

INTERGROUP SOCIAL CONTACT THROUGH PEACE EDUCATION: THE NANSEN MODEL FOR INTEGRATED EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

Both peace education and social contact theory enjoy substantial places in conflict resolution literature. However, more research is needed to understand the intersection of these two approaches to peacebuilding. This study examines the relationship between peace education and social contact theory within a post-conflict context, specifically in the Republic of Macedonia. The Nansen Model for Integrated Education (NMIE) provides a useful case study to examine this relationship. The findings build on existing literature, suggest both theoretical and practical implications for peacebuilding, and recommend future avenues of research to better expound on the relationship between peace education and social contact theory.

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CHAPTER 1

A CASE OF PEACEBUILDING IN MACEDONIA: INTRODUCTION AND METHODS

The classrooms at the Fridtjof Nansen Primary School in Macedonia¹ remind me of my own elementary school classrooms. They are filled with tiny tables and chairs, students' drawings taped to the walls, and all sorts of toys and craft supplies meant to make learning fun. When I arrived to the school one morning I found the students broken into small groups vigorously shaking their tables. Blocks placed on the table to resemble buildings in a town began to fall to the ground; some students visibly more excited to destroy their towns than others. The students were excitedly learning about the 1963 Skopje earthquake and what caused it.

What made this classroom particularly interesting was that the small student groups were evenly comprised of both Albanian and Macedonian students speaking to one another and to their teachers in both Macedonian and Albanian. More than a decade after the violent interethnic conflict in 2001, these students were learning alongside each other while their peers in other schools remain ethnically segregated. The Fridtjof Nansen Primary School, in a rural part of Macedonia, is an atmosphere where students, parents, and teachers look beyond the ethnic division that pervades Macedonia to promote education, equality, and peace. The Fridtjof Nansen Primary School and the Mosha Pijade Secondary School in Preljubiste implement the Nansen Model for Integrated Education (NMIE). While peace between Macedonians and Albanians remains fragile in Macedonia, the NMIE strives to bring different ethnic groups together to overcome division, hatred, and misunderstanding.

¹ Henceforth The Republic of Macedonia will be referred to as "Macedonia." The country's name remains an internationally contentious issue, specifically with the Greek government. Many international organizations including the United Nations have recognized Macedonia as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) until the name dispute can be resolved. For the purposes of this research, the title "Macedonia" will be used as it is most commonly used among local people living in the country.

Throughout the 1990's and into the 21st Century, intractable conflict seemed to define ethnic relationships in the Balkans. The devastating nature of these conflicts demanded international attention, peacekeeping operations, and large-scale peacebuilding action. Resulting from the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the ethno-political conflicts that ravaged communities in Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia, and elsewhere were a consequence of a transition from an authoritarian multinational state to individual, ethnically defined communities. These conflicts—the most violent and deadly in Europe since World War II—have socially, politically, and physically divided ethnic groups in the region. While the direct violence has largely ended with top-level agreements, peace within and between ethnic communities remains fragile. Looking forward, peacebuilding—through bridging communities and establishing positive intergroup relations—is necessary to maintaining peace and preventing future conflict.

Intractable conflicts, like those in the Balkans, stand out from other forms of conflict because of their persistent, destructive, and resolution-resistant nature.² These conflicts become especially difficult to resolve or transform when they are rooted in long-term historical memory, impacting multiple generations and multiple levels within communities. As John Paul Lederach notes, conflicts of this nature are a result of “reciprocal causation” which exists “where the response mechanism within the cycle of violence and counter-violence becomes the cause for perpetuating the conflict, especially where groups have experienced mutual animosity for decades.”³

In response to certain conflicts' intractability, many peace practitioners, scholars, and policy makers strive to establish intergroup contact between members of the communities in

² Peter T Coleman, *Intractable Conflict*, ed. M. Deutsch, Peter Coleman, and E.C. Marcus, 2nd ed., The Handbook of Conflict Resolution (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2006). 534.

³ John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2002). 15.

conflict in ways that lead to productive relationship building and mutual understanding. One of the myriad conflict resolution approaches is peace education that seeks to positively alter the relationships and perceptions of existing and future generations. While peace education enjoys a substantial place in peacebuilding and conflict resolution practice and literature, there is still a need to understand how various methods used by practitioners impact students and communities. Some peace education programs and project, like Seeds of Peace for example, focus on short-term, encounter-based activities which bring students together in a “safe space” to promote mutual understanding.⁴ Other models rely on existing educational structures to teach students conflict resolution skills and inclusivity.⁵ However, one particular programmatic area that lacks significant research or explanation is integrated bilingual education.

In contexts like the Balkans, where deeply rooted ethnic conflict is pervasive, it is difficult to utilize peace education when students speak different languages and when students in rural areas—often most impacted by divisive conflict mentalities—cannot attend classes alongside students of other ethnicities or backgrounds. However, in Macedonia one local organization has developed an integrated education model, with bilingual components, that enjoys success in both rural and urban settings. The Nansen Model for Integrated Education (NMIE) provides a distinctive case study of post-conflict⁶ peace education. Moreover, the model attempts to create and maintain positive social contact between students, parents, teachers, and non-education community members in its peacebuilding initiative.

⁴ "International Camp," Seeds of Peace, <http://www.seedsofpeace.org/camp>.

⁵ Linda Lantieri and Janet Patti, *Waging Peace in Our Schools* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996).

⁶ For the purposes of this study the term “post conflict” will refer to the state of a community following direct violence. It is important to note that “post-conflict” communities still endure negative peace as well as structural, direct, and cultural violence.

This study investigates the interconnection between peace education and social contact, with both practical and theoretical implications. In particular, it offers an analysis of ethnic conflict in Macedonia, the existing literature surrounding peace education and the social contact hypothesis, and the NMIE as a case study to understand this interconnection. This introductory chapter explains research methods and questions that set parameters for the study. Chapter 2 analyzes the ethnic conflict between Macedonians and Albanians. A brief explanation of the Nansen Dialogue Network (NDN)—the parent organization of NDC Skopje—and NDC Skopje is detailed in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 outlines the relationship between the domination model of education, militarism, and ethnic violence. The theoretical foundations for peace education and an analysis of NMIE is discussed in Chapter 5. Social contact theory and the NMIE's approach to intergroup contact are examined in Chapter 6. Finally, a set of conclusions and recommendations are provided to build on future research as well as peace education and social contact practice in Chapter 7.

Hypothesis and Research Question

This study is centered on the hypothesis that integrated bilingual education will help to create positive social contact between ethnic communities in conflict and that the bilingual component will help to strengthen intergroup contact by establishing equality between participants. The study examines specific NMIE school programs in Macedonia's northwestern region of Jegunovce.

NDC Skopje's model provides a single case study suitable for the primary research question: what impact does integrated bilingual education have on building positive relationships through direct contact of conflict groups in postaccord communities? This case study will allow me to

examine the following sub-questions necessary to better address the primary research question and hypothesis. These sub-questions are:

- Do participants—teachers, students, and parents—perceive NDC Skopje’s model as successfully creating positive relationships through direct social contact?
- What role, if any, does language play in creating positive social contact?
- What role, if any, does integration play in creating positive social contact?
- To what extent have students, parents, and teachers changed their views of the out-group following participation in the integrated bilingual education model, either directly or indirectly?

These sub-questions are important to clarify my primary research question because it does not assume that integrated bilingual education plays a positive or negative role in social contact or peacebuilding. Additionally, they allow a closer assessment of possible causation concerning the relationship between peace education and social contact because they address the perceptions and actions of participants. This case study analysis helps to build on existing theory while providing necessary context.⁷

Case Study Selection

As previously noted, there are many examples of peace education models, some of which include either integrated or bilingual education components. To best address the research question and sub questions, a case study must analyze a context where bilingual, integrated peace education exists. The case must exist in a post-accord context. Finally, the implementation of peace education must include direct contact between members of ethnic groups in conflict. These attributes narrow the possible universe of cases. As is discussed in Chapter 5, many peace

⁷ Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005). 209.

education programs in conflict contexts like Israel-Palestine may include components like bilingual education. However, they do not include all components, like a post-accord context.

However, the NDC Skopje model within the Macedonian conflict context allows an examination of a case study that includes bilingual and integrated education, direct contact between members of ethnic groups in conflict, and is situated in a post-accord context. As a single case, NMIE represents the larger category of integrated, bilingual peace education programs. This particular model was chosen for several reasons. First, the model utilizes both integrated teaching and bilingual education through daily or weekly school activities. Second, it exists in a conflict context where schools are segregated linguistically which translates to an ethnic division as the respective ethnic groups use different mother-tongue languages. The NDC Skopje model brings together students, parents, and teachers from Albanian and Macedonian ethnic groups and provides a space for direct contact. Finally, the case exists in a post-accord context following the 2001 conflict. It is important to note that the state requires segregation of students, and justifies segregation in the name of peace. It is viewed as a way for all ethnic groups to teach students in their respective mother-tongue languages—an important component of the peace agreement that ended the violent 2001 conflict.

NMIE was also selected because it is used in both primary and secondary schools. This speaks to several important factors including student age, language ability, and peer-to-peer relationships. It also sheds light on the possible scope of integrated, bilingual education. Finally, the NDC Skopje program was chosen as a case study because of its intentional inclusion of parents, teachers, and other community members beyond students.

While the NMIE is used in eight schools throughout Macedonia, two subcases were identified for this research. The first was the Fridtjof Nansen Primary School in the village of

Preljubiste. The second was the Mosha Pijade Secondary School in Preljubiste. These two subcases were chosen for several reasons. First, the schools host predominantly ethnically Macedonian and Albanian students. These two groups were most involved in the social conflict in 2001 and remain the most divided. Second, these two schools—compared to the other six—have implemented the NMIE for the longest period of time; Fridtjof Nansen Primary School opened in 2008 and began implementing NDC Skopje’s model from the beginning. Mosha Pijade also employed the model since its inception, in 2010. Better analysis of the program is possible because the schools implemented the program several years ago, and continue to use the NMIE. Participants interviewed can speak to successes, failures, and changes to the program over time. These schools are also located in a small village in Jegunovce region. This particular northwest region was arguably most impacted by the 2001 conflict. It borders Kosovo to the north, Skopje municipality to the east, and the predominately Albanian municipality of Tetovo to the west. Finally, both schools are considered rural and host students from several other rural villages and towns. This is significant because, unlike Skopje, these students do not have the same opportunity to interact regularly with their out-group peers. In cities like Skopje, interethnic interaction between students is much more likely because of proximity and population.

It is important to note that NDC Skopje and its parent organization—the Nansen Dialogue Network—are regarded as successful by international organizations, the Macedonian government, local institutions, and many in the Macedonian educational community. NDN has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize several times, in part due to the success of NDC Skopje. NDC Skopje was awarded the Max van der Stoep Prize by the Organization for Security

and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE) High Commissioner in 2011.⁸ The organization has been also been invited by nonaffiliated schools around the country to implement the model. This does not alone give it merit as a significant case study but does set it apart from other methods of peace education in the country. This success speaks to the perception of NDC Skopje's ability to design and implement a useful peace education model.

Methods

To ensure validity and address both the primary research question and the sub-questions in the most appropriate ways, the research was conducted using three different methods: semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and process tracing. This triangulation of methods was intended to attain first hand perspectives from participants and to better understand if such perspectives were realized through observable action. Additionally, process tracing was used to determine how NDC Skopje adapted its implementation methods to better suit their goals and needs of the community. Participant observation and interviews were delineated between two groups: NMIE participants and non-NMIE participants. This delineation was not part of the original design but became clear during my field research.

NMIE Interviews

Interviews were conducted with NDC Skopje staff, teachers, and students. The interviews were done in a semi-structured manor. Interviews began with a synopsis of the purpose of the research. Questions relating to the primary research question or sub questions were broad. For example, participants were asked, "what do you enjoy most about teaching at this school?" This was intentional, as I did not want to lead the interviewees in any particular direction. I also

⁸ "Annual Report: 10 Years Promotion of Dialogue and Reconciliation, 5 Years Integrated Education," (Skopje, Macedonia: Nansen Dialogue Center Skopje, 2011).

considered that any set questions I might have were less revealing than narratives or observations of the participants themselves. Semi-structured interviews proved to be very helpful because the participants seemed to feel most comfortable when provided topic areas for questions and also when they had room to expand, add, or correct any assumptions made by the interviewer.

The NDC Skopje staff members whom I interviewed were varied in ethnic identity, level of seniority at the organization, and length of involvement with the center. This was important—not only because they were able to offer unique personal perspectives from their individual experiences in Macedonia, but they were able to offer different levels of understanding of the NMIE process. For instance, the Executive Director, Sasho Stojkovski, has led the NMIE program from its inception and is charged with its expansion and continuation; while Mirlinda Alemdar, who has worked on the organization’s communication strategy for nearly three years, was able to provide insight into recent development and community perceptions of the program. The same strategy was used for teacher and student interviews. Interview questions and topic areas in relations to the research sub-questions can be found in Appendix 1.

The teachers at both the Fridtjof Nansen Primary School and the Mosha Pijade Secondary School participated in formal and informal interviews.⁹ Informal interviews occurred during coffee breaks, at cafes, or restaurants. These interviews took place at the schools and at teacher-training conferences that occurred outside Skopje and Preljubiste. I was able to attend two teacher-training conferences. Each conference was held outside Preljubiste—one in the town of Ohrid and the other in the town of Struga. The conferences were organized by NDC Skopje and sponsored by the Secretariat for the Implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement (SIOFA). The goal of the conferences were not only to provide teachers with opportunities to

⁹ Informal interviews references unscheduled interviews that more commonly occurred during breaks in daily classroom/NMIE routine. These interviews were conducted in outside the classroom, in cafes, bars, or over meals. These interviews were not transcribed at the time of the interview but notes about the interviews were taken

develop their skills in integrated and bilingual education, but the events also provided non-school contexts for teachers to develop interpersonal relationships. The conferences were attended by teachers from both Fridtjof Nansen Primary School and the Mosha Pijade Secondary School as well as Macedonian and Turkish teachers from the town of Strumica who recently began to implement the NMIE program. Formal interviews were generally scheduled with the participants ahead of time. The informal interviews were often conducted in English without translation—unless absolutely necessary—and were far more casual than the interviews conducted at the schools. The more formal interviews took place at the schools or at nearby cafes. The interviews were directly translated and more closely followed a set of general interview questions that related to the research question and sub-questions.

Interviews with students were primarily conducted in an informal manner. When I spoke with primary students, the conversations were directly translated by a teacher or an NDC Skopje staff member. The questions were focused on what they were learning in their lessons and their favorite school activities. These informal interviews took place during break times from class activities or during break-out sessions of classes when teachers were no longer directly instructing students. I did not take notes during these interviews; however, I did take notes following the interviews when I had left the interview context.

I was able to conduct both formal and informal interviews with secondary students. I met with multiple students for one-on-one interviews that included a translator. Many of the students were excited to test their English abilities, so these interviews were in English, Macedonian, and Albanian. Informal interviews took place during class breaks and often included multiple students and no direct translator. Instead, students helped one another to translate any unfamiliar

phrases into English. I used the semi-structured interview approach—similar to the format used for both teachers and NDC Skopje staff.

Each interview was partially transcribed; this decision was made for two reasons. First, I was more comfortable taking notes while the interviewees spoke because it allowed me to note non-verbal cues, my own contextual observations, and seemed to make the interview less rigid. The interviewees seemed more comfortable and conversational when they were not electronically recorded. Second, it was more practical as the interviews were largely translated. I was able to ask my questions in English and record responses during translation.

Non-NMIE Interviews

It was far more difficult to conduct interviews with people who did not directly participate in the NMIE program. However, I was also able to speak with parents of students who were not part of the NMIE program. This was crucial to understand how the larger Macedonia community experienced the conflict, ethnic relations, and the education system. These interviews differed in that they were off the record—as requested by participants. The interviews did not take place in formal educational settings. Instead, I met and spoke with parents at handball matches, their children’s ice skating practices, or over lunch. I was fortunate to have several close friends who were kind enough to invite me to dinner and drinks with their fellow parents. This helped to expand my interview pool and gain a more diverse understanding of the non-NMIE perspective of the education system and ethnic relations in Macedonia.

These interviews were conducted in the same semi-structured manor as the NMIE participant interviews. While these interviews were “off the record,” I took notes on my observations after the conversations took place.

Below is breakdown of interview participants:

Category	Albanian	Macedonian	Other	Total
NDC Skopje Staff	3	2	1	6
Primary School Teacher	2	2	0	4
Secondary School Teacher	2	2	0	4
Secondary Students	1	1	0	2
Non-NMIE Parents	2	3	0	5
Total	10	10	1	21

Table 1: Breakdown of Interviewees by Ethnic Identity and NMIE Role

Participant Observation

It was important to not only conduct interviews but to also observe how participants acted, reacted, and interacted. The participant observation included a larger sample of NMIE participants; namely a greater number of students, teachers, parents, NDC Skopje staff, and non-NMIE parents. I was able to observe both the separated and integrated educational activities in the primary and secondary schools. This allowed me to observe how both students and teachers interacted during the implementation of the NMIE activities and during the segregated activities. Moreover, I was able to observe, to some extent, how people lived outside the school context. This allowed me to gain a broader perspective of the relationship between participants.

Observation of NMIE Participants

I spent a great deal of time each day with NDC Skopje staff members. I was able to sit in their headquarters during business hours, attend meals with them, and see how they interact as coworkers and friends. I went to both schools with the staff members routinely where I was able to see them interact administratively and professionally with students and teachers.

During the teacher conferences, I was also able to meet informally with members of the NDC Skopje staff and with guest speakers from Bosnia, Croatia, Norway and the United States. Perhaps more importantly, I was able to see how the staff interacted with the teachers outside the formal educational system. During coffee and smoke breaks, NDC Skopje staff members were consistently interacting with teachers. This was true when it came to meals as well. NDC Skopje staff members seemed to intentionally split up to eat with the schools' teachers.

The teacher conferences also provided me the opportunity to see how the teachers interacted outside the classroom. I was able to eat and drink with the teachers, watch comedy shows, and spend time with them after the conference sessions were over. During the conference in the town Ohrid, the teachers and I—along with one member from the NDC Skopje staff—spent time away from the conference venue to take photos of the town, and hop from one bar to the next. Opportunities like these helped me to understand the type of interpersonal contact the teachers maintained outside scheduled events. They also were more open to talk about their lives and their work during these outings.

I was also able to observe school activities at both schools. I spent full days at the schools in the classrooms and eating meals with students and teachers. I was able to sit in on classes implementing the Ministry of Education and Science curriculum¹⁰ and the integrated activities. During the segregated classes, students are taught in their mother-tongue language. During integrated activities, I was able to directly interact with students by helping them with projects, presenting on U.S. holidays, and I was freer to ask questions or share my experiences. I was also able to interact with the students' parents at the schools.

¹⁰ The Ministry of Education and Science style classes are those where students are linguistically/ethnically segregated. During these classes, students learn from the Ministry's sponsored and approved curriculum in their respective languages from teachers who speak their mother-tongue language.

Parents helped to organize rides to school and student events. I was able to briefly interact with parents when students were picked up or dropped off at the schools. However, there were some events that allowed me to observe how parents interacted with each other, teachers, and their students. For instance, I attended a bilingual performance of *Romeo and Juliet* that was put on by the secondary students. This performance was attended by dozens of parents and grandparents. Following the event, everyone gathered over snacks and drinks to talk and congratulate the students on their impressive performance.

Observation of non-NMIE Participants

Observation of non-NMIE participants was very similar to interviews with non-NMIE participants. The observations took place in various group and one-on-one settings, primarily in Skopje. I attempted to conduct my observations in contexts that would reflect how parents interacted with each other and with their children. As previously noted, I attended sporting games, ice skating practices, and family meals. I attended one ethnically Macedonian child's birthday party as a guest of her parents. I tried to understand the family dynamics of both Albanian and Macedonian families. I wanted to see if and how families differed culturally, what level of ethnic integration occurred—if any—and how the families interacted outside of a school or classroom setting.

NMIE Process Tracing

While the NMIE program is relatively new, its roots beginning in 2005, it was important to examine how the program has changed year after year and with new generations of students, parents, and teachers entering and leaving the program. To best understand how NMIE evolved, I looked at organizational documents of the Nansen Dialogue Network (NDN), NDC Skopje, the

organizations' annual reports, past presentations the organizations delivered, and third-party program evaluations. The documents I examined ranged from 2005 to 2013.

During interviews with teachers I asked how the program had changed since its initial implementation. The primary school teachers, who had taught since 2008, were able to explain adaptations to NMIE, why changes were made, and how changes impacted teaching. Interviews with NDC Skopje staff shed light on how NDC Skopje had changed throughout the years, beginning in 2005. The staff members were also able to provide details about how different events and circumstances informed their creation of NMIE and its continued implementation.

Analysis and Coding

I used the same coding method to organize and analyze the data produced by interviews, participant observations, and process-tracing. Because I did not electronically record the interviews or observations, I did not fully transcribe each interview. Instead, I used partial transcription during interviews and took detailed notes on my observations. I examined the data twice after each interview and segment of observation before coding. Reviewing my data multiple times was an important step because it provided distance from my assumptions regarding the programing. With this analytical distance, I was more easily able to examine the data to try to determine patterns and themes.¹¹

I used King and Horrock's thematic analysis to code and interpret the data.¹² To code my data I first reviewed each set of notes without a pen, highlighter, or any other way to mark the pages. I wanted to become familiar with the content before annotating. I used descriptive coding to highlight the similar themes within each interview then across all interviews, observations,

¹¹Julia Lynch, "Tracking Progress While in the Field," in *Qualitative Methods* (2004), 11.

¹² Nigel King and Christine Horrocks, *Interviews in Qualitative Research* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2010). 150.

and documents. I color coded themes across different interviews, observations, and documents, while leaving the sections unique to each interview unchanged.¹³ I then used interpretive coding—annotating the data with my own questions and observations—to analyze similarities and difference among the data’s internal interrelated themes.¹⁴ I relied on the coding system to evaluate high frequency similarities (said by a majority of participants within a given group or context) and low frequency similarities (said by minimum of two people once or more in a given context).¹⁵

Sensitive and Ethical Data Collection

Any research in a post-conflict setting that includes human participants assumes some level of risk and requires sensitivity during the data collection and reporting processes. This particular research also included children and youth in the post-conflict setting, which added an additional element requiring sensitivity. While many adult and youth participants are featured on NDC Skopje’s website and publications, it was still essential to provide the participants with a transparent and honest summary of my research objectives, methods, and possible outcomes and impacts.

For participant observation and interviews I assigned all participants an alphanumeric code in hardcopy notes. The code corresponds with an online, password protected spreadsheet. Each participant was notified that s/he was not obligated to give any personal information—including names, ethnicity, and job. They were also informed that they could end the interview at any point; they could contact NDC Skopje or me at a later date if they did not want their information or interview responses included in any documents. Finally, a consent form was

¹³ Ibid., 152.

¹⁴ Ibid., 154-56.

¹⁵ Ibid., 157-58.

provided in Macedonian, Albanian, and English. The form laid out the purpose of the research, provided the participant with my personal contact information, and gave information on how to end or cancel an interview. The translated Informed Consent Form can be found in Appendix 2. While all the non-NMIE participant interviews and observations were strictly off the record, every NMIE participant gave me permission to use their personal information during data collection and when reporting my findings. However, the names of children and youth who participated in this research have been changed or omitted to protect their privacy.¹⁶

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited in several ways; the study is limited in both the contextual scope and greater research implications for the field of peace and conflict resolution. The research and data collection relied primarily on NMIE participants and non-NMIE families, limiting the overall diversity and variance of perspectives within the greater Macedonia community. The conversation and debate surrounding segregated schooling in Macedonia also includes both the governmental/institutional and non-NMIE schooling perspectives, among others. These two perspectives are not deeply examined in this study as a result of limited time, resources, and access. Attempts were made to interview members of the Ministry of Education and Science as well as non-NMIE schools. However, these interviews did not come to fruition. Additionally, this study only takes into account the views and experiences of Albanians and Macedonians. The study does not include participants from Turkish, Roma, Serb, Vlach, and other ethnic groups.

The non-NMIE perspectives—usually with parents and children—were also limited. While the participant observations included gender and age diversity, the interviews conducted were primarily with fathers. While both Macedonian and Albanian cultures emphasize

¹⁶ I received approval from American University's Institutional Review Board for this study on January 18, 2013.

hospitality, community, and inclusivity in many ways, it seems more culturally appropriate to speak with adult males about social and political issues, education, and the 2001 conflict. This was largely because, as an adult male, I was routinely invited by adult men to join their gatherings. This was true of both my Macedonian and Albanian interactions. However, I was fortunate to speak with a handful of mothers and girls with whom I had established close family connections.

