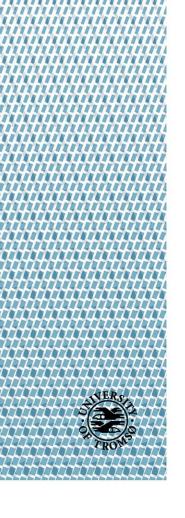Centre for Peace Studies

Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education

"This is Kosova"

Segregation and dialogue through education in Kosovo

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Abstract

The Balkan region has been a place for conflict ant intergroup bias several times the last 100 years. After Tito's death in 1980, Yugoslavia started to crumble from within. The economy was in ruin, the question of ethnicity, which had been hidden away during Titos rule, surfaced and wars broke out because of this. Some of the republics and autonomous states in Yugoslavia demanded to be independent. Kosovo was one autonomous state that wanted independent, after years of riots and minor conflicts, a war broke out in Kosovo in 1999. NATO intervened in the war between Kosovo and Serbia to stop ethnic cleansing. After the war there has been a division between the ethnic groups, the majority of Kosovo-Serbs are living in the north, in a city called Mitrovica. The segregation between the ethnic groups have been so extreme that most of the young people who are growing up now, have never seen or met a person from the other ethnic group. When a society is segregated, and the division between the people are so clear, it could easily turn into a new conflict. There is no communication, so no one really know what is going on with the other group. To change that I believe one can extracurricular activities where mixed education I central. By using Allport's theory of contact and Gaertner's three conditions for intergroup contact, I will look into how and/or if mixed education can help to promote long lasting peace in Kosovo.

Acknowledgments

Contents

"No one is born hating another person because of the colour of his skin, or his background or his religion. People learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite"

Nelson Mandela

1.0. Introduction

In the 1990s, there were several wars in the Balkan region and in 1999 the war came to Kosovo. Since then there has been a division between the Serbian minority group and the Albanian majority group. One could argue that it is a society where segregation between the ethnic groups has become the norm. This I will come back to more thoroughly later in this thesis. This research paper will focus on the relationship between Serbs and Albanians living in Kosovo, more precisely the lack of a functional relationship. If the population of Kosovo had a functional relationship, they would have been working together to heal the mental war wounds to create a better Kosovo. Some people might have been working to end the segregation between the ethnic groups, but the majority of the people have not done that. I wish to look into why this segregation is happening, and if it is possible to reverse it by using education and how this could be done. What I intend to find out in this paper, is if it possible is to use education as a tool to create dialogue and understanding? In this context dialogue does not necessarily mean talking about the past and healing mental war wounds, but rather a communication channel through similar interests and a way to demystify the other. My research question for this thesis is, how can mixed education help to promote long lasting peace in Kosovo? I will look into this by going through the background story of the war to show the complexity of the situation. When referring to education in this thesis I will be writing of extracurricular activities, such as music, IT and so on.

When approaching this topic about how to create dialogue, communication and/or long lasting peace in Kosovo between two ethnic groups that live so divided, I could have chosen different angles. I chose education as a tool for my thesis, because education is a mutual interest for all people no matter their ethnic background. In addition, it might be easier to make children or young people interested in meeting other people. This is because those who are adults now, they remember the war and they have created an image of the other ethnic group as someone who is not good. Unfortunately, some adults do transfer their views on the other group onto their children, and by doing that, they are nourishing the segregation in the society. However, in this paper I will look into and discuss whether it is possible to create some communication and awareness between the ethnic groups by introducing classes where both groups can participate.

I have a personal interest in this subject and that comes from having a part of my family who are Albanians from Kosovo, and therefore I have always paid extra attention whenever there was something about Kosovo in the news. My own personal interest in Kosovo and my objectivity is something I will come back to in the methodology chapter. I did not grow up in a home where anything Albanian was present, such as language, culture and/or heritage. I have always been aware of my background, and very interested to learn about it. Because of my eagerness to learn about Kosovo, I have travelled to Kosovo every summer for the past six years. I have learned about the culture, language and the people there but I have also been very surprised to see how divided the society seems to be. I knew from the media that there was still some tension between Serbs and Albanians living in Kosovo, but in my visits to the country, I soon realized that using the word tension to describe how things are between the two groups might be an understatement. As I travelled around, I observed that in many villages there where many houses that stood empty and looked like they were falling apart and the gardens looked overgrown. When I asked why it was so, the most common answer was that the people who lived there had gone away. Somehow, I felt that there was more to it, so I kept on asking questions such as: (1) Who lived there? (2) But why did they leave? (3) Do you think they will/can come back? The answers I received surprised me, because there seemed to be so many emotions that were supressed behind the answers that were given to me. I should perhaps add that Albanians populate the villages I have been to. The answers I got was: (1) Serbians used to live there. (2) They left because of what they did. They left because of the war. This is not Serbia, why should they stay here. (3) Why should they come back, this is not Serbia. No, not after what they did. I think people would be angry if they came back, it is too soon.

I found this to be very curious. Where did all this hate come from? I remember my grandmother telling stories from before the war, and what she told was that everyone got along. People were friends and neighbours, people helped each other out when someone needed help. There was only one thing that people did not do, and that was marrying someone with a different ethnic background, but the same thing went for with people with a different religious view. My grandmother explained that at one point friendship and kindness stopped being the norm, because some politicians in Belgrade and Pristina disagreed and that was when the conflict started. Now I understand that this is a simplified version of what really happened from the mid-1980s and towards the war in 1999.

The background chapter is quite extensive, however, I concluded that it was necessary so that any reader could start to comprehend how complex the situation is in the Balkans. Even though it is years since any large-scale conflict happened in the region, there are still differences that remain unresolved and create minor conflicts. There will be a short description of the different cultures that have influenced the Balkan region, through occupation and trade. I will also write shortly about how different traditions have influenced the organisation of the society, because the society is still to some degree influenced by these traditions. Then I will continue with the more recent history, starting from World War II, and the beginning and the end of Tito's Yugoslavia. Lastly, in the historical chapter, I will go through the events in the 1990s that led up to the war. I will also go through the humanitarian intervention in Kosovo, and end with the after-math of the war.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the methodological parts of this thesis. I will start with explaining my personal background, focusing on the insider vs. outsider problems that can be an issue when one does research. Then I will continue with describing why I decided to go to Kosovo, what I learnt there and whom I met and so on. I will also describe the challenges I had when trying to get contacts, and how I dealt with them. Lastly, I will go through the methodology I chose. I will justify my research strategy and the use of documents as data. I have used different documents as data so I will further explain the challenges I came across with using different types of documents.

In my fourth chapter, I will be presenting the theoretical concepts I will be using later in my analysis chapter. The theoretical concepts I have chosen are from Allport (1954) and Gaertner (2000). Both of these researchers have worked with social categorisation and intergroup relations, and how to reduce conflict and/or bias between groups. Firstly, I will explain what it is that makes an in-group and an out-group. I will also write shortly about the difference between majority and minority groups. I will go through Gaertners (2000) three concepts of, decategorisation, recategorisation and mutual differentiation. Lastly, I will write about Allport's (1954) four concepts to reduce conflict and/or bias between groups, equal group status, common goal, intergroup cooperation and authority support.

The last chapter, before the conclusion, is the analysis/case study I have been working on. In this chapter I will start by describing my experiences from my fieldwork in Kosovo. I will

also add some comments from people I met during my two months there. The people I met were locals, but also international people who had worked or were working in Kosovo. The international people I met were either military, NGO workers or working within politics. I cannot mention any of these people by name because I was not interviewing them, but I am allowed to use their comments to contextualise the situation in Kosovo. The next thing I will write about are the examples I have chosen to use in my analysis. The first example is the Nansen Dialogue Network, this organisation works with creating dialogue and communication in the Balkans where there has been war. I will come back to this in the analysis chapter. The last example I am using in a summer school called Rock School, this school has office in Mitrovica in North Kosovo. This summer school is also working to create communication between the ethnic groups in Kosovo, and therefore they are a good example to use in this thesis. Then I will start on my analysis, in this part I will use the theoretical concepts from the theory chapter to analyse the up and down sides to the method the organisations, from my examples, are using. Through the analysis I hope to find out if the theoretical concepts support my examples as ab approach to reduce segregation in Kosovo. Lastly, I will write the text analysis. Analysing the text is important to understand where it came from, why someone produced it and how it can be linked to other texts. I will continue to use the most relevant methods that I wrote about in my methodology chapter.

Even though the situation in Kosovo appears to be rigid now, my hypothesis for this thesis is that mixed education can help to promote long lasting peace in Kosovo. Perhaps not right now but as people become more open to communicating with people from the other ethnic group. This relates to peace studies because it is about creating a stable peace in a region that has been through conflict and war. By having mixed education groups, it should be possible to humanise each group to the other, and little by little removing those damaging stereotypes that can create bias and/or conflict.

