (1) or irregular inter-ethnic activities (2) can be shortly examined, on the basis of qualitative interviews.¹⁵¹ However, the lack of quantitative data and the non representativeness of the participants interviewed do not enable to elaborate a clear-cut opinion of the impact of such projects on reconciliation. Rather, the collected data provide a general idea of their potential on reconciliation.

1- An inter-ethnic Rock School: a realistic approach towards reconciliation¹⁵²

The Mitrovica Rock School is a school based in the divided city of Mitrovicë/Mitrovica and aims at fostering a pop-rock culture in its young students' minds, either Serbs, or Albanians. The project was designed and is managed by the NGO Musicians Without Borders (MwB) and implemented in co-operation with the local NGO Community Building Mitrovica.

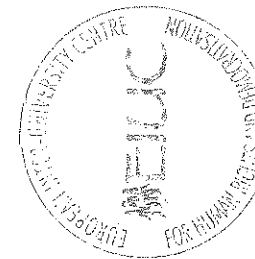
Its main objectives according to its project's manager are the following ones: restoring the Rock tradition of Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, whose cultural identity was undermined because of the conflict; responding to the musical needs of young people and remedying the lack of musical offers; counteracting the expansion of the "turbo-folk" musical movement promoting nationalist identities.¹⁵³ Its particular implementation in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica is linked to the belief that culture is essential in societies and especially in a post-conflict context in which the survival mode adopted hinders artistic life. Moreover, it corresponds to the faith that musicians are part of a separate world and thus able to transcend ethnic divisions finding their proper musical ways to communicate. Finally, the projects instigators estimated that the very pop rock style has the potential to connect north and south, since it has not been taken over by politics contrary to the "turbo-folk" stream. However, as clearly stated by its project officer, "the idea is not to use rock music to bring people together". Rather, rock is the very goal, fostering an individual musicianship in which teenagers, whoever they are, can find themselves. The musical power is considered as able to transcend ethnic divisions, but naturally and indirectly, without being an explicit objective. Nevertheless, the inter-ethnic aspect of the School is put forward in practice and mentioned as the first characteristic of the project by a local co-ordinator, followed by the importance of offering youth recreational activities.

Initially the Rock School was supposed to take place in the same infrastructure, in a building very closed to the bridge in the KFOR protected southern area. But, the opposition of Serbian parents and teachers due to security reasons in a context of post March 2004, made this "a plan impossible to implement". The project was thus suspended, "waiting for the day that tensions would ease enough to allow [...] to set up the Rock School". However, this approach, which could amount to an infinite expectancy, was abandoned. Rather, the projects designers found a

¹⁵¹ For a summary of all the projects studied in this thesis, see Appendix III.

¹⁵² This part is based on an interviews with Edon Ramadani, *ibidem*; Milos Drazovic, *ibidem*; and on an questionnaire from Wendy Hassler-Forest, Mitrovica Rock School Project manager, NGO "Musicians Without Borders", e-mail: 3 June 2009.

¹⁵³ E-mail from Wendy Hassler-Forest, *ibidem*.



way to cope with the reality organising a "Rock music school in exile", a summer camp in Skopje. The inter-ethnic component was still there, but outside the high politicised town. The enthusiasm generated by the camp encouraged the NGO to keep on with the project, looking for solutions.

The School started therefore, a few months after the camp, but divided in two branches: one in the north, one in the south. Consequently, the teenagers do not meet, except in the summer camp. The latter is foreseen to take place every year in order to keep the initial idea of the uniqueness of the School, even in a separate context. Northern and southern branches cannot be considered as two schools, since they are co-ordinated by the same institutions, and since its local co-ordinators are supposed to work together, in meetings organised by the NGO and as well in their daily life. However, the interviews with the local co-ordinators revealed that they do not work together on a regular basis.¹⁵⁴

Keeping the two branches on the same page is recognised indeed as a main challenge for the future. As an element of solutions, Musicians Without Borders is working on setting up online communication facilities. Another main challenge is linked to the sustainability of the project. Indeed, the plan is to enable locals to run the School by themselves, but this requires a solid financial basis which appears to be difficult at the local level due to the weak economy. Finally, the long-term strategy foresees the unifying of both branches, yet the political situation remains powerful and unpredictable; in addition, some school actors strongly oppose this idea.¹⁵⁵

The Rock School therefore managed to adapt the complex reality looking up for original solutions. It can be considered as different from other post-conflict NGOs' projects, since MwB aims to empower locals in order to ensure the sustainability of the School. As far as reconciliation is concerned, the strategy diverges as well from other initiatives working directly towards this goal and using recreational activities as mere tools to reach this goal. Rather, Music is the explicit goal. Promoting the living together is obviously an implied objective, but through approaching youths as "talented individuals rather than as members of one or other ethnic group that needs to be reconciled". The musical identity is meant to transcend ethnic identity. This strategy copes with the locals' "cynical" views towards reconciliation projects, people being "tired of internationals coming in to 'reconcile' them". MwB's approach can be analysed through the "co-operation hypothesis" theory, affirming that superior goals are more likely to promote reconciliation than mere inter-group contacts. Yet, the divided reality still challenges the NGO's

objectives since the children, by now, never meet, except for a third of them who participate in the summer camps. The potential of these inter-ethnic camps in leading towards reconciliation has to be considered.

