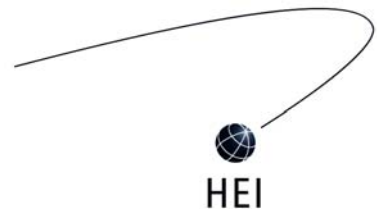


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"Peace Education in South Eastern Europe: The Enhanced Graz Process"

Marie Lafontaine-Schwarz



PSIO

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“Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed”

First paragraph of the Preamble to the Constitution of
UNESCO

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Foreword

Educating people for peace has a history as old as ideas and thoughts about war. Since “wars begin in the minds of men”, as the Preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO rightly asserts, this is where peace also needs to be constructed. The concept of “peace education” as a policy tool for promoting reconciliation and lasting peace remains, however, less well known. Hence the timeliness of Ms Marie Lafontaine-Schwarz’s study, which assesses the relevance of “peace education” within the so-called Enhanced Graz Process – one of the numerous endeavours of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe launched by the European Union in the aftermath of NATO’s military intervention in Kosovo (1999). The establishment of co-operation between the former warring parties of the Yugoslav conflict (for the purposes of conflict recurrence prevention and reconciliation) certainly required deep and dramatic changes in people’s mindset. The Enhanced Graz Process assumes that such changes can be promoted within the framework of regular meetings and conferences aimed, *inter alia*, at building confidence, rewriting history books and implementing common projects at local and national level.

Ms Marie Lafontaine-Schwarz’s timely work represents a unique piece of scholarly research. It offers a first-rate evaluation of the Enhanced Graz Process, based on published and unpublished sources, including interviews with practitioners engaged in the Process. It contains updated analysis of the concrete steps undertaken towards peace education in South Eastern Europe. The evaluation of these measures, together with the author’s proposals, yields a broadly positive assessment of the Process: the study can therefore be read as a manifesto for continued support for the Enhanced Graz Process. It will be of interest to researchers addressing post-conflict issues, as well as to practitioners involved in the Enhanced Graz Process and the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe. Its publication coincides with the advent of what has been proclaimed by the Council of Europe as the “European Year of Citizenship through Education”. In view of the forthcoming evaluation conference in Graz, the present study will hopefully find practical application in due course. Its impact should be judged not only by concrete

steps taken in this direction, but also in terms of continued political support for the Enhanced Graz Process.

Victor-Yves Ghebali
Geneva, January 2005

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Marie Lafontaine-Schwarz, Geneva, November 2004

Peace Education in South Eastern Europe: The Enhanced Graz Process

*Marie Lafontaine-Schwarz**

Introduction

Initiated by Austria in 1998, the enhanced Graz Process has formed an integral part of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe since October 1999. This Pact – an initiative proposed by Germany at the time of the Kosovo conflict in June 1999 and immediately taken up by the EU – involves a multilateral process aimed at strengthening the entire Balkan region over the long term through the establishment of democratic regimes, prosperous market economies, and peaceful, open and pluralistic societies¹. It therefore comprises three so-called Working Tables, modelled on OSCE structures: (1) democratisation and human rights; (2) economic reconstruction, cooperation and development; and (3) security issues.

Following the decision that education should be one of the priority topics for Working Table I, it was perfectly natural that the Graz Process should be incorporated and assigned responsibility for coordination in the “Education and Youth” area of the Stability Pact². After other states and organisations had joined the Process, it became the *Enhanced* Graz Process.

As the Graz Process is an initiative designed to promote the democratic and peaceful development of the South Eastern European region by supporting and coordinating education-related projects, it comes under the general heading of “peace education”³.

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¹ Victor-Yves Ghebali, “Le lancement du Pacte de Stabilité pour l’Europe du Sud-Est”, *Annuaire Français des Relations Internationales*, 2000, Vol. 1, pp. 227, 231.

² The role played by the Process within the Pact as a whole is clarified by the Figure that appears in Appendix 1.

³ [Translator’s note: Original footnote deleted.]

It is difficult to give a single definition of this concept in view of its development over time –the concept has been modified as each generation appropriated it and adapted it to its own concerns. Briefly, it could be defined in terms of its objective: to educate people in the ways of peace. The designation of the concept has also varied, making it even harder to pin down. Therefore, in order to gain a better understanding, it will be useful to outline the history of the concept.

The concept is certainly not a new one. History shows that nations have never been indifferent towards each other. Cultural relations and the migration of ideas have always existed in some form, at the very least since the time of Ancient Greece⁴. However, it was only after the Great War that this cooperation was embodied in the form of an institution – the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation. This body was established in 1922, within the framework of the League of Nations, at the suggestion of Léon Bourgeois. Subsequently, the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation and National Committees on intellectual cooperation were set up to reinforce the work of the Committee⁵. But it was only in the early 1930s that a definition of intellectual cooperation was adopted by this Committee. Thus, according to the report of a *Comité d'étude*, adopted by the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation and approved by the Assembly of the League of Nations on 24 September 1931:

“L’activité de la Société des Nations sous la forme de la Coopération intellectuelle a comme but essentiel de développer la collaboration des peuples dans tous les domaines de l’esprit afin d’assurer l’entente internationale pour la sauvegarde de la paix.” [The essential aim of the intellectual cooperation activities of the League of Nations is to develop collaboration between peoples in every field of intellectual endeavour in order to ensure international understanding so as to safeguard peace.]⁶

⁴ Jan Kolasa, *International Intellectual Cooperation. The League Experience and the Beginnings of UNESCO*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1962, pp. 9–66.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 11–25. This development followed France’s offer to provide a budget of 2 million francs and an office in Paris for the organisation.

⁶ Jean-Jacques Mayoux, *Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle 1925–1946, Recueil de rapports et documents*, Paris, Société d’Imprimerie, 1946, p. 45. An initial attempt to define the concept was made at the meeting of the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation in 1928: “La Coopération intellectuelle a deux sens: un sens restreint et un sens large. Au sens restreint, la Coopération intellectuelle a pour but d’étudier en commun et de réaliser pratiquement les moyens de nature à coordonner et à faciliter la vie intellectuelle, qu’il s’agisse des sciences ou des lettres, ou des arts. (...) Mais la Coopération intellectuelle possède encore un sens plus large, plus élevé. A quoi tend-elle en effet? A inspirer aux écrivains, aux artistes, aux savants, à tous les intellectuels du monde entier, la conviction que leurs intérêts sont les mêmes partout, que leurs devoirs sont partout les mêmes, à leur insuffler cet esprit d’universalité sans lequel, comme l’histoire le démontre, il n’y a pas de grande civilisation. Car aucune

To achieve this aim, the Institute adopted two main approaches: moral disarmament, through instruction in the principles of the League of Nations, and teaching, through the revision of school textbooks⁷. Here we see the emergence of a new term, “*désarmement moral*”, which, in the words of Luchaire, “*n’est pas seulement la fin de l’esprit de guerre: il est la naissance de l’esprit de paix*” [is not only the end of the spirit of war: it is the birth of the spirit of peace]⁸. Moral disarmament is thus merely another – more poetic and above all more striking – way of referring to intellectual cooperation.

According to the Director of the Institute, Jacques Mayoux, the difficulties encountered by the organisation had less to do with problems of financial and material resources than with the “*manque de volonté de paix*” [lack of a desire for peace] and the political challenges of shaping public opinion⁹. A kind of vicious circle developed, in which the fear of war prevented preparations for peace.

Given the lack of a desire for peace and the existence of this vicious circle, it was appropriate to adopt an international approach: “*il s’agit de faire en sorte que l’opinion publique de la majorité des hommes à l’égard de la société humaine passe d’un concept fondé sur l’organisation nationale à une conception fondée sur l’organisation internationale*” [There needs to be a shift in public opinion among the majority with regard to human society, away from a concept based on national organisation towards a conception based on international organisation]¹⁰. Thus, in his view, the political act must precede the economic, with the former consisting in collective support for the idea of an international order. However, as already observed, there is a discrepancy between theory and practice, and it is possible to support the idea of an international order without, however, supporting its implementation. The development of mentalities is therefore fundamental to intellectual cooperation. UNESCO, which is now for the

reconstitution dans l’ordre des faits économiques, politiques et sociaux, n’est solide et durable si elle ne s’appuie sur une synthèse dans les esprits” [Intellectual cooperation is used in two senses: one narrow, one broad. In the narrow sense, its aim is jointly to study and to develop practical means of coordinating and facilitating intellectual life, in science, letters, or the arts. (...) But it also has a broader, more elevated sense. To what does it aspire? To inspire in writers, artists, men of science, in all intellectuals throughout the world, the belief that their interests and duties are the same everywhere, to instil that spirit of universality without which, as history shows, no great civilisation can exist. For no reconstruction of economic, political and social realities is sound or durable unless it is founded on a mental synthesis] (ibid., p. 38).

⁷ Jean-Jacques Renoliet, *L’UNESCO oubliée. La Société des Nations et la coopération intellectuelle (1919–1946)*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999, p. 301.

⁸ Julien Luchaire, *Le désarmement moral*, Paris, Librairie Valois, 1932, p. 9.

⁹ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 82 and pp. 174–5.

United Nations what the Institute was for the League of Nations, thus enjoyed better prospects when it was established, apart from the fact that it was able to benefit from the Institute's experience in this area.

Created as a specialised agency of the United Nations after the Second World War, UNESCO stated at the outset:

"since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed ...

In consequence whereof ... [the States Parties] do hereby create the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for the purpose of advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organization was established and which its Charter proclaims"¹¹.

Here too, then, the aim is to secure peace by educating human minds, through collaboration among all nations. The member states are required to submit regular reports on laws, regulations and statistics concerning their institutions and their activities in the educational, scientific and cultural fields.

Since the passing of the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation, the expressions "intellectual cooperation" and "moral disarmament" have been superseded by "peace education" or, latterly, "learning to live together". Now at the centre of UNESCO's mission, this notion was adopted following the report of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, better known as the Delors report. Central to this concept is the development of understanding, consideration and respect for others, and for their beliefs, values and culture, with a view to preventing conflicts or promoting their non-violent resolution and establishing peaceful coexistence. Based on the principle of equality among peoples, this concept involves not passive acceptance or mere tolerance of others, but an active and dynamic experience of discovering other people, together with joint efforts to achieve shared goals¹².

¹¹ Preamble to the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

¹² <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/International/Databanks/Related/relatedhome.htm>

It has been argued that this cluster of notions – peace education, intellectual cooperation or moral disarmament – actually denotes one and the same thing. But why have the terms changed if the idea remains the same?

Each period has its own characteristics and language, and it is certainly more a question of particular senses of terms than of a change in the concept. Thus, during the Cold War, as the term “peace” had been appropriated by Communist doctrine, it was not fitting to speak of peace education in the West, and organisations had to adapt in order to survive¹³. The expression “peace education”, abandoned during the Cold War, reappeared when the Communist system collapsed, and although it was first mentioned in a UNESCO text in 1994, it is generally believed to have originated around 2000¹⁴.

Today, with peace movements multiplying all over the world, the concept of instilling peace through education, far from being outdated, is actually acquiring a new dynamic. As we shall see, however, peace education does not often rank among states’ priorities.

As no scholarly publications are available to date on the Enhanced Graz Process, this paper is primarily an attempt to present this subject to academic and political circles. The Process is, in fact, a good example of how the concept of peace education can be put into practice, and the attention of political decision-makers may thus be drawn to the importance of this concept in post-conflict situations: without peace education, no lasting peace can be established. This publication is, of course, also addressed to the people involved in the Enhanced Graz Process.

The paper is divided into three parts: the origins and nature of the Process, its practical realisation, and an evaluation.

¹³ This was the case for the World Association for the School as an Instrument of Peace (EIP). It was striking that although the NGO had set itself two goals (recognition of the right to education for all and an educational approach to non-violent conflict resolution), most of its current projects primarily addressed the first of these, while neglecting the second. Questioned on this point, Monique Prindeviz (Secretary-general of the EIP) replied that there had been historical reasons for this “neglect” (the notion of peace associated with communism) and that as a result it had been practically impossible to operate and to engage the sympathies of the state. The organisation then shifted its focus towards human rights and particularly the right to education so as to elicit a response in the West. Today, however, Ms Prindeviz is confident and thinks that the NGO’s second aim can be revived, following a renewal of interest in this topic and a growing awareness of the role of education in conflict prevention (interview with Monique Prindeviz, Secretary-general of the EIP, 16 December 2003).

¹⁴ Interview with Verdiana Grossi, lecturer in Educational Science at Geneva, 15 January 2004.

I. Origins and nature of the Process

1. Establishment of the Process

1.1. Birth of the Process: from Graz Process to *Enhanced* Graz Process

Graz, Austria's second-largest city, is the capital of Styria, a border region firstly between Austria, Slovenia and Hungary, but also between Western Europe and the Balkans. For this reason, and as a result of its history, Austria has a strong tradition in Balkan studies and research. Today, this research is clearly dominated by two topics: the ongoing redefinition of Europe, and education systems¹⁵. It is therefore not surprising that a process of this kind should have been initiated by Austria while it held its first presidency of the EU¹⁶. What is, however, surprising is that the name "Graz Process" was itself coined by a Frenchman, Michel Lefranc¹⁷. Serving at that time as an official in Directorate-General (DG) XXII (Education, Training and Youth) of the European Commission, he was invited to attend the very first meetings organised by Austria in his capacity as a representative of the EU in the field of education. It was only subsequently, having in the meantime been appointed Director of the European Centre for Modern Languages (Graz), that he suggested the name "Graz Process", seeing how regular and promising these meetings had become.

But let us begin by briefly summarising the sequence of events that launched the Process. In September 1998, the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science and Transport commissioned a study on the role of NGOs in the construction of civil societies in South East Europe, particularly in the areas of education and the media. This research was to be carried out jointly by the Center for the Study of Balkan Societies and Cultures (attached to the Department for Southeast European History at the University of Graz), the Department of Economic and Social History at the University of Vienna and KulturKontakt Austria. Two months later, these organisations published an interim

¹⁵ Report by Xavier Bougarel, researcher at the CNRS, Turkish and Ottoman Studies. Association française d'études sur les Balkans: http://www.afebalk.org/page.php3?id_page=97

¹⁶ Today, the Process remains an initiative that the Austrian government, of whatever complexion, has no difficulty in sustaining and justifying in domestic political terms. It is felt to be advantageous by all parties whether it be for economic reasons, for sentimental reasons of historical tradition, or for strategic security reasons (interview with Gerhard Kowar, Coordinator of the Enhanced Graz Process, Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Austria, 17 June 2004).

¹⁷ Report by Xavier Bougarel. Op. cit., p. 10 (confirmed during a telephone interview with Michel Lefranc himself on 22 January 2004).

report entitled "Southeast European Educational Initiatives and Cooperations for Peace, Mutual Understanding, Tolerance and Democracy", which provided the basis for a conference organised by Austria, and held on 14–16 November 1998, which marked the beginning of the Graz Process. This conference, entitled "South Eastern Europe Educational Co-operation for Peace, Stability and Democracy", was organised with the support of the European Commission, the Council of Europe, and the European Training Foundation; support was also provided by UNESCO, the World Bank, the Royaumont Process and several other European countries (Bulgaria, Finland, France, Germany and Portugal). The meeting resulted in the establishment of a task force, i.e. the actual Graz Process. Subsequently, once again at the suggestion of Austria (Federal Ministry of Education), the Process was assigned responsibility for coordination of the Task Force on Education and Youth within Working Table I of the Stability Pact, education having been identified as a priority issue at the first meeting of the Working Table, held in Geneva on 18–19 October 1999. It was particularly important for the Graz Process to be provided with a political framework, so that it could be recognised by the international and financial community, and to obtain a mandate enabling it arrange for warring parties to meet. By placing education on the official agenda, the Pact gave the Process a framework within which to operate, and the legitimacy required for interventions.

As the initiator of the Process and a member of all the relevant bodies, Austria is responsible for representing the Task Force within the Working Table of the Pact¹⁸. Since its inception, the Task Force has been chaired by Anton Dobart.

Finally, the *Enhanced* Graz Process is no different from the Graz Process, as originally conceived. The idea is the same, and it was only the name that changed when the Process was integrated into the Stability Pact framework in October 1999, with the participation of new countries. In addition, while the objectives, principles and action plan of the Task Force were adopted at the conference held in Sofia in November 1999, its practical work only began in March 2000. It should also be noted that no documents are currently available concerning the period from November 1998 to June 1999. The transition from the Graz Process to the Enhanced Graz Process is thus comparable to the development of a caterpillar into a butterfly.

¹⁸ Graz Process: http://www.see-educoop.net/graz_2003/index.htm

1.2. Goal, mission, objectives

The conflicts of 1991–1995, which precipitated the break-up of Yugoslavia, were disturbing on account of their violence and the conviction in the West that this was a fratricidal war. A poor knowledge of the region led people to believe that former Yugoslavia represented a homogeneous whole, which partly explains the confused nature of the European and US interventions. In addition, these conflicts triggered a search for identity, giving rise to a confusion between the Balkans and former Yugoslavia, and also between this conflict and previous wars¹⁹. The spectre of the “Balkan powder keg” reappeared, threatening European peace and stability, which prompted the EU to become aware of its role in the region, and to take action. At the suggestion of Germany, the EU then established the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, with a mission based on the logic of preventing any recurrence of conflict – promoting the reconstruction and stabilisation of the region. It should be noted that the term “Balkans”, with its pejorative associations, was deliberately avoided during the Stability Pact negotiations; one now speaks of South Eastern Europe. There was a widespread view that not only would infrastructure have to be reconstructed, but good-neighbourly relations would also have to be established, as a prerequisite for learning to live together amid diversity. It was then recognised that education has a fundamental role to play, as it can make a key contribution to democratisation and the process of ensuring peace and understanding among peoples, particularly through the elimination of stereotypes, education for democratic citizenship and the reform of history teaching.

It should be pointed out that at the end of the 1980s education systems were well developed in most of the countries of the region, even though only eight years’ schooling was compulsory under the Communist system. Subsequently, however, there was a decline in this area, leaving out of account the fact that many children were unable to go to school to receive regular instruction for a considerable period because of the war. Thus, although most of these countries have now adopted a system involving nine years’ compulsory schooling, numerous problems remain – low participation in pre-school education, small numbers of students in general education compared

¹⁹ On the conflict and the national question in Yugoslavia, see Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia. Origins, History, Politics*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1984; Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia. A*

with vocational education and training (which is not surprising for these ex-Communist countries), adult education that remains unknown or poorly managed throughout the region, lack of training for school administration staff, the fact that teachers' qualifications are often non-verifiable, their low salary levels, etc.²⁰. However, the relatively effective structures already existing facilitated the definition of an approach adapted to today's problems.

In keeping with the principles of peace education, the objective of the Process is to promote stabilisation of the region and to establish a lasting peace by instilling democracy and above all respect for diversity. As a component of the Pact, the Process thus also reflects its objectives, namely to promote sustainable development, peace and stability in the region with a view to its future integration into the EU²¹. Apart from peace education, the long-term goals of the Process can be summarised as follows:

*"The main objectives are to include South Eastern Europe in the nascent common European area of education and to promote cooperation between all countries of the region"*²².

When discussing the objectives of the Process, certain distinctions should be made, firstly on the basis of whether they belong to the Process or to the Stability Pact (the latter being automatically endorsed), and secondly with regard to the time frame – short-term or long-term. As the long-term objectives have already been mentioned, we should now consider the short-term ones, which change from year to year, and which are designed to meet the long-term objectives:

- In 2002, three short-term objectives of the Pact were adopted by the Process: (1) to enhance complementarity with the SAP²³; (2) to promote regional cooperation; (3) to

Short History, London, Macmillan Limited, 1994; Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1997.

²⁰ OECD, CCNM/DEELSA/ED(2001)1/FINAL, "Thematic Review of National Policies for Education – Regional Overview", Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, Table 1 – Task Force on Education, 12 July 2002, p. 4 and pp. 9–13; see also Pavel Zgaga, "Drafting New Curricula in South East Europe", Final Report of the Regional Seminar on Curriculum Renewal, International Bureau of Education, Bohinj/Slovenija, 26–28 April 2002, p. 5 and pp. 7–10.

²¹ Stability Pact: <http://www.stabilitypact.org/education/info.html>

²² Graz Process: <http://www.seerecon.org/press/pr991206.htm>

²³ SAP = Stabilisation and Association Process. This involves Albania, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia and Montenegro. The idea will be explained in greater detail in the following section on the Process members.

adopt a global approach, allowing certain specific problems to be targeted in detail. In line with these objectives, it also adopted two new initiatives concerning the development of local democracy and cross-border cooperation, and reconciliation²⁴.