While there was no difficulty interviewing or observing NMIE participants, one concern was self-promotion by participants. NDC Skopje staff members have a clear interest in promoting their organization and work. As a non-governmental and non-profit organization, NDC Skopje relies on international recognition to support and justify their funding from various governments and international governmental organizations. This is certainly no different than most other peacebuilding NGOs, but was still a consideration during data collection and interpretation. This was also a concern with NMIE teacher interviews. I considered that teachers might promote their work and contribution to the program by highlighting only the positive aspects of the program, their classroom successes, and the overall impact of the NMIE model on students.

Self-promotion did not seem to significantly impact the quality of data or the outcomes of the research. NDC Skopje staff members and teachers seemed very open to share stories and examples of failures and problems within the classroom and with the NMIE program. Additionally, speaking with children and youth participants helped to support and clarify interviews with adult participants. NMIE primary and secondary students—like children and youth everywhere—seemed less filtered and eager to share exactly what they thought. Finally,

the participant observation component of the data collection helped to verify claims made during interviews. Observing in-class and outside-class interactions proved invaluable.

Impact of the Study

While the focus of this study is relatively narrow, as previously noted, it has the potential to add to three separate conversations within the peace and conflict resolution field. First, the study helps to explore the specific Macedonian post-conflict context that inherently involves issues of segregation and education. The NMIE program distinctively utilizes both integrated bilingual education while adhering to the mandated segregated education system to promote peace and conflict resolution.

Second, it provides an analysis of a conflict resolution strategy. This study certainly does not offer a “silver bullet” solution for any community in conflict. However, a successful peacebuilding strategy has the potential to inform scholars and practitioners working in other contexts—most notably contexts like Kosovo, Serbia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina that also experience post-conflict segregated education systems.

Finally, the study will add to both the peace education and social contact conversations. While both have earned substantial places in peace and conflict resolution literature, more analysis needs to be done to help understand the intersection of the two conflict resolution approaches. The NMIE program relies heavily on both peace education theory and social contact theory. This study aims to identify where—as a case study of the two approaches—the model succeeds and fails to join the two theories in a successful strategy.

CHAPTER 2

IDENTITIES AT ODDS: MACEDONIAN AND ALBANIAN SOCIAL CONFLICT

“Macedonia is like a patient that has survived the first heart attack, but won’t be able to survive the next one.” – Menduh Thaci

The Republic of Macedonia provides an interesting context in which to examine the impact of post-conflict peacebuilding, specifically the relationship between integrated bilingual education and the creation and cultivation of positive intergroup contact. The violent conflict between Albanian¹⁷ rebels and the Macedonian government in 2001 was rooted in deep identity differences; each group claims a unique relationship to the geographic region, an identity directly linked to linguistic expression, and competing claims to political access. These characteristics predate the Ottoman Empire and remain at the heart of the respective cultures.¹⁸

These group identity issues became especially contentious during Josip Tito’s rule of Yugoslavia. His ability to create a Macedonian political entity and exclude Albanians entirely pitted the two groups against one another both socially and politically. Not only did Tito exclude Albanians from forming an ethnic political group, but he was crucial in formalizing a Macedonian identity—distinct from other Yugoslav identities including Serbian, Bulgarian, and Croatian. Much of the current Macedonian identity is predicated on the linguistic, religious, and

¹⁷ For the purposes of this paper the term “Albanian” will generally refer to Albanians located in the historic and current region now identified as Macedonia. Distinction will be made when referencing Albanians from Albania proper and Kosovar Albanians.

¹⁸ Vasiliki P. Neofotistos, "Postsocialism, Social Value, and Identity Politics among Albanians in Macedonia," *Slavic Review* 69, no. 4 (2010): 883-85.

social nuances that isolated them culturally from ethnic groups around them, and those they would later govern, including Albanians, following their independence in 1991.¹⁹

After the collapse of Yugoslavia, the creation of the Macedonian state heightened tensions between Macedonians and Albanians. Growing fears of invasion from neighboring states focused the Macedonian government's attention to international conflict prevention, seeking support from the United Nations (UN), while intrastate tension with Albanians continued to grow.²⁰ When violence broke out in Macedonia in 2001 between the National Liberation Army (NLA) and the Macedonian government, fears of regional instability prompted swift international response.

While the conflict was shorter, and fewer casualties were suffered, than conflicts in neighboring Bosnia and Kosovo, the Macedonian conflict was viewed internationally as one of the greatest regional security dangers for several reasons. First, the worry of potential spillover into neighboring states threatened the stability gained by the US led North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) intervention in Kosovo.²¹ Second, tensions between Albanians and Macedonians showed potential to ignite violence that could jeopardize the ability of the Macedonian government to maintain a functioning state. The possibility of a government collapse could pit neighboring Albania, Serbia, and Bulgaria against one another to fill a resulting power vacuum.²² Finally, links between the NLA and Albanian rebels in Kosovo's Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) prompted "greater Albania" concerns—the fear that Albanians

¹⁹ David J. Ludlow, "Preventive Peacemaking in Macedonia: An Assessment of U.N. Good Offices Diplomacy," *Brigham Young University Law Review* 2003, no. 2 (2003): 766.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Julie Kim, "Macedonia (FYROM): Post-Conflict Situation and U.S. Policy," (Congressional Research Services, 2005).

²² Misha Glenny, "Heading off War in the Southern Balkans," *Foreign Affairs* 1995, 102.

in Albania, Kosovo, and Macedonia would attempt to create an encompassing Albanian state and endanger existing state borders in the Western Balkans.²³ Fortunately, international intervention by the European Union (EU), the US, UN, and NATO brought the civil conflict to a quick end with the 2001 Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA).

While the OFA allowed for disarming of the NLA and sought to institutionalize equality and cultural expression within Macedonia for all ethnic groups by recommending constitutional and legal reforms, tensions between Albanians and Macedonians still exist. Ethnic groups are largely separated, most notably in schools. Many minority groups, including Albanians, argue that equality among ethnic groups is not realized in post-OFA Macedonia; while many Macedonians argue that too many concessions have been made. What follows is an analysis of the conflict with specific attention given to the historical identities of the respective groups. This analysis is crucial to understand the current fragile cold peace of the segregated community, the challenges peace efforts face in Macedonia, and the significance of language and education to conflict identities in Macedonia.

A Macedonian State for the Macedonian People

To understand the significance of identity within the Macedonian-Albanian conflict, and to understand the residual cold peace—including ethnic segregation in schools—which remains today, it is important to examine why the Macedonian people so closely associate their cultural identity with their desire for a Macedonian state, access to language, and territorial claims. It is important to note that the Macedonian history is deeply complex and largely contested.

Despite the assorted perspectives, perhaps the clearest attempt to create a distinct historical, cultural, and political Macedonian identity is the Macedonian Constitution, initially

²³ Eben Friedman, "The Ethnopolitics of Territorial Division in the Republic of Macedonia," *Ethnopolitics: Formerly Global Review of Ethnopolitics* 8, no. 2 (2009): 214.

adopted in November 1991.²⁴ The document frames the Macedonian state in relation to the group's historical identity in relation to other ethnic groups. The constitution sought to establish the Republic of Macedonia as:

Proceeding from the historical, cultural, spiritual and statehood heritage of the Macedonian people and their centuries-long struggle for national and social liberty and the creation of their own state, and particularly from the statehood and legal traditions of the Kruševo Republic and the historic decisions of the Anti-Fascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia, from the constitutional and legal continuity of the Macedonian state as a sovereign republic within Federal Yugoslavia, from the freely expressed will of the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia in the referendum of September 8th, 1991, as well as from the historical fact that Macedonia is established as a National state of the Macedonian people, which guarantees the full civic equality and permanent coexistence of the Macedonian people with the Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Roma and the other nationalities.²⁵

The Macedonian Constitution of 1991 seemed to clearly indicate to the new state's population two things. First, Macedonians have a long and unique history and struggle that defines their cultural identity and the state of Macedonia. This directly combats claims by some in the region that Macedonians are a product of Tito's political agenda. Second, while the constitution included other ethnic groups, the state is meant for the Macedonian people. It is important to note that the creation of Macedonia in 1991 was the first sovereign Macedonian state to exist in the modern era; nearly 2,300 years earlier Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great ruled ancient Macedonia.²⁶ The connection between the two Macedonias is largely contested but many modern Macedonians look to ancient Macedonia to argue their cultural claim to the region and the longevity of their people.

²⁴ The Macedonian Constitution was amended several times following its adoption in November 1991. Arguably the most significant amendments are those following the OFA which promote ethnic equality and institutionalization of minority rights—specially access to language.

²⁵ Armend Reka, "The Ohrid Agreement: The Travails of Inter-ethnic Relations in Macedonia," *Human Rights Review* 9, no. 1 (2007): 57.

²⁶ Ludlow, "Preventive Peacemaking in Macedonia: An Assessment of U.N. Good Offices Diplomacy," 764.

While the state of Macedonia may be new, as the Constitution suggests, the struggle for Macedonian identity and sovereignty is not. The Slavic group now identified as Macedonians was ruled by many oppressors throughout history, including the Roman, Byzantine, Bulgarian, Serbian, and Ottoman Empires.²⁷ During the Ottoman Empire groups were classified and organized based on religious identity.²⁸ Because most Macedonians identified themselves as Orthodox Christians they were labeled Greeks. The problem with such broad classification of groups is that it undermined the diversity of people, their goals, and their relationships in the region.²⁹

The Macedonians were particularly disadvantaged because of cultural aggression from surrounding nations. During the late 19th century, Bulgarians attempted to regain Macedonian territory lost when “Greater Bulgaria” was replaced by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878.³⁰ Meanwhile, the Serbs were claiming the region as South Serbia, building churches and Serbian speaking schools. Similarly, the Greeks had established 1,400 Greek schools in addition to churches and Vlachs built some 30 Vlach schools.³¹ Macedonians were largely unable to educate their children in their Slavic language or worship in their own religious persuasion.

Unlike their Serbian, Greek, Bulgarian, or even Albanian counterparts, Macedonians did not enjoy a distinct, large homogenous society within a defined geographical region.³² Towards

²⁷ Ibid., 764-65.

²⁸ James Pettifer, "The new Macedonian Question," *International Affairs* 68, no. 3 (1992): 476.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ The Treaty of San Stefano, commonly known as ‘Greater Bulgaria’, had placed many Macedonians and their land under Bulgarian authority. Fearing the potential power of an expanded Bulgaria, regional and international leaders created the Treaty of Berlin which replaced the Treaty of San Stefano and allowed for Serbs and Greeks to attempt to control the area.

³¹ Pettifer, "The new Macedonian Question," 477-78.

³² Ibid., 476-78.

the end of Ottoman rule, not only were Macedonians challenged by Serbs, Bulgarians, and Greeks for control of education, religion, and language but minority populations like Albanians, Roma, and Vlachs challenged the group's claim to the region. According to Ottoman government records, prior to 1912 more than 1 million Slavs (including Macedonians), nearly 400,000 Turks, 120,000 Albanians, 300,000 Greeks, 200,000 Vlachs, 100,000 Jews and 10,000 Roma lived in what is now called Macedonia.³³ Because of the challenge by neighbors and minority groups, Macedonian nationalists in the late 19th Century began campaigning and envisioning a Greater Macedonia.

However, it was not until Josip Tito created the Macedonian political entity within the federalist Yugoslavia that Macedonians were granted general autonomy. In 1944, Tito created the federal entity of Macedonia. Macedonia was to enjoy "equal status to that of the other five federal entities: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Herzegovina."³⁴ This served three political goals that helped to ensure his control of the region. First, he wanted to curtail the growing dominance that Bulgarians held in the region. At the time many Macedonians loosely identified as Bulgarian. Tito hoped that by creating an official Macedonian entity, Macedonians would unify and divorce themselves from Bulgarians who would thus lose much of their tremendous ethnic influence. Second, Tito wanted to use the name "Macedonia" to lay claim to northern Greek territories that historically held claim over the region and name. Finally, he established the Macedonian entity to sever the large Serbian territory and punish Serbian guerrillas who fought against communists during World War II.³⁵

³³ Ibid., 476.

³⁴ Ludlow, "Preventive Peacemaking in Macedonia: An Assessment of U.N. Good Offices Diplomacy," 766.

³⁵ Chris C. Parkas, "The United States, Greece, and the Macedonian issue," *World Affairs* 159, no. 3 (1997): 105.

To create a new Macedonian federal entity, distinct from its Bulgarian and Serbian neighbors, Tito needed to ensure Macedonian identity was unique to the people in of the region. He facilitated the creation of a new Macedonian Orthodox Church, redesigned history textbooks to include the new Macedonian history, and created an alphabet and language that, while very similar to Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian, was unique to the Macedonian people.³⁶ These components of the Macedonian identity, especially the Macedonian language, lasted beyond Tito's rule, the existence of Yugoslavia, and remain a defining point of contention between Macedonians and minority groups in Macedonia.

After the death of Tito in 1980 and the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1991, the newly established state of Macedonia faced international and domestic threats. The 1991 constitution not only confirmed that the state of Macedonia is predicated on the unique identity and history of the Macedonian people but upheld Macedonian as the official state language stating, "The Macedonian language, written using its Cyrillic alphabet, is the official language in the Republic of Macedonia."³⁷

The Macedonia identity—and the state created as a result of that identity—confront the Albanian historical and cultural narrative, their claim to the region and their access to power. By institutionalizing a Macedonian identity while maintaining authority over the Albanian minority, Slavic Macedonians largely marginalized Albanians, their access to government and education, and their ability to use their own language in public spheres.³⁸

³⁶ Ludlow, "Preventive Peacemaking in Macedonia: An Assessment of U.N. Good Offices Diplomacy," 766.

³⁷ Ibid., 778.

³⁸ Public spheres refers to civil and social contexts often connected to official/government settings including schooling, national and local governments, diplomacy, etc.

The Albanian Language Uniting the Albanian People

Much like the Macedonians, Albanians had similar issues regarding identity during the Ottoman Empire. Albanians were forced into cultural groups—separated by religious affiliation rather than history, traditions, and language—which ignored important components of their complex identity.³⁹ For 70 percent of Albanians this meant they were forced into a Muslim identity and sent to Turkish schools. Moreover, they were encouraged to abandon their language. This also meant that the remaining 30 percent of Albanians who identified as Christian Orthodox, Catholic, or some other faith were forced to speak Italian and Greek.⁴⁰

With the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, many Albanians felt a need to continue their goal of ethnic unification under a common language. In 1878 Albanians in the western Balkans formed the League of Prizren.⁴¹ The League sought to strengthen a unified Albanian identity and make way for an independent Albanian State, but ultimately failed. Later in 1908 when the Young Turks came to power, Albanians were temporarily granted linguistic rights.⁴² That same year Albanian leaders and scholars held an Albania Alphabet Congress in today's town of Bitola, Macedonia. The Congress adopted the Latin script as the official script of the Albanian language.⁴³

Despite the formation of an Albanian State in 1912, the Albanian identity in the region--with specific connection to language—began to face greater social and structural attacks under Tito's regime. As previously noted, the 1946 Constitution of Yugoslavia attempted to create

³⁹ Neofotistos, "Postsocialism, Social Value, and Identity Politics among Albanians in Macedonia," 884.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 884-85.

⁴¹ Ibid., 885.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid., 885-86.

equality among ethnic groups.⁴⁴ However, the constitution identified Macedonians, Montenegrins, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes but did not include Hungarians, Germans, Italians, or Albanians.⁴⁵

Moreover, Tito was compelled to create a distinction between Albanians in Yugoslavia and Albanians living in Albania. Acknowledging the linguistic connection of Albanians in Albania, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Serbia, Tito sought to create separation in the linguistic styles of Albanians in Yugoslavia and Albanians in Albania. Tito emphasized the difference between the Geg-based Albanian language used in Yugoslavia, most notable in northwest Macedonia and the Kosovo region, and the Tosk-based Albanian used in Albania.⁴⁶ He even went so far as to use different names for each groups' linguistic style; Siptarski was used for the Yugoslav Albanian language and Albanski for the Tosk-based Albanian language in Albania.⁴⁷

Dissatisfaction by Albanians with the Yugoslav government culminated in protests in Prishtina in 1968. The protests were a result of the government's unwillingness to recognize the Albanian people on the same level as Slavic groups in the country's constitution. Additionally, Albanians protested Tito's unwillingness to create an autonomous Albanian republic within Yugoslavia and his continued attempts to isolate the ethnic group from the Albanians in Albania.⁴⁸ The protests in Prishtina sparked similar protests against the government in the Macedonian town of Tetovo. This fueled the Albanian call in Yugoslavia for a larger

⁴⁴ Ludlow, "Preventive Peacemaking in Macedonia: An Assessment of U.N. Good Offices Diplomacy," 776.

⁴⁵ Neofotistos, "Postsocialism, Social Value, and Identity Politics among Albanians in Macedonia," 886.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 886-87.

⁴⁷ Siptar was not a pejorative term at the time but later became an offensive term for Albanians used predominately by Serbs during the war over Kosovo and by Macedonians during the 2001 conflict. The term Siptar is used today within predominately young Albanian groups in Kosovo and Macedonia, but is still considered a pejorative term.

⁴⁸ Neofotistos, "Postsocialism, Social Value, and Identity Politics among Albanians in Macedonia," 887.

Republic now encompassing the Albanians within northern Macedonia and within the southern Serbia region of Kosovo.

The protests in Prishtina and Tetovo also highlighted many Albanians' continued fear of Slavic linguistic assimilation. Albanians in Macedonia united more closely with Albanians in Kosovo to solidify their unity under the Albanian language. Without schools, specifically colleges and universities, in the Albanian language, Albanian scholars, students, and professionals were forced to adopt Macedonian or Serbian. The protesters' demands included access to education in the Albanian language. After nearly a year of protests, Tito allowed the creation of the University of Prishtina in 1969. The University allowed for Albanians throughout Yugoslavia to attend classes in their mother tongue.

Toward the end of the Yugoslav Federation's regional rule, Macedonians' fear of Albanian nationalism increased. Albanian students at the University of Prishtina began demanding improved living conditions. In 1981 university demonstrations included calls for a Kosovo republic.⁴⁹ Throughout the 1980's, Macedonian leaders worried that the demonstrations in Prishtina would intensify and influence Albanians in the Tetovo region. In an attempt to stifle Albanian nationalism, Macedonian authorities implemented strict policies to limit the political and social influence of Albanians. These policies included: "the decrease in the number Albanian employees in state administration, the dismissal of Albanian teachers, the closing of the Albanian section of the Pedagogical Academy, official refusal to register baby names that were taken as an index of support for Albanian nationalism... and the cancellation of classes held in the Albanian language that lacked 'sufficient' enrollment of Albanian pupils."⁵⁰ By 1991, with the dissolution

⁵⁰ Neofotistos, "Postsocialism, Social Value, and Identity Politics among Albanians in Macedonia," 888.

of Yugoslavia and the independence of Macedonia, tensions between Albanians and Macedonians had escalated to a new high.⁵¹

A New State with Old Problems

The new state of Macedonia faced two distinct dangers to its internal and external security: irredentist threats from the “four wolves”—Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia—as well complex political and social discord between ethnic Albanians and Macedonians.⁵² The four wolves and the conflict between the Albanians and Macedonians were not only intertwined but in many ways they fueled one another. These two threats influenced how the Macedonian government engaged the Albanian minority and how it interacted with its neighbors—and the international community—to stave off violent conflict both domestically and internationally. But within the first decade of the small country’s sovereign existence conflict erupted in the northwest region near the Kosovo boarder. The deadly 2001 conflict was a result of immense pressure on the Macedonian government from inside and out and a growing disenfranchised and oppressed minority population.

Macedonia gained its independence with a historic referendum in 1991. However, much of the Albanian population argued that they were prohibited from the nationalization process. They claimed that they were excluded in the proposed constitution, marginalized economically and socially, and were denied access to education.⁵³ In response to their perceived marginalization, Albanians boycotted the referendum that granted Macedonia independence.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Ludlow, "Preventive Peacemaking in Macedonia: An Assessment of U.N. Good Offices Diplomacy," 766-67.

⁵² Ibid., 767.

⁵³ Nikolaos Zahariadis, "External Interventions and Domestic Ethnic Conflict in Yugoslav Macedonia," *Political Science Quarterly* 118, no. 2 (2003): 2560-261.

⁵⁴ Ludlow, "Preventive Peacemaking in Macedonia: An Assessment of U.N. Good Offices Diplomacy," 761.

While this was the first sign of future political conflict between the Albanians and Macedonians, Nikolaos Zahariadis argues that for the Macedonian government, the central concern of the government was to curtail the threat of its neighbors rather than dealing with disgruntled Albanians.⁵⁵

Macedonia—which had the poorest economy and least capable defense force of the former Yugoslav republics—feared territorial claims by Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Albania. Macedonia's conflict with Greece was and is deeply rooted in ancient claims to both land and cultural heritage. The “name issue” is still a substantial international problem—one that hinders Macedonia's chances of NATO or EU membership. Many in Greece argue that the name dispute is indicative of larger Macedonian territorial claims. Mutual mistrust over the name dispute was coupled with Greek fears of anti-Greece sentiment in Macedonia in the early 1990's. Following Macedonian independence, many leaders in Athens were concerned about Greek Slav-speaking communist members who ascended to high positions in the Macedonian political sphere following Greece's civil war.⁵⁶

The Macedonia-Bulgaria relationship after the 1991 independence was also fraught with old claims of territorial disputes. In 1991-1992 many political parties in Sofia advocated for expansion, to test the borders of Macedonia and Greece for larger regional strategic and economic advantage for Bulgaria. This was perhaps a product of nineteenth-century *Drang nach Saloniki*, a term that refers to the ambitions in which Bulgarians believed that greater access to the Aegean by way of a Vardar estuary port would enhance the country's power.⁵⁷ While the relations between Macedonia and Greece and Bulgaria may seem to have little impact on

⁵⁵ Zahariadis, "External Interventions and Domestic Ethnic Conflict in Yugoslav Macedonia," 260.

⁵⁶ Pettifer, "The new Macedonian Question," 481.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 484.

domestic ethnic tensions, the influence of potential conflict encouraged the Macedonian government to direct its political and diplomatic attention outward.⁵⁸

Serbia and Albania posed a more direct threat to domestic security within Macedonia, specifically regarding the Albanian minority. While the Serbian government seemed to support the new Macedonian state following independence, the general concern was that if Bulgaria encroached on Macedonian territory Serbia would be forced to intervene in a conflict. Serbia was more concerned about Bulgaria's regional hegemony than it was with Macedonia's sovereignty.⁵⁹ Perhaps more important, however, was the risk of a conflict between the Serbian government and Albanians in the autonomous region of Kosovo. The issue was twofold for the Macedonian government. First, if Albanians in Kosovo obtained independence it might fuel larger demands of autonomy for Albanians in Macedonia.⁶⁰ Second, a violent conflict in Kosovo could spill over into Macedonia.

Finally, interference by the Albanian government on the internal ethnic relations in Macedonia worried the government. While the Albanian government was supportive of Macedonia's statehood, many in Albania actively supported human rights improvements for Albanians in Macedonia.⁶¹ In 1994 American officials cautioned leaders in Albania against utilizing state media to support Albanian nationalists in Macedonia who called for autonomy, acknowledging the risk of Albania's interference in an extremely fragile context.⁶² Some in the

⁵⁸ Zahariadis, "External Interventions and Domestic Ethnic Conflict in Yugoslav Macedonia."

⁵⁹ Pettifer, "The new Macedonian Question," 483-84.

⁶⁰ Ludlow, "Preventive Peacemaking in Macedonia: An Assessment of U.N. Good Offices Diplomacy," 777.

⁶¹ Pettifer, "The new Macedonian Question," 480-81.

⁶² Glenny, "Heading off War in the Southern Balkans," 106.

international community feared that “a breakdown in the relations between Macedonia’s Slav majority and the Albanian minority would provoke an internal collapse.”⁶³

The threat of invasion or a spillover of regional conflicts into Macedonia was strong enough to warrant a preventative UN peacemaking and peacebuilding force in 1992. And while the UN presence from 1992 until 1999 seemed to deter international conflict, the Macedonian government resisted UN intervention in domestic, namely interethnic, issues, which seemed to intensify year after year.⁶⁴

The “four wolves” predicament was important to the ethnic Albanian-Macedonian relationship for two reasons. First, as noted by Zahariadis, it served as a distraction for the Macedonian government. Relations with minority groups were set aside as the concerns over the wolves at the door dominated the government’s focus. Second, the government’s apprehension toward Albanians in Albania and in Serbia crystalized in the fear of a greater Albania. This fear remained prevalent throughout the country’s first decade.

In 1992 Albanians held a referendum that promoted territorial autonomy.⁶⁵ The Macedonian government denounced the referendum. According to local media at the time, some 90 percent of Albanians voted and nearly 99 percent voted in favor of an independent Western Macedonian state.⁶⁶ It showed “many Macedonians that ethnic Albanians were not willing to coexist in a common state.”⁶⁷ This also added to Macedonians’ concerns regarding a greater

⁶³ Ibid., 102.