2- Inter-ethnic recreational camps: an ambiguous role in reconciliation¹⁵⁶

Inter-ethnic recreational camps are a common practice of the institutions aiming at improving inter-ethnic relations in Kosovo such as World Vision, MwB or the Council of Europe. They all have different approaches, either using leisure activities as a means to entertain youths, or using it as a goal in itself. World Vision and the Council of Europe's projects corresponds to the first approach, while Music Without Borders's camps fit with the second one. Concretely speaking, all of the three camps take place outside Kosovo, which underlines the strength of the political obstacles such inter-ethnic projects face within the territory. The purpose is to provide participants with an environment where "they can be children in the first place"¹⁵⁷, a neutral field overcoming political divisions. Camps outside Kosovo are thus viewed as the best place for children to develop, providing them with a peaceful and secure context where they can get to know each other.

For most of the participants, the camp represents the first time that they meet somebody from the other ethnic group. They may arrive thus with their own stereotypes, influenced by their communities and families. The overall goal of these camps, either explicit, or implicit, is to make the participants discover the "Other" and question their first opinion. Interviews with camps group leaders and some participating youths can give a picture, even though not representative, of the impact of such projects in reducing the prejudices and stereotypes that may initially exist in the participants' minds.

An anecdote mentioned by the World Vision 'peace facilitator' highlights the positive impact that mixed camp may have in terms of stereotypes reduction. During a "Club for Peace" session, an Albanian girl wrote a very patriotic poetry presenting Serbs as "barbarian" and "ugly". After her participation in an inter-ethnic summer camp, she told him that she was surprised, that the Serbs are "human like us, listening to the same music, eating the same pizzas, and playing

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Milos Drazovic, *ibidem*.

¹⁵⁶ Interview with Blenda, a teenager participating in the Mitrovica Rock School, Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, 17 April 2009; with Milja, Fazli Graicovi, Wendy Hassler-Forest, Edon Ramadani, Milos Drazovic, *ibidem*.

¹⁵⁷ E-mail from Lindsey Goossens, *ibidem*.

football as well".¹⁵⁸ In this case, the camp contributed to the re-humanisation of the "Others" and even to their inclusion in the wider encompassing category of western teenagers' culture.

As far as the Rock summer camp is concerned, although the key word in all the actors interviewed is "fun", and the main goal, to play music and to share the same passion, which makes the working and living together possible and easy, impacts on teenagers' prejudices can be noticed. Blenda, a 15 years old Albanian girl, for instance explained that before going, she "had a bad eye on Serbs", thinking that they were "evil". However, she realised during the summer school, that "it was not like that, [that] they were all very kind". Therefore, the camps had an effect on her first prejudices but, yet, did not lead to a generalisation of her positive opinion towards the Serbs as a whole group. She still "really believe[s]" that they do not like Albanians, and "do not think that all Serbs are nice", justifying her view by the effect of the war: "it is our mentality here [...] we just don't like them".

The case of the Council of Europe "Europa park summer camp" raises even more questions with respect to the impacts of inter-ethnic camps on reconciliation. Forty teenagers, Serbs and Albanians from Kosovo, and Israelis and Palestinians, were brought to Germany to participate in a one week programme where they would deal with their conflicting situations. They had to attend conferences in the morning and at the end of the afternoon to discuss together serious topics related to their prejudices towards each other or the impact of the conflict on their family and community for instance. The recreational aspect of the project was its location in the amusement park and the possibility for the teenagers to enjoy it three hours per day. An analysis of some of Milja's discourse, a Serbian girl who participated in the programme, leads to challenge the reconciliation aspect of the camp.¹⁵⁹ Indeed, Albanians and Serbs mostly did not mixed during the camp. Political issues were embedded in their relationships, recalling their parents' rhetorics: "if you don't want to live with us in the Kosovo state, you can leave!" versus "Kosovo is part of Serbia". The principal elements challenging the impact of this camp on reconciliation remains the strong presence of stereotypes and the lack of empathy. Physical stereotypes can be detected in Milja's discourse: Albanians are supposed to be "darker", "turkish", with a "strange face" and a "large nose". These are reinforced by psychological prejudices as well: Albanians are presented as liars and exaggerating facts. The powerful influence of the family has also to be emphasised. Milja's mother for instance advised her before leaving about the Albanians tendency to "lie" and about the fact that "they are all the same".

¹⁵⁸ Interview with Fazli Graicovci, *ibidem*.

With respect to the very course of the programme, the teenager does not give credibility to the Albanians' accounts. Rather they are viewed as "good actors", willing to present themselves as "victims". Therefore, the power of inter-ethnic camp addressing directly conflict-related issues and aiming directly to foster reconciliation appears to be very doubtful. In this case, it clearly did not work out in reducing stereotypes and in raising empathy.