2.0.   Background chapter

In this chapter, I will put this thesis topic into a historical context. To do this I will start with explaining where Kosovo is on the map, and then continuing with the historical background for Kosovo, before rounding off the chapter with more recent events. History is a very important component in this region because it is so complex. People who live here use the history in their daily life to explain why things are the way they are, and politicians use the history as a political tool and as a collective identifier within the ethnic groups, as we will see later. History was also arguably used as a political tool during the break-up of the previous Yugoslavia and the war that followed. This I will come back to later. The history of the region is one of the reasons why the independence of Kosovo is seen as controversial by some nations, this I will come back to later. Knowing the historical background to this region is important in order to fully understand why there is so much disagreement between the people who live there.

The Balkan region is located in the southeast part of Europe and in the past it has been seen as the wilder part of Europe, where people lived by clan rules and where blood feuds were common. To some degree this might have been true, but as with the rest of Europe the Balkan region went through changes. What makes this region so special is that it has been ruled by both the Western part of Europe and the Islamic Ottomans. This means that the region has absorbed culture, religion and traditions from two different heritages and this is still visible in the modern Balkan region. Kosovo is only partially recognized by the world as a country, and because of previous conflicts, Kosovo is struggling. According to United Nations Development Program (UNDP) the unemployment rate is now 35,1%, amongst people under 25 years it is 60,2% and 30% of the

Figure 1, Kosovo in Europe.
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/1/18/Europe-Republic_of_Kosovo.svg/713px-Europe-Republic_of_Kosovo.svg.png

population is categorized as poor[1]. Kosovo gained independence in 2008, after being controlled by the UN since the war[2]. I will go more thoroughly into this later in this chapter. Kosovo is Europe's newest country and is also the youngest nations in Europe. They have one of the youngest population in Europe, 53% of the population is 25 or younger[3]. This might be one of the reasons why Kosovo is experiencing social problems, and is struggling to raise social welfare and create a stable society.

2.1.   Geographical facts

Firstly, I would like to start with the geographical perspective of where the Republic of Kosovo is located. Kosovo is a landlocked state. Located on the Balkan Peninsula, Kosovo borders with four countries. To the north and northeast Kosovo borders with Serbia. Macedonia is to the southeast, and to the southwest is Albania. Montenegro is to the west. The Republic of Kosovo is only partially

Figure 2 Maps of Kosovo

recognized by the United Nations (UN) and the Security Council countries, and therefore Kosovo cannot be recognized by the UN. The reason why Kosovo cannot be recognized is because both China and Russia do not recognize Kosovo, and both China and Russia holds a veto right in the UN Security Council.[4] Even though it does not show in the map here (Figure 1), Kosovo is a very small state, it is only 10,908 sq. km. (4,212 sq miles).[5] The population in Kosovo is, according to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in Kosovo, about 1,8 million people. Today the majority of the population is the Kosovo Albanians, they constitute about 92% of the population in Kosovo. The Kosovo Serbs constitute about 4% of the population, and the last 4% consists of Bosnians, Gorani, Turks, Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptians[6].

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[1] http://www.ks.undp.org/content/kosovo/en/home/countryinfo/
[2] http://www.unicef.org/kosovo/overview_15248.html
[3] http://www.unicef.org/kosovo/children_3540.html
[4] http://www.kosovocompromise.com/cms/item/topic/en.html?view=story&id=3364&sectionId=1
[5] http://www.mapsofworld.com/kosovo/
[6] http://www.ks.undp.org/content/kosovo/en/home/countryinfo/

2.2. Historical background

When writing about the Balkan region, I should clarify that the area I am focusing on is the previous Yugoslavia. The term the Balkans has frequently been used as a term to describe where the previous Yugoslavia was. However, the Balkan Peninsula also covers Greece, Bulgaria and Romania. The Balkan region is described to be an area where there never has been any protection from invasion, e.g. Italy has the mountains in the north as some protection against invasion. There might not have been many geographical challenges in order to invade the Balkan Peninsula, but trying to keep up communication internally might have been a challenge in the olden days. This is because of the mountains within the Balkans. Mazower (2001) explains that because some areas in the Balkans might have been cut off from other parts because there is a mountain in the middle, e.g. Dubrovnik had better communication with Venice than with Belgrade for instance. This is because in the past communication and interaction was easier when traveling across water and river, compared to traveling across land. Roads are a modern phenomenon, which is why traveling across land was not a first option hundreds of years ago (Mazower 2001:19). Therefore, it is fair to day that the terrain itself was a hinderance for anyone who tried to invade or occupy the Balkans.

When the trains came to the Balkans the use of them was not as widely spread as it was in the rest of Europe, mainly because of the difficult terrain. The most frequent use of transport was to use horses, oxen, mules or even camels. Camels were the main use of transport in the 1800s and they were mainly used by the Ottomans in order to transport soldiers and weapons, because of the camels' ability to carry heavy goods over long distances without having the need to be feed and to drink often. As late as the 1940 the mules were the preferred means of transport for the locals (Mazower 2001:25). During the occupations the Balkans was under in the past, the occupants would take positions in the higher parts of the hierarchy, and left the locals to the farming and pay the taxes. When the Balkan region finally gained its independence, the society had for so long been dependent on the agriculture and farmers, that the society had no upper class or aristocrats. The Balkans was essentially a region that consisted of farmers, an egalitarian society (Mazower 2001:32).

World War II completely left the Balkans in desolation. The people were scattered all over the place seeking refuge and trying to escape the war, and the civil wars that ravaged alongside and after the war. As many as 1.1 – 1.3. million people were killed during the German and Italian occupation. The majority of the people who died during the German and Italian occupation died in civil wars fought between the locals themselves. Stalin, who was fighting against Hitler, was concerned about Germany getting too much power in the Balkan region, and he called for the people to fight back. One of those who resisted the Germans was Marshal Joseph Tito, and by the end of World War II he had taken over the power of Yugoslavia and made it a unitary state before it evolved to a federal state.

In the other eastern European countries that were ruled by communists, the leaders had at some point stayed in the Soviet Union for a longer period of time. The leaders of the communist party in Yugoslavia had not spent much time or any time in USSR, and therefore the security agents and economist that were sent to Yugoslavia from USSR to help them on their way did not receive the same warm welcome as the other east European countries. Lampe (2000) writes that Tito eventually broke off his friendly tone with Stalin, not so much because of ideological differences but because the struggle to have power over Yugoslavia. The break with the USSR meant that Yugoslavia had a much more productive and friendlier tone with the West than any of the other eastern European countries. Most of east Europe had a good relationship with USSR and automatically not with the Western countries, this is of course because of the Cold War between the US and USSR (Lampe 2000:241,245,246).

The time period that is more relevant to this thesis is the period from the 1980s, after the death of Tito. Tito died in May 1980 after being hospitalized for four months. By the time he died Yugoslavia had a massive foreign debt and the internal economy was really struggling, so it was no easy task that was left to those who was going to take over after Tito (Lampe 2000:324). What followed the death of Tito was a need for an economic reform in order to balance the economy out. The Western community seemed to have respect for Tito, even though he was communist, because of his break with Stalin many years before. However, after his death the Western countries and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was not so interested in having Yugoslavia continue being a communist republic. Obviously the Western countries saw it as somewhat dangerous to have Yugoslavia as a communist republic without a strong leader, who would reject the Soviet Union (Lampe 2000:325). The concern some Western countries had about finding a political successor to govern Yugoslavia was justified.

There was no leader figure who was ready take over after Tito. However, Tito and his advisors had left a political plan.

From May 1980 Yugoslavia was supposed to be governed by a rotation system. By this, I mean that leaders were elected yearly to govern the region. For example, one year Macedonia would elect a leader who was in charge of the republic, the next year Serbia would elect a leader and so on. Because of this rotating one-year system, rivalry between the republics soon aroused, but also within the communist party itself. Needless to say, this system would eventually collapse and that is when the conflict escalated (Lampe 2000:326). This rivalry eventually evolved into the "full blown ethnic politics" problems that the republics went through in the late 1980s and 1990s, as Lampe (2000) describes in his book. In this period when the whole system was falling apart two young men from the communist party became more visible. Milan Kucan from Slovenia, and Slobodan Milosevic from Serbia. In this context it is Milosevic who is the most relevant, in relation to the conflict in Kosovo.

In the 1990s, the trouble continued in Yugoslavia, the people there were no longer happy with the system and they wanted to leave Yugoslavia and to become independent. There was a problem with this situation, because the political borders of Yugoslavia cut across ethnic borders. Slovenia might have been the only country out of the republics where there was not a big mixture of ethnic groups, and that is why Slovenia left Yugoslavia peacefully. In the other parts of Yugoslavia, people were more mixed across the borders, though in the countryside, groups tended to be more divided by ethnicity. This was one major change from when Tito ruled Yugoslavia, because during his rule nationality was not an issue. Nationality was not discussed; one can even argue that it was supressed in order to keep order in society. It was the question about ethnicity that gave "fuel to fire" during the conflicts in the 1990s. Hehir (2010:202) writes that even though there was some old hatred amongst the ethnic groups in the Balkans, the Independent International Commission on Kosovo (IICK) concluded that "the latest round of violence cannot be explained merely by references to history".

