

Social justice at the intersection of education and the arts in post-conflict contexts

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is their own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

Global violent conflict is on the rise. Conflict both affects and is affected by education, and the role that education can play for peacebuilding and social justice is recognised in international resolutions and declarations. However, formal education remains an under-used resource in peacebuilding, and only a limited body of literature explores the role of non-formal education (NFE) for social justice in conflict-affected settings, despite the wide and diverse range of NFE programmes running with young people. There has similarly been a proliferation of arts-based programmes working with young people in these settings. However, there is strikingly little dialogue between the disciplinary fields of education and the arts in conflict-affected contexts. This thesis argues that, theoretically, these educations - formal, non-formal, and arts-based - are deeply interconnected and demonstrates their potential when understood as such.

I examine social justice at the intersection of education and the arts in post-conflict contexts. This approach reveals the importance of theorising affect to understand mechanisms of social justice and bridge these two disciplinary fields. Having argued that this is a missing link, I draw on qualitative empirical data, generated with participants in Cambodia and Kosovo, to develop the conceptualisation of 'affective recognition'. I show that in these contexts, affective recognition has economies that work towards transformative social justice. I argue that affective recognition can disrupt structures that exclude certain groups from participating in society; and can politically empower young people, working to mediate their relationship with their past, present and future. Contrastingly, these economies also have the potential to promote social injustice. I conclude, therefore, that recognising, conceptualising and articulating affective recognition makes a much-needed contribution to scholarly discourses by helping to develop and refine notions of social justice, peacebuilding, post-memorial work, and reconciliation in educational and arts-based programmes with young people in conflict-affected contexts.

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List of Abbreviations

ACT	Arts, Critical Thinking and Active Citizenship
CPK	Communist Party of Kampuchea
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CTS	Changing the Story
DK	Democratic Kampuchea
ECCC	Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia
EU	European Union
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GCRF	Global Challenges Research Fund
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
KR	Khmer Rouge
LDK	Democratic League of Kosovo
MME	The Making of the Museum of Education
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NFE	Non-Formal Education
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PRK	People's Republic of Kampuchea
SAGE	Scientific Advisory Group for Emergencies
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SQ	Sub-question
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia

1. Introduction

At the time of writing this thesis, global violent conflict is on the rise. Since 2007, the number of wars (generally defined as conflicts which result in 1,000 or more deaths a year) has tripled and lower-intensity conflicts have also increased by over 60%. As of 2020, there were more violent conflicts globally than there have been at any other stage over the last three decades (United Nations and World Bank, 2018, p.299, World Bank, 2020). These conflicts are primarily taking place within states and between non-state armed groups, although as I sit writing this Introduction, Russia is continuing a brutal invasion of Ukraine.

These conflicts necessarily affect young people's access to, and experiences of, education. According to UNICEF, 1 in 3 out-of-school children live in conflict affected-countries and 1 in 5 children in these countries have never been to school (UNICEF, 2018). Students, teachers, and school infrastructure are considered legitimate targets in conflict by combatants, resulting in widespread school closures and/or fear to attend school (UNESCO, 2011, Htut et al., 2022, Seitz, 2004, Bush and Salterelli, 2000, Burde et al., 2017, Petersen, 2014, GCPEA, 2018). Conflict results in mass displacement which is a major cause of low enrolment rates, and refugees and migrants are often faced with a lack of educational options, or problematic and exclusionary education systems (Shohel, 2020, Zeno, 2021, Mendenhall et al., 2017). Indirectly, conflict impacts education by diverting money away from education both during the conflict, and in the protracted economic crises which invariably follow (Novelli and Lopes Cardozo, 2008, Hove and Ndawana, 2019, UNESCO, 2011). Despite this, education is often neglected in the humanitarian aid system, and spending on education "continues to be the most underfunded sector in humanitarian appeals", getting caught in the grey area between humanitarian aid and long-term development assistance (INEE, 2020, p.10, EFA, 2011).

However, as well as being affected by conflict, education also affects conflict. In their seminal text, Bush and Salterelli (2000) present the concept of the two faces of education, demonstrating the

contradictory roles that education can play in countries affected by conflict. They argue that education can create, reproduce, and enhance the inequalities which fuel conflict and legitimise violence, discrimination and othering. At the same time, education can reduce these inequalities, promote peacebuilding, and work towards transformative societal change: as well as contributing to violence, education can also contribute to positive peace. Positive peace refers to the absence of structural violence, in a socially just society; namely a society in which violence is unlikely to reoccur (Galtung, 1976). It is distinct from negative peace which refers simply to the absence of direct violence and war. Galtung (1976) mapped these concepts of positive and negative peace to peacebuilding and peacekeeping in conflict affected societies, where peacekeeping refers to maintaining an absence of direct violence in a country overcoming war (negative peace), and peacebuilding refers to developing a society in which the inequalities and injustices that led to conflict are overcome (positive peace).

Its potential to do the opposite notwithstanding, education can play an important role in peacebuilding. Peacebuilding education deals with the manifestations and causes of violence, whilst promoting students' critical thinking and critical engagement with histories in the conflict (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015, Millican et al., 2021). It allows a link from past to present issues in a way that enables young people to reflect on the daily ethical challenges that they face (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015). The ultimate aim of peacebuilding (education) is sustainable, socially just, transformative change in a society (Bush and Salterelli, 2000, Novelli et al., 2015).

The role of education for peacebuilding and social justice has been highlighted at the United Nations (UN). The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 2250, for example, states that "the disruption of youth's access to education and economic opportunities has a dramatic impact on durable peace and reconciliation" (UNSC, 2015, p.1) and "stresses the importance of creating policies for youth that would positively contribute to peacebuilding efforts, including [...] fostering their education..." (UNSC, 2015, p.4). The resolution urges states to support "... quality education for

peace that equips youth with the ability to engage constructively in civic structures and inclusive political processes” and highlights the role that education can play in preventing the marginalisation of young people (UNSC, 2015, p.4). These statements were reaffirmed three years later in UNSC Resolution 2419, which reiterated “the right to education and its contribution to the achievement of peace and security” and restated the role of education in contributing to peacebuilding (UNSC, 2018, p.2). The UN Secretary General’s 2020 Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace report highlights the need for “[p]rioritizing education in approaches to peace” (UNGA, 2020, p.13). The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) similarly reflect the role of education for peacebuilding, with SDG 4.7 calling for all learners to “acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including... a culture of peace and non-violence” (UNGA, 2015, p.17).

However, despite these declarations, education remains an under-used resource in wider peacebuilding efforts. The main international actors involved in peacebuilding on the ground typically prioritise “security” issues over addressing inequalities and improving social services. Indeed investment in social services such as formal education falls significantly behind investments in security provisions in UN peacebuilding programmes (Novelli and Smith, 2011, INEE, 2020). In other words, the focus remains on ensuring negative peace instead of, or at least before, positive peace.

Nevertheless, these academic and policy-led calls for the role of education for peacebuilding demonstrate the transformative potential of education in contributing to social justice in conflict-affected societies. In order to conceptualise how education can contribute to transformative justice, in this thesis I draw on, and extend, the work of Nancy Fraser. Fraser argues that justice is three-dimensional, based on redistribution, recognition and representation (the ‘three Rs’). The normative core that brings these spheres together is that of participatory parity; the notion that justice “requires social arrangements that permit all (adult) members of society to interact with one another as peers” (Fraser, 1996 p.30). Whilst these spheres of justice are analytically distinct, Fraser

highlights that in reality they are deeply interconnected, and often competing. This results in “a vicious circle in which the three orders of injustice reinforce one another, denying some people the chance to participate on par with others in social life” (Fraser, 2008c, p.165). Given the competing and reinforcing nature of injustice, Fraser argues that remedies for justice require *transformative* rather than affirmative action and change. Transformative remedies focus on correcting unjust outcomes by restructuring the underlying frameworks that create the injustices from occurring, as opposed to affirmative change, which seeks to correct unjust outcomes, and leave the underlying framework that creates them intact (Fraser, 1995).

Fraser’s focus on transformative change makes this conceptualisation of justice particularly relevant to research and practice in post-conflict contexts. The notions of negative peace, peacekeeping and peace education and positive peace, peacebuilding and peacebuilding education can be mapped onto these notions of affirmative and transformative change. Peacebuilding (education) is precisely about transformative change; restructuring the underlying frameworks that create the inequalities and injustices that can lead to, or directly cause, violence and war.

In Fraser’s work, **redistribution** reflects the economic dimension of justice, “rooted in the political-economic structure of society” (Fraser, 1995, p.70) and requiring the just distribution of resources and a just political economy. Fraser refers to this as the “*objective condition* of participatory parity” (Fraser, 2001, p.29). Redistributive injustice includes exploitation, economic marginalisation and deprivation, and disparities in wealth, income, and leisure time. **Recognition** reflects the socio-cultural dimension of justice, which Fraser describes as the “*intersubjective condition* of participatory parity” (Fraser, 2001, p.29). Misrecognition includes cultural domination, non-recognition, disrespect, and “institutionalized value patterns that deny some people the status of full partners in interaction – whether by burdening them with excessive ascribed ‘difference’ or by failing to acknowledge their distinctiveness” (Fraser, 2001, p.29). The final ‘R’; **representation**, reflects the political dimension of justice and explores the frame of justice, that is “who are the relevant subjects

entitled to a just distribution or reciprocal recognition in the given case” (Fraser, 2008c, p.15). Fraser argues that there are two levels to misrepresentation; ordinary misrepresentation where certain people are denied the possibility of participating equally with others in society, and misframing where decisions are made that exclude people from becoming members of a political community through which they can press justice claims (Fraser, 2008c). Using the words of Hannah Arendt, when someone is misframed, they lose the right to have rights (Arendt, 1949, Fraser, 2005).

Fraser’s framework therefore provides a comprehensive analytical framework for understanding the manifestation of inequalities and injustices in and through education at the economic (redistribution), socio-cultural (recognition), and political (representation) levels, and how these spheres can contribute to, or exacerbate, conflict. At the same time the framework allows us to explore manifestations of (in)justice in a society *after* violence and conflict that may hamper or enable transformative change, social justice and peacebuilding. As Olson writes, Fraser’s conceptualisation of justice makes the “presently chaotic scene [of justice and injustices], surveyable and intelligible” (Olson, 2008a, p.8). I therefore use and adapt her framework to analyse issues around whose histories are recognised or excluded in the “political and cultural memorial structures” (Hirsch, 2012, p.33), collective memories, and national narratives of a society and within education, and whose voices are represented and marginalised in conceptualisations about the future. I examine issues around whether educational programmes working with young people contribute to transformative change, or if they are hampered in doing so through processes of (mal/re)distribution, (mis)recognition, and (mis)representation. Exploring such issues helps to understand how injustices might be remedied through education in order to promote social justice and peacebuilding, as defined above. In the process of using Fraser’s framework as a lens to analyse the case study programmes, I interrogate and reconceptualise the idea of recognition to improve its applicability to formal and non-formal education in post-conflict settings

In this thesis, I adopt a broad understanding of education, including both formal and non-formal education (NFE). Broadly speaking, formal education refers to education received in formal educational institutions, such as schools and universities, whereas non-formal education can be defined as education planned and organised to offer learning opportunities and spaces, but provided in a more flexible manner than formal education. Coombs et al. (1973, p.9) coined non-formal education as “an organized educational activity outside the established formal system – whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity, that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives.”. Rogers (2005, pp.248-249) identifies two key factors that mean defining and using the discourse of NFE has value: Firstly, NFE discourse highlights that there is more education than that delivered and defined by Ministries of Education. NFE points to opportunities outside of the discourse and practice dominated by ministries and donors. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, NFE discourse highlights non-formality and flexibility, which have been at the heart of NFE programmes from their conception and allow for flexible modes of learning that can be adapted to local and group-specific needs.

However, despite the fact that a wide and diverse range of NFE programmes run in conflict and post-conflict contexts, academic literature exploring education in these settings primarily focuses on formal education, and literature explicitly referring to the role of NFE in conflict-affected countries is limited (Datzberger, 2017). This suggests that the potential of non-formal education to foster societal transformation and positive peace is un(der)used, or at least under-attended to by scholars. The potential that the inherent flexibility of NFE provides in meeting diverse educational needs and integrating different histories and constructions of knowledge means that the role these programmes play in peacebuilding and social justice demands further exploration (Datzberger, 2017).

Similarly, there has been a proliferation of (participatory) arts-based programmes working with young people in conflict-affected contexts, and an expanding body of literature exploring these

programmes (although the field remains relatively small compared to that of education). This literature, reflecting the concept of the two faces of education, highlights how the arts can both contribute to sustainable peace and promote and sustain violence. However, despite their shared dynamics, there is strikingly little dialogue between the fields of education and the arts in conflict-affected settings. Furthermore, whilst numerous conceptual frameworks have been developed to explore the role of education in peacebuilding and social justice, there is a notable absence of these frameworks exploring the role of arts-based programmes in particular. This suggests a missed opportunity for mutual learning and an unnecessary limitation to understanding and conceptualising the dynamics at play in programmes working with young people in conflict and post-conflict settings.

In this thesis, I argue that the fields of the arts and education in conflict-affected societies are inextricably linked. Firstly, arts-based programmes with young people in post-conflict societies, particularly those with the inherent aim of contributing to peacebuilding and social justice, can often be conceptualised as non-formal education (NFE) programmes. Many arts-based programmes, and certainly those analysed through this thesis, fit the definition of NFE; by aiming, for example, to educate young people about the past, promote activism or build skills, whilst operating outside of formal institutions and providing flexibility and non-formality to learners. Conceptualising arts-based programmes as NFE initiatives enables an understanding of how arts-based programmes specifically contribute to learning and pedagogy, and further demonstrates the importance for shared learning between scholarship and practice in the arts and education.

Moreover, neither formal education, nor arts-based (NFE) initiatives operate within a vacuum. Such initiatives are always part of a broader social structure and system, within which young people are shaped by collective narratives and “political and cultural memorial structures” (Hirsch, 2012, p.33). Formal education forms a part of this structure, and is often (though not exclusively) a venue where dominant or national narratives are reproduced (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, p.67). NFE and arts-based programmes necessarily operate within this structure. Young people’s engagement in

educational initiatives is therefore inevitably shaped by the wider societal narratives and structures that they are exposed to, including different educational structures and systems. What young people learn in formal education, for example, will shape their understandings of issues addressed in arts-based NFE programmes, and vice versa. These narratives may confirm, problematise or conflict with one another, leaving young people to mediate what they learn in different (educational) settings. Formal education and arts-based NFE initiatives are therefore inextricably linked by the lived experiences of their young participants.

Given the proliferation of educational and arts-based programmes in post-conflict contexts, and the importance of understanding processes of transformative social justice within these settings, the objective of this thesis is to examine social justice at the intersection of formal education and arts in post-conflict contexts. I explicitly draw on Fraser's framework to study this intersection. I therefore adopt, interrogate and adapt Fraser's conceptualisation of social justice in order to create a dialogue between these disciplinary fields. The main research question guiding this work is "How do programmes working at the intersection of formal education and participatory arts in post-conflict settings reflect and contribute to social justice and peacebuilding?". In order to answer this research question, I use a qualitative, constructivist methodology to analyse programmes that are part of the Changing the Story (CTS) programme. CTS is a Global Challenges Research Fund project, funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council as part of the UK's Official Development Assistance (ODA). CTS explores how the arts, heritage and human rights education can support youth-centred approaches to civil society building in 12 post-conflict countries across the world. In this thesis I focus especially on three CTS projects in Cambodia and Kosovo, which use participatory filmmaking, animation, music, sound and archiving to engage college and university students in discussions about the past.

Through exploring the intersection of formal education and arts-based programmes, I find that programmes working at this intersection of educations can contribute to social justice and

peacebuilding. I demonstrate that programmes can, in particular, contribute to both potentially transformative representational and recognitional justice. However, moving beyond Fraser's conceptualisation, I find that a particular form of recognition was elicited through the programmes that I will conceptualise in this thesis as *affective recognition*. The young participants of this study frequently referred to a visceral connection they felt with the past, developed through their engagement with the CTS projects. The majority of participants had only received a very narrow and positivist account of history within their formal education which left them with a lot of uncertainties about the conflicts in their respective countries, and the continued influence of these conflicts on society today. However, through the participatory, intergenerational and arts-based methodologies used in the CTS projects, as well as the presentation of a broader, decentralised notion of history, young people began to affectively recognise the lived experience of the past. This affective recognition prompted a deeper and contextualised recognition of the lived experiences of different groups during conflict – groups whose narratives were often marginalised or excluded from the mainstream “political and cultural memorial structures” (Hirsch, 2012, p.33) and national narratives of conflict.

I develop this conceptualisation of affective recognition by drawing on scholarship from feminist cultural studies and particularly the work of Sarah Ahmed (2004, 2004a). Ahmed explains that affect and emotions have economies; that is they “do things, and they align individuals with communities – or bodily space with social space – through the very intensity of their attachments” (Ahmed, 2004a, p.119). For Ahmed, we need to investigate how affect and emotions “work, in concrete and particular ways, to mediate the relationship between the...individual and the collective.” (Ahmed, 2004a, p.119).

Through this thesis, I therefore examine the economies of affective recognition in the CTS programmes in Kosovo and Cambodia. I find that the economies of affective recognition work in ways which contribute to, and expand on, notions of peacebuilding, reconciliation and what is

termed in the literature as post-memorial work. Affective recognition enabled young people to develop a greater understanding of, and critically engage with, their country's past, present and future. It played a transformative role in group interactions, not least in disrupting victim-perpetrator binaries. It encouraged young people to take ownership of the past in order to work towards fostering increased social justice and, in Cambodia, reconciliation. Building on the idea of post-memorial work, as defined by Marianne Hirsch (2012), affective recognition therefore worked to deconstruct state "political and cultural memorial structures" by "*reactivate[ing]* and *re-embody[ing]* [these] more distant political and cultural memorial structures by reinvesting them with resonant individual and familial forms of meditation and aesthetic expression" (Hirsch, 2012, p.33).

There have long been calls to better understand the role of affect and emotions in education. Indeed, Cremin et al. (2018, p.295) specifically argue that greater attention needs to be paid to the role of emotion in and through education, and that one of the crises facing peacebuilding education today is "the dominant reliance on rational forms of learning often inconsistent with the transformative and inclusive purposes of peace education" (Cremin et al., 2018, p.300). I argue, therefore, that conceptualising affective recognition highlights a key, un(der)explored dynamic at the intersection of formal education, non-formal education, and the arts. Affective recognition enables an understanding of how these different educations relate to, and impact, one another in order to promote social (in)justice. I show that conceptualising affective recognition develops understandings of the specific articulation of recognition for social justice and peacebuilding in formal and non-formal education, and enables analysis of *how* processes of social justice and peacebuilding can be achieved in these settings.

1.1 Thesis Structure

This thesis will proceed as follows: Chapter 2 analyses the literature around social justice and presents the conceptual framework that has guided this research; Nancy Fraser's conceptualisation of social justice. The chapter critically engages with Fraser's concepts of redistribution, recognition, and representation, as well as the normative core that brings these together – the notion of participatory parity (Fraser, 1995, Fraser, 2005, Fraser, 2008c). It examines how the framework has been used to explore educational initiatives, identifying a lack of application to exploring arts-based initiatives. In the process, I highlight the potential of this conceptual lens for understanding the role of educational and arts-based programmes in conflict-affected contexts. I highlight that a key missing link between conceptualising the role of education and the arts in conflict-affected contexts lies in affect theory, and introduce my concept of affective recognition.

Chapter 3 analyses social justice and the conceptualisation of educations in post-conflict contexts, situating this thesis in wider academic debates. I engage Bush and Saltarelli's (2000) notion of the two faces of education in conflict-affected contexts in order to examine how education can both contribute to, and mitigate, the inequalities and injustices that lead to conflict. I map this discussion to notions of redistribution, recognition and representation, and examine the role of peacebuilding in and through education. I then adopt the same "two faces" framework to specifically analyse how arts-based practices can contribute to (mal)distribution, (mis)recognition, and (mis)representation and to both conflict and peace. This analysis highlights the lack of dialogue between the fields of education and the arts in conflict and post-conflict contexts. The chapter then moves to examine how young people are framed in conflict-affected countries; often as with limited agency, when, in reality they significantly contribute to peace and development in their communities. I conclude the chapter by bringing together the key insights and gaps in the literature and explaining how these have led to the development of my research questions.

Chapter 4 presents the research design of this thesis. I begin by presenting the constructivist approach I have adopted, and how it has shaped the research methods used. I describe the research context and case studies, elaborating on the CTS programme, and the specific projects studied in Kosovo and Cambodia. Discussion of the methodological process of the research follows, including how this was shaped and impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic. I present the process of data generation in the context of each country: document analysis, pre-existing surveys, in-depth interviews with the projects' participants and programme teams, and discuss the limitations of the data. I explain the data analysis process, including how I aimed to co-create meanings with the research participants and through this process was able to develop the conceptualisation of affective recognition. I finish the chapter by discussing the ethical issues embedded within this research.

Chapter 5 is the first of the empirical chapters: a case study of Kosovo. It begins with a contextual overview of Kosovo in order to situate the CTS programmes being studied, and my analysis of these programmes. This includes a brief history of Kosovo, with a particular focus on the 1980s BOOM rock concerts and the 1990s parallel education system, to reflect the two periods of time studied in the CTS programmes. I also analyse youth and inequalities in contemporary Kosovo, the education system and the position of the arts. The chapter then examines the intersection of education and the arts in the programmes, in particular how the programmes made space for a more decentralised and critical understanding of history, through their representations of different narratives, and the participatory methodologies that they used. This paved the way for the affective responses young people had within the programme, and the affective recognition this elicited. I therefore develop the conceptualisation of affective recognition in this chapter. I argue that the economy of affective recognition resulted in young people taking ownership of narratives of the past, with the intention of promoting further and deeper (affective) recognition within their society. I also reflect on notions of representation in the programmes, particularly the representation of gender and the role this played in evoking affective recognition amongst the young participants.

I continue developing this notion of affective recognition in Chapter 6, which presents findings from the research in Cambodia. Again, I begin the chapter with a contextual overview of Cambodia, in order to situate the programme and my analysis of it. I then start the analysis of the empirical data by presenting participants' understandings of the situated context of the programme, and the programme structures, exploring the political constraints on teaching about the genocide in Cambodia and the framing of young people on the programme. I move to analyse representation and recognition through the CTS programme. These were primarily enabled through intergenerational dialogue which allowed young people to engage in more decentralised and complex understandings of the past. In particular, the programmes promoted recognition and representation of gender, as in Kosovo, as well as the narratives of lower-level Khmer Rouge cadre, whose experience of the genocide is widely missing in national narratives about the past. These processes again elicited affective recognition. In Cambodia, the economy of affective recognition worked to transform social relationships by breaking down "us and them" divisions between both younger and older generations, and conceptualisations of "victim" and "perpetrator", thus deconstructing the notion of "other". The economies of affective recognition also resulted in young people calling for, and expressing the role they wanted to play in, peacebuilding and reconciliation. In a small number of cases, the affective responses young people had to the programme became problematic, as they adopted potentially revisionist understandings of the past – not least as a result of their limited (formal) education on the issues being discussed. I therefore also highlight the potential of economies of affect to promote affective *mis*recognition.

In Chapter 7, I bring the findings from the two case studies together in discussion, in order to interrogate the concept of affective recognition. I examine the relevance, and importance, of affective recognition to peacebuilding and post-memorial work, arguing that affective recognition contributes to the varied goals of peacebuilding and demonstrates how peacebuilding can be achieved through educational programmes with young people in conflict-affected contexts. I discuss affective recognition in relation to reconciliation, demonstrating that affective recognition enables

an investigation of similar processes to reconciliation, whilst ensuring that these processes are centred on, and do not conflict with, issues of justice. I also argue that the concept of affective recognition is valuable as it enables an understanding of how social justice and peacebuilding can be developed through intergenerational and post-memorial work. I finish this chapter by contending that, just as education and the arts have two faces in conflict-affected contexts, so too do economies of affect. I thus present the positive face of affective recognition, and the negative face of affective misrecognition.

Chapter 8 concludes this thesis, returning to Fraser's framework and a discussion of how programmes at the intersection of formal education and participatory arts can contribute to, or be limited by, issues of redistribution, (affective) recognition and representation. I present the main methodological and theoretical insights developed through this thesis, and finish with a consideration of potential areas for future research.

2. The Conceptual Framing of Social Justice

2.1 Conceptual framework: social justice

In this chapter, I analyse the conceptualisation of social justice that has guided my research, driven by the work of Nancy Fraser. As previously noted, Fraser conceptualises justice as three dimensional, focusing on notions of redistribution, recognition and representation. These dimensions are held together by the normative core of participatory parity, which stipulates that social justice “...requires social arrangements that permit all (adult) members of society to interact with one another as peers” (Fraser, 1996 p.30). Maldistribution, misrecognition and misrepresentation all prevent participatory parity from being achieved. Central to Fraser’s argument is the idea that social justice (through participatory parity) necessitates transformative change, disrupting the underlying structures and frameworks which result in injustices, as opposed to affirmative change, which deals only with unjust outcomes, and not the underlying causes of injustice (Fraser, 1995, Fraser, 1996, Fraser, 2005, Fraser, 2008c).

Fraser’s work has been hailed for making the “presently chaotic scene [of justice and injustices], surveyable and intelligible” (Olson, 2008a, p.8). It has been used by numerous scholars working in education and international development to explore and analyse the quality and inclusivity of education (Keddie, 2012, Power, 2012, Power and Taylor, 2013, Arar et al., 2019, Singal, 2019) and has been adapted as an analytical model to plan and evaluate educational policy and programming in post-conflict contexts (Novelli et al., 2017). These scholars recognise the transformative role that education can play in societies, including its potential to transform the root causes of conflict (Novelli et al., 2017).

In this chapter, I provide a more detailed outline of Fraser’s theory of justice. Sections 2.2 and 2.3 discuss the 3Rs of the framework, including critiques of, and gaps in, this work which I will address in this thesis. Section 2.4 examines the notion of participatory parity and section 2.5 that of

transformative change; demonstrating the relevance of Fraser's work to conflict-affected settings. I continue this discussion in Section 2.6, analysing how Fraser's framework is and is not used in existing scholarship to understand international development education, and the arts. In doing so, I reveal the interconnected nature of education and the arts for social justice. I argue in Section 2.7 that a missing theoretical link between education and the arts for social justice in conflict-affected settings is the notion of affect. I summarise the chapter in Section 2.8.

2.2 Redistribution and recognition

Fraser referred to just two spheres of justice in her initial work; redistribution and recognition. Redistribution reflects the economic sphere of (in)justice, which Fraser argues "is rooted in the political-economic structure of society" (Fraser, 1995, p.70). Redistributive injustice, or maldistribution, includes exploitation, economic marginalisation and deprivation, and disparities in wealth, income, and leisure time. Redistributive justice therefore centres around transforming the political economy in order to eliminate unjust structures. Recognition, on the other hand, reflects the socio-cultural dimension of (in)justice "rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication" (Fraser, 1995, p.71). Misrecognition includes cultural domination, non-recognition, disrespect, and "institutionalized value patterns that deny some people the status of full partners in interaction – whether by burdening them with excessive ascribed 'difference' or by failing to acknowledge their distinctiveness" (Fraser, 2001, p.29).