- In 2003, the Process defined its strategic objectives as (1) to support national education reform efforts with a view to EU integration and (2) to promote regional cooperation at system, expert and civil society level²⁵.
- In 2004, the objectives of the Process reflected those of the previous year and the new approach adopted with the launch of the Education Reform Initiative of South Eastern Europe (ERI SEE)²⁶. This initiative has thus become a fully-fledged, more long-term objective for the years ahead. It is in line with the general objective of the Pact – to promote the modelling of the region’s education systems on those of the EU, with a view to future integration. As the ERI SEE is essentially a project, this initiative will be discussed more fully under 3.2 b) below.

1.3. A major asset: the members

The Process is characterised by the integration and collaboration of a variety of actors, on the model of the Stability Pact. The actors in the latter fall into seven categories: countries of the region, EU member countries, non-EU members which are however G8 countries, other countries, international organisations, international financial institutions, and regional initiatives²⁷. These actors are divided into donors and beneficiaries, with the latter comprising only Romania, Bulgaria, Moldova and the SAP countries. Stabilisation and Association Agreements (SAAs) are signed within the framework of the SAP, another instrument established by the EU (in 1999) to prepare for the integration of the individual countries of South Eastern Europe into European institutions. The SAP group comprises Albania, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia and Montenegro. Although Moldova is not part of the

²⁴ Report on the Meeting of the Task Force on Education and Youth, Zagreb, 25 October 2002, p. 2.

²⁵ Stability Pact: <http://www.stabilitypact.org/education/info.html>

²⁶ The objective of the ERI SEE is to promote the participation of this region in the European Area of Education and the modelling of standards on those of the EU.

²⁷ Stability Pact: <http://www.stabilitypact.org/about/default.asp> Under the Pact, South Eastern Europe is divided – on the basis of the relations already established between individual regions and the EU – into “associated countries” (Hungary, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania) and “non-associated countries/Western Balkans” (Croatia, FYROM, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, and Albania) (see Nebosja Vukadinovic, “Le Pacte de Stabilité pour l’Europe du Sud-Est”, *Annuaire Français des Relations Internationales*, 2000, Vol. 1, p. 257).

South Eastern European region, it has been involved in the Process since 2001, in view of the planned accession of Romania to the EU in 2007, which means that the bloc will then share a border with this country. It should also be noted that not all the actors involved in the Pact have joined the Process, although it would have been possible for them to do so. Thus, although past, present and future European presidencies are supposed to be part of the Process, Ireland, which held the EU presidency in the first half of 2004, is not a member²⁸. Altogether, the Enhanced Graz Process comprises more than 800 actors and institutions, making it the most comprehensive regional and international network in the education and youth field²⁹.

Finally, the commitment of the Council of Europe and the EU is the Process's major – life-giving – asset. Not only have these two institutions supported the project from the outset but they are also closely involved in its implementation.

The EU, which is currently accelerating its enlargement process, created a new generation of Stabilisation and Association Agreements (SAAs) for the five countries of South Eastern Europe which did not yet have any contractual relations with the EU. These agreements are designed, of course, to improve economic, political and social cooperation between these countries and the EU, but also to secure their compliance with European standards and their cooperation in certain areas, such as efforts to combat corruption, organised crime and illegal immigration³⁰. To date, agreements of this kind have only been concluded by the FYROM and Croatia, with the three other countries having yet to make sufficient progress. Bulgaria and Romania, having already signed such agreements in the past, were invited to participate in accession negotiations.

For its part, the Council of Europe is particularly active in the field of education. Recognising that history and history teaching make a significant contribution to the acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes among the future citizens of democratic societies, it initiated a project entitled "Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the

²⁸ The members of the Enhanced Graz Process are: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, FYROM, Moldova, Romania, and Serbia and Montenegro (Kosovo) (beneficiary nations); Austria, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and the US (donor nations); European Commission, Council of Europe, European Training Foundation, OECD, OSCE, Open Society Institute (OSI), UNESCO/CEPES, UNICEF, UNDP, World Bank, and European University Association (EUA) (organisations).

²⁹ http://www.see-educoop.net/graz_2003/index.htm

³⁰ Stability Pact: <http://www.stabilitypact.org/about/default.asp> For this cooperation, the EU has established a new instrument for the regulation of assistance, known as CARDS (Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Democratisation and Stabilisation).

20th century". This involved the production of documents designed to support a reform of the training of history teachers, including a handbook on different ways of teaching 20th-century history³¹. The handbook offers guidance not on what to teach, but on how to teach. This project is, however, coming to an end, and the focus is to be shifted to concentrate exclusively on the Cold War. Finally, up until 2002, the Council of Europe coordinated three of the six Working Groups, including those on "History Teaching" and on "Education for Democratic Citizenship".

The Process thus appropriately combines international and regional management, with priority being accorded first and foremost to the regional level. Accordingly, this process of intellectual cooperation will also have to be evaluated on these two separate levels.

2. Operation and principles

2.1. Operation (see chart in Appendix 1)

The Process, also known as "Education and Youth", was one of the six Task Forces operating under Working Table I ("Democratisation and Human Rights") of the Stability Pact. Comprising about forty members (as mentioned above), the Task Force was responsible for developing strategies and action plans, and for dealing with organisational and procedural matters and financial questions. This Task Force, which met twice a year, was supported by a Technical Committee, a Board for Excellence and six Working Groups.

Operationally, the most important body was the Technical Committee, which prepared the decision-making process for the Task Force and developed general strategies into action plans. This Committee met every two or three months.

The Board for Excellence, for its part, consisted of five eminent authorities in the field of education (three regional and two international). It was to maintain the balance between policy and expertise, and also served as an arbitrator in the screening of projects. The experts met as the need arose. These were the two bodies chiefly responsible for coordinating the activities of the six Working Groups.

³¹ http://www.coe.int/T/E/Cultural_Co-operation/education/History_Teaching/History_in_the_20th_century/

These six groups coordinated and promoted cooperation between international institutions, experts and initiatives from the region, particularly by developing action plans and a range of projects. As described in greater detail below, the various Working Groups were assigned responsibility for the topics defined at the Conference held in Sofia: (a) General Education: Policy Development and System Improvement; (b) History and History Teaching; (c) Higher Education; (d) Vocational Education and Training; (e) Education for Democratic Citizenship and Management of Diversity; and (f) Young People. Each of these six groups was coordinated by an international actor, supported by a regional expert³².

(a) General Education: Policy Development and System Improvement (coordinating institution: OECD)

The objectives of this Working Group included the promotion of educational reform measures and an enhanced flow of information, teacher training, the variety of courses available, and educational management. To this end, the OECD carried out thematic reviews of the education systems and national education policies of most of the countries covered by the Process; these reviews, published in May 2001, can be consulted on the online communication platform of the Process³³. With the aid of these reviews, the countries concerned are in a better position to identify priorities for education reform. The studies of national policies are not conceived as overall analyses of the education system, but focus on a series of questions and areas in need of reform, such as governance of the education system, equity and access to education, pre-school education, and school curricula, as well as teaching methods and materials, the quality of teaching and, finally, vocational education and training. In June 2002, the OECD published a report providing an overview of the problems of education in the countries of South Eastern Europe³⁴. The review concludes that while certain problems are common to all countries of the region (low share of GDP for education, low teacher salaries, child poverty, overloaded curricula, deteriorating material base, etc.), there are no common

³² Graz Process: http://www.see-educoop.net/graz_2003/index.htm

³³ South East European Educational Cooperation Network: <http://www.see-educoop.net> These Thematic Reviews are available for Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, Kosovo, FYROM and Romania. This website and the Thematic Reviews will be discussed at greater length in the second part of this paper, which examines the quick start projects.

³⁴ OECD, CCNM/DEELSA/ED(2001)1/FINAL, "Thematic Review of National Policies for Education – Regional Overview, Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, Table 1 – Task Force on Education", 12 July 2002.

solutions to these problems. It would seem to be difficult to develop a “regional education policy” in view of the diversity existing among and within the systems.

These studies also provided the basis for the “Strategy 2001”, which will be discussed in the second part of this paper.

(b) History and History Teaching (coordinating institution: Council of Europe)

Special attention will be paid to this Working Group since it represents a prerequisite for the process of reconciliation – a process at the very heart of the issue of peace education.

Within societies marked by religious, ethnic and cultural divisions, there is a tendency for the social sciences to be used as a tool for promoting a specific identity at the expense of a collective sense of national identity. The same is true of totalitarian societies, where these sciences become instruments of propaganda for the regime. This is a tendency that needs to be combated, according to the logic of peace education. History is particularly implicated in this process as it is in general the social science that is most readily perverted. It is therefore important to remain vigilant so as to avoid any distortion and maintain “sound history”, i.e. history which gives an accurate account of the facts, while offering various interpretations (leaving students free to form an opinion on the causes and consequences of a given event). As was noted in the final report of the Regional Seminar held in Bohinj, Slovenia (26–28 April 2002): “‘History serves as a collective memory of people that is passed on from one generation to the next.’ As such, it is a key factor in creating a sense of identity among people.”³⁵ Aware of the important role played by this subject, the Working Group aimed to develop cross-border and multilateral initiatives in research and teaching, so as to promote an approach to history involving multiple perspectives, putting an end to national stereotypes.

As regards the South Eastern European region, this work on history involves a critical review of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and of the approach taken to the conflicts of the 1990s and to certain sensitive subjects frequently excluded from textbooks, such as the history of neighbouring countries or ethnic minorities.

At the conference held in Sofia, a number of recommendations were adopted on initiating the key reforms required in this area. The Working Group’s action plan and priorities were defined as follows: (1) the training of history teachers; (2) the development of

teaching resources and in particular of new methodologies, such as the use of comparative approaches, promoting critical analysis; (3) history teaching within higher education; and (4) history teaching in non-formal education³⁶.

To put these recommendations into effect, the Working Group had the support of a Coordinating Committee for History and History Teaching, bringing together various experts and representatives of the ministries concerned, and an Academic Committee of eminent historians, drawn from the "Joint History Project"³⁷. Established as a consultative body, this committee served as an external lobby group, aiming to promote comparative historical perspectives rather than national historiography, economic and social history rather than grand historical accounts, and modern didactic methods rather than directive teaching. The Working Group also set up a Textbook Committee to ensure that history was being presented with a certain objectivity, avoiding stereotypes or prejudices, and promoting reconciliation. Finally, the Working Group established a number of so-called quick start projects³⁸. These projects comprised various activities aimed at producing concrete results, such as the creation of teaching materials in the languages of the region, the training of textbook authors and teachers, and the establishment of networks of young historians. Through these projects, geared to the four priorities mentioned above, the Working Group formed a platform facilitating the exchange of information and expertise on history teaching.

In 2002, this Working Group was identified as one of the Task Force's three priority areas, being of particular importance for the process of reconciliation and democratisation in the region. It is important to highlight here the apologies exchanged by the Serbian and Croatian Presidents in September 2003 for the suffering mutually inflicted on the peoples of the two countries³⁹. This symbolic act, which was required for the nor-

³⁵ "Drafting New Curricula in South East Europe", p. 32. http://www.ibe.unesco.org/Regional/SEE/SEEdpdf/rep_V_3.pdf

³⁶ Second International Conference on South Eastern Europe "Educational Co-operation for Peace, Stability and Democracy", Sofia, November 12–14, 1999, pp. 19–20.

³⁷ This project was originally launched in Thessaloniki in 1997 by the Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe and was taken up again by the Process in October 1999 following a conference entitled "Nouvelles approches de l'histoire et enseignement de l'histoire". For more information on the Joint History Project, see the Second International Conference on South Eastern Europe, op. cit., pp. 66–70. (See also the report by Xavier Bougarel, op. cit., p. 7.)

³⁸ Quick start projects are short-term (approx. 2-year) projects that are designed to be rapidly launched with the aid of private funding.

³⁹ Agence France-Presse, "Belgrade et Zagreb font un nouveau pas vers la normalisation de leurs relations", Le Monde, 11 September 2003.

malisation of relations between the two countries, marks a turning point in the reconciliation process. The gesture came at a relatively early stage, compared with that made by Willy Brandt in Warsaw in 1970, almost 25 years after the end of the Second World War. Although these developments cannot be credited to the Working Group, they demonstrate a readiness on the part of the respective governments, and indicate that the Working Group on History and History Teaching could have an impact in the realisation of this process.

(c) Higher Education (coordinating institution: European University Association)

It is recognised that higher education represents a long-term investment, required for the training of future leaders and experts, the development of a functional civil society, and the promotion of social cohesion⁴⁰. The activities of this Working Group were concerned with new forms of education management, curriculum development, quality assurance, recognition of diplomas, and exchange programmes. During the first phase, the Working Group identified three priority areas: good governance and management of higher education, development of modern teaching and learning content and methods, and post-graduate education. Apart from the goals of combating the brain drain and promoting equal opportunities and participation in social and political life, the Working Group sought to promote the integration of the countries of South Eastern Europe into existing European exchange programmes, such as ERASMUS/SOCRATES, and the participation of the Graz Process in the Bologna Process⁴¹.

(d) Vocational Education and Training (coordinating institution: European Training Foundation)

An effective system of vocational education and training (VET) is an essential requirement for economic reconstruction and the development of civil society. At the conference in Sofia, an action plan to improve VET provision was defined, with four priority areas: training of teachers/trainers, development of participatory management, changing schools into community resource centres, and networking and twinning

⁴⁰ Second International Conference on South Eastern Europe "Educational Co-operation for Peace, Stability and Democracy", Sofia, November 12–14, 1999, p. 21.

⁴¹ Stability Pact: <http://www.stabilitypact.org/education/info.html> The aim of the Bologna Process is to establish a unified Europe Area of Higher Education by 2010.

measures⁴². The activities of this Working Group were aimed at ensuring equality of opportunity in access to training programmes; the development of curricula and schools, extending to adult education; the training of teachers; and the strengthening of collaboration between schools. It should be noted that VET is important for lifelong learning in adults who require retraining, particularly in countries undergoing reconstruction, where the education of many young people had been interrupted.

(e) Education for Democratic Citizenship and Management of Diversity (coordinating institution: Council of Europe)

This Working Group promoted a concept of diversity which extends beyond ethnicity to include aspects of human identity such as nationality, age, gender and religion. This is extremely important for these countries, where there are sizeable minorities and a high degree of religious and ethnic diversity. The Working Group defined four priorities for action: the promotion of education for democratic citizenship in policy development, in schools and in civil society, and (finally) partnerships and cross-border cooperation⁴³. The group's activities were aimed at developing democracy at all levels, eliminating national prejudices and myths, and strengthening a multicultural perspective.

Since 2002, this Working Group has been one of the three priority areas for the Task Force. In the near future, it could well become the subject of renewed interest, as the Council of Europe has proclaimed 2005 "European Year of Citizenship through Education".

(f) Young People (coordinating institution: Council of Europe)

This Working Group was different in that it was dependent on the other groups. As it supported a particular section of the population – young people – it followed that its priorities and activities coincided with those of the other five Working Groups. Its main aim was thus to highlight the vulnerability and importance of children and youth in each of the Working Groups mentioned above, and to stress the need for their participation⁴⁴. It was also to arrange for a body with youth representation to be involved in any meetings on education held within Working Table I, and to take stock of the results of

⁴² Second International Conference on South Eastern Europe "Educational Cooperation for Peace, Stability and Democracy", Sofia, November 12–14, 1999, p. 23.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 26, 27.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 28.

intersectoral meetings. Cross-border activities were also organised, bringing together young people from various countries of the region, as well as campaigns promoting tolerance and international cooperation. This Working Group was another of the three priority areas defined by the Task Force in 2002.

The establishment of these Working Groups made it possible to cover most of the topics that are important to peace education and to better address this issue. Later in this paper, the more specific projects conceived and implemented by these groups will be examined, and the results will be assessed.

It may be noted that the Process did not include any elements specifically concerned with intellectual cooperation in the natural sciences. Nor were any particular efforts devoted to the media or music (although a Media Task Force does exist within Working Table I of the Pact). It would be interesting to know whether the lack of activities relating to the natural sciences represents a gap within the Process or is due simply to the fact that this question is already being addressed by other organisations. Finally, it will not have escaped readers' attention that the past tense has been used in describing the activities of these groups. This is because the structure of the Process has changed since its inception, and these Working Groups ceased to exist in 2002 (see Section 2.3 below).

2.2 Principles

The three principles described below are derived from the objectives of the Process and the Pact. They reflect the underlying vision and the spirit in which the structures that make up the Process are realised.

a) Ownership

The Graz Process does not seek to impose reform plans from above, but to promote the active participation of each individual country in defining problems and solutions, priorities and means of implementation. This is known as the principle of ownership: the beneficiaries of the Process are also the main actors. As stated in the recommendations of the Sofia Conference, this principle is designed to enable local actors to take respon-

sibility for the Process, and in particular for the identification of priorities and the implementation of reforms⁴⁵.

This approach is in line with the mission of the Pact – to serve as an intermediary and mediator in the reconstruction of the region, rather than representing a plan for direct reconstruction measures orchestrated by the major powers and imposed on South Eastern Europe. Thanks to this principle, the Pact and the Process have been very well received in the region, enjoying a credibility and legitimacy that they might perhaps not otherwise have had. Finally, the adoption of this concept means that the Process is developed and implemented by the various countries at their own pace. This observation should be borne in mind in the third part of this study, which is concerned with evaluation of the Process.

b) Active interaction with European institutions

As one of the aims of the Process is to include the region in a European Area of Education, the beneficiary countries are encouraged to play an active part at all meetings of European Education Ministers, and to base their education reforms on the European model.

Recently, this interaction has taken the form of the ERI SEE. Within this framework, the EU Education Ministers in 2002 pledged their support for the Graz Process and for the integration of the countries of South Eastern Europe into the European Area of Education⁴⁶, and the following year a Memorandum of Understanding was signed in Nicosia.

In this Memorandum, a number of Graz Process member countries affirmed that South Eastern Europe was part of the wider European area of education and declared their intention to commit themselves to implementation of various EU initiatives: the “Detailed Work Programme on the Follow-up of the Objectives of Education and Training Systems in Europe”, the Copenhagen Declaration and the objectives of the Bologna Process, as well as ratification of the Council of Europe/UNESCO Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications Concerning Higher Education in the European

⁴⁵ Second International Conference on South Eastern Europe “Educational Cooperation for Peace, Stability and Democracy”, Sofia, November 12–14, 1999, p. 16.

⁴⁶ Final Communiqué of the Sixth Conference of European Ministers of Education on “Education in the New Millennium”, Bratislava, 16–18 June, 2002 (<http://www.stabilitypact.org/education/info.html>).

Region⁴⁷. The Memorandum, subsequently signed by Croatia (at the Third Informal Conference of Ministers of Education of South-East Europe, Istanbul, April 2004) and by Romania (at the Eighth Conference of European Ministers of Education, Oslo, 24/25 June 2004), has now been approved by all the countries of the region, demonstrating their desire to take responsibility for adapting their education systems in line with EU developments in this field. More specifically, this involves, for example, ensuring the rights of minorities and their access to education, and promoting the participation of South Eastern Europe in European exchange programmes such as SOCRATES.

The Pact and the Process are thus seeking to enhance complementarity with the SAP and to promote regional and cross-border cooperation in the field of education.

According to the Special Co-ordinator of the Stability Pact, Erhard Busek, the success of this structure in South Eastern Europe is attributable to the prospect of EU membership: *"The driving force is the European and Euro-atlantic perspective as they manifest themselves towards EU and NATO membership"*⁴⁸.

c) Regional cooperation

In addition to cooperation with European institutions and in accordance with the concept of ownership, regional cooperation represents both the strategy and the fundamental goal of the Process. It is the ideal means of sharing information, accumulated experience and expertise, of promoting partnerships between international, governmental and non-governmental institutions, and of helping countries to learn from one another and to adopt quality reforms. Regional cooperation has a key role to play in eliminating the stereotypes and misperceptions that exist among neighbours, and in creating a climate of good-neighbourliness which should prevent the re-emergence of conflict.

In addition, this principle permits global action in areas where the EU acts on a bilateral basis. This complementarity bodes well for efforts to find solutions to national problems and should facilitate individual reforms while at the same time ensuring a degree of

⁴⁷ Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministers of Education and Higher Education of South Eastern Europe, Cyprus, 2–28 June, 2003 (http://www.see-educoop.net/graz_2003/downloads/04_mou_oslo.pdf).