The conflict in Kosovo was something the international community could see coming, because the disturbances in Kosovo had been growing since the beginning of the 1980s. The IICK even wrote:

> "From the 1980's onwards, Kosovo exhibited all the signs of a catastrophe waiting to happen … the failure to respond adequately at an early stage of the evolution of the conflict created difficulties in later stages. At each stage of the conflict, the diplomatic options narrowed." (Hehir 2010:204)

However, because of the ethnic cleansing and extreme violence in other places in Yugoslavia, the attention was drawn away from Kosovo. The real trouble in Kosovo started when the people started talking about becoming more independent from Serbia/Yugoslavia or even fully independent. The protests that started in Kosovo shocked many Kosovo Serbs because they believed that Kosovo Albanians had benefited from the 1974 constitution. The 1974 constitution, created by Tito and his advisors in the beginning of the 1970s, reduced the power of the federal government and gave more power to the republics, and also gave more freedom to the autonomous states such as Kosovo (Lampe 2000:311-315).

Many Kosovo Serbs felt that the Kosovo Albanians dominated the political stage in Kosovo. When the protests started, some Serbs left Kosovo telling stories of rape and ethnic violence conducted by Albanians, this led to mistrust between the ethnic groups (Hehir 2010:202). The reaction from Belgrade and Milosevic was to reduce the autonomy that Kosovo has had since the 1970s. This led to some demonstrations in Kosovo, and eventually Belgrade decided to remove all Albanians who worked within law, the judicial system, education, health and medicine in Kosovo. All of these positions were now reserved for Serbian workers who lived in Kosovo. The Albanians reacted by making a parallel state within Kosovo where only Albanians were allowed to work. Creating the parallel state, also known as a phantom state, meant that the Albanians were running their own society parallel to the Serbian government. Schools, hospitals and so on that was administrated by the Albanian selected government, which was not recognised by Serbia (Hehir 2010:202,203). By the early to mid-1990s, people were really struggling in Kosovo due to high unemployment. As a result there was an explosion in private enterprises, such as small shops and restaurants that opened in this period. Before 1990 there had only been two restaurants in Pristina, capitol of Kosovo. By 1995 there were restaurants in almost every street.

The European Union (EU) set up a team that consisted of a number of international lawyers who were going to look into the situation in Yugoslavia, and after studying international law and the charters made by the UN (Charter II (4), they reached a conclusion.[7] When the people in a republic within a federation made an uproar and demanded independence, the international community should recognize them. For autonomy states, like Kosovo, there were no laws to support for any claim for independence or for the international community to recognize such claims. This is because international law states that where there is an internal conflict the international community is not supposed to intervene in sovereign affairs. However, when an internal conflict is starting to threaten the stability and peace of the rest of the region, then the international community can intervene.

The man who was elected for president in the parallel system in Kosovo, Ibrahim Rugova, was an educated man and he believed in a non-violent approach to the political messages that came from Belgrade (Lampe 2000:408). Rugova was the leader of the Democratic League for Kosovo (LDK). In the beginning of his political career, he was very popular. As the conflict with Serbia continued, Rugova was accused of not wanting the best for Kosovo and to be too moderate (Lampe 2000:408-412). There were people within Kosovo who thought Rugova was not being tough enough. Some of these people formed a guerrilla group called the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). The KLA, also known as the Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës (UÇK) in Albanian, started an armed uprising in 1996/1997 against the military police that was stationed in Kosovo and also against Serbians living in Kosovo. One of the reasons why the KLA turned violent against the military police has to do with the Dayton Peace Accords that was signed in 1995 to end the war in Bosnia. The content of that peace agreement involved not just Serbia and Bosnia but the rest of the previous Yugoslavia as well. To many Kosovo Albanians the Dayton agreement was an "extraordinary trauma", and they could not believe that their peaceful resistance had been overlooked by the world. Hehir (2010) points out that this event can be seen as the point where the pacifist movement in Kosovo died, and that is why the KLA became more popular (Hehir 2010:203).

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[7] http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter2.shtml

In 1998 the KLA had managed to drive out the Serbian police from many Albanian villages, and the violence had increased a lot over the past year. Hehir (2010) argues in his book that the KLA was inspired by the Irish people living in North-Ireland, and therefore created a strategy that was inspired by events in North-Ireland. This could be understood as the KLA thinking that the only way to get attention from the international community is not through diplomacy, but through violence. The KLA started to attack the police force and Serbian people more frequently and hoping that the Serbian military police would retaliate in such a way that would look very excessive. The reason for this was that the KLA hoped NGOs and other organisations would react to the excessive use of violence and report it, and that it would lead to countries condemning the Milosevic regime and come to help the Kosovo Albanians (Hehir 2010:203,204). As the KLA became more popular in Kosovo, Rugova seemed to lose his political power. And so there was a confusion for the international community because they were not sure who they were supposed to negotiate with.

After a brief ceasefire in 1998 the violence came back stronger than before, and through 1998 and the beginning of 1999 there were allegedly massacres in Kosovo. By March 1999, the international community invited both sides to a conference in Ramboillet, outside Paris, France. Both members of the KLA and Rugovas party were present at the negotiations, as were representatives from the Serbian side. The conference was an arena for negotiating resulting in the international community offering to send in peacekeeping forces to establish order. In addition, Serbia had to withdraw the majority of the troops they had sent in, the KLA had to stop attacking Serbians and Kosovo was going to regain the autonomy and freedom authorised by the 1974 constitution. As mentioned earlier, Kosovo was a province within Serbia and for a long time Kosovo was autonomous. The 1974 constitution made it easier for the autonomous provinces to get their views passed in the Federal Chamber (Lampe 2000:313). The Kosovo delegation was pressured into accepting the deal, which in the end turned out be the best thing they could have done from an Albanian perspective. Milosevic on the other hand, refused to accept any deal with the Kosovo delegation because of his previous experience with the international community when negotiating the Dayton agreement between Bosnia and Serbia. And because the Kosovo delegation had accepted the agreement, this showed some goodwill and cooperation in the eyes of the international community, and this might have been what NATO used as an argument when they allowed themselves to intervene in the conflict.

After the failed negotiations at Ramboillet the violence escalated in Kosovo, and at this point it had turned into a full ethnic war. Allegedly, Milosevic had created a military operation called Operation Horseshoe, as a way to regain control of Kosovo. Operation Horseshoe was a plan to remove all Albanians, especially those with close ties to the KLA, from Kosovo in order to change the ethnic demography (Lampe 2000:413). Over 1/2 million Albanians became refugees, and those who left Kosovo had to give up all identification papers. NATO started the bombing campaign to force Milosevic to negotiate. NATO's objectives at this point was that all Serbian military had to leave Kosovo, returning all the refugees, both Serbian and Albanian, and peacekeeping forces should be in place. Milosevic agreed to these terms, but also added that the United Nations should operate the civilian administration. Milosevic agreed to this because Russia is a member of the Security Council, and he could therefore expect some support from Russia. He also added that 999 Serbian soldiers were to stay in Kosovo. He also made it clear that this agreement was based in a ceasefire, and not to support Kosovo's independence wish(Lampe 2000:414). By the end of 1999, the violence had reversed, Albanians were now attacking the Serbians left in Kosovo.This forced Serbians to move into enclaves or north to Mitrovica, where the majority are Serbs.

2.3. March 1999 and onwards

Even though the US is a member of NATO, the military operation that started in 1999 is always referred to as being an operation that the US and NATO did together, as if the US was not a member of NATO. Since June 1999 NATO has led a Kosovo Force (KFOR) that has mainly been a peace support operation in order to promote a multi-ethnic, democratic and stable peace in Kosovo. KFOR consisted of soldiers from 30 countries, where 23 countries were NATO members and seven were KFOR partners.[8] I will try to be consistent in my use of words here, and write NATO when discussing this operation because it was a NATO operation. NATO started a military operation called Operation Allied Force. The operation lasted from March 24 until June 10, and turned out to be 78 days of bombing. There seem to have been an idea among some of the politicians that a bombing campaign would force an end to the violence quickly, despite the fact that military strategists stated several times that a bombing campaign would not be quick. There was another lapse of judgement by politicians when Bill Clinton went on TV and said that they had no plans to put military troops in Kosovo (Hehir 2010:207). Because of past involvement in other conflicts, many countries

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[8] http://www.aco.nato.int/kfor/about-us/natos-role-in-kosovo.aspx

were not interested in putting their own soldiers at risk, which is also the reason why the bombing campaign lasted for a long time. To avoid Serbian firing squads NATO had their planes drop the bomb from 15.000 feet, safeguarding the lives of pilots. Three things came out of bombing from that height. (I) Locking onto the military targets, such as infantry, tanks, police units and so on, became much more difficult. (II) It also depended on the weather, if it was cloudy they could not continue the bombing that day. Lastly, (III) it also increased the chances of collateral damage such as hitting civilians, and civilian infrastructure. The Independent International Commission on Kosovo calculated that as much as 90% of the population in Kosovo, both Albanian and Serbs became displaced during the bombing campaign (Hehir 2010:209).