Fraser's work was considered ground-breaking in its inception because it developed a theory of social justice that brought together these two dimensions of redistribution and recognition as bivalent collectivities (Olson, 2008b). Redistribution and recognition are presented as mutually constitutive, enabling an understanding of how marginalisation can result from both economic and social injustices, and the relationship between the two. Previous social justice theorists generally

focused their attention on arguing why *either* redistribution *or* recognition were the central tenets to justice (Olson, 2008a, Fraser, 1995). At the same time, Fraser's work has been critiqued for (arbitrarily) categorising and distinguishing between the dimensions of justice, and especially creating a dichotomy between redistribution and recognition (Keddie, 2012, Young, 1997, Alcoff, 2007, Fraser, 2017). Young (2008, p.85), for example, states that Fraser sees "...liberation movements as calling for recognition as an end in itself, when they are better understood as conceiving cultural recognition as a means to economic and political justice". Fraser (2008a, p.101) disputes these claims, noting that "Young erroneously assumes that to draw a twofold distinction is to dichotomize" when, in fact, the aim is to better understand their relationship. Indeed, Fraser makes clear in her work that whilst it is possible to analytically distinguish between the spheres of justice, in reality they are deeply intertwined. She describes the spheres of justice as "analytically distinct power asymmetries, which cut across social movements" (Fraser, 2017, p.308). My articulation of Fraser's approach to justice will similarly distinguish between the (later) three dimensions of justice for analytical purposes, yet pay particular attention to how these connected dimensions interlink.

Fraser's theorising is also valuable in its conceptualisation of recognition itself. Whereas many other scholars interpret recognition as a form of group-based identity stigmatisation, focussing on forms of collective identity, Fraser instead conceptualises recognition as a question of social status and status subordination (Fraser, 2000, Olson, 2008b, Feldman, 2008, Zurn, 2008). This framing shifts understandings of (mis)recognition away from "identity, stigma, and self-esteem" (Feldman, 2008, p.225), which can itself promote misrecognition through imposing a "single, drastically simplified group-identity which denies the complexity of people's lives, the multiplicity of their identifications and the crosspulls of their various affiliations" (Fraser, 2000, p.112). Instead, Fraser focuses on examining institutionalised social subordination, where, through entrenched notions of cultural value, certain actors are rendered "inferior, excluded, wholly other, or simply invisible – in other words, as less than full partners in social interaction" (Fraser, 2000, p.113). Misrecognition is

therefore perpetrated through social patterns which might be institutionalised through the judicial system, through governmental policies or professional practice, or informally through “pattern[s] of cultural value” (Fraser, 2000, p.114). As a result Fraser’s conceptualisation means that redressing misrecognition will focus on “changing social institutions—or, more specifically, changing the interaction-regulating values that impede parity of participation at all relevant institutional sites” (Fraser, 2000, p.115).

This approach allows for understandings of misrecognition between groups in the same way that identity-centred approaches to misrecognition can. However, uniquely, it also opens up spaces to understand misrecognition *within* groups (Zurn, 2008, Feldman, 2008). This, I contend, results in a theory of justice that has the potential to better articulate intersectional understandings of misrecognition, enabling consideration of how persons different characteristics, such as their gender, race, or ethnicity intersect to entrench their social subordination and misrecognition. In post-conflict societies, this intersectional articulation of (in)justice can therefore highlight, for example, the importance of moving beyond state-based narratives of conflict to the lived experiences of those at the time. It reveals the need to push beyond victim-perpetrator binaries to understand the lived realities of individuals and groups that cross-cut these binaries, such as women, during and after conflict. Furthermore, the focus on *institutionalised* social subordination highlights the states’ role in (re)producing subordinated statuses and therefore misrecognition. The conceptualisation of misrecognition can therefore help us to question what, and why, the narratives of certain groups are excluded from a society’s “political and cultural memorial structures” (Hirsch, 2012, p.33), and how educational and arts initiatives can facilitate or mediate this misrecognition.

Despite the advancements that Fraser’s conceptualisation of recognition as social status can offer for exploring social justice and the role of education in post-conflict contexts, it has received criticism for failing to identify exactly what it means to be recognised (Anderson, 2008, Kompridis, 2008). Kompridis (2008, p.260) for example, highlights that there are still uncertainties over the

social and political meaning of recognition, that is “what it means to be ‘recognized,’ and so what it is that we are purportedly doing when we are ‘recognizing’ individuals or groups or asking to be ‘recognized’”. Fraser responded to this critique by noting that although her conceptualisation “does not capture every meaning of recognition, it is the interpretation critical theorists should prioritize so as to forward their emancipatory aims” and that prioritising justice in conceptualisations of recognition “rules out interpretations of recognition that require or promote institutionalized disparities of participation.” (2008b, p.291). Fraser then keeps the definition of recognition broad, advocating for “different recognition strategies [...] depending on the form of injustice encountered” (Feldman, 2008, p.224). Yet while Fraser’s work has been adopted by numerous scholars to explore social justice in and through education, there is a limited understanding of what “recognition strategies” might apply to different educational contexts. As I progressed through this research, it became clear that a generic interpretation of recognition was insufficient to understand how recognition was understood by the research participants, and how recognition was specifically manifested through these arts-based programmes (particularly in comparison to formal education). In this thesis I therefore deconstruct the idea of recognition in relation to educational initiatives with young people in post-conflict countries, and propose the notion of *affective recognition* in order to understand the manifestation and economy of recognition in these settings.

2.3 Representation

Fraser’s initial two-dimensional framework received much critique for failing to adequately acknowledge the political dimensions of justice, either within, or separate to and above, the ideas of redistribution and recognition (Feldman, 2008, Olson, 2008b). In 2005, Fraser added representation as a political dimension to her conceptualisation of justice in her work “Reframing justice in a globalised world” (Fraser, 2005). Here, Fraser argues that the Keynesian-Westphalian frame and

system has lost its relevance, and globalisation has shaped social processes impacting individuals beyond territorial borders. For this reason, Fraser argues that it is important to include a third, analytically distinct dimension of justice, which allows questions and understandings of the *frame* of justice; that is, “who are the relevant subjects entitled to a just distribution or reciprocal recognition in the given case” (Fraser, 2008c, p.15). Fraser therefore proposes the concept of representation to explore who is included and excluded from the “community of those allowed to make justice claims” (Fraser, 2008c, p.17), and how these justice claims are met. Fraser highlights some important questions to ask when exploring political (in)justice: “Do the boundaries of the political community wrongly exclude some who are actually entitled to representation? Do the community’s rules accord equal voice in public deliberations and fair representation in public decision-making to all members?” (Fraser, 2008c, p.18).

Fraser highlights two distinct levels of political injustice; ‘ordinary’ political misrepresentation and misframing. Misrepresentation occurs when some people are denied the possibility to participate equally with others in society, such as electoral systems denying equal participation to “numerical minorities” and if “gender-blind rules, in conjunction with gender-based maldistribution and misrecognition, function to deny parity of political participation of women” (Fraser, 2008c, p.19). Therefore, for Fraser, ordinary political misrepresentation usually plays out within the state. Misframing, on the other hand “concerns the boundary-setting aspect of the political” whereby decisions are made about who constitutes a member of a particular society (Fraser, 2008c, p.19). Misframing occurs when the boundaries of a political community are drawn in a way that excludes people from participating in contests over justice and denies the possibility of them pressing justice claims in the political community. According to Fraser, globalisation has made this form of injustice visible, as the focus on justice *within* states excludes those who are marginalised and poor from challenging the entities that oppress and marginalise them, such as transnational corporations. Because of the importance of frame in social justice, Fraser argues that representation is “inherent in all claims for redistribution and recognition” (Fraser, 2005, p.10).

Fraser's conceptualisation of representation, particularly of misframing, is useful in encouraging us to pose 'who' questions when exploring social justice in post-conflict settings; who is able to participate as a member of society? Whose voices are represented in decision making? However, the conceptualisation is also limited. In particular, on face value, it remains strongly state-centric; Fraser argues that ordinary political misrepresentation generally plays out within the state, and whilst her conceptualisation of misframing purposefully moves away from the nation state, it is primarily applied in her work to explore how individuals in one state are unable to make justice claims against, for example, transnational corporations whose actions directly affect them. As Keddie (2012, p.274) writes, Fraser's theorising largely relates to the "macro-politics of the global...".

Whilst an understanding of justice at the international and state level is vital in post-conflict situations, so is an understanding of justice at the societal, community, and micro level. In this thesis, I therefore expand Fraser's notion of political communities to include the micro-level, including communities within educational programmes. This is not new; many of the scholars who use Fraser's work to analyse educational initiatives adopt a similar approach, finding that Fraser's framework has "clear resonance with some of the key tensions of representation identified within the sphere of education at a more micro-political level" (Keddie, 2012, p.274). In my own work, this allows for a broader conceptualisation of representation that aligns more deeply with the understandings of the study participants. It opens space to examine, for example, whose voices and experiences are represented in national narratives of the past and in particular educational initiatives, and whose ideas are represented in societal constructions of the future.

2.4 The normative core: Participatory parity

The "normative core" that brings together redistribution, recognition and representation – often referred to as the 3Rs - is Fraser's notion of "participatory parity". Fraser writes: "According to this

norm, justice requires social arrangements that permit all (adult) members of society to interact with one another as peers” (Fraser, 1996 p.30). Deprivation, exploitation and significant disparities in wealth and income prevent people from being able to participate as peers in social life, as do “culturally defined hierarchies of status” (Fraser, 1996, p.32) as well as ordinary political misrepresentation and misframing. The interconnecting nature of the 3Rs often results in “a vicious circle in which the three orders of injustice reinforce one another, denying some people the chance to participate on par with others in social life” (Fraser, 2008c, p.165). In exploring social (in)justice then, Fraser argues that the focus should be on how maldistribution, misrecognition and misrepresentation/misframing – and the intertwining of these - are creating obstacles to participatory parity, and what is needed to overcome these obstacles. In this work, I will therefore examine where participatory parity is being impeded, and consider if, and how, educational initiatives, through recognition and representation in particular, are promoting social justice through parity of participation. Indeed, Fraser explains that participatory parity is both an “outcome notion, which specifies a substantive principle of justice by which we may evaluate social arrangements” and a “process notion” which specifies the procedures by which we should evaluate legitimacy (Fraser, 2008c, pp.28-29). Such parity of participation requires transformative and deconstructive change with regards to distribution, recognition, and representation.

Before exploring this transformative change further, it is worthwhile to note that Fraser specifies on numerous occasions that participatory parity specifically refers to *adults* within a society. Herein lies the problem for many young people, who are often neither conceptualised as children nor as adults, but in a phase of transition between the two (Bucholtz, 2002, Hodgkinson et al., 2020). Young people themselves are therefore often not framed as political actors and instead are subject to “culturally defined hierarchies of status” which limit their equal participation in social life. My research will instead consider young people as important political and social actors and seek to understand how their participation in arts and educational programmes can further their wider

political and social participation, thus addressing the misframing of young people and making progress towards participatory parity.

2.5 Transformative vs affirmative action

Fraser describes how one sphere of injustice tends to work to reinforce another; therefore, whilst the 3Rs are analytically distinct, they are also mutually constitutive. Indeed, in developing the framework, Fraser recognised that in both theory and practice, struggles for economic justice and for recognition often happen in isolation from one another and, at times, can be contradictory. For example, claims for recognition often take the form of highlighting the specificity of a certain group, whereas claims for redistribution call for de-differentiation of groups in order for economic equality. Fraser therefore developed her initial framework connecting these two spheres, arguing that socio-economic and cultural injustices “reinforce one another dialectically... The result is often a vicious circle of cultural and economic subordination” (Fraser, 1995, p.73). This notion of a vicious circle of injustice is reiterated in Fraser’s later work on representation.

The mutually constitutive nature of the 3Rs, Fraser argues, is what necessitates *transformative* as opposed to *affirmative* change:

“By affirmative remedies for injustice I mean remedies aimed at correcting inequitable outcomes of social arrangements without disturbing the underlying framework that generates them. By transformative remedies, in contrast, I mean remedies aimed at correcting inequitable outcomes precisely by restructuring the underlying generative framework” (Fraser, 1995, p.82).

Importantly, this necessitates a focus on the *processes* that produce (un)just outcomes, rather than just the outcomes themselves. Deconstruction is important to the idea of transformative change, as

the underlying structures that define the cultural and political positioning of groups need to be deconstructed in order for transformative change to take place. It is only through this process, according to Fraser, that it can be ensured that claims for justice will not compete with, or contradict, one another. A focus only on affirmative change leaves intact the structures that cause injustice and can also create new forms of injustice. For example, affirmative remedies for economic injustice focus on the end-state of maldistribution by providing welfare payments to economically marginalised groups. This can create misrecognition, with those who receive state aid being differentiated from others in society and labelled as “poor” or “lazy”. Transformative change, on the other hand, would restructure the underlying political-economic structure that causes maldistribution including the social division of labour (Fraser, 1995, Fraser, 1996). Furthermore, affirmative action requires surface-level actions to be made again and again as it leaves intact the “deep structures” that cause disadvantage and injustice and therefore inhibit participatory parity (Fraser, 1995, p.85). Fraser’s framework therefore provides insight into how to effect structural and transformative change for social justice.

When applied as a lens to analyse post-conflict initiatives, notions of affirmative and transformative action draw close parallels with the distinction between peacekeeping, focusing on negative peace, and peacebuilding, focusing on positive and sustainable peace. Linking to development programmes more broadly, transformative action can be linked with sustainability, developing an understanding that without progress towards transformative and structural change, global development challenges will continue to (re)occur. In this thesis I will use this approach to analyse the processes of educational programmes working with young people in post-conflict settings, examining if and how the programmes contribute to deconstruction and transformation (and transitional justice), through redressing misrecognition and misrepresentation.

2.6 Fraser: International development, education and the arts

Fraser's conceptualisation of justice, as described above, is largely focussed on the state and interstate level. The relevance of this theorising in the context of international development and international development programmes is clear; marginalised groups are engaged in programmes that are funded, and often run, by international actors and organisations commonly based in the Global North. These programmes are situated within global contexts of international development frameworks and power dynamics that are embedded in the global system. It is therefore vital for the justice claims of marginalised groups to be recognised at the state and the international level. As I have discussed, through this thesis I will also demonstrate the importance of applying Fraser's theory of justice to the micro-level, within societies and programmes, including formal and non-formal education programmes. This is especially important for programmes working with young people, who are often not considered to be current political actors (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015, Oosterom et al., 2018). Whilst young people are understood to be a part of the community, they are often excluded from participation in the *political* community and therefore in shaping both national and organisational narratives. Similarly, their experiences of conflict and post-conflict society are often misrecognised and poorly understood.

The relevance of Fraser's conceptualisation in exploring educational initiatives is evident through the work of a number of scholars who have adopted the framework. This includes studies analysing issues around schooling and social and indigenous education (Keddie, 2012), mapping the development of education (Power, 2012), and analysing the quality of education in low income countries (Tikly and Barrett, 2009) and in public and private spheres (Power and Taylor, 2013). Fraser's work has also been used as a theoretical framework to explore the education of Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey (Arar et al., 2019), inclusive schooling for children with disabilities in India (Singal, 2019), the use of open educational resources in the Global South and for

refugees in the UK (Bali et al., 2020, Charitonos et al., 2020, Hodgkinson-Williams and Trotter, 2018) and curriculum change in higher education in South Africa (Lockett and Shay, 2017).

The above authors map the 3Rs of Fraser's framework to education in similar ways. Redistribution is referred to in terms of access to (quality) education, allocating funding and resources to students based on economic need, and the economic outcomes of education. Recognition is discussed in reference to the expression of diverse cultural and linguistic identities, identifying and acknowledging claims of marginalised groups, and in critique of the cultural exclusivity of educational systems and the silencing or misrepresentation of culturally marginalised groups. Representation is referred to in terms of the participation in the governance of education and questions around who decides what constitutes knowledge, and what should be taught within schools. Fraser's framework in these studies is therefore generally used as a mapping tool. This thesis will go a step further, drawing on empirical work to engage with and deconstruct Fraser's theory of justice, identifying, for example, the recognition strategies at play in formal and non-formal education settings.

Specific to education in post-conflict settings, the Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding, a collaboration between UNICEF and the Universities of Amsterdam, Sussex and Ulster, has developed a 4R framework for exploring education in post-conflict countries that draws on Fraser's social justice theory (Novelli et al., 2015). This incorporates the three R's; where, as above, redistribution refers to addressing inequalities including resource allocation, recognition refers to respecting difference, policies surrounding the language of instruction and recognising cultural and religious identities, and representation refers to ensuring the participation of all groups in education and educational governance. The consortium also adds a fourth R to the research framework - that of reconciliation, which refers to dealing with past, present, and future injustices through education.

Novelli et al. (2017) explain that that in post-conflict settings, Fraser's 3Rs address the drivers of conflict, and the addition of reconciliation addresses conflict legacies. Novelli et al. (2017) explain that they incorporate reconciliation in their 4R framework as "postconflict societies may demand putting greater focus on education's potential to address inequalities and prioritize interventions that favor the promotion of social cohesion and reconciliation[...]" (p.4). The authors draw on the work of Hamber and Kelly (2004, pp. 3-4) who define reconciliation as the "*process* of addressing conflictual and fractured relationships", which includes, amongst other things, "significant cultural and attitudinal change: Changes in how people relate to, and their attitudes towards, one another". Hamber and Kelly (2004) similarly state that reconciliation processes involve "acknowledging the hurt, losses, truths and suffering of the past" and "building positive relationships" which address "issues of trust, prejudice, intolerance" (p.4). Other scholars exploring reconciliation in post-conflict contexts suggest similar frameworks for defining and understanding the processes of reconciliation. Metro (2013, p.146), for example, in her work with multi-ethnic migrants and refugees from Myanmar, defines reconciliation as "as the acknowledgment of other groups' suffering and validation of their histories", which includes processes of :

- 1. hearing other ethnic groups' historical narratives;*
- 2. realizing that multiple perspectives on history exist;*
- 3. "stepping into the shoes" of others;*
- 4. complicating master narratives about identity..."*

Novelli et al.'s "4R" framework therefore provides an analytical model that can be used practically in the planning and evaluation of policy and programming, as well as well as a theoretical model and "a starting point for critical reflection" (Novelli et al., 2019, p.74).

This 4R framework has been instructive to my work in understanding how Fraser's three dimensions of justice can be applied to post-conflict education, and the transformative role that education can play in post-conflict contexts. As the authors intended, I have used Fraser's 3Rs to design and

analyse my research. However, whilst I reflect on their notion of reconciliation throughout this thesis, I have not explicitly adopted this addition to Fraser's framework in my work. In some contexts, including Cambodia, the concept of reconciliation is used widely in existing transitional justice speak. In Chapter 6, which analyses the Cambodian case study, I will therefore use the idea of reconciliation more frequently. Yet in other contexts, including Kosovo, the term is considered problematic. Partners that I worked with to conduct this research actively avoid (and sometimes take offence to) the use of "reconciliation", considering it a Western imposition by which countries in the Global South are held to higher account than countries in the Global North. Similarly, findings from a study into art and reconciliation in the Western Balkans found that some groups were extremely reluctant to engage in "reconciliation" which was considered an external imposition that assumes moral equivalence between actors in conflict (KCL, 2018). Furthermore, some scholars have highlighted that there can be direct tensions between notions of reconciliation and justice, with calls for reconciliation sometimes requiring justice claims to be suspended (Thompson et al., 2009). Therefore, in this thesis, I draw on the work of Novelli et al. (2017) to apply Fraser's conceptualisation of social justice in post-conflict settings, without strictly adopting the addition of reconciliation. Instead, I seek to interrogate how Fraser's original three dimensions – particularly that of recognition – might be further extended to theorise and analyse social justice at the intersection of education and arts-based programmes in these settings.

Whilst Fraser's work has been used to explore education, in my review of the academic and programmatic literature I have yet to find work that explicitly draws on Fraser's social justice theorising as a framework to research arts-based programmes, and participatory arts programmes in particular. A handful of authors reference Fraser in their work - Kraehe (2017, p.274), for example, mentions that misrecognition in art education denies some students the "right to participate as equals in the making of culture". Zitcer and Almanzar (2019, p.5) discuss that art in cities can privilege dominant narratives resulting in the cultural injustice of nonrecognition, which requires both recognition and representation as a remedy. Quinn et al. (2012) mention that they use Fraser's

work to structure their book on art and social justice education, which includes sections on redistribution, recognition, and representation. However, the chapters themselves do not refer back to Fraser's work.

There are nevertheless some areas of theorising in the arts that seem to link well to Fraser's framework. The first is the distinction of "invited" and "invented" spaces. Pollozhani and Ceku (2019), in their work on the Changing the Story project in Kosovo distinguish between "invited" and "invented" space in arts-based programming in the country, drawing on the work of Miraftab (2004). Invited spaces are those that are "legitimised by donors and government interventions" whereas invented spaces confront the authorities and the status quo (Miraftab, 2004, p.1). The authors link these spaces to forms of citizenship, where invited spaces allow active citizenship which is legitimised by governments and donors and provides "coping mechanisms and strategies to survive the adverse effects of existing social and political hierarchies" (Miraftab, 2004, p.3). Invented spaces, on the other hand, promote *activist* citizenship which challenges and changes the status quo and actively resists dominant systems of exploitation and oppression (Pollozhani and Ceku, 2019). This can be clearly mapped onto Fraser's notions of affirmative and transformative change, whereby affirmative change corrects inequitable outcomes, "without disturbing the underlying framework that generates them" (1995, p.82) and transformative changes correct inequitable outcomes by dismantling or restructuring this underlying framework.

A second link is visible in the notion of the "tyranny of participation" (Cooke and Kothari, 2001) in participatory arts. Here, it is argued that "the focus on empowering individuals or small groups ignores structural power, circumnavigating rather than changing powerful political structures that generate inequality". As such, despite the illusion that powerful actors are engaging a wide range of people, in reality they ensure that the status quo is maintained (Flower and Kelly, 2020, p.224). Participatory practices are becoming widespread to the point where they may be producing "participatory fatigue where participants selected from [certain] marginalised groups perform a

scripted version of their own poverty to meet the needs of the development sector” (Flower and Kelly, 2020, p.225). The tyranny of participation can similarly be mapped to ideas of participatory parity and transformative change. Some participatory arts projects continue to embed and reinforce existing power dynamics, which prevent members of communities from being able to participate as peers in the programmes and in social life more broadly. Such programmes therefore maintain the status quo, at best dealing with the surface level outcomes of injustice, rather than working towards transformative change.

This literature demonstrates that despite Fraser’s work not being directly used to analyse the field, it is evidently eminently relevant to exploring arts-based practices generally, and more specifically in post-conflict settings.

2.7 The missing link between education and the arts: Affect and affective recognition for social justice

I argue that a key conceptualisation that bridges the gap between education and the arts, or between formal and non-formal education, is that of affect. Affect is used as a concept across cultural studies, with a range of definitions. In film studies, for example, affect represents a visceral moment of connection that creates an impulse which can ultimately be resolved into an emotion or action (Cooke, 2017). In cultural studies, Seigworth and Gregg (2010, p.1) state that “Affect, at its most anthropomorphic, is the name we give to those forces – visceral forces beneath, alongside or generally other than conscious knowing”. Schaefer (2019, pp.1-2) argues that there are two “divergent, and perhaps incommensurable, definitions” of affect:

“affect, in a sense used by thinkers inspired by Gilles Deleuze, as something like unstructured protosensation, and affects, in a sense used by theorists drawing on

blends of feminism, queer theory, emotion psychology, and phenomenology as the felt emotional textures structuring our embodied experience” (2019, pp.1-2)

The first of these approaches separates affect from the realm of consciousness and emotions, whereas the latter explores a more causal approach to affect which “allows an easy interchangeability of *affect* with terms such as *emotion* and *feeling* and a cross-cutting of registers from the ‘conscious’ to the ‘unconscious.’”(Schaefer, 2019, p.2 original emphasis).

There have for a long time been calls in educational scholarship to take emotions seriously as “an object of educational concern” that themselves are “ways of knowing, being, and doing” (Trofanenko, 2014, p.24, Boler, 1997). However, these calls have often not found their way into educational practice and such a focus is widely absent from the literature specifically exploring peacebuilding, education. Whilst a focus on the psychological, interpersonal relations, and empathy are central to peace education and critical peace education, the following chapter will demonstrate that this is at the expense of understanding the structural causes of conflict and violence. Moreover, even within peace education initiatives, there continues to be a reliance on the “analytic, rational, and psycho-social” (Cremin et al., 2018, p.299), for example equipping learners with new skill and promoting new values.

Indeed, Cremin et al. (2018, p.295). argue that one of the crises facing peacebuilding education today is “the dominant reliance on rational forms of learning often inconsistent with the transformative and inclusive purposes of peace education”. The authors argue, therefore, for a transrational approach to peacebuilding education that places greater emphasis on the “emotional, embodied, and metaphysical aspects of peace learning” (Cremin et al., 2018, p.299), not least because peace itself “has embodied, emotional, and spiritual dimensions” (Cremin et al., 2018, p.300). Trofanenko (2014, p.37). similarly writes that notions of affect are “often neglected within the existing scholarship in history education. There remains a need to investigate the role of emotions/affect and the complexity it holds for learning”.

The work of Michalinos Zembylas demonstrates how affect can be integral to learning in conflict-affected contexts. Zembylas (2006, p.308) argues that “educating toward an understanding of affect opens up possibilities that may cultivate political and ethical sensibilities with transformative and affirmative potential for thinking, feeling, and relating in the classroom”. Zembylas (2006) uses affect theory to explore the idea of witnessing in the classroom. Analysing how Greek Cypriot teachers can engage with, and encourage the critical witnessing of, the historical trauma resulting from the ethnic conflict between the Greeks and Turks, Zembylas draws on affect to understand witnessing as an “*affective encounter*”. This is a “fundamentally powerful affective experience; affects operate on both the psychic and social level by challenging one’s agency to imagine oneself as an ethical and political actor” (Zembylas, 2006, p.314). Linking this to the notion of “empathetic unsettlement”, Zembylas argues that affective witnessing has the potential to move beyond acts of recognition that might “other” groups in a society. Instead, affect can enable students to “become a transformative agent of awareness and reception of Others’ trauma” (p.315). Zembylas’ work thus demonstrates the importance of understanding affect in and through education for transformative societal change and social justice.

The importance of emotions and affect is examined more widely in literature examining the role of the arts in conflict affected contexts. Scholars argue that arts methodologies open up spaces for participants to communicate their emotions and in doing so, evoke empathy, which enables the healing of pain and the communication of the harms perpetuated through conflict (Cooke et al., 2022, p.222, Lehner, 2021, Taylor et al., 2022, p.156, Cin et al., 2022). Scholars also express the value of arts-based practices in allowing for forms of communication that move beyond language, which draws further parallels with the notion of affect. The arts enable people to express unspeakable events and uses a non-exclusionary form of dialogue that goes beyond the written and spoken word (Pruitt, 2011), thus enabling the communal development of new forms of knowledge (Senehi, 2002). Harvey et al. (2020, p.7) conceptualise this wider form of dialogue as “transrational voice”, exploring how communication and voice takes place beyond the spoken or written language, through the arts,

play, gestures and objects. However, despite these wider conceptualisations of the role that emotions play, and the importance of understandings beyond language, notions of affect and its contribution to social justice and peacebuilding remain difficult to find in the literature specifically analysing arts-based practices in conflict-affected countries.

Given the importance of notions of affect in understanding processes in both education and the arts, and as a result of my empirical findings in which young participants discussed their affective responses to the programmes, in this thesis I draw on affect theory to understand social justice at the intersection of these educations. I argue that affect is a key un(der)examined dynamic at the intersection of education and the arts, that can enhance understandings of the process of social (in)justice.

I borrow the idea of “affect” from queer studies, and feminist cultural studies, and particularly from the work of Sara Ahmed (2004a). I therefore adopt the latter of the approaches Schaefer describes above; understanding affect as the way that emotions and feelings are causal and can structure embodied experience. Such an approach enables an understanding of the relationship between affect and the formation of power (Schaefer, 2019), and is therefore most useful in understanding affect in relation to social (in)justice. In particular it is best suited to Fraser’s conceptualisation of recognition as institutionalised social subordination, which renders certain actors “inferior, excluded, wholly other, or simply invisible – in other words, as less than full partners in social interaction” (Fraser, 2000, p.113). Moreover, this conceptualisation is most aligned with the participants of this study’s own experiences of affect.