⁴⁸ Erhard Busek, "Five years of Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe: Achievements and Challenges Ahead", Public Lecture given at the London School of Economics, 8 March 2004 (<http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/speeches/detail.asp?y=2004&p=4>).

homogeneity in the development of the region. Cooperation of this kind is also indispensable for the integration of these countries into the EU. In the field of higher education, for example, a regional university network needs to be established before any other exchanges can take place.

These principles have now become ends in themselves, representing the action plan as well as the philosophy of the Process.

2.3 Recent reorientation of the Process: towards a new structure

The change at the helm of the Stability Pact – with Bodo Hombach being succeeded by Erhard Busek as Special Co-ordinator – has had various consequences for the Process. Whereas Hombach tended to pursue a policy of fund-raising and ambitious projects, Busek emphasises the more political aspects of the Pact, and favours a policy of complementarity with the SAP. Particular importance is attached to Working Table II (Economic Reconstruction), as Busek is concerned about the possible implications of the difficult economic and social situation in the region⁴⁹.

Six priority areas were initially defined, comprising two Task Forces from each Working Table: local democracy and cross-border cooperation, the media, infrastructure, trade and investment, managing and stabilising population movements, and fighting organised crime⁵⁰. These priorities are set for a period of about three years and are to be redefined for 2005. The two new priorities under Working Table I will then be parliamentary cooperation and, secondly, local democracy and cross-border cooperation⁵¹. The latter has been the subject of a Task Force since the Regional Table meeting in Thessaloniki in 2002, which led to changes in the structure of Working Table I. WTI, which at that time comprised seven Task Forces, now has one fewer. In addition to the four which still exist today (“Media”, “Gender Issues”, “Education and Youth” and “Parliamentary Cooperation”), two new Task Forces were established – “Local Democracy and Cross-border Cooperation” and “Reconciling for the Future”. The latter incorporated the former Task

⁴⁹ Speech of the Special Co-ordinator Erhard Busek at the Regional Table, Portoroz, 8 June 2004 (<http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/speeches/detail.asp?y=2004&p=8>).

⁵⁰ Chairman’s Conclusions on the Regional Table, Thessaloniki, 16 December 2002. A year later, the term “core objectives” was used instead of “priorities” (cf. Chairman’s Conclusions on the Regional Table, Tirana, 5 December 2003).

⁵¹ Ibid.

Force on "Human Rights and National Minorities"⁵². The Task Force on "Good Governance" was dissolved, and that on "Refugee Return" was transferred to Working Table III.

These changes also affected the Task Force on Education and Youth, which was not among the six priority areas highlighted by the Pact. Nevertheless, its key role in the development of the region is reaffirmed at every conference and in every document. The establishment of the new Task Force on "Reconciling for the Future" would appear to be of greater importance, as it seems at first sight to involve activities similar to those of the Process, and in particular of the "History/History Teaching" Working Group. It is therefore reasonable to ask whether the Process will be supplanted by this new Task Force or whether it is a case of simple duplication.

In fact, it can probably be said that neither of these suppositions is true. As the six Working Groups of the Education and Youth Task Force ceased to exist in 2002, most of the quick start projects came to an end at that time, as will be seen in the second part of this paper. The newly created Task Force cannot therefore be regarded as duplicating the work of the other Task Force. The reconciliation Task Force was established in 2003 at the suggestion of Elisabeth Rehn, then-Chair of Working Table 1. Based on the conviction that there was a need for increased activity in this area, taking different forms than those pursued by the Process, the idea was to focus on reconciliation efforts with and through youth, culture, ombudsmen in the region, Roma, and on Kosovo⁵³. The work of the new Task Force was to be entrusted to a centre specialising in reconciliation, based in Thessaloniki. As Greece held the presidency of the EU at that time, it is possible that certain political interests were involved in the setting-up of this Task Force. However, whatever motives may have prompted its establishment, cooperation with the centre in Thessaloniki did not proceed as planned, and the Task Force failed to materialise. This explains why no official information on its work has been made avail-

⁵² The restructured Task Forces were first listed on the Stability Pact website in January 2004, although the changes had not been mentioned in any documents. In the Chairman's Conclusions on the Thessaloniki Regional Table meeting (2002), "Local Democracy and Cross-Border Cooperation" was identified as a priority along with other Task Forces, and in the WT I Chairperson's Conclusions on the Tirana meeting (2003) reference was made to the "new Reconciling for the Future Initiative". It should be noted that, as the countries of South Eastern Europe wished to be normalised rather than reconciled, the phrase "reconciling for the future" was adopted instead of the "Reconciliation Initiative" originally proposed (interview with Gerhard Kowar, Co-ordinator of the Enhanced Graz Process, Austrian Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture; Vienna, 17 June 2004).

able to date; it was not even mentioned at the most recent meeting of the Regional Table in Portoroz on 7/8 June 2004. Owing to this failure, the term “reconciliation” was dropped, and the Task Force was transformed *de facto* into a “Dialogue Initiative”, involving three basic approaches: (1) inter-faith dialogue; (2) youth dialogue; and (3) coordination between ombudsmen. However, as the Pact wishes to avoid overhasty changes, this shift has yet to be officially confirmed⁵⁴. The Task Force on “Reconciling for the Future” is thus merely an empty box, which is shortly due to be officially dissolved and replaced by the “Dialogue Initiative”.

This initiative would seem to have been launched outside of the Process, with the activities and projects of the History Working Group being felt not to address the issues in a satisfactory manner⁵⁵. However, it is necessary for this initiative to be included within the Process, since reconciliation is of the essence of peace education. Otherwise, there would be a risk of the Process losing its meaning.

In view of these numerous changes and the completion of the short-term quick start projects in 2002, it was also suggested that the Task Force on Education and Youth should be adapted so as to enhance cohesion and coordination between the various bodies. It has been accepted that a change of focus is required, moving away from the current emphasis on supporting and coordinating education-related projects towards a longer-term approach, as defined by “Strategy 2001” and the ERI SEE⁵⁶. It is understood that with the EU enlargement process and the accession of Hungary and Slovenia in May 2004, the European perspective of the Process is more relevant than ever for the SAP countries. The changes envisaged to date involved the adoption of a new structure, with a rotating co-chairmanship and rotating venues for meetings in the region. The role and consultative function of the Board for Excellence was to be strengthened, and a Consultative Body (including the Technical Committee and thematic fields) was to be established as the main strategic body of the Task Force – in the form of the Working Group set up under “Strategy 2001” on “General Education: Policy Development and System Improvement” – in order to strengthen the systemic approach on the policy

⁵³ Working Table 1 Chairperson’s Conclusions, Tirana, 5 December 2003; Chairman’s Conclusions on the Regional Table, Tirana, 5 December 2003.

⁵⁴ Interview with the Swiss Ambassador Jean-Daniel Biéler, Chair of Working Table I of the Stability Pact (Geneva, 26 June 2004).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Report on the Meeting of the Task Force on Education and Youth, Belgrade, 16 June 2003, p. 5.

level. At this point, no mention was made of the other five Working Groups since they had already ceased to exist as formal structures. They have, however, survived in the form of networks of actors in the region⁵⁷.

In the end, the planned changes were not implemented because the secretariat realised that the members of the Technical Committee and the members of the Board for Excellence delegated by the beneficiary nations were the same people⁵⁸. As the quick start projects had been completed, the six Working Groups no longer existed and conferences were proving unproductive, the only element of the Task Force remaining was the secretariat. It was therefore decided to restructure the Task Force into meetings of state actors and to transfer it to the countries of the region in the form of the structures adopted for the ERI SEE; this is to be done at the beginning of 2005. The Task Force on Education and Youth thus actually disappeared in the autumn of 2004, to be merged into the structures of the ERI SEE⁵⁹.

It may already be concluded that the Process represents an original, complete structure, and one that is commendable, at least in theory. Far from being rigidly bureaucratic, the recent reorientation of the Process demonstrates its capacity to adapt to a changing environment and to refocus in order to better achieve its objectives, while remaining true to its principles.

II. Process activities: the projects

The Task Force distinguishes between short-term projects, known as “quick start”, and longer-term projects, financed by European and international institutions.

3. Quick start projects

Quick start projects, a tool employed by the six Working Groups, were designed – as the name suggests – to be rapidly launched in order to create a basis for cooperation among the countries of South Eastern Europe and to establish relations so as to prevent the re-emergence of conflict. They were intended to initiate cooperation and

⁵⁷ Interview with Gerhard Kowar, Coordinator of the Enhanced Graz Process (Vienna, 17 June 2004). As the projects had been completed, the Working Groups no longer had a *raison d'être*.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

networking, to promote training and the development of skills, and to establish a basis for the elaboration of any major decisions in the region.

3.1. Initial quick start projects (see overview in Appendix 2)

Shortly after the Sofia Conference, around 150 projects in the education field were screened. Although about 100 were selected, funding could only be secured for 44 of these projects at the Regional Funding Conference held in March 2000. It was possible for most of them to be implemented that same year. Two years later, 21 projects had already been or were about to be completed; 22 were being implemented or were in the follow-up phase, such as the projects on the development of history teaching materials and on teacher training. Today, most of the projects have been completed.

An overview of the number and variety of projects undertaken is provided by the Table in Appendix 2. As can be seen, the emphasis was placed on cooperation and the sharing of experiences, particularly through the establishment of networks in each of the various fields – history, tourism, the economy, and youth. Most of the projects sought to foster certain values, such as democracy, and to develop a sense of community. The training of teachers and educators was another key theme of these projects.

The success of two projects in particular should be noted: the OECD reviews mentioned in 2.1 (a) above and the online communication platform (SEE ECN). The OECD reviews have themselves formed the basis of other projects, including “Strategy 2001”, which has been of major importance in the targeting of reforms to be implemented in South Eastern Europe. The online platform has played a major role in the circulation of information within the region. The aim was to establish a database to facilitate the dissemination of information on the development of education and education systems in the region, to promote and democratise discussions of expertise and the analysis of these systems, and to strengthen the participation of the countries concerned so as to enhance local ownership of the Process. This database is today relatively complete and up to date; a wide range of information is available on the website, including an explanation of each country’s education system, the OECD Thematic Reviews, new education laws or bills, and various reports. As well as facilitating contacts with education specialists or ministries, the platform enables donors to communicate rapidly at the regional level and to provide or find the information required for the development of pro-

grammes. This project also reduces the number of costly and not always effective meetings. Above all, it promotes East-East cooperation and technical assistance, which is often more appropriate than West-East cooperation and technical assistance.

Carrying out these projects was, however, no easy matter, mainly on account of political and financial difficulties. As there was a lack of continuity due to political instability and frequent changes of government, the project managers and the Task Force were repeatedly forced to resume their communication and awareness-raising efforts with new partners. In certain projects, the participation of (regional or other) experts was impeded by a refusal to grant visas. In some cases, it was even impossible to bring in teachers from abroad. It was then necessary to change the teams, as in the case of the project "Education for Coexistence with Differences in Montenegro". The political situation in Macedonia from 2000 to 2002 also posed numerous problems. A series of major procedural delays ensued, which the donors had difficulty in understanding. It proved very difficult to obtain precise figures for project budgets. However, they appear to add up to a total budget of around €17 million⁶⁰, a figure which is relatively low compared with the budget of €4.6 billion allocated to Working Table II (Economic Reconstruction) for the same period⁶¹.

The development of certain projects was hampered by a general lack of confidence in NGOs, fear of adverse consequences ("Children, Theatre, Education" and "Street Stories" projects), and concerns about data anonymity ("Coping with Corruption" project)⁶². For the OECD reviews and other research projects, it was difficult to obtain reliable information because numerous archives had been destroyed and population structures had changed as a result of huge migrations⁶³. Finally, the low level of development is a serious obstacle, which might perhaps justify the priority accorded to Working Table II. It may well be asked what is the point of developing an online communication platform if there are no computers or only poor connections to access it.

⁶⁰ Interview with Heidrun Schultze, Head of the Task Force Office, KulturKontakt Austria (Vienna, 17 June 2004).

⁶¹ Patrick Simon, "Du Pacte de Stabilité pour l'Europe du Sud-Est au Processus de stabilisation et d'association", Institut de documentation et recherche sur la paix, January 2004, p. 2 (<http://www.paixbalkans.org/contributions/psese%20et%20psa%20balkans%202004.pdf>). It would appear that of the €6.6 billion obtained at the first conference of donors (Brussels, March 2000), €4.6 billion was allocated to Working Table II. Of the same total obtained at the second conference of donors (Budapest, October 2001), €4.8 billion was allocated to WT II.

⁶² Task Force Education and Youth, Progress Report, Quick Start Projects, December 2001, p. 20.

⁶³ "Drafting New Curricula in South East Europe", Final Report of the Regional Seminar on Curriculum Renewal, International Bureau of Education, Bohinj/Slovenia, 26–28 April 2002, p. 5.

In spite of all these difficulties, it proved possible to implement the projects. Overall, they seem to represent a major success, as will be seen from the evaluation in Section 5.1 below.

Most of the quick start projects came to an end in 2002, as is apparent from the Table in Appendix 2. It was then decided, as mentioned above (cf. 2.3), that there should be greater involvement at the systemic level. However, under pressure from the Pact, the Process nonetheless launched a new series of “priority projects”, which in Gerhard Kowar’s view was a mistake⁶⁴. It would indeed appear that the lack of donor support noted in connection with the quick start projects made it impossible for a further series to be launched.

3.2. Priority projects (see overview in Appendix 3)

In June 2002, a second series of projects was finalised. This focused solely on three Working Groups: History and History Teaching, Young People, and Education for Democratic Citizenship. The groups chosen thus represent priorities for the Process. Of a total of 65 projects presented, 27 were approved and only 14 were allocated the funds required for their implementation⁶⁵.

As can be seen from the Table in Appendix 3, the projects proposed by the Working Group on Education for Democratic Citizenship/Management of Diversity can be classified into three different types of approach. Some of the projects focus on evaluation and quality assurance at the systemic level through the establishment of close links with policymakers in particular; others are concerned with supporting and developing local projects through the development of evaluation tools; the projects in the third category emphasise the importance of the direct involvement and networking of teachers and young people.

⁶⁴ Interview with Gerhard Kowar, Coordinator of the Enhanced Graz Process (Vienna, 17 June 2004).

⁶⁵ According to KulturKontakt, only 11 projects were allocated funds for their implementation (Interview with Heidrun Schultze, Head of the Task Force Office, KulturKontakt Austria, Vienna, 17 June 2004). However, as some projects were carried on – or rather delayed – into the second phase, a total of 14 projects could actually be implemented.

Some of the projects of the Working Group on Young People represent innovative contributions to tolerance education. Others are concerned with capacity building in the youth NGO sector and the establishment of cross-border networks.

As regards the Working Group on History, the experience gained with the quick start projects made it possible to define priorities for action. The priority projects thus focus on the training of curriculum planners and history textbook authors, the importance of tackling sensitive historical issues, teacher training on the handling of these issues, and the establishment of resource centres for teachers.

The projects presented are original and interesting, and it is regrettable that no funding could be found for their implementation, particularly since in certain cases the projects were designed to follow up quick start projects. Others were based on earlier research, particularly in history, or on existing projects, such as "Open Fun Football Schools" or "European Human Bridges 2002: Disability and Sport". As most of the projects that were endorsed are currently being implemented, and responses have generally not been forthcoming from the coordinators who were contacted, no or only limited information is available on the results of these projects.

Among the latest series of projects, two will be highlighted, classified as "other priority projects". These are the South East European Educational Cooperation Network (SEE ECN), a quick start project which was extended, and a new OECD project entitled "Education Development for Disabled and at Risk Students". Based on previous research such as the OECD Thematic Reviews, this new project is designed to initiate educational reforms to improve provision for students with disabilities or other special needs. The project is thus essentially systemic in scope and complementary to "Strategy 2001". Finally, the second series also includes *de facto* quick start projects that were delayed or not completed.

4. Longer-term projects

4.1. "Strategy 2001"

Under this strategy, various activities are to be organised on the subject of education policy reform, based on the Thematic Reviews carried out by the OECD. These reviews, undertaken systematically for each of the countries concerned, focused on education

systems and policies and thus serve as a starting point, enabling these countries to define priorities for reforms in the field of education, to strengthen regional cooperation and sharing of experiences, and to promote expertise, as well as facilitating the choice of funding options for implementation while encouraging dialogue between actors and donors. A Working Group on Policy Development and System Improvement was established to support this global approach to education. This body works together with the other five Working Groups and in consultation with the local authorities, acting as a catalyst for strategic development.

“Strategy 2001” involves three main areas of activity, the first of which is the online platform of the Process (SEE ECN). Originally a quick start project, this platform supports substantial exchanges of information, including the publication of the OECD Thematic Reviews. To this extent, it represents the cornerstone of the Strategy. The other two activities comprise the organisation of regular meetings on specific topics and for individual countries.

The first thematic meeting, on “Drafting Education Legislation”, was held in September 2001, and the second, on “Drafting New Curricula”, in April 2002. The latter meeting, organised in cooperation with the International Bureau of Education (IBE) and focusing on the reform of school curricula, was greatly appreciated by the participants for the exchange of information and the comparison of methods and materials used, although in certain cases they would have wished to receive more specific directions and instructions on how to resolve their particular problems⁶⁶. In March 2003 a seminar was organised in Belgrade for inspectors of schools in South Eastern Europe, and in February 2004 a seminar on “Decentralization in Education” was held in Bucharest. This meeting of experts also fits into the framework of the ERI SEE project⁶⁷.

National conferences play a major role in enabling countries to reflect individually on the changes to be made and the methods to be adopted, and also in promoting internal dialogue, especially with the educational institutions and experts of the country concerned. To date, six conferences of this kind have been organised in the region, and a final one is due to take place shortly in Macedonia. These meetings have facilitated in particular the identification of priorities for government action. Two of these confer-

⁶⁶ “Drafting New Curricula in South East Europe”, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁶⁷ Progress Report, Task Force Education and Youth: January–June 2004.

ences have been held in Serbia, each corresponding to a different series of reforms⁶⁸. It is not clear whether the earlier series of reforms have been superseded or whether they are to be implemented concurrently. Although the latter option would be preferable, the former is more realistic. In Croatia, a conference held in Zagreb in May 2002 was organised around six priorities for reform⁶⁹. In Montenegro, four priority areas were identified at a conference that took place in 2002⁷⁰. Other reforms are also planned by the Ministry of Education and Science, but these would require foreign investment⁷¹. At a conference held in Kosovo in June 2002, six priorities were defined for this province⁷². No information is available to date on the conference that took place in Moldova on 14–15 June 2004.

What was achieved at each individual conference depended on the participating countries' interest in undertaking reforms in this area, and particularly on their goodwill in communicating their plans to the interested parties⁷³. Accordingly, the conferences organised in Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia were to prove more successful because of the involvement of the respective governments and the presence of numerous teachers and school managers. By contrast, the recent conference in Moldova brought together primarily members of the Task Force and very few Moldovan participants; the latter seemed to be kept away by the government. It should be noted that conferences of this type have not been held either in Bulgaria or in Romania in view of their status as accession countries. Albania, for its part, has declined to organise such a meeting.

Following the identification of priorities for the reform process, various projects were planned, indicating that the conferences are not merely talking shops but actually bear fruit. Thus, a "National Strategy for Prevention of Violence in Schools" was introduced in Croatia, with the establishment of regional committees comprising local representa-

⁶⁸Republic of Serbia Ministry of Education and Sports, "Education Reform in the Republic of Serbia: Quality Education For All: A Way Toward A Developed Society, Strategy and Action Plan", Conference Report, Belgrade, 16–17 January 2002 (http://www.see-educoop.net/graz_2003/index.htm); Republic of Serbia Ministry of Education and Sports, "Education Reform in the Republic of Serbia: The First Steps and Forthcoming Challenges", Report, Belgrade, 5–7 September 2002 (http://www.see-educoop.net/graz_2003/downloads/Final_REPORT.pdf);

⁶⁹Pasi Sahlberg, "Changing Croatian Education System as a Part of Stabilisation and Association Process", International Conference on Education, Final Conclusions, Zagreb, 24–25 May 2002.

⁷⁰Task Force Education and Youth, Strategic Framework and Work Plan 2003, November 2002, pp. 8, 9.

⁷¹Republic of Montenegro Ministry of Education and Science, "Educational Reform in Montenegro", April 2003.

⁷²Task Force Education and Youth, Strategic Framework and Work Plan 2003, November 2002, pp. 9, 10.