From these three examples' brief analysis, we can conclude that inter-ethnic activities with a direct focus on reconciliation, using recreational activities as a mere individual option are less likely to achieve this aim than the ones which aim at reconciliation indirectly. Leisure activities as a tool to enhance inter-group contacts may be useful in reducing prejudices and in re-humanising the "Other", but the best approach to transcend ethnic identities and human segregation seems to make sporting and cultural activities the goal, as seen through the Rock School project. However, the broadening of positive feelings towards the whole other group remains challenging. Similarly, generally none of these *ad hoc* encounters generate friendships that endure. As expressed by a Serbian co-ordinator, "division is division, and kids have their own schools, friends, girlfriends, interests here, so they lose their interest really quickly".¹⁵⁹ Inter-ethnic recreational summer schools may be a good parenthesis in the participants' daily life, and some of them may have a positive impact on reconciliation, but still they do not appear to be as effective as encounters planned on a regular basis. However the tense Kosovan situation challenges the realisation of these regular encounters as put in evidence by the actors interviewed.

B- Actors' views on the role of inter-ethnic recreational projects on reconciliation

What is reconciliation? Have youth, culture, sports and inter-ethnic projects a role in reconciliation? What are the main challenges? Who should be the actors of this process? The answers of the actors and participants of such projects have to be taken into account in order to have a wider understanding of the potential impact of these projects on reconciliation.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Interview with Milja, *ibidem*.

¹⁶⁰ Interview with Milos Drazovic, *ibidem*.

¹⁶¹ The interviewees are officials working for MCYS, SSF, World Vision, MwB, or individuals participating in projects or initiating such projects. Most of the locals were Albanians; Milja (Council of Europe summer camp), Milos Drazovic (MwB), and Enesa Medic (CRS) are Serbs. See the bibliography for a list of the interviewees.

1- International unrealistic concepts versus play as a first step in the 'normalcy' return¹⁶²

a) Multi-ethnic projects for reconciliation as useless and pushed by the internationals.

Most of the actors interviewed expressed doubts about the relevance of the concepts and implementation of "multi-ethnic projects for reconciliation". These terms are seen as corresponding more to the donors' agenda than to the real needs on the ground. The interviews relate reticence from the locals towards these projects, since the latter feel "tired" and "sick of the projects".¹⁶³ Inter-ethnic events were abundant indeed after the conflict and instigated mostly by international NGOs. The "significant degree of cynicism towards reconciliation projects" noticed by the Rock School project officer, is salient in Milos Drazovic's words: "It is a rule of the donors, if you want it, it must be multi-ethnic. The most famous keyword in that [post-war] period was multi-ethnicity, multi-ethnic this, multi-ethnic that, multi-ethnic tree, multi-ethnic car, multi-ethnic dog, everything was multi-ethnic". Rather, some actors consider these projects as "useless": the participants are always the same persons, generally the one already involved in NGOs; the projects are not sustainable and do not last more than a year; in some places, people already know each other and live peacefully with one another, so why internationals should come and introduce them their own neighbours?¹⁶⁴ Their criticisms on the projects' sustainability, the targeting of people easy to reach, and the importance of considering the specific local environment, were directed to multi-ethnic programmes in general, but have to be taken into account as well when dealing with the organisation of inter-ethnic youth activities.

b) Multi-ethnic projects within a societal approach for reconciliation.

Moreover, an important point shared by most of the actors interviewed is the importance of a holistic approach for reconciliation. Many other issues have to be dealt with such as the rule of law, refugees and property returns, freedom of movement, economic conditions and employment, among others. Therefore, inter-ethnic projects can impact on reconciliation, but the latter can be achieved only if structural changes are carried out.

c) Reconciliation through the reestablishment of 'normalcy': 'having fun' as the first normal youth's need.

¹⁶² 'Normalcy' is the term employed by Wendy Hassler-Forest relating the will of Kosovan to have a life as less as possible impacted by the conflict.

¹⁶³ Interview with Wendy Hassler-Forest and Milos Drazovic, *ibidem*.

¹⁶⁴ Interview with Fazli Graicovci, *ibidem*.

People want 'normalcy' as stressed by the Rock School project officer who estimates thus that inter-ethnic projects should work towards re-establishing this 'normalcy', offering sporting or cultural activities, rather than focusing on the conflict and its consequences in terms of human relationships. The notion of ethnic identity should not be stressed but replaced by the one of individuality, 'talented and creative individuals' with respect to the specific area of the project. Youths' common goals and shared passions shall be underlined. "Fun" should be the key words when dealing with young people. Playing and being involved in recreational activities is essential for children and teenagers and should, as such, be put at the forefront of any youth project, although educational messages can be transmitted through these very activities. An indirect approach towards improving inter-ethnic relations is privileged, rather than "pushing" and "forcing" it.

d) A positive view of youth inter-ethnic projects for reconciliation under certain conditions.

In general, despite the pessimism of the Serbian local co-ordinator, the actors interviewed describe the role of inter-ethnic projects targeted at young people in a positive way, underlining that they are a step in the overall reconciliation process since the latter have "less historical baggage than older generations" and are "future-oriented". Yet, they all agree that reconciliation needs a long-term approach.