As mentioned earlier, the disturbance in Kosovo started almost two decades before the war itself broke out and the international community neglected to pay any attention to the situation. When NATO did intervene, they did so without the full support of the rest of the world. Even today, the intervention is highly debated and controversial. Those who oppose the intervention argue that the events in the 1980s were just as violent and/or brutal as the events of the 1990s, therefore the lack of interest from the West at the time shows exactly how much the West cared for Kosovo and Kosovo Albanians. Another argument is that by 1998 the total deaths were estimated to be around 500 people, with about 400.000 displaced people, and those numbers mirror a small scale conflict and not a humanitarian crisis. Those who argue that the intervention was necessary says that the beginning of the conflict showed many similarities with the beginning of other conflicts, such as the war in Bosnia. The rumours of Operation Horseshoe also made people believe that Milosevic suppression of the Albanians would escalate. These rumours gained ground as Milosevic had allowed for discriminating laws to be passed and only allowing Serbians to gain access to the job market in Kosovo, which eventually resulted in the phantom state (Hehir 2010:202).

After the bombing campaign, the international census was that Kosovo should become independent from Serbia. However, the international organisations involved also agreed that Kosovo should be a stable and secure place before any talks of independence could start. After the bombing campaign there were waves of violence between the ethnic groups, most of this violence was directed towards ethnic Serbs, perhaps as some form of retaliation. The UN Security Council resolution 1244 was set in motion June 10 1999. The resolution states that the primary responsibility of the UN in Kosovo is to put an end to the humanitarian crisis,

condemn all violence against the population of Kosovo and help all refugees and displaced people return safely to their homes.[9] June 12th the first KFOR troops arrived in Kosovo. Their objectives were to[10]:

- establish a secure environment and ensure public safety and order;
- demilitarize the Kosovo Liberation Army;
- support the international humanitarian effort; and
- coordinate with and support the international civil presence.

Lack of organization in the political sphere is one of the reasons why it took eight years for Kosovo to become stable and secure enough for all its citizens. In 2008 a declaration of independence was created. Another reason why Kosovo did not come up with the declaration before 2008 has to do with the fact that Serbia still see Kosovo as a part of Serbia, and not as a republic that could become an independent country. However, now that Serbia is aiming to start the talks and negotiations with the EU to become an EU member they have started to back down on their claim to Kosovo.[11] The UN still does not recognize Kosovo. Although as of February 2014, 106 UN member states have recognized Kosovo.[12]

One major reason why the UN cannot recognize Kosovo is because of Russia. Russia is a permanent member of the UN Security Council Russia, and therefore has the power to veto the Security Council from recognizing Kosovo, and has done so because of their close ties to Serbia. For the UN led negotiations for the status talk on Kosovo, Martti Ahtisaari was appointed the special Envoy of these negotiations. Ahtisaari came up with a Comprehensive Proposal for Kosovo Status Settlement, also known as the Ahtisaari Plan. This status settlement proposal contains a wide range of steps that were necessary to go through with before starting to discuss the status process for Kosovo. Some of these steps were about decentralisation of the local power institutions, justice system, and security, the making of constitutional and legislative documents and so on. The plan also had some criteria within the education department, which I will get back to briefly in my case study/analysis chapter. The Ahtisaari plan does not mention independence of Kosovo. However, under the General Principles (1.5.) the Ahtisaari plan states that Kosovo has the right to seek memberships in

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[9] http://www.unmikonline.org/Pages/1244.aspx
[10] http://www.aco.nato.int/kfor/about-us/history/kfor-objectives.aspx
[11] http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-25824520
[12] http://www.kosovothanksyou.com/

international organisations. There is one article that states that Kosovo should have its own independent national symbols and a flag. This could be interpreted in a way that would suggest the creators of the Ahtisaari plan had already determined the question of status.[13]

2.4.   Summary

As seen in this chapter, Kosovo has a very complex history where different cultures from North, South, East and West have had an influence on traditions and culture. Kosovo as it is today is a very small country that seems to still try to find its way in a post-conflict society. Since the war ended, Kosovo was for many years governed by international organisations, such as the UN/UNMIK and the EU. In 2008 when Kosovo declared independence, they also gained more independence to govern their own country. The war that happened in the late 1990s made about 500 000 people internally displaced or refugees and almost 15 years later, there are still people who cannot return to their homes. Some of the reasons for this I will come back to in a later chapter.

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[13] http://www.kosovocompromise.com/2007/pdf/Ahtisaaris-Proposal-full-version.pdf

3.0. Methodology

In this chapter, I will focus on the methodological part of the research. Methodology is the method of collecting data for the research. Therefore, I will write about my fieldwork/fieldtrip, and then write about what methodological framework I considered appropriate for this paper. I will also write about why I chose to do my research on Kosovo, and how my personal background can affect my views on the matter and the turnout of my research. There is controversy over what to call Kosovo/Kosova. In the region Kosovo is used by those who are not Albanian and Kosova is what the Albanian populations calls Kosovo/Kosova. In English Kosovo is the word that is used the most both in the news and in academic literature, so therefore I will also use Kosovo in my texts.

In this methodological chapter, I will mostly use Alan Bryman (2012) as a reference. That is because Bryman (2012) was the most used reference in the classes about method, and I find that it is very difficult to find anyone who agrees on how the methods really are supposed to be conducted. By using Bryman (2012), I will have a continuity on how to use the methods I have chosen for my research. During my process of writing and researching the topic, I had some difficulties narrowing down my topic and staying to the same research topic. This is because of the information I did or did not find on my fieldtrip to Kosovo. However, even though my topic has varied, the methodological part, the way I have gathered information, has stayed the same. When working on my research I found that using qualitative content analysis was the methodological approach I needed to use. Later in this chapter I will write about what content analysis is, and how it is used and applied but also what the challenges have been with this methodological approach.

3.1. Insider vs. Outsider

My research topic focuses on Kosovo, more precisely how integrated education can help to promote understanding and awareness in order to create a stable and peaceful future. As I wrote in the introduction, I have some close ties to Kosovo due to the fact I have family that comes from Kosovo. However, I did not grow up with the culture, language or any political inputs from that side of my family, therefore I believe I can distance myself a little from the situation and not be as biased as someone who was fully from Kosovo. It might also be worth mentioning that my family are Kosovo-Albanians, and therefore belong to the majority group in Kosovo. This could lead me to unconsciously favour the Albanian point of view, and look away from the Serbian point of view. On the other hand, it could lead me to overcompensate and favour the Serbian point of view by being too critical to the Albanian view.

An issue I have to consider when doing this research is the insider – outsider question. As written earlier, because of my background being half-Albanian and my close ties to Kosovo, I have to take extra care in order to stay objective. Dwyer and Buckle (2009) explain an insider as being someone who shares characteristics, role, experiences and language. But it also includes religion, culture, and background and so on (Dwyer & Buckle 2009:55). An outsider on the other hand shares nothing in common with the groups (s)he is researching. Therefore I might not be a fully insider, because I do not share the exact same experiences, language, religion, background or culture. However, to the other ethnic group I might be seen as a partial Albanian insider which is why I have to be aware of what I am writing and where I get my resources from. That is why I should dive into the research with eyes fully open and imagine that I know nothing of the situation from before. Doing this should keep me as objective as possible (Dwyer & Buckle 2009:55). One way of checking myself to see if I am staying objective is whether I am consistent with my use of pronouns. Dwyer explains how she ended up writing words such as "us" and "we", and "they" and "them", and by doing identified herself with one part and pushing away the other part (Dwyer & Beckle 2009:56). To stay as objective as possible it might be best to stay true to using the same pronouns for both groups.

3.2. My fieldwork

I decided that in order for to gain as much knowledge about Kosovo and the situation there, I had to travel to Kosovo and do fieldwork. I was in Kosovo from the beginning of July until 1st September. While staying in Kosovo, I attended the Summer Program at the American University in Kosovo (AUK). Here I took some courses on the history of the Balkan region, as well as why and how the international community did intervene in Kosovo. At AUK they brought in guest lectures that had stayed in Kosovo, or the Balkan region before, during and/or after the war. These people were judges, journalists, soldiers, politicians (both Albanian and Serbian) or engineers. They shared their stories from staying in Kosovo, and how they had seen the country develop over the past decades. Some were positive, others were not so positive about where Kosovo is headed.

During my time in Kosovo, I found it to be almost impossible to get in contact with any organization that worked on the subject of contact, and/or communication or any other relations between Albanians and Serbs living in Kosovo. I started to contact organizations in May, and I got no response from anyone. When I realized that I was not going to get in contact with anyone, I considered changing my topic to minority groups in the education system in Kosovo with focus on the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian groups (RAE). Then when I reached out to different organizations I got one answer from an organization called Balkan Sunflower, who work with minority groups in the education system. My contact in this organization shared much valuable information with me, both on the RAE-groups but also on contact between the other groups in Kosovo. My contact also could tell me, was that it is very normal for people to start their summer holiday in June, one month before the official summer holiday start and then not get back until September. This was something I was unaware of, but it did make sense since I had sent so many e-mails to so many different organizations without getting any response at all in that time period.