⁷³Interview with Gerhard Kowar, Coordinator of the Enhanced Graz Process (Vienna, 17 June 2004).

tives of the education system, parents, and representatives of the social, health and police services, and of schools and community centres⁷⁴. Another national strategy addresses the education of Roma children, with a programme enabling Roma teaching assistants to work part-time in schools and the rest of the time within the Roma community. In Montenegro, a strategic document entitled "Book of Changes" was published in 2001, outlining the vision for a new education system. New laws on education for the various levels of the system have apparently been submitted to parliament, and a Council for Changes in Education was to be established in 2003. New history books were published, and a Roma education initiative was launched⁷⁵. Catch-up programmes were developed for migrants whose education had been interrupted in Kosovo. Finally, various decentralisation projects were planned in Serbia.

However, in spite of the definition of these projects and strategies, the success of the conferences should probably be assessed in the light of the legislative reforms actually introduced in the field of education by the governments concerned, and in terms of the extent to which they have been implemented in schools and training institutions of various kinds. Most of the points identified as priorities primarily concern legislative changes. These reforms could be evaluated on the basis of the recommendations made in the studies published by the Centre for Educational Policy Studies (CEPS) in 2000/2001 as part of a project supporting the Thematic Reviews carried out by the OECD in South Eastern Europe. No studies of legal developments have been undertaken by the Task Force, and unfortunately it is not possible to carry out such research within the framework of the present study.

New laws on general education were apparently approved in Serbia following the above-mentioned conferences, but the law on higher education was not passed, owing to the fall of the Kostunica government. In Kosovo, new laws have been adopted in both areas, but they do not seem to have been genuinely applied. Macedonia appears to have acceptable laws and is working on improvements. New laws on higher education have also been adopted in Albania, Croatia and Montenegro⁷⁶. In Bosnia, the adoption of an eagerly awaited law on universities was prevented by Croat deputies, who considered it a threat to their community's interests⁷⁷.

⁷⁴ Task Force Education and Youth, Strategic Framework and Work Plan 2003, November 2002, pp. 5, 6.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9.

⁷⁶ Interview with Lewis Purser, European University Association, Coordinator of the Working Group on Higher Education of the Graz Process (1 July 2004).

⁷⁷ Elmira Bayrasli, "Bosnia's Education Law Fiasco", Balkan Crisis Report no. 498 (IWPR), 20 May 2004.

This topic deserves to be researched in greater depth, to provide a follow-up and satisfactory conclusion to "Strategy 2001". The results of the research and an up-to-date database on the signing and ratification of key education agreements could be maintained on the SEE ECN site.

The organisation of thematic or national conferences is nonetheless of major importance as they promote the sharing of information and practical experiences at the regional and national level. Cooperation and dialogue are thereby enhanced, encouraging reflection on the delicate question of implementing reforms. As Sahlberg rightly underlines in his report, although there are no international curriculum models, some common principles exist. The exchange of experiences may be helpful and provide guidance, particularly among countries sharing a common heritage and political and social experience. Finally, the conferences stimulate competition among the countries of the region, offering the potential to speed up the process of reform and democratisation of their education systems.

Still relevant today, "Strategy 2001" has become the focus of the Task Force's efforts to promote the long-term development of the education systems.

4.2. Education Reform Initiative of South Eastern Europe (ERI SEE)

This initiative, already mentioned several times above, was adopted in Vienna in December 2002 at a meeting of Senior Officials of Ministries of Education from South Eastern Europe, following their deliberations on the EU programme. The aim of the ERI SEE, which subsequently replaced the Working Groups, is, in particular, to promote the participation of the region in the European Area of Education and the modelling of these countries' standards on those of the EU, as defined both in the "Detailed Work Programme on the Follow-up of the Objectives of Education and Training Systems in Europe" and in the Bologna and Copenhagen Processes. The initiative is thus designed to serve as an interface between the education reforms undertaken in South Eastern Europe and EU developments. To this extent, it is in line with the objectives of the Pact defined in 2003 and endorsed by the Process.

The ERI SEE Action Plan was adopted on the basis of the recommendations made by the Education Ministers of South Eastern Europe (Vienna 2002 and Predeal 2003). It comprises nine priority areas⁷⁸:

- (1) Adjustment and review of existing national legal frameworks in line with ongoing European developments and national reform priorities;
- (2) Decentralisation of education management and administration, with a focus on quality enhancement and accountability;
- (3) Development of education management information systems and quality assurance mechanisms;
- (4) Curriculum reform in line with European trends and developments;
- (5) Widening access to quality education for all, including national minorities (especially Roma communities) and other disadvantaged groups;
- (6) Promotion of education for democratic citizenship in both formal and non-formal education programmes;
- (7) Ensuring access to, and effective use of, Information and Communication Technology (ICT);
- (8) Development of opportunities for lifelong learning as a key means to stimulate economic regeneration in the region;
- (9) Vocational Education and Training (VET), especially establishing links between education and the labour market.

These priorities reflect not only the region's main needs but also the three strategic objectives defined in the "Detailed Work Programme on the Follow-up of the Objectives of Education and Training Systems in Europe"⁷⁹, as well as the Bologna and Copenhagen Processes. The Education Ministers of the region also underlined the importance of securing sufficient funding for sustainable educational development; ensuring general public support for education reform; developing improved channels for

⁷⁸ Second Working Meeting of Senior Officials from South Eastern Europe, Predeal/Romania, 29–31 May, 2003; Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministers of Education and Higher Education of South Eastern Europe, Cyprus, 2–28 June, 2003 (http://www.see-educoop.net/graz_2003/downloads/04_mou_oslo.pdf).

⁷⁹ Ibid. The three strategic objectives are as follows: improving the quality and effectiveness of education and training systems, facilitating the access of all to education and training systems, and opening up education and training systems to the wider world. Among the nine priorities defined in the ERI SEE Action Plan, priorities 1–4 and 9 reflect the first strategic objective, priorities 5–7 and 9 the second, and priorities 8 and 9 the third. For more information on EU education policies, see http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/policies/2010/et_2010_en.html

communication between institutions and governments both within the countries of the region, and at European and international level; and developing human resources and institutional capacity so as to ensure the development of quality education provision in the South Eastern European region.

To facilitate implementation of the Action Plan, various instruments were envisaged, including, firstly, the organisation of regular (twice-yearly) meetings of Education Ministers from the region and other European countries. These are to serve as a forum for sharing of experiences in the implementation of reforms, fostering support partnerships, discussing issues of regional concern and formulating recommendations on reforms. The second instrument envisaged was the provision of support for South Eastern European countries by international organisations and institutions, which are to review achievements and provide recommendations. The third instrument consists of capacity building in key areas of educational reform. To this end, a forum has been established comprising experts from Education Ministries in South Eastern Europe and the EU, to serve as an informal Consultative Body for the Stabilisation and Association Process and the accession countries, and to support national reforms in specific areas. To date, expert seminars have been held on the subject of decentralisation, teacher training, ICT, and most recently (May 2004) on lifelong learning⁸⁰. The OECD project on "Education Development for Disabled and at Risk Students" also offers expert guidance on aligning educational reforms in South Eastern Europe with European standards. The fourth instrument envisaged for the implementation of the ERI SEE is support through existing networks such as the SEE ECN, which represents an "information backbone". Another instrument envisaged was the development of institutional and academic partnerships to facilitate the exchange of information and experiences. The last instrument mentioned was the establishment of a regional secretariat.

The ERI SEE is thus based on the "open method of coordination", i.e. a decentralised approach designed to help participants gradually to develop their own education policies, with evaluation scheduled for 2010, the date by which the Bologna Process is to have been completed.

⁸⁰ It may be noted in this connection that in October 2003 the Education Ministers of all the countries of South Eastern Europe signed a Declaration on "Lifelong Learning, Adult Education and Employability" as a follow-up to the Memorandum of Understanding signed in Nicosia. The Eighth Conference of European Ministers of Education (June 2004) was also devoted to this topic: "Lifelong Learning: from Rhetoric to Reality".

Finally, in accordance with the principle of ownership, the ERI SEE is no longer the education reform initiative *for* but *of* South Eastern Europe, and coordination of the initiative has recently been transferred to the region, with the establishment of a regional secretariat in Zagreb. The entire organisational structure of the ERI SEE should shortly be in place. This consists of a Governing Board, with representatives of each signatory to the Memorandum of Understanding and a representative of the Task Force; a Consultative Body, including representatives of the coordinating institutions for the six Working Groups and of donor countries and institutions contributing to the implementation of the initiative, together with education experts; and the regional Secretariat. As mentioned in Section 2.3 above, this structure is to replace the original structure of the Task Force on Education and Youth.

4.3. The South East European Education Co-operation Centre

This project, proposed by the European Commission, has not progressed beyond the feasibility study stage, although it was initiated at the Sofia Conference in November 1999⁸¹. The South East European Education Co-operation Centre (SEE-ECC) would serve as a clearing house for the exchange of information, coordination and the creation of networks involving existing regional initiatives and other European partners, and would also be a centre for cooperation among various educational institutions. This centre would thus be a practical version of the “virtual” communication platform. While the success of the online platform certainly bodes well for the future of the centre should it ultimately be established, nothing concrete has been realised since the idea was launched.

Today, little remains of the structure of the Process. The two series of quick start projects have been completed. While certain projects may still be ongoing, they are being pursued on an individual basis, without any intermediary or follow-up efforts on the part of the Process. It is surprising that no follow-up has been planned. One of the reasons for this deficiency would appear to be the lack of information available to the Task Force: the project coordinators are reluctant to provide this data since the Process is

⁸¹ Second International Conference on South Eastern Europe “Educational Co-operation for Peace, Stability and Democracy”, Sofia, 12–14 November 1999, pp. 174, 175.

no longer acting as an intermediary between participants and donors⁸². There is every reason to believe that only the online communication platform (SEE ECN) and the OECD project will be continued, being integrated in some form or other into the ERI SEE. This is because the former plays an important role in the circulation of education-related information in the region, and the latter contributes to the achievement of ERI SEE objectives by promoting the implementation of education reforms. As regards the cooperation centre, it seems most unlikely that this idea will be realised, as the Process is being refocused to concentrate solely on the ERI SEE. "Strategy 2001" is now coming to an end, with the final meeting due to take place at the evaluation conference to be held on 27–29 January 2005. The new ERI SEE, which seems to represent a continuation of the strategy, is thus the only initiative surviving from the original structure. It is becoming the core of the Task Force, if not the Task Force itself. The Process thus appears to have entered its final phase.

III. Towards an evaluation of the Process

Self-evaluation and follow-up would appear to be the weak points of the Process. Surprisingly enough, although the phase of quick start projects and Working Groups was completed in 2002, no concluding review or evaluation has been prepared. Equally, as was underlined above, there is no close monitoring of the legislative reforms being undertaken in the countries of South Eastern Europe. An evaluation process would, however, be required to gain an insight into what has been achieved, so that plans for the future can be improved on the basis of past successes and mistakes, and, in particular, to confirm the validity of an initiative of this kind. It will therefore be interesting to observe the outcome of the evaluation conference to be held on 27–29 January 2005, entitled "Governance and Education for Sustainable Development and European Integration". In the meantime, an initial assessment of the Process will be attempted here.

5. Evaluation by results

According to the criteria specified by the League of Nations in 1931, intellectual cooperation should be defined in terms of its results. An attempt therefore needs to be made

⁸² Interview with Heidrun Schultze, a member of KulturKontakt Austria (Vienna, 17 January 2004).

to evaluate the Process on the basis of the results of its activities. As the long-term projects are still being implemented and would require an in-depth legal analysis of the reforms, only the initial quick start projects will be considered, the information available on the subsequent priority projects being inadequate to permit any judgment.

5.1. Assessment of the initial quick start projects

It is no easy matter to undertake a full evaluation of these projects, given the lack of precise and up-to-date information. An attempt was made to contact all of the project coordinators, but although some of them replied, it was difficult to obtain the information required. Some of the partners contacted were particularly reluctant to provide data on funding, considering this to be irrelevant to our research. However, this data would certainly be useful in indicating the amounts involved and permitting comparisons. Overall, many failed to respond because for them the projects were already forgotten, and only the coordinators of projects that are still running were in a position to provide information. The Task Force, for its part, only publishes an Activity Report at irregular intervals and also lacks recent data or complete reports on the projects. As already explained, it also seems to find it difficult to obtain information on this subject, as donors are unwilling to share such data⁸³.

While the Process defined selection criteria for the quick start projects, it lacks proper criteria for their evaluation. This deficiency within the Process would appear to be due to the fact that the projects were launched too rapidly, without anticipating requirements and possible difficulties, or clearly defining the objectives pursued⁸⁴.

Since any evaluation should be performed in the light of the objectives and principles of the Process, four evaluation criteria have been chosen, based on these aspects and on the selection criteria:

1. *Regionalism*: Did the project focus on the South Eastern European region? Was there a cross-border element? Did it promote regional cooperation in South Eastern Europe?

⁸³ Interview with Heidrun Schultze, Head of the Task Force Office, KulturKontakt Austria (Vienna, 17 January 2004).

⁸⁴ Interview with Marino Ostini, (Swiss) State Secretariat for Education and Research (Berne, 9 July 2004).

2. *Ownership*: Did the project promote regional ownership of the peace education concept? Was the project carried out by regional actors or by Western Europe?
3. *Communication*: Did the project promote the establishment of networks and/or forums? Did it foster intercultural dialogue and the dissemination of information? Did the project function as a model?
4. *Impact*: Did the project serve to promote the values of the relevant Working Group? Did it have an impact on the system and the reform process? Did it further the integration of South Eastern Europe into the EU? Did it promote peace education?

These criteria make no claim to exhaustiveness. Although considerable scope was left for individual projects when the objectives of the Process were defined, these four points would nonetheless appear to encapsulate the original idea and the desired results. We shall now consider to what extent the projects satisfied or failed to satisfy these criteria. In the interests of digestibility, the projects will be evaluated collectively according to each criterion.

With regard to the first criterion, *regionalism*, it is notable that nine projects involved only one country. The activities envisaged were in a national rather than a cross-border setting. Consequently, they could not promote regional cooperation, even though they generally met the other three evaluation criteria. In these cases, a national approach was the preferred way of addressing a specific problem. Although this is not disturbing in itself – as the projects reflect the theme of the Working Group – it is surprising, given that the Process adopted a strictly regional approach in contrast to the bilateralism of the EU. Nor does regional cooperation appear to be a prominent feature of certain projects, even though they were concerned with various countries of South Eastern Europe. This is particularly true of research projects such as “Stocktaking Research”, “The Right to Education of Roma Children” and the OECD Thematic Reviews.

The second criterion, *ownership*, is more difficult to evaluate. If one considers the implementing agencies, the predominance of international organisations and Western research institutes is obvious. This is not automatically undesirable, as these bodies can bring their experience and knowledge to bear on the region. However, this would need to be done on a partnership basis to enable the region’s institutes and organisations

gradually to become independent. It is also important that ownership should be granted to the population as a whole, rather than merely to elite groups. In the case of the “youthNET” project, for example, the organisers noted that the partners in the region were privileged groups, young elites in the country concerned⁸⁵. The situation is very likely to have been the same for most of the quick start projects organised by Western civil society in the region, simply as a result of the language barrier. However, there is certainly also a positive side to this, as these young elites are destined to fulfil leadership functions in later life. As in the case of youthNET, they can, in turn, also use their knowledge and the funding provided to organise projects of the same kind within their community.

Training of teachers and regional institutions may enable regional actors to make the ideals of the Process their own, and to implement them in turn in their particular specialised field. This training is particularly important for teachers, as they are the ones who will pass on a message to young people. Fortunately, numerous projects involved the promotion of teacher training. Ideally, however, such training should be continuous, which would require a structure different to that of the short-term quick start projects.

By contrast, the criterion of *communication* was fairly well fulfilled by the majority of the projects. Numerous networks were established which have continued to operate despite the termination of the six Working Groups and the projects. This highly positive development indicates a desire for dialogue and cooperation among the parties concerned. At a different level, the information backbone provided by the online communication platform also represents a great success. In the same category, the research and stock-taking studies are a major success, serving as a springboard for the implementation of other projects based on these findings.

The final evaluation criterion, the *impact* of projects, is also problematic – firstly because any impact is difficult to detect in the short term, but also because it is not easy to distinguish between effects that may be attributed to the projects and what are more likely to be the results of the carrot-and-stick policy of the EU. This is particularly true as far as reforms are concerned. In the higher education field, for example, it will be noted that all the countries of the region are members of the Bologna Process, which means

⁸⁵ Interview with Gerhard Mosshammer, a member of Interkulturelles Zentrum (Vienna, 21 June 2004).

that they are committed to reforming their university systems in line with EU developments by 2010. The only project that can claim to have had a real impact or influence on the region's systems is the OECD Thematic Reviews. However, it can be said that all the projects helped to raise awareness in the particular areas represented by the various Working Groups, and thus to promote peace education. In this sense, each project certainly had an impact on the participants, which is just as important as changes at system level.

Although the tensions between nations have not disappeared, there has been a dawning of awareness in the region, and overall these populations are now moving towards peaceful coexistence. It will certainly take one or more generations for this peaceful coexistence to come naturally, but the first step in this direction has been taken. However, before this statement can be generalised to all the countries of the region, the political status and structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of Kosovo will need to be clarified. Otherwise, any peace education efforts will amount to building on sand.

There seems to have been a lack of meaningful cooperation between the Working Groups and between individual projects, which is unfortunate, even if cooperation is not one of the evaluation criteria. Thus, Gerhard Mosshammer, the manager of the "youthNET" project, had never heard of the "East Youth Net" initiative (a priority project) although there are strong similarities between the two projects⁸⁶. The same observation was made in an evaluation by Ostini and Bal of the Working Group on EDC and Management of Diversity⁸⁷. This is regrettable, as the Working Groups all shared the same objective. Sharing of experiences and ideas, and communicating beyond the level of mere information, could have been interesting and fruitful.

This assessment is a harsh one, claiming as it does that most of the projects failed to meet one or another of the proposed evaluation criteria. This could be due to the fact that few of the projects were "true" quick start projects, i.e. projects capable of promoting fulfilment of these criteria in the short term. Broadly speaking, the projects can

⁸⁶ Ibid. This was the first time he had seen a tabular overview of the projects undertaken within the Process framework.

⁸⁷ Working Group on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Management of Diversity, Monitoring Report on Quick Start Projects promoted within the Stability Pact (Marino Ostini and Lucinia Bal), December 2001, pp. 34, 35.

be assigned to three different categories: (1) “artificial” projects, which would have existed without the Process; (2) communication, awareness-raising, or research projects, including all those that involved conferences, seminars and stocktaking; and (3) quick start projects that are not truly short-term.

Certain projects, such as the “Regional University Network in Governance and Management of Higher Education” or “Education Development for Disabled and at Risk Students” rather than being genuinely short-term projects were designed to produce profound changes at system level, and thus required time. The term “artificial projects” was suggested by the Coordinator of the Working Group on Higher Education, Lewis Purser, who believes that many of the projects undertaken within the Process would have been implemented in any case, with or without the Process⁸⁸. Peace education is certainly an area where time is a prime requirement, and where it is difficult for results to be achieved in the short term. In fact, the quick start projects could only be very small-scale, concrete projects, requiring minimal resources (as donors proved reluctant to invest in this area). The only remaining option was to support projects that already existed and/or would have been implemented anyway, such as “Skomrahi” or “Open Fun Football Schools”, among others.

This classification and the fact that the projects do not seem actually to correspond to their definition should not, however, detract from their success. As mentioned above, these projects have been valuable in establishing numerous networks and in improving certain perceptions and relations between young people and qualified personnel, and among various communities, which represents a first step towards the elimination of stereotypes. Some of the projects became models for cross-border cooperation, and, in particular, facilitated the identification of partners for cooperation⁸⁹. It is also important to bear in mind that the implementation of these projects was not always easy (cf. 3.1. above). The project managers first had to start by adapting to the context and bringing the project plans into line with reality before the target groups could be identified. They subsequently had to cope with continual changes of actors, partners and budgets, to overcome problems of communication with donors and obstacles to travel within the

⁸⁸ Interview with Lewis Purser, Coordinator of the Working Group on Higher Education of the Graz Process (1 July 2004).