⁶⁴ Ludlow, "Preventive Peacemaking in Macedonia: An Assessment of U.N. Good Offices Diplomacy," 761.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 776.

⁶⁶ Premysl Rosulek, "Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia (1991-2001)," *Perspectives: Central European Review of International Affairs* 17(2002): 44.

⁶⁷ Alice Ackermann, *Making Peace Prevail: Preventing Violent Conflict in Macedonia* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000). 61.

Albania, indicating a desire for not just autonomy but also a union with Albanians throughout the Balkans.⁶⁸

In 1993 the Party for Democratic Prosperity—a leading Albanian political party of the time—urged the government to alter the constitution to eliminate the document's reference to the Macedonian language (Article 7) and the Macedonian Orthodox Church (Article 19).⁶⁹ While lack of access to government positions and economic marginalization was an important component of ethnic Albanians' claims against the government, the language issue became a growing concern for Albanians.⁷⁰ In 1994 a group of Albanian academics argued for the creation of an Albanian language university in the predominantly Albanian city of Tetovo. The newly conceived University of Tetovo would provide training to Albanian primary and secondary teachers. Albanians argued that such a university was necessary because of the consistently low acceptance rates of Albanians in the existing universities in Macedonia—which taught in Macedonian.⁷¹ In 1994-1995 the largest and most prestigious university in Macedonia, St. Cyril and Methodius University, enrolled nearly 18,000 students. Only about 360 were Albanian.⁷² The government found the University of Tetovo's establishment unlawful and banned attendance and teaching.⁷³

The University of Tetovo provided a rallying point, physically and ideologically, for Albanians. The issue of access to education in the mother-tongue seemed to typify and transcend

⁶⁸ Ludlow, "Preventive Peacemaking in Macedonia: An Assessment of U.N. Good Offices Diplomacy," 77.

⁶⁹ Rosulek, "Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia (1991-2001)," 44-45.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ludlow, "Preventive Peacemaking in Macedonia: An Assessment of U.N. Good Offices Diplomacy," 778.

⁷² Dusko Doder, "Albanian-Language University in Macedonia is Focus of Serious Ethnic Tensions," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 1995.

⁷³ Ibid.

two important points of contention for Albanians: access to identity through linguistic expression—especially within the public sphere—and the need for social, political, and economic equality. When six university leaders were each imprisoned for their connection to the school's opening, some 10,000 Albanians protested against the government in July 1996. One month later, 2,500 Albanians called for a new constitution after the university's rector, Fadil Sulemanji, was also sentenced to a year in prison.⁷⁴ The government attempted to appease the intensifying demands for access to education by instating a quota system for Albanians in recognized universities. But this had little effect on the growing tension.⁷⁵

In addition to events surrounding the University of Tetovo, Albanians argued that despite recruitment attempts by the Macedonian government, Albanians were grossly underrepresented in public institutions. Armend Reka describes the inequality that existed:

Despite the Macedonian government's rhetoric and half-hearted efforts to increase Albanian representation in the 1990s, it still remained utterly disproportionate. For example, the Parliamentary Commission on International Relations published a report in May 2000 showing under-representation in state structures and employment in general. The police and the armed forces stood out as particularly unequal-opportunity employers as only 3.1% of these forces employed Albanians. The failure to recruit more minorities within the law enforcement agencies further heightened tensions as Macedonians predominated in law enforcement. This sometimes took the form of inter-ethnic abuse, especially in areas where Albanians dominated in numbers. Police abuse and brutality became a problem in the 1990s, culminating in the killing of three people protesting in Gostivar in 1997.⁷⁶

The increased tension over access to government, jobs, and education propelled the situation into violent conflict in the start of 2001.

⁷⁴ Miranda Vickers, "Minority Fights Language Ban," *The Times Higher Education Supplement* 1996.

⁷⁵ Ludlow, "Preventive Peacemaking in Macedonia: An Assessment of U.N. Good Offices Diplomacy," 778.

⁷⁶ Reka, "The Ohrid Agreement: The Travails of Inter-ethnic Relations in Macedonia," 60.

The 2001 Violent Conflict

The National Liberation Army (NLA), a loose network of groups advocating the Albanian cause in Macedonia, began a violent rebellion against the government in response to many of the oppressive policies of the previous decade. The apparent goal of the NLA was not to partition the country along ethnic lines. Instead, according to the group's leader Ali Ahmeti, the aim was to "live as equals in our land and be treated as citizens."⁷⁷

In January 2001 a police station outside Tetovo, in a small town called Tearce, was destroyed by a grenade. This was followed days later by gunfire, directed at a train outside the predominately ethnically Macedonian town of Kicevo.⁷⁸ While the NLA took credit for the incidents, government authorities claimed the violence was not the work of an organized group.⁷⁹ However, the fighting intensified and in March the conflict between the NLA and the Macedonian government had spread throughout the northern region of the country.⁸⁰ In the final stages of the conflict, the fighting had reached the suburbs of the capitol city, Skopje.⁸¹ By the end of March the NLA agreed to a unilateral ceasefire.⁸² NATO assisted with the disarmament of NLA forces. Nearly 4,000 NATO personnel carried out "Operation Essential Harvest."⁸³ This

⁷⁷ Nicholas Wood, "Trust Me, Says NLA Leader, this is Peace: Commander of Ethnic Albanian Rebels Promises Arms and Territory will be Surrendered and Macedonia United," *The Guardian* 2001.

⁷⁸ Friedman, "The Ethnopolitics of Territorial Division in the Republic of Macedonia," 213.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Alex J. Bellamy, "The New Wolves at the Door: Conflict in Macedonia," *Civil Wars* 5, no. 117-144 (2002): 133-35.

⁸² Ibid., 135.

⁸³ Ibid., 139.

was supported by Albanian leaders throughout the Balkans and allowed for negotiations led by the US and EU leaders.⁸⁴

The conflict in Macedonia was brief but greatly impacted the larger Macedonian community, the long-term structure of the government, and the future of ethnic relations within the country. Macedonia was “was racked by intense fighting in spring-summer 2001 between the ... (NLA) and the state security forces...The government claims that 63 soldiers were killed and the insurgency lost 88 fighters. Some 70 civilians died. By August 2001 some 170,000 had been displaced.”⁸⁵

The Ohrid Framework Agreement

The OFA was, and still is, a remarkable agreement, especially within the Balkan context where power-sharing agreements between ethnic groups have experienced significant challenges. The agreement created the foundation for a multi-ethnic government, addressed social and political concerns beyond those centered on the Albanian-Macedonian conflict, and provided explicit guidelines to respect the cultural rights of all ethnic groups in Macedonia. However, as the 2001 conflict grows more distant, the legacy of the OFA becomes questionable and the underlying roots of the conflict have begun to reemerge.

The first goal of the OFA was to address the representation of minorities within the context of the constitution. While the agreement advocated for an ethnically ambiguous preamble text, the Macedonian government agreed to amend the Constitution to read, “The citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, the Macedonian people, as well as citizens living within its borders who are part of the Albanian people, the Turkish people, the Vlach people, the

⁸⁴ Ibid., 133.

⁸⁵ "Macedonia: Ten Years after the Conflict," in *Europe Report* (International Crisis Group, 2011), 1.

Serbian people, the Roma people, the Bosniak people and others...”⁸⁶ This amendment is certainly an improvement from the 1991 draft of the Constitution but it still separates, and arguably prioritizes, ethnic Macedonians from ethnic minorities.⁸⁷

Access to language for minority groups was also addressed by the OFA recommendations. Laws regarding the official language of Macedonia, including the Constitution, were amended. Macedonian remained an official language for the entire country and all of its citizens. However, any language spoken by an ethnic group comprising 20 percent or more of the population in a given municipality would also be considered an official language of that municipality.⁸⁸ This included the alphabet of the respective language. In municipalities across Macedonia, languages like Albanian, Turkish, Serbian, etc. were considered official languages in addition to Macedonian—depending on the municipalities’ demographics. This also meant that both Cyrillic and Latin alphabets were used as official scripts. Additionally, the OFA made way for municipal governments to establish an official language in addition to Macedonian, even if the respective ethnic group did not meet the 20 percent mark. This was the case in the town of Gostivar where “Turkish was declared an official language in the municipality...despite the less than 20 [percent] Turkish population.”⁸⁹

The OFA also promoted equitable representation in the government—including structure and policy formulation and implementation. It allowed for groups to have substantial say in matters of “culture, use of language, education, personal documentation, and use of symbols, as

⁸⁶ "The Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia," Amendment IV, 1.

⁸⁷ Reka, "The Ohrid Agreement: The Travails of Inter-ethnic Relations in Macedonia," 59.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

well as laws on local finances, local elections...and boundaries of municipalities...”⁹⁰ The agreement attempted to remedy the disparity in ethnic representation within the police and military specifically. The agreement states, “In order to ensure that police are aware of and responsive to the needs and interests of the local population, local heads of police will be selected by municipal councils from lists of candidates proposed by the Ministry of Interior...”⁹¹ This allowed for local communities to choose law enforcement officers that represented them while addressing the issue of a centralized authority over multi-ethnic localities—a significant problem prior to 2001.⁹²

Segregated Education

Education remained an important point of contention between Albanians and Macedonians. As early as October 2002, feuds between the Macedonian government and Albanian students, parents, and teachers led to a segregated school policy. In the small town of Shemshovo—in the Jegunovce municipality—Macedonian students were taken out of school and put into all Macedonian classes.⁹³ In the spring of 2003, Albanian students and parents began a hunger strike in response to the government’s unwillingness to create parallel Albanian classes. The protests ended when the government allowed Albanian students and teachers to use an “agro-industrial mill ... to be temporarily used as school premises for the Albanian students of the technical and economics high schools.”⁹⁴

⁹⁰ "The Ohrid Framework Agreement ", (2001), 5.2.

⁹¹ Ibid., 3.3.

⁹² Reka, "The Ohrid Agreement: The Travails of Inter-ethnic Relations in Macedonia," 59-61.

⁹³ Amanda E. Feller and Kelly R. Ryan, "Definition, Necessity, and Nansen: Efficacy of Dialogue in Peacebuilding," *Conflict Resolution Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (2012): 366.

⁹⁴ Ismail Bilalli, "Macedonia: Albanians End Hunger Strike Over Separate School," *Fakti* 2003.

Albanians in Kumanovo were not alone in their call for education in their mother-tongue language. Albanians throughout the country saw parallel education as a constitutional right, newly awarded by the reforms following the OFA. They demanded that all classes be taught in Albanian, rather than the select courses previously offered. While some schools in Macedonia offered parallel Albanian and Macedonian classes, most schools were still teaching primarily in Macedonian. When the 2003-2004 school year began at Manastir Bitola Secondary School, Albanian students were angered that the government would not offer classes in Albanian. That same year many Albanian activists argued that Albanian students were denied any education in Bitola as a result of harsh anti-Albanian sentiment.⁹⁵

The situation in Bitola propelled Albanian protests in the town that in turn sparked national attention. Within the first month of the school year, some 240 Albanian primary students (grades 1-8) in Bitola were boycotting classes.⁹⁶ Secondary students also protested classes and demanded a solution from local and national authorities.⁹⁷ While the government argued that they were unable to open classes in the Albanian language because of “technical reasons,” Albanian students around the country began to protest in support of their Albanian peers in Bitola.

Macedonian students began to protest as well, many arguing that they should not be forced to learn alongside Albanian students. These protests became violent in the Skopje City Center. It was reported by local media that Macedonian student protesters physically attacked five Albanian student protesters.⁹⁸ One Albanian student protester in Gostivar argued that the

⁹⁵ Qenan Hasani, "Bitola Macedonians Oppose Opening of Albanian High School Class," *Fakit, Skopje* 2003.

⁹⁶ "Macedonia: Bitola High School Students Announce New Boycotts of Classes," (Macedonian Radio2003; reprint, BBC Summary of World Broadcasts); *ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

Macedonian students' protests showed "that they want to wipe away any trace of...Albanian culture."⁹⁹ By October 2003 the education debate not only pitted Albanians against the government but also against their Macedonian student, parent, and teacher counterparts. The tension surrounding education and access to language led to a nearly complete segregation of students based on linguistic and ethnic identities.

The majority of schools in Macedonia are segregated; segregation is often defended by its proponents as fulfilling the OFA's recommendation for all students to learn in their mother-tongue language. However, the segregation has led to deeply divided communities, and in many cases a two-school-under-one-roof policy. Ljubica Grozdanovska Dimishkovska recounts that the "Albanian students who attend Zef Ljus Marku High School don't know the Macedonian students at Nikola Karev High School, even though both groups attend classes in the same building. The roughly 2,000 students go to classes in two shifts separated by an hour: Macedonians in the morning, and the Albanians in the afternoon. The schools' management decided to split the students into ethnic groups about five years ago to avoid conflicts."¹⁰⁰

Dimishkovska's example is certainly not unique in Macedonia. While in Macedonia I observed that not only do some schools separate students by time of day, in many schools Albanian and Macedonian students learn in the same building at the same time of day but the schools are designed to keep students separated in the hallways and class rooms. This separation starts as early as preschool and often lasts until students graduate from university. Students are

⁹⁸ "Albanian Parties Worried by Attacks on Albanians by Macedonian Students," *Fakti* 2003.

⁹⁹ "Macedonian Albanian Officials Comment on Suspension of Albanian Classes," *Fakti* 2003.

¹⁰⁰ Ljubica Grozdanovska Dimishkovska, "Macedonia: Class Struggle," TOL Chalkboard, <http://chalkboard.tol.org/macedonia-class-struggle>.

not the only ones who are separated; teachers are ethnically separated and often do not share common spaces.

The Status of Albanian and Macedonian Relations

Nearly four years after the conflict, the Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA) vice-president, Menduh Thaci, argued publically that, “Macedonia is like a patient that has survived the first heart attack, but won’t be able to survive the next one.”¹⁰¹ Thaci’s observation showed that while the OFA laid the foundation for better coexistence between Albanians and Macedonians, interethnic relationships remained fragile at best.

Recent small ethnic clashes seem to show the delicacy of Macedonia’s peace. In spring 2012 ethnic relations worsened after five ethnic Macedonian fishermen were found murdered outside Skopje. While it was later discovered that the murders were not ethnically motivated, riot police were deployed to Skopje’s street in response to ethnically motivated violent protests. This came just a month after a Macedonian police officer killed two Albanians over a parking dispute, which triggered multiple days of violent protests.¹⁰² More recently, tensions over newly elected Defense Minister Talat Xhaferi sparked days of violent protest between ethnic Macedonians and Albanians in March 2013.¹⁰³

My observations among parents, students, and even my own friends in Macedonia reveal that perceptions of and concerns about out-group relationships mirror the historical perspectives of 1991 and 2001. Many Macedonians feel that concessions made to Albanians go largely unnoticed and have yet to appease the substantial minority. Many Macedonians also suggest that Albanians enjoy beneficial discrimination and are offered jobs that belong to Macedonians.

¹⁰¹ Ana Petrusheva, "Macedonia: Storm Over Opposition Resignations," *Institute for War & Peace Reporting* 2005.

¹⁰² Matthew Brunwasser, "Killings Heighten Ethnic Tensions in Macedonia," *The New York Times* 2012.

¹⁰³ Sinisa Jakov Marusic, "Macedonia Riot Police Thwart Violent Protest," *Balkan Insight* 2013.

Perhaps more pervasive among many Macedonians is the fear that the Albanians living in Macedonia still strive to unify with Albanians in Kosovo and Albania to create a greater Albania.

In Skopje I met with two Macedonian fathers of primary school children who do not participate in the NMIE. Many of the fathers, who welcomed questions about their children and how they view the education system in Macedonia, agreed independently on three specific issues. First, Albanians have historically remained uneducated, and only recently are they becoming more educated. This, in their opinion is a result of the OFA. Second, concerns about greater Albania are legitimate. Not only do Albanians want to unite in the region, they want to chop up existing borders and claim territory that belongs to Macedonia. Finally, neither father was opposed to integrated education—both even welcomed it to a certain degree. However, they believed their Macedonian children should not be forced to learn Albanian while Albanian students should learn Macedonian, as it is the national language. It is important to note that the Macedonian fathers I spoke with did think that students should interact more and communicate more with Albanian students to increase awareness of one another.

The Albanian parents I met—whose children do not participate in NMIE—were concerned about the level of equality between Albanians and Macedonians, particularly in the business and education sectors. One Albanian father, who works in Skopje but lives near Tetovo, noted that Albanian businesses will always employ Macedonians at every level, while Macedonian business will only employ Albanians at the lowest level. He argued that while employment ratios may depict Macedonia as equitable, in actuality, Albanians are forced to take low-paying jobs by their Macedonian counterparts. The same father suggested that this same inequality exists in the school system. While Albanian students may be able to learn in their

mother-tongue language, they are still forced to learn Macedonian at an early age. Macedonians, he argued, are never made to learn the Albanian language.

Zoran Velkovski and Florina Shehu conducted an evaluation of the education system in 2012 and commented on NDC Skopje's model. The authors observed that in Macedonia, segregated primary schools taught students in Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish and Serbian languages. However, Albanian, Turkish and Serbian speaking students were required to study Macedonian language and literature multiple times each week. Velkovski and Shehu note that secondary schools employed a similar system but only offered lessons in Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish; Albanian and Turkish speaking students are still required to study Macedonian regularly each week. Macedonian, Albanian and English courses are offered at the university level.¹⁰⁴

Velkovski and Shehu argue that segregation of students from primary school through university is a significant factor in continued ethnic tension. The authors outline several factors. First, students are taught about other groups in schools but rarely interact with people from out groups. This deprives students from contextualizing content they are learning.¹⁰⁵ The authors also identify a lack of activity-based learning across Macedonia which hinders students' ability to build relationship, learn cooperation, and express themselves to those around them. Second, teachers in Macedonia are segregated along ethnic/linguistic lines just like their students. This means they have limited experience of intercultural interactions they can use to teach tolerance.¹⁰⁶ Finally, students in rural areas like Jegunovce often live in insular, geographically

¹⁰⁴ Zoran Velkovski and Florina Shehu, "Periodical Evaluation Report: Nansen Model for Integrated Education," (2012), 8.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 11.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

separated communities. When they do not interact with their out-group peers at school, they go home to family members, religious communities, and other social groups that are segregated and are likely to maintain and entrench negative views of the out group.¹⁰⁷

The fathers I spoke with from each ethnic group, and the observations offered by Velkovski and Shehu, illustrate a larger problem with ethnic relations in Macedonia. While the OFA helped to end the violent conflict, it seems to have frozen the negative and divided Albanian-Macedonian relationship. At the root of the problem is a desire by both groups to maintain their cultural identities through their language and history. While the OFA allows for each group to learn in their respective mother-tongue language, it has been used to justify segregated education systems that impact students, teachers, parents, and communities. With little interaction and little communication, both groups are left with their assumptions about the out group, and as depicted during the education protests in 2002-2004, following the 2012 Easter murders, and with the 2013 riots, such assumptions and expectations about the out group can and do lead to tension, violence, and unresolved conflict.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

THE NANSEN APPROACH TO PEACEBUILDING: REPRESENTATIVE PEACEBUILDING THROUGH DIALOGUE

“I don’t like the saying ‘teach a man to fish’. Dialogue and peace are not about instructing. Just go fishing with the man, and you will learn together.” – Steinar Bryn

NDC Skopje is one piece of the larger Nansen Dialogue Network (NDN). NDN is dedicated to building peace and facilitating reconciliation through a diverse network of local, representative centers in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia. While the centers are guided by NDN headquarters in Lillehammer, Norway, the centers—managed and staffed by local peace practitioners and scholars—implement peacebuilding activities tailored to their own environments and their communities’ needs.

NDN’s network-wide approach to dialogue and its intentionally representative staff inform and guide the work done by the centers; this is true for NDC Skopje which employs NDN’s dialogue model within its peace education and contact methods. Steinar Bryn, NDN’s Senior Advisor, describes the organization’s dialogic approach as movement that seeks to guide divided communities from spaces of difference to spaces of understanding, interaction, and coexistence. This approach is enhanced by the representative staff members who, as participants in their respective divided communities, offer localized and personalized perspectives to both conflict analysis and resolution. NDN’s approach to conflict transformation established the roots of the NMIE. The knowledge and conflict experience of the NDC Skopje staff support the implementation and growth of the model, ensuring its continued success and adaptability. This

chapter gives a brief background of the organizations and offers insight into their theoretical and practical choices as peacebuilding centers.

The Nansen Dialogue Network

Founded in 1995, NDN is a product of international Olympic cooperation, an academic response to Norway's encounter with fascism, and the dedication of several peace practitioners and theorists. The network is part of the Nansen Academy, founded in 1938, which originated as a "protest to totalitarianism in Europe."¹⁰⁸ Named after the great Norwegian explorer, diplomat, and humanitarian, Fridtjof Nansen, the Academy holds that,

Humanism is understood as a basic attitude that can unite people with different religions, political and cultural backgrounds. Humanism is not defined once and for all, but should be explored through constant dialogue and commitment. It is built on the acknowledgement of the unique value of each human being and ties to other human beings and to history . . . The active work for human rights, freedom of expression and democracy is important for the Nansen Academy.¹⁰⁹

The Academy's commitment to connecting humans to each other and to history laid the groundwork for NDN. The Academy took the opportunity during the 1994 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer to remember and engage communities in Sarajevo who hosted the Winter Olympics just a decade earlier. While the brutal conflict in Sarajevo raged, "the Academy's director at the time, Inge Eidsvag, traveled to Sarajevo when it was under siege to ask 'what can we contribute?'"¹¹⁰ The work of the Nansen Academy and the support of Lillehammer Olympic Aid resulted in a 12-week dialogue. The dialogue—held in Lillehammer—included 14 political

¹⁰⁸ "Nansen Academy," Nansen Dialogue Network, http://www.nansen-dialogue.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=444&Itemid=531.

¹⁰⁹ "The Nansen Academy Homepage", www.nansenskolen.no/index.

¹¹⁰ Ann Kelleher and Kelly Ryan, "Successful Local Peacebuilding in Macedonia: Sustained Dialogue in Practice," *PEACE RESEARCH: The Canadian Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies* 44, no. 1 (2012).

leaders from Bosnia's main ethnic groups.¹¹¹ The dialogues entitled "Democracy, Human Rights and Peaceful Conflict Resolution" spurred broader, regional dialogues that also took place in Norway. In 1996 leaders from newly formed Balkan states participated. More than 300 participants took part in the "Democracy, Human Rights and Peaceful Conflict Resolution" seminars.¹¹²

The Network's approach to peacebuilding has deep theoretical roots in Norwegian academia and history but is founded on a mission influenced by years of practice and experience. The Network's mission is "to support actively and effectively intercultural and interethnic dialogue processes at local, national and regional levels with the aim of contributing to conflict prevention, reconciliation and peace building."¹¹³ Intentionally, the mission is broad enough to allow each center the room to adapt methods to given situations and events within their changing post-conflict communities. This flexibility is a response to the complexities of each conflict, and the unique needs of the communities involved in a given conflict.

This relational understanding through representative centers is often crucial for local peacebuilding. Hilhorst and van Leeuwen argue that successful NGOs must reflect the society beyond the conflict. These organizations ought to "take into account [the community's] history and trace where they come from..."¹¹⁴ NDN founders established the centers with the intention that they accurately reflect the communities in which they work. This representative nature of the centers is important. Local staff have nuanced understanding of communities, customs, laws,

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ "Promoting & Facilitating Dialogue in Support of Peace Building Processes Since 1995," (Nansen Dialogue Network).

¹¹⁴ Dorothea Hilhorst and Mathijs van Leeuwen, "Grounding Local Peace Organisations: A Case Study of Southern Sudan," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 43, no. 4 (2005): 555.

language, and conflict history and this helps to establish trust and respect while allowing meaningful relationship building between participants and practitioners.¹¹⁵

According to Bryn, this community representation within the centers is necessary for Nansen's approach to dialogue. Bryn argues that the key to stable states—especially those which have suffered violent conflict—is successful peacebuilding. He maintains that peacebuilding typically has four primary elements: economic development, security, political development, and reconciliation.¹¹⁶ While exceptions exist, these components of peacebuilding are largely institutional.

Peacebuilding in the Balkans relies heavily on international support and pressure that directly targets institutions. Political development may include a shift toward democracy, election monitoring, and equitable representation within respective government bodies. Economic develop is likely to include banking or loan structure reforms, international financial aid, and—in the case of most former Yugoslav states—a shift toward privatization of formerly state-held industries.¹¹⁷ Changes to local law enforcement, anti-corruption measures, and an increase devotion to “rule of law” are meant to increase security in post-conflict communities while an adherence to international and local courts, tribunals, and agreements often falls under reconciliation.¹¹⁸

Bryn argues that this approach to peacebuilding is lacking. While institutional and structural changes are often important parts of peacebuilding, dialogue is an indispensable

¹¹⁵ Sasho Stojkovski, Interview, February 14, 2013.