2- Locals, youth and fun versus politics and identity

a) Reconciliation embedded in politics and ethnic identities.

Reconciliation is directly connected with politics. In the minds of some Albanians actors, its precondition is the acceptance of the Kosovo independence by Serbs. Politics are as well embedded in the implementation of inter-ethnic projects and represent their main challenges resulting in the separation of the Rock School in two ethnic branches and in the organisation of such summer camps outside of Kosovo, for instance. Moreover, the strength of the ethnic identity, reproduced by families and local communities, is recognised as well as a considerable obstacle in the organisation and in the positive impact on reconciliation expected from youth inter-ethnic programmes.

b) Recreational activities face challenges in the recognition of their positive role in reconciliation.

With respect to the particular cultural project, the Rock School project officer, emphasised the disparagement with which such projects can be looked at by potential donors. Indeed, these kinds of projects are "often still seen as 'soft', versus the more 'serious' approach of conferences, round tables and similar dialogue settings" in the promotion of reconciliation.

c) Locals and youths as the actors of reconciliation.

Politics, identity, and doubts about the importance of recreational activities in reconciliation, are thus seen as the main challenges faced by inter-ethnic recreational projects. However, the persons interviewed believe in the role of some actors to overcome these hindrances and to work on the success of these projects. International institutions are not recognised a great role in this process. Rather they are seen as "useless" (UNMIK) or too "bureaucratic" (OSCE).¹⁶⁵ Locals are, on the contrary, seen as the actors able to implement such projects, being more creative and more aware of the particular field than expatriates. Moreover, they are the ones allowing perennality to such initiatives, since they are less likely to leave after a few years and their projects are supposed to be adapted to the local needs. Local NGOs are thus given the primary role in this area. Nevertheless, youth are not considered as mere receivers of reconciliation messages but should have an active role as well in this process. "Reconciliation can be stimulated but must come from the youth themselves" underlines the Kosovo SSF responsible. She imagines for instance teenagers organising events for children.

d) Youth for reconciliation: importance of 'fun' in parallel with the improvement of the Serbs situation in Kosovo.

The interviews with the two teenagers, one Albanian and one Serb, reveal a willingness from young people themselves to live in peace, and even to live together. Yet, Milja, the Serbian girl, stresses first the importance of enjoying freedom of movement and not to live anymore in a "prison". The particular situation of the young Serbs in Kosovo challenges their reconciliation potential. However, both girls' discourses grant a huge importance to "fun". Playing seems then to be a considerable tool in gathering young people.

The projects presented and the views of their actors, although not representative of the overall reality, allow an idea of the potential of inter-ethnic recreational projects on reconciliation and to understand the challenges faced in their implementation. The socio-psychological changes that they arouse may produce can be analysed more in terms of 'de-categorisation' than 're-

¹⁶⁵ Interview with Dardan Islami, *ibidem*.

categorisation' or 'cross-categorisation'. However, even if there is no generalisation beyond the specific situation in which the positive contact takes place, a basic but essential step for reconciliation is crossed: the belief of the homogeneity of the other ethnic group is challenged. Some members, belonging to the other conflicting part, can be seen as similar and even friends. Prejudices towards them are reversed, and empathy is raised. Thus, such projects represent a first step in the reconciliation process. An even more important, but hard to reach, step would be the creation of a common identity, a shared musical identity for instance, as promoted by the MwB project. However, the Kosovan reality raises particular problems in the implementation and in the success of such projects in representing a third space enabling youths to overcome the binary reasoning promoted by inter-group conflicts. To conclude, inter-ethnic recreational projects as a particular category of nonformal education, have a huge potential in fostering reconciliation, and thus are essential elements of an inclusive education for reconciliation. However, as every educational initiatives, they shall be regarded only as part of the long and complex process that reconciliation requires.

CONCLUSION

Education and reconciliation are two concepts which have the potential to connect each other, as shown in introduction. However, the thesis demonstrated that in Kosovo, their interaction since 1999 is rather problematical.

In the very post-conflict period, fostering an education encouraging reconciliation was not the main objective. Other issues were given priority. The educational system had to be rebuilt as soon as possible so as to operate. The relations between the actors, particularly between locals and internationals, represented an important challenge in this process. The main changes were indeed mostly decided by the international community with a few consultation to the local educators. However, within this framework, essential bases for reconciliation were soon recognised. Education should not be a tool for conflict anymore. Therefore, a process of de-politicisation of key educational areas, such as curricula and textbooks, took place. A new pedagogy, centred on the learner and privileging participation, was promoted through teacher trainings. It can be analysed as a basis for reconciliation, since its aim is to foster critical thinking; thus, pupils could be empowered to question the 'societal beliefs' and challenge the 'conflictive ethos', characteristic of protracted conflicts.