I draw strongly on Sara Ahmed’s work on “affective economies” (Ahmed, 2004a). The concept of affective economies demonstrates that affective responses - those intangible and visceral emotions and feelings that individuals experience in response to a stimuli, and how they experience them – *do* something. Affect moves and circulates; it is this circulation that makes affect what it is and also means that affective value accumulates over time (Ahmed, 2004a, p.120). As Ahmed writes;

“emotions do things, and they align individuals with communities – or bodily space with social space – through the very intensity of their attachments. Rather than seeing emotions as psychological dispositions, we need to consider how they work, in concrete and particular ways, to mediate the relationship between the psychic and the social, and between the individual and the collective.” (Ahmed, 2004a, p.119).

Affect therefore needs to be understood not (just) for the affective, emotional, moment itself, but for what this goes on to do. Adopting Ahmed’s approach of affective economies, therefore demands an exploration of what affect *does*, and how it mediates individual and collective relationships.

Extending on from Fraser’s conceptualisation of justice, my empirical findings demonstrate that affective economies in the CTS projects worked to create a particular type of recognition. In this thesis, I conceptualise this as *affective recognition*. I demonstrate that affective recognition itself has economies that work to mediate young people’s relationships with others and with societal structures, in ways that have the potential to develop transformative change and promote participatory parity in a society. A focus on affect, and specifically on affective recognition, therefore, works not only to interrogate and bridge the intersection of education and the arts, but also to address the aforementioned gaps in Fraser’s work. My conceptualisation of affective recognition further defines Fraser’s notion of recognition in these settings and demonstrates what recognition strategies might look like in, and through, educations in post-conflict contexts.

2.8 Summary

This chapter has critically engaged with Nancy Fraser’s conceptualisation of social justice and demonstrated the relevance of her conceptualisations of redistribution, recognition, representation, participatory parity and transformative change to exploring educational initiatives in post-conflict

contexts. At the same time, it has also highlighted critiques of, and gaps in, these conceptualisations, to which I will attend: the state-centric focus of her conceptualisation of justice, and the lack of clarity about what recognition means in different contexts. I discussed how Fraser's framework has been adopted by scholars exploring social justice in and through education, and particularly in post-conflict contexts, and showed that whilst there are important areas of overlap, Fraser's work has yet to be developed to understand the role of the arts in social (in)justices.

These synergies and gaps suggest that there is a conversation to be had between the disciplinary fields of international development, education, and the arts, which can be catalysed by using, interrogating, and adapting Fraser's social justice framework. I have argued that focusing on conceptualisations of affect helps to further bridge these gaps, by interrogating a dynamic that is central to both education and the arts in post-conflict contexts. Furthermore, centring affect and, in particular, Ahmed's conceptualisation of affective economies, works to address the under-defining of recognition in Fraser's work, in order to understand what recognition strategies apply in educations in post-conflict settings.

The next chapter will further the process of using Fraser's framework to create a conversation between different disciplinary fields, by analysing the literature on education and the arts in conflict-affected settings through the lens of social justice. This serves multiple purposes. It situates this thesis within wider academic debates, as well as exemplifying how Fraser's framework can help us to better understand the dynamics at play in these settings. It also further demonstrates key areas of overlap between the fields of education and the arts in conflict-affected countries, which are illustrative of the lack of understanding and dialogue between these two fields; a gap that this thesis identifies and aims to address.

3. Social Justice and the Conceptualisation of Educations in Conflict-Affected Contexts

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I analyse the existing literature on education and arts-based programmes in conflict-affected countries. I continue to draw on Fraser's conceptualisation of social justice to interrogate how these educations contribute to (mal)distribution, (mis)recognition and (mis)representation. Through this chapter, I situate my argument and provide a rationale for questions guiding this research.

The conflicts referred to in the academic literature are primarily internal conflicts, often based on ethnic or religious struggles, as opposed to inter-state wars, which is in line with modern developments in the nature of conflict since the Cold War (Dryden-Peterson, 2016, Bush and Salterelli, 2000). These conflicts both directly and indirectly affect children and young people, as well as the schools and education systems or programmes that they are part of. Their legacies continue to impact countries and communities for years, and even decades after they are seemingly "resolved". They can affect the material development of a country, through societal issues, such as country recognition and visa restrictions, and health issues, such as HIV/AIDS, as well as intergenerational and intercommunity relationships (CTS, ND-d).

I use the term "education" in a broad sense, in order to refer to not only formal education, but also non-formal education, as set out in Chapter 1. Stressing this plurality is important, as it highlights the discourse that there is more education than that delivered and defined by Ministries of Education; and that non-formality and flexibility, which have been at the heart of NFE programmes from their conception, allow for flexible modes of learning that can be adapted to local and group-specific needs (Rogers, 2005). However, whilst I conceptualise education in this broad sense, this chapter

shows that much of the literature on education and conflict primarily focuses only on formal education.

In both academic literature and practice, distinctions are made between types of education in conflict-affected countries (Smith et al., 2011). They include: 1) Education in emergencies, which prioritises the safety of children and young people and seeks to ensure the right to education is maintained during conflict (Smith et al., 2011, Smith and Vaux, 2003), 2) Conflict-sensitive education, which emphasises doing no harm and ensuring education does not exacerbate societal divisions (Smith and Vaux, 2003, Smith Ellison, 2014, Brown, 2011) and 3) Peacebuilding education, which emphasises the transformative role that education can play in conflict affected countries (Novelli et al., 2017). Given my focus on exploring social justice in and through education, this thesis primarily focuses on peacebuilding education, and so this is similarly the focus of the education section of this chapter.

I also refer to the arts in a broad sense in this literature review, exploring a range of arts-based methodologies including theatre, film, and photography. I particularly focus on participatory-arts programmes running in conflict-affected contexts. As argued in Chapter 1, and in line with the definition of NFE given there, these programmes themselves can be conceptualised as NFE programmes; many with the aim of educating or developing new understandings of the past and conceptualisations of the future. Moreover, this review of the literature will demonstrate that participatory arts programmes and formal and non-formal education share similar dynamics in conflict and post-conflict contexts, with the potential to promote injustices which can exacerbate conflict, or justice which can dampen conflict and promote peace. However, despite these shared dynamics, this chapter will further demonstrate the lack of dialogue between these two fields.

This chapter will proceed as follows: The next section analyses the literature on education in conflict-affected countries, through the lens of social justice. It firstly examines the direct and indirect impacts conflict can have on systems and experiences of education, including how conflict can

disrupt the transmission of memory between generations. It then presents the two faces of education in conflict-affected contexts, analysing how education can promote (mal)distribution, (mis)recognition, and (mis)representation in order to either exacerbate or ameliorate the conditions that lead to conflict. This leads to a discussion of how peacebuilding through education can be used to promote positive peace. Finally, this section will highlight that the situated context of educational programmes necessarily affects what they are able to achieve, and how educators are able to engage with young people. Section 3.3 will examine participatory-arts programmes with young people in conflict-affected contexts. It begins with an introduction to the field of scholarship. It then analyses how the same dynamics exist in the arts as in education; that is there are two faces of arts-based programmes in conflict-affected contexts that can promote social justice as well as social injustice, and thus make conflict more or less likely. The section finishes with a discussion of an ongoing debate in the field of participatory arts: whether it is the processes of these programmes or the artistic products they create that is most important for effecting social change. This discussion highlights the importance of understanding power dynamics and participatory parity in arts-based programmes. Section 3.4 will bring this literature together to briefly analyse how young people themselves are often framed with limited agency within programmes, and in conflict-affected countries more generally. The chapter will conclude by summarising the contributions that education and arts-based programmes can make to social (in)justice and presenting the gaps in this literature that have led to the development of the research questions guiding this thesis.

3.2 Education in conflict-affected countries

With the shift in the shape of modern conflict to internal, often ethnically or religiously driven, violence, there has been a dramatic increase in military peacebuilding, as well as a significant expansion of development and humanitarian programmes in conflict-affected countries (Novelli,

2010). With this has come an increased focus on the importance of education in (post-) conflict countries; both because education is considered an essential human right that must be maintained in the face of conflict, and because education is seen, not unproblematically, as a central way of rebuilding society by politicians and practitioners. For students in or after conflict, education is often seen as being a “stabilising, normalising and protective force” (Bengtsson and Dyer, 2017, p.18) and a means of providing hope and stability (Dryden-Peterson, 2015).

UNESCO states that violent conflict is “destroying opportunities for education on an epic scale” (UNESCO, 2011, p.126) and preventing the possibility of achieving education for all. Yet education is the most neglected area of the humanitarian aid system, and the impact of conflict on education often overlooked (EFA, 2011, INEE, 2020). According to UNICEF, 1 in 3 out-of-school children live in conflict and disaster affected-countries and 1 in 5 children in these countries have never been to school (UNICEF, 2018). Secondary enrolment rates are almost 30% lower in conflict-affected countries than in other developing countries (UNESCO, 2011). Gender gaps in school attendance remain prevalent in conflict-affected countries, with girls being 2.5 times more likely to be out of school in conflict settings (UNESCO, 2011). The 2011 Global Education Monitoring report, “The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education”, identifies four international systemic failures that are causing this “crisis”: 1) Failure to protect civilians in conflict, with attacks on children, teachers and schools happening with impunity, 2) Failure to make provisions to allow continuing access to education during conflict, 3) Failure of early recovery and reconstruction that includes education (this is partly due to the fact that post-conflict countries get caught in a grey area between humanitarian aid and long-term development assistance, especially as they are seen as unsuitable for the latter due to their instability, and therefore are left in a state of precarity), and 4) Failures of peacebuilding and recognising the important role education can play in peacebuilding (UNESCO, 2011, p.3).

Education can be both directly and indirectly impacted by conflict. Directly, students and teachers are considered legitimate targets in conflict. This increases fear among students and teachers to attend school and can result in school and university closures. In 2018, even before the recent 2021 Taliban offensive, 70% of schools in Helmand Province in Afghanistan were closed (UNESCO, 2011, GCPEA, 2018). In the 2021 coup in Myanmar, the Tatmadaw (the Burmese army) took over university campuses to accommodate soldiers and higher education teaching was suspended (Htut et al., 2022, p.11). Being based in a conflict zone often itself results in the destruction of a school's infrastructure and in school closures, preventing children and young people from going to school (Seitz, 2004), and schools are targeted or closed in conflicts in an attempt to destroy part of a society's culture (Davies, 2010). Schools also become targets in order to erode civilian support for certain sides of the conflict and/or to punish insurgents by compromising the future of their families, who will not have the schooling necessary to integrate into the formal economy (Bush and Salterelli, 2000, GCPEA, 2018, Petersen, 2014). This is a strategy we will see was used in Kosovo. Mass displacement is further used as a strategic goal by armed groups, and displacement is a major cause of low enrolment rates (UNESCO, 2011). Lack of access to education during conflict has a specific gender dimension (Utsumi, 2022), where the widespread use of gender based violence, abductions, and rape as a weapon of war results in girls or their parents choosing to stay away from school (Burde et al., 2017).

Indirectly, conflict impacts schools by diverting money away from education; both at the state level, where states in conflict spend less on education, and within families, where income is spent on meeting a family's survival needs (Novelli and Lopes Cardozo, 2008). Conflict often results in protracted economic crises, which limit the capacity for governments to provide (quality) education (Hove and Ndawana, 2019) and states in conflict spend significantly more on arms than education. Pakistan, for example, spends seven times as much on arms as it does on primary education (UNESCO, 2011) and military spending within countries in the "Global North" diverts money away from a country's international aid budget (UNESCO, 2011).

Refugees and migrants who have (forcibly) fled conflict can be faced with a multitude of different, and often problematic, education systems. Many refugees live in densely populated refugee camps where access to education is limited. The education of the Rohingya refugee community living in camps in Bangladesh, for example, is largely limited to non-formal basic education which is struggling to cope with the increasing numbers of children (Shohel, 2020). Refugees can also be directly excluded from the formal education systems of their host countries, as in Malaysia where refugee children are not allowed in public schools (Mendenhall et al., 2017). Children and young people's educational level is necessarily affected by their experiences of conflict and fleeing conflict (Zeno, 2021), meaning that refugees can find themselves in a classroom with much younger peers, or may be in alternative forms of education, such as in Lebanon where overage students are not allowed in the classroom and so alternative education measures are set up for refugees (Mendenhall et al., 2017).

The effects of conflict are lasting, continuing after a conflict has been resolved; literacy rates in conflict-affected countries, and especially amongst minority groups, are considerably lower, teacher training is disrupted, the infrastructure of schools need to be rebuilt (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). What is more, it is not only formal and non-formal education that is impacted during conflict; informal education is also disrupted as social and cultural norms are challenged, and the everyday transmission of skills and knowledge is interrupted when communities are forced into survival mode (Bush and Salterelli, 2000, Gallagher et al., 2018). This can continue to impact societies post-conflict, as young people from specific cultural groups have limited knowledge of their history and traditions, impacting their sense of identity. It is especially pronounced when a groups' cultural heritage is destroyed through conflict, as was the case with the Cham group in Cambodia (Kilean, 2019).

Marianne Hirsch describes how "traumatic historical events" result in a "break in [memory] transmission" (Hirsch, 2012, p.32). Hirsch refers to the generation after those who experienced conflict and genocide as the post-memory generation. Post-memory generations are embedded in

political and cultural memory structures that shape narratives of the past, whilst often being disconnected from the lived experience of the past. Instead, the narratives that young people hear are often overarching or state narratives of conflict. Within these societal and group-understandings, “the counter-memories of non-dominant groups [including gendered experiences of conflict] may be forgotten, ignored, or pushed aside when they are not easily assimilated into the overarching group-understanding” (McGrattan and Hopkins, 2016, p.489). Hirsch argues that this is because traumatic experiences can prevent the generations who experienced conflict from sharing their stories with younger generations. Alison Landsberg (2004) similarly describes how “the links between individual persons and community – kinship ties[...]” can be broken during traumatic moments in history, requiring “alternative methods for the transmission and dissemination of memories” (p.2). Landsberg suggests that mass media, particularly films, create “prosthetic memories” which enable audiences to affectively connect to memories of the past in ways that “blur the boundary between individual and collective memory” (Landsberg, 2004, p.19).

Central to these, and other, approaches to memory in post-conflict contexts is the recognition that whilst conflict, including the related experiences of non-dominant groups within a society, may not be explicitly spoken about within families or between generations, it continues to permeate everyday life both implicitly and explicitly. Whilst younger generations may be “post-memory” in the sense that they do not have first-hand memories of the conflict, their lives continue to be shaped and impacted by the experiences and memories of conflict. Paulson et al. (2020, p.433) highlight that memory has “active, ‘performative’ and spatial dimensions” and is “maintained within ‘everyday’ milieus...as well as seemingly embodied at sites designated as historically significant...”. These “everyday milieus” include the physical space young people find themselves in, which are marked by conflict and/or post-conflict reconstruction (see, for example, Atabay et al., 2022) and hold sites for memory (re)production, including museums, monuments, memorials and schools (Paulson et al., 2020). They also include the attitudes, behaviours, and sometimes silences, of family members, friends, teachers, and politicians. In order to connect post-memory generations’ sometimes

contradictory or distanced experiences of conflict within their everyday lives with understandings of the lived experiences of conflict, Hirsch calls for what she defines as “post-memorial work” to “reactivate and re-embody more distant political and cultural memorial structures by reinvesting them with resonant individual and familial forms of meditation and aesthetic expression” (Hirsch, 2012, p.33). As Paulson et al. (2020, p.433) elaborate, “Memory is work and requires work; ongoing interpretation, dialogues and reflection on meanings are important components of the ways we negotiate and make sense of the past in the present.” Whilst Hirsch’s notion of the post-memory generation and post-memorial work is primarily used to explore the holocaust, and duly acknowledging the incommensurability of this, the conceptualisation remains valuable to exploring other post-memory generations. Recognising that the lives of individuals Hirsch conceptualises as post-memory continue to be shaped by the conflict, these generations may also be disconnected through their formal, non-formal, and informal education from the lived realities of their parents, grandparents, and countries’ pasts. Indeed, this research will demonstrate that through the programmes studied, young people became better able to mediate and understand their experiences with other generations and with their wider society through a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the past.

3.2.3 The two faces of education in conflict

In their seminal text, Bush and Salterelli (2000) develop the concept of the two faces of education, arguing that education can have a destructive impact on society that can exacerbate the marginalisation, discrimination and injustices that lead to violent conflict by reproducing violence and cultural exclusivity that centres around the histories of dominant religious, ethnic, or linguistic groups. On the other hand, education can also work to dampen conflict and contribute to the development of peaceful, tolerant societies.

Integral to the approach of the two faces of education is the impact schools can play in constructing a vision of community. Education often plays a key role in maintaining a (fictitious) image of national homogeneity within a country, including portraying the idea of a common national culture, a common language, a common history, and common expectations of behaviour. This can have the effect of either creating tolerance and respect, wherein all groups feel they are represented and recognised in this identity, or intolerance and rejection of difference where groups are excluded from conceptualisations of national narratives and identity (Bush and Salterelli, 2000, King, 2005). As Bourdieu explains, education and pedagogic action “reproduces the dominant culture, contributing thereby to the reproduction of the structure of the power relations within a social formation[...].” (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, p.6). “Under the guise of neutrality” schools in fact reproduce the culture of the dominant group in society (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, p.67).

Whilst Bush and Salterelli primarily focus on formal education, I argue that non-formal education follows the same dynamics of the two faces of education, and thus warrants exploration. However, as will become apparent, academic literature on post-conflict education largely focuses on formal education, with less exploration of these dynamics in NFE (Barrios-Tao et al., 2017, Bickmore, 2008).

Negative faces of education

The negative face of education claims that education can create, reproduce, or enhance exclusion, discrimination, and mistrust, which works to fuel conflict. The negative faces of education are multiple. The unequal distribution of resources in and through education can exclude individuals from full participation in economic and social life (See Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, p.40), and thus promote maldistribution. Unequal access to education and unequal distribution of resources within education can be used as a weapon of war in itself, to compromise the future of ethnic groups by denying their participation in education, and therefore the job market (Bush and Salterelli, 2000). Denying certain groups access to (key elements of) education results in other, already privileged, groups within society attaining higher levels of education, often setting them up for higher jobs

which give them more access to power within a society. Maldistribution through education can therefore result in misrepresentation at the national level. This unequal access to power often becomes cyclical across generations, as privileged groups are able to control political processes, including in education, to ensure these unequal power dynamics remain entrenched (Bush and Salterelli, 2000). This can contribute to the root causes of conflict by producing, reproducing, or exaggerating social divisions and increasing the likelihood of further tensions (Davies 2005).

These aspects of maldistribution and the negative faces of education are, for example, reflected in the build-up to the civil war in Sri Lanka. Here, the minority Tamil population was favoured by British colonial powers and, prior to independence, was better educated and over-represented in (particularly tertiary) education and in the public sector. This led to resentment by the Sinhalese population. After independence, Sinhalese-controlled governments capitalised on this resentment, by introducing policies aimed at “correcting” the Tamil population’s perceived advantage. These included setting lower qualifying marks for Sinhala medium students to access tertiary education and beginning a quota system which allocated university places based on local populations, resulting in reduced numbers of Tamils in tertiary education and creating a deep sense of unfairness amongst Tamil youth (Tamil militant groups were primarily made up of people aged 18-35) (Sriskandarajah, 2005). In Kosovo, as Chapter 5 will detail, education was also used as weapon: schools were initially segregated along Albanian and Serbian ethnic/linguistic lines. Then the Albanian language was banned in schools, and eventually Albanian students were banned from accessing mainstream schools altogether.

Segregated schooling is another key way that inequality is assured, and societal divisions between ethnicities, religions or other characteristics are reinforced (Brown, 2011, Baytiyeh, 2018). This can affect redistributive justice, by keeping certain groups out of, or in a particular section of, the modern economy and in a state of poverty or deprivation. It can affect recognitional justice by failing to recognise a particular culture, and representational justice by denying participatory parity in

social life and excluding groups from being able to assert claims to justice. A key example of this is apartheid in South Africa, where the black population was forced into an inferior and discriminatory education system, which prepared learners differently for the positions they were supposed to occupy in society. This kept black people out of the modern economy and out of political positions; a legacy that continues to impact education and society in the country (Barrios-Tao et al., 2017, Soudien, 2007). The example of Sri Lanka above illustrates how this can also happen in more subtle ways; despite a 1997 reform stating children should be taught in both Sinhala and Tamil, schools in the country are effectively segregated by language, creating a language barrier between groups beyond the educational setting and creating “religious and ethnic citizens who are allowed to think in exclusive terms” (Lopes Cardozo, 2008, p.22).

Not only does discriminatory segregated education deny groups full participation in economic and social life and equal access to power, it also works to promote misrecognition through the stereotyping and low self-esteem of specific groups. Colonial education policies in Rwanda, for example, stratified ethnic groups, encouraging the Hutu identity to be built around feelings of resentment and disposition (Taka, 2019, Bush and Salterelli, 2000). Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) reflect on a similar process in their work, discussing how the reproduction of the structure of power relations and the exclusion of groups in educational systems results in dominated groups internalising ideas which best serve the interests of the dominant group. This can fuel conflict by leaving groups feeling inferior and distrusting state institutions, making individuals more susceptible to those seeking to mobilise conflict, as well as resulting in privileged groups failing to respect difference and the values of others (Bush and Salterelli, 2000). Education can normalise perceived difference and this unequal treatment. Bourdieu refers to this as “the genesis amnesia” which creates the “illusion that things have always been as they are” and the “‘naturalising’ of signifying relations which are a product of history” (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, p.9).

Education can be used as a tool of cultural oppression; estranging young people from their identity and culture. This can be done through curricula that fail to recognise identities that are neither euro-centric nor based on the predominant culture of a country, and through exclusive language policies. This can be considered as both misrecognition and a form of alienating violence, whereby groups are deprived of their right to cultural integrity and identity by the imposition of an alien curriculum (Salmi, 2000). Language is a critical element of group identity, highlighting the importance of culturally sensitive and context specific language policies in education. Where a dominant language is imposed on other groups, and other languages are eliminated, ignored, or not considered, the use of a dominant language in education can be repressive and may ignite violence (Bush and Salterelli, 2000, Brown, 2011, Bertrand, 2022).

Education can also be manipulated to legitimise the misrecognition and othering of certain groups and legitimise violence. Histories and geographies can be manipulated either intentionally or unintentionally to suppress historical events (including genocides) and cultures important to one group and promote the idea that one group is superior to another, therefore promoting status subordination and misrecognition (Bush and Salterelli, 2000, Davies, 2010, Harber, 2004, Tamburini, 2021, Pherali, 2021). Textbook and curricula manipulation encourages othering, exclusion and fear; thus using affect to promote misrecognition. It can be a form of violence by omission; denying young people the ability to critically explore and analyse current or past conflicts (Davies, 2010, Salmi, 2006, Lopes Cardozo et al., 2019). In Myanmar, for example, educational materials and the media in general portrayed the majority ethnic group as heroic saviours and the minority ethnic groups as rebellious and violent, whilst also making no reference to the ongoing conflicts in the country, resulting in some young people being unaware of past and present violence (Hodgkinson, 2015).

Textbooks and curricula can also be manipulated to normalise oppression and violence against a certain group and remove the knowledge of shared or cooperative pasts (Bush and Salterelli, 2000, Davies, 2010, Harber, 2004). Afghanistan provides a stark example of this point; to counter Soviet

invasion, USAID funded the design of a new educational curriculum which was worked on by Jihadi combatants. The content of maths books included counting the number of dead Russians and dividing bullets between military commanders. Religious books called for the killing of those who were not “good Muslims”. In 2002, UNICEF launched a back-to-school campaign in the country, with millions of children going to school, many for the first time. Textbooks were edited to remove direct references to violence, but with no representation of non-Sunni or non-Pashtun histories and cultures. The US government refused to fund the printing of new religious textbooks, and therefore old religious books instructing the killings of non-Muslims continued to be used. 2002 therefore represented a period where millions of children went to school in Afghanistan, often for the first time. However these “millions of children, who had never been to school, were for the first time, learning the principals of intolerance, hatred and division.” (Spink, 2007, p.203)

Curricula can further promote and legitimise violence as an expression of political power. History curricula that centre on wars, for example, portray war as a natural part of society, and a key aspect in the development of states (Davies, 2005). Violence can be legitimised as a means of promoting nationalism and territorialism (Bush and Salterelli, 2000). This is often done in a way that promotes misrecognition by essentialising ethnic, religious and tribal identities - as can be seen in Northern Ireland, South Africa and Sri Lanka - which results in depersonalisation and otherness, and makes it easier for groups to be mobilised in conflict (Davies, 2005, p. 361).

Through their governance and day-to-day operation, schools and educational programmes can reproduce violence, inequalities and corruption and therefore reify these same issues as part of “normality”, fuelling their existence. This can be done through gender disparities in education; gender-based violence by both peers and teachers can take place in schools, and often goes unrecognised. Gender relations which promote dominant masculinities can be normalised, closely linked to militarisation and the humiliation of women as an expression of power (Davies, 2005). Schools can limit gender-transformative change by limiting the representation of female voices in

the classroom and actively omitting discussions of gender and the gender-based violence experienced in conflict (Levi, 2018). The use of corporal punishment in schools further legitimises direct violence as an acceptable solution to issues, as well as encouraging unquestioning respect for authority. The corruption young people experience in school can leave them mistrusting of state institutions and therefore more vulnerable to being mobilised in conflict (Davies, 2005).

Finally, the militarisation of education can prepare young people for war. This includes directly preparing students for conflict through military schools, cadet forces and defence curricula, legitimising violence, as discussed above, and promoting violent masculinities and the cult of the hero (Davies, 2010).

As Brown (2011, p.129) summarises; “Rarely is an education system and policy directly implicated in a turn to violent conflict, but education is arguably one of the most important—and certainly most challenging from a policy perspective—contextual factors for conflict likelihood, precisely because it intersects with so many other dimensions of conflict dynamics.” As this section has shown, education can contribute to the likelihood of conflict through promoting maldistribution, misrepresentation, and perhaps most often, misrecognition.

Positive faces of education

The above section has examined how education can contribute to maldistribution, misrecognition and misrepresentation and promote and fuel violence and conflict. However, Salmi (2000) describes that each form of violence that is perpetuated through education, also has a positive counterpart. These can be considered the positive faces of education in conflict-affected settings, and are presented here.

Educational opportunity itself can dampen conflict. Access to quality education can realign redistribution in a community by providing (equal) opportunities to all groups in society (Niens and Cairns, 2005, Baytiyeh, 2018, Bush and Salterelli, 2000). Access to education can lessen the

psychological impact of war for children and young people by providing normality, routine and hope and thus make recurrence of violence less likely (Barrios-Tao et al., 2017).

The desegregation of education is a key way in which it can work against conflict. This can be through physical desegregation, which brings together conflicting groups and encourages recognition tolerance and mutual respect, and opens opportunities for groups to engage with each other, in turn reducing community tensions (Niens and Cairns, 2005, Baytiyeh, 2018, Bush and Salterelli, 2000). Desegregation of the mind is also important, with schools playing a central role in allowing people to transcend divisions and recognise their commonality (Baytiyeh, 2018, Hayes and McAllister, 2009, Bush and Salterelli, 2000). Where segregation is overcome, education can be used as a way of demonstrating positive systems of governance and strengthened social service sector governance, which is inclusive and participatory (Smith and Vaux, 2003, Smith Ellison, 2014).

Similarly, schools can be a key venue for promoting linguistic tolerance and respect – in some contexts a neutral, unified official language can be used within a country, but education can continue to integrate minority languages, promoting positive identities and belonging and problematising the surrounding conflict. In Senegal, for example, despite Wolof being spoken by the majority of the population, French was made the official language of the country to avoid offence to other ethnic groups. Wolof and other minority languages are instead national languages in the country, included in the curriculum as well as television and radio broadcasts (Bush and Salterelli, 2000, p.18, Smith and Vaux, 2003).