⁸⁹ Working Group on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Management of Diversity, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 35.

region, and to develop plans for the follow-up phase without knowing to what extent support would be granted⁹⁰. It may be noted here that the Working Group on Young People encountered particular problems of communication since no ministry or department for youth exists in Bosnia and Herzegovina⁹¹. As regards the Working Group on History and History Teaching, the projects would appear to have been too short for truly satisfactory results to be obtained. Reconciliation – as is also the case with reforms, if they are expected to be just and lasting – needs time. Here, therefore, there is perhaps a need for a different approach and measures other than those offered by the quick start projects. Finally, it should not be forgotten that these projects were implemented in an unfavourable political climate, with Milošević remaining in power until September 2000, and conflict persisting in Macedonia from 2000 to 2002.

The fact that the Process has focused on the strategic ERI SEE over the past two years is certainly appropriate in view of Europe's political development. This is also in line with the two fundamental approaches recommended by Mayoux to promote rapprochement between peoples, namely language teaching and the revision of school textbooks⁹². The reforms now under way in most of the countries of South Eastern Europe are, however, major undertakings prompted more particularly by pressure exerted by the EU countries. The Graz Process can support these reforms through projects facilitating access to information and cooperation, such as those already undertaken, but the issue of peace education goes beyond reforms. The discontinuation of quick start projects that facilitate awareness-raising among the public is therefore to be regretted. Such projects could also support the Dialogue Initiative, which is particularly concerned with reconciliation work. These efforts, aimed at changing mentalities, can only come to fruition through concrete and preferably local projects, such as those involving football schools or the network of students' associations. In the light of the experience gained from the two series of projects (although little information is available on the priority projects), the quick start projects should not be abandoned, but efforts should be made to exploit their potential with a new basis for action and evaluation.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Rüdiger Teutsch, Gerhard Mosshammer, "European Youth, School & Community Network", Interim Report, Interkulturelles Zentrum, 31 December 2003.

⁹² Mayoux, *op. cit.*, p. 549.

Rather than concentrating solely on the ERI SEE, the Process should therefore consider how the Dialogue Initiative could be integrated and developed with the aid of well-defined quick start projects.

5.2. Brief evaluation of a Working Group

In the view of the Coordinator of the Working Group on Higher Education, the work of this group was satisfactory and the results of the projects undertaken were favourable, given the progress made in the field of higher education today⁹³. Cooperation was excellent and the group managed to ensure that its benchmarks were the same as those of the ongoing Bologna Process. While the projects were based on good ideas, the coordinators had great difficulty in implementing them owing to a lack of funds, as education did not represent a priority for the donor community or the international community. The funding problem gave rise to serious delays in the implementation of projects, some of which, such as the "Regional University Network in Governance and Management of Higher Education", could have had more impact had they been implemented earlier. The previous Serbian and Croatian governments, for example, were more open to reforms than those currently in power. Thus, when the law on the reform of higher education had been prepared in Serbia, it was not passed owing to the intervening change of government. The situation is the same in Croatia, where a reform law was approved in 2003 but could not be implemented following changes in the administration in September 2004. There was even some question of the new government revoking this law⁹⁴. Thus, while these two countries have made great progress in this area, movement in this direction is unfortunately no longer continuing, owing to political difficulties. It is, however, most encouraging to see that the universities responded by drawing up strategic reform plans. The consensus among these institutions developed into a sound basis for action. The universities have thus succeeded in securing increases in the budgets allocated to education and research, and all the countries in the region have signed up to the Bologna Process, under which they are committed to submitting regular reports on the situation.

⁹³ Interview with Lewis Purser (1 July 2004).

⁹⁴ Ibid.

5.3. Funding problem?

"If someone asks how you can make eight countries perceive each other as neighbours worthy of cooperation with little money involved, I think the Stability Pact model is an answer".

Erhard Busek, "Five years of Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe: Achievements and Challenges Ahead", Public Lecture given at the London School of Economics, 8 March 2004.

A lack of funding would appear to have been the reason for the sluggish implementation and the termination of projects, and finally, for the fact that they could not be evaluated⁹⁵. Certainly, numerous projects could not be implemented for lack of funds, as donors prefer to invest in ventures yielding visible results, which is not always the case in the education field. Donors also fail to understand the delays observed in the implementation of projects, which are due to the political instability of the region and to changes in the partners responsible. Above all, following the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, South Eastern Europe is no longer "in vogue". The "Balkan powder keg" no longer seems to pose a particular threat. Like many other humanitarian efforts, the Process and the Pact come under the heading of post-conflict initiatives which are now stagnating for lack of interest on the part of the international community and, especially, donors.

The financial difficulties experienced by the Process and the Pact also stem from the discrepancy between the sums pledged and the payments actually made by Pact members⁹⁶. At the two funding conferences organised by the Pact, numerous countries indicated not what they proposed to allocate specifically to the Pact, but the total amount of assistance to be paid by their government to the region of South Eastern Europe (including bilateral aid). This had major implications for the implementation of the quick start projects, which did not receive the total amounts pledged⁹⁷.

As was pointed out recently by Erhard Busek, large-scale funding conferences are a thing of the past, and the Pact plays the role, not of a source of funds, but of a match-maker for donors and beneficiaries⁹⁸. No doubt he is right, but one cannot but note that

⁹⁵ Working Group on History and History Teaching in South East Europe, Meeting Report (Robert Stradling), Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 16–17 December 2001, p. 20.

⁹⁶ Interview with Gerhard Kowar, Coordinator of the Enhanced Graz Process (Vienna, 17 June 2004). In the case of Austria, for example, the government announced that it would provide €2 million per year but actually paid about €500,000–800,000 to the Pact.

⁹⁷ Progress Report, Quick start projects, December 2001.

⁹⁸ Erhard Busek, op. cit.

the Task Force on Education and Youth has not been well served in this regard. The Pact should seek to raise awareness among the donor community of the fact that peace education is a long-haul task, the results of which are indispensable but not apparent in the short term. The general lack of interest in education shown by countries and donors is all the more striking in comparison with the contributions allocated to other Task Forces within the Pact. Thus, while the total budget for the initial quick start projects amounted to around €17 million, the budget allocated to Working Table II (Economic Reconstruction) for the same period was €4.6 billion⁹⁹. Of the total of CHF 85 million invested in the Pact by Switzerland in 2002/2003, only some CHF 1,755,000 was allocated to the Process¹⁰⁰. For 2003/2004, Switzerland committed CHF 23.3 million to the Pact, with CHF 14.1 million going to WT II, CHF 5.6 million to WT III, and CHF 3.6 million to WT I. Of the CHF 3.6 million, CHF 370,000 was allocated to the Process¹⁰¹. Switzerland is in fact one of the largest donors supporting the Process, and education – with the exception of VET – is not among its priorities¹⁰². This country also intends to suspend its donations from the end of 2004, as the Process is being transferred to the region and thus detached from the Pact.

It is interesting to note that, to date, the main (if not the only) sources of funding for the Process, apart from Switzerland, have been Austria and Norway¹⁰³.

The nub of the “funding problem”, however, would appear to be the way in which the Pact is perceived, and the fact that its mission seems to have been misunderstood. When the Pact was established, some people thought that it was conceived as a kind of European Marshall Plan¹⁰⁴. Although this might have been an interesting formula, it was not in fact the case. The Pact represents, not a funding institution, but a coordinating structure, a broker for donors and beneficiaries. To this extent, it cannot be accused of

⁹⁹ Cf. Footnote 61.

¹⁰⁰ Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, “Stability Pact for South-eastern Europe. Strategy for the Participation of the SDC 2003–2004”, May 2003, Bern, p. 4; Annexe 6, p. 7. It should be noted that the greater part (CHF 1,400,000) of the CHF 1,755,000 was allocated to a bilateral project.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. Annexe 6; Annexe 3, p. 2.

¹⁰² Interview with Paul Peter, Head of the Special & Regional Programmes Division, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (Bern, 9 July 2004).

¹⁰³ The Open Society Institute, which has so far also provided substantial support for the Process, has announced that its donations are to be suspended from 2004/2005. (Interview with Gerhard Kowar, Coordinator of the Enhanced Graz Process; Vienna, 17 June 2004).

¹⁰⁴ This was the view taken by Michel Lefranc and Béatrice Majza (see “Un Pacte de Stabilité pour l’Europe du Sud-Est: Vers l’Européanisation’ des Balkans?”, *Annuaire Français des Relations Internationales*, 2000, Vol. 1, p. 243).

having failed in its mission for financial reasons, as its mission is to coordinate the various donors' aid efforts in the Balkans¹⁰⁵. The Process was assigned the same mission in the education and youth field, and in return the countries of South Eastern Europe promised to introduce reforms and to engage in regional cooperation. However, this mission seems to be coming to an end, as there are to be no more major funding conferences (the first was held in Brussels in March 2000 and the second in Budapest in October 2001) and donors are now increasingly dealing directly with projects rather than going through the Process. This poses problems in relation to project follow-up and the evaluation of budgets, as the intermediary is being bypassed. The matchmaking mission of the Process, and also of the Pact, is thus perhaps almost over, although not all donors are proceeding in the same manner. While countries still tend to act through the Process, prompted no doubt by legitimacy concerns (Norway and Switzerland), civil society institutions tend to approach projects directly (e.g. the Open Society Institute)¹⁰⁶.

Although the Process faces financial problems which certainly do not make its work any easier, this is not the only explanation. A great deal of progress can be made despite the lack of funding. Mention could be made of the reform of curricula and teaching methods, training for adults aged 30–35 who are particularly affected by unemployment and – an especially important concern – efforts to improve the image of education in this region, where teachers are in short supply and their work is undervalued¹⁰⁷. Similarly, one of the region's greatest problems, the brain drain, could be resolved firstly by easing regulations and procedures for the recognition of diplomas, and not just university degrees.

As underlined by Sahlberg in his report on the conference in Croatia, "If [a] considerable increase of financing [for] the ongoing reform is the condition for successful actions, there are only a few things to be done."¹⁰⁸ Other resources need to be taken into account, such as human capital. Money is certainly not a panacea, and this is particularly true in a field such as that of education.

¹⁰⁵ Erhard Busek, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Gerhard Kowar, Coordinator of the Enhanced Graz Process (Vienna, 17 June 2004). This observation also applies to the Pact (see Opening Speech of the Special Co-ordinator Erhard Busek at the 7th Regional Table, Portoroz, 8 June 2004).

¹⁰⁷ "Drafting New Curricula in South East Europe", *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ Pasi Sahlberg, "Changing Croatian Education System as a Part of Stabilisation and Association Process", International Conference on Education, Zagreb, 24–25 May 2002, Final Conclusions, p. 5.

Finally, another factor to be taken into account is the management of projects and their funding. On the question of self-evaluation, for example, logic would appear to have been turned on its head. Evaluation is a process that is integral to and should be the final part of a project, precisely because it could lead to a renewal of interest on the part of investors in the continuation of the project or the launching of similar projects. The self-evaluation exercise is certainly not a separate project requiring its own funding. It is therefore possible that the lack of funding for the new priority projects was also a result of poor management of the organisation and financing of the initial quick start projects.

6. Towards a broader evaluation

Since education is first and foremost a long-term process, the results are not always immediately apparent. To round off this evaluation, it is therefore important to consider factors other than the results of the projects.

6.1. Mixed views of insiders

Meetings with the various actors involved in the Process in one way or another provided an opportunity for the author to solicit their views. The opinions expressed can be classified under three headings: the sceptical, the enthusiastic and the undecided.

The first group comprises those who were disappointed by the Process. In their view, the Process was a project with great prospects which got off to an impressive start, but unfortunately failed to realise its initial promise. While numerous states announced that they were in favour of an initiative of this kind, very few made available the funds required to implement the project. Thus, according to Michel Lefranc, while the idea of the Stability Pact was to develop a European Marshall Plan for the countries of South Eastern Europe, nothing came of it owing to the lack of financial support from the states involved¹⁰⁹.

As most of these actors no longer have any dealings with the Process, they have probably been left with an unfavourable initial impression. Moreover, these actors seem to have been disappointed in particular by the Pact rather than by the Process itself, as it

¹⁰⁹ Telephone interview with Michel Lefranc, Director of the Alliance Française de Bruxelles-Europe/CELF (22 January 2004).

failed to meet their expectations. However, the Pact – like the Process – is a long-term initiative, which could not be expected to yield rapid results. Finally, a distinction needs to be drawn between the *measures* that make up the Pact and the *members* of the Pact, with the former being dependent on the latter.

The second group – the enthusiasts – consists of the “true believers” in the Enhanced Graz Process. For this group, the Process is a useful and well-managed initiative, effectively supporting exchanges of and access to information for the countries of South Eastern Europe; it is successful in creating networks and strengthening cooperation in the region. It also facilitates contacts between these countries and international organisations and institutions such as the OECD. To this extent, it is a valuable instrument which can make a substantial contribution to the region.

The Process is not a rigid structure, but a strategy sensitive to the needs of the region. Its remarkable adaptability is particularly appreciated. As responsibility for the initiative is shortly due to be transferred to Croatia, ownership will be enhanced and the Process will continue.

Finally, the members of the “undecided” group appear to take a more objective view. They believe it is difficult to arrive at an appropriate evaluation of the Process. The initiative was originally of great importance and succeeded in creating a forum where the countries of South Eastern Europe could meet, at a time when there was no reason to suppose that these states would cooperate. It enabled these countries to overcome their reservations and to establish contacts. As a result, regional cooperation is beginning to achieve a degree of normality, although it cannot yet be taken for granted. The quick start projects played a vital role for the Task Force, by triggering the establishment of networks. However, after this extraordinary initial success, the Process entered a period of decline. Today, its work is impeded by two virtually insurmountable obstacles: the all-too-frequent changes in the South Eastern European partners, giving rise to problems of coordination and continuity within the Process, and, above all, the lack of interest shown by Western European nations in peace education in South Eastern Europe, or even in the region as a whole. This highly frustrating situation represents a disappointment: for this group, the centres of the EU’s interest seem to be subject to volatile shifts. Nonetheless, were the Pact to disappear, the Process would be the only one of its

programmes to survive. In conclusion, the Graz Process was an idealistic and ambitious project that was radically altered by pragmatism, which may not ultimately be a bad thing.

6.2. Evaluation at two levels

As the actors involved in the Process operate at two different levels – the international and the regional – an evaluation should also be carried out on both fronts.

The international actors play an intermediary role. Firstly, they are to act as matchmakers for initiatives, projects and the donor community, which is not a straightforward matter (cf. 5.3 above). They are also to coordinate and facilitate exchanges of information, to support efforts undertaken by regional actors and, in particular, to strengthen their cooperation. Here, the Process successfully fulfils its function by regularly organising seminars, conferences and meetings that enable various regional actors to be brought together to share information and best practices and, above all, to establish relations. In this way, a genuine forum on education was created. On the other hand, coordination within the Pact itself, between the Process and the other Task Forces, appears to be neglected. For example, vocational education and training is dealt with not only by the Task Force on Education and Youth but also by Working Table II in the context of employment. Although there was some question of projects being carried out jointly by the Process and the Task Forces on Trafficking in Human Beings and on Refugee Matters, no concrete cooperation emerged¹¹⁰. There is thus a clear need for improved coordination among the Task Forces. The aim, of course, would not be to succumb to the opposite extreme – getting bogged down in fruitless consultations which would further complicate the proper implementation of projects – but simply to bring together the projects and/or the Task Force(s) with identical objectives.

At the regional level, it is difficult to adopt a broad-brush approach, given the differences between individual countries; evaluation at this level is therefore a trickier matter.

¹¹⁰ Apart from sharing information, the idea was to introduce the issue of human trafficking into the areas of formal and non-formal education in order to raise public awareness, or again, to assess the situation of refugees in the education system in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also in the education sector, efforts were to be undertaken to improve the situation of refugees in the countries of former Yugoslavia (see Report on

It may be noted that numerous reforms are in progress in most of the countries of South Eastern Europe, and that there is a genuine desire for systems to be developed in the direction of an education area in conformity with European standards. According to Erhard Busek, the Pact should be evaluated in terms of the level of regional cooperation achieved¹¹¹. The countries of South Eastern Europe now agree to meet in multilateral settings although their bilateral relations are still marked by mutual suspicion. Their cooperation can thus be considered highly satisfactory, despite this handicap, which should disappear with the passage of time.

With the establishment of a Secretariat in Zagreb, the forthcoming transfer of the ERI SEE to the region will provide a good test not only of regional cooperation, but especially of these countries' commitment to implement the Process. Responsibility for the initiative thus now rests primarily with the region itself.

6.3. Involvement/non-involvement of civil society

Initially, the Stability Pact conceived projects designed to promote good-neighbourly relations and democratisation through the provision of assistance to NGOs and the media¹¹². Likewise, the importance of cooperation with NGOs was underlined at almost all the meetings of the Process. However, the inescapable fact is that NGOs are conspicuous by their absence from this initiative; they are not even explicitly members. Indeed, NGOs seem to be regarded more as being "useful" rather than as fully fledged partners¹¹³.

It might be countered that numerous NGOs belong to the Process and are involved especially in the quick start projects, as can be seen from the Tables in Appendices 2 and 3. However, a distinction needs to be made between NGOs and civil society on the one hand, and between NGOs and quangos on the other. In fact, NGOs are only one element in civil society, which comprises a wide variety of institutions, such as profes-

the Extended Task Force on Education and Youth Meeting, Brussels, 14 January 2002 ; Report on the Meeting of the Task Force on Education and Youth, Zagreb, 25 October 2002).

¹¹¹ Erhard Busek, "Five years of Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe...", op. cit.

¹¹² Nebosja Vukadinovic, op. cit., p. 258.

¹¹³ Randolph Oberschmidt and Wolfgang Zellner, "The Contribution of Civil Society to the Achievement of the Objectives of the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe". In: Daniel Warner and Valérie Clerc (eds) *The OSCE in the Landscape of European Security* (2000), PSIO Occasional Paper, No. 1/2002, p. 133.

sional, sporting, religious and other associations, trade unions, research institutes, etc.¹¹⁴ As for quangos (quasi-autonomous NGOs), because these organisations are largely financed by the state, they lose the independence, freedom of action and freedom to denounce state abuses that are characteristic of NGOs.

Having made these distinctions, one realises, firstly, that the “civil society” which cooperates with the Pact mainly consists of research institutes and quangos and, secondly, that these organisations are often Western or international. This is true of, for example, KulturKontakt, the Open Society Institute, the European University Association, the Alternative Academic Educational Network (AAEN), the regional nodes of the SEE ECN, and many other organisations (mainly research institutes)¹¹⁵. The term “quangos” can likewise be applied to numerous – highly politicised – NGOs with which the Process has cooperated¹¹⁶. There are few NGOs properly so called, active on the ground and facilitating the promotion of Process information and programmes among the population. Considering the programmes and results of the quick start projects, it would appear that less than a third of these promoted cooperation with institutions of this kind. One of the associations involved was D@dalos, and the priority project “Talking With and About Our Neighbours” is being carried out in cooperation with an NGO called “Center for innovation in Chisinau”. The “youthNET” project also facilitates this type of cooperation by funding regional cross-border projects organised by local NGOs. However, given the budgetary constraints mentioned in the previous section, funding remains at a modest level.

Admittedly, when the quick start projects were implemented, the main concern was to act rapidly, and it is understandable that only limited efforts were made to seek partnerships with local NGOs. However, with the passage of time and the accumulation of experience by the Process, such partnerships should have developed naturally. The new OECD project on “Education Development for Disabled and at Risk Students” should therefore involve NGOs as a matter of course, especially since the project recognises the

¹¹⁴ “Civil society” encompasses all non-state actors, in the broad sense. More precisely, as defined by the UN, civil society consists of all legal entities of a national, regional, or international nature other than federal governments and international organisations (http://www.geneve.ch/smsi/doc/20031204_sc.pdf).

¹¹⁵ It should also be noted that KulturKontakt hosts the secretariat of the Task Force on Education and Youth.

¹¹⁶ In Serbia, for example, the Process cooperated with NGOs some of whose members entered the government after the fall of Milošević (interview with Gerhard Kowar, Coordinator of the Enhanced Graz Process; Vienna, 17 June 2004). The European University Association also intended to cooperate with a Serbian NGO until it realised that it was a quango (interview with Lewis Purser, Coordinator of the Working Group on Higher Education of the Graz Process; 1 July 2004).

importance of working in partnership with civil society and experienced NGOs in particular, as well as the need to involve the local community to which the families and schools belong, in order to stimulate and implement changes¹¹⁷. However, no such partnership seems to be envisaged in the project's action plan or actual objectives, as the main aim is to secure reforms.