The educational development established the basis for a quality system, promoted in the official laws and strategies. The Kosovan education is foreseen to be a quality education, in terms of updated knowledge, but as well, in a more substantial and interesting perspective for reconciliation, in terms of pedagogy and of values, skills and attitudes emphasised. Indeed, tolerance, diversity and human rights are promoted through a particular subject curriculum, but as well, through the whole learning environment, corresponding to a human rights approach of education. The explicit aim is to comply with the European standards. The Ministry of Education appears to be committed in this process through its institutions and policy-making documents. International organisations and NGOs play as well an important role in fostering this quality education. However, the implementation of the educational laws and policies is problematical. Reality proves indeed to differ from rhetorics. Non governmental actors intend to support the Ministry of Education in its task, and can supply it in the implementation of the official norms. This questions the willingness of politics to work towards European standards, and by extent, the appropriation by locals of these standards pushed by internationals. The main challenge for the

establishment of an education conveying reconciliation is the existence of a parallel system. Indeed, two educational systems are competing on the same territory. This *de facto* separate system reproduces the segregation of the previous decades and is primarily due to politics. Security concerns as well play an important role in maintaining a separate education. Besides, when studying the potential of the Kosovan education to encourage reconciliation, the fact that no opportunities are provided for the Serbs who would be willing to integrate into this system is even more problematical: despite the law, no curricula and learning materials are edited in the Serbian language. Yet, a Commission aiming at reviewing Serbian curricula and textbooks in order to include them into the Kosovan educational system, has just been launched, which is hopeful in the perspective of reconciliation and which can be analysed as a first step in establishing an all ethnic inclusive system.

Therefore, the current Kosovan education, as expressed in official documents, promotes positive values for reconciliation, but does not focus particularly on the conflicting relationships between Serbs and Albanians. Specific educational theories and practices are relevant and could inspire a Kosovan education willing to foster reconciliation. Peace education could be emphasised, insisting on its nonformal and experiential aspect, since this approach appears to be efficient in transmitting values and attitudes. A shared history should be promoted since the existence of competitive national myths is at the heart of the conflict. As well, knowing the "Other" and promoting his cultural rights, through an intercultural education, could be an essential step in establishing an education conveying reconciliation. This cognitive knowledge about the "Other" goes hand in hand with a more affective one: meeting the "Other". Integrated education, indeed, proves to be a reconciliation vehicle as shown by the Northern Irish example. Some initiatives following these approaches exist in Kosovo. The project "Dialogue in education" indicates the challenges faced in their implementation, particularly from NGOs deprived of influential weight on politics and depending on donors' finances. International Organisations appear to be more powerful in impacting on politics. The project "Interculturalism and Bologna process" of the Council of Europe, for instance, contains several components conducive for reconciliation. However, an essential element to be taken into account is the willingness of all actors to involve in an education for reconciliation. Otherwise, the initiatives promoted will just imply superficial changes deprived of any sustainability. The discourses of MEST officials reveal indeed that multi-ethnic values and minority rights are pushed by the international community but not really adhered to by the local leaders. Reconciliation does not

appear to be a priority of the Ministry, that is more concerned about the establishment of a quality education enabling youths to integrate into the European labour market. NGOs and International Organisations seem as well to focus on a quality education through the fostering of a new pedagogy and of a child friendly environment. Those whose concerns are directly linked to inter-ethnic dialogue and reconciliation refer to the political obstacles that they face. Beyond existing initiatives, a discourse of inertia, connecting educational issues with an agreement on the status of Kosovo, can be analysed in the actors' accounts. There is no strong faith in the potential for change in education, and in the potential for change through education, since the current system does not foster reconciliation. Nevertheless, some discourses are optimistic as the ones expressed by the Council of Europe project officer, and the pupils themselves. In terms of concrete initiatives, the "Interculturalism and Bologna process" Council of Europe project, the future review of the Curriculum Framework and the launch of the Commission in charge of integrating Serbian curricula into the Kosovan system brings hope with respect to the establishment of a formal education for reconciliation.

A holistic understanding of education implies also to focus on its nonformal aspect. Inter-ethnic recreational projects can have indeed an important role in conveying reconciliation. Indeed, values, skills and attitudes can be promoted through recreational activities such as sporting and artistic activities. Inter-ethnic encounters are supposed to impact positively on reconciliation, under certain conditions, according to socio-psychological theories. They have the potential to reduce prejudices and stereotypes and to allow, thus, to consider the other ethnic group as heterogeneous, which is an essential step in reconciliation, although a generalisation of positive feelings towards all the members of the other group is rare. In Kosovo, such encounters are mainly supported by NGOs, either local or international. However, almost no inter-ethnic recreational activities exist on a regular basis. The Rock School case shows the obstacles faced in creating such regular encounters. Inter-ethnic activities for young people happens mainly through the organisation of holidays camps in a foreign and neutral place. Different approaches towards reconciliation can be noticed: a direct focus on this process, using recreational activities as a mere way to relax, outside from any educational approach, does not seem efficient in reducing prejudices. Rather, when play and peace education are granted the same weight, the impact on reconciliation appears to be positive. An even more interesting approach is linked to the emphasis put on playing as the primary goal. Indeed, a shared identity is promoted, superior to the ethnic and conflicting identities. A particular sport, or a particular musical style can be the means of

gathering youths, transcending political socialisation. The views of the actors working on such nonformal educational activities enhanced this approach, stating that the best way to promote reconciliation is not to focus on it, but rather to promote 'funny' mixed activities.