Examining and altering curricula and governance structures can work to interrupt exclusionary social norms and against the normalisation of violence. This can be through interrupting gender-based norms and using human rights education to change cultures of violence – for example by getting rid of the physical violence, including corporal punishments, that exists in school (Davies, 2010). Educational curricula can move away from a focus on militarism to promote the peaceful management of diversity (Smith Ellison, 2014). Participatory governance structures such as parent-

teacher associations which bring together a range of voices, including previously conflicting groups, can work against exclusionary social norms by promoting recognition and representation in educational governance. By becoming peaceful places, schools can encourage peaceful interpersonal relations and model and promote peace within communities (Barrios-Tao et al., 2017).

Crucially, education can promote critical thinking and critical engagement with history; with children and young people being taught that histories are constructed and becoming active participants in writing their own stories (Bush and Salterelli, 2000, Quaynor, 2012, CTS, ND-d). This requires educational programmes to take critical approaches to politics and power within their curricula and governance structures (Davies, 2010). As Zembylas highlights, transformative education around conflict necessitates both teachers and students to engage critically with the testimonies they are confronted with. Affect has a role to play in promoting this critical thinking; Zembylas concludes that critical engagement with affect and “a politics of affect might redefine pedagogical witnessing so that it emphasizes the production of affective orientations to knowing.” (2006, p.323).

Education can be used to create inclusive citizenship, respect for the multi-cultural nature of society and broadening the idea of who has a legitimate stake in power (Bush and Salterelli, 2000). Rather than promoting deterministic or essentialising concepts of identity as belonging to a certain (ethnic) group, education can purposefully promote an “interconnected concept of civic national identity” that opens spaces for recognition of diversity (Salmon-Letelier, 2022, p.9). Education can promote this inclusivity and respect this by “healing and re-humanising the individuals who were dehumanised in historical violence” and, in doing so, improving social relations (Taka, 2019, p.119)

There are important caveats in the arguments for the positive faces of education in conflict-affected settings. As Bush and Salterelli (2000, p. viii) summarise:

“Education on its own cannot be expected to manage or resolve identity-based violent conflicts, just as diplomatic and peacekeeping initiatives on their own

cannot be expected to resolve militarized conflict in the absence of complementary political, economic and social initiatives.”

Instead, a multi-sectoral and multi-actor approach is the only sustainable solution to violent conflict. In order to be successful and not contribute to fuelling further conflict, initiatives and policy changes must be context specific and adapted to the psychological, political, social, and cultural settings of conflict (Smith Ellison, 2014, Barrios-Tao et al., 2017, Brown, 2011). Failure to consider the context and the bigger picture in conflict settings, or indeed avoiding addressing these for political reasons, can result in work that enhances the power of those already in control (Novelli and Lopes Cardozo, 2008). While education can be used as an explicit response to violence and oppression, it cannot, therefore, manage or resolve conflict alone.

3.2.4 From peace education to peacebuilding education

The belief in the potential of education to contribute to peace is evidenced in the increasingly mainstreamed discipline of peace education; practices of which have been adopted by the UN, Ministries of Education, NGOs and educational institutions . Scholars argue that the field of peace education is elusive and contested, with no singular definition and considerable differences in conceptual and practical objectives (Danesh, 2006, Bar-Tal, 2002, Skinner, 2020, Bajaj, 2015, Higgins and Novelli, 2018, Zembylas and Bekerman, 2013). Broadly speaking peace education is a form of scholarship, practice and pedagogy that adopts a teleological conception of “peace”, to “consider and imagine a world in which all forms of violence are absent, and positive and negative peace coexist” (Hantzopoulos et al., 2021, p.345).

Peace education emerged as a prevalent disciplinary field after the first and second world wars, as an action to prevent future wars and violence through education (Bajaj, 2015, Hantzopoulos et al., 2021). However, as Hantzopoulos et al. (2021, p.346) argue, peace education was not new at this

time, and nor is it a Western phenomenon, with many non-Western and indigenous societies grounded in traditions and religious and spiritual teachings that seek to educate people towards more peaceful and just worlds. Movements for freedom, liberation and self-determination across the Global South and in marginalised groups in the Global North contributed significantly to the evolution of peace education, as has feminist scholarship and its calls for dismantling the patriarchy to attain peace (Hantzopoulos et al., 2021). Freire's theory of conscientization has been central to the development of the field, demonstrating the link between education and social transformation through dialogical and egalitarian pedagogies (Bartlett, 2008, Hantzopoulos et al., 2021).

Despite its contested nature, central tenets that cut across the wider range of peace education practice and scholarship have been identified by scholars. Bajaj (2015, p.155) identifies three underlying threads of peace education; 1) Violence in all forms limits human flourishing, 2) "Educators can provide learners with information and experiences that lead to the knowledge, skills, attitudes, behaviours and worldviews that promote peace", and 3) "Educational spaces can be sites of possibility and transformation". Approaches to peace education predominantly emphasise attitudinal and behavioural change, as well as developing knowledge, skills and values, which "promote nonviolent approaches to managing conflict and promoting tolerance and respect for diversity" (Buckland, 2005, p.60, Higgins and Novelli, 2018, Hantzopoulos et al., 2021). The focus is thus often centred on psycho-social transformations that seek to develop notions of empathy, mutual trust, and collaboration (Higgins and Novelli, 2018, Bar-Tal, 2002, Skinner, 2020, Lopes Cardozo and Hoeks, 2015).

Peace education's (over-) emphasis on the psychological has been widely critiqued for its failure to address, or even consider, the structural causes of violence and conflict (Higgins and Novelli, 2018, Zembylas and Bekerman, 2013). Higgins and Novelli (2018, p.48) argue that "by locating the key challenge of peacebuilding in [individual's] psyches and personal prepositions, there is a danger of diverting attention away from structural issues of injustice" that drive conflict in a country. This

results in programmes that are focussed more on “pacification than transformation”; peace education initiatives often focus on attitudinal change without learners developing critical skills to challenge and transform the status quo conflict, and affected populations can be blamed for their “moral failure” (Higgins and Novelli, 2018). A focus on behavioural change therefore has the potential to homogenise populations as prone to destructive behaviours, creating a divide between elites and the general population whilst failing to consider the role of actors, structures, and systems that lead to injustice and conflict (Higgins and Novelli, 2018). A lack of attention to structures also occludes critical understandings of education systems, such as the tendency of education to create competition between students which may be counter to the goals of peace education (Skinner, 2020) and the social and political consequences of educational reform (Zembylas and Bekerman, 2013). Similarly, it results in programmes that are based on the priorities of international communities rather than context and community specific needs and views (Higgins and Novelli, 2018). Scholars therefore argue that peace education’s framing of social problems as individual deficiencies has resulted in the field facing a crisis of legitimacy (Cremin, 2016, Skinner, 2020).

Peace education has received further criticism for its failure to critically engage with concepts and manifestations of power and social justice. Scholars argue that peace education is based on underexamined, and often Western, conceptions of peace, power, and conflict (Zembylas and Bekerman, 2013, Skinner, 2020, Gur-Ze'ev, 2001). Kester et al. (2021), for example, find the reproduction of colonial ideologies in peace education literature in higher education settings. Peace education, particularly in universities, is therefore framed as an instrument of neo-colonialism that “infantilises” the Global South and East as areas needing “help” from the Global North and West (Kester et al., 2021, p.145, Fontan, 2012). Decolonial and theoretical work to critically address these taken-for-granted assumptions is therefore needed to ensure peace education does not become a part of the problem it seeks to solve (Zembylas and Bekerman, 2013, Kester et al., 2021).

The fields of critical peace education and peacebuilding education developed to address these issues within peace education. Critical peace education examines context-specific structural inequalities and their relationship with global issues to demonstrate how experiences can shape perceptions of peace. It highlights the role of critical pedagogy so that participants in programmes have room to “cultivate a sense of transformative agency that is specific to their localized contexts” (Hantzopoulos et al., 2021, p.350). Specifically, it moves beyond the psychological as the focus of attention, to “interactional practices and strategies” (Zembylas and Bekerman, 2013, p.208), as well as highlighting the need for theoretical justification for the relationship of peace education with power relations at the local, national, and international level (Skinner, 2020).

Peacebuilding education was similarly developed in response to the failure of peace education to engage with structures, as well as in recognition of the negative faces of education in relation to conflict (Bush and Salterelli, 2000, Seitz, 2004). Bush and Salterelli (2000, p.23) argue that peacebuilding is the next step in the evolution of peace education – the latter of which has a “dampening impact” on threats of violence but does not address the deeper, structural causes of violence. Peacebuilding education therefore extends educational approaches to respond to the causes, as well as the manifestation, of violence. Peacebuilding education, which can incorporate formal, non-formal and informal education (Barrios-Tao et al., 2017), deals with the manifestations and causes of violence, whilst promoting students’ critical thinking and critical engagement with histories in the conflict. Peacebuilding education allows a link from past to present issues in a way that enables and allows young people to reflect on the daily ethical challenges that they face (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015) and to remember or reassemble the ontological fabric of society which is affected by conflict’s role in disrupting the social relations, shared realities and epistemologies (Bush and Salterelli, 2000). It “involves working towards an environment of inclusivity based on social justice and equity” (Millican et al., 2021, p.574) and can provide socio-conceptual coherence that recognises the experiences of people through conflict (Bush and Salterelli, 2000)

Peacebuilding education develops from Galtung's distinction between positive and negative peace, as well as peace-making, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Peace-making and peacekeeping can be considered immediate responses to conflict, seeking to obtain negative peace – or the absence of war. Peacebuilding, on the other hand seeks positive, sustainable peace. Parallels can be drawn here to Nancy Fraser's discussion of affirmative and transformative approaches; where affirmative remedies for injustice (in this case the injustices that may lead to conflict) aim at correcting unjust outcomes without disturbing the underlying frameworks which create them. Transformative remedies, on the other hand, in line with peacebuilding education, aim to correct outcomes by restructuring this underlying framework.

According to scholars, the goals of (transformative) peacebuilding education should include "demilitarization of the mind", encouraging problematisation and critical thinking with the aim of transformation, articulating alternative realities and the path towards these, changing the rules of group interactions and delegitimising violence as a means to address problems (Bush and Salterelli, 2000, p.28, Novelli et al., 2015). As Davies (2011, p.45) notes, "unless young people can analyse the roots of conflict and prevent these roots from regrowing into branches later on, any peace will be fragile (Lopes Cardozo and Hoeks, 2015).

The focus of peacebuilding education is therefore as much on the *processes* of education as on the content and outcomes (as will be examined later in this chapter (Section 3.3.2) this discussion of process and outcome is also very prevalent in the participatory arts). As Millican et al. (2021, p.575) explain "*how* something is taught is just as important as *what* is being taught". Peacebuilding education should therefore be driven locally through local knowledge, as opposed to top-down and/or externally imposed pedagogies (Millican et al., 2021, Bengtsson and Dyer, 2017).

Despite this focus on *how* peacebuilding is taught, and the above calls for emotions to be taken seriously in education, the role of affect is rarely explored in relation to peacebuilding education. Indeed, in a systematic literature review on youth agency, peacebuilding, and education, Lopes

Cardozo et al. (2015) only reference two works which use affect or emotion directly in relation to education: Barton and McCully (2012) who advocate for encouraging emotional engagement and empathy in order to encourage curiosity amongst students in Northern Ireland, and Weldon (2010) who discusses how teachers' emotions and trauma impact their teaching in the classroom. In a move away from the heavily critiqued psycho-social and empathy-based approach of peace education, peacebuilding education has continued to focus on the rational, and exclude transrational, embodied and emotional understandings of learning for peace (Cremin et al., 2018).

Through this thesis, I argue that both the structural *and* the affective (or transrational) are important for peacebuilding and peacebuilding education, and that these are deeply intertwined. Addressing some of the critiques of peace education and building on the field of peacebuilding education, I demonstrate the importance of understanding affect to address societal and structural issues of power and social injustice, including through mediating the individuals' relationship with the collective.

3.2.5 Gender in peacebuilding education

Scholars argue that considering the role of gender in peacebuilding education is vital. Neglecting gender in peacebuilding programming can result in gender being considered as a binary, which risks programmes reinforcing male and female gender roles and behaviours, victim-perpetrator binaries and ultimately undermining young people's agency (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015). A failure to consider gender also means that virtually no attention is given to how both conflict and peacebuilding processes in a country affect males and females differently, and how they result in the aforementioned binaries developing (Datzberger and Le Mat, 2018), nor is attention given to the complex relationship between masculinities, femininities and violence (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015).

Gender shapes both experiences of fragility and conflict, as well as the actions young people take in response to this. Initiatives which are not considerate of this, or inclusive in terms of gender, can

reproduce the norms and power dynamics that sustain gender inequality and misrecognition (Oosterom et al., 2018). This calls, therefore, for the recognition of how the experiences of war and peace take part in the intersection of social difference and the need to not view youth in isolation to their social and cultural relations (Dwyer, 2015, Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015). Such an approach recognises that different groups of conflict-affected young people, such as young women, disabled youth, former child soldiers and refugees, are likely to have different needs which must be considered in participatory and collaborative programme design and implementation. This is perhaps especially the case when inequalities in societies or educational governance restrict or exclude these groups of young people from full participation in society (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015). This argument again highlights the importance of Fraser's conceptualisation of recognition as a question of social status, entrenched through institutionalised social patterns and occurring not only between, but also within, groups.

3.2.6 Peacebuilding and non-formal education

As the above sections demonstrate, the majority of the literature on the two faces of education, and peacebuilding education, is centred on the role of formal education – with a limited understanding of the role of NFE. Datzberger (2017), highlights that literature which explicitly refers to NFE in conflict affected countries is very limited and the body of literature to draw on is very small. This suggests that the potential of non-formal education to foster societal transformation and positive peace is un(der)used, or at least under-attended to by scholars.

Literature that does explore the role of NFE for peacebuilding demonstrates how NFE can actively work against exclusionary systems in formal education that contribute to injustice and conflict. In Sri Lanka, for example, Duncan and Lopes Cardozo (2017) found that formal education often continues to embody the negative faces of education. As a result, non-formal community education programmes have been set up, seeking to implement the positive faces and contribute to sustainable peace. In Uganda, non-formal education programmes have been set up to provide

education to pastoral communities in Northern Uganda, who are widely excluded from formal education systems. The programmes embedded local culture and teaching of culturally relevant material, such as local politics, ecology and relevant economics. This unintentionally contributed to stabilising peace and security in the area through redistribution, by extending access to education to marginalised and otherwise excluded groups. It contributed to recognition, by incorporating local “culture, traditions and everyday challenges”, and to representation, by involving local community in the design and delivery of the education (Datzberger, 2017, p.342). On the other hand, studies suggest that non-formal education programmes can still struggle to address structural inequalities and the root causes of conflict, which are reproduced and enhanced in formal schooling (Duncan and Lopes Cardozo, 2017, van der Veen and Datzberger, 2020)

These examples demonstrate the potential for NFE in contributing to sustainable peacebuilding, whilst also reinforcing the importance of culturally and contextually relevant educational programming and understanding the interplay and overlap between different forms of education. This thesis will further analyse the use of NFE programmes and specifically examine the relationship between formal and non-formal education, thus expanding the limited body of literature seeking to understand the role of NFE for peacebuilding.

3.2.7 The situated context of peacebuilding education

Educational initiatives are always part of a broader social structure and system (see Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, p.7). As such, scholars argue that transformative peacebuilding education needs to be both context specific to the psychological, political, social and cultural settings of a conflict and also recognise the wider structures in which they are operating in order to be contextually relevant and promote recognitional and representative justice, as well as to avoid being considered an external imposition (Barrios-Tao et al., 2017). Peacebuilding education therefore requires a bottom-up approach that is driven by those affected by conflict, incorporates the ideas and needs of all groups in society, and understands the “complexities at the local and national level” (Bengtsson and

Dyer, 2017, p.22). Context specificity is deemed especially important for international, or externally designed initiatives, as what are often considered “universal” or “neutral” values may in fact be Western concepts that have been “universalised through colonialization” (Charalambous et al., 2013, Bekerman, 2007, p. 29).

Indeed, notions and perceptions of peace and conflict are affected by the collective narratives that young people experience as part of their “group” within the conflict, meaning that different societies have different understandings of what the terms mean conceptually and practically, affecting the uptake of education curricula and programming (Salomon, 2004, Biton and Salomon, 2006). What is more, the participants of educational programmes have often been personally affected by the conflict, through directly experiencing violence, losing loved ones, or dealing with the legacies of trauma within their families. Young people’s existing affective investment in narratives of traumatic pasts therefore effects their engagement with history, and with educational initiatives more broadly (Quaynor, 2015, Zembylas, 2013).

The transformative role that peacebuilding education is expected to play means that peacebuilding education programmes must be embedded within, and engage with, broader structures in order to contribute to positive structural change (Cusack, 2009, Smith Ellison, 2014, Brown, 2011). However, there is often a failure to mediate what is learned informally in the community, and in formal and non-formal education programmes (McCully et al., 2002). This means that young people can find themselves in conflicting (educational) environments; some which support their more progressive attitudes and values, and others which reject or contradict these (Baxter and Ikobwa, 2005).

An underlying, although often frequently under-examined, theme running throughout the literature is the importance of educators in the delivery and outcomes of peacebuilding education. Educators have the potential to be agents of change in post-conflict countries: they can be considered “cultural multipliers” who influence students’ world view, which these students then take beyond the classroom/educational programme into society (Cusack, 2009, p.253). However, the conditions for

this may not come easily. Educators are necessarily constrained by their context and the politics and policies of the school or country they work in; for example teachers may be reluctant to teach ideas considered subversive or unpatriotic for fear of their safety (Bekerman and Zembylas, 2014, Harris and Morrison, 2003, McCully et al., 2002). Teachers may have to teach in the designated language of instruction (Bengtsson and Dyer, 2017) or be given tools in the educational systems – such as syllabi, literature, and training - that are inappropriate to their context (Lewis, 2019) or based on maintaining the status quo (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). Teachers and facilitators also face many pressures, such as overcrowded classrooms, poor infrastructure, double shift work and poor pay which makes it very difficult for them to do their job well and severely limits their ability to engage in training activities (Bengtsson and Dyer, 2017, Lopes Cardozo and Hoeks, 2015, Lewis, 2019). Poor education systems can also exacerbate conflict, with teachers only teaching in government controlled areas, moving countries, changing occupations or moving away from rural areas to urban areas where there is greater access to teaching and learning facilities (Rubagiza et al., 2016) thus effecting redistributive justice within a society. Teachers therefore have the potential to be the agents of education's ability to enact change, which can be both strengthened and limited by the structures in which they are working (Naylor and Sayed, 2014).

The structural constraints that teachers face limit the ability of teachers in conflict-affected contexts to receive training, as does a widespread lack in the availability of (quality) training (Bengtsson and Dyer, 2017). Yet, context-appropriate training is urgently needed in conflict-affected contexts, where education reform is common (Lewis, 2019). Training is especially necessary when educators are teaching about highly sensitive issues (Spink, 2007, Kester, 2021) or engaging students in critical discussions about peace (Gordillo, 2020).

Furthermore, initiatives rely heavily on educators with the assumption that they are willing to promote the ideas and ideals of a given programme. In evaluations of programmes, negative outcomes or evaluations on the part of participants are often attributed to a lack of neutrality on the

part of facilitators (see, for example Arnon and Galily, 2014), when perhaps such neutrality is impossible to achieve. Teachers are themselves impacted by affect and emotion. When teaching difficult histories, this can influence their decision making, and their own performances of affect, in ways which can either “reinforce or disrupt power relations” (Zembylas and Loukaidis, 2021, p.9). Educators have their own lived personal experiences of conflict which shape their views and are also impacted by the collective narratives of those around them (see Rubagiza et al., 2016).

Educators are limited in the extent to which they can address structural issues in order to contribute to transformative change. In many countries, educators’ participation in educational policy making is minimal (Rubagiza et al., 2016, McCully et al., 2002, Altae, 2022), and they are limited in the degree to which they are able to address issues of segregated schooling and communities and biased educational material, such as history textbooks (Lopes Cardozo and Hoeks, 2015, Novelli and Sayed, 2016).

Despite the important role that educators play, and their impact on learners and on conflict, they are rarely considered as key groups needing support (Bengtsson and Dyer, 2017). Educators therefore have real potential to contribute to peacebuilding and social justice in post-conflict societies, but this role is constrained by the contexts and structures in which they work.

Having examined the positioning, framing, and role of education in conflict-affected countries, I now analyse the role of (participatory) arts in these contexts, and the dynamics embedded in programmes that use these approaches.

3.3 (Participatory) Arts-based programmes with young people in conflict-affected countries

Under the umbrella of (participatory) arts-based programmes are a multitude of different initiatives, using a variety of media, including theatre, dance, story-telling and visual arts – some have set learning objectives, others do not. This makes it difficult to analyse or evaluate the field as a coherent whole. The use of the arts in conflict-affected countries also differs depending on the physical and temporal distance from the conflict itself. Before conflict, for example, arts may be used to speak out against or resist authoritarian regimes and human rights abuses. The censorship, silencing, intimidation or execution of artists can serve as an “early warning” of conflict to come (Naidu-Silverman, 2015, p.11) During and within conflict, the arts may also be used as a tool to express attitudes and opinions on conflict, as forms of propaganda or, through bringing arts exhibitions and programmes to conflict contexts, as a means of enabling people to feel they are still a part of a global community (Naidu-Silverman, 2015). Post-conflict, and within a conflict-affected country, they may be used to promote peace between conflicting groups. Post-conflict in refugee or migrant communities, they may be used to tell stories about the conflict and life beforehand or used for therapy (Thompson et al., 2009). Despite the many possibilities for using the arts, and the increase in programmes using the arts for collective memory and peace (Taylor et al., 2022), the role of arts-based programmes in conflict affected countries is often not (explicitly) recognised or integrated into policies and strategies promoting peacebuilding. This suggests that the value of the arts in this field continues to be underutilised and is yet to be fully realised (Hunter and Page, 2014, Naidu-Silverman, 2015).

There is a “small but growing” body of literature exploring the contribution of the arts in post-conflict settings (Bailey, 2019, p.9) as the role that that culture plays in contemporary conflict is increasingly recognised (McPherson et al., 2018). There is also explicitly an expanding body of literature examining *participatory* arts in conflict-affected contexts, although the field remains

relatively small compared to the field of (formal) education. This literature on the use of (participatory) arts-programmes with young people highlights key ways in which arts-based programmes can both contribute to sustainable peace and promote and sustain conflict. In this way, parallels between the positive and negative faces of education can be drawn. As Matarasso (2003, p.343) highlights, both education and the arts can be considered absolute goods in themselves, whilst also being open to manipulation and corruption and each resulting in a wide range of possible outcomes.

Despite the “growing use of culture and arts in peace and post-conflict education”, (McPherson et al., 2018, p.vii), the role and potential contribution of arts and culture in responding to conflict and peacebuilding remains under-researched. Focus largely remains on the therapeutic benefits of the arts in post-conflict contexts, and the preventative, or *peacebuilding* role of the arts is under-researched (McPherson et al., 2018). Moreover, despite the similar dynamics at play between the arts and education, and the possibility of conceptualising youth arts-based programmes as non-formal educational initiatives themselves, there is strikingly little dialogue between the academic fields of education and the arts in post-conflict settings. Some studies highlight the use of arts-based practices for educational purposes in these settings; McPherson et al. (2018), for example, discuss that singing is used in Colombia to enrich classroom education, and highlight in Rwanda the role of cinema for education, traditional dance and culture for civic education, and the use of arts competitions in schools to reflect on peace. However, the intersection and relationship between these two disciplinary fields has not been explicitly examined, developed or theorised. This suggests a missed opportunity for mutual learning and an unnecessary limitation to the development of theory in this area. In this section, I will use Bush and Salterelli’s (2000) notion of the two faces of education in conflict to analyse two similar “faces” of the arts in conflict, thereby beginning to bridge the conceptual gap between the fields of education and the arts. As in section 3.2.3, I will map the two faces to notions of (mal)distribution, (mis)recognition, and (mis)representation. I will again

begin by exploring how the arts can contribute to injustice and conflict, before exploring their potential for justice and peacebuilding.

Because the use of participatory arts methodologies is relatively new, accounts are often “celebratory and uncritical” (Darweish and Sulin, 2022, p.102). Negative, neutral or undesired outcomes of programmes often go unreported, not least due to the fact that funding for such programmes can heavily (be perceived to) rely on positive outcomes (Dunphy and Ware, 2016, Cooke and Soria-Donlan, 2017, Baker, 2000). Indeed, evaluations of participatory arts programmes are generally not well developed, with a noticeable lack of theoretical frameworks for evaluating the use of arts for peacebuilding (Dunphy and Ware, 2016, Kollontai, 2010, Gesser-Edelsburg, 2011). This significantly limits the possibility for knowledge sharing and improvement across the field (Dunphy and Ware, 2016). As with education, the arts are often considered to be inherently good, which detracts from critical analysis into how programmes and practices are implemented and situated in social, political and cultural contexts, in turn undermining the value of utilising arts for peacebuilding (Hunter and Page, 2014).

What is more, the outcomes of arts practices cannot always be easily established and are not guaranteed, because the individuals taking part in the programmes create their own meaning, value and interpretations through the arts, making it difficult to foresee impact in a way that traditional Monitoring and Evaluation studies aim for (Matarasso, 2010). Focusing too heavily on goals in projects can therefore limit the *capacity-building* aspect of peacebuilding and the transformative possibilities of programmes (Hunter and Page, 2014). Scholars therefore call for theoretical and evaluative frameworks for participatory arts-based projects. They argue that these frameworks should consider all of the change that has occurred through a programme – positive and negative, direct and indirect (Morra-Imas and Rist, 2009) and the processes by which such outcomes are achieved, rather than necessarily, or at least “just”, the achievements in themselves (Dunphy and Ware, 2016). This echoes calls in education literature for evaluations of peacebuilding educational

initiatives to “consider not just what has been learnt but also the materials and the methodology” of learning (Baxter and Ikobwa, 2005, p.22).

3.3.1 The two faces of (participatory) arts in conflict-affected countries

Negative faces of (participatory) arts in conflict affected countries.

As with education, the arts can be mobilised and co-opted by both sides of a conflict and used for propaganda purposes and political aims. As in education, this can enhance misrecognition and fuel conflict by reinstating “us” and “them” divisions, as well as actively encouraging violence. In Northern Ireland, for example, instruments are associated with political positions (with the bodhra’n symbolising the nationalist Catholic community and the lambeag associated with the Orange Protestant community) and used as tools to inflame conflict rather than build peace (Pruitt, 2011). In Rwanda, radio stations played popular music motivating killings whilst providing the names and addresses of Tutsi and moderate Hutu (Breed, 2014). In arts-based programmes seeking to foster peace, “us” and “them” divides can also be created inadvertently. Thompson et al. (2009, p.154) refer to “Romeo-and-Julietism”, where projects which are aiming to promote peace, especially theatre-based initiatives, take on a Romeo and Juliet narrative which finds a resolution between warring parties. However, such narratives can cause more harm than good by continually restating divisions in communities and therefore potentially embedding them. In other words, whilst these programmes seek to promote recognition, they continue to promote misrecognition by imposing the image of two single (and conflicting) group-identities.

As well as embedding divisions, arts-based programmes can further embed misrecognition and misrepresentation by “replicating the conditions of marginalisation” (Walsh and Burnett, 2022, p.43). This can happen through powerful voices continuing to dominate in both the processes of arts-based programmes, and the products they produce (such as films or exhibitions). It can result in

the continued marginalisation, and therefore misrecognition and misrepresentation, of minority racial groups, women, and young people (Walsh and Burnett, 2022, Adebo et al., 2022). Similarly, language mediums used in arts-based programmes can exclude groups and reinforce existing power structures, furthering misrepresentation in a society. This is especially true if languages, for example English, are used to impress external audiences rather than focusing on the needs of the communities with which programmes are working (Thompson et al., 2009). Deciding on which language a theatre or story-based intervention will adopt therefore necessarily involves making a political-ideological decision, as it does in formal education settings (Gesser-Edelsburg, 2011).