It needs to be recognised that non-governmental organisations in their present-day form are still a new phenomenon in the region, and that their mission and activities have only recently begun to be understood and accepted by the public. During the Communist era, NGOs were considered heretical. While citizens' organisations were authorised, this was only possible within the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia¹¹⁸. Subsequently, at the beginning of the 1990s, NGOs were labelled as dissident organisations and enemies of the state. Many quangos were established at that time. In Macedonia, the NGOs represented different ethnic groups: it was then normal to find two NGOs sharing the same objectives but with separate ethnic affiliations. As a result, their activities were largely ineffectual during the first decade of their existence¹¹⁹. The current situation of NGOs in this country is unclear, but if there has been no change, the Process should contemplate action in this area. Recently, however, considerable progress has been made with regard to NGOs. Apart from Serbia, all the other countries in the region have become more liberal in this respect, adopting legislation that establishes satisfactory conditions for the operation of NGOs¹²⁰.

Although this framework is important, the level of NGOs' capacity is even more so. As the type of NGO with which we are familiar in Western Europe is a new concept in this region, the initial aim should be to build the capacity of existing NGOs so that they are able to operate effectively and independently and to become a genuine force for peace. Here, the efforts undertaken in the "I.M.PACT" (Introducing Methodology in EDC initiatives of the Stability Pact) project are of major importance, as it is seeking to build

¹¹⁷ OECD project "Education Development for Disabled and at Risk Students", concept paper, p. 5 (Christine Stromberger, OECD project manager).

¹¹⁸ Iso Rusi, "Non-Governmental Organisations in Macedonia: They Exist, but Little Good They Do", AIM Skopje, 23 September 1999 (<http://www.greekhelsinki.gr/english/articles/AIMN-Articles-Macedonia-old.html>).

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Tatjana Andrijasevic, Gordana Popovic, Ana Stankovic, Nada Veljkovic, "Serbie: quel avenir pour les ONG?" (French translation by Jasna Tatar), *Vreme*, 1 January 2004. It remains difficult to find non-political NGOs in Serbia. Liberalisation in this area should be encouraged by the Pact.

capacity for project management, planning and self-evaluation among organisations promoting EDC in the region, including NGOs.

Improved cooperation between Process actors and NGOs is essential so that democratisation efforts can be undertaken among the population, and the Process can capture the public imagination. One cannot expect to instil peace through the education of society without involving the grass roots of society. The ownership approach adopted by the Process and the Pact should apply not only to the structure of the project but also to its implementation. The onus is therefore on local communities, as well as on the government, to make the Process their own. While pressure for democratisation of the system can be exerted at state level by individual countries and the EU in particular, this can be done at the local level by NGOs acting from within the system. To this end, plans should be made to provide support for these organisations, firstly through training (initial and ongoing), and then in the development of projects (fund-raising, evaluation, etc.). Here, the "I.M.PACT" initiative could serve as an example.

It would then be necessary to institutionalise this partnership through the creation of specific structures within the Process; the first step would be to clarify the role and status of NGOs within the Process and the Pact¹²¹. A post could be created for a special coordinator for NGOs, together with an online communication platform linking up the NGOs involved. It would be desirable to engage these organisations in a partnership so as to avoid duplication of projects and to exploit the individual NGOs' comparative advantages. Logistical and psychological support of this kind would not entail major investments, as existing structures could be used for these purposes, and the emphasis would be placed on cooperation and the importance of concerted action for NGOs. Voluntary efforts and solidarity are additional instruments which should be harnessed in pursuit of this goal.

The Process thus could and should improve its performance as an intermediary. However, its realignment with the ERI SEE does not suggest that this type of cooperation is likely to develop, as the emphasis is to be placed on intervention solely at state level, with no NGOs participating in the project.

¹²¹ Randolph Oberschmidt and Wolfgang Zellner, *op. cit.*, pp. 146–148.

Conclusion

“We value education’s role in underpinning a **peaceful nation**; where difference can be celebrated and not cause division. Education is the only hope for a cohesive and harmonious society. It is the best antidote to the anger and prejudice which come from a lack of understanding.”

Alexandru Athanasiu, Romanian Minister of Education and Research,
Eighth Conference of European Ministers of Education,
Oslo, 24–25 June 2004

The new orientation of the Pact, which accords priority to the Working Table on Economic Reconstruction, invites reflection. It would seem that the Pact has been forced to make a choice, that it was unable to bring to a successful conclusion the three Working Tables initially conceived. So does peace education have to precede economic revival, as maintained by Luchaire, or is it rather a consequence of the latter? Are democracy and peace only compatible with a thriving market economy? It can be argued that these two approaches – the economic and the educational – need to be adopted simultaneously. The Pact must preserve its characteristic three-Table approach, as this multidisciplinary approach is the only way of preventing the recrudescence of conflict. At the same time, the Process predates the Pact and has never been dependent on it. Although the lack of support provided by the Pact has not made the work of the Process any easier, its actual existence has not been called into question as a result. In this respect, the Process has managed to reinvent itself in a remarkable manner.

With the establishment of the Regional Secretariat in Zagreb and the transformation of the Task Force, or rather its merging into the ERI SEE, the Process now seems to be coming to an end. The conclusion of the Graz Process is quite natural, as its objective was to facilitate the integration of South Eastern Europe into a European Area of Education. The accession of Slovenia to the EU in May 2004 and the prospect of Romania, Bulgaria, and perhaps Croatia, becoming members in 2007/08 should thus mark the end of the Process. Having completed its mission, and having managed to respect the ownership principle, it is natural that the Process should have entered its final stage. This is very much to its credit, as it seems to be an indication of its success.

Nevertheless, the job has not been finished. For Erhard Busek, the process of democratisation is irreversible, and the region is now more stable than when the Pact (or the Process) was initiated – notwithstanding the riots in Kosovo in March 2004¹²². While this latter point may be accepted, the democratisation process is not necessarily irreversible. As observed elsewhere, “While reconciliation and confidence-building are a slow process, intolerance may spread relatively quickly when the context and situation permit.”¹²³ The current social and political situation in Macedonia and Kosovo is anything but encouraging, and the recent changes of government in Croatia and Serbia give cause at the very least for concern. The question of the status of Kosovo has yet to be settled, and the political organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, not accepted by the population, is not satisfactory. In addition, the principle of ownership has not yet been fully implemented, as underlined by Gerhard Kowar, despite the comprehensive measures adopted at the Thessaloniki Summit to facilitate this, and despite the fact that all the instruments are now more or less in the hands of the region.

There is, however, nothing surprising about this situation, as peace education and the changes in mentality which it involves are part of a process that can only produce results over a period of several decades. Memories of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia are still too vivid for history textbooks not to be distorted by them¹²⁴. It will certainly take another generation for mentalities to evolve to the point where countries can look back on their troubled past with equanimity. Peace education is a never-ending task, requiring great vigilance.

But while the Task Force is coming to the end of its mission, it is important that the Enhanced Graz Process should survive in some form. Although these two initiatives entered into a symbiotic relationship in 1999 to give the Process legitimacy and a political presence, the time has perhaps come for them to be differentiated once again.

¹²² Op. cit.

¹²³ European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), Second Report on Croatia, 15 December 2000, p. 23 (http://www.coe.int/T/E/human_rights/Ecri/1-ECRI/2-Country-by-country_approach/Croatia/PDF_CBC%20%20Croatia.pdf).

¹²⁴ Unfortunately, history textbooks seem to be highly subjective and would even be laughable were the matter not so tragic. It is therefore a great shame that the Working Group on History is not continuing its awareness-raising activities in this area (cf. Orlanda Obad, “Manuels scolaires: les élèves slovènes, croates et serbes ne lisent pas la même histoire...” [French translation by Ursula Burger Oesch], *Jutarnji List*, 27 September 2003; Alma Lama, “Kosovo: History Revision Calls Sparks Anger”, *Balkan Crisis Report* no. 471 (IWPR), 3 December 2003; Slobodanka Ast, “Serbie: révisions de l’histoire” [French translation by Persa Aligrudic], *Vreme*, 5 December 2002; Esad Kocan, “Monténégro: Des livres d’histoire et de politique” [French translation by Persa Aligrudic], *Monitor*, 22 September 2000.

The Process could be continued within the ERI SEE or the Dialogue Initiative (see 2.3 above). As has been emphasised, a mixture of the two would be preferable. But whatever form it may assume, if the Process is to be effective, it will need to take two fundamental realities into account:

1. Education is not a priority area. It is a neglected subject, and although everyone stresses its importance, few are ready to invest in it. It is a field where cooperation is all the more difficult because it is perceived as being the preserve of the state. This initiative can thus only succeed if participants sense an advantage and cooperate. It is thus extremely important for the survival of the initiative that it should remain within the European institutions that exert the desired attraction.
2. The involvement of local actors, especially in the form of NGOs, is essential. Peace education is not something that can be imposed on the population from above, through reforms alone. Learning to live together is an exercise that is dependent on support coming not only from the authorities, but also from teachers, students, those responsible for the project and the community as a whole. This community therefore needs to be made more aware, informed and motivated – which is a task for local NGOs. This is a sector where they can act, in the absence of efforts by the state.

It is thus crucial for states to cooperate and promote the work of these organisations so as to enhance the complementarity of responsibilities. In addition, delegating to NGOs could be one way for the Process to remedy its funding problems.

While the concept of peace education may seem to be more a matter of words than reality, or a utopia embraced by a handful of activists, the Process, for its part, is indeed a concrete reality. It represents a practical realisation of this concept, which could serve as a model for other regions of the world.

Education and the elimination of stereotypes and prejudices play a key role in the promotion through civil society of stability, democracy and peace in the region. Accordingly, the concept should be fully integrated into the broader concept of “peace building”, as the objective is the same.

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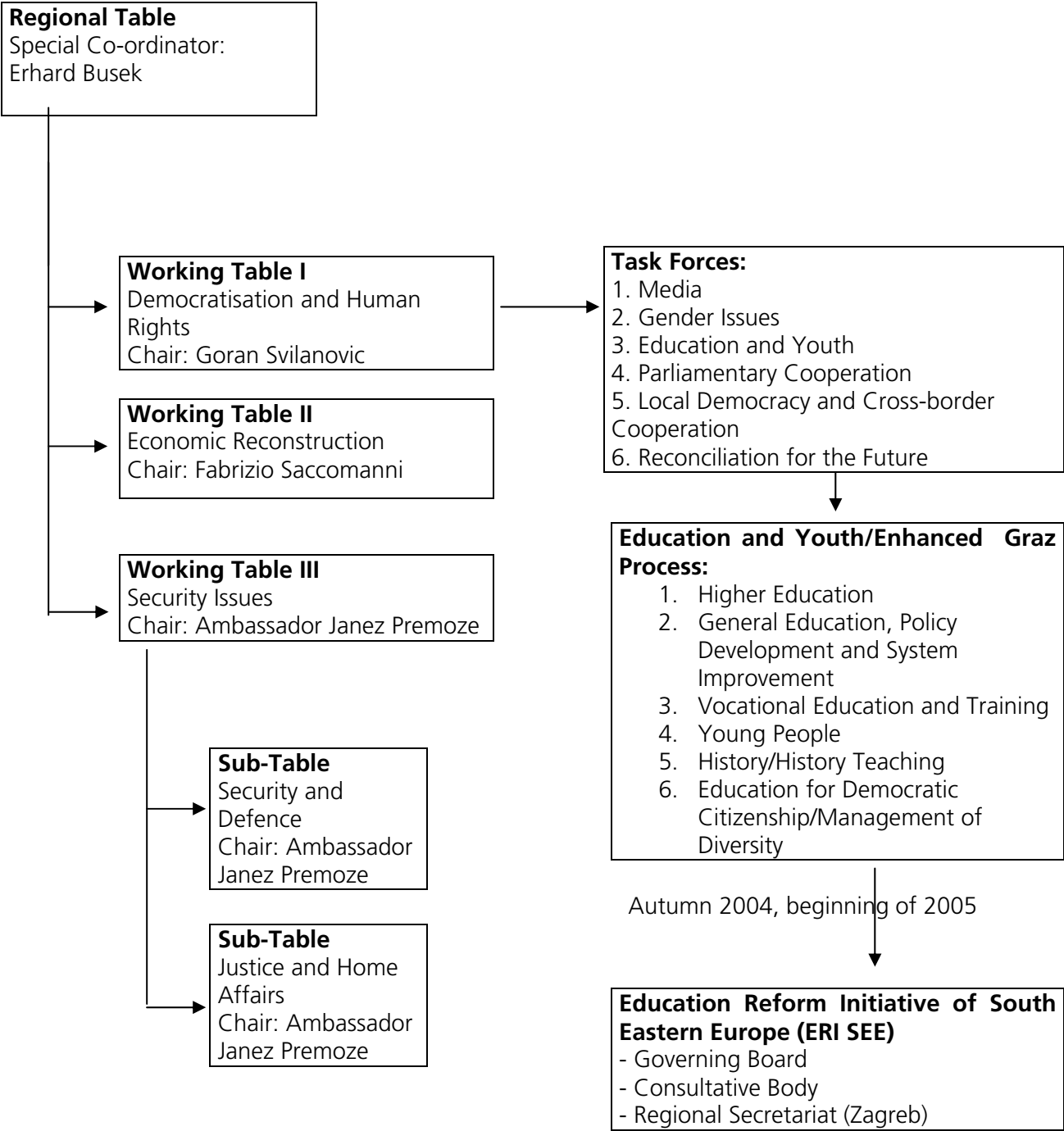
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Appendix 1: The position of the Process within the Stability Pact (as of 30 June 2004)



Appendix 2: Overview of initial quick start projects

(In the preparation of this overview, information was obtained not only from documents available online but also from project coordinators contacted directly. The names of those who replied are listed in the Bibliography.)

WORKING GROUP	PROJECT TITLE	PROJECT OUTLINE and RESULTS	BENEFICIARIES	IMPLEMENTER(S)	DONOR(S)/ BUDGET*	PROJECT DATES (START-END)
Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC)	Stocktaking Research	The aim of this research was to take stock of policies on education for democratic citizenship and the management of diversity. Special research instruments were used to examine official policy texts, interview key actors and determine existing policies, implementation measures and practitioners' viewpoints. Results: The nine country reports and the regional report were presented at a Council of Europe seminar in December 2001. The research highlights the gap between existing policies and practices, raising general issues of educational governance. Proposed solutions include the establishment of evaluation mechanisms and a regional initiative on teacher training.	Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, FYROM, Romania, Serbia and Slovenia	Council of Europe	Austria (€3,000), Switzerland (€7,500)	February 2001–December 2001
	Regional Training Course for EDC Multipliers	Based on training needs identified in the region, the aim of this project was to train local experts to provide support for the implementation of reforms. These practitioners were to be placed at the disposal of policy makers. Various training activities were conceived for this purpose (research and analysis of the situation, seminars and conferences, development of a toolbox and training modules, etc.). Results: At the final conference, held in Budapest in September 2004, a toolbox was presented to the other countries of the region. This consists of a website, providing information on concrete activities for EDC promoters (see http://www.intercultural.ro/edc/html/index.php). Various proposals were made for its dissemination, and a follow-up project may be carried out.	Albania, Montenegro, Serbia and Romania	KulturKontakt Austria	Switzerland (€2,500)	2002–September 2004

* These figures are given for guidance only, and their accuracy cannot be guaranteed. While some were furnished by the project coordinators who were contacted directly, most are taken from the "Progress Report, Quick Start Projects", December 2001.

Twinning of "Sites of Citizenship"	<p>The aim of this pilot project was to establish relations between young people of different cultures in order to promote regional cooperation, exchanges of experiences and information, and the development of regional projects.</p> <p>Results: A "Twinning guide" was produced by UNESCO and the OSI, defining site criteria. Five twinning contracts were signed, each involving sites in 2–3 countries. The evaluation report was to be available in February 2002. Students from Moldova and Macedonia drafted a charter of students' rights.</p> <p>Website: http://eachother.ise.ro</p>	Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, FYROM, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia and Moldova	Council of Europe	Austria (€60,949), Switzerland (€46,750)	December 2000–February 2002
Right to Education of Roma, Gypsy and Traveller Children	<p>The objective of the project was to provide an outline of current laws and policies concerning the education of Roma children in each country, and to identify and describe good practice.</p> <p>Results: A report was prepared, describing the educational situation of Roma children, as well as existing legislation, policies and practices. The report clearly highlighted the changes required to bring policy and practice into line with international human rights standards. Roma young people were also consulted in order to determine their experiences within the education system. The report was presented at a conference entitled "Denied a future?" held in Budapest in November 2001.</p>	Countries of South Eastern Europe	Save the Children Fund UK, OSI	Austria (€3,650), Save the Children Fund UK (€25,000), Switzerland (€42,000), US (€75,000)	June 2000–2002
Democratic School Development in Croatia	<p>The project was designed to develop democratic teaching and learning methods in schools.</p> <p>Results: A series of seminars was organised, dealing with intercultural learning and the realisation of school projects. A team of 20 teachers from four pilot schools received training on implementing projects to promote tolerance and intercultural exchanges. Teams of Croatian teachers went on a study visit, investigating the degree of integration of Croatian, Hungarian and Roma minority groups in Austria, and then comparing this with the situation of minorities in Croatia. A teachers' handbook about the goals and methods of project learning was developed and presented at a seminar.</p>	Croatia	KulturKontakt Austria, Croatian Ministry of Education and Science	Austria (€130,000), Croatia (€1,500)	Autumn 1999–May 2002
Education for Active Democratic Citizenship in Montenegro	<p>The aim of this project was to promote democracy and equality in the education process and the rights of children, and to explore ways of enabling the young to participate actively in democratic processes in education and society.</p> <p>Results: For this purpose, four teacher training seminars, a summer camp and a study visit to Austria were organised. A questionnaire was developed to investigate the EDC situation in Montenegrin schools, and the results were published in a handbook on EDC (Guidelines).</p>	Montenegro	KulturKontakt Austria, Faculty of Philosophy (University of Montenegro)	Austria (€82,100), Switzerland (€18,400), Montenegro (€4,600)	October 2000–December 2001

Co-existence with Differences	<p>The aim of this project, carried out in conjunction with Education for Active Democratic Citizenship in Montenegro (see above), was to promote people's practical involvement in democratic processes at all levels, and the idea of diversity as an enrichment of co-existence, rather than an obstacle.</p> <p>Results: Five training seminars on this topic were organised by Austrian and Montenegrin experts for teams from nine pilot schools. The participants planned and realised school projects on intercultural subjects. A handbook of "Guidelines on Intercultural Learning" was to be published.</p>	Montenegro	KulturKontakt Austria, Faculty of Philosophy (University of Montenegro)	Austria (€74,000)	December 2000– May 2002
Children's Theatre: "A Tool for Education"	<p>This project aimed to promote democratic and intercultural values in children by using a new educational tool – theatre.</p> <p>Results: Two workshops were organised to develop dramatic structures, present plays and introduce new working methods. Following these workshops, a Summer School for Theatre and Democracy was to be held in January 2002, as well as various other productions. Altogether, five plays were developed and completed; the three most successful ones were to be translated and published.</p>	Albania, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro, FYROM, Kosovo and Romania	Children's Theatre Centre, Open Society Institute Macedonia	Austria, Switzerland (€76,300 joint fund with the following project)	April 2000– 2002
Children's Theatre: "Street Stories"	<p>This project was developed to investigate the possibilities of ethnic and intercultural learning through performing arts for children aged 7–14.</p> <p>Results: Coordinators were trained in a workshop for tolerance and conflict resolution through performing arts. The project was carried out in Tetovo and Skopje, bringing together 90 children from different ethnic backgrounds. Parents were also involved in the project through regular meetings.</p>	Albania, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro, FYROM, Kosovo and Romania	Children's Theatre Centre, Open Society Institute Macedonia	Austria, Switzerland (€76,300 joint fund with the preceding project)	June 2000–
Classrooms Across Borders (CAB)	<p>The aim of this three-phase project was to foster peaceful values and attitudes through the study of languages and cultures of neighbouring countries and ethnic communities.</p> <p>Results: Several workshops and a summer camp were organised on the subject of multilingual and intercultural communication. A model summer school SEE*JOY (South East Europe "The Jubilee of Our Yestermorrow") was developed for students and teachers, permitting the establishment of a network of schools, colleges and NGOs in nine different countries. The summer school was followed by an evaluation meeting. The project also resulted in the publication of a handbook on "Best Practices in CAB".</p> <p>Websites: www.seejoy.hit.bg ; www.sage.hit.bg</p>	Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro, FYROM and Romania, Slovenia and Turkey	Bistra and Galina Foundation, Bulgarian National Committee for the European Year of Languages, Open Society Club of Smoljan, SAGE (School Association for Global Education)	Bistra and Galina Foundation (€600), Bulgaria (€1,700), European Youth Foundation (€2,548), Switzerland (€13,800)	December 2000– 2001