Therefore, the reality of education in Kosovo does not foster reconciliation, due to the existence of a separate system, the absence of possibility for Serbs to participate in the Kosovan education and the absence of inter-ethnic regular activities, as far as nonformal education is concerned. However, education in Kosovo has the potential to foster reconciliation: its official framework corresponds perfectly to the European standards promoting diversity, tolerance and minority rights; the establishment of the Commission in charge of integrating Serbian curricula into the Kosovan educational system, and the project of the Council of Europe aiming, among others, at emphasising commonalities in history, carry hopes for the future; initiatives exist with respect to inter-ethnic recreational encounters, even if they are taking place abroad; some actors are willing to involve in reconciliation.

Education for reconciliation can start with small-scale initiatives. Their role on questioning the 'conflictive ethos' is essential, even if reconciliation requires a whole societal approach. Education can enable to know the "Other" beyond prejudices, and to foster peaceful values and commonalities. The latter is very important since behind education and reconciliation, the issue of identity is hidden. Education can promote multiple and even, shared identities, able to question the preponderance of ethnic identities in Kosovo. The fostering of an inclusive identity could thus be an essential aspect of an education for reconciliation. Is an inclusive Kosovan identity possible? This calls for further social researches.

LIST OF APPENDICES

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APPENDIX I -

United Nations

A/RES/61/17



General Assembly

Distr.: General
23 January 2007

Sixty-first session
Agenda item 150

Resolution adopted by the General Assembly

[without reference to a Main Committee (A/61/L.22 and Add.1)]

61/17. International Year of Reconciliation, 2009

The General Assembly,

Bearing in mind the Charter of the United Nations, including the purposes and principles contained therein, and in particular those of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war, bringing about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace, and practising tolerance and living together in peace with one another as good neighbours, thus developing friendly relations among nations and promoting international cooperation to resolve international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian issues,

Recognizing that reconciliation processes are particularly necessary and urgent in countries and regions of the world which have suffered or are suffering situations of conflict that have affected and divided societies in their various internal, national and international facets,

Recognizing also that many of the activities of the United Nations system in general and the international community as a whole to support peacekeeping and peacebuilding, conflict prevention, disarmament, sustainable development, the promotion and protection of human rights and dignity, democracy, the rule of law and governance, inter alia, lead to the initiation and development of reconciliation processes,

Aware that dialogue among opponents from positions of respect and tolerance is an essential element of peace and reconciliation,

Aware also that truth and justice are indispensable elements for the attainment of reconciliation and lasting peace,

Bearing in mind the role of the media in reporting on reconciliation processes,

Convinced that the declaration of an international year of reconciliation at the end of the first decade of the new millennium will provide the international community with the opportunity to pursue, with the active involvement of all stakeholders, efforts to develop reconciliation processes, which are necessary to and a condition for the establishment of firm and lasting peace,

1. *Expresses its steadfast determination* to pursue reconciliation processes in those societies that are affected and/or divided by conflicts;
2. *Decides* to proclaim 2009 the International Year of Reconciliation;
3. *Invites* concerned Governments and international and non-governmental organizations to support reconciliation processes among affected and/or divided societies and to plan and implement adequate cultural, educational and social programmes to promote the concept of reconciliation, including by holding conferences and seminars and disseminating information about the issue.

*56th plenary meeting
20 November 2006*

APPENDIX II : INTERVIEWS' GUIDELINES

The interviews' guidelines were designed in advance to identify the broad categories of topics that should be dealt with during the field trip meetings. The guideline 1 below encompasses questions directed to actors working both in formal and nonformal education. Thus, not all the topics below were approached, the guideline was adapted to the nature of the actor. The guideline 2 refers to the interviews with participants in formal and non-formal education. The same final questions on reconciliation and education were asked to the interviewees in order to analyse common points and differences between their views. Within these guidelines, the interviews were open-ended, exploring the direction raised by the informant.

1- INTERVIEWS' GUIDELINE FOR EDUCATIONAL WORKERS

❖ Interviewee's organisation work

- *Presentation of the Organisation*
 - mission and activities
 - date of arrival in Kosovo, why ?
- *Specific Projects*
 - objectives, and activities
 - participants
 - successes and challenges
 - partners, relation with other actors

❖ Interviewee's opinion on the development of education in Kosovo (formal or nonformal)

- *Development of education in the post-conflict period*
 - main tasks, successes and challenges
 - main actors
 - role of the organisation and cooperation with other actors
- *Current development of education*
 - main tasks, successes and challenges
 - main actors
 - role the organisation and cooperation with other actors

❖ Interviewee 's opinion on main educational sectors (formal education)

What has been/is done ? Why ? Actors, successes and challenges

- *Pedagogy*
- *Curricula and textbooks*

➤ *Teacher training*

❖ Interviewee's opinion on sectors important for reconciliation
What has been/is done? Why? Actors, successes and challenges.