Participatory arts programmes can also promote misrecognition and misrepresentation when grass-roots projects are “up-scaled” by NGOs and international organisations, and when international organisations such as the World Bank co-opt participatory practices. Scholars argue that this can stifle the voice of local communities and radical groups and remove local actors from decision-making processes. Such co-opted programmes can, for example, sometimes be used to reinforce neoliberal and Western models of post-conflict “development”, rather than allowing spaces for the production of new knowledge and social imaginaries of new futures (Cooke and Soria-Donlan, 2017, Cooke and Kothari, 2001, Cornwall and Brock, 2005). These dynamics do not only apply to international programmes; state-led arts-based programmes may also be mistrusted for their potential to co-opt participatory practices. As such, cultural and community groups may be “imbued with greater legitimacy, credibility and trustworthiness than their state-led counterparts.” (McPherson et al., 2018, p.4).

The aim of participatory arts projects is often to create social inclusion. However, as can happen with educational programmes, participatory arts projects can fail to engage with the broader structures of power and conflict, especially when external actors make key decisions about the running of programmes. This means that participation can be superficial, and the goals of projects can often be predetermined rather than developed through a collaborative, community-driven

approach (Bell, 2017, Darweish and Sulin, 2022). Rather than promoting dialogue based on recognition and representation, these programmes can instead work to manufacture social consent and be used as a tool to create “submissive citizens who respect authority and accept the ‘risk’ and responsibility of looking after themselves in the face of diminished public services” (Bishop, 2006 in , Bell, 2017). In short, if too heavily influenced by external actors or elites, participatory arts programmes can be manipulated by powerful political elites to maintain the status quo, rather than to promote a just society and sustainable peace.

Positive faces of (participatory) arts in conflict-affected countries

On the other hand, participatory arts can promote social justice and create conditions that can dampen conflict, or the likelihood of conflict (re)emerging. Participatory arts can promote recognition and representation by creating spaces for marginalised groups in or after conflict to express their experiences and “demand inclusion in the national narrative” (Cooke and Soria-Donlan, 2017, p.16, Baú, 2017, Kollontai, 2010). Scholars argue that participatory arts methodologies can “be inclusive of diverse voices” which can help build capacity among local communities to articulate their experiences and needs (Cin et al., 2022, p.117). The strength of arts-based programmes in promoting this recognition lies in their ability to allow for alternative forms of dialogue to develop which go beyond the written or spoken word. Music, for example, uses a language which does not exclude marginalised groups such as LGBTQ+ and disabled youth (Pruitt, 2011). These new forms of dialogue can enhance the inclusion and representation of the diversity of voices in post-conflict societies.

In creating space for the representation of more voices, the arts therefore allow for the communal development of new forms of knowledge (Senehi, 2002) that can overcome “normative social and cultural barriers” (McPherson et al., 2018, p.4) and better enable people to navigate their daily lives (Naidu-Silverman, 2015). In Mexico, for example, murals are used as a way to show disapproval for social and economic conditions in the county, and in Uganda, song is used to try and destigmatise

former combatants (Naidu-Silverman, 2015). This then reflects the way that arts-based approaches can allow new forms of communication and knowledge under conditions of oppression and division, by opening new ways of engaging with a diverse group of people (Narismulu, 2012, Sandoval, 2016).

The arts can also promote redistribution and recognition by enabling these marginalised voices to be heard. In Rwanda, a study found that visual and oral communication can be more successful in reaching groups who have little access to print and broadcast media – especially those living in poverty or in rural areas, and those who are un(der)educated (Nabulime and McEwan, 2016). Photovoice - a participatory method in which participants express themselves through taking photos - for example, has been shown to be an empowering methodology that allows participants to participate in research, data collection and knowledge production “regardless of their educational and literacy skills” (Cin et al., 2022, p.123). The use of the arts can be particularly empowering to poor, marginalised, and excluded groups when the forms and materials used in arts-based programmes are contextually relevant and can promote discussion, for example using local crafts, clothes or every day materials such as soap when discussing topics relating to health (Nabulime and McEwan, 2016).

The process of representing and recognising a diverse range of voices and experiences means that arts-based programmes can disrupt and deconstruct stereotypes, reshape dehumanising narratives about excluded and discriminated-against groups, and create shared cultural experiences around shared values (Cin et al., 2022, Bhandari, 2022, Naidu-Silverman, 2015), therefore working against processes of misrecognition. This can improve relationships between previously conflicting groups (Bhandari, 2022). In Nepal, for example, Bhandari (2022) finds that arts-based clinics using theatre and storytelling improved relationships between police forces, young people and women by humanising the police and creating an understanding of the experiences of women and young people. In Turkey, Cin et al. (2022) find that a photovoice project bringing together Turkish young people and young Syrian refugees living in Turkey disrupted stereotypes about refugees, allowed an

understanding of their right to public space, and fostered collective forms of responsibility to address the injustices that refugees face. These processes encourage a sense of shared connection based on shared experiences between (young) participants, which reinforce commonalities and develop social connections that overcome barriers of ethnolinguistic and religious characteristics which, in and after conflict, can be dividing (Baú, 2017, Cin et al., 2022). The safe and collaborative spaces created by arts-based programmes therefore allow for shifting understandings of previously conflicting identities (Pruitt, 2011, Stephenson and Zanotti, 2016, Bhandari, 2022). The arts also improve connections beyond previously conflicting groups. Musical education in Colombia, for example, was found to expand participants' social networks and strengthen peer, family and community relationships and interactions through promoting collective experience, communication, and solidarity (McPherson et al., 2018).

The use of participatory arts methodologies can promote recognition and representation by enabling "self-representation" (Walsh and Burnett, 2022, p.42). Using the arts gives young people the space to express their thoughts, feelings and personal experiences in ways that are meaningful to them, and through this self-expression, gives them a chance to be heard (Baú, 2017). Indeed, young people have been found to particularly identify with arts-based methods including film and theatre (McPherson et al., 2018). For young people in conflict-affected settings, engagement in arts-based programmes can reaffirm youth's agency and identity as informed, reflective and politicised citizens (McClain, 2012, Shepler, 2010). The dialogic nature of participatory arts projects enable young people to speak and act as political agents (Cin et al., 2022, p.129). This can increase participants' feelings of power "that can help to undermine oppressive power structures and contribute to social justice and peace" (Darweish and Sulin, 2022, p.112). In Palestine, for example, Darweish and Sulin (2022) find that the use of participatory video combined with oral history methodologies enabled young people to reconnect with their heritage and their connection with their land, and speak out about their oppression.

The use of participatory arts programmes/methodologies therefore enable power to be both seen and disrupted. In South Africa, for example, Walsh and Burnett (2022, p.51) find that participatory filmmaking with young people enables young people to “see power” and the importance of intersectionality and, in so doing “forge politicised alliances that are critical for decoloniality”. Participatory processes can work towards exercising democratic cultures (Taylor et al., 2022, p.156) through enabling the expression of people’s experiences and rights (Cin and Mkwanzani, 2022). Aesthetic forms of participatory art in particular can be used to break silences (previously) enforced by authoritarian regimes and reengage citizens (Naidu-Silverman, 2015). The role of the arts in moving beyond mass media is particularly important here as it enables the disruption of power relations between and within communities. Such power relations are often encoded in language and reflected through mass media, meaning that it is those in power who are producing and disseminating knowledge and the dominant discourses. The arts are therefore valued for their potential to “propose new and alternate imaginings for the future” and enabling people to imagine futures of positive, sustainable peace (Naidu-Silverman, 2015, p. 11).

Participatory arts are further valued in post-conflict settings because they enable participants to express and communicate beyond written and verbal language. By providing non-linguistic avenues for expression that engage individuals’ creativity and emotions, the arts facilitate new ways of knowing that can “move across perceived intercultural boundaries” (Harvey et al., 2019, p.451). In conflict-affected settings, expression beyond language enables participants to communicate “unspeakable” events and promote empathy of these events. Much of the literature on arts and conflict focuses on the therapeutic value of this expression (Bailey, 2019), highlighting the potential for survivors to engage in and express their experiences of conflict and trauma to begin healing, whilst maintaining enough distance from the events to protect against re-traumatisation (Naidu-Silverman, 2015, McPherson et al., 2018).

However, the transrationality of the arts (following Harvey et al., 2020), also has wider social consequences as the arts open up affective spaces, and the space for affective economies to transform relationships. Indeed, the arts enable participants to express their experiences of conflict that may be too difficult to verbalise, and in doing so create a space for individuals to “re-create and rebuild the physical, psychological and spiritual dimensions of their own life and the lives of others” (Kollontai, 2010, p.263). This opens up space for participants to communicate emotion through arts methodologies and evoke empathy for the experiences of others (Cooke et al., 2022, p.222, Lehner, 2021). Such empathy not only allows for the healing of pain, but can also denounce the harms perpetrated through conflict (Taylor et al., 2022, p.156). As explored above in relation to Syrian refugees in Turkey, the participatory nature of participatory arts projects creates shared responsibility for promoting this empathy in the wider society, beyond the scope of projects themselves (Cin and Mkwanaenzi, 2022).

These positive faces of participatory arts work to develop imaginaries of new futures and new approaches to peacebuilding. Participatory arts-based methodologies enable “local and situated knowledge” to inform the building of peaceful communities through “opening up opportunities for affected communities to express themselves and to explore and start communicating issues of injustice at the personal and community level” (Adebo et al., 2022, p.54). In Northern Uganda, Adebo et al. (2022) describe the participatory curatorship of a museum project, where community members collaboratively decided on the art and artefacts that should be presented. Amongst the artefacts were a blanket, which represented both safety – a place of shelter away from the IDP camps where people risked abduction – and danger – blankets were found charred after attacks and used to cover dead bodies before burial. As Adebo et al. (2022, p.65) describe:

“From the outside, the objects would not be considered to hold much significance, but within this community, at this time, in the context of the stories being told,

they did the work of remembering that was needed and helped the community think about new ways of moving towards peace”

Arts-based programmes can therefore contribute to peace by expanding the inclusivity of spaces, giving participants alternative, non-violent, spaces in which to express themselves. The arts can break taboos and encourage dialogue around taboo topics (Nabulime and McEwan, 2016) and can promote reflexivity on the current situations of communities and cultures, preventing groups from “taking existing conditions or socially governing assumptions for granted” (Stephenson and Zanotti, 2016, p.341). This, along with the challenges arts-based programmes pose to ignorance, apathy, and prejudice, can nurture the development of new ideas and allow young people to imagine a different post-conflict society in which peace is attainable and sustainable (Stephenson and Zanotti, 2016, Kollontai, 2010, Senehi, 2002). Participatory arts projects can therefore equip young people with the skills to mould communal spaces through cultural work (Pruitt, 2011) and contribute to the construction of new, inclusive narratives for peace(building) and deconstruct narratives that create and maintain conflict (Gesser-Edelsburg, 2011, Johansson and Isgren, 2017).

3.3.2 Arts-based methods: Process or Product?

Having analysed the two faces of participatory arts in conflict-affected countries, I now consider an ongoing debate in the field of participatory arts; whether it is the process of creating participatory art or the product that is created that is more important for social justice. These positions are often considered as mutually exclusive (Bell, 2017). Writers such as Matarasso (1997) argue that the processes of participatory arts are “essential components to successful social policies” due to their ability to promote personal growth, contribute to social cohesion, develop capacity for self-determination and produce social change. For others, art should not be used as a policy tool, citing

the above mentioned arguments that this can be co-opted as a way of creating submissive citizens and diminishing the potential for art to be used against the status quo (Bell, 2017).

The debate between Claire Bishop and Grant Kester epitomises the process versus product discussion in participatory arts (Bell, 2017). Bishop (2006) argues that an increasing focus on the use of creating art collaboratively as part of wider programmes, in place of attention to the aesthetics of art, is rendering art incapable of producing items that are of interest to everyday spectators who were *not* a part of the participatory processes of creation. This thwarts the ability of art to be politically disruptive and to have impacts as art in itself beyond the time of creation. Bishop writes:

In using people as a medium, participatory art has always had a double ontological status: it is both *an event in the world, and at one remove from it. As such, it has the capacity to communicate on two levels – to participants and to spectators – the paradoxes that are repressed in everyday discourse, and to elicit perverse, disturbing, and pleasurable experiences that enlarge our capacity to imagine the world and our relations anew. But to reach the second level requires a mediating third term – an object, image, story, film, even a spectacle – that permits this experience to have a purchase on the public imaginary* (2012, p.284).

For Bishop then, the process of creating art through participatory projects has value. However, the artistic product created at the end is vital for the work to go beyond the project and impact the wider society. Kester (2006), on the other hand, argues that such an approach fails to consider other forms of aesthetics that stem from ethical social practice. Participatory arts projects blur the lines between the arts, political activism, and other fields – depending on the project – such as education, and therefore, in his view, should be judged accordingly, moving away from an elitist focus on aesthetics.

The debate brings in interesting discussions about power in arts-based programmes, where artists as facilitators often come from more privileged backgrounds than the groups or communities that they are working with. In participatory projects, there is a tension between artists relinquishing control to the participants, in a more bottom-up approach, or leading and directing the project themselves in a more top-down approach. The former may focus more on the process of art creation, and the latter on aesthetics. However, for a participatory project to contribute to social justice, in both cases, the participant's and spectator's views on the impact of a project and the art should be incorporated into the process (Bell, 2017). Failing to recognise the power dynamics at play within participatory arts and broader society can result in participatory arts practice that "reproduces the logics of 'social inclusion' rather than challenging the structural causes of exclusion" (Bell, 2017, p.77), and therefore focusing on affirmative rather than transformative change.

3.4 Framing of "youth" in conflict-affected countries

Before concluding this chapter, I will briefly examine how young people are conceptualised and framed in conflict-affected countries, as well in literature on education and participatory arts in conflict-affected countries. This is important to understanding the case studies presented later in this thesis.

Young people in conflict-affected countries are considered to be both victims and perpetrators of violence (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015). Young people can be victims of direct and indirect violence in conflict, due to witnessing and participating in violence and experiencing the indirect consequence of war on social, community and familial structures (Betancourt et al., 2013). This can have significant psychological impacts on a young person's sense of purpose and identity and create difficulties in the way they relate to others (Kollontai, 2010). In this sense, youth can be portrayed as

“idealised victims” who are innocent and passive (Dwyer, 2015) and in need of protection from international institutions (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015).

Equally young people, especially young males, are considered to bring a threat of further violence, or as perpetrators of direct violence and security threats (Dwyer, 2015, Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015). Here, causal links are made between increases in youth populations and rises in violence, and out of school and unemployed youth are thought especially dangerous and susceptible to (re-)igniting violent conflict (Dwyer, 2015, Creary and Byrne, 2014). Young people are considered to reproduce violence through the way that they frame conflict in the narratives that they share and the meaning that they create through these narratives. This might, for example, involve idealising war heroes (Başer and Çelik, 2014). Literature also points to the idea of “violent male youth culture[s]” which promote and idealise violence, as young men may continue to consider their role to be protectors in post-conflict societies, where it is not always clear if a country is at peace or preparing to return to war (Harland, 2011 discussing Northern Ireland).

Crucially in the literature the victim/perpetrator roles are often considered in dichotomy. As Dwyer describes, young people in conflict-affected countries are therefore often positioned as either “poster images or problems to be solved, rather than diverse agents with their own complex relationships to conflict and peacebuilding” (2015, p.17). This focus means that youth’s perspectives and responses as social actors to conflict are frequently overlooked, and therefore that youth agency, resilience and creativity often remain ignored (Thorpe, 2016, Dwyer, 2015). In reality, of course, young people are contributing to peace informally through “subtle everyday actions” which challenge discrimination, exclusion and violence (Oosterom et al., 2018, p.7). These actions include purposively developing relationships with young people from other ethnic and religious groups, using social media to dispute and debunk hate speech and contributing to the security of a neighbourhood. (Oosterom et al., 2018).

Young people's agency can be overlooked in both practice and in the literature, with a lack of recognition and understanding as to what the agency of youth means (Agbiboa, 2015). In practice, young people are sometimes simply regarded as aid recipients and are not always targeted as specific groups in humanitarian responses, meaning opportunities for their participation in peacebuilding and community development are disregarded (Baú, 2017). As Oosterom et al. (2018, p.8) highlight, "Young people are often side-lined from important policy and development processes if these are not 'earmarked' for youth, even if they have direct impact on their lives". Perceptions of the role of youth in global policy are therefore created and shared with little, if any, attention to the voices of youth themselves, and there is a very limited understanding of the experiences and needs of young people (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015, Oosterom et al., 2018). Young people are therefore often misframed in international development; they are frequently excluded from participating in decision making and contests over justice (following Fraser, 2005). The literature reviewed in this chapter demonstrates that where youth are included in educational programmes, they tend to be framed as participants and are rarely involved in the development of policy and programming, nor do they play a role in conceptualising peace and peacebuilding in their contexts. The use of participatory arts differs here, however, with a lot of rhetoric around youth-led participation and opening spaces for young people to frame their own experiences.

Based on this lack of meaningful inclusion in conceptualising and developing peace and education programmes, there is a strong trend in theoretical literature to call for new understandings of youth agency. This includes considering young people as current, as well as future citizens: young people are not just the future leaders of a country but contributors to current peace, with their own political views and experiences, which must be considered and developed (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015). These calls are in line with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, where Article 12 states that children have the right to have a say over decisions that impact their lives, and to have these decisions taken into account (UN General Assembly, 1989). Young people in conflict-affected countries are already directly and indirectly engaging in peacebuilding, utilising new technologies

and popular culture (Pruitt, 2011) and they continue to build their lives in adversarial conflict and post-conflict situations (Agbiboa, 2015). Young people therefore need to be understood as social and political actors, who can both reproduce and challenge conflict (Başer and Çelik, 2014). As such, the development of educational initiatives and systems must take a collaborative approach that includes young people's perceptions of their agency, needs and challenges – an approach that is currently widely lacking (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015). Failure to include young people in decision-making processes exposes deficits in democratic governance, exacerbates generational divides and tensions and therefore is detrimental to sustainable peace overall (Agbiboa, 2015). My research will analyse how young people are framed in arts-based NFE programmes, paying specific attention to how programmes enable young people to shape national narratives around peace and conflict in their countries.

3.5 Summary: Reflections of Fraser's framework of social justice in the two faces of educations in conflict affected countries and gaps in the literature.

This chapter has analysed the literature on education and participatory arts programmes in conflict-affected contexts. Whilst also examining the wider literature, the chapter has predominately explored how education and participatory arts can contribute to both social injustice and social justice and, in so doing, either reproduce, enhance, or directly create the conditions that lead to violent conflict, or mitigate against conflict. In other words, there are two faces to both education and the arts in conflict-affected countries. In this chapter, I have mapped these two faces to Fraser's conceptualisation of (mal/re)distribution, (mis)recognition, and (mis)representation. In Figure 1 I summarise this discussion by mapping Fraser's three dimensions to the positive and negative faces of education and participatory arts in conflict-affected contexts. The table highlights the role that education and the arts can particularly play in promoting (mis)recognition and (mis)representation.

Elements of Social Justice	Negative face of education	Negative face of participatory arts	Positive face of education	Positive face of participatory arts
Redistribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Schools deliberately targeted to prevent integration of group into economy Groups denied access to education, lowering position in job market Segregated schools to keep groups from modern economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Marginalised can be excluded through language policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitating equal opportunities Access to education can dampen conflict. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reach marginalised groups Enable participation of marginalised and un(der) educated in research, data collection and knowledge production
Recognition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Schools deliberately targeted to destroy culture Segregated schools create or enhance societal divisions Segregated schooling promotes stereotyping and low self-esteem of marginalised groups Language policies deny group identity Curriculum manipulated used to estrange youth from their culture Manipulation of curricula to create “us” and “them” divisions Essentialising of ethnic, religious, and tribal identities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Create or restate “us” and “them” divisions in society Reinstate and embed divisions Replicate conditions of marginalisation with powerful voices dominating “Scaling up” can remove experiences of local communities from activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical desegregation of schools brings together conflicting groups to promote tolerance and respect. Enable desegregation of the mind – transcending divisions and recognising commonality Promoting linguistic tolerance and respect Interrupt exclusionary social norms (including gender-based norms) Promote critical thinking, recognising histories are constructed and multiple 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide space for marginalised groups to express themselves Allow for new, community-driven, forms of knowledge Disrupt and deconstruct stereotypes and dehumanising narratives Encourage shared connections Allows for shifting understanding of identity Promote empathy and understanding of experience Enables communication of the “unspeakable”
Representation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Groups denied access to education, resulting in lack of control over political processes Segregated schools ensure societal division and exclude group from participation in political processes Manipulation of curricula to remove knowledge of cooperation and enhance superiority Manipulation of curricula to suppress histories and normalise oppression 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continued misrepresentation of minority groups, women, and young people Exclusionary use of language Manipulated by political elite to maintain status quo Scaling-up can stifle voice of local actors and block participation in decision making 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Desegregated schools bring opportunities for groups to work together Demonstrate inclusive and participatory governance Work against exclusionary social norms through representative governance Creation of inclusive citizenship – legitimising all groups stake in power Critical approaches to politics and power through governance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide space for marginalised groups to demand inclusion Enable self-representation and space to be heard Reaffirm young people’s identity as political agents Allows power to be seen and disrupted Allows communal development of knowledge, beyond political elite Community driven conceptualisation of peace(building)

Figure 1 - Reflections on social (in)justices and the two faces of education and participatory arts (Source: author)

As Figure 1 demonstrates, there is a significant overlap in the dynamics at play between (formal) education and participatory arts programmes with young people in post-conflict countries. Indeed, as I argued in the introduction to this thesis and this chapter, participatory arts programmes themselves can often be conceptualised as non-formal education programmes. Despite this overlap, there is strikingly little academic or programmatic dialogue between the fields of education and the arts in post-conflict settings, with both fields largely operating in silo. This highlights a missed opportunity for mutual learning and mutual theoretical development for both fields. This major gap in the literature led me to develop my main research question for this thesis; that is:

How do programmes working at the intersection of formal education and participatory arts in post-conflict settings reflect and contribute to social justice and peacebuilding?

My exploration of the literature, as figure 1 depicts, has similarly demonstrated the value of Fraser's framework for exploring not just education in post-conflict contexts, but also participatory arts programmes, and how these can contribute to transformative social change, or enhance or replicate social injustices. Yet, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, this conceptualisation has not been used to understand the potential of (participatory) arts in contributing to social justice and peacebuilding. This insight, alongside my adoption of Fraser's theoretical framework, has led to the development of the first research sub-question (SQ), namely:

1) (How) are transformative elements of redistribution, recognition and representation reflected in the design and enactment of programmes?

Developing from Fraser's conceptualisation of *transformative* social justice and social change, my review of the literature has identified the importance of programmes being embedded in wider societal structures in order to enable transformative change. Similarly, the structures of programmes

themselves can play a key role in enabling or impeding social justice and transformative change, thus leading to my next two SQs:

II) How are programmes embedded in, and how do they engage with, wider societal structures?

III) How does the structure of programmes enable or impede social justice?

Section 3.4 of this chapter argued that young people in conflict-affected contexts are often misframed in academic literature, with a lack of understanding of, and space for, their agency to be enacted. Section 3.3.1 demonstrated that arts-based methodologies have the potential to further limit the agency of young people, by prioritising the dominant voices in society, or create spaces for young people to enact their agency and disrupt existing power relations. This has led me to developing my fourth SQ:

IV) How do programmes conceptualise and engage with young people, and what is the effect of this on transformative social justice?

Finally, this literature review has demonstrated that there is a lack of understanding about how different forms of education, particularly formal, non-formal, and arts-based programmes, interrelate and interact, and how this affects the potential for social justice, leading me to my final SQ:

V) What are the benefits and/or disadvantages of non-formal arts-based programmes working in synergy with formal education systems?

Thus, the combined Research Questions guiding this research are:

How do programmes working at the intersection of non-formal art and formal education in post-conflict settings reflect and contribute to social justice and peacebuilding?

- I) *(How) are transformative elements of redistribution, recognition and representation reflected in the design and enactment of programmes?*
- II) *How are programmes embedded in, and how do they engage with, wider societal structures?*
- III) *How does the structure of programmes enable or impede social justice?*
- IV) *How do programmes conceptualise and engage with young people, and what is the effect of this on transformative social justice?*
- V) *What are the benefits and/or disadvantages of non-formal arts-based programmes working in synergy with formal education systems?*

The research design used to answer these research questions is detailed in the next chapter.

4. Research Design

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will lay out the research design developed to answer this study's research questions. I will begin by setting out the epistemological positioning of my research questions and my own positionality as a researcher before providing an overview of the research context and cases. I will then present the methodological process of this thesis, including the data generation and limits to the data. My data generation was drastically impacted by the COVID-19 virus, declared a pandemic in March 2020, and I will thus explain how I adapted my research under these circumstances. I will then present the data analysis process and ethical considerations for the research.

4.2 Positioning of the research

My research journey on this thesis began when I first started looking into the work of Changing the Story (CTS), before applying for a PhD position on the project. CTS is a four-year project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council's Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF), which itself is funded by the UK's Official Development Assistance (ODA) fund. The aim of CTS is "to evaluate present, and inform future, practice of civil society organisations working with young people in 'post-conflict' settings, in order to build strong institutions that can support communities to deliver sustained social justice" (CTS, ND-a). Angrosino (2007) argues that because there is no objective, universally understood way of knowing the world, different researchers will produce different images of what has been observed. As a researcher with a background in education and international development, CTS immediately struck me as a collection of non-formal education initiatives, and I began imagining a project that researched them as such. As I officially began my work with CTS, I found that this conceptualisation and framing of the projects as NFE initiatives was

often not being used . Attending CTS events and engaging with the work developing from the project, I was interested by the fact that the dynamics between formal education, and (what I saw as) non-formal arts-based education, was integral to many of the projects. These intersections were sometimes explicit, with a number of CTS programmes taking place in schools or seeking to influence educational curricula and pedagogy, and sometimes implicit, with projects finding youth participants struggled to engage with certain aspects of their programme because of the narratives or practices embedded in their country's formal education structures. Yet these dynamics were often not specifically explored in the programme. This experience, combined with my review of the literature, led me to formulate the above research questions for this thesis, specifically exploring this intersection of education and the arts.

The main purpose of this research is therefore to use the empirical data in two ways. Firstly, I sought to examine the particular dynamics of programmes working at the intersection of the arts and education with young people in post-conflict contexts, and how these dynamics can reflect and contribute to social justice. Secondly, I sought to analyse the specific manifestation of social justice in this particular setting – what does social justice and transformative change mean, and look like, in post-conflict programmes with young people? How does the intersection of the arts and humanities contribute to specific forms of justice? This necessitated carrying out research into specific projects, and including the participants of these projects to reflect on the situated experiences of their engagement and how it affected their views of, and participation in, society. By understanding the contributions of these programmes to social justice, and the specific manifestations of justice elicited by the programmes, I was able to use these data to create a dialogue between the fields of the arts and education and develop new conceptualisations of social justice in post-conflict settings.

The research design therefore needed to enable an understanding of the complexities and nuances of social change, which “requires an understanding of depth and complexity in...people’s situated or contextual accounts and experiences...” (Mason, 2018, p.162). To do this, I take a constructivist

approach to knowledge and learning, rooted in the understanding that knowledge is a human production, constructed through experiences and interactions with the world and societies (Dunne et al., 2010, Phillips, 1995). Not only is knowledge socially constructed, but the qualitative methodology used for exploring knowledge is constructed as well; research data are produced “in a social process of giving meaning to the world” (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002, p.154). This means there are no value-free facts to be known or collected by researchers, but rather data are generated and constructed through dialogue between the researcher and participants (Mason, 2018, p.157, Angrosino, 2007).