When I came back to Tromsø, I realized that I did not need interviews and other people to talk to me about the segregation in Kosovo. I could very well find out about that myself, looking at my own experiences from staying in Kosovo for two months while attending the Summer Program at the American University in Kosovo. I also learned a lot from the Summer Program, and I got to talk to many interesting people, such as politicians, judges and

journalists. And with the help of litterateur and non-governmental organization (NGO) reports, I could continue my research on the original topic. Next to the NGO reports, I am using articles written by people who have been working with this topics for years, for instance people working for the Nansen Dialogue Center. I am also going to be using reports written by other organizations that have been working in the area since the war, such as UNDP, NATO, UNMIK, OSCE and so on. Newspaper articles are also a source that I am using in order to assess the situation in Kosovo today, and so I am using those as well.

3.3. Methodology

As mentioned above, I will use reports from different organizations in my analysis, which is why the focus in this chapter will be about a branch within qualitative research called contents analysis. I will also use other ways of collecting information that are closely related to content analysis, methods such as text analysis and documents as sources of data. When speaking of documents as a source of data it is meant documents such as letters, diaries, autobiographies, newspapers, magazines and photographs. In my research when using this method I will mostly use newspapers as those tell a lot of what is going on, however they do not tell the whole story which is why I have to use several newspapers. The very idea of using these kind of documents is that they are not written because they are supposed to be a part of social research, they are out there because someone created them for some purpose (Bryman 2012:543).

When it comes to documents, it is important to make the distinction between official and private documents. In this research it seems to be more useful using official documents. Official documents can be created by the state and/or organizations, but if they are created by an organization, they are usually referred to as official documents deriving from private sources (Bryman 2012:549-550). Both of these versions of official documents have some disadvantages, such as their access to information and sources and if they are withholding information and so on. Another great source of information is mass-media inputs such as newspapers, magazines and television programs (Bryman 2012:552).

Another source I will be using is virtual documents, which means documents found on the World Wide Web. This will also be my main source because most of the reports I need I will

find online. Also most of the organizations that I have previously stated that I will use as sources have websites where I can find any information, but because the web is so vast it is important to remember to be critical and check when it was last updated (Bryman 2012:554). Virtual documents might be the most important source when I gather my information, this is because the organizations that are in Kosovo do not publish everything they find out, they rather just publish it on their website. There are of course some problems when using websites as source because a search engine only gives you a small portion of what is out on the internet, and your search depend on your keywords. Websites disappear and new ones turns up all the time, therefore it is important to write down the date of your visit to that particular website, and because they are changing all the time it can be good to inform of when the page was last updated (Bryman 2012:655).

What is important to remember with text analysis, document analysis and/or content analysis, is that all texts have to be read on the terms they were produced and who they were written for according to Atkinson and Coffey in Bryman (2012). Because every text is produced with a certain reason or purpose in mind. Every document is somehow linked to other documents because of background information meaning that they reference to other documents, as well as some documents are written as a response to previous documents. Atkinson and Coffey refers to this as inter-textuality (Bryman 2012:554).

When it comes to the analytical part of the research, or interpreting the documents, there are several ways of doing this. One can use critical discourse analysis, qualitative content analysis, semiotics and hermeneutics ways of understanding the texts in question. In my research I will likely have to use all of the methods mentioned above, except semiotics because I am not analysing signs and symbols in my research. Firstly, there is qualitative content analysis. For this purpose, I will only call it content analysis. This way of analysing text is one of the most common ways of understanding texts within the qualitative way of analysing documents. Because this is a qualitative way of analysing data it does not emphasize numbers, but it is focused on the use of words and texts, and how issues are discussed (Bryman 2012:380). This way of using content analysis is a very flexible way to analyse texts, however it is not very well defined in definitions (Hsieh, Shannon 2005:1277). To collect data by using content analysis one has to look for certain words, concepts, themes, phrases, or sentences in the text. When analyzing the text, or coding the text, one has to break

the text down into those words, concepts or phrases to really see what the text is about.[14] Some of the words that I will look for when I am using this method will be; protest, conflict, education, Albanian, Serbs, ethnicity, integration, segregation, and reconciliation and so on.

Critical discourse analysis can be used when analysing newspapers. For instance in my research I want to look for propaganda against the others. The reason why discourse analysis is such a good method for newspaper, and other written documents is because it really focuses on the language as a way of demonstrating power. This is linked to ideology and socio-cultural change (Bryman 2012:536). Therefore when looking at the newspaper I would look for negatively charged words against the other ethnic group. For example, generalisation about the other ethnic group, or areas where the other ethnic group lives in order to create an image that everybody is like that, and that is the critical thinking in discourse analysis. However, because I do not speak either Serbian or Albanian, the newspapers I will be looking at will be international. In these papers, some of the propaganda might be rewritten or hidden and this is another thing to look for. However, it can also be used in other documents when searching for bias or other forms of being non-partial (Bryman 2012:557).

The last strategy for analysing texts that I will use is called hermeneutics, this strategy was originally used when interpreting theological texts. The basic understanding of hermeneutics is that the analyst has to see beyond the text, and try to see the text from the writers point of view. There are three points one has to remember when using hermeneutics and that is (1) the social and historical context. Which means that one always have to think about who wrote the text, and in what time period was the text written, and what background did the writer have and so on. The (2) second part is the formal moment, which means analysing the formal and structural aspects of the text. The last part (3) is the interpretation and re-interpretation of the text, which is the part when you have re-read the text and take the other parts (1) and (2) into account when you will start to analyse the text (Bryman 2012:560-561).

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[14] https://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~palmquis/courses/content.html

3.4. Summary

Since my research is about Kosovo, and it is related to the ethnic war and conflict that was going on the late 1990s, I have to remember my personal background and relations to the country. As mentioned above, the insider vs. outsider theory is something I have to keep in mind when working on this research. And especially since one group can perceive me as an insider in the other group, it is important to keep myself objective and be critical. Finding sources for this research turned out to be difficult when I was looking for informants, however when I started using documents there turned out to be a lot of information about Kosovo, both on the history and the current political situation. Therefore, I need methodological helping tools to analyse the documents, so I have chosen qualitative content analysis, critical discourse analysis and hermeneutics. All of these tools have their strong side, as well as some weaknesses. Because I have different documents, official, virtual and newspapers, I can use each method as it suits the documents best.

4.0. Theoretical concepts

In this chapter I will discuss the theoretical concepts I will use to explore the relationship between the Serbian and Albanian population in Kosovo, and continue the discussion in the direction towards the possibility to reduce the segregation in Kosovo by using these theories in an educational setting. Allport (1954) and Gaertner (2000) created the theoretical concepts I have chosen to use in this thesis. They both focus on the meaning social categorisation has to our society. They also look at how bias and conflict can occur because of this categorisation, and how to reduce the bias and/or conflict. These concepts are already integrated concepts within academia, because the concepts are created and used by renowned researchers. The concepts are fully developed, this means that there is one certain way of interpreting the concepts. I will briefly mention what makes a group and the bond that keep some people together while excluding others. The concepts that I have chosen to use in my paper are used to describe certain social process, and therefore I can relate them into my discussion about social interaction later in my thesis.

Before continuing to explain how to reduce bias and conflict between groups, it is also important to know what makes a group. From a social categorisation perspective, belonging to a group comes naturally because people always find a way to relate to some people and not relate to other people. When people gather in a group they might see themselves as an in-group and other groups as the out-group. Allport (1954) describes the connection people have with each other as something we have from when we are born, because we are all born into one family, who lives on a street in a city, in a country. All these are identifiers people will use to identify similar people who they can create contact with and include in their in-group. For example family is a natural in-group, having the same religion or ethnicity as someone can also be a way to create an in group (Allport 1954:29-33).

Throughout the thesis the concepts of minority and majority group continues to be frequently used, Allport (1954) describes these concepts in *The Nature of Prejudice*. Being in a minority group means that this group have less people in their group than the majority group. A group has characteristics that binds the people together, these characteristics are often seen as good and the people that are bonded together with these characteristics create an in-group. The majority group tends to find some stereotypical ideas about the minority group, these ideas can be negative and/or mocking and create a foundation for discrimination towards the

minority group. The minority group will frown upon these ideas and become resentful. According to Allport (1954) this will lead the minority group to be more determined to separate and be different from the majority group (Allport 1954:243).

4.1. Gaertner

Gaertner (2000) writes in his article that there a three conditions that need to be in place in order to reduce group bias, which are decategorisation, recategorisation and mutual differentiation. These are the concepts I will use later on in my analysis, along with a few other concepts that I explain later in this chapter. Gaertner (2000) explains the importance of altering a group's functional relationship before starting to reduce the intergroup conflict or bias. He explains why some groups will be in conflict or be prejudice towards each other. By using realistic conflict theory, Gaertner (2000) writes that when groups have to compete over scarce resources it will put the groups against each other and create a competitive environment (Gaertner 2000:100).