➤ *Human Rights Education, peace education*

➤ *Intercultural education*

➤ *Bilingual education*

➤ *Integrated school*

➤ *Inter-ethnic activities*

❖ Interviewee's opinion on reconciliation and education (formal or non-formal)

- What do you think about reconciliation? Is it possible? Desirable?
- Has education a role in reconciliation? Why? How?
- What are the main obstacles?
- Who should be the actors of this process respecting to education? Why?

2- INTERVIEWS' GUIDELINES FOR PARTICIPANTS

❖ Child's identity

➤ *General objective information*

- age, name
- where do you live? since how long?
- ...

➤ *Self-identity perception*

- personality
- do you feel belonging to a particular group? (friends, association, family, ethnic community, kosovo, serbia, europe,...) why? in which order? what are the characteristics of this group?
- ...

➤ *Impact of the conflict*

- do you remember the war?
- did you participate? your family?
- what are the main consequences of the war on you and your family?
- ...

❖ Participation in the educational project

➤ Motivation of the child

- how did you discover the activity?
- why did you want to join?
- have you already practised this cultural/sporting activity before?
- how often do you go there?
- do you enjoy going there?
- ...

➤ Family and community's attitude towards these projects

- what was the reaction of your parents and friends concerning your participation in the project?
- are they involved in the project?
- what do they think about the fact that you are playing with Albanians/Serbs?
- ...

❖ Child's attitude towards the other ethnic group and reconciliation.

➤ Attitude within the project

- did you make friends in the project?
- did you make friends from the other community?
- do the other Albanians/Serbs make other friends like you? why?
- what do you think about them?
- do you feel different from them? why? and your friends?
- are you in contact with them outside from the project? why?
- were there some conflicts due to ethnicity? how has it been solved?
- what is the general atmosphere between the two ethnic group? are you mixed or do you stay with the young people of your ethnic group?
- ...

➤ Attitude towards the entire group

- what do/did you think about Serbs/ Albanians? why?
- do/did you participate in demonstrations against them? what kind? why?
- what do/did you think about violence against them?
- ...

➤ Attitude towards reconciliation and role of the project

- is there various opportunities for you to make sporting and cultural activities with Serbs/ Albanians? why (main obstacles)?
- would you like that more sporting/cultural activities between young Serbs and Albanians should be organised? why?
- would you like to be in the same schools as Albanians/Serbs? Why?
- do you think that the Serbs also suffered like you? why? did you think it before?
- do you think that Serbs and Albanians could live together and be friends? why? is it desirable?
- what do you think about the division between Serbs and Albanians?
- what do you think about the future of Kosovo?
- do you think that the project make you change your opinion about the other group? why?

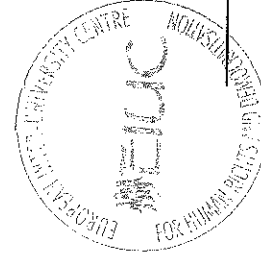
APPENDIX III: TABLE OF THE PROJECTS

The two following tables summarise the projects studied, since they are separated in the thesis according to its thematic structure. A double distinction is drawn: between the actors and projects working on the formal education system and the one focusing on the nonformal one; between those impacting directly on reconciliation and those contributing in a more indirect way to this process. The latest distinction refers to projects fostering a quality education, which is a basis for reconciliation, as explained in the second chapter of the first part, with respect to formal education; and to projects enabling the development of inter-ethnic recreational activities (Sport Sans Frontières' project), with respect to nonformal education. Projects working directly on reconciliation deal with issues conveying positive values for reconciliation and aiming at improving the particular Serbo-Albanians relationships, such as peace education, history teaching, inter-ethnic dialogue between educational actors, and inter-ethnic recreational activities, as far as nonformal education is concerned.

ACTORS AND PROJECTS WORKING ON THE FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

INDIRECT IMPACT ON RECONCILIATION

ACTORS	PROFIL	PROJECTS STUDIED
UNICEF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International Organisation. - In Kosovo since 1999. - Role in education reconstruction & development (infrastructures, back-to-school campaigns, curricula Lead Agency). - Partners: local NGOs, the Government and other educational stakeholders. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <u>Child Friendly School</u> : (since 2000). Pilot schools. Aims: influencing the policy-making, providing models to foster a quality education, promotion of child-centred and interactive pedagogy, democratic learning environment, all children inclusiveness and teacher trainings. → fosters a quality education, pressuring MEST.
KEC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local NGO. - Created in 2000. - Sustainable and very influential in the Kosovo educational field. - Main partner of the MEST. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <u>Several projects</u>. Aims: fostering a quality education: school accessibility for all; learner-centred and participatory pedagogy; education against corruption; Particular focus on human rights. Strategy: capacity-building, teacher training, production of educational manuals, pressure on MEST, questioning the involvement of MEST in human rights projects. - <u>Pupils Councils</u>. Aims: developing these Councils foreseen in the law, since they are connected with children empowerment and democratic values. Strategy: Teacher empowerment. From 2003 to 2006. Project continued through the creation of another NGO. → NGOs supply to MEST in implementing the law. → contributes to the establishment of the quality education foreseen in the law.