Qualitative research enables a dialogic and dialectic approach to knowledge, in which data is generated in a way that allows participants’ experiences and articulations to be meaningfully expressed in the (co-)construction of knowledge. Knowledge here emerges from the “confluence of divergent opinions, values, beliefs and behaviours” (Angrosino, 2007, p.7) My data generation is therefore centred around qualitative research methodologies. An exploration of social justice, particularly through Fraser’s conceptualisation of justice, expressly lends itself to qualitative research; enabling participants to be *represented* and their experiences to be *recognised* through the research process and allowing for complex and nuanced understandings of how people view society and their position in it.

Taking a constructivist approach means also recognising my own positionality and power as a researcher. Adopting feminist approaches to power, I recognise that “power resides in what is taken to be knowledge” (Davies, 2000, p.18, Tregoning Maber, 2017) and that therefore there is always politics involved in knowledge (Alcoff and Potter, 1993). This applies to my research focus and methodology: I draw on feminist epistemologies and their “concerns with unjust power relations [which] require analysis of the interconnections between language, relationships and the material grounding of power.” (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002, p.154), leading me to explore who is included and excluded in the construction of national narratives about the past. However, it also

applies to my position as a researcher, as the analysis and presentation of the data in this thesis is necessarily affected by my own interpretations (Greany, 2012).

Adopting feminist and constructivist approaches to knowledge and power in research allows for empathy, subjectivity, and dialogue and works to challenge traditional centres of authority (Angrosino, 2007). In this thesis, adopting these approaches through a qualitative methodology opened up the space for young people to describe in detail not only what they did on the projects, but also what they *felt* through the projects and the nuanced ways in which these feelings changed their understandings of, and relationships with, society; including their own roles as social actors. In doing so, it created the space for new understandings of the manifestation of social justice in post-conflict programmes working at the intersection of education and the arts – notably my conceptualisation of affective recognition.

4.3 The research context and cases

My research is based on and embedded in the Changing the Story (CTS) project. CTS comprises 22 individual projects across 12 post-conflict countries, that bring together academics, NGOs, artists, grassroots civil society organisations and young people from a range of disciplines and backgrounds. Each individual project engages participatory arts methods to achieve its aims, but the methods used are unique to the individual projects and include, for example, participatory film and photography, street art, theatre, and animation. Due to the GCRF guidelines, each project team is led by 2 co-principal investigators; one based in a UK university, and one based in the project country. CTS has been developed through a number of project phases, initially starting with critical reviews of literature and practice and proof of concept projects in 5 project countries: Cambodia, Colombia, Kosovo, Rwanda, and South Africa. The second phase commissioned 11 Early Career Researcher-led projects in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Colombia, India, Kosovo, Kenya, Nepal, Malaysia, Rwanda, South

Africa, Venezuela, and Zimbabwe and the third phase commissioned seven larger grant projects in Cambodia, Colombia, Kosovo, Rwanda, South Africa, India, and Malaysia.

I have been working on the CTS project for the duration of my work on this thesis, engaged in report writing, project commissioning, project evaluation and, crucially, project meetings, workshops, and events. This has given me a unique insight into the individual projects that make up CTS, as well as the project as a whole, and has shaped the focus of my research and my engagement with participants. My experience working on the CTS project has also formed a part of my data collection, through “field” notes from meetings and formal and informal conversations with colleagues, as will be detailed below.

Whilst I have worked with all of the CTS projects, and this has heavily shaped this research, the research and findings presented in this thesis are predominately based on three CTS projects; one in Cambodia, and two in Kosovo. The contexts of Cambodia and Kosovo, and the specific CTS projects, were decided upon based on both conceptual and practical reasons. My first step in selecting the contexts for this research was determining which of the CTS projects worked explicitly at the intersection for formal education and the arts. Secondly, I had to take practical considerations into account regarding which of the projects it would be feasible to research. Some of the relevant projects, for example, were only in the conception phase and were being held up because of the Covid-19 pandemic, meaning activities may not have started by the end of my data collection period. Others had finished CTS activities and moved onto other projects, which would have made accessing project participants through gatekeepers challenging. For others still, there were political implications for adding additional research to the projects, which made project teams uneasy and thus would have limited the research I was able to carry out. Practically speaking then, the contexts of Cambodia and Kosovo were some of the most feasible for conducting research, not least because projects were either ongoing, or had finished but the project teams continued to be engaged in CTS

for other reasons. This meant that regular communication with the teams was viable, and that they were able to act as gatekeepers to the young people who had participated in the CTS programmes.

Moreover, the two contexts provided a number of conceptual hooks for this research. The projects in both countries expressly engaged college or university students as their primary participants, thus engaging young people who are enrolled in formal education and who would be able to talk about the differences or convergences in their experiences of these different forms of education. The projects also argue that they are actively seeking pedagogical change through the participatory arts activities embedded in their work. Furthermore, all have a focus on the representation of narratives and experiences of the past that are often missing in formalised national memory structures. The projects thus provide important insights about what happens at the intersection of formal education and the arts, and specifically what this might mean for social justice.

Of course, the contexts of Cambodia and Kosovo differ widely, yet the similarities in the projects meant that research across the two countries opened the potential to examine shared dynamics at the intersection of the arts and education, whilst also highlighting the contextual specificity of the economies that these dynamics produce.

I will provide a brief overview of the three projects below. A more in-depth contextual background will be elaborated on in the empirical chapters themselves.

4.3.1 Kosovo

In Kosovo, my research analyses two projects: ACT and The Making of the Museum of Education. ACT (the Arts, Critical Thinking and Active Citizenship project), as one of the original CTS projects, is made up of many components, including conducting research for a critical review in different municipalities in the country with local arts-based partners (CTS, ND-b). This thesis, however,

focuses specifically on the BOOM Zine project within ACT. BOOM Zine was selected and developed through an open call to artists in Kosovo to create a participatory project for young people. It was a “qualitative research project that looks at the development of music, particularly at the rock and roll scene in Kosovo in the 1980s, focusing on the BOOM Concerts, [and] the role that these concerts played socially and politically and their value as cultural heritage today” (Krasniqi, 2019). The war in Kosovo “officially” began in 1998, and therefore the project studies life in Kosovo *before* this, enabling young people to explore a period of time that is not discussed in formal education, whilst also gaining a better understanding of events in the lead up to the war. The BOOM Concerts “played a crucial part in offering new bands a platform for communicating their message and representing the qualms of their generation”, and yet the concerts were organised by state-sponsored institutions and therefore reflect “the particular negotiation between politics and art” of the time (Krasniqi, 2019).

The BOOM Zine project ran as a multi-day workshop, with students from the University of Prishtina as participants. Four Participatory Action Research (PAR) workshops ran concurrently to explore the 1980s BOOM concerts using different mediums: sound, music, animation, and writing. Student participants selected which medium they wanted to engage in, researched and studied the BOOM concerts, and co-created either a soundscape, song, animation, or literary text that both interpreted and represented the concerts. These outputs were later combined to create an online zine.

The Making of the Museum of Education (MME) project similarly focuses on the period before the official beginning to the war in Kosovo. It explores the parallel education system of Kosovo in the 1990s, in which, as will be explained in more detail in Chapter 5, Albanian Kosovans, who initially were forced to teach and learn only in Serbian, were then forced out of the formal education system entirely. In response, Albanian Kosovans developed their own system of education which was run in people’s private homes. The Museum Project is working to turn one of these house schools into a physical national Museum of Education and has set up an online Museum of Education to explore

and memorialise this history. The aim of the project is to explore “the ways in which museums emerge, the interactions between places, narratives and social actors in the process of excavation and construction of pasts. The research is process-oriented and based towards the rooted and full-cycle understanding of memory production and mobilization it produces in the post-conflict societies” (CTS, ND-c). The participants of this project were also from the University of Prishtina, from a range of disciplines, and were taken on a tour to a house school. They then collaborated in researching and archiving information about the house school system and the experiences of those who studied and taught at the schools, through both archival research into, for example, newspapers from the time, and by conducting interviews. The participants then reflected on this process in blogs and video diaries, which were combined to create a film about the project.

4.3.2 Cambodia

In Cambodia, I study the Anlong Veng Peace Tours programme, which I will refer to as the “Peace Tours”. The Anlong Veng Peace Centre and Peace Tours, run by the Documentation Centre of Cambodia (DC-Cam), is a well-established project in Cambodia. According to DC-Cam, the Peace Centre is “dedicated to memory, reconciliation and peace building and it achieves these objectives through peace studies and genocide education” (DC-Cam, NDa). Based in Anlong Veng, the last stronghold of the Khmer Rouge regime, the Peace Centre provides visitors with “curricula that address the fundamental questions of what happened and why during the Khmer Rouge period” (DC-Cam, NDa). This is combined with guided tours of Anlong Veng’s historical sites including Pol Pot’s cremation site, Ta Mok’s houses and a hospital and school built by Ta Mok (Ta Mok was a Senior Khmer Rouge leader, known as ‘the Butcher’ for his role in overseeing purges and mass executions ordered by Pol Pot). The tour enables participants to engage in conversations with those who live in Anlong Veng, the majority of whom are former lower-level Khmer Rouge cadre, the rest survivors of the Khmer Rouge regime. Through this programme, DC-Cam is seeking to expand on

what young people are taught in school about the Khmer Rouge – which primarily focuses on the years of the Democratic Kampuchea (1975-79) and not on the political and military events before and after this. DC-Cam recruit students from across the country to take part in the tours, particularly those training to become teachers, with all tours including a number of students local to the Anlong Veng area. These young people are taught interview skills and techniques before going to talk with Anlong Veng’s residents. During the last days of the tour, they write news stories based on the knowledge they have learnt through the tours and the interviews they conducted (Manning, 2019). The focus of the tours is on “historical empathy” (DC-Cam, NDa), encouraging those who attend to think more critically and deeply about different human experiences in times of conflict. In this way the tours seek to be “rehabilitative to victims and former KR cadres in that they will provide victims and former cadres an opportunity to reflect on and impart their understanding of their experiences during the Democratic Kampuchea period and the civil war years (1979-1998) that followed” (DC-Cam, NDa).

The Centre and Tours are also aimed at wider audiences beyond students; as a place for “dark tourism” (DC-Cam, 2018a), advertised, for example, on Lonely Planet (Lonely-Planet, ND). Indeed, due to the many historically significant sites in Along Veng and the beauty of the area – surrounded as it is by lush forests and picturesque hills – it has become an area of focus for tourism, including by the Ministry of Tourism who work with DC-Cam in the area.

CTS worked with this pre-existing programme to embed participatory filmmaking into the Peace Tours with trainee teachers. Over three days, trainee teachers were taught about Cambodia’s past, shown around Anlong Veng’s historical sites and trained in interviewing techniques in line with DC-Cam’s tours, but were also trained in basic film-making techniques in order to create short documentaries based on the interviews that they carried out with Anlong Veng residents. The young people were given the space to decide what they wanted to discuss with former Khmer Rouge Cadre and survivors of the regime and trained in how to conduct and film these interviews. They then set

about interviewing, on camera, Anlong Veng's residents. The footage from these films was edited by DC-Cam in order to create a number of short films that are available on YouTube and Facebook. The films have a large number of views; with seven films having close to 150,000 views between them across the two platforms from 2018-2021.

Both the project in Cambodia and the projects in Kosovo can be seen as non-formal education programmes, as well as participatory arts programme; they provide a planned and organised, yet flexible, education that offers learning opportunities outside of formal education systems. The programmes directly engage with formal education systems by specifically engaging students as participants and, in the case of Cambodia, specifically working with young people training to be teachers themselves. These three programmes therefore act as pertinent examples for exploring the intersection of formal and non-formal, arts-based programmes.

4.4 The methodological process

I have taken an iterative approach to this research, understanding analysis as an ongoing process that begins at the very start of a research project with deciding on what literature to read, and continuing through to, and beyond the writing up of research (Äkerström et al., 2004, Corti and Thompson, 2004). An early phase of my methodological process was therefore conducting an in-depth literature review, the key findings of which were presented in Chapter 3, in order to identify gaps in the literature. Framing these gaps through the lens of social justice enabled me to formulate the research question and sub-questions presented above.

After selecting my cases, a key next step was conducting documentation analysis and close reading of all available resources relating to the three projects. This included original grant applications, blog posts, project reporting and project films. Following Prior (2004), and Ahmed's (2004) notion of the ethnography of text, I understand documents to be both content to be analysed and "active agents

in the schemes of human interaction” (Prior, 2004, p.376). Starting with an analysis of existing documentation meant that I was able to understand how the project teams had initially envisioned the projects, and how they had progressed on from this, as well as how the project teams wished their project to be presented to the public. This initial analysis, as well as my existing knowledge of the projects through my work with CTS, helped to form the basis of the research tools I would use for the rest of the data generation, particularly, but not exhaustively, with the project teams.

The specific methodologies used in Kosovo and Cambodia are detailed below. My constructivist, feminist approach to knowledge and power led me towards qualitative methodologies, particularly in-depth interviews with project teams and young people who had participated in the CTS project. In-depth interviews create a research space in which participants can share their stories, insights, and thoughts – enabling an understanding of an individual’s social reality, and the relative nature of knowledge (Morris, 2015). In-depth interviews are collaborative processes, in which participants are constructors of knowledge in collaboration with the interviewer (Morris, 2015). Rapley (2004, p. 34) writes that “interview interactions are inherently spaces in which both speakers are constantly ‘doing analysis’ – both speakers are engaged (and collaborating in) ‘making meaning’ and ‘producing knowledge’”. Salmons (2014, p.60) uses the metaphor of a gardener to demonstrate this collaboration:

“The gardener realizes that harvest is not possible without planting the seed. At the same time, many seeds can be sown without results if contextual conditions of weather, soil, and care are not in balance. The researcher–gardener realizes that the question seeds the participant’s thought process. With reflective listening and encouragement, the answer will emerge. With it, both the researcher’s and the participant’s understanding will grow.”

This co-creation of knowledge and understanding was evident in the interviews with both project teams and young people. In these interviews, not only was I learning about the experiences,

understandings and identities of participants, but it became clear that the participants too were using the space that the interview created to reflect on, and make sense of, their own experiences on the CTS projects.

In-depth interviews are also known for opening up meaningful spaces to reflect on and share emotions as well as experiences (Rapley, 2004). In this research, the interview space enabled participants to reflect on their affective responses to the programmes and through the interview process, participants and I developed understandings of why this mattered, and what the economies of affect were for each individual in their own contexts. Through the collaborative creation of knowledge that in-depth interviews allow for, I was able to develop the notion of affective recognition.

The original research design for this thesis was to involve substantial stays in Kosovo and Cambodia over the spring and summer of 2020, in which I would generate data through these in-depth interviews, participant observation, focus group discussions (FGDs) and participatory mapping activities. In addition, I intended to get to know Prishtina, the city in which all of the CTS programme participants were studying and visit the many arts and community activist organisations working with young people. Similarly, I had intended to spend more time in Cambodia. After spending two weeks in Phnom Penh in March 2019 for a CTS conference, meetings with arts-based organisations and DC-Cam and visiting a number of cultural heritage sites, I had planned to meet with more arts-based and community organisations in the country, as well as visiting Anlong Veng.

However, in March 2020, less than a month before I was due to fly to Kosovo, the WHO declared COVID-19 a pandemic, and international travel was prohibited by the University for the duration of my research. The pandemic threw the world into turmoil, and significantly affected the methodology of this research, not only because international travel was impossible, but also because of the huge strain that was being placed on the young people, organisations, and academics I intended to work with. Initially, many were convinced that the pandemic would soon be over, and that research activities would be able to go ahead as planned. As such, whilst waiting for the dust to settle, I

conducted a number of in-depth interviews online with the project teams of other CTS projects, working at the intersection of the arts and education, including projects in India and South Africa. Although these interviews have not been included in this thesis, they enabled me to continue to explore and refine my research questions and shaped my understanding of the intersection between formal and non-formal programmes in CTS. They also highlighted very practical issues around trying to conduct participatory activities online; to conduct these interviews I restructured my participatory mapping activities and attempted to include them in the interviews by sharing my screen and walking participants through the proposed task. However, almost all participants asked if I could stop sharing my screen in this way, either because they found it easier to talk when they could see me in front of them and not my screen, or because their internet connectivity was not able to support the activity. As my research continued, I therefore moved away from these activities to semi-structured, in-depth interviews.

As time progressed, it became increasingly clear that the COVID-19 pandemic was not going away, and it continued to place more and more professional and personal stressors on those working with CTS. I was especially aware that the young people that CTS, and I myself, were hoping to engage would be facing numerous pressures trying to balance their studies, find or maintain work and meet their basic needs amidst a global crisis, whilst also potentially dealing with the health consequences of the virus themselves or in their families. I therefore became very wary of asking too much of participants in terms of their engagement with this research.

In order to scope and understand the situation amongst the wider CTS network, I held an online workshop with the principal and co-investigators of the CTS projects to have a project-wide discussion on engaging young people online during the pandemic. I used interactive activities to discuss 1) the barriers the wider CTS team were finding in engaging young people with research activities, 2) the ethical implications of engaging young people during national lockdowns and 3) building trust online. This workshop highlighted issues around the challenges young people were

experiencing in their personal and family lives as a result of the pandemic, the stressors on their mental health and the difficulties of young people finding a private space to engage with interviews and activities. This then highlighted the very particular ethical considerations that I needed to be aware of in continuing my research through the pandemic, and ultimately the need to significantly reduce the amount of time I asked participants to engage in research activities.

Following on from this workshop, I held separate discussions with the project teams of the three projects in Cambodia and Kosovo, to explore what the possibilities were for continuing my research. The teams agreed that whilst some young people would be interested in engaging with my research, I should ensure not to overload them with research activities, and ensure that when I approached participants, they are fully aware that there is no obligation for them to take part. To help to reduce the amount of time I'd need to engage with participants, the project teams also generously shared with me the raw data that they themselves had collected through the CTS project. This was a positive development in my methodology; in the social sciences there has long been a culture of reanalysing quantitative data, but this culture does not exist for qualitative data (Corti and Thompson, 2004). This is for a number of, often very justified, reasons – particularly because qualitative data is the co-created between the researcher and participant(s) and is often very contextually embedded, and can be skewed or misunderstood when removed from this context. However, reanalysis of data allows for the cumulative building of knowledge (Corti and Thompson, 2004) and continuous analytic digging (Äkerström et al., 2004). Through reanalysing previously collected data, alongside programme documentation analysis, I was able to further develop the knowledge generated through the CTS projects, thus developing, rather than simply repeating, previous research (following Corti and Thompson, 2004).

The sections below will detail the research methods and research data used in Kosovo and Cambodia. As will become apparent, the need to reduce my data collection activities in response to the global pandemic has resulted in me using different types of data across the projects, depending

on what data was already available and how feasible it was to engage further young people in the research.

4.4.1 Data generation in Kosovo

The data used to form the analysis of the programmes in Kosovo in Chapter 5 derives from document analysis, surveys, and interviews with participants of the CTS programmes, interviews with members of the CTS team in Kosovo, analysis of the films created, and participant observation of Changing the Story events and meetings. As described above, I began the process by collating and close reading all available documents related to the two CTS programmes in Kosovo, including the original grant applications, blog posts written by various members of the team, the Critical Review of the ACT project developed by the project team, and reporting on the Museum Project. This process enabled me to get a better and more in-depth grasp of the aims and processes of the projects, as well as identify gaps and questions which informed the development of my interview guides.

I had already developed interview guides for my ethical review process, based on my original research questions and existing knowledge of the programmes through my work on CTS. With the added information from the documentation analysis, I expanded the interview guide for the semi-structured interviews with the project team in Kosovo, including questions to better understand how the conceptualisation of the project had been enacted in practice (for example, the projects' initial aim to focus on social inclusion beyond the periphery) and how the next stages of the project were progressing (for example, the aim to engage with formal education systems in Kosovo) (see Appendices 2 & 3). I conducted these semi-structured interviews with four members of the project team in Kosovo, all interviews took place online. These interviews provided invaluable insights into how the projects had been designed to promote representation and recognition and into the project team's own analysis of what engagement in the activities meant for the young participants. The

interviews also enabled a greater understanding of the context of the programmes, including the conceptual reasoning behind the specific periods in history that were studied.

With the COVID-19 pandemic placing unprecedented pressures on the young people who had participated in the CTS activities in Kosovo, the project teams in Kosovo kindly shared with me the data that they had collected as part of the projects. This comprised 50 before and after impact evaluations of the ACT project, all of which were in English. I used Nvivo to conduct an initial analysis of these surveys, which enabled me to understand participants initial reactions to the project and what they found to be important. Continuing my academic digging (following Åkerström et al., 2004), I used these findings, alongside my initial analysis of the documentation analysis and interviews with project teams, to develop and refine in-depth semi-structured interview guides for online interviews with participants of the CTS projects (Appendix 4). I developed a participant information sheet that was shared with participants at the time of the interviews, in order to explain the purpose of the research and their rights as a participant (Appendix 1).

At the time of my research, the projects were part of a larger consolidating learning project that was bringing together the existing research findings from across CTS projects in South-Eastern Europe, and evaluating these projects. I therefore conducted the interviews with a Post-Doctoral Research Assistant (PDRA) who had been hired for the consolidating learning project to ensure young people did not need to be interviewed twice given the constraints to their time. The project teams in Kosovo shared the contact details of all of the participants who had taken part in the research, and the PDRA and I began reaching out to the participants, either via email or Facebook, to share the participant information sheet and ask if they would be interested in joining. We heard back from 14 participants and conducted interviews via Zoom in English.¹ All participants were students from the University of Prishtina, reflecting the make-up of participants on both projects.

¹ The PDRA spoke Albanian, but participants chose to be interviewed in English.

The interview guide for these interviews was relatively short, offering questions that encouraged participants to reflect on their engagement in the projects, including what they learnt, how they felt, and if and how the project has affected their understandings of Kosovo's past, present, and future. Participants were therefore given the space to reflect on which aspects of the project were particularly meaningful for them, and why – as well as which aspects were hard or challenging. As described above, interviews are valuable due to the space they open to reflect on experiences, emotions, and identities (Rapley, 2004). Through the reflective space created with participants, a recurring theme across the interviews was the visceral and affective connection to a previously un(der) known past that the projects developed. This led to the conceptualisation of affective recognition.

Interviews can also be used as a way to create spaces for previously hidden, or silenced, voices (Rapley, 2004). In these interviews young people from Kosovo – an often self-described disenfranchised group - used the space to speak out about many of the problems facing themselves and their country today, including gender inequalities, political issues, youth apathy, and the continued exclusions and disadvantages Kosovans face on an international level. They reflected on how the projects, particularly their historical focus and participatory arts methodologies, enabled to further interrogate these issues. Finally, data were also generated through participant observation of numerous meetings, events and workshops in which the Kosovo CTS programme teams have discussed and presented their work. This included in-person and online conferences, in which research was presented publicly, as well as project management meetings and planning meetings, in which the team spoke more candidly about their work on the projects. These points of observation provided further invaluable information about the project and conceptual reflections on the project by the Kosovo project team, the wider CTS network and further groups of academics, practitioners and policy makers. I have also had a number of both formal conversations (in pre-arranged meetings) and informal conversations (on a graffiti tour in Bogota, lunch in London and dinner in Cambodia) in which we have discussed the Kosovo and wider CTS project. Whilst I have not used the

more private musings from the team as data in this thesis, these conversations have shaped my understandings of the project including the positionalities of the project teams, and various challenges they faced. A hybrid (online and in-person) event from Prishtina in which the CTS teams presented their projects and shared their research findings was an especially valuable event for data generation, as well as giving me the opportunity to present my initial findings (online) to a room of academics and education practitioners in Kosovo. This gave me important feedback on my work, with the audience reflecting on its wider relevance to education and educational policies in the country.

4.4.2 Data generation in Cambodia

Similarly to Kosovo, the data used to form the analysis of the Anlong Veng Peace Tours Programme in Chapter 6 are derived from documentation analysis, surveys, and interviews with (trainee) teachers who participated in the Anlong Veng Peace Tours, interviews with members of the CTS team in Cambodia, analysis of the films created through the Anlong Veng Peace Tours, and participant observation of Changing the Story events and meetings. Initially I carried out document analysis and close reading of all available documents related to the Changing the Story project in Cambodia, including the original grant application, blog posts written by various members of the team and the Critical Review of the Anlong Veng Peace Tours developed by the project team. This process was particularly helpful in enabling me to understand how the project was situated in wider work and transitional justice narratives in Cambodia. It also provided important insights into the analysis that had already been done by the project teams, thus ensuring my own research built on, rather than repeated, these foundations. I also reviewed the films created by the young people through the Anlong Veng Peace Tours, giving me some insight into their experiences on the tour, and the issues that they found particularly important. As in Kosovo, this process of documentation

analysis – along with my wider knowledge of the programme – informed my development of interview guides for the programme team and participants

Rather than conducting new research with the young participants of the programme in Cambodia as I had initially planned, my main dataset for this research is surveys collected by the project team during the Peace Tours programme, which the project team kindly shared with me. The surveys were completed by the trainee teachers before, during and after taking part in the Peace Tours in the form of pre- and post- tour surveys and daily reflections over the three days of the programme. The surveys consist of a mixture of closed questions to explore young people's understanding of different topics and experiences of the tours, as well open questions exploring what young people had learnt and how they felt during the programme. The data in these surveys was very rich, reflecting young people's practical experiences of the tours, as well as their emotive responses to what they had learnt through the tours. The use of daily reflections was particularly pertinent to obtaining these more personal and reflective insights into young peoples' experience of the tours, presumably as a result of young people reflecting on their day directly after the experience. The surveys were conducted in Khmer and then translated into English and were shared with me in English. I analysed a total of 196 of these surveys using Nvivo, covering pre- and post-tour surveys and daily reflections from 7 Peace Tours taking place from November 2017 – December 2018.

I then conducted six follow-up semi-structured interviews over the autumn of 2020 with individuals who had participated in the Peace Tours programme and were working as teachers at the time of the interview. I contacted 40 participants in Khmer using Telegram (the most widely used messaging app in Cambodia) about these interviews, but only 6 agreed to take part – some had changed their phone numbers, others were too busy, and many did not respond. Those who showed an interest in participating – as in Kosovo – were sent a participation sheet in both English and Khmer explaining the purpose of the interviews and their rights as participants (Appendices 5 & 6). Following my iterative and continuous analytical approach to research I developed an interview guide for these

interviews based on my documentation and analysis and analysis of the surveys, and specifically to follow up if and how the teachers were able to use their engagement in the Peace Tours in their teaching practice (Appendix 7). I conducted the interviews online (in either English or Khmer, and on either Zoom or Telegram, depending on the preference of the participant) with the help of a colleague from Cambodia, who acted as an interpreter as well including some of their own insightful questions in the discussion. I would debrief with my colleague after each interview, providing me with invaluable contextual insights to better situate the conversation in, for example, the Cambodian education system. Whilst I was only able to conduct a small number of these interviews, they enabled a more longitudinal reflection on the project. In many of the surveys, young people had expressed their desire to share what they had learnt on the project with their societies, in particular their future students. These interviews enabled me to follow up on whether or not they were indeed able to do this; how engaging in the Peace Tours had affected their ability to teach around the history of the Khmer Rouge in their classrooms and what challenges they faced in doing so. They therefore were very informative for further interrogating the relationship between education and the arts.

I also conducted semi-structured interviews with 4 members of the Changing the Story project team in Cambodia. All of these participants were male, reflecting the make-up of the team. Interviews were either conducted in person in Phnom Penh in March 2019, or online using Zoom over the summer of 2020. All of these interviews were conducted in English, using an interview guide that I developed based on the projects research questions, and, for the latter interviews, my initial analysis of the programme documentation and surveys (Appendix 7). As in Kosovo, these interviews enabled me to garner how the project team understood the project and its outcomes, and further helped to situate the project within wider debates in Cambodia. During these later interviews I was also able to ask members of the team to reflect on their own understandings as to why certain issues arose through the duration of the project, such as some participants adopting more positive attitudes towards the Khmer Rouge leadership, thus helping me to further situate my analysis.