¹¹⁶ Steinar Bryn, Interview, November 18, 2011.

¹¹⁷ Oliver Richmond, "The UN and Liberal Peacebuilding: Consensus and Challenges," in *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Peace Processes and Post-War Reconstruction*, ed. J. Darby and R. MacGinty (NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008).

¹¹⁸ Bryn.

element that helps to move people and communities together and toward a common, stable, and inclusive future.¹¹⁹ Bryn echoes Harold Saunders who argues that social capital is needed to create positive change. Saunders writes that dialogue—particularly sustained dialogue—is,

A process designed to transform conflictual national, racial, ethnic, and even economic relationships. . . . Beyond resolving conflict, we are now learning that such dialogue can be used in building social capital – the civic relationships now seen as the long-unrecognized element essential to economic development. Funding organizations and governments can pay for physical infrastructure, but only citizens outside government can build the social capital – a system of shared practices and covenants – that produces sound economic development and efficient economies.¹²⁰

Bryn goes further by suggesting that dialogue itself should be understood as movement. Where institutional and structural changes are susceptible to acceptance or denial by a given community, dialogue—which aims to move “people from their side of the divide to a space that they temporarily share with ‘the other’”—relies on the community’s self-determined needs, expectations, and goals.¹²¹ While the needs, expectations, and goals of divided communities often differ greatly, and are frequently at the root of a conflict, dialogue seeks to move communities in two directions. Then dialogue helps to create paths to achieve common goals, build respect, and facilitate understanding. Bryn argues that at the core of Nansen’s dialogic approach is simple: ask questions and listen, do not talk and instruct.¹²²

Asking questions and listening is where Nansen’s dialogue approach and the representational component of the centers meet. By staffing the centers with community members who experienced the conflict, have established relationships in their respective communities, and have a nuanced understanding of the cultural and historical context of their

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Harold H. Saunders, "Two Challenges for the New Century: Transforming Relationships in Whole Bodies Politic," *Political Psychology* 23, no. 1 (2002): 151-64, 52-53.

¹²¹ Feller and Ryan, "Definition, Necessity, and Nansen: Efficacy of Dialogue in Peacebuilding."

¹²² Bryn.

respective community NDN has established core groups of practitioners within the post-conflict communities that are able to engage the divided communities, ask questions, and begin the dialogue process. While this is the case for each center, this study focuses on NDC Skopje.

Nansen Dialogue Center Skopje

Beginning in 2005 NDC Skopje invited members of the Albanian and Macedonian communities in Jegunovce to participate in seminars. The seminars focused on dialogue activities with parents, students, municipal leaders, community leaders, and teachers; acknowledging that the ethnic conflict pervades community members at every level.¹²³ It was during these initial seminars that NDC Skopje asked participants: what do you need? In response, both Macedonians and Albanians identified better education. NDC Skopje offered to use their resources to help better education opportunities in Jegunovce but required that Albanians and Macedonians learn alongside one another. This propelled NDC Skopje to establish English and Information Technology (IT) classes for students in the municipality.¹²⁴ NDC Skopje utilized the concept of dialogue and movement both theoretically and literally.

The first English course was offered in Ratae, a predominately ethnically Macedonian town. Students from Albanian majority towns like Shemshovo and Ozormishte traveled to the Ratae to attend the English course. The initial IT course met in Shemshovo where students from Macedonian towns like Sirichino, Tudence, and Zilche traveled to participate and learn. The image below, provided by NDC Skopje, depicts the courses offered in Jegunovce between 2005 and 2007. The village names are colored to represent the Albanian (blue) and Macedonian (yellow) populations.

¹²³ Veton Zekolli, October 15, 2010.

¹²⁴ Veton Zekolli, Interview, February 18, 2013.

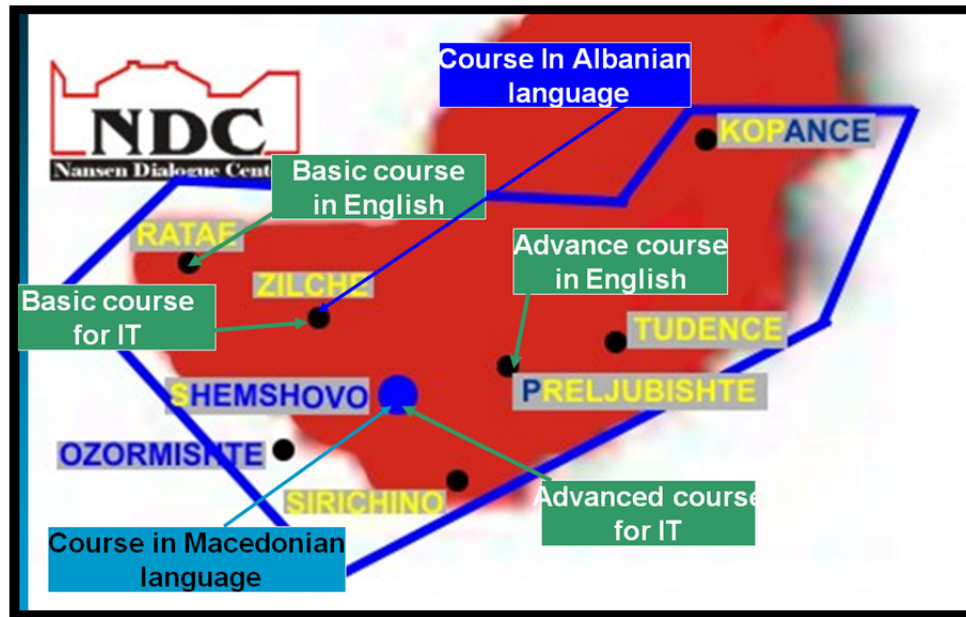


Figure 1: Map of NDC Skopje's Integrated IT and English Courses in Jegunovce¹²⁵

The number of participants quickly grew from the original 12 participants and NDC Skopje added English and IT courses in other villages throughout Jegunovce. Zilche, the most nationalistic Macedonian town in the region, requested help from NDC Skopje to develop an Albanian language program so students in the village could learn the native language of the out group. Similarly Albanians requested special courses to teach Macedonian.¹²⁶ By 2007 148 people participated in English courses, 178 in IT courses, 53 in Albanian language courses, and 61 in Macedonian language courses. By 2008, the success of NDC Skopje's programming led to the creation of the Fridtjof Nansen Primary School and later the Mosha Pijade Secondary School in 2010.

Community Engagement and Representation

By representing the populations it works alongside, NDC Skopje seeks to establish itself as a legitimate local NGO. By representing the actual demographics of Jegunovce it represents

¹²⁵ Nansen Dialogue Center Skopje, October 15, 2011.

¹²⁶ Zekolli.

the perspectives of its program's participants and understands the deeply rooted issues crucial to establishing and reestablishing meaningful and peaceful relationships. Moreover, their linguistic representation allows for dialogue facilitation and will later be identified as a necessary factor for the bilingual integrated school programs.

While Albanians comprise nearly 24 percent of the country's population, in Jegunovce they make up 43 percent with Macedonians representing 56 percent of the population.¹²⁷ NDC Skopje mirrors this divide with a staff evenly divided between ethnically Macedonian and Albanian professionals. The organization also includes Turkish and Croatian practitioners, as the NMIE expanded to different communities throughout Macedonia.

This representative ethnic representation is important in community communication and seminars. As explained in Chapter 2, language continues to play a substantial role in Macedonia's conflict conversation; language represents inequality, oppression, and connection to historic, regional, and ethnic identity. When it comes to dialogue, community meetings, and education—the core of NDC Skopje's work—language can be a divisive or unifying factor. Everything from daily office work to extracurricular classes to teacher training is conducted in multiple languages to promote inclusivity.

As previously noted, when NDC Skopje sought to create peacebuilding programs centered on NDN's dialogue model, it first solicited needs-based information from different communities in Jegunovce.¹²⁸ When NDC Skopje discovered the Albanian and Macedonian communities' desire for better education, it was able to create programming that met the needs of the people while facilitating dialogue. By not framing the program in terms of the conflict or the peace process, NDC Skopje was able to identify a mutually beneficial goal within the

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

Macedonian and Albanian communities. This benefited the peacebuilding process in two ways. First, it revealed common ground between the two groups. The communities could jointly identify a need beyond the conflict and differences in-group identities. Second, it provided NDC Skopje with a starting point, a way to get involved. Instead of investing in an organization-centric project, they could establish a community need based project. This allowed NDC Skopje to build a localized peacebuilding program that Albanian and Macedonian community members were willing and excited to participate in.

CHAPTER 4

DOMINATION AND MILITARISM: EDUCATING STUDENTS FOR LIVES OF VIOLENCE

“...Children grow to fear what they don’t understand and to hate what they fear. When differences are taught to be hated and feared the seeds of violence are sown.” – Lisa S.

Goldstein

Education can play a significant role in both conflict and peace. It has the ability to unite communities, strengthen identities, and alter social relationships. Matthew Lange argues that, “education can be a very influential social carrier that shapes diverse patterns of social relations...education is a powerful socializing agent shaping the norms, interests, and outlooks of many individuals.”¹²⁹ As a “social carrier,” peace education’s goal “is not merely at skills and a collection of facts...but at a way of life that pursues understanding and an attitude of openness to new ideas and knowledge.”¹³⁰ On the other hand, for communities on the verge of or in conflict, education is often used to divide members of society, justify violence, and ensure the continuation of conflict.

This chapter examines the theoretical underpinnings and existing literature surrounding domination education models—models of education that can be used to influence, control and manipulate communities. Furthermore, it examines the relationship between schooling, militarism, and ethnic violence. After looking at how schooling often acts as a link between students and a government/military, this chapter concludes by investigating the mechanisms

¹²⁹ Matthew Lange, *Education in Ethnic Violence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012). 15.

¹³⁰ Nel Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2012). 139.

within education that promote ethnic violence. This connection between education and domination is necessary to understand the existing situation in Macedonia and how education plays a divisive role in intergroup contact.

The Domination Model and the Origins of Peace Education

Models of domination education are used to create harmful power structures to exert influence, oppress marginalized groups—including children and youth—and construct violent norms which include militarism, patriotism, capitalism, and masculinity among others.¹³¹

Domination, in relation to social experience and education, should be thought of in two ways. First are the power constructs that define social groups and their interactions. These constructs include social structures that seek to categorize individuals and groups while prioritizing oppressive ways of being and engagement between one another (e.g. militarism is superior to pacifism, capitalism is more efficient than its alternatives, and masculinity is stronger than femininity). This ordering of social structures creates dualities as well as reifies, entrenches, and perpetuates modes of oppression. The second facet of domination is how it is practically transmitted from one member of society to another. That is to say, how does one person or group prioritize capitalism, militarism, patriotism, or masculinity and transfer that prioritization to another community member?

While the domination model of education is not exclusive to Western schooling traditions, it stems from, and is often most pronounced, in Western models of education.¹³²

Berkman and Zembylas argue that three historic characteristics, which hold today, describe

¹³¹ Brian W. Lagotte and Michael W. Apple, "Education Reform and the Project of Militarization," in *Critical Issues in Peace Education*, ed. Peter Pericles Trifonas and Brian Wright (New York: Routledge, 2011); Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War*.

¹³² For the purposes of this study, "Western" will refer to cultures rooted in Greco-Roman history and traditions with specific reference to European, North American, and Australasian communities.

Western schooling. In Western school, the authors argue the student, “was trained by strangers, separated from his [sic] kin and family; the knowledge slated for transmission was differentiated and compartmentalized into fields of specialization; and learning took place outside the contexts of its intended implementation, i.e., students rehearsed knowledge ‘out of context.’”¹³³ This Western model of schooling—the isolation of students who are taught compartmentalized subjects to be rehearsed out of context—is best conceptualized as “banking,” also known as deposit education.

Paulo Freire describes the banking model by identifying two distinct roles: the student and the teacher. In this model, students are treated as receptacles, empty of knowledge and understanding. He writes that students are expected to “memorize mechanically the narrated content” of their instructors.¹³⁴ He continues by arguing that teachers are praised and celebrated by their ability to fill these receptacles. Freire argues, “The more complete [the teacher] fills the receptacle, the better teacher she [sic] is.”¹³⁵ The banking model not only allows teachers to train students based on their experience but also deposit and transmit their values. Teachers are sometimes active participants of domination and/or tools used to ensure the continuation for future generations.

While domination exists outside education, education remains a critical means for domination. Raine Eisler argues that some cultures that are oriented toward domination may seem different from each other or inherently in contrast. However, Eisler observes that domination oriented-cultures “all share the same core configuration. The first component of this

¹³³ Zvi Bekerman and Michalinos Zembylas, *Teaching Contested Narratives: Identity, Memory and Reconciliation in Peace Education and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). 31.

¹³⁴ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc., 1970). 71-72.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 72.

configuration is rigid top-down physical, emotional, and economic control in both the family and the state or tribe.”¹³⁶ These top-down approaches to family and state/tribal relationships foster cultures of difference rather than variety or coexistence. Especially for younger members of a community “working understandings of difference are often limited, partial, and full of inaccuracies... children grow to fear what they don’t understand and to hate what they fear. When differences are taught to be hated and feared the seeds of violence are sown.”¹³⁷ When adults begin to categorize and order certain groups of people, often identified as an out group, the effects of that prioritization begin to effect children and youth within a given community. It becomes more dangerous when this prioritization becomes the norm in educational settings. Eisler describes this system of domination in four components. First, dominant social structures are authoritarian and hierarchical. Second, relationships between perceived dichotomous constructs (e.g. masculinity and femininity) prefer traits and activities that seek conquest and control. Third, fear allows and often justifies violence—physical, sexual, and emotional—perpetrated by superior members of a group; this can include child abuse, rape, and psychological abuse. Finally, control and domination relationships are established and maintained as “normal, desirable, and moral.” This extends from interpersonal relationships to international, interstate relationships.¹³⁸

The transference of the domination model to children through education, specifically schooling, is not only pervasive but typifies Eisler’s fourth component; this transfer is normal

¹³⁶ Raine Eisler, "Education for a Culture of Peace," in *Educating for a Culture of Peace*, ed. Raine Eisler and Ron Miller (Portsmouth, NH: The Center for Partnership Studies and The Foundation for Educational Renewal, 2004), 14.

¹³⁷ Lisa S. Goldstein, "Emphasizing Variety Rather Than Commonality: Educating Young Children for a Culture of Peace," in *Educating for Culture of Peace*, ed. Raine Eisler and Ron Miller (Portsmouth, NH: The Center for Partnership Studies and The Foundation for Educational Renewal, 2004), 129.

¹³⁸ Eisler, "Education for a Culture of Peace," 15.

and expected in many educational contexts and is perhaps best understood when examining education's role in perpetuating conflict.

The Education Mechanisms that Produce Ethnic Violence

The dominance model aids the promotion of militarism, which often translates to educating for patriotism, nationalism, and violence. Bekerman and Zembylas explain that for many early Western societies, sovereigns used schools to unite local groups under one language, one economic system, and one government structure.¹³⁹ The authors continue by arguing that European schools during the establishment of regional sovereign states, and during the Industrial Revolution, acted as centers where sovereigns and government leaders could select specialists to transmit their knowledge and skills to their students.¹⁴⁰ These specialists trained students to become good workers, good soldiers, and good citizens. This model of education has continued throughout modern history to reify the state, military superiority, and violent protection and promotion of national and ethnic superiority through school lessons, rituals, and traditions.

Before examining the role of education in ethno-political conflicts, it is necessary to understand the nature of such conflicts, how communities cope with the violence, and how communities are impacted. Ethno-political conflicts according to Bar-Tal largely divide people in geo-political systems along cultural, religious, linguistic, and political grounds.¹⁴¹ These conflicts are often imbedded in long-standing community connections and interpersonal

¹³⁹ Bekerman and Zembylas, *Teaching Contested Narratives: Identity, Memory and Reconciliation in Peace Education and Beyond*: 30.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Daniel Bar-Tal, "Nature, Rationale, and Effectiveness of Education for Coexistence," *Journal of Social Issues* 60, no. 2 (2004).

relationships.¹⁴² Such conflicts account for a great portion of violence globally. Following the Cold War, from 1989-1996, more than 70 wars took place in nearly 60 locations worldwide.¹⁴³ These conflicts remained violent for extended periods of time. Half of the conflicts spanned an entire decade with a quarter of these wars lasting two or more decades.¹⁴⁴ According to Lederach, “in almost all cases, these conflicts are intranational in scope... fought between groups who come from within the boundaries of a defined state.”¹⁴⁵

What makes intrastate ethno-political violence, in many situations, intractable is how it grooms communities and individuals to identify group and enemy. Bar-Tal describes the mental infrastructure created by those within a conflict. He argues that the more intense the conflict the more the individual or group must adopt coping mechanisms in order to deal with the violence and stress caused by a conflict. These mental mechanisms include, “devotion to the society and country, high motivations to contribute, persistence, readiness for personal sacrifice, unity, solidarity, determination, courage, and maintenance of the society’s objectives.”¹⁴⁶ These mechanisms of coping allow the members of the group and the society to not only function and survive a conflict but also to adopt the conflict as a lifestyle. The adoption of the conflict is, in part, a means of acquiring a sense of security, often through segregation and continued division.

These psychological components of conflict manifest in four different dimensions within the community that extend beyond just the individual and the enemy. Lederach breaks down the

¹⁴² John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2002). 14.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 4.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 11.

¹⁴⁶ Daniel Bar-Tal, "From Intractable Conflict through Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation: Psychological Analysis," *Political Psychology* 21, no. 2 (2000): 353.

dimensions of conflict into personal, relational, structural and cultural dimensions. He explains that personal aspects include, “the cognitive, emotional, perceptual, and spiritual aspects of human experience over the course of conflict.”¹⁴⁷ The relational dimension speaks to the “face-to-face relationships. Here issues of emotions, power, and interdependence, and the communicative and interactive aspects of conflict are central.”¹⁴⁸ Lederach’s structural dimension, “highlights the underlying causes of conflict, and stresses the ways in which social structures, organizations, and institutions are built, sustained, and changed by conflict.”¹⁴⁹ And finally, the cultural aspect is described as “the ways that conflict changes the patterns of group life as well as the ways that culture affects the development of processes to handle and respond to conflict.”¹⁵⁰

The nature of ethno-political conflicts pervades every aspect of society as noted in Lederach’s four dimensions. This is exacerbated by the generational consequences of these conflicts which can increase the longevity and intensity of violence and hatred. One way to view this generational perpetuation of conflict is through what Lederach calls the “reciprocal causation” which exists “where the response mechanism within the cycle of violence and counterviolence becomes the cause for perpetuating the conflict, especially where groups have experienced mutual animosity for decades.”¹⁵¹ This, according to Lederach, potentially lasts for generations.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ John Paul Lederach, "Conflict Transformation " <http://www.beyondintractability.org/bi-essay/transformation>.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* 15.

¹⁵² Ibid.

The generational effect of conflict remains a major challenge. With child soldiers involved in nearly 66 percent of armed conflict,¹⁵³ children are not only impacted by conflict but play a major role in the violence that occurs. For those children not forced into the role of soldier, trauma from sexual assault, abuse, starvation, and separation from basic resources and education, and death are common experiences of war. Furthermore, the impact of conflict coping—as described by Bar-Tal—means that the youngest victims of conflict adopt the conflict and violence as a lifestyle, often into adulthood.

While other forms of violence and domination exist, militarism is not only ubiquitous but leads to nationalism and justifies violent conflict. Militarism, defined as “the result of a process whereby military values, ideology and patterns of behavior achieve a dominating influence over the political, social, economic and foreign affairs of a state,”¹⁵⁴ reinforce cultures defined by symbols, activities, and behaviors that justify violence and war as a means of controlling human interactions, disputes, and desires. These symbols, activities, and behaviors are as common as “salutes, orders, parades, war movies, paramilitary societies and other militaristic rituals deeply rooted in the minds throughout the world.”¹⁵⁵

In dominance-oriented cultures, education supports militarism in two distinct ways. First, education provides a venue for state links, often mandated, between children/youth and the military/government. This relationship between children/youth and militaries/governments often lead children/youth to careers in, respect for, and desire for violence. When this relationship is solidified in law, rituals, and traditions, it becomes difficult to break or transform. Education also

¹⁵³ Ibid. 4

¹⁵⁴ Ernie Regehr, *Militarism and the World Military Order* (Geneva: Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches, 1980).

¹⁵⁵ Ian M. Harris and Mary Lee Morrison, *Peace Education*, Second ed. (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2003). 9.

facilitates mechanisms for patriotic perception of difference based on tribal or national constructs that in turn create perceptions of perceived dangerous out-groups. These mechanisms promote ethnic violence. If violence is curtailed, these mechanisms challenge prospects for peace, resolution, and reconciliation.

Perhaps one of the starkest examples of education used to create a link between children/youth and the government is in the US where in 2001 the renewal of the Elementary Education Act codified the military's direct access to students. Section 9528 of the Act "was added to require any high school receiving federal funds to acquiesce to military requirements."¹⁵⁶ The law requires that high schools allow military recruiters access to students, this recruitment access must be equal to the access given to college and university recruiters.¹⁵⁷ Additionally, high schools must provide the Pentagon with contact information for all students or risk losing federal funds.¹⁵⁸ It is important to note that the direct link between students and the military is not limited to America.

Ian McAllister explains that while American schools may serve as recruitment centers and/or promote the prestige of military schools and academies, some civilian schools in British-influenced societies including Britain, Australia, and New Zealand use school-sponsored activities—beyond the regular curriculum—for military training.¹⁵⁹ In Australia, McAllister observes that many schools sponsor Australian Service Cadet Scheme (ASCS) units, provide officers and trainers, and promote students' military training.¹⁶⁰ These cadet training programs

¹⁵⁶ Lagotte and Apple, "Education Reform and the Project of Militarization," 11.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ian McAllister, "Schools, Enlistment, and Military Values: The Australian Services Cadet Scheme," *Armed Forces & Society* 22, no. 1 (1995): 83-84.

are directly correlated to participants' likelihood of joining the military after graduation.

McAllister also explains that the trainees in the programs are more likely to prolong their military service than those who do not participate.

This student-military link extends beyond contemporary examples. During World War I, schools around the world were transformed into military production factories that supplied a seemingly constant supply of soldiers. Isabel Quigly poignantly wrote about the British Empire's schools, "The First World War saw the apotheosis of the public schools. Everything they had been teaching seemed to come into its own, and their products, almost an entire generation, were killed."¹⁶¹ John Lambert argues that the cadet training programs in British-influenced South Africa in the late 19th and early 20th Century functioned as training and recruiting grounds for middle class, white, and primarily English-speaking boys before and during the First World War. After the Great War began, these schools and their cadet programs became invaluable feeders into South African forces, the Royal Air Force, and other parts of the British and allied militaries.¹⁶² By the end of the conflict, some 25 percent of the white, English-speaking, male population in South Africa fought in the war.¹⁶³ Many school communities suffered great losses; Lambert explains that some schools lost more than 20 percent of their graduating students before the war's end.¹⁶⁴

Whether present or past, these examples of militarism's influence in state-sponsored education programs depict the specific relationship between schools and government/military.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 84-88.

¹⁶¹ Isabel Quigly, *The Heirs of Tom Brown: The English School Story* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1982). 238.

¹⁶² John Lambert, "'Munition Factories...Turning out a Constant Supply of Living Material': White South African Elite Boys' Schools and the First World War," *South African Historical Journal*, no. 51 (2009).

¹⁶³ Ibid., 69.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 83-84.

While not exhaustive, these examples from the U.S., Australia, and South Africa show how schools provide and encourage militaries' recruiting and training of youth. In these cases the domination model promotes the creation of soldiers; however, education has historically played a much larger role in establishing and continuing respect and appreciation for militarism within communities—even if schools are not intentionally producing young soldiers. While militarism is much broader than recruitment, the relationship between education and soldier recruitment provides a stark example. Beyond militarism, education also plays a substantial role in ethnic violence.

Lange provides the education and ethnic violence model to articulate the relationship between education and militarism, patriotism, and—especially—ethnic violence.¹⁶⁵ The author provides four mechanisms in domination driven education that lead to ethnic violence. First, schools socialize students and communities. This socialization helps to shape identity and intercommunal animosity.¹⁶⁶ The second mechanism is frustration-aggression. This mechanism shapes expectations of “others” and sets level of hostility between in-group and out-group engagement.¹⁶⁷ Third, education promotes competition which, Lange argues, incentivizes the elimination of competitors.¹⁶⁸ Finally, domination driven education models mobilize communities around violent movements and available resources.¹⁶⁹ This is often realized in the militaristic cultivation of student identities.