By applying decategorisation or recategorisation to a situation were there is group bias or conflict it should be reduced, according to Gaertner (2000). If people were to meet in a setting were they would be perceived as individuals, and not as a member of a social group, people would get to know each other as individuals. By doing this they would break down the stereotypes by decategorising each other by learning to know the person and not the group member (Gaertner 2000:101).

Recategorisation is not meant to reduce or remove the social categorisation, but to make people relate to groups of a higher and more inclusive level (nation, world citizen and so on) instead of relating too much to the lower level groups (ethnicity, city, family). To achieve this the people of one group has to see that the people in the other group can in fact be group related to them on a different dimension (Gaertner 2000:101). For example a Serb and Albanian can discover that they both cheering for the same football team, and then they both belong to the group of football fans. This is also known as creating a subgroup within the superordinate group, but in this case the superordinate group should not be based on ethnicity as the example above. Forcing people to leave behind the social categorisation system would be counteractive because people need to feel a sense of belonging. Gaertner (2000) argues that letting people be a part of the group they want would be productive, as long as the

different groups of people have a common superordinate group. For example, a person could be a part of these subgroups, such as family, city, ethnicity and then have nationality or world citizen as their superordinate group (Gaertner 2000:103).

 The last condition of Gaertner's (2000) is called mutual differentiation. This condition is not as relevant to this thesis but it is worth mentioning. The focus here is on the interdependent cooperation between groups. According to Gaertner (2000) it should be possible to reduce group bias and/or conflict by dividing the labour so that the groups have a mutual goal without having to compete over the same work. Gaertner (2000) uses the example were two groups are making an article, one group focuses on the layout and the figures and the second group focuses on the text. By doing this they have the same goal, to finish the article, without having to compete over the same work (Gaertner 2000:103,104).

4.2. Allport

The last theoretical concepts I am using comes from Allport, Pettigrew (1998) explains Allport's four conditions succinctly, (1) equal group status, (2) common goal, (3) intergroup cooperation and (4) authority support. These are all the conditions that Allport deems necessary in order to have a positive intergroup contact, he called this theory for intergroup contact hypothesis. The first condition (1) equal status means that the groups or people should have equal status within the situation. According to Pettigrew this condition is difficult to define because both or all groups have to expect and receive equal status in a situation where they are brought together. For example, in an educational setting it would be very important that the groups are on an equal level, if not one group would feel superior while the other one would feel inferior. Some scholars argue that the people should have equal status going in to the situation, which would be difficult to obtain. Equal status within the situation is found to be more important (Pettigrew 1998:66).

 Pettigrew describes the (2) common goal as the reduction of prejudice as an active goal oriented effort. Allport writes that in order to change someone's perception of other people, they must interact in such a way where they engage in the same activity. Allport uses the example of multi-ethnic sport teams, in this situation the background does not matter because the teams effort to win creates a cooperative mentality (Allport 1954:276).

Intergroup cooperation (3) also relates to the example above, and Gaertners mutual differentiation. The example Pettigrew uses is described in Gaertner (2000), two groups of boys are at a camp (Robber's Cave) and there is some bias between the groups. To reduce the bias the camp leaders sabotage the water pipes to the camp, and then ask the boys from both groups to help locate the reason for the lack of water in the camp. They all help finding the leak, they also help to fix it and when it is fixed they are all cheering (Gaertner 2000:105). This is an example of how the two groups worked together to fix a problem. This example shows that intergroup cooperation must have common objectives without any competition (Pettigrew 1998:67).

The last condition is (4) authority support. This condition shows the importance of the support from the authority, this could be by legislation or other sanctions that are made to reduce bias and/or conflict between groups (Pettigrew 1998:67). Allport writes about why it is important to have legislations. Legislations will prevent discrimination towards any group that is at risk by creating and enforcing anti-discrimination laws, fair employment laws and so on. This is necessary because people are still being discriminated against because of gender, ethnicity, sexuality, colour of the skin and so on (Allport 1954:461,642).

4.1. Summary

Gaertner and Allport have been the main contributors to the theoretical concepts I am using in this chapter, and then later on in my analysis chapter. The concepts from Gaertner, decategorisation, recategorisation and mutual differentiation are similar to the concepts that Allport created. Even though Gartner's concepts go more into what to do when the conflict is already there, and Allport's concepts are more of a guideline to how people and groups should interact together without creating a conflict or bias between each other. They both go into what challenges social categorisation can create, and how to avoid or remove bias and/or conflict within a group.

5.0. Analysis/Case study

This chapter will mainly focus on the analysis of my findings and the articles I am using as examples for this thesis. In the analysis, I will use the theoretical concepts I introduced in the theory chapter. Firstly, I will write about some of my own experiences from Kosovo, such as talking to people in the street, at the restaurant or at the bus station. I will write about what it is like to travel through the country, either by bus or by taking a taxi. Secondly, I will write about two examples I have found that focuses on contact and communication between the two ethnic groups. The first example is the Nansen Centre, they have based their work on dialogue and they do not work to end the segregation overnight but rather help people communicate together so they themselves can discover that the segregation is perhaps not needed and not good. The next example is a music school in Mitrovica. This example is a smaller project, but just as valuable when it comes to correcting the misinterpretations between the ethnic groups and creating a basis for positive communication. Then I will continue by using the theoretical concepts to analysis my examples to see if they can in fact help to reduce conflict and bias in an intergroup conflict.

5.1. My experience

During my fieldtrip in Kosovo, I did notice some aspects of the country that, in my opinion, are not helping to create dialogue between the people there. One of these things is the mentality among many of the people living there. Perhaps it is a result of being a post-conflict society that has been ruled by UNMIK for almost a decade, and therefore feeling powerless. I will not argue that everyone has this mentality, but if one listens and talk to people it will surface in one level or another. The mentality that I am referring to is shown in a phrase which is: "This is Kosova", followed by a casual shrug as if they are saying this is normal here. This phrase is used to explain everything from the bus being late, the electricity disappearing multiple times during the day, why the internet is not working today, why people feel the need to build high fences around their houses, why the politicians are so corrupt and anything else that someone would question. The answer always seem to be, this is Kosova. This mentality seems to reflect a resignation among many people living in Kosovo, as if they have resigned to the fact that corruption, poverty and lack of jobs is something they have to live with. Even though there are plenty of people who I feel have resigned to the "this

is Kosova" mentality, there are people who are vital and ready to do what needs to be done in order to move forward. One of these people is the new mayor of Pristina, Shpend Ahmeti, who is fighting corruption and also showing the people of Pristina that politicians do not need to be pampered and be driven around in extravagant cars.[15]

Another thing that came to my attention was the division in the north of Kosovo, more precisely a city called Mitrovica. The Ibar River naturally divides Mitrovica, and on the south side of the river is where the Albanian population of Mitrovica lives and on the north side is where the majority of Kosovo's Serbian population is living. As mentioned earlier, Serbia had to give up their claim to the northern parts of Kosovo in order to start the negotiations for the EU membership, but the people in north Kosovo has not given up the hope to reunite with Serbia and still they do not recognize the government in Pristina. However, the people north of Ibar have since 1999 run their own phantom or parallel state, with their own healthcare, education and justice system that was funded by the Serbian government.[16] In order to normalise the relationship between Kosovo and Serbia, Kosovo has requested that Serbia stop the funds to north Kosovo. Serbia has been requested to acknowledge Kosovo's territorial claim over the area.[17] Although now, as mentioned earlier, because Serbia wants to join the EU they can no longer claim any right to the northern parts of Kosovo.

When people are living separately from one another, to my understanding, it does not help to rebuild trust and dialogue among people. I met with people from one ethnic group who had never spoken or seen a person from the other ethnic group since before the war, and some young people who had never met anyone from the other ethnic group. In such a situation, I experienced that those young people who had never met anyone from the other ethnic group were more prone to believe the negative things they heard. When there is such a division between the groups the best thing would be to get creative about how to create a dialogue, some examples on creative ways to start up a dialogue will be shown below. From what I learned when talking to people who lived there and had visited Mitrovica was that there is a clear division in the city, not just the river, such as how people behave and the use of national

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[15] http://news.yahoo.com/kosovos-capital-mayor-fights-corruption-doing-job-120004369.html?soc_src=mediacontentstory
[16] http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22522257
[17] http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/features/2013/06/29/feature-01

symbols. I was told that the Serbian population tend to seem a bit more aggressive towards strangers, because they feel they are living under a constant threat from the Albanians, the threat of being evicted from their homes and Kosovo or even worse scenarios. The Albanians on the other hand do not have the same level of hostility towards strangers because they are a part of the majority population, and therefore feel someone has their back. When traveling around in Kosovo one will soon notice the Albanian flag hanging outside many houses and restaurants, this is because many Albanians feel connected to Albania. In the north of Mitrovica, at least close to the river Ibra, the Serbian population have put up many Serbian flags and other national symbols to show that they do not support Kosovo being independent from Serbia.