	Banat Network for Intercultural Citizenship Education	The aim of this project was to develop cooperation between NGOs, teachers and young people in the historical Banat region. Results: Various activities such as seminars, summer camps, etc., were organised with the participation of representatives of all the ethnic groups in the region. A website was set up in four languages (www.bannet.ebanat.com), with numerous follow-up activities. At the summer camps, a newspaper was produced and a "Pact of Young People from Banat" was drawn up.	Serbia and Montenegro, Romania	Intercultural Institute of Timisoara (Romania)	US (\$50,000)	Not available
	Education Forum for Roma	This programme was designed to help teachers develop new educational models for Roma students, in particular through the establishment of a regional information platform. Results: A website was established in order to create a regional information platform. Training seminars dealing with new teaching methodologies and school management were held for teachers, who subsequently developed projects to apply these methods. A network of five elementary schools in rural areas was established. A summer camp was also organised, bringing together children from various countries of South Eastern Europe. This project led to marked improvements in infrastructure and enabled schools to revive local traditions.	Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo, Serbia and Romania	Center Education 2000+, KulturKontakt Austria	Austria (€157,200), Center Education 2000+/ Open Society Foundation (€12,800), Switzerland (€3,300)	January 2001–June 2002
Higher Education	Regional University Network in Governance and Management of Higher Education	The aim of this programme was to support and develop local capacities and solutions in the areas of strategic and financial management, quality assurance structures and mechanisms in higher education, at both institutional and system level. Results: For each area (strategic and financial management, quality assurance, structural development) the situation was evaluated and three seminars were organised by experts in these fields. A regional network was established, comprising the authorities and institutions responsible for higher education reform processes, which facilitated the exchange of good practice. Study visits were organised to Bonn, London and Paris, and action plans specific to each university were thus developed.	Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, FYROM, Serbia and Montenegro	UNESCO-CEPES, Romania	European Commission (€500,000), UNESCO-CEPES (salaries of administrative staff)	February 2002–March 2004

Civic Education Project (CEP)	<p>The Civic Education Project was designed to combat the brain drain. It supported the return of young social science and humanities scholars, and promoted stability and understanding through interregional academic exchanges. The project also sought to facilitate transnational exchanges of knowledge and experience so as to promote the professional development of young academics, and to tackle the problems of inadequate resources and isolation. A Visiting Lecturers Program helped provide universities with contacts and with new methods of teaching and scholarships. Teaching methodology workshops were organised for lecturers, and a Balkan Debate Forum and Negotiation Simulation were held for students.</p> <p>Results: Two programmes were established for scholars coming from abroad; the return of young academics was facilitated by ensuring the equality of services offered by the original and host universities (creation of libraries, etc.). Website: www.cep.org.hu</p>	Albania, Bulgaria, FYROM, Kosovo, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia	Civic Education Project, Open Society Institute, World University Service Austria	Association of Universities and other Higher Education Institutions in Germany/HRK (€18,003), Austria (€12,600), Bosch Foundation (€10,193), German Marshall Fund (€5,039), Open Society Institute (€302,547), Stifterverband (€1,158), US Embassy Bulgaria (€1,169)	2000–
Strengthening of SEE Student Organisations	<p>The aim of this project was to increase student participation in higher education institutions and to strengthen cooperation between student organisations in South Eastern Europe.</p> <p>Results: A workshop entitled “Training for student representatives from SEE” was held in Ohrid (FYROM) in November 2000, enabling student organisations to discuss ways of achieving the above-mentioned objectives. The Slovenian Student Union established a network of online “info-embassies” in different languages and a counselling office, providing information on existing study programmes, as well as opportunities for student exchange and practical placements. This project was highly successful thanks to the efforts of the ESIB and its Slovenian branch.</p>	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, FYROM, Moldova, Kosovo, Serbia and Slovenia	Slovenian Student Union, ESIB (originally “European Student Information Bureau”, but for some years now “National Unions of Students in Europe”), World University Service Austria (WUS)	Austria (€16,000), OSF, Slovenia (€5,800)	September 2000–

AAEN: Postgraduate Program in Gender and Cultural Studies	This programme, comprising courses in gender and cultural studies, was part of the agenda of the Alternative Academic Educational Network (AAEN), which was established in Belgrade in 1999 in an effort to preserve the basis of the higher education system in Serbia, which was subject to severe political and economic pressures. This agenda addressed subjects not covered by official university curricula. Results: Thirty students received bursaries enabling them to participate in a two-semester programme entitled "Gender and cultural studies – A view from the Balkans". Excellent contacts were established with the students, and the project offered a genuine opportunity to influence mentalities. This programme, the first of its kind, has become a core educational centre in the field of gender and cultural studies. Following the change of government in 2002, the Chair of the AAEN became the Deputy Education Minister, with responsibility for the higher education system in Serbia. Website: www.aaen.edu.yu	Serbia and Montenegro	Alternative Academic Educational Network (AAEN), World University Service Austria (WUS)	Austria (€13,140), Open Society Institute (€1,500)	1999– 2002
"Skomrahi"	"Skomrahi" is an annual international meeting of students of the Faculties and Academies of Dramatic Arts, enabling actors (students, teachers and experts) to share their experiences concerning methods and programmes ("skomrahs" were travelling performers in medieval times). Results: About 150 students representing numerous faculties took part in the 2001 meeting, presenting their films and theatrical productions. This programme is an important tool facilitating cooperation between the various Faculties and Academies of Dramatic Arts in the region.	Countries of South Eastern Europe	Faculty of Dramatic Arts Skopje, World University Service Austria (WUS)	Austria (€48,800), Faculty of Dramatic Arts Skopje (€40,300), FYROM (€8,800), Open Society Institute (€24,700)	Annual meetings
Regional Seminar for Credential Evaluators	A 2-day seminar was organised for credential evaluators, admission officers and other interested parties, with the aim of discussing the recognition of qualifications and promoting student mobility across the region. Results: This seminar was inspired by the 1997 Lisbon Recognition Convention. The participants discussed existing practices in their respective countries and underlined the need for the strengthening of national ENICs (European Network of Information Centres) and NARICs (National Academic Recognition Information Centres) in all the countries of South Eastern Europe. Today, almost all the countries of South Eastern Europe are parties to the Lisbon Convention (it has still to be ratified by B&H and Macedonia).	Countries of South Eastern Europe	Council of Europe	Austria (€3,000)	23–24 February 2001, Tirana
Seminar on Regional Co- operation	This was the last of a series of three regional TEMPUS seminars. Results: The participants held multi- and bilateral discussions concerning their experiences and possible cooperation, as well as specific conditions for the realisation of regional projects. These discussions served as a basis for the production of a "Guide for Applicants" in 2002.	Countries of South Eastern Europe	European Commission (Directorate-General Education and Culture/TEMPUS)	European Commission (Directorate- General Education and Culture/ TEMPUS) (€30,000)	5–8 April 2001, Tirana

General Education	OECD Thematic Reviews	<p>To permit an assessment of the education systems in the beneficiary countries of the Process, the OECD carried out Thematic Reviews of each country's national education policy and system. These reviews helped countries to identify priority issues for the reform process.</p> <p>Results: The reviews were published by the online communication platform of the Process in May 2001. They serve as a knowledge base for all projects and players in the education field. On the basis of this research, various conferences were organised on the subject of curricular reform (cf. "Strategy 2001" and the overview in Appendix 2). Website: www.see-educoop.net</p>	Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, FYROM, Kosovo, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia	OECD	Austria (€36,000), Finland (€20,000), Greece (€50,000), Switzerland (€67,000), UNICEF (€50,000). Additional support provided by the British Council, CEPS Ljubljana, European Training Foundation and World Bank	June 2000–September 2001
	SEE ECN	<p>The South East European Educational Cooperation Network (SEE ECN) is a website offering general information on the education systems of the countries in the region (legislation, documentation, etc.) and on the activities of the Pact and the Process in the languages of the beneficiary countries. An expert database and a database of international education projects in the region are also available. The site thus represents a virtual library for education in the region. Overseen by a Governing Board and a Steering Committee established by the Task Force on Education and Youth, the SEE ECN adopted an Initial Charter in November 2001.</p> <p>Results: This network is certainly the best example of a highly successful project carried out by the Process. Regional "nodes" have been established in all the countries concerned to collect documents and contribute to the development and promotion of the network. These nodes are generally NGOs. Current project activities include updating the site and organising regional training workshops.</p>	Countries of South Eastern Europe	KulturKontakt Austria, University of Ljubljana/CEPS	Open Society Institute (€30,000 Oct. 00–Oct. 02; \$33,000 Sept. 03–July 04), KulturKontakt Austria (€88,364 Dec. 00–Oct. 02; €76,755 Feb. 03–July 04), US (\$24,000 Feb. 01–Feb. 02), Open Society Education Programs (\$60,000 Dec. 01–Dec. 02; \$30,000 Dec. 03–Dec. 04), Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (€30,000 Jan. 03–Dec. 04)	February 2001–
	PISA	<p>The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) looks at how well prepared young people are for life beyond school. It thus helps to identify gaps in national curricula, highlighting similarities and differences among the countries concerned.</p> <p>Results: Seminars on statistics have been organised, together with capacity-building activities. The programme suggests that there is no single factor explaining why certain countries or schools perform better than others.</p>	Countries of South Eastern Europe	OECD	Finland (€670,800)	October 2000–

	Kosovo Education Centre	<p>This centre for innovation was established in order to promote the development of a modern education system in Kosovo through teacher training and the exchange of information.</p> <p>Results: The centre offers a variety of services designed to improve teachers' professional skills, organises seminars, and provides basic libraries, etc. It comprises "didactic centres", of which six have been established to date. It also produces an annual publication entitled "Education in Kosovo – Figures and Facts".</p> <p>Websites: www.kulturkontakt.or.at ; www.kec-ks.org</p>	Kosovo	Kosovo Education Centre, KulturKontakt Austria	Austria (€138,00), Austrian Youth Red Cross (€1,800), Open Society Institute (€3,800), Switzerland (€107,500 + €544,000 for follow-up)	May 2000–August 2003
Vocational Education and Training	Strengthening Local and Regional Structures of Adult Learning	<p>The aim of this project was to promote lifelong learning in adults by establishing and strengthening appropriate structures.</p> <p>Results: Training seminars were organised, and regional consultation meetings were held regularly; a website was established, providing information on adult education (www.inebis.org); awareness-raising programmes were organised.</p> <p>Websites: www.iiz-dvv.de ; www.inebis.org</p>	Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, FYROM, Romania, Serbia and Slovenia	Institute for International Co-operation of the German Adult Education Association (IIZ-DVV)	Germany (€3,372,000)	2000–2003
	FYROM-Montenegro Co-operation	<p>This joint project involving students and teachers at two secondary schools in Macedonia and Montenegro was designed to promote cross-border partnership.</p> <p>Results: Cooperation was established and intercultural relations explored through the organisation of two workshops; a small-scale project (creation of a website) was developed and realised.</p> <p>The initial project was followed by three others: summer/winter camps dealing with topics such as human rights, democracy, non-violence, peace building, etc.; seminars about conflict resolution, communication and development of a Youth Community Action Plan; and the creation of a joint student's newspaper covering student-teacher-parent relations, school democracy, sport, students' poetry, essays, etc.</p>	FYROM, Montenegro	Secondary schools: "Slobodan Skerovic" (Podgorica), "Gorgi Naumov" (Bitola)	Austria (€8,440); PSEMC "Georgi Naumov" (€850)	25–28 June and 29 November 2001
	ECO-NET	<p>The aim of this project was to improve educational standards in economics through exchanges of experiences in educational reform, and thus to develop recommendations for regional standards in economics.</p> <p>Results: ECO-NET established a (virtual and physical) training network between pilot schools in the region by organising a series of conferences and regional seminars.</p> <p>Website: www.kulturkontakt.or.at</p>	Albania, Bulgaria, FYROM, Romania	KulturKontakt Austria	Austria (€444,400)	December 2000–July 2002

	TOUR-NET	<p>This project was designed to improve educational standards in tourism education and teacher training. In addition, a cooperation network was to be established between the beneficiary countries.</p> <p>Results: An assessment was made of the state of development and the needs of each pilot school, and a marketing textbook was produced. Study visits to Vienna, Krems, Neusiedl and Linz were organised. Various training seminars were held, enabling each school to develop a website so as to raise its profile in the eyes of the tourism industry. Other training and networking activities were organised, with a final regional conference (to include a culinary contest or tourism fair).</p> <p>Website: www.kulturkontakt.or.at</p>	Albania, Bulgaria, Romania	KulturKontakt Austria	Austria (€17,000 1st phase; €27,000)	December 2000–start of 2003
	Coping with Corruption	<p>The aim of this project was to promote dialogue among Croatian SMEs on corruption, and to analyse and disseminate the methods used by these enterprises to survive in a corrupt environment.</p> <p>Results: Out of a total of around 4000 SMEs contacted, 108 agreed to take part in the study (involving a questionnaire) and to share their experiences. On the basis of this research, strategies and methods for coping with corruption were published in the form of a handbook, which was distributed to SMEs. Similar projects are planned for other SEE countries.</p> <p>Website: www.integra.sk</p>	Croatia	Integra Foundation, KulturKontakt Austria, Ruke Association	Austria (€23,300), Integra Foundation (€12,900), Ruke Association (€4,300), Switzerland (€17,500)	January 2001–November 2001
	Second Chance for Older Drop-Outs	<p>This programme supported older students (aged 14–24) who had dropped out of school, helping them to complete their general education, while also providing vocational training. The duration of the course was 3.5 years.</p> <p>Results: This project enabled more than 300 students to resume their studies, at 11 pilot schools. Training was also provided for teachers (who were to offer psychological support), and for 10 community mediators.</p> <p>Website: www.cedu.ro</p>	Romania	Center Education 2000+ (Romania)	Center Education 2000+/OSI (€175,730), Norway (€100,000)	September 2000–August 2002
Young People	Democratic Youth Camps	<p>A youth camp was organised with the aim of fostering a culture of respect for human rights and democratic principles through debates, group discussions, role-playing, interviews, theatrical productions, etc.</p> <p>Results: An awareness-raising seminar was organised, followed by a camp involving 56 participants.</p>	Countries of South Eastern Europe	Council of Europe, ESIB, Hungary (Ministries of Education and Foreign Affairs)	European Youth Centre Budapest (€3,000), Freedom House Budapest (€5,500), Friedrich Naumann Foundation (€1,300), Hungary (€17,300)	12–18 June 2000

<p>“Nashe Maalo”: Children’s TV Series</p>	<p>The aim of this project was to promote tolerance and non-violent conflict resolution, and to familiarise children with other cultural groups through TV series. Results: 24 episodes were produced in four languages and broadcast on the largest TV network in FYROM and on five Albanian stations. In an impact study involving interviews with 240 children, it was found that perceptions of other ethnic groups were more positive after children had viewed the programmes. The series has received local and international awards. Website: www.sfcg.org</p>	<p>FYROM</p>	<p>US, Switzerland, Children’s TV Series (CTW), Search For Common Ground (SFCG)</p>	<p>US (€2,900,000), Switzerland (€609,677 + CHF 1,400,000)</p>	<p>2000–</p>
<p>Southeast Europe Youth Leadership Program</p>	<p>This civic education and leadership development project takes the form of training courses for secondary school students and educators. Results: 75 students took part in the first series of 6-day sessions held in Baltimore in July 2001; alumni subsequently initiated similar activities in their home countries. Four-week courses are now held annually in July on the campus of one or more US universities. In addition, activities are planned for alumni in the form of working groups. For the 2004 course, students and teachers were recruited from more than 121 secondary schools in South Eastern Europe (student-teacher ratio 5:1). Website: www.idebate.org/seeyli/</p>	<p>Bulgaria, FYROM, Kosovo, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia</p>	<p>International Debate Education Association, Open Society Institute, Towson University</p>	<p>US (State Department, OSI, universities): \$370,000 for 00/01; \$600,000 for 01/02; \$650,000 for 02/03; \$625,000 for 03/04; \$500,000 for 04/05</p>	<p>One course has been held in the US each year since 2001</p>
<p>youthNET</p>	<p>The youthNET project seeks to promote good-neighbourly relations and cooperation between young people through the organisation of cross-border activities. Results: The project comprises two phases: 2001–2002 and 2002–2005. In 2001–2002, youthNET organised seven contact and training seminars, which made it possible for relations to be established with the governments of all the countries of South Eastern Europe, and more than 700 youth organisations became active partners of youthNET, promoting its philosophy and participating in its activities. A website (www.iz.or.at/youthnet) was established as a youth information platform. In addition, the network supports cross-border projects initiated by young people in the region (on gender, cultural and environmental issues), not only financially but also by providing training and advice on project management. For phase II (2002–2005), a network of regional organisers was established (youthNET 2); 26 cross-border projects were carried out in 2003, and six National Workshops have already been organised with the active participation of regional NGOs.</p>	<p>Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, FYROM, Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro</p>	<p>Interkulturelles Zentrum Vienna</p>	<p>Austria (€360,000 + €89,000 from the Ministry for Social Security and Generations); European Commission (€201,000)</p>	<p>January 2001–2005</p>

History and History Teaching	Board of Eminent Historians	Workshops are organised with the aim of developing a network of young historians across the Balkans. At these events, junior scholars' research (doctoral dissertations) is presented and discussed, and methodological training is provided. Results: One or two workshops have been held each year. In 2000/2001, around 30 young historians had the opportunity to present their research. Website: www.cdsee.org	Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, FYROM, Kosovo, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia and Turkey	Association for Democracy in the Balkans, Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe (CDRSEE)	US (€103,000)	Annual workshops , from May 2000 to December 2005
	Conference On the Training of History Teachers	The aim of this conference was to take stock of the current situation regarding the training of history teachers in South Eastern Europe. Results: The conference defined priorities for the reform of teacher training and identified ways for teachers to introduce a comparative and transnational perspective and to handle sensitive topics.	Countries of South Eastern Europe	Council of Europe	Council of Europe (€8,000), Greece (€100,000)	28–30 September 2000
	Comparative Study (initial teacher training)	This study involved the completion of a questionnaire by ministry officials, researchers, university staff and teacher trainers, considering issues such as the number of hours devoted to history in schools; the balance between political, economic, social and cultural history teaching; and the background of history textbook authors. Results: The findings were analysed at meetings of experts in order to identify the most urgent problems. The study was to be submitted to the Council of Europe.	Countries of South Eastern Europe	Council of Europe, Institute for Economic and Social History (University of Vienna)	Austria (€35,931)	October 2000– December 2001
	National/ Regional History Teacher Training Seminars	Following the Conference on the Training of History Teachers (see above), a series of national and regional training seminars were organised. Results: Seven training seminars were held, with the participation of numerous history educators. Their adoption of innovative methods should contribute to the modernisation of history teaching and the reconciliation process. A booklet was prepared on “World War II in South Eastern Europe: a teaching guide on multiperspectivity”. The seminars provided an opportunity for exchanges of views and training on the handling of sensitive historical issues.	Countries of South Eastern Europe	Council of Europe	Austria (€35,931), Switzerland (€8,250)	December 2000– December 2001
	History Teachers' Education Project	This project involved a series of seven workshops, each dealing with a specific historical event. These enabled the participants to explore new teaching methods, abandoning national ideological interpretations and stereotypes. Results: The seven workshops facilitated the establishment of contacts between teachers and international experts. Website: www.cdsee.org	Countries of South Eastern Europe	Association for Democracy in the Balkans, Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe (CDRSEE)	Austria (€35,000), Norway (€40,000), Switzerland (€40,000)	December 2000– March 2002