¹⁶⁵ Lange, *Education in Ethnic Violence*.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 16-19.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 19-22.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 22-24.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 24-26.

Socializing students toward militarism, patriotism, and violence is often achieved through celebration of their nation, tribe, or ethnic group. This celebration can be as simple as a daily pledge. Noddings observes that in the U.S., many citizens believe the Pledge of Allegiance has “been there from the start.”¹⁷⁰ He clarifies this by pointing out that the Pledge was written for the 1893 Chicago World Fair to promote patriotism among America’s youth. However, it was not until the 1920’s that the “flag salute” became a trademark of Americanism, where every student was expected and made to pledge allegiance to his/her country at the start of the school day. The flag salute was not simply an exercise in unity, but rather was promoted throughout the U.S. as a way to solidify the mission of the American Legion, an organization whose mission was the “complete obliteration of anarchy, I.W.W.ism, communism and the like.”¹⁷¹ The phrase “under God” was later added under President Dwight Eisenhower, to remind students of their separation from the Soviet Union.¹⁷² While the Pledge of Allegiance may not advocate direct violence, Noddings and others argue that it is meant to intentionally separate students in the US from non-American students. It is a celebration of Americanism and grounded in US education. Noddings argues that beyond patriotism taught in the classroom, in many communities history is focused on teaching eras defined by war, educating students to praise and celebrate war heroes, and encouraging students—especially males—to seek masculine, warrior status throughout their lives.¹⁷³

Macedonia’s education system, before and after OFA, is a great example of how schools facilitate the frustration and aggression mechanism. As noted in Chapter 2, Albanians perceived

¹⁷⁰ Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War*: 51.

¹⁷¹ Jennifer Jacobs Henderson, "Conditional Liberty: The Flag Salute Before Gobitis and Barnette," *Journal of Church & State* 47, no. 4 (2005): 749.

¹⁷² Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War*.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

their access to government, economic opportunity, and public services as unequal. However, many protests revolved around school communities. Whether it was Albanian students in Yugoslavia who protested the lack of an Albanian-language university, or parents of Albanian students in post-OFA Bitola and Tetovo, school-centered communities used their educational grievances of inequality to protest and fight for equality on a broader level. Similarly, Macedonian students and parents used the educational demands of Albanians to protest against the establishment of Albanian-language schools. Moreover, the Constitution and the rights of Macedonian superiority—formalized under Tito—justified violence, both structural and physical, against minority groups, including Albanians. The Macedonia case shows how education’s role, among other forms of unequal state services—in establishing frustration—even as a symbol of larger social inequality—and functioning as a rallying point for protests, violence, and aggression.

Competition taught in schools can also serve as a mechanism for ethnic violence. The competition that leads to ethnic violence is severe and more deeply rooted in individual and group identities. It is often fixed in perceptions of superiority and/or access to basic needs. For example, schools in Rwanda were largely led by Catholic missionaries in the early 20th Century. These missionaries actively favored Tutsis and deemed them superior to Hutus. This translated to schools where teachers catered to Tutsis and Hutus were considered “outside of God’s chosen community.”¹⁷⁴ Following the Hutu Revolution in 1959, Hutu teachers were placed in schools where they taught students that Tutsis were evil and oppressive.¹⁷⁵ According Lange, teachers often “ridiculed Tutsis in class to highlight their ‘otherness’ and inferiority.”¹⁷⁶ The generational

¹⁷⁴ Lange, *Education in Ethnic Violence*: 151.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 151-52.

competitiveness that grew from years of otherization and oppression fueled the brutal conflict between the groups at the end of the 20th Century.

Similarly, the divisive nature of education was, and arguably is, a significant factor in the Sri Lankan conflict where education systems—originally designed around British colonial models—segregated the population by class and religion.¹⁷⁷ In the late 19th century, Sri Lankan schools were broken into three categories. Elite schools catered toward wealthy, English-speaking Christian and Burghers.¹⁷⁸ Second-tier schools were primarily missionary schools that taught in English and either Sinhala or Tamil, while these schools offered some advanced education they could not compare to Elite, English-only schools. Third tier school only taught in Tamil or Sinhala. This educational system lasted beyond the relatively peaceful Sri Lankan independence in 1948. However, this schooling model quickly became a point of contention within the newly independent state.¹⁷⁹

In many ways, the Sri Lankan educational system suffered the same issues that schools in Macedonia face today. While the schools in Sri Lanka were separated on linguistic lines, those lines often divided different ethnic groups, those divisions quickly helped to fuel the violent ethnic conflict in the 1970's.¹⁸⁰ In 1956, the Sinhalese-led government adopted Sinhala as the official language of Sri Lanka. Within a decade the government began to take control of

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 152.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 62-64.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 62.

¹⁷⁹ Birgitte Refslund Sørensen, "The Politics of Citizenship and Difference in Sri Lankan Schools," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (2008).

¹⁸⁰ Lange, *Education in Ethnic Violence*; Sørensen, "The Politics of Citizenship and Difference in Sri Lankan Schools."

schools—an attempt to restrict the influence of missionaries.¹⁸¹ New language policies in primary and secondary schools, coupled with new university admission standards, which required Sinhala proficiency, directly and negatively impacted Tamil students.¹⁸² Lange argues that the marginalization of Tamil students, coupled with the government support of Sinhalese education and opportunity, led to large community separation. While marginalization does not necessarily beget militarization, it often provides justification for violence and the creation and use of military and paramilitary action. It was then easy for violent groups like the People's Liberation Front (JVP) and Tamil Tigers (LTTE) to target students, rally them around their respective causes, and mobilize the students to fight each groups' cause.¹⁸³ Youthful, educated, Sinhalese students were recruited by the Socialist Students Union to fight for JVP. The LTTE grew out of dozens of student organizations including the Unemployed Graduates Union, TUF Youth Organisation, and the Tamil Students' Federation.¹⁸⁴ While many LTTE members were less educated than those in JVP, primarily educated Tamil students—including those who were taught in London—led and directed LTTE students.¹⁸⁵

The mobilization of large groups of people, especially young people, is difficult. Mobilization of a group to fight for a cause, and possibly die for a cause, is even more difficult.¹⁸⁶ In the case of Sri Lanka, education played a significant role in rallying people behind both the LTTE cause and the JVP cause. With an already segregated and divided student

¹⁸¹ Sørensen, "The Politics of Citizenship and Difference in Sri Lankan Schools."

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Lange, *Education in Ethnic Violence*.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 67-69.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 24-26.

population, the JVP and LTTE were able to unite students around their respective causes. The groups, led by educated Sinhalese and Tamils utilized preexisting mechanisms—competition, socialization, and frustration-aggression—to mobilize students.

The domination model of education is important to understand for several reasons. First, it exists in multiple context including communities that are pre-conflict, post-conflict, and communities who are not actively engaged in violent conflict. Second, the domination model of education, in some instances, provides a direct link between children/youth and government/military. This includes legislation that requires military recruiters to actual military training activities in schools. Finally, this model of education can expose students to the four mechanisms that steer students toward ethnic violence.

The significance of understanding how domination models of education impact communities and ethnic violence in relation to this study is twofold. First, the domination model, which lends itself to the promotion of militarism and ethnic violence, is a seemingly normal model. As the prior examples show, the domination model has been used throughout history and in varied context throughout the world. The expansive application of the domination model provides a foundational understanding for the rise and development of peace education—examined in the following chapter. Second, the relationship between the domination model of education and ethnic violence provides an important lens in which the current Macedonian context can be viewed. As previously noted in Chapter 2, the Macedonia educational context is riddled with inequalities, preference for the majority group, and justification for violence. Because the Macedonian conflict was, in part, due to the inequality of education, it is important to understand what role education plays in propagating ethnic conflict.

CHAPTER 5

THE NANSEN MODEL FOR INTEGRATED EDUCATION: AN INTERCULTURAL APPROACH TO PEACE EDUCATION

“But where are the comparable stories of the creativity, inventiveness, and determined action for change on the part of children and youth—the six-to-eight to eighteen-year-olds? Who even notices them? ...They also have a hidden history of remarkable achievements in private spaces...their entry into public spaces in recent decades has been neither recognized nor acclaimed. The heavy hand of patriarch still weighs on them. They are minors by law and voiceless by custom.” – Elise Boulding

Peace education is widely criticized for its broad—and often vague—nature.¹⁸⁷ There is little agreement among theorists and practitioners of peace education’s definition, purpose, or value within the world of peacebuilding.¹⁸⁸ Ilan Gur-Ze’ev goes so far as to suggest that “peace education is currently working hard to achieve homogeneity and ethnocentricity-oriented cohesion in the face of growing awareness. This awareness, however, has not yet culminated in a systematic reflection on the central challenges, conceptions and aims of peace education. ...peace education is a field of research and celebrated practice with no serious theoretical framework/grounding.”¹⁸⁹ Despite these criticisms, peace education enjoys a substantial place in both peacebuilding and pedagogical literature. Many argue that it can serve as an effective tool to unite divided societies through integrated education, conflict resolution skills, and celebrating

¹⁸⁷ Peter Pericles Trifonas and Bryan Wright, *Critical Issues in Peace and Education* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2011). 1-2.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 22.

¹⁸⁹ Ilan Gur-Ze’ev, "Improvisation, Violence, and Peace Education," in *Critical Issues in Peace Education*, ed. Peter Pericles Trifonas and Bryan Wright (New York: Routledge, 2011), 104.

difference.¹⁹⁰ This tension surrounding peace education's efficacy warrants an examination of its theoretical underpinnings, contextual grounding, and analysis of its application.

This chapter briefly explores different theoretical interpretations, applications, and criticisms of peace education before providing a working definition used for this study. A specific method, bilingual and integrated education, is further explained before the Nansen Model for Integrated Education (NMIE) is explored. Finally, this chapter looks at the NMIE as a case of multicultural education, rooted in bilingualism and integration.

Foundations, Definitions, and Applications of Peace Education

As mentioned, the broad nature of peace education has, in many ways, created a division among peace practitioners and scholars. Many proponents of peace education suggest it is a powerful tool and way of altering normative education practices to positively change perceptions of the "other", the "out group", and reexamine unquestioned assumptions. Peace education practitioners seek to challenge direct and structural violence through activities and processes that foster mutual understanding and cooperative learning.¹⁹¹ However, in its earliest and broadest sense, the goal of peace education is to provide an alternative to education models that foster, encourage, and entrench violence and domination as explored in Chapter 4.¹⁹²

While it is arguable that peace education has existed throughout human history in different forms, Elise Boulding argues that for secularized, modern communities peace education is a relatively new invention.¹⁹³ She points out that peace education was a product of different

¹⁹⁰ Daniel Bar-Tal and Yigal Rosen, "Peace Education in Societies Involved in Intractable Conflicts: Direct and Indirect Models," *Review of Educational Research* 79(2009).

¹⁹¹ "Encyclopedia of Peace Education," ed. Monisha Bajaj (Teachers College, Columbia University, 2008). 1-2.

¹⁹² Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War*.

women's groups advocating change and protesting militarism in the late 19th Century.¹⁹⁴

Teachers, social workers, and peace activists worked for a demilitarized form of education, which would later inform and influence the work of the UN, specifically UNESCO.¹⁹⁵

Boulding highlights the work of peace education architects like Marie Montessori who promoted the uniqueness of each child on an individual level, understanding that every child can positively impact their communities and the world.¹⁹⁶ The application of Montessori's teaching method, among other practitioners, influenced peace research in the 1960's when peace and systems theorists began to expand their understanding of peace and violence. Instead of focusing on intergovernmental, nationalist, religious, security, gender, and human rights systems, many scholars began contemplating education and child socialization as a system—or set of systems—that impact human interaction, violence, and peace.¹⁹⁷

Even though a large body of research surrounds peace education following its theoretical founding in the 19th Century, the lack of a coherent definition in both theory and application is viewed as a shortcoming for peace education's efficacy, especially within the most violent contexts. Perhaps one of the most expansive interpretations of peace education comes from Betty Reardon, a leading peace education theorist and advocate. Reardon acknowledges the opportunity for peace education to impact every level of society.¹⁹⁸ She argues that peace

¹⁹³ Elise Boulding, "Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History," (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 116.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 116-17.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 118.

¹⁹⁸ Betty A. Reardon, *Comprehensive Peace Education: Educating for Global Responsibility* (New York, NY: Teacher's College Press, 1988). 78-79.

education includes a large range of programmatic goals: addressing poverty, negative peace, human rights education, and environmental sustainability among others.¹⁹⁹

Perhaps a more literal interpretation from Harris and Morrison suggests that peace education is simply teaching about peace and approaches to peace. They maintain that peace education is “both a philosophy and is inclusive of skills and processes. Peace educators use their educational skills to teach about peaceful conditions and the process of creating them.”²⁰⁰ The authors explain that by teaching about peace, participants will likely adopt²⁰¹ peace and the methods required to achieve it.²⁰² Harris and Morrison continue by arguing that when any idea is adopted by 20 percent of any community, it is likely to spread and becomes difficult to stop. If taught to 20 percent of a population in a way that fosters adoption, the entire community is likely to adopt peace.²⁰³

Bar-Tal and Rosen frame peace education as a path toward peacemaking and interrelationship building. They suggest that peace education ought to “advance and facilitate peace making and reconciliation. It aims to construct society members’ worldview in a way that facilitates conflict resolution and peace processes and prepares them to live in an era of peace and reconciliation.”²⁰⁴ They argue that peace education fits into two categories, direct and indirect contexts. The direct model “can be launched when the societal and political conditions

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Harris and Morrison, *Peace Education*: 25-26.

²⁰¹ Harris and Morrison explain that the adoption of peace is realized through the adoption model. This model includes six stages: attention, interest, evaluation, trial, adoption, and confirmation.

²⁰² Harris and Morrison, *Peace Education*: 25-26.

²⁰³ Ibid., 27.

²⁰⁴ Bar-Tal and Rosen, "Peace Education in Societies Involved in Intractable Conflicts: Direct and Indirect Models," 559.

are ripe and the educational system is ready, both administratively and pedagogically.”²⁰⁵ He notes that this model was used in Bosnia-Herzegovina where teachers and students were asked to confront conflict history, conflict attitudes, and conflict identities.²⁰⁶ The second model is indirect peace education which takes place when “conditions do not favor direct reference to the ethos of a conflict that maintains the intractable conflict.”²⁰⁷ This is often the case when communities support the sociopsychological repertoire of the conflict’s ethos and institutions in charge of education policy—along with large portions of a population—do not support peace education.²⁰⁸

Specifically referencing violence and differing forms of peace, Bajaj argues generally that peace education is “education policy, planning, pedagogy, and practice that can provide learners—in any setting—with the skills and values to work towards comprehensive peace.”²⁰⁹ Bajaj continues by suggesting that peace education ought to discuss “the domains of both ‘negative’ and positive peace that respectively comprise the abolition of direct or physical violence, and structural violence constituted by systematic inequalities that deprive individuals of the basic human rights.”²¹⁰

These varied definitions of peace education are chiefly theoretical, however peace education in practice is similarly diverse in its application. McCarthy advocates for a reconceptualization of culture in schools—realized through classroom communities. He suggests

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 567.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 562.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 563.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Monisha Bajaj, *Encyclopedia of Peace Education* (Information Age Publishing, Inc., 2008). 1.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

students should not be taught non-violence as an alternative to violence, but rather he advocates a cultural shift that promotes non-violence as normative and violence as its less desirable alternative.²¹¹ Goleman suggests that teachers need to educate students to identify their emotions, how to communicate their needs and emotions to others, and problem solve in ways that lead to cooperation.²¹² Lantieri and Patti outline specific classroom settings that promote positive interaction and conflict resolution, including: win-win negotiation, active listening, using I-messages, and mediation.²¹³

A common form of peace education activity is the short-term contact approach where students will often travel to a “safe space” away from conflict participants and mentalities, engage their out-group peers through sports or other activities, and then travel back to their communities with new understanding and respect for the out group. Kupermintz and Salomon caution against this practice arguing that it is overused and rarely effective.²¹⁴ They argue that when students or youth go to camps for arts, soccer, or other activities their perceptions of the enemy, or the out group, may alter. They may build friendships and gain a better understanding of how the other lives and who they are. The problem with these forms of peace education is that they are very limited. According to the authors’ findings, very few of the participants hold on to their changed views long after they leave the camp or the activity. Moreover, the experiences rarely impact the communities the participant return to. This can include the larger community or even family structures. If a child attends an integrated soccer camp there is little hope that his/her

²¹¹ Colman McCarthy, *All of One Peace*, Sixth ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003).

²¹² Daniel Goleman, *Emotional Intelligence* (New York: Bantam Dell, 2006).

²¹³ Lantieri and Patti, *Waging Peace in Our Schools*.

²¹⁴ Haggai Kupermintz and Gavriel Salomon, "Lessons to be Learned from Research on Peace Education in the Context of Intractable Conflict " *Theory Into Practice* 44, no. 4 (2005).

father, mother, or siblings with share their newly acquired understanding of the enemy groups. This makes it difficult for the participant to maintain and develop the new views.²¹⁵

While these interpretations of peace education largely position it as a method to counter violence and promote peace, many scholars caution that it can perpetuate conflict if not adequately understood and applied. Peace education is often thought of by its critics as a silver bullet that seeks to transform conflict through a manipulation of children and youths' mandated educational experiences.²¹⁶ This manipulation often incorporates harmful power structures that perpetuate conflict.²¹⁷ Bekerman and Zembylas argues that when peace education is viewed as a utopian ideal and fix-all for violence it loses its complexity and risks falling into the same power structures it seeks to challenge.²¹⁸ The authors suggest that when peace education falls into traditional western models of education it too begins to deny difference, rejects multiple interpretations of truth and justice, and "disregards the social arrangements which institutionalize inequality."²¹⁹

This disregard for difference translates, according to the authors, into forced homogenization. Bekerman and Zembylas argue that when armed colonial powers began to recede from their respective territories, they relied on education to homogenize populations, control them, and suppress difference. The authors argue this also occurs when scholars and practitioners use peace education to tackle conflict.²²⁰ This occurs in peace education when

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Bekerman and Zembylas, *Teaching Contested Narratives: Identity, Memory and Reconciliation in Peace Education and Beyond*: 27.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

liberal, democratic values are taught as necessary components of peace education. Not only does this ignore localized interpretations and traditions of governance and community, but it carries with it the underlying power structures inherent in democratic systems.

Maria Hantzopoulos also cautions against the assumptions of peace education's inherent good. Like Bekerman and Zembylas, she argues that peace education tends to promote western models of education to the disadvantage of many victims of violence and oppression.²²¹ For instance, the notion of "equal voice" in dialogue and education justify and continue to silence the oppressed. Asymmetrical power relations between groups in the classroom or dialogue setting means that the voice and narrative of the dominant group is heard and understood outside the classroom or dialogue context. "Equal voices" at a minimum will give time and attention to both groups but rejects the reality of inequality outside the peace education/dialogue context.²²²

She also notes how encounter-based projects are often asymmetrical in their activity, location, or favor one group's language—often the dominant group—above the other.²²³ Take for instance Seeds of Peace which brings students from conflict zones to its camp near Portland, Maine "to meet their 'enemy' face-to-face."²²⁴ When Arab and Israeli students are brought to the camp, the Arab students are necessarily disadvantaged. The U.S. is by no mean a neutral actor in the conflict, and for many Arabs the US is seen as a major contributor to their oppression. The US is a foreign power that promotes and supports an asymmetrical social, political, and economic system in the Middle East, providing nearly \$17 billion in foreign military assistance and arms deliveries from

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Maria Hantzopoulos, "Encountering Peace: The Politics of Participation when Educating for Co-Existence," in *Critical Issues in Peace Education*, ed. Peter Pericles Trifonas and Bryan Wright (New York: Routledge, 2011), 28.

²²² Ibid., 29-30.

²²³ Ibid., 28-30.

²²⁴ "International Camp".

2001-2006 and more than \$3 billion in 2012 alone.²²⁵ The encounter that occurs at Seeds of Peace may be meaningful on many levels but takes place in a location and country that privileges one side of the conflict above the other.

While these techniques are important to consider, it is crucial that peace education—both theoretical considerations and programmatic applications—are rooted in community-based context, respond to existing forms of violence, and take into account the long-term goals of participants. In a monolingual, homogenous society that has not suffered direct violence for decades or centuries may not benefit from bilingual, integrated education. Similarly, a historically segregated, diverse, multilingual community who suffers from daily bombings, kidnappings, and killing might not initially benefit from learn the importance of “I” statements, trust falls, and cooperative learning. While the definitions of peace education, and its application, may vary greatly depending on the scholar, practitioner, or context, it is important to acknowledge its role in conflict resolution specifically within ethno-political conflicts.

Operational Definition of Peace Education

With so many interpretations of peace education it is important, especially when analyzing it as a method of peacebuilding, to provide an operational definition. As previously noted, Bajaj’s definition is nuanced and lends itself specifically to peacebuilding. However, her interpretation is lacking a crucial component. Her description of peace education as the “education policy, planning, pedagogy, and practice that can provide learners—in any setting—with the skills and values to work towards comprehensive peace...the domains of both ‘negative’ and positive peace that respectively comprise the abolition of direct or physical violence, and

²²⁵ Frida Berrigan and William D. Hartung, "U.S. Military Assistance and Arms Transfer to Israel: U.S. Aid, Companies Fuel Israeli Military," (World Policy Institute, 2006); "Congressional Budget Justification," (United States Department of State, 2012).

structural violence constituted by systematic inequalities that deprive individuals of the basic human rights”²²⁶ ignores cultural violence.

Galtung argues that cultural violence is “those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence—exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics)—that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence.”²²⁷ He argues that cultural violence is the aspect of personal, community, or social expression that makes structural and direct violence seem justified, acceptable, or even good.²²⁸ Because education is a social carrier—as described by Lange—violence and domination taught by schools and educators are largely supported and grounded in cultural violence.

The examples in Chapter 4 highlight cultural violence’s role in education. For example, the segregation of Sinhalese and Tamils on an ethnic and linguistic basis—as a result of missionary-influenced schooling and ideas of cultural superiority—led to structural violence in the form of a national language, rigid and asymmetrical university admissions policies, and marginalization of Tamils in government representation. The cultural beliefs of ethnic and linguistic superiority fueled direct violence between the groups, especially in the mid to late 20th Century. In the U.S. context, the culture of American exceptionalism in the lead up to the Chicago World Fair and throughout the Cold War influenced classrooms and helped to establish the requirement of daily pledges to the American flag.

For this study, peace education is understood as the education policies, practices, and theories that challenge direct, structural, and cultural violence. The addition of cultural violence is important when looking to the Macedonian context. While direct and structural violence are

²²⁶ Bajaj, *Encyclopedia of Peace Education*.

²²⁷ Johan Galtung, "Cultural Violence," *Journal of Peace Research* 27, no. 3 (1990): 291.

²²⁸ Ibid.

significant factors in ethnic conflict, the cultural violence that occurred and continues to occur is also significant. The idea, held by many Macedonians, that Macedonia is for ethnically Macedonian people, who speak the Macedonian language, constitutes cultural violence. This cultural violence translated to direct violence in 2001. Moreover, this cultural violence has justified structural violence, the segregation of students on linguistic and ethnic lines with minority students required to learn the language of the majority. This cultural and structural violence is what NMIE aspires to mitigate, challenge, and transform. They do this through bilingual and integrated education.

Bilingual and Integrated Education

Institutional segregation, like Macedonia's education system, presents a difficult challenge for communities in conflict. Many countries struggle to integrate minority groups into education systems.²²⁹ This becomes even more difficult and complex when minority populations speak languages other than that of the majority community or the official state language. As a response, some peace practitioners look to bilingual education to attain "sociocultural products beyond purely linguistic outcomes."²³⁰

David Johnson and Roger Johnson argue that, "segregated schools have cultural and social consequences. Students are introduced into opposing cultural worlds through the curriculum tailored for their cultural group."²³¹ The authors argue that in divided societies, integration in schools can serve as starting point for positive relationship building. Similarly,

²²⁹ Stacy Churchill, "The Decline of the Nation-State and the Education of National Minorities," *International Review of Education* 42, no. 4 (1996): 267.

²³⁰ Zvi Bekerman and Nader Shhadi, "Palestinian-Jewish Bilingual Education in Israel: Its Influences on Cultural Identities and its Impact on Intergroup Conflict," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 24, no. 6 (2010).

²³¹ David W. Johnson and Roger T. Johnson, "Essential Components of Peace Education," *Theory Into Practice* 44, no. 4 (2005): 284.

Stephen Wright and Linda Tropp argue that integrated education can positively impact children's perceptions of the "other"—specifically in terms of negative race relations.²³² While their particular study does not include children in a post-conflict setting, the authors explain that the US students in a multilingual community benefit by the social contact established through integrated learning.