Another problem I discovered on my fieldtrip was that the Albanian and Serbian language is not the same. Other previous Yugoslav nations have very similar languages and the people can understand each other when they talk together. Albanian on the other hand, is not similar to the Serbian language and it can therefore be difficult to communicate. While Kosovo was a part of Yugoslavia, it was normal to learn, what was known then as, Serbo-Croatian. Younger people, who started school after the conflict started with Serbia has not had the chance to learn each other's language. Albanian is a language that is almost isolated on the Indo-European language tree branch, meaning that it is considered to have no known close familial relations with any other known language. Some people who work with creating dialogue and openness between Serbians and Albanians solved this by asking people to speak a third neutral language, such as English.[18]

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[18] http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/12542/Albanian-language

5.2. The cases

Nansen

One of the actors that has involved themselves in the Balkans is the Norwegian Nansen Academy, which is based in Lillehammer, and they have over the years created a network called the Nansen Dialogue Network. This network is all over the Balkans, and they have involved themselves in the regions where there is or used to be conflict between the different ethnic groups. The network has reached out to Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro. All in all there are now 10 Nansen Dialogue Centres in the Balkans (Bryn in print:3). The Nansen Dialogue Network base their work on dialogue, which Steinar Bryn defines as something that is different from debate and political talks. Because dialogue focuses in movement, visibility and relations. This means that the goal of a dialogue is not to convince or argue, but rather explain, listen and be tolerant towards the other participants (Bryn in print:7,11). The Nansen Network has been bringing people together for dialogue seminars since mid-1990s, and they still have these seminars because of the intergroup conflicts that still exist many places in the Balkans. Kosovo is a divided society, people do not talk together and they get their news from news agencies that support their ethnicity, there is really no knowledge of what is going on the other side or what perceptions the other side have of you. The only way to get any information is to meet and talk. Now the Nansen Centers focus more on political and educational matters, then the seminars. The seminars are still useful because there are still some municipalities in the Balkans where people live in total segregation.

Rock school

The Rock School is a summer school that is located originally in Mitrovica, and every summer the school brings young people from Mitrovica to Macedonia to play music. The young people are both Albanian and Serbs. The school was started by local musicians who wanted to make a difference towards normalisation of mixed education, and have everyone enjoy rock music together. At the summer school in Macedonia, the youths get to play music together, create and mix music. During the rest of the year, the school continues to teach the young people to play and record music, as any other music school, but the school has one location in the north and one in the south because of the segregation. The Rock School is way to gather people, from different background, together over their mutual love of rock music.

The schools mantra is clear sign of what really matters here; "Only the music matter".[19] In this divided society they use local musicians to bring young people together to play music and jam.

As mentioned in earlier chapters, when I use the word education I mean extracurricular activities. These kinds of activities are not mandatory, so young people can chose if they want to attend or not. Ordinary school is something that is mandatory, and therefore the kids have to attend school. Forcing two ethnic groups to attend mandatory schooling together would not help to reduce the segregation in the society. On the contrary, as Gaertner writes, forcing people together would not make them feel a connection to each other but rather feel a stronger sense of belonging to their own group (Gaertner 2000:103). Extracurricular activities, such as IT-skills and language, could attract students because these are skills that could help them get a job. When the carrot is gaining more knowledge, students might be willing to overlook the fact that the classes are thought together with students from the other ethnic group. This is what I will be discussing below with the examples from the Nansen Centre and the Rock School. As Allport (1954) discusses when writing about intergroup cooperation, and Gaertner (2000) writes about when discussing mutual differentiation, creating a competitive environment is not in anyone interests. When groups have to compete for resources, it creates an environment where one group will be winners and the other one will be losers. This is not a good foundation to start creating communication, and working towards integration and peace. Therefore, it is crucial that the ethnic groups are led into a process that focuses on creating a win-win situation (Gaertner 2000:103,104).

As mentioned in the chapter about theory and theoretical concepts, Allport writes that there are some conditions that needs to be met, before people with prejudice towards each other can sit down together. These four conditions might be the key in order to get people to meet. These conditions have been included in the discussion I will show in this chapter. Bryn (in print) writes about a case from Macedonia, I have chosen to use it here in this discussion because the methods from that case can be transferred to start mixed education in Kosovo. Another reason for writing about Macedonia in this case is because there are many similarities between the cases, for example language, culture, conflict and so on. The case Bryn (in print) writes about is from a municipality called Jegunovce, where they had ended up with

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[19] http://www.mitrovicarockschool.org/about.htm

segregated schools after the war in the beginning of the 2000s. Common goals is one of the four conditions Allport (1954:276) writes about, in this case the organisation went in to the municipality and asked about their needs. The common interests was that the schools needed some renovation, new toilets and some rebuilding of the classrooms. Another common interest was the offer of being taught English and IT more thoroughly. Equal group status was another of Allports (1954) conditions, as Bryn (in print) writes

"The classes in IT and English were given in two separate villages, and advanced classes were offered in another two new villages."

I interpret this to mean that no village will be favoured for having all the classes, or having easier access to the classes (Bryn in print:25). All the children have to use the bus as a means of transport. Intergroup cooperation is the one condition that is not present in this case, other than the fact that the parents of the children agreed to send their children to these mixed classes. One reason why this is intergroup cooperation is that if one group had decided not to send their child to these classes, there might not have been any classes because the point behind this was to create communication between the groups (Bryn in print:26). The last condition is authority support, in this case the authority support is shown through the equal status, as other citizens, in Macedonia. This shows support from the government, where they actually create legislation so that any minority group is not discriminated. Another way the authority leaders can show support, is by actually showing support. One example to this is when a previous Albanian military leader came out of prison, and he saw that the Albanian children went to the same school as the other children, he tried to close the bilingual multi-ethnic schooling down. The parents of the Albanian children turned to the village council for help, and out of the nine members, seven votes to continue the new trend with mixed education. By voting for a continuations of the mixed education, they are sending out a signal that this is a positive trend (Bryn in print:27-28).

As the children and young people attend the extracurricular activities the process of decategorisation begins, because they start meeting in a setting where they do not have the adults telling them that they have to remember that the others are strangers and the enemy. In this setting, the children should be able to meet as individuals who share an interest in knowledge, which leads on to the next process (Gaertner 2000:101). Recategorisation is what happens when people start to identify with shared interests, this is the start of the subgroups.

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Subgroups are what people identify with through interests and so on. These children could form subgroups because of their mutual interest in IT or language learning. When the decategorisation and the recategorisation process has started, the stereotype thinking should reduce and the people should start to see the individual (Gaertner 2000:101-103). I find that mutual differentiation was not relevant to this case.

In the case of the Rock School, the school itself is located in Mitrovica. Mitrovica, is as mentioned earlier, a city in North Kosovo. The city is divided between North and South, Serbs and Albanians. This is where the majority of the Serbian population in Kosovo is living. During the summer, the school offers young people from both north and south Mitrovica to participate in a music summer camp. The summer camp is located in Macedonia. Equal group status is given to the young people when they travel outside of Kosovo to meet. This is because Macedonia could be seen as a neutral space where there is no conflict. The common goals in this situation would be that all the young people are there to play music, or learn something about music or generally just play, sing, create and listen to rock music. Intergroup cooperation is experienced through playing music. The leaders of the camp might say to two boys that they should play music together because they both like the same kind of music, even though they are from a different ethnic group. Authority support is given through the financial support, different organisations support the Rock School. In this case the young people have to meet outside Mitrovica because the conflict is still present there, to some degree. [20]

By having the young people meet, they demystify the "other", and see them as persons and not as a whole group of strangers. This is what Gaertner (2000) defined as decategorisation. The young people are meeting in a setting where they get to meet as individuals and not as a part of a member of an ethnic group. This could lead to the young people getting to know the individual, and can start correcting the stereotypical views of each other (Gaertner 2000:101). Recategorisation is a part of the scenario that happened after people get to know the individual, they people start to identify with each other. The young people who attend this summer camp could start to identify with each other, across social categorisation, because of their mutual love of rock music. Then the music becomes a subgroup that these young people will relate too and feel comfortable with. Being a part of a subgroup does not mean that a person no longer belongs to their superordinate group, it means that it is possible for people to

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[20] http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26618286

relate to others who are not a part of the lower level groups (Gaertner 2000:101,103). Mutual differentiation is not relevant to this case, because these young people attend summer camp to play music with others and not to do a job or find work.

Family and community might be the strongest in-group because as Allport (1954) writes, people are born into these groups and everything about them makes people feel good because it is familiar and predictable (Allport 1954:29). Therefore when organisations reach out to people to get them to sit down and create a dialogue with people they have been taught to hate, it will be a natural feeling to be resistant towards the other group of people. To try and tear down the social categorisation system would not work, because then the people would hold on tighter to their sense of belonging to their in-group. Gaertner (2000) offers a solution to this, instead of removing the social categorisation system it would be more beneficial to change the focus of the categorisation, to decategorisation and recategorisation.