In addition to this, I have observed and participated in numerous meetings and events in which the Cambodia CTS Team have discussed and/or presented their work. This includes Changing the Story management team meetings, conferences, and webinars. In March 2019, I travelled to Phnom Penh with the CTS project to assist with and attend a conference that was based around the findings from the Anlong Veng Peace Tours, and the work of similar arts and heritage programmes in the country. This meant that I was able to meet the project team in-person, as well as garner a greater contextual understanding of the positioning of the Anlong Veng Peace Tours and the wider context of arts-based programmes in the country. As with the Kosovo team, I have had numerous formal and informal (and more candid) discussions with the project team, which have shaped my understandings of the programme and my analysis of the research data

4.4.3 Limits to the data

There are always limits to the data in any study, but the restrictions placed on this research by the COVID-19 pandemic added additional limitations to the data. One of the most significant shifts from my normal practice as a researcher has been my inability to travel to both Cambodia and Kosovo. As a qualitative researcher, having an in-depth and situated understanding of a research context plays a vital role in my data generation and in enabling me to understand and analyse my research findings. Similarly, participant observation of programme activities is a central means of understanding and analysing the programmes that my research examines. I was able to travel to Cambodia in March 2019 for a Changing the Story conference, in which I met the project team as well as a number of other organisations and policy makers working in education and the arts, and young people who were a part of these arts-based projects. I held semi-structured interviews with the project team at this time, and spent time visiting arts, cultural and heritage organisations and sites in the country. However, I was unable to visit Anlong Veng during this stay and observe the Peace Tours, and COVID-19 meant that this has not been possible for the duration of my research. As for Kosovo, I

have not had the opportunity to visit the country at all, let alone participate in Changing the Story activities. Prior to the pandemic I would have never considered writing a PhD on a programme in a country I had never visited, due to the limits this places on understanding the situated context of the projects and participants.

I have attempted to mitigate these limitations by spending a large amount of time researching and learning about both contexts in detail. My wider work on CTS means that I have been able to have in-depth conversations with the project teams, beyond the formal interviews, to develop my understanding of both contexts and how the programmes are contextualised and shaped by cultural specificities. Working with research colleagues who have previously or currently lived in the two countries ensured that in the interviews themselves, participants knew that they were talking to someone who understood their context. However, whilst a researcher from another context will always be an outsider, unfortunately none of this mitigating practice makes up for my own lack of integration, however minor, into the contexts and communities that I examine through this thesis. A small redemption comes from the fact that COVID-19 meant that many activities themselves shifted online, and, at least for a period, the CTS project became a (semi-) virtual project. This has meant that I have been able to engage in some virtual participant observation, including of the youth engagement with the Kosovo dissemination event and by working with CTS' Youth Research Board, which includes participants from the Kosovo projects.

My inability to travel, and the pressures COVID-19 placed on young people's time, means that a significant proportion of my data has come from the project teams themselves. The teams have been extremely generous sharing their data and time with me for this thesis and, as above, reanalysing existing data has benefits to the incremental development of knowledge. Yet this does come with its own limitations. Primarily, it means that I did not design the tools that generated a significant proportion of the data I have used in this thesis, and therefore that the tools were not created specifically with my research questions in mind. This means that key insights into my

research could have been overlooked, because participants were not asked the necessary questions - particularly in Cambodia where I relied more heavily on pre-existing data for my research. What is more, much of the data for Cambodia is based on open questions in surveys. Whilst sometimes viewed as qualitative data, “the logic, rationale and approach used in such interviews are derived from survey, not qualitative, methodology.” (Mason 2018, p.155) which does not neatly fit with my epistemological and ontological positioning. Having said this, the data from the Cambodia surveys were very rich and clear trends emerged from this data that overlapped with the in-depth interviews that I designed and conducted myself in Kosovo. I hope that through designing and conducting semi-structured interviews in both contexts, I have made up for this limitation, and certainly in doing so have been able to triangulate the data from the pre-existing surveys.

Sampling brings up another issue with using existing data. Positively, this data was generated through almost all participants of the CTS programmes in Kosovo and Cambodia, and so provides a representative sample of the participants of the programme. However, the recording of information such as the gender, ethnicities and religions of the participants is either inconsistent or absent, making a gender-based and intersectional analysis of the data impossible for this thesis. As discussed in Chapter 3, this is problematic in post-conflict contexts, as it fails to pay attention to how peacebuilding processes affect men and women differently, and how gender-based binaries can be developed in peacebuilding practices (Datzberger and Le Mat, 2018). When it came to finding participants to engage in in-depth interviews in both contexts, I tried to ensure a gender balance, but the participation largely depended on those who agreed to take part. Whilst I recorded demographic information from these participants, the number of participants is too low to be able to develop assumptions based on participants’ gender or other characteristics. This thesis is therefore missing a gender-based analysis of the data. I do examine how the programmes themselves present gender in their activities, and the participants’ response to this. Therefore, whilst a gender-based analysis of participants’ engagements in the projects has not been possible, I do continue to discuss wider issues of gender throughout the thesis.

4.4.4 Data Analysis Process

My data analysis process for this research was not linear, but developed iteratively. I initially analysed all programme outputs, as described above, and used these to develop interview guides for the project teams and project participants. Whilst conducting these interviews, I kept thematic notes of key issues arising in individual interviews, and themes that overlapped across multiple interviews. I used these notes in an iterative process to inform the follow-up questions asked in the remaining interviews, as well as to refer back to the programme outputs to analyse connections between the different data sets.

All interviews were transcribed verbatim, and I inputted these, as well as all programme documentation, surveys and fieldnotes into Nvivo to enable me to code the data using open and axial coding. I created two separate Nvivo projects; one for the data in Kosovo and one for the data in Cambodia, to ensure that I could understand the contextual specificities of the findings and develop case studies based on this, before combining the analysis to draw out the key areas of similarities and difference which shape the discussion in Chapter 7. In both contexts, I developed initial codes based on my research questions, with codes including “redistribution”, “recognition”, “representation”, as well as by combining my research questions with my thematic notes, creating codes such as “youth engagement as participatory” and “arts as a pedagogical tool”. I then carried out open coding of all of the documents – using my predefined codes, and developing emerging codes through the process. This practice of open coding ensured that unexpected themes and findings could also emerge from the data. Indeed, it was as a result of this open coding that the idea of *affect* through the data came to the fore, as I consistently found myself coding data in relation to young people’s feelings, young people’s ability to see or imagine the context being discussed, and young people’s experiential understandings of the project.

After coding all of the documents, I used axial coding to group and connect the codes created. The figures below present the axial coding maps for the data in Kosovo and Cambodia. In Kosovo, I found that the key themes arising from the data analysis could be mapped under the concepts of social justice, the role and position of young people in the programme, contextual factors, societal narratives and discourse, the role of the programme in understanding the processes of conflict, the position of the arts and education in the programme, and the details of the programme itself. In Cambodia, the key themes include social justice, peacebuilding, the role and position of young people in the programme, the position of the arts and education, key narratives and discourses in the programme and society, and specificities of policy and programming. Whilst I sought not to be limited by research questions through this process, many of these themes directly map onto my research questions, and all map indirectly. For example, the themes of narratives and discourses were consistent in both country contexts, and this has therefore formed a central underlying element of my thesis that connects many of my sub questions together.

The process of close reading, coding and axial coding enabled me to develop the connection between the affective responses of participants to issues of social justice, particularly that of recognition, and thus helped me to develop the concept of affective recognition. Through this process it also became clear that affective recognition was both enabled and constrained by the intersection of education and the arts, and that affective recognition has economies which mediate young people's relationship with society in various ways..

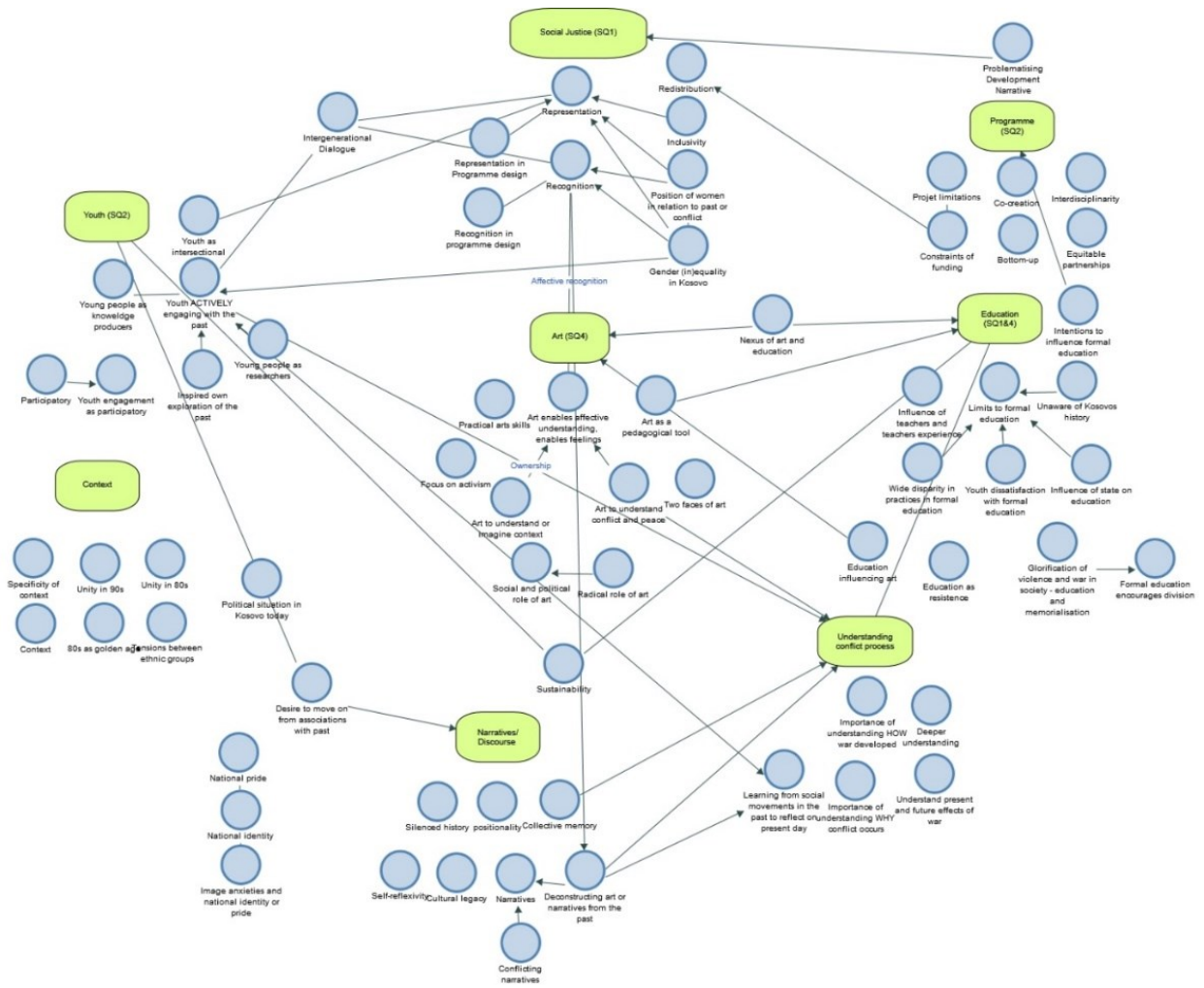


Figure 2 - Axial Coding Map, Kosovo Data (Source: author)

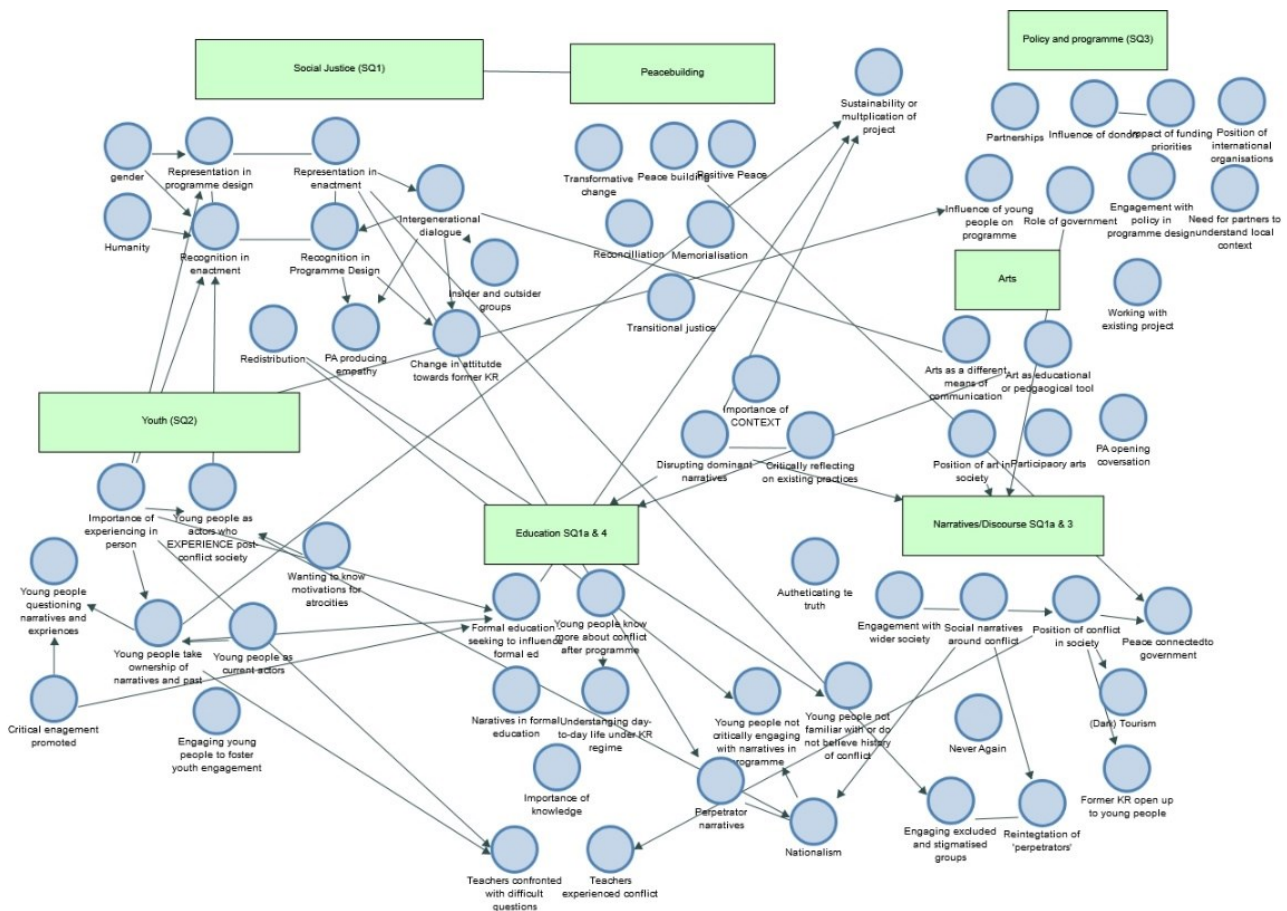


Figure 3 - Axial Coding Map, Cambodia Data (Source: author)

Throughout the empirical chapters of this thesis, I will frequently use direct quotes from participants to exemplify and highlight the points I am developing. My aim in doing this is for the analysis to be grounded in the voices and views of participants, particularly young participants. This is in line with the epistemological positioning of this research described above; I do not see my role as a researcher as independently extracting or excavating knowledge, but rather, in line with Mason (2018, p.157), as co-creating meanings and understandings through interactions and dialogue between myself and the research project participants. The quotes that I have selected to present in this thesis are generally quotes that are representative of the words and experiences of many participants (with these trends found through coding processes). Where the quotes are interesting anomalies or represent only a small number of participants, this will be made clear in the text.

4.5 Ethical Issues

This work received approval from the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Cultures Research Ethics Committee at the University of Leeds (Ref: FAHC 18-080). As with all research, multiple ethical issues arose in this process, yet the fact that this research took place during the COVID-19 pandemic uniquely shaped these issues. Firstly, as already mentioned, the pandemic was placing unprecedented stress on the lives of young people, and project teams, to the point where, at times, it seemed ethically dubious to be continuing with the research in any form. This is especially true given the risk of young people feeling in some ways obligated to take part in the research because of its wider connection to CTS, and because in the short-term participants would get little from the research themselves. Delaying the interviews with young people until months into the pandemic mitigated these concerns to some degree, as people around the world were adapting to their new circumstances. Given that the majority of those contacted for participation either did not respond, or declined the invite to participate, it also gave me confidence that (potential) participants did not feel under pressure to join for interviews. Indeed, those that did join seemed genuinely interested in the research, and happy to share their insights and often critical feedback.

My normal practice as a researcher would be to spend some time getting to know the research participants if the situation allowed through, for example, engaging in participant observation, and engaging young people in multiple research activities. The global pandemic rendered this practice impossible. The lack of time to get to know the young participants in the project had the potential of exacerbating power dynamics in the interviews. Such dynamics already existed due to my positionality as a researcher from the country and University that had funded the project they engaged with. This meant that young people could have potentially seen me as a part of the wider project team, and therefore may have been less likely to share their critical reflections with me. In an attempt to mitigate this, I made clear, both in the participant information guide and in my introductions, what my role was and what my research was about. Paradoxically, the fact that I was

not able to go to Cambodia or Kosovo and attend workshops as initially planned may also have mitigated against some of these potential power imbalances. Whilst the CTS team acted as gatekeepers to the programme participants by sharing their contact details with me, my connection to these gatekeepers would have been less visible to the young participants. In-country, it is very possible that the participants may have understood my role as part of the project team, due to how I interacted with the other members of this team. Without these visible interactions, it is very possible that the participants saw me as an “outsider” to the project. In reality, of course, my position sits uncomfortably between an “insider” – due to my work on the wider CTS project, including working with the project teams in Cambodia and Kosovo, and an “outsider” – as I am not a member of the specific project teams. I was open and honest about this positionality as I spoke to the young participants of the three programmes.

What is more, the fact that CTS, and the individual projects, are themselves research projects, meant that the participants were used to speaking more openly about the programmes than perhaps they would be on other projects. In all three countries, the young people had also been trained in research skills themselves. A combination of these factors, as well as working to create open and relaxed dialogue with the participants and explaining that they were being interviewed precisely because they were the experts, resulted in very rich, in-depth and relaxed online interviews. Participants in Kosovo in particular were very open about their critique of society and of the projects and what they felt could be improved. Whilst participants in Cambodia were slightly more reserved – partly due to language issues, and partly because of cultural practices that makes this type of critique more challenging - they were still very open about their experiences of the programme and as new teachers in the classroom. I was delighted that at the end of many of the interviews, participants spent a substantial amount of time asking me and my research partners questions. In Cambodia in particular, almost all participants spent as much time asking me questions as I had spent asking them; it felt like the interviewer-interviewee roles had been switched as I was asked in-depth questions about my own research and my own experiences and understandings of Cambodia.

This signalled to me that despite the challenges of interviewing online, we had built a positive and trusting relationship with the participants. It also put me on the spot of needing to articulate my initial analysis of the research, and provided an important point in which participants themselves could comment and provide insights into this early analysis.

The power dynamic was very different when interviewing the project teams, as I was often interviewing colleagues in CTS who were my senior and with whom I had developed close relationships over the duration of CTS. Whilst in some settings this power dynamic could become uncomfortable, in these instances the relationship I already had with the project teams meant that there was a large degree of camaraderie and trust between us, which paved the way for open, honest, and insightful interviews. At points, however, this relationship meant that the project team shared candid information with me that they may not have otherwise shared with another researcher. Whilst all of this information shaped my understanding of the programmes, to ensure ethical practice we discussed which information the participants were and were not happy for me to directly include in this thesis.

All young participants were assured confidentiality and anonymity through this research process, which has been achieved through the use of unique codes to identify the participants, and by removing all mentions of facts or statements that may make the participant identifiable, such as the names of towns and cities in which they work or live. However, COVID-19 posed a particular challenge in relation to the privacy of participants. Whereas as a researcher, I usually have some control over where interviews take place, because interviews had to take place online, this was not possible. Participants connected to the interviews from their homes, schools, colleges and cafes, and I was unable to garner who was around and able to listen into the interviews. Thankfully, the topics of conversation rarely wandered into politically sensitive grounds. However, a number of participants did share personal family stories about the conflict in interviews. I had to assume that participants were in a space that they felt safe to share these stories.

Maintaining the anonymity of the project teams is somewhat more challenging, as it is very easy to find the names and details of the project teams online. Indeed, a number of project team participants expressed that I did not need to exclude their names from the thesis, given how identifiable they may be. I decided, however, to do my best to maintain this anonymity for all of the project team, by excluding all names and positions from this research. This is to protect the anonymity of those who did want to remain anonymous. Given the ease of identifying the project team at large, if not the specific owners of direct quotes in this thesis, I have shared drafts of this thesis with the participants, to ensure that the quotes and other information provided by the project teams are appropriately represented and will do no harm.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has presented the methodological process for this thesis. I have explained how the design and practice of this research has been shaped by a number of factors, including the need to understand the complexities and nuances of social change and social justice within the contexts I am studying, which necessitated qualitative research. My research methodologies have also been deeply shaped by my academic background in education and my ongoing work on the CTS project, which has given me both wide and deep insights into projects working at the intersection of education and the arts. I have presented in this chapter the research contexts and the methodological processes for this study, and explained that these were severely impacted by the Covid-19 global pandemic. Yet, despite this impact, I have been able to collect rich, in-depth data. By focusing on co-creating meanings with the research participants (as opposed to “extracting” knowledge) and centring the voices of participants in my data analysis, I have been able to develop new conceptual understandings of the dynamics and manifestations of social justice in and through educational programmes with young people in conflict-affected contexts. I will now present the empirical findings of this research, including the development of these conceptual understandings.

5. “It’s like reliving this era again”: Affective recognition, representation and youth ownership for social justice in Kosovo

5.1 Introduction

Having laid the theoretical, scholarly, and methodological foundations for this research, I now analyse the empirical findings. This chapter presents the case study of Kosovo, exploring the Arts, Critical Thinking and Active Citizenship project (hereafter referred to as “ACT”) and Making of the Museum of Education project (hereafter referred to as “the Museum project” or “MME”). Throughout the chapter, I employ Fraser’s three-dimensional conceptualisation of justice to analyse how the programmes, which work at the intersection of formal education and non-formal, arts-based education, contribute to social justice. In particular, I expand on my conceptualisation of affective recognition. I examine how affective recognition, distinct from participants’ formal education, enabled young people to develop a decontextualized and affective understanding of the past, closely in line with Hirsch’s concept of post-memorial work. I analyse the articulation of representation in the programmes, and how the programmes work to address misframing in Kosovo, particularly the misframing of women. Fraser (2008c) argues that misframing occurs when the boundaries of a political community are drawn in a way that excludes people from participating in contests over justice and denies the possibility of them pressing justice claims in the political community. I will demonstrate the importance of a broader conceptualisation of misframing throughout this chapter, which includes an understanding of how political narratives within societies, communities and projects can be misframed and misrepresented. I analyse how the economies of affective recognition in Kosovo worked to foster a sense of ownership around narratives of the past amongst participants, who then sought to continue to promote affective recognition and representation in pursuit of transformative change in Kosovo.

The chapter begins with a contextual overview of Kosovo, to situate the research (Section 5.2). I first present a historical narrative of the two social moments and movements explored in the CTS

projects; the BOOM rock concerts of the 1980s and the parallel education system of the 1990s. The contextual overview continues with an assessment of the main issues that young people face in Kosovo today, as well as the education system and the role of the arts in the country. Section 5.3 then presents the empirical research findings. Section 5.3.1 analyses how the aims and structures of the projects in Kosovo seek to reflect and enable social justice, yet how this can be restricted by wider economic structures. I then examine how the arts and formal education intersect in the two projects, in particular how both the historical and participatory focus of the projects create new modes of learning for young people, who are otherwise strongly dissatisfied with their education (Section 5.3.2). In Section 5.3.3. I argue that the use of participatory arts within the Kosovo projects elicits affective recognition. I unpack this concept and analyse how it is expressed within the projects in Section 5.3.4, as well as drawing links between affective recognition, post-memory work and peacebuilding. I then examine the economy of affective recognition in the projects, and how it worked to foster youth ownership of narratives of the past, which contributes to transformative change (Section 5.3.5). In Section 5.3.6 I study the articulation of representation through the programmes, and how the programmes seek to reframe the role of women in Kosovo's political and memory structures. Section 5.3.7 investigates how the two programmes have shaped young people's understanding of the past and its impact on present day Kosovo (Section 5.3.6). I summarise the key points from the chapter, and its contributions to the concept of affective recognition, in Section 5.4.

5.2 Contextual overview

This section will provide a contextual background to Changing the Story's work in Kosovo, in order to understand the impulse behind both ACT and the MME projects. As is always the case, in all countries and all conflicts, this background is extremely complex and contested and it is not possible

to do full justice to this complexity here. As such, whilst I provide a timeline of key events, I will mainly focus the historical overview on movements and events that are specific to the focus of the CTS programmes, namely the BOOM rock concerts of the 1980s and the parallel education system of the 1990s in Kosovo. I will then move onto examine the situation of young people, education and the arts in Kosovo today.

5.2.1 Kosovo's Past

In this section I will provide an overview of key historical events and moments to set the scene for the programmes in Kosovo, and for my data analysis.

Timeline of key events

The timeline below provides an overview of the key events in Kosovo's history relevant to this study.

Figure 4 Timeline of key events in Kosovo

1918	Kosovo becomes part of the Kingdom of Serbia, following World War 1.
1945	The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is created, ruled by Tito.
1946	Kosovo is absorbed into Yugoslavia (after much of Kosovo being part of an Italian-controlled greater Albania in World War 2).
1974	Kosovo is recognised as an autonomous state by the Yugoslav constitution, therefore becoming self-governing.
1980	Tito dies and the nations that make up Yugoslavia call for greater independence.
1981	University of Prishtina students demonstrate in response to poor living conditions and high levels of poverty and unemployment in the region. Police crack down on protesters, leading to further protests. The protests spread throughout the region and became a call for greater independence for Kosovo. Authorities continued to use force against protesters.
1982-87	BOOM Festivals are the first rock music festivals in Kosovo and were seen to provide a space of freedom, collaboration, and solidarity. A number of bands performed political songs which inconspicuously criticised the political system of the time.