Haggai Kupermintz and Gavriel Salomon differ slightly in their understanding of the implications of integrated education. Their research, specifically on ethnic and protracted conflicts, acknowledges that integration can be harmful and entrench negative assumptions of the out-group. However, they suggest that while peace education, especially integrated education, can lead to negative consequences, common ground found through positive social contact can lead to "unanticipated and serendipitous worthwhile goals such as a deeper understanding of one's self and that of the other side."²³³ They maintain that a controlled, intentionally designed, and careful program is necessary to avoid the potential harms of integrated education which include direct conflict in the classroom, further deepening of out-group stereotypes, and rejection of integrated education on the whole.

While NDC Skopje is certainly not the first to implement bilingual and integrated education, understanding and analysis of this form of peace education is lacking in peacebuilding literature. Grace Feuerverger argues that "although there has been substantial research on various aspects of language, identity and intercultural relations in many parts of the world, there has been very little work on the specific consequences of bilingual/bicultural programs in which children

²³² Stephen C Wright and Linda R Tropp, "Language and Intergroup Contact: Investigating the Impact of Bilingual Instruction on Children's Intergroup Attitudes " *Group Process & Intergroup Relations* 8, no. 3 (2005): 316-18.

²³³ Kupermintz and Salomon, "Lessons to be Learned from Research on Peace Education in the Context of Intractable Conflict " 300.

from majority and minority groups learn together against a larger backdrop of conflict and war with the ultimate goal of peaceful coexistence.”²³⁴

Similar to integrated education, bilingual education can be used to deconstruct negative assumptions of the out group. In the US, many schools—specifically in southwest states—incorporate Spanish in their general curriculum to connect the English majority student population with Spanish-speaking minority population.²³⁵ Additionally, immersion language programs are used to connect students primarily through deepened understanding of language but often limited cross-group interaction. In one instance, Ailie Cleghorn and Fred Genesee found that in some immersion schools a lack of integration coupled with the intensity of language immersion created social distance between English and French students.²³⁶ One problem with just bilingual and immersion education programs is that they do not necessarily mean that integration occurs. In many instances in-group and out-group students learn separately in their language classes and join one another for their other courses which are often conducted in the majority and/or state language.

While there is a current gap in scholarship regarding the specific role that integrated bilingual programs can have on establishing and maintaining positive social contact, two studies touch on the subject. Both case studies looked at Arab-Hebrew schools that utilize integrated bilingual (Palestinian-Israeli and Arab-Hebrew) activities to promote mutual understanding and coexistence. The findings were mixed. Zvi Bekerman and Michalinos Zembylas found that

²³⁴ Grace Feuerverger, "A Grassroots Peace Education Innovation in a Co-operative Jewish-Palestinian Village in Israel," in *Critical Issues in Peace Education* ed. Peter Pericles Trifonas and Bryan Wright (New York: Routledge, 2011), 42.

²³⁵ Wright and Tropp, "Language and Intergroup Contact: Investigating the Impact of Bilingual Instruction on Children's Intergroup Attitudes ".

²³⁶ Ailie Cleghorn and Fred Genesee, "Languages in Contact: An Ethnographic Study of Interaction in an Immersion School," *TESOL Quarterly* 18, no. 4 (1984).

tensions surrounding violence and conflict memory proved too divisive for teachers to appropriately teach both in-group and out-group students in an equal manner, ultimately finding that the integrated bilingual education was not successful in building positive social contact.²³⁷ Bekerman and Nader Shhadi found in a separate case that students who participated in Arab-Hebrew integrated bilingual education programs had positive, yet modest, changes in their perceptions of their respective out-group peers. Their findings, however, were based not on an analysis of the integrated or bilingual model but rather by before and after interviews with students who had participated in the integrated bilingual education program.²³⁸ While they showed a correlation between the bilingual integrated model and the creation of positive relationship building, they could not identify causation.

The Israeli-Arab examples of integrated education and bilingual education can be understood as cases of peace education to establish social contact. However, the separation of bilingual education and integrated education fail to adequately address the intersection of integrated bilingual education and intergroup contact. Therefore, an examination of an integrated bilingual education model that exists outside of the Israel-Palestine conflict that lends itself to deeper analysis of causation might yield important results that can better explain not only the intersection of integrated education and bilingual education but also integrated bilingual education and positive social contact.

The Nansen Model for Integrated Education

NDC Skopje's model includes both bilingual, integrated education and the National Curriculum that divides students linguistically. The Fridtjof Nansen Primary School and the

²³⁷ Zvi Bekerman and Michalinos Zembylas, "Fearful Symmetry: Palestinian and Jewish Teachers Confront Contested Narratives in Integrated Bilingual Education," *Teaching and Teacher Education* 26(2010): 513-14.

²³⁸ Bekerman and Shhadi, "Palestinian-Jewish Bilingual Education in Israel: Its Influences on Cultural Identities and its Impact on Intergroup Conflict."

Mosha Pijade Secondary School are required by the government to implement the National Curriculum where Macedonian students learn from a Macedonian teacher in the Macedonian language from approved textbooks. Similarly, Albanian students learn from Albanian teachers in their mother-tongue language and use a curriculum that is approved by the Ministry for Science and Education. The National Curriculum is implemented daily at both the primary and secondary schools. During this part of the day, students learn in separate classrooms. However, the students join each other for the integrated activities.

Primary students participate in the integrated curriculum daily, integrated activities for secondary students usually occur three times each week.²³⁹ During the activities Macedonian and Albanian students learn together, led by one Macedonian teacher and one Albanian teacher. The integrated activities are usually 40 minutes long and have two distinct characteristics. First, the integrated curriculum is activity-based and interactive. Many Macedonian classrooms practice a lecture-style, top-down model.²⁴⁰ NMIE's integrated curriculum encourages students and teachers to develop cooperative skills, teamwork, and respect for each other.²⁴¹ During each integrated session, students focus on a particular theme which can include: peace and tolerance, ethnic culture, creative writing, sports, ecological studies, and more.²⁴² While NMIE has specific modules that center around a given theme, most of the activities seem to incorporate multiple lessons and skills. For instance, primary school students will celebrate holidays with each other, and have even traveled to their peers' homes to learn about their traditions. Macedonian students will join their Albanian friends to learn about Bajram, traditional Albanian clothing, dances, and

²³⁹ Secondary students have fewer integrated activities each week because their lessons in the National Curriculum are more demanding and require more time.

²⁴⁰ Velkovski and Shehu, "Periodical Evaluation Report: Nansen Model for Integrated Education," 8-11.

²⁴¹ "Nansen Model for Integrated and Bilingual Education ", ed. Nansen Dialogue Center Skopje, 2-3.

²⁴² "Annual Report 2012: New Innovations in Integrated Education ", (Nansen Dialogue Center Skopje, 2012), 15.

food. Similarly, Albanian students will learn about Easter from their Macedonian peers. While most of the integrated activities take place on the school grounds, families have been willing to host students in their homes. These activities taught students how their out-group peers celebrated religious holidays, the traditions of their cultures, and exposed them to family members who are not part of regular NMIE activities.²⁴³

During a unit on drama and theatre, secondary students learned about Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. The students, with their teachers as directors, performed the play for their parents and other community members. The play was an updated version where *Romeo and Juliet* had computers and cell phones to communicate. In this rendition of the play *Romeo and Juliet* were ethnically and linguistically segregated, representing Macedonian and Albanian communities. Impressively, the students performed the play in both Macedonian and Albanian, reflecting the second characteristic of the NMIE.

The NDC Skopje model uses a bilingual technique they call "paraphrasing", which more closely represents the "real world" students face outside the classroom. Paraphrasing in the NMIE is not rewording or summarizing a statement or phrase. Instead, it is more of a give and take. If *Romeo* proclaimed his love for *Juliet* in Macedonian, she would respond in Albanian. This technique is used in the classroom by both the primary and secondary teachers. A Macedonian teacher might begin giving instructions in Macedonian and an Albanian teacher will finish the instructions in Albanian. If a Macedonian student asks a question in Macedonian, the Albanian teacher might respond in Albanian. If a student does not understand, the teachers will explain in his/her mother tongue.

Teachers reported that students do not feel pressured to use the out-group language and are eager to communicate with their peers any way possible. Snezhana Misajlovska, a

²⁴³ Snezhana Misajlovska, February 18, 2013.

Macedonian primary school teacher described how several of her Macedonian students, unable to fully communicate in Albanian, would speak to their Albanian friends in Macedonian but change the pronunciation of the Macedonian words to try to make them sound Albanian.²⁴⁴

Students are not required to speak the out-group language but are encouraged to try. This method clearly does not rely on direct translation and students are not tested on their language abilities during the integrated activities. Paraphrasing teaches students how to interact with each other, and their teachers, in the classroom as they would outside their schools. When students encounter members of the out group outside their classes, they often will not have someone with them who can or will translate directly. While the students may not become fluent in the other language, they become aware of important phrases and appropriate contexts. Even when they are in a divided community, they become more comfortable interacting because they can understand each other's language. Many of the teachers noted how the students have become more willing to interact and communicate because they understand things like jokes or idioms unique to the other language and culture.

Teachers also observed that students pay more attention to lessons when paraphrasing is used. Because they are not familiar with all the words and phrases, they pay careful attention to instructions, lessons, questions, and answers during class. This heightened level of attention helps students to understand themes and stay engaged.²⁴⁵

The activity-based learning, coupled with the paraphrasing technique, encourages students to communicate, overcome stereotypes, and interact. Velkovski and Shehu note that the NMIE successfully promotes intercultural education rather than multicultural education.²⁴⁶ The

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

authors argue that multiculturalism is a concept where “several cultures equally coexist in a given time and space frame.”²⁴⁷ The current Macedonia education system exists within a multicultural context. Albanian, Turkish, Macedonian, Serbian, and other groups exist together and enjoy greater equality than they did before the OFA. However, Macedonia lacks an ethnically interconnected community—especially in terms of education—and difference is not celebrated but merely tolerated and separated.²⁴⁸ Velkovski and Shehu maintain that NMIE promotes interculturalism, “a concept... which leads to creating a society in which various cultures are connecting and interlacing through the processes of interaction and integration.”²⁴⁹

The NMIE challenges the domination model of education in Macedonia and the direct, structural, and cultural violence within Macedonia. Direct violence, related to ethnic relations, is not a common problem for NMIE participants. However, the integrated activities teach students peaceful conflict resolution skills and how to positively interact. The impact on structural and cultural violence is more noticeable.

NMIE directly confronts segregation, structural violence, by simply providing consistent and positive opportunities for intergroup interaction. While the National Curriculum is maintained, students are able to talk, play, question, and understand each other. Even though many of them live in segregated communities, or rarely interact outside their schools, NMIE provides students an opportunity to share and celebrate their difference.

In a country where the national language has been a major point of contention, NDC Skopje’s model shows students that the Macedonian and Albanian languages are not mutually

²⁴⁶ Velkovski and Shehu, "Periodical Evaluation Report: Nansen Model for Integrated Education," 15.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

exclusive. Macedonian students are taught that they can learn Albanian without giving up their language. And Albanians learn that their Macedonian peers are willing to learn their language in school, something most Macedonian students do not experience. For the students at the Fridtjof Nansen Primary School and the Mosha Pijade Secondary School language becomes a mode of interaction and commonality rather than a divisive, and contributing factor to the ethnic tension that surrounds them.

CHAPTER 6

AN INTEGRATED MODEL OF SOCIAL CONTACT AND THE NMIE

There is a substantial tension in conflict resolution scholarship and practice regarding the efficacy of segregation or integration of conflict parties. This tension is often exacerbated when dealing with ethnic conflicts. Kaufmann explains that unlike ideological conflicts where parties can often reconcile difference in their held ideas, ethnic conflicts are rooted in rigid concepts of identity often instilled at birth and reinforce through language and rhetoric. These rigid concepts “generate intense security dilemmas” for all parties.²⁵⁰ However, many scholars and practitioners argue that the only option for conflict resolution or conflict transformation is to facilitate social contact between conflict parties. Properly facilitated social contact can produce understanding and respect for out-group identity, ideology, and needs.²⁵¹

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a foundational understanding of intergroup social contact. A brief analysis of Gordon Allport’s four criteria for integrated social contact is presented. Next, Norman Miller’s salience, decategorization, personalization, and typicality are explored. Two models are explored separately and alongside each other, building a framework for understanding how social contact functions in conflict resolution settings. This chapter ends with an examination of the NMIE model as a venue for social contact.

²⁵⁰ Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," in *Conflicts After the Cold War*, ed. Richard K. Betts (New York: Pearson Longman, 2008), 361.

²⁵¹ Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Intergroup Contact Theory," *Annual Review of Psychology* 49(1998); Norman Miller, "Personalization and the Promise of Contact Theory," *Journal of Social Issues* 58, no. 2 (2002); Jake Harwood, "The Contact Space: A Novel Framework for Intergroup Contact Research," *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 29(2010).

Social Contact Hypothesis

The difficult nature of ethnic conflict often justifies segregation of groups, as previously noted. Kaufmann suggests that segregation is used because unlike ideological conflicts, ethnic conflicts do not include “competition to sway individual loyalties...because ethnic identities are fixed by birth.”²⁵² He suggests that ideological identity is soft, individual beliefs can be changed.²⁵³ Religious identities are more rigid but are possible to change generationally.²⁵⁴ Ethnic identities are most rigid because they rely on “language, culture, and religion, which are hard to change, as well as parentage, which no one can change.”²⁵⁵ This rigidity often encourages separation of groups. If opponents cannot adopt the other group’s ethnic identity, some argue the most effective form of resolution is to keep the group isolated based on those identities.

The tendency to separate conflict groups in order to quell violent conflict occurs in many contexts. Following the abolition of slavery in the U.S., “separate but equal” was considered an appropriate alternative to integration or assimilation.²⁵⁶ In Israel, populations are segregated by policy, social practice, and physical barriers, including the Security Fence.²⁵⁷ And as discussed in previous chapters, linguistic/ethnic segregation of students and teachers in Macedonia is considered a necessary part of the OFA application. In all of these examples, separation of

²⁵² Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," 362.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ John Muffler, "Education and the Separate but Equal Doctrine," *The Black Scholar* 17, no. 3 (1986): 35-36.

²⁵⁷ Barbara S. Okun and Dov Friedlander, "Educational Stratification among Arabs and Jews in Israel: Historical Disadvantage, Discrimination, and Opportunity," *Population Studies* 59, no. 2 (2005): 164; "Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory," International Court of Justice, <http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/index.php?pr=71&code=mwp&p1=3&p2=4&p3=6>.

groups was/is a substitute for direct conflict or war. However, separation does not constitute a resolution to the conflict.²⁵⁸

Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall argue that segregation of groups is not an option for successful conflict resolution. The authors maintain that because of the inaccuracies of borders, the distribution of peoples, and the growing interdependence and globalization of the international community, conflict groups will need to “learn to accommodate difference and live together.”²⁵⁹ Kaufmann also acknowledges the difficulty in segregation’s efficacy. He notes that separation does not actually resolve ethnic hatred. He also explains that the pain and logistic difficulties of state splintering, repatriation, and/or population transfers can cause more harm than integration.²⁶⁰

An alternative to segregation, assimilation, or complete integration is facilitated relationship building through intergroup social contact. The Social Contact Hypothesis seeks to breakdown conflict barriers and build trust and understanding. Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall summarized social contact as the “argument that, the more contact there is between conflict parties, the more scope there is for resolution.”²⁶¹

Much like peace education, social contact enjoys a substantial place in conflict resolution literature, but is also charged with ambiguity and overuse.²⁶² Therefore, it is important to examine the nuances of the theory in context-specific application. There are four primary

²⁵⁸ Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars."

²⁵⁹ Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse, and Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, Third ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011). 248.

²⁶⁰ Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," 374-76.

²⁶¹ Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*: 248.

²⁶² Zimitri Erasmus, "Contact Theory: Too Timid for "Race" and Racism," *Journal of Social Issues* 66, no. 2 (2010): 389.

characteristics of intergroup social contact first introduced by Gordon W. Allport. First, groups must enjoy equal status within the contact space.²⁶³ Despite the reality of a conflict or society, the groups participating in the facilitated contact should have equal opportunity, voice, and representation within the facilitated space. Second, groups must share common goals. Pettigrew gives the example of intergroup athletic teams. While the individual athletes may have differing political views or cultural identities, as members of a team they are likely to share the same goal of winning, beating rivals, or improving athleticism.²⁶⁴ Third, goals must be achieved through intergroup cooperation.²⁶⁵ If, for instance, players on the integrated athletic team have the same goal, winning, they need to find a way to work together to achieve that goal. While one group could play alone—and conceivably win if they are talented enough—Allport argues that cooperation is necessary to build interpersonal, intergroup relationships. The groups should practice together, devise strategies, and work together on the field if they want to win. Finally, the groups must have support from “authority, law, or custom.”²⁶⁶ Wright and Tropp argue that when intergroup contact is supported by authority it is more accepted, occurs more frequently, and is more effective as a conflict resolution tool.²⁶⁷

Allport’s foundational interpretation of social contact was primarily focused on race relations, especially relations between white and black communities in the U.S. Moreover, the subsequent studies of contact theory have focused on how majority/dominant groups alter

²⁶³ Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Third ed. (Perseus Books Group, 1979); Pettigrew, "Intergroup Contact Theory."; Miller, "Personalization and the Promise of Contact Theory."

²⁶⁴ Pettigrew, "Intergroup Contact Theory," 66.

²⁶⁵ Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*; Pettigrew, "Intergroup Contact Theory," 67.

²⁶⁶ Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*; Pettigrew, "Intergroup Contact Theory."

²⁶⁷ Wright and Tropp, "Language and Intergroup Contact: Investigating the Impact of Bilingual Instruction on Children's Intergroup Attitudes " 312.

perceptions of the minority group (e.g. how do white views of minority groups change after contact).²⁶⁸ This narrow application to race has warranted criticism. First, the race focus limits the generalizability of social contact.²⁶⁹ There is a call to understand how social contact can facilitate relationship building between groups in religious, ethnic, gender, and other forms of conflict. Second, there needs to be a greater understanding of how perceptions of minority groups change as a result of intergroup contact. If conflict is a two-way street, all parties must alter their perceptions of the respective out group. These criticisms have prompted necessary research to expand understanding of social contact theory and diversify its application.

While much research and application of Allport's framework for social contact has occurred, Tropp and Wright's research on students in bilingual classrooms is particularly important for this study.²⁷⁰ The authors expand Allport's framework in two important ways. First they acknowledge the significance of language in developing interpersonal relationships. They argue that "bilingual instruction can provide a clear affirmation of the value and status of the relevant minority language."²⁷¹ Tropp and Wright found that because "language is used to communication...sharing a language certainly aids in the development of cross-group relationships."²⁷² The authors found that use of language "communicates important cues about who is valued."²⁷³ They suggest that while language use might change an individual's perception

²⁶⁸ Michael O. Emerson, Rachel Tolbert Kimbro, and George Yancey, "Contact Theory Extended: The Effects of Prior Racial Contact on Current Social Ties," *Social Science Quarterly* 83, no. 3 (2002): 757.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Tropp and Wright surveyed and observed students who participated in English-only classrooms and in classrooms where the minority language, Spanish, was taught as the instructional language.

²⁷¹ Wright and Tropp, "Language and Intergroup Contact: Investigating the Impact of Bilingual Instruction on Children's Intergroup Attitudes " 511.

²⁷² Ibid., 523.

²⁷³ Ibid.

of the out group, language is significant because it alters intergroup contact by becoming a symbol of the speaker's value in the group.²⁷⁴

The second way Tropp and Wright expand Allport's framework is by providing classroom-specific context to his "support from authority, law, or custom" component. The authors suggest that the intergroup contact participants—in Tropp and Wrights case the participants are the students—benefit from support of teachers who are the authority.²⁷⁵ They found that when the teachers used both the majority and minority language, they were demonstrating the value of both languages and supporting students who did the same.²⁷⁶

Salience, Decategorization, Personalization, and Typicality

Miller acknowledges Allport's framework and adds four important components to social contact. Miller argues first for salience within the contact space. Salience refers to "group membership which is functioning psychologically to increase the influence of one's membership in that group on perception and behavior ... the salience of a group membership is its current psychological significance, not the perceptual prominence of relevant cues."²⁷⁷ Miller argues that "a given categorization is likely to form or become salient (activated, cognitively prepotent, operative) to the extent that differences within categories are less than difference between those categories in the comparative context."²⁷⁸ Essentially, the characteristics of an individual's

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 510-11, 23.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 512.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Penelope Oakes, "The Salience of Social Categories," in *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory*, ed. John C. Turner (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 118.

²⁷⁸ Miller, "Personalization and the Promise of Contact Theory," 394.

identity that reflect their association to a group become more salient (those characteristics are expressed) in a situation where the individual is faced with difference.

In the case of intergroup contact, salience occurs when the individual encounters a member of the out group who also expresses their characteristics of difference in relation to the other. Oakes argues correctly that “salience is not a feature of situations, nor is it a feature of individuals it emerges from an interaction between the two.”²⁷⁹ Miller holds that intergroup salience becomes more pronounced when members from each group provide cues of their difference.²⁸⁰ If an Albanian and Macedonian encounter each other they will likely notice their ethnic difference. However, this difference becomes more salient when they use their respective languages, discuss where in Macedonia they live, provide information about their religion, etc. Miller argues that “to be successful in changing outgroup evaluations, favorable contact with an outgroup member must be defined as an intergroup encounter...beneficial effects of contact are more likely to generalize to the group as a whole when there are more cues during the contact that indicate the group memberships of the interacting persons.”²⁸¹ Miller argues here that one individual will only accept another individual as a representative part of an out group if their identity is salient, difference is pronounced.

Miller’s second concept is decategorization, “awareness of the distinctiveness of individual members...an increase in perceived intracategory variability...decategorization is achieved by differentiating out-group members, it allows an initial categorization to be overridden by a more complex perception of them.”²⁸² The author notes that this seems at odds

²⁷⁹ Penelope Oakes, "Psychological Groups and Political Psychology: A Response to Huddy's "Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory", " *Political Psychology* 23, no. 4 (2002): 816.

²⁸⁰ Miller, "Personalization and the Promise of Contact Theory," 394-95.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

with salience. However, he articulates that the two work together in intergroup contact. When an individual makes salient their group identities, they can also make salient less understood, positive attributes about themselves. Decategorization will allow the out-group individual to experience a more nuanced, complex understanding of both the other person and his/her group.²⁸³

Miller provides the example of Spanish perceptions of Germans as hardworking and efficient. If, during intergroup contact, a German makes known his/her love of music and reflects on German contributions to classical music, the Spaniard will experience both salient cues and decategorization.²⁸⁴ Along with the stereotype of a hardworking German, the Spaniard now encounters a creative and musical category of the German out group. When salience and decategorization work together in intergroup contact successfully, Miller argues a counterstereotyping occurs which facilitates more complex understanding of the out group.²⁸⁵

Personalization, Miller's third category, has two components: making self-other comparisons and self-disclosure. The first includes an individual making and sharing observations about his/her relation to members of the out group. Miller maintains that this is not just making parallel observations of self, but rather direct comparisons that cross category boundaries.²⁸⁶ The second component, self-disclosure, is the "voluntary provision of information to another that is of an intimate or personal nature."²⁸⁷

²⁸² Ibid., 395.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 395-96.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 396.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

Miller's final concept is typicality. Miller writes, "a person is perceived as a typical group member if s/he looks, speaks, or acts in the ways that the perceiver stereotypically assumes the be characteristic of the group."²⁸⁸ According to Miller, if typicality is absent from intergroup contact, the perceiver will understand his/her out-group counterpart as an exception and not generalizable to the entire group.²⁸⁹

Miller's four additions to intergroup contact provide a necessary nuance and means of understanding the complexity of Allport's originally social contact frame work. Salience is the means by which an individual creates connection between him/herself and his/her social group. This indicates to the individual of the out group that he/she is in fact different and belongs to a specific group. The cues present context for out group members to understand difference and communicate group membership traits. Decategorization allows individuals to see and encounter non-stereotypical and positive traits of out-group members, providing new categories, new salient characteristics, and a new understanding of the out group. Personalization works with the previous two components to show how individuals have positive and negative relationships that cross intergroup ties while providing intimate, voluntary information that humanizes the individual within the contact space. Finally, typicality allows for the new understanding of the out-group individuals to be generalized to the larger out group. Miller acknowledges that this framework is not a comprehensive view of contact but adds complexity to the larger theoretical discussion.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 398.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 407.

An Integrated Model of Intergroup Contact

Allport and Miller's models should be applied to intergroup conflict as mutually beneficial frameworks. Allport's equal status ensures that Miller's four components can be realized within the contact space. If one individual is silenced, or if communication or power is asymmetrical, it limits the ability of that person from sharing his/her cues reflecting difference. As mentioned, these cues are important because they inform others of the individual's relation to a social group. Similarly, equal status is important to decategorization.