Development of Joint Teaching Materials	The aim of this project was to develop joint teaching materials for the countries concerned and to build bridges between their perceptions of history. Results: Seminars and other activities were organised, leading to the production of a teachers' guide, which was published in the three beneficiary countries. This book deals with social history after 1945, seeking to foster mutual understanding and highlighting elements that unite rather than divide these countries. The approach is comparative, focusing on active teaching and learning methods. Seminars were organised to support the implementation of these teaching materials. Website: www.eurocliohistory.org	Albania, FYROM, Bulgaria	European Standing Conference of History Teachers' Association (EUROCLIO)	Netherlands (€75,085)	December 2000–June 2003
Co-ordination of Textbook Research	The aim of the project was to promote cross-border communication between textbook authors, education policy-makers and scholars. It also sought to introduce methods of presenting history using new media, supporting cross-border research. Results: Various events were organised, including seminars and workshops, study visits, and a summer school held in Braunschweig in 2001. Contacts were established in the region to ensure that developments in textbook research would have an impact on pedagogical practice. A journal on "Minorities in Textbooks in South Eastern Europe" was published.	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, FYROM	Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research	Germany (€192,000 + €1,000)	August 2000–July 2002 (December for Serbia and Montenegro)
Creating Additional Materials for Teaching SEE History	The aim of this project was to overcome the misuse of history and show students that they can learn from their own and their neighbours' history, by developing textbooks that highlight the common cultural and historical characteristics of the countries in the region. The objective was to produce two university-level and two secondary school-level textbooks. Results: Workshops were organised, leading to the production of two secondary school-level textbooks on "Childhood" and "Women and Men in the Past", introducing socio-historical topics to complement the conventional factual approach to history. The project would also appear to have been successful in establishing an active network of non-nationalist historians prepared to adopt a new historical perspective.	Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, FYROM, Romania	Association for Social History (University of Belgrade), Center for the Study of Balkan Societies and Cultures (CSBSC), International Seminar for Balkan Studies and Specialization	Austria (€95,005), CSBSC (€5,495), OSCE (€50,872)	August 2000–August 2002

<p>Publication of a multi-author textbook of 20th century SEE history/ Translation and publication of key studies of recent regional history</p>	<p>This project sought to develop new resources for the renewal and pluralisation of history education. It comprised two initiatives: a) production of a book on 20th century history serving as a model of multi-vocal history writing (multi-authored work) b) translation into local SEE languages and publication of key studies of recent regional history. Results: a) A series of seven preparatory meetings were held, to select the participants and discuss their contributions to the final volume. Subsequently, each contributor wrote an article for a joint CEU publication: John Lampe and Mark Mazower (eds) "Ideologies and National Identities. The Case of Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe". Budapest, CEU Press, 2003. b) A call for proposals on research and textbook writing was issued, followed by competitions for publishers. A website devoted to the research projects (www.osa.ceu.hu) was established.</p>	<p>Countries of South Eastern Europe</p>	<p>Central European University, Open Society Archives</p>	<p>Open Society Institute (€205,334), US (€76,705)</p>	<p>April 2001–2002</p>
<p>Shared History Project</p>	<p>This project represents a model of working together to analyse the construction of conflicting narratives around a single historical event. The event selected was the burning of the city of Smyrna in 1922. Results: A 350- to 400-page volume was planned – "The Burning of Smyrna 1922", comprising twenty-odd essays by experts in the field. Although it is no longer certain that the volume will be published, the project has fostered good relations between academics working at the two universities.</p>	<p>Greece, Turkey</p>	<p>Department of Political Science and History (Panteion University Athens), Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (Sabanci University Istanbul)</p>	<p>Panteion and Sabanci Universities, US (\$60,000)</p>	<p>January 2001–2002</p>
<p>Development of History Curricula for Pre-university Education</p>	<p>This project was designed to support the development of new history curricula for pre-university education in Albania, placing regional history in a broader context and in a positive light. In addition, the curricula were not to concentrate solely on content, but also to include teaching methods and the selection of sources. Results: An advisory mission was organised (23–24 February 2001), to discuss existing history curricula with the Albanian specialists and to present examples from other European countries, which could help in the preparation of new history curricula.</p>	<p>Albania</p>	<p>Council of Europe</p>	<p>Switzerland (€12,500)</p>	<p>December 2000–December 2001</p>

Appendix 3: Overview of new priority projects

(In the preparation of this overview, information was obtained not only from documents available online but also from project coordinators contacted directly. The names of those who replied are listed in the Bibliography. The 14 projects for which funding was approved and which were therefore carried out are indicated by shading; while some of the other 13 projects may also have been carried out, this would have been done outside the Process framework, and no information is available in such cases.)

WORKING GROUP	PROJECT TITLE	PROJECT OUTLINE and RESULTS	BENEFICIARIES	IMPLEMENTER(S)	ESTIMATED BUDGET* – DONORS	PROJECT DATES (START–END)
Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC)	EDC: From Policy to Effective Practice through Quality Assurance (EDC-QA)	Based on the results of the “Stocktaking Research” project and the OECD Thematic Reviews, the aim of this project is to strengthen EDC processes within school systems and to strengthen the processes of governance in education, ensuring policy implementation through the establishment of effective local quality assurance systems. The project is to be carried out at the regional, national and school level, with three phases of research and development: (1) laying the foundations, (2) training and piloting, (3) finalisation of the EDC-QA instruments. Results: Phase 1: a conception of quality assurance systems and their constituents has been developed; national reports on quality assurance in education systems have been produced; obstacles to and assets of QA have been identified; international QA models have been collected; contacts have been established with Ministries and international organisations; draft texts have been prepared for the EDC-QA Tool Kit; a project website has been established within the SEE ECN framework (www.see-educoop.net).	Countries of South Eastern Europe	CEPS Ljubljana	€752,840: Norway (€200,000), UNESCO (\$40,000), Council of Europe (€17,600)	2003–2006
	Monitoring for Educational Equity	Based on the findings of “Denied a Future? The Right to Education of Roma Children”, this project seeks to develop the research and analytical skills needed to monitor outcomes associated with educational reforms introduced for Roma children.	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro, Romania	Save the Children Fund	€104,035	November 2002–October 2005

* These figures are given for guidance only, and their accuracy cannot be guaranteed. In most cases, they are merely initial estimates. While some were furnished by the project coordinators who were contacted directly, most are taken from “Priority Projects in Targeted Areas”, Task Force Education and Youth, 2002.

Regional Training for EDC Multipliers	<p>Based on training needs identified in the region, the aim of this project was to train local experts to provide support for the implementation of reforms. These practitioners were to be placed at the disposal of policy makers. Various training activities were conceived for this purpose (research and analysis of the situation, seminars and conferences, development of a toolbox and training modules, etc.).</p> <p>Results: At the final conference, held in Budapest in September 2004, a toolbox was presented to the other countries of the region. This consists of a website, providing information on concrete activities for EDC promoters (see http://www.intercultural.ro/edc/html/index.php). Various proposals were made for its dissemination, and a follow-up project may be carried out.</p>	Albania, Montenegro, Serbia and Romania	KulturKontakt Austria	Switzerland (€2,500)	2002–September 2004
Introducing Systemic Monitoring and Evaluation in EDC (I.M.PACT)	<p>The goal of this project is to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of EDC projects by fostering a local project planning, monitoring and evaluation culture, and an environment for sharing and consultation. To this end, it seeks to offer methodological support, to establish a network of expertise and consultation, to train project coordinators and initiators, and to create a network for sharing information and good practice.</p> <p>Results: The initial preparatory phase – identifying needs and analysing the situation in each country – has been carried out. Training courses and a website are currently being developed.</p>	Albania, Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro, Moldova, Romania	KulturKontakt Austria	€160,000: Switzerland (€160,000)	April 2003–November 2004
Reconciliation through Dialogue in the Balkans	<p>The aim of this project was to promote dialogue and facilitate interaction between the various communities on the basis of an existing network of eight Dialogue Centres and a ninth location of activities. This network was to be strengthened by (1) a programme of cross-border seminars and (2) efforts to improve the monitoring and evaluation of dialogue activities.</p> <p>Results: Not available.</p>	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, Kosovo, FYROM	International Peace Research Institute (Oslo)	€150,650: Norway (€50,000)	July 2002–December 2002
UNESCO Education Server Program in SEE	<p>This project addressed two major problems encountered in the education reform process: a lack of training for civic education “multipliers” and a lack of information resources (libraries, books, etc) due to poor knowledge of foreign languages among teachers. The project thus sought to provide multilingual information resources and training for teachers and multipliers.</p> <p>Results: A programme on “Basics of Civic Education” was developed in all the languages of the region, and training on ICT was organised for 1500 teachers, students and multipliers. A new e-learning module was developed in all the languages of the region, together with an online forum on experiences and good practice in EDC.</p> <p>Website: www.dadalos.org</p>	Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro	D@dalos (B&H)	Norway (€100,000), Switzerland (€125,830.52), UNESCO (€4,580.15), Westminster Foundation for Democracy (€23,839.22), Germany (€59,515.13)	2002–December 2003

Open Balkan School	The aim of this project was to establish a regional network for educators, facilitating the exchange of know-how on good practices. The network was to involve pilot schools, NGOs in education and representatives of Education Ministries.	Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro, Kosovo, Romania	Center Education 2000+	€253,300	12 months
Interactive Community School Development	This project sought to provide training for teachers and school management, based on the experiences with a pilot school in B&H. A network of 12 pilot schools was to be established in the region. Training was to be organised, and development teams were to be established in each school, as well as parents' associations. Expert teams were to facilitate the introduction of community school and democratic management principles. Results: Not available.	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro	Freudenberg Stiftung	€153,620: Germany (€10,000 + €50,000) KulturKontakt (€5,000)	August 2002–July 2004
Intercultural Co-operation for Education on Efficient Democratic Citizenship	The objectives of this project were to strengthen regional cooperation between educational institutions and to disseminate experience and best practices in the EDC field among key actors in the countries concerned. To this end, training seminars and workshops were planned, and access to an international civic education database was to be facilitated for teachers, students, NGOs and media representatives. The foundations were to be laid for joint projects involving civil society institutions from these countries.	Serbia and Montenegro, Moldova, Romania	Invisible College Moldova	€41,494	September 2002–August 2003
Raising Awareness and Promoting Young Citizens' Participation in the "Future of Europe" Debate in Southeastern Europe	The aim of this project was to raise public awareness, in the countries concerned, of the importance of regional cooperation in the context of EU enlargement. It therefore sought to establish a mechanism (network) enabling young experts in the region to engage in dialogue on their future member roles and common future within the EU, in the light of citizens' participation in democratic governance. In addition, a website was to be established, providing information and a forum for debate on the future of Europe.	Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro, FYROM, Romania	Economic Policy Institute	€42,333	October 2002–January 2004
Meeting our Neighbours	This project represented the second stage of a regional initiative bringing together literary experts, NGOs and educational institutions from ten South Eastern European countries, with the aim of using literature to improve mutual understanding. A further aim was to promote literature as an effective way of building a positive collective identity. The second stage focused on the introduction of the Literature Teaching Manual and the elaboration of a guide for teachers.	Countries of South Eastern Europe	Center for Educational Initiatives (Sofia)	€106,888	May 2002–April 2003

Young People	Between the Lines of South Eastern Europe	This programme was designed to support and encourage active youth in the region by promoting cross-border cooperation between young people and raising their awareness of issues such as tolerance, interculturality and the problems and potential of the region. The activities planned took the form of seminars and the subsequent development of local projects, together with a newsletter facilitating the exchange of information on the network's projects and activities. Results: Not available.	Countries of South Eastern Europe	CommunityArts, Berlin	€196,409: European Commission Youth Programme (€ 7,466)	June 2002–December 2003
	Youth Mosaic	The objective of this project was to support the elaboration of Youth Community Action Plans (YCAP), as a way for young people to contribute actively to their environment. The young people were to receive training, and three Youth Centres were to be established to serve as an operational base. Results: Not available.	Albania, FYROM, Serbia and Montenegro	Balkan Association for Friendship and Co-operation	€ 1,970: Germany (€10,000)	June 2002–June 2003
	Balkan Youth Project: Strengthening the Youth Sector in SEE	This project consisted of training courses, contact forums and study visits, designed to strengthen the youth sector in the region and to promote democratic values. Youth NGOs were to become more widely integrated as a result of the project.	Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, FYROM, Serbia and Montenegro, including Kosovo	European Youth Forum	€ 11,000	April 2002–March 2005
	East Youth Net	The objective of this project was to develop a network of youth NGOs in the three countries concerned, to facilitate cross-border cooperation, and thus to promote mutual respect between the various cultures. A workshop was to be organised and information exchanged through a two-monthly bulletin and a website. (It should be noted that although this was similar to the "YouthNet" quick start project, the two projects are unrelated.)	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Moldova, Romania	Romanian Youth Association	€ 2,160	June 2002–June 2004
	Building Youth Leadership and Strengthening Regional Co-operation	This project was designed to empower young people to improve their own situation and to improve cross-border cooperation between them. A series of training sessions and concrete activities were planned.	Albania, Kosovo and Montenegro	Partners-Albania	€116,017	18 months
	Balkan Bridges	This project sought to promote tolerance and respect for ethnic and social differences among young people, based on a philosophy of volunteer activity in the social sphere (working with children from different ethnic communities, children with disabilities, orphans, etc.). Support was to be provided for the establishment of youth clubs, activity programmes and regional networking, together with the exchange of good practices.	Albania, Bulgaria, FYROM, Serbia and Montenegro	Free Youth Center	€ 2,940	September 2002–December 2003

	"Brundibar" South East Europe	This project, built around the opera "Brundibar" by the Czech composer Hans Krasa, was designed to raise awareness among young people of issues such as responsible citizenship, their European identity and shared historical heritage, and the values of tolerance, solidarity and respect. These objectives were to be achieved through research, practical extracurricular activities such as Brundibar workshops, staging of opera performances, and debates and discussions.	Countries of South Eastern Europe	Jeunesses Musicales Macedonia	€192,580	July 2002– June 2003
	European Human Bridges 2002: Disability and Sport	The aim of this project was to promote integration of all kinds, focusing on tolerance and anti-discrimination efforts among young people. Annual meetings were to be organised, with participants being encouraged to develop relations in the intervening period; the topic for 2002 was "Disability and Sport". The idea was to have an environment without facilities and not specially equipped as a challenge for the participants, and to compare this situation with what is usually offered by well-equipped centres for disabled people. Results: Not available.	Countries of South Eastern Europe	Intercultural Institute Timisoara	€24,600: Austria (€10,000)	February 2002– November 2002
	Open Fun Football Schools	This project, which already existed before being integrated into the Process, seeks to stimulate the process of democracy, peace, stability and social cohesion by re-establishing sports cooperation and friendly visits between clubs, municipalities, schools, etc. Planned activities include 1-week football schools for children of all origins, multiethnic training seminars for leaders and trainers, and street events with various sports activities for children. Results: Two training seminars and regional working groups were organised; a website (www.ccpa.dk) was established; four international camps, sports demonstrations, school sports programmes, etc., were organised; two cross-border schools were developed. The project is ongoing.	Bosnia and Herzegovina, FYROM, Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia	Open Fun Football Schools	€30,000: SIDA Sweden (€200,000)	January 2003– December 2003
History and History Teaching	Continuing Education Project for SEE Textbook Authors and Curricular Planners in "History" and "Civics"	This project, based on the results of earlier research, involves the analysis of history and civics textbooks and curricula with a view to facilitating reforms. Planned activities included seminars on new methods in the development of teaching materials, the elaboration of new materials, expansion of the online network on textbook and curricular developments, and dissemination of the results of the project.	Countries of South Eastern Europe	Georg Eckert Institute	€250,800	January 2003– December 2004

History and History Teaching: Creating Additional Teaching Materials	This project, a follow-up to a quick start project, involves the creation and dissemination of alternative teaching materials on topics such as religion; labour; youth, urban and rural cultures; clothing; eating and drinking, etc. Planned lines of activity include: the Academic Publication Programme (for newly developed materials), the "Creating Additional Teaching Materials Programme", the "Project Developing Programme" (dissemination), and training seminars for secondary school teachers (on use of the materials) and university teachers.	Countries of South Eastern Europe	Center for the Study of Balkan Societies and Cultures (University of Graz)	€401,045	September 2002– August 2005
Teaching Modern Southeast European History	This project is a response to the demand for material other than standard textbooks, which emerged from workshops organised by the Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe. Four teaching packs were to be developed on the following topics: the Ottoman Empire, the Creation of Balkan Nation-States, the Balkan Wars, and the Second World War. In these packs, different points of view were to be presented, emphasising the importance of multiperspectivity. Results: Four teaching packs were prepared and evaluation workshops were organised for teachers. The packs have been translated and published throughout the region.	Countries of South Eastern Europe	Center for Democracy and Reconciliation	€32,204: US government, USAID, Germany (€80,000 in total)	2 years (2002–2004)
The Ottoman Administration in the Balkans from Historical Perspective and its Perception Today	This project involves research on the Ottoman period, designed to promote a better understanding of the past shared by the countries of South Eastern Europe and a recognition of this heritage as a way of rebuilding confidence between minorities and majorities in the region.	Countries of South Eastern Europe	Turkish Historical Society, Montenegro Association of Historians and History Teachers	€75,000	November 2002– November 2004
Talking with and about our Neighbours	The objective of this project is to utilise history teaching as a means of confidence building between ethnic minorities and majorities in South Eastern Europe. Accordingly, teaching materials were to be developed on the recent history of minorities, together with teacher training materials (use of oral sources). Training seminars were to be organised, and a network of partner schools was to be developed, with appropriate classroom activities. Results: School teaching materials have been developed (e.g. CD-ROM), training seminars held, and local, national and regional meetings organised. At the first workshop, "The Year 1940 in History" was discussed. The next topic will be minorities during the Communist regime. Website: www.neighbours.ise.ro	Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro, Moldova and Romania	Institute for Educational Sciences	€30,000: Norway (€100,000)	Autumn 2002– Autumn 2005

	Are we Afraid of our Past? A Focus on Controversial and Sensitive Issues in the History of Southeast Europe	This project was to focus on practical ways of teaching and learning in the classroom about sensitive issues in South Eastern European history. Planned activities include teacher training workshops, the establishment of a regional network (five pilot schools per country), support for teachers in developing their own resources, and the establishment of a discussion forum and a website (for information exchange, dissemination of project results, etc.).	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, FYROM, Serbia and Montenegro, Greece, Romania and Turkey	Center Education 2000+	€120,000	2002–2004
	Mastering the Past – Addressing the Future	This project was designed to provide methods and resources for dealing with the history of the region. Based primarily on recollections and individual experiences, three types of methods were to be used: biographical learning, local history and working with memorials. In addition, educators were to be trained in these three areas, and four resource centres were to be established to provide methodological support for the implementation and dissemination of these approaches.	Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro	Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association	€76,250	September 2002–August 2003
Other priority projects	Education Development for Disabled and at Risk Students	Based on previous research such as the OECD Thematic Reviews, this new project is designed to initiate educational reforms to improve provision for students with disabilities or other special (social, psychological, personal, etc.) needs. Six objectives have been defined: (1) to carry out in-depth reviews of available educational provision for students with disabilities and for those at risk, covering legal and policy contexts, school organisation, curriculum, pedagogy, teacher training, and statistics and indicators; (2) to develop action plans based on these reviews; (3) to implement these action plans; (4) to develop statistics and indicators providing a quantitative account of the provision made for these students; (5) to develop in-service training in the primary school sector, which if successful could be transferred to secondary schools; and (6) to disseminate the results through regular meetings and a final conference. The project is scheduled to run for three years, with the first year being devoted to preparation and achievement of the first objective, the second to the implementation and evaluation of action plans (objectives 2–5), and the third to the continuation of activities and the dissemination of results (objectives 2–6). Results: The activities planned for the first two years appear to have been carried out.	Countries of South Eastern Europe (except Albania/ negotiations under way)	OECD	€1,458,115: World Bank (€100,000), Norway (€50,000), Flemish community	3 years (first meeting in September 2003)

	SEE-ECN (continuation of quick start project)	<p>The South East European Educational Cooperation Network (SEE ECN) is a website offering general information on the education systems of the countries in the region (legislation, documentation, etc.) and on the activities of the Pact and the Process in the languages of the beneficiary countries. An expert database and a database of international education projects in the region are also available. The site thus represents a virtual library for education in the region. Overseen by a Governing Board and a Steering Committee established by the Task Force on Education and Youth, the SEE ECN adopted an Initial Charter in November 2001.</p> <p>Results: This network is certainly the best example of a highly successful project carried out by the Process. Regional "nodes" have been established in all the countries concerned to collect documents and contribute to the development and promotion of the network. These nodes are generally NGOs. Current project activities include updating the site and organising regional training workshops.</p>	Countries of South Eastern Europe	KulturKontakt Austria, University of Ljubljana/CEPS	<p>Open Society Institute (€80,000 Oct. 00–Oct. 02; \$33,000 Sept. 03–July 04), KulturKontakt Austria (€88,364 Dec. 00–Oct. 02; €76,755 Feb. 03–July 04), US (\$24,000 Feb. 01–Feb. 02), Open Society Education Programs (\$60,000 Dec. 01–Dec. 02; \$30,000 Dec. 03–Dec. 04), Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (€30,000 Jan. 03–Dec. 04)</p>	February 2001–
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