In the beginning of the seminars that the Nansen Network hosted they brought people to Lillehammer, which is consisted by bringing the people who are in a conflict to a neutral place (Bryn in print:3). This is consistent with Allport's first condition, equal group status. Because when the people were brought out and away from the situation, they were all on equal terms. To have any form of communication seminars in Kosovo, especially in Mitrovica, seems unlikely according to Bryn (no date). The situation seems too locked to create any movement (no date:18). In Bryns (in print) example, he tells that it was dialogue and communication that was the important factor when they started with the mixed schooling in Macedonia. If the situation is so locked that people do not want to sit down and communicate, it seems as though there is still a lot of work that needs to be done. On the other hand, some of the young people in Mitrovica seems to have found a way to start communication through the Mitrovica Rock School. Although, as the young people describe in the article, they do not feel safe to cross the river to play music with their friends there because a minority of the populations seems to not wanting to end the conflict.[21]

Because Kosovo wants to join the EU, they have made some laws that the EU would expect a state to have before initiating any negotiations. To follow up on Allport (1954), support of authority also relates to legislation. One step on the way is the end the follow up from the

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[21] http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26618286

International Civilian Office (IOC) and the Attisari plan in 2012, because Serbia should not interfere with the educational system in Kosovo. Kosovo was, from 2012 seen capable of providing education to all its citizens in their own language, with an adequate teaching plan.[22] As Allport (1954) writes, to reduce intergroup conflict the legislation work has to for integration and not allow for segregation and discrimination. One way to secure equal rights through legislation is to create laws that do not allow discrimination, fair employments law and civil rights laws (Allport 1954:464-467). These laws might not immediately change the attitude of the people, but they signal that the government will not discriminate and segregate the people living there, but rather treat people as equals (Allport 1954:469).

5.2. Text analysis

As mentioned in the methodology chapter earlier, it is important to understand where the resources are coming from. In this sub-chapter, I will go through the text analysis my chosen documents as data. As mentioned earlier I am using a method called content analysis, within qualitative research methods. In this analysis, I will go through the content of the articles to justify the use of them. In addition, I will look for specific words that are relevant for my research topic, I will continue by critically looking into the origin of the texts. The texts I will be looking into are my case study texts written by Steinar Bryn, and an article about another case study called the Rock School.

When reading the different texts it is important to remember that all reference to other texts within texts, or texts written as a response to another text, is called inter-textuality (Bryman 2012:554). This means that when texts reference other texts, the information is being reused and reinterpreted. Reinterpretation is closely linked to hermeneutics, which is a way to conduct content analysis. The texts I chose are written for different reasons, Bryn (in print) and Bryn (no date) are written as a means to enlighten what the Nansen Centres do and how they do their work. The texts written by Steinar Bryn are official documents deriving from a private source, because the texts are written in the context of the Nansen Centre by one person who works there. The article about Mitrovica Rock School is written for the BBC, and it is an online news article, I will write more about this below. I chose the articles written by Bryn because it contains information about the subject I was looking into, mixed education,

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[22] http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/balkans/kosovo/218-setting-kosovo-free-remaining-challenges.aspx

segregation, Kosovo, Serbs and Albanians, integration and so on. This also relates to the qualitative content analysis, where one looks at the words to fully understand what the text is about.

I was surprised to find that there was no propaganda, as I could find, in the article. When reading older news articles and books, there has been a hint of propaganda, such as, the Albanians were attacked by Serbs who wanted to cleans Kosovo of Albanians. Meaning that the Albanians have been introduced as those who were brutality attacked and needed help, and the Serbs have been perceived as the bad guys in the war. The same goes for the articles written by Bryn, the language is very neutral and he tells the story from both sides. This neutral representation of the facts surprised me, perhaps because I have been used to hear to story told from one side only.

The other article I will be using for my case study, is a BBC article about the Rock School, this is a virtual document.[23] Virtual documents have been my main source for information in this thesis, that is because these documents are easy to access, use and they are also often more updated than paper articles and books. Most organisations and NGO's also publish most of their research and findings online because it is much faster than putting things on paper, and by the time the research is on paper the situations might have changed (Bryman 2012:554). This document is produced for and by the BBC, which is a British news channel, therefore the content in this article will, perhaps unintentionally, reflect the views the Western society have of that situation. In the methodology chapter, I stated that I would be looking for specific words or phrases in the text, and in this text I find these words or similar words and phrases. Words such as, Albanian, Serbian, division, ethnicity, integration, bringing people together, segregation and so on. By looking into these words, I understand what the text is about.

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[23] http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26618286

5.3. Summary

The theoretical concepts seems to work as guidelines on how to reduce intergroup conflict, but there still seems to be different variables when it comes to putting these theories to practice. From the analysis above, it seems as Allports (1954) concepts works as building up a foundation before Gaertners (2000) concepts take place. Meaning that the groups need to have equal status, common goals for intergroup cooperation and be supported by authorities. When this is in place decategorisation and recategorisation have already been put in motion by the interaction between the groups.

With text analysis it is important to understand where the texts are coming from, who wrote them and why. The texts I have chosen to use in my analysis turned out to be without any propaganda, towards the Balkan conflict, as I could see. Two of the texts even surprised me on how neutral they were. The reason for this comes most likely from the fact that the writer, Bryn, has spent many years working with the conflict and the people who have been involved or affected by it. He has heard stories from both sides, and that might be the reason for his neutrality. What these texts had in common was the content. All of the texts included stories of mixed education, the conflict between two ethnic groups and so on.

6.0. Conclusion

In this thesis I have focused on the relationship between Albanians and Serbs living in Kosovo. The research question has been, How can mixed education help to promote long lasting peace in Kosovo? In this thesis I did not use school education as an example, but rather extracurricular activities such as IT and language learning. I chose to do this because in my opinion it would be better to focus on activities that are optional instead of a school setting that is mandatory, which Gaertner (2000) explains when he writes that forcing people to one thing can lead them to the opposite. As mentioned in the theoretical concepts chapter, when people are forced into something it has a high chance of being counterproductive and they will hold on tighter to what they already know and feel comfortable with.

Even though I have had a personal interest in the subject because of my background, I still do not think I managed to understand where the hatred among the people in Kosovo is coming from. To try answer my research question I went through a selected background material, the background is very complex which made it impossible to write about all of it. The historical background is an important factor when discussing peace in the Balkans, because history continues to be used as a political tool, to some degree. As a result the population in the Balkans still identify themselves according to ethnicity.

As seen in the background chapter, from the creation of the 1974 constitution and up to Milosevic's time in power,, Kosovo had close to full autonomy. Milosevic took away Kosovos autonomy after some riots in Kosovo, which made it very uncomfortable to be of ethnic Albanian in Kosovo. The economy that was spiralling down, was the reasons for the conflict that eventually started in Kosovo. From about '97, '98 there was a change in the power structure. Then the Albanians were controlling most of Kosovo, and the Serbs who felt threatened. This continued through and after the war. The feeling I got when I was in Kosovo was that the minority groups seems to be put aside, and that the people do not want to identify themselves as Kosovars but rather as Albanians, Serbs, Bosniaks and so on.
It seems as though many people who are living in Kosovo seems to think once they join the EU everything will be fine, the economic and social problems will be solved and so on. Bryn argues that nothing will change if the people do not change the perception they have of each other, because if the relationship is non-functional the conflict will continue. As Allport

writes, to end an intergroup conflict the groups must have authority support, in my opinion that means more than regulating the judicial system to fair for all. The governments have to give clear signals the people that the conflict is over, and now is the time for reconciliation. Serbs living in Kosovo will continue to not acknowledge Kosovo as an independent country, unless Serbia acknowledge Kosovo first. The government in Kosovo also have to give clear signs that it is room for both Kosovo-Serbs and Kosovo-Albanians in Kosovo, and start creating something the people in Kosovo all can identify with.

Although Kosovo seems to be making some progress in order normalise the situation between the ethnic groups, it might take one or two generations before people can live next to each other as neighbours again. Changing the perception of someone who has been viewed as the enemy takes time, therefore it can be beneficial to do so slowly. To humanise one group of people to another group of people is not done overnight, and in the case of Kosovo, where reconciliation has not been an important point in the peacekeeping process, it could take a generation or two before things have normalised (Bryn in print:22).

Even though I do not conclude with an answer on how the segregation between the ethnic groups in Kosovo is to end, it does look like mixed schooling through volunteer extracurricular activities might help the process of integration. It will be a slow process, but as mentioned before these things cannot and should not be rushed. When the young people who are attending these activities meet, they will start to getting to know the individual and by doing so they have started the process of tearing down stereotypes and humanise the others. This is a very important thing in post-conflict areas, if the groups continues to live segregated without any knowledge of each other a new conflict can emerge quickly. With this in mind, mixed education seems to be a tool that can be used in order to promote long lasting peace in Kosovo. There are some conditions that need to meet before this can happen, such as communication between the adults on both sides, because children cannot attend extracurricular activities without their parents' approval.

List of acronyms

EU = European Union

IICK = Independent International Commission on Kosovo

IMF = International Monetary Fund

ICO = International Civilian Office

KFOR = Kosovo Force

KLA = Kosovo Liberation Army

NATO = North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NGO = Non-Governmental Organisation

UCK = Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës

UN = United Nations

UNDP = United Nations Development Program

UNMIK = United Nations Mission in Kosovo

USSR = Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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