If an individual does not have equal voice or attention, he/she is limited in his/her ability to express counterstereotype characteristics of his/her respective group. The silenced individual is also deprived the opportunity to share intergroup observations or self-disclosure. In this way, inequality prevents groups from understanding unknown attributes of the out group and the individual; both decategorization and personalization are stifled if equal status is missing. Without salience, decategorization, and personalization, there is no opportunity for typicality. Without understanding an individual's connection to group, his/her group's unknown characteristics, and his/her self-disclosure it is difficult, if not impossible, to understand how that individual typifies his/her larger group.

To provide some context, we might take Miller's Spaniard-German example a bit further. As Miller explains, salience is an important part of groups' ability to generalize characteristics of an out group based on difference. For instance, when the Spaniard uses Spanish, speaks about life in Spain, or discusses favorite national foods the German is able to understand that she falls into the Spanish social group. These cues indicate difference between the two individuals and allows each person to place the other into a social group. When the German, characterized by the Spaniard as "hard working", discusses German contribution to music and science, the Spaniard learns that the German social group has positive, non-stereotype attributes. Additionally, if the

German shares that he enjoys learning music and enjoys Spanish music, the Spaniard becomes aware of both the German's personal connection to the counter-stereotype (via self-disclosure) and an intergroup connection between the two individuals. Finally, if the German is perceived to be typical of many Germans, the Spaniard will more easily connect the new, positive perception of the individual German to those in his social group. If the German did not enjoy equal status within the contact space—he was not allowed to talk, share his group's connection to music, and his passion for Spanish music—the Spaniard would not have the knowledge based in salience, decategorization, and personalization to transfer a positive perception of the German to his larger social group.

While Miller's four factors rely on equal status, his factors create a framework for reaching and/or understanding how individuals arrive at Allport's common goals and cooperation. Salience, decategorization, and personalization provide the means to understand positions, interests, and need of the individuals that are then generalized to the respective social groups. Difference through salience contextualizes the groups in relation to each other and provides parameters for interaction. For example, the Spaniard only knows she is interacting with a German based on the cues he provides. Without such cues, there is no room to establish common goals because there is no context for interaction based on social difference.

Decategorization also plays a substantial role in finding or establishing common goals. When an individual of a group exposes unfamiliar or unknown characteristics, ideally positive, the member of the out group is given new ways to view the group. Static categories that once defined the out group no longer limit an individual's perception. If initial perceptions of the out group limited options for shared goals, decategorization creates the possibility for similarity between groups where it did not previously exist.

Personalization allows individuals to demonstrate similarity and create social comparison. Miller provides context to personalization by using an example from Allport. Allport writes about a neighborhood festival where “the leader induces a participant to tell about memories of autumn, holidays, or food enjoyed as a child. The report reminds other participant of equally nostalgic memories. The distance of the memories, their warmth and frequent humor, lead to a vivid sense of commonality. Group customs are seen to be remarkable alike.”²⁹¹ Personalization is important to discovering or establishing common goals in two ways. First, it creates connection between groups that does not occur with salience or decategorization. Second, self-disclosure creates trust between individuals.²⁹² Personalization both allows individuals to see where they, as individuals, connect and that those connections can be trusted.

Typicality allows an individual to extend what he/she learned about a member of the out group to other members in the group. This component is crucial. While it is arguably beneficial for individuals to positively change their perceptions of individuals from an out group, this does not benefit a community at large or greatly impact the conflict at large. Typicality allows an individual to new, positive perceptions to the larger group. It allows the individual to see how his/her goals are similar to many people in the out group.

If negative perceptions of the out group are not changed through Miller’s framework, and common goals are not discovered there is no room for cooperation. Miller’s four factors provide an internal framework to explain how group interaction, under Allport’s equal status criteria, can learn about each other in a way that facilitates common goals. These common goals, as noted with Allport’s example of the integrated athletic team, are necessary to cooperation.

²⁹¹ Ibid., 396.

²⁹² Ibid.

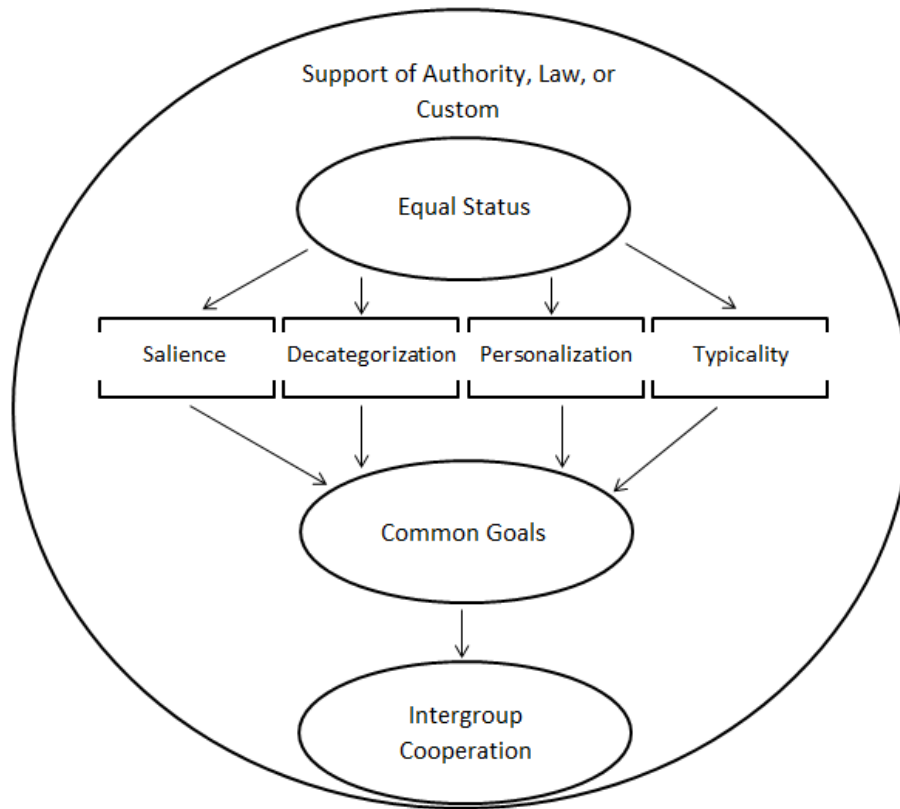


Figure 2: Integrated Model of Social Contact

Finally, Allport's support of authority, law, or custom is important at every level. If status and power are asymmetrical in society, as they often are in conflict communities, it is often the role of an authority to create equal status for contact participants. As Tropp and Wright suggest, teachers were crucial in supporting students' use of language and interaction.²⁹³ The integrated model for social contact provides helps to explain the complexities of intergroup relations. This model is helpful in explaining how groups interact in Macedonia and how the NMIE uses peace education to facilitate social contact.

²⁹³ Wright and Tropp, "Language and Intergroup Contact: Investigating the Impact of Bilingual Instruction on Children's Intergroup Attitudes " 512.

Social Contact and the NMIE

The segregation of schools in Macedonia, based on mother tongue language, has aided in the social and structural segregation on a larger scale, one that extends beyond the education system. Segregation in schools creates a contact barrier that impacts nearly every person in the community, especially over time.²⁹⁴ For teachers, segregation means do not teach with ethnically different colleagues. Teachers' lounges are not shared. Nor do they interact with out-group students or parents. Parents do not attend school events or parent-teacher meetings with members from the out group. For students, social groups that form in the classroom, on the playground and continue after school hours remain ethnically segregated. While the contact barrier becomes more porous within the workforce and at the university level, Macedonians and Albanians will generally remain socially, structurally, and often physically separated until their adulthood.²⁹⁵ While universities and workplaces are often integrated, primary and secondary education entrench segregation as a norm. The model below depicts the contact barrier between the groups.

The contact barrier becomes more rigid and divisive over time. While many adults in Macedonia once attended integrated schools, that today's children and youth will experience separation throughout until they reach adulthood. Educational segregation trains students to adopt segregation as normative. When the contact barrier becomes more porous as they enter the workforce or university, they have already become accustomed to social and institutional segregation. The segregation experienced by ethnic communities in Macedonia provides an important case study for social contact research.

²⁹⁴ Steinar Bryn, Interview, November 2, 2010.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

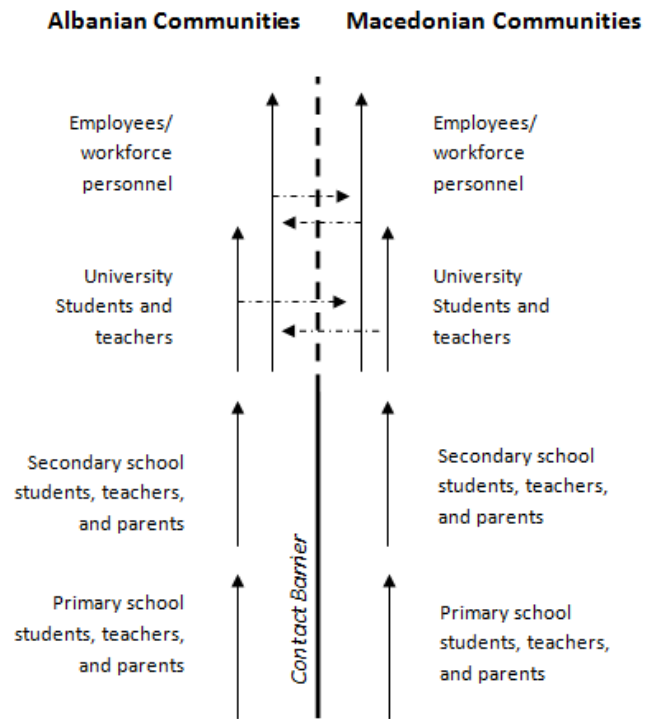


Figure 3: Macedonia's Education Contact Barrier

While the frameworks provided by Allport and Miller offer a theoretical explanation, it is important to examine social contact in practice. NDC Skopje has constructed a model of peace education that successfully facilitates contact between ethnic groups. The NMIE is an approach to intergroup social contact that allows for an in-depth analysis of Allport and Miller's frameworks for several reasons. It extends beyond ethnic groups, taking into consideration multigenerational social groups. Contact between groups is sustained, it occurs consistently and throughout a considerable amount of time, and relies on activity-base programing. Finally, it utilizes language—a divisive topic that significantly contributed to the 2001 conflict—as a tool for social contact.

Multigenerational Contact

Much of the research surrounding peace education and social contact focuses on students as the primary participants and teachers as the facilitators.²⁹⁶ This is not surprising as education largely focuses on what and how students learn. This is not necessarily unique to peace education or social contact, scholars and practitioners often view conflict communities generationally. The U.N. focused an entire decade of work promoting a “generation of peace” but largely focusing on children and youth. In 1999 the General Assembly of the U.N. adopted Resolution 53/243 “Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace” in anticipation of the new millennium. Among other goals, the resolution specifically sought to curtail the generational impact of conflict by, “Ensuring that children, from an early age, benefit from education on the values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and ways of life to enable them to resolve any dispute peacefully and in a spirit of respect for human dignity and of tolerance and non-discrimination; involve children in activities designed to instill in them the values and goals of a culture of peace.”²⁹⁷

This focus on children and youth has value; however, it is important to remember that violent conflicts impact every age. Generations are inherently connected. This is why Kaufmann argues that ethnic conflict is so difficult to resolve. He is right in observing that no one can change “parentage”.²⁹⁸ If conflict resolution methods focus on children in schools, at the end of the day those children will still go home to their parents. If the parents’ perceptions of the out

²⁹⁶ Wright and Tropp, “Language and Intergroup Contact: Investigating the Impact of Bilingual Instruction on Children’s Intergroup Attitudes”; Bekerman and Shhadi, “Palestinian-Jewish Bilingual Education in Israel: Its Influences on Cultural Identities and its Impact on Intergroup Conflict.”; Feuerverger, “A Grassroots Peace Education Innovation in a Co-operative Jewish-Palestinian Village in Israel.”

²⁹⁷ United Nations, “Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace,” in 53/243, ed. General Assembly (1999).

²⁹⁸ Kaufmann, “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars,” 362.

groups do not change, the conflict resolution approach is significantly limited. Elise Boulding provides an interesting way to view generations, one which Lederach suggests has important consequences for peacebuilding.

Boulding suggests an encompassing 200-year present, measured generationally, to envision a future of peace. Boulding explains that, “the 200-year present begins with the birth 100 years ago of the centenarians who are celebrating their 100th birthday today; its other boundary is 100 years from today, when the babies born today will celebrate their 100th birthday.”²⁹⁹ This offers an expanded understanding of the present where the impact of the individual directly influences and is influenced by those who they experience within the 200 years encircling their existence.

As mentioned, Boulding describes the 200-year present as a way to imagine a peaceful future; however, it can be used—from a poetic and theoretical perspective—to understand the negative implications of invasive conflict. If an individual learns to adopt conflict and negative perceptions of the out group from older generations, perhaps grandparents, parents, and/or teachers, the first 100 years of his/her 200-year present are tainted by conflict and violence.

Similarly, if that same individual teaches the same perceptions of the out group to his/her child, students, or grandchildren he/she defines the remaining 100 years of his/her 200-year present through conflict while contributing to the next generation’s experience. Creating a “generation of peace” is more than teaching one generation how to behave peacefully or non-violently resolve conflict. It requires a transformation of multiple generations. This multigenerational transformation is exactly what NDC Skopje tries to achieve through the NMIE.

²⁹⁹ Elise Boulding, "A New Chance for Human Peaceableness," *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 6, no. 3 (2000).

The NMIE focuses on three participant categories: students, teachers, and parents. While the NMIE reaches other parts of society, local policymakers and international donors for instance, the model most consistently involves students, teachers, and parents. The NMIE focuses on building positive social contact within each category and between the categories.

As discussed in Chapter 5, students regularly encounter one another across ethnic lines. While each student will learn the National Curriculum in his/her respective mother-tongue language, he/she will also spend 40 minutes, three to five days a week in integrated activities. During integrated activities, students are supported in their exploration of the out-group language. NDC Skopje finds various ways for students to engage with each other both inside and outside the classroom. In November 2012 secondary students traveled to Norway to participate in a study opportunity. The Mosha Pijade School is a vocational secondary school that focuses on electronics and engineering. The classes at Mosha Pijade largely focus on theory, but the four students, two Macedonian and two Albanian, and professor who traveled to Oslo, they were able to apply the theory they learned in class alongside 10th grade Norwegian students. The Mosha Pijade students not only explored electrical engineering, but were also able to participate in sports and conflict mediation training.

Teachers also interact on a daily bases through various activities. Teachers not only have to teach the National Curriculum but also must meet outside class time to coordinate the integrated activities. This can be difficult because teachers have to plan lessons outside their mother-tongue language, for many Albanian teachers, this not unusual. However, Macedonian teachers have never been expected to learn Albanian, let alone plan a lesson that utilizes the language as a teaching technique.³⁰⁰ Teachers must then implement their lesson plans using a tandem teaching method that includes the paraphrasing technique. Teachers also participate in

³⁰⁰ Misajlovska.

teacher training conferences sponsored by NDC Skopje. These trainings often occur outside Jegunovce.³⁰¹

Intergroup contact also occurs between parent groups. Parents are invested in the success of their children and want to ensure that they receive the best education possible.³⁰² For many of the parents this includes ensuring that the school facilities are up to date and cared for. One of the agreements NDC Skopje made with the parents in the early stages of the program was that the organization supply resources for projects the parents deemed important, but the parents must implement the projects. When the schools needed a new parking lot, NDC Skopje provided the supplies and parents from both ethnic groups spent a weekend together constructing the new parking lot.³⁰³

Students, parents, and teachers also interact between groups. Students learn from teachers from both ethnic groups on a nearly daily basis. Teachers meet with parents to update them on their students' academic performance and work with parents to organize different activities including student performances and holiday celebrations. Parents have also been instrumental in coordinating rideshares to ensure students have transportation to and from school.³⁰⁴ By incorporating a multigenerational component to the NMIE, NDC Skopje ensures that multiple levels of the conflict communities are impacted. Students are not the only ones who benefit from intergroup social contact. Older generations, who more directly experienced the conflict in 2001, also benefit from learning more about their out group counterparts. This also means that when

³⁰¹ Stojkovski; Zekolli; "Annual Report 2012: New Innovations in Integrated Education ", 16-18.

³⁰² Misajlovska.

³⁰³ Bryn; Zekolli.

³⁰⁴ Zekolli.

students leave the contact space they go back home to parents and families that have shared intergroup experiences.

Sustained Social Contact

Sustained social contact is important for several reasons. As previously mentioned, short-term encounter models can limit the long-term effect of intergroup contact. While relationships may transform over the course of a short-term encounter, it is difficult for participants to maintain newly adopted perspectives. This is especially the case if the participant returns to a community that holds hostile views of the out-group.³⁰⁵ Ned Lazarus explains that participants of Seeds of Peace encountered what he referred to as the “peacebuilder’s paradox.” Lazarus writes, “The more *effective* [Seeds of Peace] was in terms of inspiring individual Israeli and Palestinian graduates to engage in peacebuilding, the more its *effects* placed them in opposition to aspects of the dominant consensus in their societies.”³⁰⁶ He notes the importance of “sustained follow in context.”³⁰⁷

Jason Hart also advocates for sustained contact. Hart found when examining youth peacebuilding programs that when intergroup contact facilitated by an organization was sustained over time, the organization was more able to adapt to the needs of its participants.³⁰⁸ As social relations, conflict severity, etc. shift throughout time, an organization should adapt its methods. Because participants live in an ever-changing context, intergroup contact must change

³⁰⁵ Haggai Kupermintz and Gavriel Salomon, "Lessons to Be Learned From Research on Peace Education in the Context of Intractable Conflict," *Theory Into Practice* 44, no. 4 (2005).

³⁰⁶ Ned Lazarus, "Evaluating Peace Education in the Oslo-Intifada Generation: A Long-Term Impact Study of Seeds of Peace 1993-2010" (American University, 2011), 444.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Jason Hart, "Empowerment or Frustration? Participatory Programming with Young Palestinians," *Children, Youth and Environments* 17, no. 3 (2007): 20.

too. Additionally, Hart observes with youth that when organizations approach intergroup contact with a long-term, sustained model they are able to support a child/youth throughout his/her development and into adulthood.³⁰⁹

The NMIE provides sustained contact on a couple of levels. First, the multigenerational component means that students are supported in the contact space and at home. While interethnic contact may not be sustained throughout the day, students do not face the same “peacebuilder’s paradox” that Seeds of Peace graduates face. Because parents are participants, students go from school to a supportive environment.³¹⁰

Second, students interact on a nearly daily basis for the course of a school year. Unlike a summer camp or weekend retreat, the frequent interactions throughout a school year provide a sense of normalcy for students, teachers, and parents.³¹¹ Finally, after a student completes one year of school, he/she moves to the next grade where he/she will also participate in the integrated activities. While the NMIE began in 2008 and is still a new program, by implementing the model in a primary and secondary school, NDC Skopje ensures students have access to intergroup contact for many years. This long-term, sustained approach to intergroup contact allows NDC Skopje to adapt to changes in society and respond to changes of its participants.

Language and Social Contact

The language and paraphrasing component of the NMIE is important, not just because the ethnic groups speak different languages, but because the conflict between the groups is, in part,

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Bryn; Stojkovski.

³¹¹ Misajlovska.

due to language use in schools.³¹²³¹³ In the case of Macedonia, the Macedonian language has been taught as the primary language in classrooms because, as the Constitution once stated, it is “historical fact that Macedonia is established as a National state of the Macedonian people.”³¹⁴ The Constitution originally made clear, and codified an unequal system.

The paraphrasing technique does more than just provide a medium for interaction. As Tropp and Wright argue, the use of language represents the value of the speaker within the context.³¹⁵ Paraphrasing positions both Albanian and Macedonian students as equals in the classroom. For many Albanian students, especially at the secondary school level, speaking Macedonian is common. However, it is very unusual for Macedonian students or teachers to speak or learn Albanian. When Albanian participants see Macedonians using their language, it establishes a measure of equality that did not previously exist.

Moreover, teachers’ use of the respective out group’s language indicates a support from authority for the student participants as Tropp and Wright note.³¹⁶ Teachers’ participation in the bilingual activities indicates a clear support for the students to do the same. It also shows students that they value speakers of both languages equally.

Integrated Social Contact Model and NMIE

The NMIE model provides context for the integration of both Allport and Miller’s frameworks. As noted, the paraphrasing technique supports Allport’s equal status. In the current

³¹² Doder, "Albanian-Language University in Macedonia is Focus of Serious Ethnic Tensions."; "Macedonian Albanian Officials Comment on Suspension of Albanian Classes."; "Macedonia: Bitola High School Students Announce New Boycotts of Classes."; Hasani, "Bitola Macedonians Oppose Opening of Albanian High School Class."; "Albanian Parties Worried by Attacks on Albanians by Macedonian Students."; Feller and Ryan, "Definition, Necessity, and Nansen: Efficacy of Dialogue in Peacebuilding."

³¹⁴ Reka, "The Ohrid Agreement: The Travails of Inter-ethnic Relations in Macedonia," 57.

³¹⁵ Wright and Tropp, "Language and Intergroup Contact: Investigating the Impact of Bilingual Instruction on Children's Intergroup Attitudes " 323.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 312.

setting, it is inevitable that Macedonian will be use more frequently than Albanian. This is because for decades, Albanians have been forced to learn Macedonian in schools without Macedonians having to learn Albanian. Albanian secondary students, parents, and teachers are used to using Macedonian in the classroom.³¹⁷ However, the use of both languages in the integrated activities shows participants that the respective language speakers are valued.

Four categories of events--Salience, decategorization, personalization and typicality--occur on a daily basis for teachers and students. Salience occurs when students use their mother-tongue languages, when they move from their segregated classes to the integrated classes, and by expressing typical differences like where and how they live outside of school. Like equal status, personalization is also experienced through language. Communication is necessarily an interactive experience, so when participants use the out-group language to communicate, they are establishing intergroup connections. Participants experience decategorization and personalization through activities designed by teachers and NDC Skopje. Programs focusing on holidays for instance result in greater awareness and counterstereotypes.

During Easter, one Albanian student refused to participate in an egg coloring activity. He learned from an older relative that Orthodox Christians steal the eggs from their churches before painting them. It was not until his Macedonian teacher asked him “do you eat eggs?” The boy replied “yes.” His teacher asked, “where do they come from?” The boy told his teacher that his father bought them from a market. The teacher then explained to him that Easter eggs also come from the store, they are not stolen. The boy was relieved not only to learn the eggs weren’t stolen but that he could participate in the activity.³¹⁸

³¹⁷ Zekolli; Misajlovska.

³¹⁸ Zekolli.

Participants also experience typicality in many ways, but the multigenerational approach is especially helpful. Students do not just see each other interacting but they also interact with adult from the out-group. They also see parents and teachers interacting, showing that intergroup contact is positive on many levels. Students are able to see adults in their roles as teachers and parents, rather than as ethnically different.

It is also important to note that adult participants view the NMIE as more than an education model for students that they happen to be a part of. After talking with several teachers at both the primary and secondary school it became clear that intergroup teacher relationships have deepened. Unlike their peers that teach in segregated schools, the contact between teachers has fostered friendship and community inside and outside the classroom. Primary school teachers go to lunch together on weekends.³¹⁹ Salajdin Behadini, an Albanian teacher at the secondary school, explained that his Macedonian counterpart is one of his closest friends. They communicate on a daily basis, often not related to their teaching duties.³²⁰ Parents have begun to rebuild relationships across ethnic lines as well by doing business with each other and traveling to each other's villages. According to Sasho Stojkovski, NDC Skopje Executive Director, intergroup contact has started to resemble pre-war relationships.³²¹

Typicality is also realized through language. One of the most significant benefits of paraphrasing is the participants' familiarity and comfort with the out group language. Outside the classroom, students are able to understand the out-group language.³²² They are no longer

³¹⁹ Misajlovska.

³²⁰ Salajdin Behadini, February 20, 2013.

³²¹ Stojkovski.

³²² Zekolli; Stojkovski.

surprised, when they hear it in their communities, they can understand jokes and common phrases because they learn it from their teachers and peers in school.³²³

The NMIE also significantly facilitates Allport's common goals and cooperation. From the beginning of NDC Skopje's programming in 2005, the organization continually sought to identify common goals between Albanians and Macedonians, especially in Jegunovce. As discussed in Chapter 3, the initial dialogues between the two communities highlighted the groups' desire for better education. NDC Skopje originally used English and IT courses to facilitate the common goal. In 2008, the NMIE model in the Fridtjof Primary School allowed members of the two ethnic groups to work alongside each other and together to provide better education for students. Teachers, parents, and students continue to identify common goals and work cooperatively. Whether it is a pair teachers planning daily activities, students traveling to Norway to better understand electrical engineering, or parents building a parking lot or mending the school roof, goals are met and achieved through cooperation.