ACTORS AND PROJECTS WORKING ON THE FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

DIRECT IMPACT ON RECONCILIATION

ACTORS	PROJECTS STUDIED	
	PROFIL	
World Vision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International NGO whose projects are implemented by locals. - Clubs for peace : Implemented since 2002. Currently 16 Clubs within 5 municipalities' schools. One hour per week. Selection of pupils on a voluntary basis. By a "peace facilitator" (local NGO staff). Through playing. Aim : transmission of skills, attitudes conducive for peace. → successful according to children → issues of sustainability and inclusiveness of all children → concrete way of teaching peace: a model for MEST ? 	
Nansen Dialogue	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International network of NGOs located in the Balkan. - Aim: reconciliation through dialogue. - Dialogue in Education: 2003-2007. Strategy: inter-ethnic dialogue between the main educational actors: teachers, governments, students. Seminars, working groups. Design of a specific curriculum on peace education to be provided to MEST. Aim: to impact on the educational system. → obstacles: implementation of initiatives in the Serbian part of Kosovo due to political pressures; lack of participation since March 2004. → shows the obstacles faced in fostering an education conducive for reconciliation → indicates that some actors are willing to work for an education promoting reconciliation in Kosovo. 	
Council of Europe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International regional organisation. Present in the Kosovo field since 2000. - Interculturalism and Bologna process: since 2008. Aim: to remedy the inadequacies of the current educational system to establish a modern education in accordance with European standards. Through: history, languages policy, teacher training, legislation review, production of guidelines, teacher trainings. → hopeful for the establishment of an education fostering reconciliation. 	

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ACTORS AND PROJECTS WORKING ON THE NONFORMAL EDUCATION

INDIRECT IMPACT ON RECONCILIATION

ACTORS	PROJECTS STUDIED	
	PROFIL	
SSF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International NGO. - In Kosovo since 2001. Use of sport and artistic activities as pedagogical tools (against violence, trauma healing, building social links, overcoming ethnic boundaries, among others). Aim : promoting a pedagogical use of sport and artistic activities in schools and outside schools. Strategy : capacity-building. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Youth Centres Programme. Aim : reinforcing the capacities of Youth Centres in sporting and artistic activities and fostering cooperation between Serbs and Albanians. Strategy : young leaders empowerment through inter-ethnic trainings. → a way of promoting inter-ethnic recreational activities.

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ACTORS AND PROJECTS WORKING ON THE NONFORMAL EDUCATION

DIRECT IMPACT ON RECONCILIATION

Irregular inter-ethnic encounters	World Vision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International NGO whose projects are implemented by locals. - Summer/winter camps. In Skopje. Since 2001. Each year. one week. Morning : peace education through experiential pedagogy. Afternoon : mixed leisure activities organised. Leisure activities as a way to mix teenagers. → impact on prejudices reduction.
	Musicians Without Borders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Summer camp. In Skopje in 2008. Foreseen to take place each year. As a continuity of the regular Rock School project. One week. equal number of Albanian and Serbian participants. Music as a goal. → impact on prejudices reduction. - no generalisation of positive feelings towards the whole ethnic group.
	Council of Europe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Europa Park project. Summer camp in Germany. Each year. One week. Equal number of Serbian and Albanian participants. Plus : Israelis and Palestinians. Conferences all day long : serious topics directly connected with reconciliation (war, prejudices, ...) Leisure as the possibility to relax two hours per day in the amusement camp on an individual initiative. → no impact on prejudice reduction.
Regular inter-ethnic encounters	Musicians Without Borders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rock School. Initially (2004) foreseen to be one school enabling both community child to play music. But, security concerns : established in two branches in 2008 : one for the Albanians, one for the Serbs. Inter-ethnic encounters take place in the summer camps. Hope for the unification of the school in the future. Willingness from the NGO to enable as much as possible cooperation between the two branches. Music as a goal. → shows the obstacles to the implementation of inter-ethnic recreational projects. → interesting way of fostering reconciliation : creating a superior common identity : a particular musical identity.

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APPENDIX IV : TABLE ON HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION IN KOSOVO.

DIMENSIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION	CONCEPTS	KOSOVO
Education for human rights	- principles and objectives: development of skills, attitudes and values promoting human rights.	- recognition of the importance of developing such skills, attitudes and values in its legal and policy-making educational documents (law on primary and secondary education; strategy MEST 2007-2017, among others).
Human rights in education	- integration of human rights within the overall educational system: policy, institutional, the legal, and school level.	- Human rights Office within the Ministry of Education. - Human rights strategy. - School Board and Pupils Councils within schools.
Human rights education through	- <u>Learning process</u> : participatory and learner-centred pedagogy; respectful teaching (language). - <u>Learning content</u> : specific or cross-curriculum approach.	- Promotion of the educational rights of minorities: Constitution, law on primary and secondary education, law on languages, among others. - New pedagogy promoted (NCF) - Specific subject-curricula including human rights: Civic Education. - Cross-curricular approach promoted in the NCF.

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