Finally, NMIE's intergroup contact is supported by authority, law, and custom in several ways. First, as Tropp and Wright indicate, teachers are the authority for students. The teachers' facilitation of the integrated activities, and their use of the paraphrasing method, shows students that their intergroup connection is supported and encouraged. Second, the model had to be approved by the Ministry for Science and Education and the municipal leaders in Jegunovce.³²⁴ The support from these two governing bodies is significant; without this support, NDC Skopje would not be able to implement the program. Finally, SIOFA's support of the NMIE shows that the Macedonian government recognizes the importance of integrated education. Beyond

³²³ Stojkovski; Behadini; Misajlovska.

³²⁴ Stojkovski; Bryn; Zekolli.

recognition, SIOFA has sponsored NDC Skopje's teacher training programs to ensure that teachers are both prepared to implement NMIE and that they are aware of the long-term vision of the OFA.³²⁵

NDC Sopje's model provides crucial insight into how peace education, specifically bilingual and integrated education, can support and facilitate intergroup contact. The NMIE provides a multigenerational approach to social contact. It also highlights the importance of language use to establish equal status, support from authority, and other aspects of the Allport and Miller's social contact theories. The following chapter will analyze the findings of this study and connect them to the research questions, providing a deeper understanding of the relationship between peace education and social contact.

³²⁵ "Annual Report: 10 Years Promotion of Dialogue and Reconciliation, 5 Years Integrated Education."; Stojkovski.

CHAPTER 7

UNDERSTANDING THE INTERSECTION BETWEEN INTEGRATED BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CONTACT: FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

While peace education and social contact theory enjoy substantial places in conflict resolution theory, scholarship, and peacebuilding practice, little is known about the relationship between the two. This study examined the intersection of these two approaches to conflict resolution through an analysis of the NMIE, taking into consideration the deeply rooted causes and issues that fuel the ethnic conflict between Albanians and Macedonians. This chapter will provide greater explanation of the study's findings in relation to the research questions. Additionally, this chapter will highlight important areas for future research on the subject.

What role, if any, does language play in creating positive social contact?

Though language played a significant role leading up to the 2001 conflict between Macedonians and Albanians, it can also play an important role in creating positive social contact between the groups. While students in Macedonia attend classes in their mother-tongue languages, linguistic identity, and the use of language in the public sphere, remains a significant hurdle for peacebuilding. Interviews with non-NMIE participants illustrated this clearly. First, interviews with non-NMIE parents revealed that many ethnic Macedonians believe minority groups should learn the Macedonian language. They argue that, despite the recommendations of the OFA and the amendments to the constitution, Macedonian is the *primary* national language. Several parents went further to argue that if their children were to learn non-Macedonian languages, they should learn what they considered important global languages like German and English. However, all Albanian interview participants who were not associated with the NMIE argued that because their children are required to learn the Macedonian language in schools, Macedonian children should learn Albanian.

The NMIE approach incorporates both the desire of ethnic communities to teach their students in their mother-tongue language while promoting relationship building through bilingual use. As previously explained, language is crucial to social contact in three important ways. First, it helps to establish salience. It is a clear social cue that allows members of each group to identify each other and their association with their respective social/ethnic groups. This was primarily observed in the classroom setting and during non-classroom, non-interview social settings (e.g. during meals, drinks, or in the school yard). Albanian secondary students and teachers would often communicate with their Macedonian counterparts in Macedonian because they had sufficient language skills. When speaking to their ethnically similar peers, they would communicate in Albanian. This switch between languages indicated they acknowledged the difference between the groups and it supported the notion that language provides social cues important to salience. This was more pronounced with primary students, most of whom did not have sufficient language skills in their non-mother-tongue language to communicate fluently to out-group members. I noticed during observations that primary students, when trying to communicate with teachers from the out-group, would ask for help from a teacher or NDC Skopje staff member. For instance, if an Albanian primary student wanted to speak to a Macedonian teacher and could not communicate what she wanted in Macedonian, she would ask an Albanian teacher for assistance. Not only did participants acknowledge difference, they associated language use as a social marker and connected language to in-group and out-group members.

Second, as Tropp and Wright suggest, language is used as a value indicator within group contexts, the paraphrasing technique helps to establish equality between speakers—including both teachers and students. This helps to establish equal status in the classroom, even if Albanian

is a minority language in the larger Macedonia context. This was observed during participant observation and illustrated during interviews. When speaking with the teachers, I asked each of them what the most difficult part of implementing the NMIE was. Every teacher identified working and using their non-mother-tongue language. Macedonian teachers had a particularly difficult time because they did not have extensive experience using Albanian. Albanian teachers explained that while they had learned Macedonian in schools, the NMIE required them to plan lessons and communicate more regularly in their second language. While all the teachers acknowledged language use as a difficulty, they also identified it as a unifying challenge. The challenge of honoring both languages through teaching and classroom activities pushed the teachers into new teaching territory. Each teacher also acknowledged that as time passed, the challenge of paraphrasing faded. The teachers became more familiar with each other and the other language; they explained that working with each other on an equal level—during lesson planning and joint activities—became their favorite part of teaching.

In addition to interviews, observations of joint class activities also revealed how language helped to create a sense of equal status in several ways. The teachers' equal and interchangeable use of both languages signaled to students that use of either language was acceptable. An Albanian teacher might ask a Macedonian student a question in Albanian and the student would be allowed to answer in either Albanian or Macedonian. Both teachers and students were experiencing and using the other group's language routinely with the guidance of the paraphrasing technique. Moreover, while students clearly associated language with their respective social groups, they approached both teachers for answers, instructions, and assistance. I did not observe students interacting with a teacher from their ethnic groups more than teachers from the out-group unless it was for help with interpretation or translation. Finally, both students

and teachers chose to use each other's languages during non-structured activities (e.g. group projects) or outside the classroom. It is important to note that Macedonian was often used because older Albanian students and teachers are more familiar with it than Macedonians are with the Albanian language. However, both groups regularly communicated in the out-group language by choice when possible. For many, especially students, this meant sharing jokes or simple phrases. This appreciation of, or desire to communicate in, the out-group language was particularly interesting with primary school students. As discussed earlier, some of the youngest Macedonian students would attempt to speak to Albanian students and teachers in Albanian. But because they were just learning the language they would simply put what they considered an Albanian accent on their Macedonian words.³²⁶

Finally, the teachers' use of an out group language indicates to students that an authority supports and encourages their intergroup interaction. Unlike many of the other classrooms I visited in Macedonia, the lesson I observed during the NMIE joint classes were activity based. Instead of a lecture and memorization method of teaching, students were put into small groups and given activities that require communication in both languages. These activities, like the bilingual rendition of *Romeo and Juliet*, were intentionally designed by the teachers to promote language use and cultural understanding. One primary school lesson had students create their own paper bottles of Ajvar, a popular red pepper condiment in Macedonia. Students were divided into groups of four and sat around a large red cutout that resembled a mason jar. The students each got cutouts of different foods that are used to make Ajvar: red peppers, spicy peppers, onions, garlic, etc. The student then had to communicate to their peers what their cutout ingredients were. After everyone knew what ingredients were available, they had to come to an agreement about what to put in their Ajvar jar and what ingredients to leave out. When the

³²⁶ Misajlovska.

students were finished pasting, teachers helped the students label the ingredients in both languages before displaying the paper Ajvar jars around the classroom. When students complete signs, pictures, art, or other assignments, they are often hung on the wall of the classrooms and in the hallways of the school. Both Albanian and Macedonian languages are displayed and celebrated.

What role, if any, does integration play in creating positive social contact?

Like language use, integration also plays an important role in creating positive social contact. While it's clear that interaction between group members is necessary to establish positive intergroup contact, the NMIE facilitates contact that leads to positive relationships. Positive relationships in this context refer to new or continued relationships that are beneficial to all parties, promote interpersonal and intergroup understanding, and support intergroup cooperation. This was noted in Chapters 4-6 where students and teachers not only speak each other's languages, but they also choose to spend time with one another outside the school setting. Parents also interact at the school and have begun to rebuild business relationships that have not existed since the 2001 conflict began.³²⁷ Integration supports relationship building in several ways. First, like the use of both languages, equal status is established through equal number of participants from both ethnic groups. NDC Skopje Staff and teachers identified the importance of equal representation of both groups as an important factor, necessary to maintaining fairness and a sense of connection to the larger community in Jegunovce.

Second, the interactive activities provide means by which students, teachers, and parents can express their salient social identities, communicate cultural nuances and complexities that assist with decategorization, share personal and intergroup observations, and relate their new

³²⁷ Stojkovski.

understanding of out-group individuals to the larger out group. Take for instance the Ajvar activity. Based on my interviews with NMIE and non-NMIE participants, both ethnic groups eat Ajvar and consider it an important part of a greater Balkan cuisine. Making Ajvar can be a several day process, and for many families in Macedonia, making Ajvar is a family tradition. The NMIE activity brings together Albanian and Macedonian students and teachers around one common element of both their cultures. For students, salience is realized by the different names of the Ajvar ingredients based on language, however, their integrated interaction allows them to acknowledge the similarity between the two salient culture. This commonality helps participants identify a similarity not just between each other but between social groups. Finally, NMIE helps participants identify common goals, whether it's better education in the municipality or fixing the school parking lot, and encourages cooperative ways to accomplish the goals.

To what extent have students, parents, and teachers changed their views of the out-group and do they view the NMIE as an effective way to establish positive intergroup relationships?

The NMIE is largely perceived as a successful tool for creating positive intergroup relationships among participants. The success was evaluated in several ways. First, students value the model because it builds familiar, consistent, and meaningful relationships through integrated activities.³²⁹ Every student I spoke with explained that he/she was not only excited to learn in an activity-based environment, but that during the integrated learning, they were able to spend time with all their friends—not just half of their friends. One Macedonian secondary student, who was new to the program, actually opted into Secondary School after discussing the benefits with his parents. He explained that he thought the school offered a better technical education and that he wanted a chance to interact with his Albanian kids his age.

³²⁹ Misajlovska.

Teachers also have observed students building relationships through the integrated activities. In the initial stages of NMIE, teachers had to intentionally put students into mixed, Albanian and Macedonian, small groups. Now the students divide themselves up evenly into mixed groups without any instruction. While this may seem to some as a small accomplishment, many of the teachers explained that students now see intergroup friendships as the norm because of their consistent and positive interactions.³³⁰

Second, the relationship between adults on the intergroup level has strengthened. As previously mentioned, teachers have established friendships that extend beyond the classroom or teachers' lounge. Teachers meet over meals, go to each other's houses, and communicate on a regular basis.³³¹ Similarly, parents interact on "pre-war" levels, traveling to each other's villages and rebuilding work relationships.³³²

Finally, NMIE has had an impact on the larger educational community outside Jegunovce. While not deeply examined in this study, it became apparent during my interviews and document research that multiple communities have requested NDC Skopje to train their teachers to implement the NMIE program. Currently, NDC Skopje's model is practiced in six schools outside Jegunovce. Moreover, the program is implemented in schools that teach Turkish, Roma, and other ethnic groups, not just Macedonian and Albanian students.

Recommendations for Future Research

While this study has touched on some important issues surrounding the intersection between peace education and social contact theory, there is still more research that needs to be done. First, more research needs to be conducted regarding non-participant perceptions of

³³⁰ Ibid.; Behadini.

³³¹ Zekolli; Stojkovski; Misajlovska; Behadini.

³³² Stojkovski.

integrated bilingual education in post-conflict communities. As noted in Chapter 1, this study primarily relied on the perceptions and behaviors of NMIE participants. Additional research should include a larger and more diverse sample of the communities in conflict including non-participant parents, teachers, students, and local and national leaders.

While this study touched on the expansion of the NMIE to ethnic groups other than Albanians and Macedonians, it did not sufficiently analyze how social contact and peace education impact segregated communities who are not in conflict (e.g. Turks and Serbs in Macedonia). Future research should explore experiences of participants who in separate social and/or ethnic group but who do not necessarily have competing political, territorial, or cultural claims. The schools outside Jegunovce that implement NMIE could serve as useful case studies for this continued research.

Finally, this study does not adequately address the issue of transfer between participants of NMIE and non-participants. Future research should examine how and to what extent, if at all, do participants of peace education and social contact transfer what they have learned and experience to their larger communities. Essentially, do the relationships establish through social contact spread outward to other group members or are the participants the only beneficiaries. This could have potential implications for understanding ethnic conflict and conflict resolution on a larger, national scale.

Conclusion

This study found that bilingual integrated education does help to build positive relationships through intergroup contact between individuals from conflict communities. In the case of the NMIE, applied in postaccord Macedonia, this particular form of peace education not only challenged structural, direct, and cultural violence but also facilitated intergroup contact.

The bilingual component helps to establish salience, equal status, and provide a way for teachers—an important authority—to support intergroup contact. Integration allows participants to reevaluate previously held ideas about the out group through deconstruction, personalization, and typicality. Finally, bilingual integrated education allows participants to identify common goals and the means to cooperatively achieve those goals.

APPENDIX A

DATA COLLECTION RUBRIC

Sub-question	Method	Measure
Do participants—teachers, students, and parents—perceive NDC Skopje’s model as successfully creating positive relationships through direct social contact?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interviews 2. Observation 3. Process Tracing 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. When asked in a semi structured interview do the participants agree with the success of the program? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Do they feel they interact more with the out-group? b. They voluntarily interact outside the NDC Skopje school activities, how often? c. Have they opted to continue teaching, learning, or placing their children in the program for multiple years? d. Do they recommend the program to others in their community? 2. Do I observe voluntary interaction and language use inside and outside the classroom? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Are students forced to integrate by teachers? b. Do parents participate in school-sponsored programs? c. To students and teachers use the out-group language voluntarily? 3. Can NDC Skopje show a documented increase in participants or and stable level of continued participation in the program? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Do reports accurately describe the number of participants?

Sub-question	Method	Measure
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> b. Do reports accurately describe the level of participation observed? c. Is there a significant shift in recorded participation following a reported change in process or design?
What role, if any, does language play in creating positive social contact?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interviews 2. Observation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Do students and teachers use the language of the out group? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Do participants only use the language when directed in class? b. Do the participants use the language voluntarily? How often? What contexts? c. Do the participants claim a better or worse understanding of the out group's culture, practices, etc. based on their understanding of the language? 2. Do I observe the use of multiple languages? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Do I see voluntary use of the language? b. Do I see it used outside of the classroom? c. Do I see the minority (non-state) language used as a means of conversational communication?
What role, if any, does integration play in creating positive social contact?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interviews 2. Observation 3. Process Tracing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. When asked, do students and teachers identify integration as a positive way to establish contact? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Do students, teachers and parents feel tension when they interact? b. Do participants choose

Sub-question	Method	Measure
		<p>to integrate outside the classroom?</p> <p>c. Do students and teachers prefer the segregated class time or the integrated class time? Why?</p> <p>2. How often and under what circumstances to I observe mandated vs. voluntary participation in integrated activities?</p> <p>3. What documented activities including integrating parents? How many participated and under what conditions?</p>
<p>To what extent have students, parents, and teachers changed their views of the out-group following participation in the integrated bilingual education model, either directly or indirectly?</p>	<p>1. Interviews</p>	<p>1. Have the views of the out group significantly changed prior to their participation in the education program?</p> <p>a. Why did participants choose to originally participate in the NDC Skopje Program?</p> <p>b. How did they view the out group originally?</p> <p>c. What assumptions do they have of the out group currently?</p> <p>d. Why do they think there was any change? (If change was reported)</p>

APPENDIX B
INFORMED CONSENT FORM

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Date:

Researcher: Kelly Ryan, MA candidate, School of International Service, American University

Purpose of the Research: To understand how integrated education impacts Macedonian society.

This research will be used for Kelly Ryan's Master's Thesis, a requirement for his graduation.

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research:

Risks and Discomforts: I do not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation in the research.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You: This research will add to the academic conversation of interethnic relations and educational practices in Macedonia.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may refuse to answer any question or choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not negatively impact you, your community, or this research project.

Withdrawal from the Study: You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researcher or Nansen Dialogue Center Skopje. Should you decide to withdraw from the study, all data generated as a consequence of your participation will be destroyed.

Confidentiality: Unless you choose a for the researcher to identify you in a publication or in the research findings, all information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and, unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. Your data will be safely stored in a password-protected platform and only the researcher will have access to this information. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Parental Consent: If your child was selected to participate please be aware that you may be present at every stage of the interview process and may end the interview process at any time. Your child's name, age, classroom, or other identifiers will not be used in any form during the research.

Questions about the Research: If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact Kelly Ryan, MA candidate in International Peace and Conflict Resolution, American University (kr0715a@student.american.edu or (406) 241-7122.) This research has been reviewed and approved for compliance with research ethics protocols by the American University Institutional Review Board and conforms to U.S. standards and laws.

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I _____ consent to participate in the research conducted by *Kelly Ryan*. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate or allow my child to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing

this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature _____ **Date** _____

Participant

Signature _____ **Date** _____

Researcher

Formulari për pëlqim të informuar

Data:

Hulumtuesi: Kelly Ryan, Kandidat për Master, Shkolla për Shërbime Ndërkombëtare, Universiteti Amerikan në Washington D.C.

Qëllimi i hulumtimit: Të kuptoj se çfarë ndikimi ka arsimit i integruar në shoqërinë Maqedone.

Ky hulumtim do të përdoret për Punimin e Diplomës së Kelly Ryan, që është kërkesë për diplomimin e tij.

Çka do të kërkohej nga ju për këtë hulumtim:

Rreziqet dhe shqetësimet: Pjesëmarrja juaj në këtë hulumtim nuk pritet që të ketë asnjë rrezik apo shqetësim.

Përfitimet nga hulumtimi dhe përfitimet për ju: Ky hulumtim do t'i shtohet bisedave akademike në lidhje me raportet ndër-etnike dhe qasjeve ndaj arsimit në Maqedoni.

Pjesëmarrja vullnetare: Pjesëmarrja juaj në këtë hulumtim është plotësisht vullnetare dhe ju mund të refuzoni të përgjigjeni në çfarëdo pyetje ose mund të zgjidhni të ndërpreni pjesëmarrjen tuaj në çdo kohë. Vendimi juaj për të mos marrë pjesë nuk do të ketë ndikim negativ në ju, në komunitetin tuaj, apo në këtë hulumtim.

Tërheqja nga ky hulumtim: Ju mund të ndërpreni pjesëmarrjen tuaj në këtë hulumtim kur të dëshironi, për çfarëdo arsye, nëse ju zgjedhni të tërhiqeni. Zgjedhja juaj që të ndërpreni pjesëmarrjen ose refuzimi që të përgjigjeni në ndonjë pyetje specifike nuk do të ketë asnjë ndikim në raportin tuaj me hulumtuesin apo me Qendrën për Dialog Nansen Shkup. Nëse ju vendosni të tërhiqeni nga ky hulumtim, të gjitha të dhënat që janë marrë si rezultat i pjesëmarrjes

tuaj në këtë hulumtim do të shkatërrohen.

Konfidencialiteti: Përveq nëse ju zgjedhni që hulumtuesi të ju identifikoj në publikim ose në rezultatet e hulumtimit, të gjitha informatat që ju i siguron për këtë hulumtim do të mbahen konfidenciale, dhe emri juaj nuk do të paraqitet në asnjë raport apo publikim të këtij hulumtimi, përveq nëse ju jepni pëlqimin tuaj për publikimin e emrit tuaj. Informatat tuaja do të ruhen në një program të mbrojtur me fjalëkalim, ku vetëm hulumtuesi do të ketë qasje. Konfidencialiteti do të sigurohet në masën më të plotë të mundësuar nga ligji.

Pëlqimi i prindit: Nëse fëmija juaj është zgjedhur të marrë pjesë, ju lutem ta keni parasysh që ju mund të jeni present në çfarëdo faze të procesit të intervistimit dhe mund ta ndërpreni intervistën në çdo kohë. Emri i fëmijës tuaj, mosha, klasa, dhe elementet tjera identifikuese të fëmijës tuaj nuk do të përdoren në asnjë formë gjatë këtij hulumtimi.

Pyetje për hulumtimin: Nëse keni ndonjë pyetje për këtë hulumtim në përgjësi apo për rolin tuaj, ju lutem kontaktoni Kelly Ryan, Kandidat për Master në Paqe dhe Zgjidhjen e Konfliktëve Ndërkombëtare në Universitetin Amerikan në Washington D.C. në emailin kr0715a@student.american.edu ose në numrin e telefonit 1-406-241-7122. Ky hulumtim është kontrolluar nga Bordi për Shqyrtim Institucional i Universitetit Amerikan në Washington D.C. dhe është aprovuar pasi që përshtatet me protokolet etike të hulumtimit konform standardeve dhe ligjeve të Shteteve të Bashkuara të Amerikës.

Të drejtat ligjore dhe nënshkrimet:

Unë _____ pajtohem që të marrë pjesë në hulumtimin e realizuar nga *Kelly Ryan*. Unë e kam kuptuar natyrën e hulumtimit të këtij projekti dhe dëshiroj që të marrë pjesë ose jap leje që fëmija im të marrë pjesë. Unë nuk heq dorë nga të drejtat e mia ligjore duke nënshkruar këtë formular. Nënshkrimi im i paraqitur më poshtë tregon këtë pëlqim.

Nënshkrimi _____ **Data** _____

Pjesëmarrësi

Nënshkrimi _____ **Data** _____

Hulumtuesi

ФОРМУЛАР ЗА ДАВАЊЕ СОГЛАСНОСТ

Дата:

Истражувач: Кели Рајан, кандидат за магистратура, Школо за меѓународна служба, Универзитет Американ

Цел на истражувањето: Да го разбере влијането на интегрираното образование врз македонското општество. Истражувањето ќе биде за магистерската теза на Кели Рајан, која е задолжителна за неговото магистрирање.

Што ќе бидето побарано од вас во ова истражување:

Ризик и непријатности: Не предвидувам било каков ризик или непријатност од вашето учество во истражувањето.

Придобивка од истражувањето и ваша лична придобивка: Ова истражување ќе допринесе кон академскиот разговор за меѓуетнички односи и образовни практики во Македонија.

Доброволно учество: Вашето учество во оваа студија е комплетно на доброволна основа и можете да одбиете да го одговорите било кое прашање или да се одлучите да не учествувате повеќе во било кое време. Вашата одлука да не учествувате нема негативно да се одрази врз вас, вашата заедница или овој истражувачки проект.

Повлекување од студијата: Во било кое време можете да престанете да учествувате во студијата доколку така одлучите. Вашата одлука да престанете да учествувате или да одбиете да одговорите одредено прашање нема да се одрази на вашиот однос со истражувачот или со Нансен Дијалог Центарот Скопје. Доколку одлучите да се повлечете од студијата, сите собрани податоци како резултат на вашето учество ќе бидат уништени.

Доверливост: Освен ако не се одлучите истражувачот да ве идентификува во публикација или во истражувачки резултати, сите информации кои ќе ги понудите во текот на истражувањето ќе бидат чувани во доверба и, освен ако посебно не ја изразите својата согласност, вашето име нема да биде објавено во ниту еден извештај или публикација од истражувањето. Вашите податоци ќе бидат безбедно чувани на платформа обезбедна со лозинка и само истражувачот ќе има пристап до овие информации. Доверливоста ќе биде

обезбедена на најголем можен начин во согласност со Законот.

Дозвола од родител: Доколку вашето дете е одбрано да учествува, ве молам земе в обзир дека вие можете да бидете присутни на секој дел од интервјуто и можете да го прекинете процесот на интервјуирање во било кое време. Името на вашето дете, возраста, училишната и други поединости нема да бидат користени во никаква форма во текот на ова истражување.

Прашања во врска со истражувањето: Доколку имате прашања општо во врска со истражувањето, или пак за вашата улога во оваа студија, ве молам слободно контактирајте го Кели Рајан, кандидат за магистратура за Меѓународни мировни студии и решавање конфликт, Универзитет Американ (kr0715a@student.american.edu или (406) 241-7122. Ова истражување е разгледно и одобрено за согласност со протоколот за истражувачка етика, од страна на Институционалниот одбор за разгледување на Универзитет Американ, и е во согласност со стандардите и законите на САД.

Законски права и потпис:

Јас _____ ја давам мојата согласност да учествувам во истражувањето спроведено од Кели Рајан (Kelly Ryan). Ја разбрав природата на овој проект и сакам да учествувам или дозволувам моето дете да учествува. Не се откажувам од ниту едно од моите законски права со потпишувањето на овој формулар. Мојата потпис доле ја означува мојата согласност.

Потпис _____ **Дата** _____

Учесник

Потпис _____ **Дата** _____

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