1986	Slobodan Milošević becomes President of Serbia.
1989	<p>Milošević abolishes Kosovo's regional autonomy as set out in the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution and the Government implements anti-Albanian policies, including Serb-only employment in institutions such as the police, declaring Serbian as the only official language and prohibiting teaching in the Albanian language.</p> <p>Protest movements emerge throughout Kosovo and Kosovo begins to develop a parallel state, focusing initially on providing education in the Albanian language through "house schools", using people's private homes for classrooms.</p> <p>The Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) is founded. The LDK develops a shadow government and parallel state to provide governance to Kosovo Albanians.</p>
1990	Ethnic Albanian leaders in Kosovo declare independence from Serbia. Over 100,000 ethnic Albanian workers are sacked from their jobs prompting a general strike. The LDK call for a boycott of Serbia and Yugoslav elections.
1991	A secret referendum is held, and ethnic Albanians declare independence as The Republic of Kosova.
1991-92	Across the region wars erupt, and Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia declare independence from Yugoslavia.
1992	Kosovo holds elections for its parallel state and elects Ibrahim Rugova, founder of the LDK, as president. Rugova pursues a strategy of non-violence.
1995	Kosovo's independence is overlooked in the Dayton agreement, which discredits the strategy of non-violence. Ethnic tensions continue to escalate, as does armed violence.
1997	Armed fighters declare that they are members of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). Violence escalates as the KLA increases its attacks and Serbian forces clamp down hard on the resistance and Albanian citizens.
1998	War erupts. It is estimated that 13,000 Kosovar citizens are killed or disappeared in the conflict, the majority Kosovo Albanians.
1999	<p>NATO launch airstrikes against Yugoslavia in March in response to the increasing violence. The bombing lasts for 78 days. During this time, attacks on civilians dramatically increase, forcing over 860,000 ethnic Albanians to flee Kosovo. There are multiple massacres, arbitrary detentions, torture, and destruction of property.</p> <p>Milosevic is indicted for crimes against humanity at the International Criminal Tribunal</p>

	<p>for Yugoslavia. He dies in 2006 before the end of his trial.</p> <p>The UN sends in a peace force and takes over the governance of Kosovo. NATO forces also arrive in Kosovo. The KLA agrees to disarm.</p>
2004	Violent clashes occur in Mitrovica, a town divided North-South between Kosovo Albanians and Kosovo Serbs.
2008	<p>In February, Kosovo declares independence. Serbia claims the independence declaration is illegal. A split in the international community between those recognising Kosovo and those not.</p> <p>In June, a new constitution is created that transfers power to the Kosovo government, after 9 years of UN rule. In Mitrovica, Serbs set up their own assembly.</p> <p>In December, an EU mission takes over police, justice, and customs services from the UN.</p>
2015	The Kosovo Specialist Chambers is set up in the Hague to investigate crimes committed by the KLA during the war.
2020	The Kosovo Specialist Chambers indicts eight former leaders of the KLA, included Kosovo's former president, Hashim Thaçi, who stepped down days before his indictment.
2022	At the time of writing, Kosovo is recognised as an independent state by 97 out of 193 UN member states. It is still not recognised by Serbia and by 5 EU countries; Cyprus, Greece, Romania, Slovakia, and Spain.

(Sources: UN Peacekeeping, ND, HRW, 2001, HRW, 2000, BBC, 2019, Kosovo Specialist Chambers, ND, Pula, 2004, Sommers and Buckland, 2004, Petrov, 2020, Krasniqi, 2011, Abrahams, 2019, Kryezui, 2020, Duclos, 2020).

1980s BOOM Rock Concerts

The uncertainty of the 1980s, with the socialist system of Yugoslavia starting to fall and the rise of political crises and ethnic tensions, meant that “youthful rebellion” began to grow in Kosovo (Kryezui, 2020). This led to the development of the pop and rock scene, with young artists seeking to

make space for artistic expression through music. Hudson (2003) highlights that this was possibly aided by high education levels amongst the youth population, meaning that young people were fully aware of their national rights and wanted space to express these. The BOOM Rock Festivals themselves took place in Kosovo between 1982-1987. Most of the songs performed in the concerts and festivals were modern love songs which mixed both Western and Albanian musical influences, however a number were also political. The BOOM concerts therefore “allowed for dissent and political commentary that went against the status quo, representing a realm of struggle for human rights” and “played a crucial part in offering new bands a platform for communicating their message and representing the qualms of their generation.” (Krasniqi, 2019 [online]). The song Mikrofoni by the band Gjurmët, for example expressed “criticism towards the surveillance system and the ideological control of Albanians after the student protests of 1981” (Kryezui, 2020 [online], Krasniqi, 2011).

However, as a result of ongoing subtle censorship in the 80s, musicians were not typically able to openly and explicitly express these political struggles and instead “used motifs and themes lingering in a sub-text to be understood by those suffering the same lack of freedom.” (Kryezui, 2020 [online]). The music scene itself, for example, had developed through state-sponsored institutions, such as youth halls, which limited the possibilities for overtly political messaging. State-organised recording studios also inhibited the recording, or imposed changing the lyrics, of songs that were not considered to fit the state’s idea of morality (Krasniqi, 2019, Kryezui, 2020).

Nevertheless, the BOOM festivals represented to many a space of youth unity, collaboration and solidarity, showcasing bands not only from Kosovo, but also Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia (Kryezui, 2020). The festivals also opened space for the Albanian rock subculture to emerge in opposition to the stereotyping that people from Kosovo faced at the time. As Kryezui (2020 [online]) explains “Albanian rock in Kosovo was a subculture that emerged in the face of regional prejudices against Kosovars as being backward and not modern enough to play in the league of the rock culture

in Yugoslav metropolises.” The 80s rock music and BOOM concerts in Kosovo are therefore considered to have been “inherently ‘oppositionist’” (Krasniqi, 2011, p.351) and an expression of counterculture. They created space for criticism of the political system, as well as developing a subculture with a “a new generation of Albanians who started to create their own cultural identity” through “innovations and creativity in style and slang” (Krasniqi, 2011, p.350). The rock scene, however, came close to disappearing before it had a chance to fully take off, as political tension and violence grew through the late 1980s and 1990s. Instead rock music gave way to folk and popular music with nationalist undertones (Krasniqi, 2011, Pollozhani, 2019).

1990s Parallel education system

Education played a crucial role in Kosovo in the resistance of anti-ethnic Albanian policies and violence by the Serbian government, with much of the battle over Kosovo “taking place in the field of education” (Sommers and Buckland, 2004, p.43). In 1989, Serbia abolished Kosovo’s regional autonomy and implemented anti-ethnic Albanian policies. Serbia removed Kosovo’s autonomy over education and removed references to Albanian culture, language, history, and geography from the school curriculum in an attempt to weaken Albanian’s students sense of national belonging (Shahini, 2016). All classes taught in the Albanian language were ended. Approximately 6,000 teachers were dismissed following these changes and several were arrested, either because they had been involved in protests against the changes, or because they refused to teach the increasingly nationalist Serbian curriculum (Bozic, 2010). By the Spring of 1990, Belgrade demanded segregation of all schools in Kosovo, under the pretext that ethnic tensions were making Serbian students feel unsafe (Shahini, 2016). Eventually between 1991-1992 Kosovan Albanian teachers and students were prevented from entering school buildings, with Serbian authorities excluding Kosovan Albanians from all schools, in some cases surrounding schools with tanks to prevent attendance. Schools and libraries were systematically attacked (Shahini, 2016, Sommers and Buckland, 2004).

From September 1991 to January 1992, Albanian students did not attend school at all in Kosovo. Instead the semester was used to develop Kosovo's parallel education system, negotiating spaces for students to attend schools in people's private homes, basements and garages (Shahini, 2016). By the Spring of 1992, Kosovo had developed a full parallel education system, where students were able to learn in the Albanian language and use Albanian textbooks in these house schools. Scholars consider this parallel education system to be the main vehicle which Kosovan Albanians used to solidify the independent state that they had declared, and both preceded and laid the basis for Kosovo's parallel state. It is therefore credited as being the centrepiece of resistance to the rule of Milosevic (Sommers and Buckland, 2004). Indeed, the parallel education system connected students, teachers and school administrators to the political resistance and their cultural identity as Kosovan Albanians and inspired grassroots movements for resistance (Sommers and Buckland, 2004).

In 1996, Milosevic and Rugova signed an agreement to allow all Kosovo Albanians to re-enter the formal education system. However, the agreement was not implemented, leading to students from the University of Prishtina organising the biggest protest that had been seen in Kosovo for a decade. The protest was violently suppressed by Serbian police. The protest is considered to represent a dramatic shift in the politics of Kosovo at the time, bringing the end of peaceful resistance as it became further apparent that there was no political will from the Serbian authorities to allow Albanians to live a normal life in Kosovo (Shahini, 2016).

The education system in Kosovo in the 1990s demonstrates the multiple faces of education in conflict discussed in Chapter 3. Education was a victim of conflict, with schools and libraries systematically attacked. It was used as a tool of political oppression and manipulation, fostering the misrecognition and misrepresentation of Kosovo Albanians through policies that sought to remove their language and culture from the educational system. And education was used by Kosovan Albanians to make space for the recognition and representation of ethnic Albanian culture through the parallel education system.

1998-1999 War in Kosovo

The war in Kosovo is officially considered to have taken place from February 1998 – June 1999, although there was an escalation of violence in the region in the years preceding this, and violence continued in the years that followed. Importantly, although the war is considered to have officially ended in 1999, Kosovo is widely considered to still be in a state of frozen conflict, as despite declaring independence in 2008, this independence has not been recognised by almost half of UN member states, including Serbia which still claims that Kosovo is a part of its territory.

It is estimated that 13,000 Kosovo citizens were killed or disappeared in the war, the majority Kosovan Albanians (Domanovic, 2014, Bytyci, 2022). Mass graves from massacres continued to be uncovered into the early 2000s and many of the missing have still not been found or identified. Women and girls were systematically raped and there was a “systematic campaign to terrorize, kill, and expel the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo” (HRW, 2001). Trials are still ongoing in international tribunals, where Serbian officials as well as leaders of the KLA have been indicted for war crimes.

In March 1999, NATO launched airstrikes against Yugoslavia in response to the increasing violence in the region, which lasted for 78 days. During this time, attacks on civilians dramatically increased, forcing over 860,000 ethnic Albanians to flee Kosovo. There were multiple massacres, arbitrary detentions, torture, and destruction of property. Over 80% of the population of Kosovo (90% Kosovan Albanians) was internally or externally displaced due to the conflict. Refugees had identity documents and vehicle licence plates forcibly removed in an attempt to ensure they could not return (HRW, 2001). In June 1999, Milosevic agreed to NATO demands to withdraw forces from Kosovo and the KLA agreed to disarm. Kosovo became a UN protectorate, with the UN setting up UNMIK – the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo which provided an interim administration for Kosovo to enable the country “enjoy substantial autonomy” (UN Peacekeeping, ND). The mission had authority over all legislative and executive powers and administration of the judiciary. After

Kosovo declared independence in 2008, UNMIK's remit was reduced to focus on "promotion of security, stability and respect for human rights in Kosovo" (UN Peacekeeping, ND).

During the conflict, sexual assault was used as a weapon of war and ethnic cleansing (Luci, 2002, p.71). The numbers of female victims and survivors of sexual violence is still debated, with estimates ranging between 10,000 and 45,000 (UNICEF, 2017, Asavei, 2019, Pollozhani, 2019). This violence was systematic; in 2000, Human Rights Watch reported that "Rapes were not rare and isolated acts committed by individuals, but rather were used deliberately as an instrument to terrorize the civilian population, extort money from families, and push people to flee their homes." (HRW, 2000 [online]). Luci (2002) argues that this systematic use of rape in the context of Kosovo partly stems from entrenched concepts of honour, shame and sexuality that were attached to women's bodies in times of peace, as well as the characterisation of the "pure bloodlines" of ethnic groups in the region. Rape was used to break family cohesion and question the masculinity of Albanian men due to the shame experienced by women and the humiliation of men who were not able to protect women.

At the end of the war, Kosovo was inundated with donor funding, with aid agencies under pressure "to be seen as doing something" (Sommers and Buckland, 2004, p.51). This pressure limited the possibility for participatory and bottom-up strategies. Scholars argue that international agencies as a whole particularly seemed unable to implement gender equality provisions (Guisa et al., 2020) and failed to notice the importance of including women and addressing gender-based issues as part of state-building practices (Pollozhani, 2019). In other words, women's issues were not considered to be part of the "high level" state formation (Pollozhani, 2019, p.2) and they continue to be misrecognised in society, through processes which frame women as "inferior, excluded, wholly other, or simply invisible" (Fraser, 2000, p.113). Indeed, after the war, women's role was considered to be to "'reproduce' the nation", and women's suffering was concealed to protect men's public shame (Luci, 2002, p.73). The experiences of women in the conflict in Kosovo have therefore largely been left out of national memorialisation (Asavei, 2019). Instead, "women's voices and the memory

of their ordeals are subsumed under the grand narrative of the ‘whole nation’”, with a focus on how the nation suffered under conflict (Asavei, 2019, p.619). Little attention is paid to the lived experiences and memories of certain groups such as women, ethnic and sexual minorities, children and the elderly (Asavei, 2019, p.619). This means that in Kosovo, commemorations and the legacies of the past have established a “we” “based on patriarchy, hierarchy, and the image of powerful men as ‘the liberators’, leaving very little spaces for others to fit into this image” (Guisa et al., 2020, p.109). Violence has therefore continued against women in this lack of acknowledgement of the violence women experienced during the war, pushing women into spaces of silence. Violence against women continues to be prominent in the domestic sphere and continues to go unaddressed by state institutions (Pollozhani, 2019).

5.2.2 Youth and inequalities in contemporary Kosovo

Since declaring independence, Kosovo is now recognised as an independent state by 96 UN member states. Internationally, “Russia has thwarted efforts to confirm Kosovo’s nationhood at the UN Security Council” (Hamiti and Hamiti, 2018, p.621). However, Kosovo is a member of key international financial institutions, including the IMF and World Bank and other international organisations, such as sports bodies (including the Olympics and FIFA) (Hamiti and Hamiti, 2018). Internally, Kosovo runs a decentralised mode of governance, with 38 municipalities that have their own powers and responsibilities. However, many of these municipalities face significant budgetary shortages (UNICEF, 2017).

Kosovo is classed as a lower-middle income country, with a GDP per capita just a tenth of European levels. Economically, it largely remains dependent on international assistance and remittances, with over 10% of the country’s GDP coming from remittances (UNDP, 2016, UNICEF, 2017). In 2017, 18% of the population lived below the poverty line (World Bank, 2019).

Kosovo's population is the youngest in Europe, with an average age of 29.5 years and with 47% of the population below the age of 24 (UNICEF, 2017). Young people in Kosovo face a number of challenges in terms of their economic situation, their engagement with politics and the depictions of their agency; they face unemployment, poverty and distrust of politics, often leaving them to feel marginalised and powerless (Pollozhani and Çeku, 2019). They often, therefore, experience the interrelated injustices of maldistribution, misrecognition and misrepresentation.

Ethnic tensions between Albanians and Serbs in the country continue to persist, and studies suggest that the groups have little interaction with one another, even when living in the same town (Brankovic et al., 2017). However, the main driver behind young people's exclusion and marginalisation is not their ethnicity, but their gender and age. As Guisa et al (2020, p.110) note, the dominant group in Kosovo does not only refer to the dominant ethnic group, "but is also gendered and based on hierarchies that disfavour young people and, in particular, those not fitting 'the liberators' image of strong masculinity".

Kosovo emerged from the conflict with a strong patriarchal system (Tahiraj, 2010). In the economic, health and education sector, gender inequality remains acute; women and girls have lower income, control fewer properties, have less access to justice and do not enjoy compensation from crimes or discrimination suffered (UNICEF, 2017). LGBTQI+ women, disabled women and women from Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian populations face overlapping and intersecting rights violations (UNICEF, 2017). There is a persistent gender pay gap, and less than 10% of businesses are owned by women (UNICEF 2017). 46% of women have experienced gender-based violence at least once, and GBV in the country is influenced by strong patriarchal social norms and expectations (UNICEF 2017).

There is low demand for labour in Kosovo due to slow economic growth (UNDP, 2016): unemployment is high at 35%, and the figure is significantly higher for women (44.9%) than for men (13.2%) (UNICEF, 2017). The rate is also noticeably higher amongst the young population at over 50%, with a 25% of young people (15-24 years) reporting that they are not in employment,

education, or training (NEET), again with the rate amongst young women being even higher (30%). That 80% of employees in the country, including young people, hold only a temporary contract highlights the precarious position much of the population are in (Arandarenko and Brodmann, 2019).

Young people therefore face very high levels of unemployment; the highest for young men and women in the Western Balkans (UNDP, 2016). Young women's participation in the labour market in particular is half or less than half of others in the region (UNDP, 2016). Of the young people who are unemployed, 87% are long-term unemployed, meaning they have been looking for work for two years or more, and more than 98% have never had a formal job. The 20,000 young people who enter the labour market in Kosovo each year, enter a society where they are faced with these limited employment opportunities. Issues with access to and quality of education (as presented in more detail below) mean that young people enter the labour force with outdated skills that limit their access to global employment markets (UNDP, 2016).

Studies show that young people often lack political agency in Kosovo and lack trust in political and democratic systems (Brankovic et al., 2017), which can lead to them becoming apathetic and to low levels of civic activism and political engagement (Pollozhani and Çeku, 2019). Young people are therefore misrepresented, and feel unable to participate as peers, in Kosovo's political system. A UNICEF study highlights that the majority of youth believe they are unable to influence decision making processes that directly impact their lives, with 86% wanting more influence on these issues. In a recent youth study, only 10% of young people in Kosovo believed their opinion was well represented in national politics and only a quarter were satisfied with the state of democracy in Kosovo (Rrumbullaku, 2019). Youth are particularly cynical about their ability to influence policy, and about how corruption and nepotism hinders their equitable access to employment and education in the country (UNICEF 2017). As one participant in a study by Save the Children noted; "They ask us, they consult us, but they never do what we tell them they should do." (STC, 2016, p.13). There are therefore significant limits to participatory parity for youth in the country, and they often feel

misframed in the political system, with their voices and experiences excluded from decision making. This has resulted in a “record level of distrust and apathy among Kosovo youth towards all political institutions, especially the political parties and national government” (Rrumbullaku, 2019, p.53). The economic and political marginalisation young people experience often results in existential uncertainty (Pollozhani and Çeku, 2019) and means that one in two are considering, or have already decided, to leave their country. (Brankovic et al., 2017).

5.2.3 The education system in Kosovo

Kosovo has relatively high rates of enrolment in education: 96% in primary school and 88.1% in secondary school. 92% of young people in Kosovo have the intention of obtaining higher education (Rrumbullaku, 2019, p.39). However, only 23% of young people in Kosovo are satisfied with the education that they receive and there is a widespread consensus that it is not well aligned with labour market needs, meaning that young people are highly educated but not equipped with the skills needed for employment (Rrumbullaku, 2019, Pollozhani and Çeku, 2019).

Young people particularly note that the education they received is almost exclusively theoretical and avoids complex and potentially controversial issues. Students highlight that their textbooks are often outdated containing old and sometimes inaccurate information and that they do very little practical work in school, and leave with no practical skills (Pollozhani and Çeku, 2019). Indeed only 28% of young people have held a practical position or an internship (Rrumbullaku, 2019). This theoretical focus of education, and the banking approach taken to learning, leaves little space for expression and creativity. Pollozhani and Çeku (2019) also note that there is a tendency to avoid teaching controversial issues in formal education, both out of fear of reigniting violence and possibly in an attempt to build loyalty towards one’s own ethnic group. Issues are avoided then not only to prevent conflict, but because of inequality and discrimination. As such, it is mainly through activities

with NGOs that young people are given the space to express themselves and where more complex and potentially controversial issues are discussed, such as inter-ethnic communication (Pollozhani and Çeku, 2019).

Politics and corruption continue to permeate the education system, with 56% of young people stating that there are cases where grades for exams are bought or influenced by family and social circles. Universities in Kosovo are considered to be highly influenced by political parties and ideology, and outside of Prishtina political influences in schools extend to encouraging only party-approved activities and participation, particularly in civic education. In a number of schools, the selection of head teachers is based on political membership (Pollozhani and Çeku, 2019).

In Kosovo, Serbia continues to maintain administrative structures in the four Serbian-majority municipalities (UNICEF, 2017) and there are two separate education systems, run by Albanians and Serbs. This challenges the multicultural learning environment and serves to increase isolation between groups (Bozic, 2010, UNICEF, 2017), potentially resulting in further misrecognition. Prtorić (2018) writes, for example, that “[t]extbooks are still very much embedded in ideological beliefs in Kosovo”, offering completely different historical narratives. Despite legislation requiring schools to teach in both Albanian and Serbian, Kosovan Albanian schools also continue to teach in Albanian and Kosovan Serb schools continue to teach in Serbian. This heightens isolation between groups, as well as increasing young people’s economic marginalisation, as young people unable to speak Albanian face difficulties competing in the job market in Kosovo and at the University of Prishtina, and students unable to speak Serbian face limited opportunities in the wider region (Bozic, 2010).

5.2.4 The Arts in Kosovo

Collective and participatory art is used throughout Kosovo as a means to both memorialise hidden experiences of the conflict and unpack and/or express current issues within the society. As Guisa et

al. highlight, artists and activities push the boundaries of citizenship, “opening new plural imaginative spaces for participating in the remembrance of the past” and its link to the present (2020, p.111). In Kosovo, artistic memory, and in particular collaborative art, “can foster collective memories of the painful past in ways that overcome both individual and national representations[...] simultaneously catalysing transnational solidarity and new forms of politics ‘from below’” (Asavei, 2019, p.618). Young people in particular have shown societal engagement through the arts which pushes boundaries in ways which challenge the status quo. Art collectives for example, alongside civil society groups, are considered by many to be more effective in engaging youth creatively and critically than formal education systems (Pollozhani and Çeku, 2019, p.8).

The arts have been harnessed in Kosovo to promote inter-ethnic dialogue, or at least inter-ethnic understanding. The Patriotic Hypermarket, for example, is a documentary theatre play in which groups of Serbs and Albanians from Kosovo tell personal stories of “humiliation, hatred, trauma and discrimination”, eliciting feelings of both guilt and relief that the stories are finally being told amongst the audience (Sesic and Tomka, 2016, p.61). The Rock School is a project set up in Mitrovica to draw on the region’s history of rock music and bring together both Albanian and Serbian young people from the city to create music and ultimately develop ethnically mixed rock bands (Hassler-Forest, 2014). The arts have also been harnessed by the international donor community to create spaces that will enable participation, particularly in fostering inter-ethnic dialogue. However, reflecting back to the discussion of the tyranny of participation in Chapter 2, these projects are vulnerable to co-option and being used as outreach programmes rather than true spaces for expression and reflection. This can make it harder for local actors and radical groups to make their work heard and seen amongst such large-scale interventions (Guisa et al., 2020).

The arts in Kosovo have further been used to create spaces that push the boundaries of what behaviour is acceptable in public spaces; in *The Kiss*, for example, female activists performatively kissed in a public square on Valentine’s day (Pollozhani and Çeku, 2019). Furthermore, the arts have

engaged in diplomacy for Kosovo, with musicians such as Rita Ora and Dua Lipa putting Kosovo on the map and using their fame to discuss the conflict in Kosovo, as well as celebrating Kosovo's culture (Hajdari, 2019).

The collective art scene in Kosovo has been particularly vocal in expressing and speaking out against the experiences of women both during the conflict in Kosovo, and in present day society, addressing the misrecognition and misframing of these experiences. The focus on participatory and collaborative art here is particularly important because it creates more political possibilities; rather than simply being about reparations, it can harness the collective memory of mass violence against women (Asavei, 2019). This "collectivised remembrance" can be a resource for dealing with the past by "recognizing violence, trauma and resistance", in response to recognitions of the past that have produced meta-narratives that have glorified the past, particularly masculine heroism, and erased other social histories (Guisa et al., 2020, p.111). A key example of this work in Kosovo is the "Thinking of You" installation on Kosovo's biggest football stadium, where 5,000 skirts and dresses, mainly donated by Albanian and Bosnian women, were hung on washing lines, in an invitation for solidarity with survivors of wartime sexual violence, to make recognition of these experiences possible in a country where rape is often linked to stigma and harm to family values (Guisa et al., 2020, Asavei, 2019). Asavei (2019, p.624) writes that the participants of this event were "spect-actors", rather than spectators, with those who donated clothing co-authoring the work, as well as spectating it. This created a "sense of togetherness against oblivion and mass violence" (p. 628) and "affirmed women's agency in political, economic and social transformation" within a post-conflict conservative society (p.620). Indeed, Thinking of You was the first time many women had spoken publicly about the violence they had faced, with the artist hoping the act would enable liberation from women's guilt and shame (Pollozhani, 2019).

The arts in Kosovo have therefore been used to create spaces for both learning and resistance in the country. They have been used to widen discussions about the past and the present to promote recognition and representation of people's lived experiences.

5.3 Research Findings: Social justice and the economy of affective recognition at the intersection of education and participatory arts in Kosovo

Having discussed the context of the programmes in Kosovo, I will now present my analysis of the findings from the ACT and MME projects. I analyse the expression and manifestation of social justice in and through (arts-based) education in post-conflict societies. In doing so, I expand on my conceptualisation of affective recognition. I examine how the notion of affective recognition has been developed through, and is articulated in, the projects in Kosovo. Through the empirical data, I highlight the links between affective recognition and post-memory and peacebuilding work. I analyse the local economies of affective recognition in Kosovo, finding that it worked to promote youth agency and acted as a driver of transformative social change. It resulted in young people developing a deeper engagement with the past, working to deconstruct and reconstruct narratives of Kosovo's past to promote further affective recognition and representation.

5.3.1 The programme structures and social justice

Before delving into the content of the ACT and MME project in Kosovo, I will first briefly analyse the aims and the structures of these two programmes, and how they are seeking to enable social justice (answering SQ3 of my research questions). By adopting Fraser's conceptualisation of justice, I argue that the projects are seeking to promote participatory parity and transformative change. They do this, not only through the content of the programmes, but also through the programmes' structures.

At the same time, the projects are working in an economic space that places constraints on the work and working relationships, and therefore on the extent of change that can be achieved.

The structure of the ACT and Museum projects centre around an ethos of participation and collaboration: alongside the participation of young people, collaboration with other CSOs, artists, academics and policy makers has also been crucial. This, according to the programme team, “contributed to creating a sense of communal involvement as opposed to [being part of an] individual research project” and “enables a focus on community needs and on the process of the research as much as its outcomes” (Project Document 0823). The project therefore engages a range of collaborators in order to make it relevant to the communities it works with, which, the project teams argue, enables it to fully engage with the context in which it is situated, eliciting “meaningful findings beyond external preconceptions” (Project Document 0925). In other words, by collaborating with a range of locally situated actors, the project is better able to recognise the experiences of those who live in Kosovo and represent these experiences through the programmes. The project therefore seeks to address the misframing of certain experiences, and of Kosovo’s past. In this instance, the projects seek to reframe “external preconceptions” (Project Document 0925) of Kosovo’s history and present-day society which, the project team argue, is often associated with stereotypical images of violence and conflict (Interview Project Team 3007).

The project team highlights that through their collaborative and equitable approach to partnerships, they also seek to deconstruct existing narratives and practices in international development. As well as reframing stereotypical images of “developing” contexts, this includes problematising notions of equity in development practice. Although development funding structures often advocate for equitable partnerships, they continue to place most of the power in the hands of the donor countries and big institutions, through the financing of projects and the bureaucratic burden placed on organisations who want to take part in ODA-funded programming, which can often overwhelm small CSOs, NGOs, and arts-based organisations. Moreover, development funding often continues to

promote learning travelling from the “North” to the “South”, rather than mutual learning between donor and recipient countries. As one of the project team explained:

“It becomes the hierarchisation exercise, it superiorises the donor over the recipient... [in Kosovo] we have to look at that like nationalism coming in and post-conflict economic contexts that heighten, you know, masculinity concerns - but just dig a little bit deeper...and guess what it's not so different [in other societies] so that's where the conversation is exactly important to tease out.”

(Interview Project Team 3007)

The project team therefore advocates for, and seek to model, truly equitable partnerships that promote mutual learning, highlighting that “we can't just brush it off and say this is development money so it goes to development countries...we [should] learn from each other” (Interview Project Team 3007), and seeking transformative change through the structures and enactment of the project. Through promoting mutual learning and mutual recognition by drawing out the socio-cultural similarities between contexts, and the potential for collaborative work to address these issues, the projects are working to deconstruct the underlying framework within international development that promotes maldistribution, misrecognition and misframing between the Global North and the Global South.

However, their ability to enact transformative change is limited to some degree by the socio-economic context that the projects are working within; the same context that they are seeking to problematise and disrupt. This highlights a paradox in the practice of transformative change, which can be hampered by the very system that actors are working to deconstruct; further demonstrating the importance of transformative change itself. In the context of the CTS projects in Kosovo, these economic constraints played out in respect to the project's partnerships and the role of CSOs. In project documentation it is noted that in Kosovo “CSOs are largely dependent on funding priorities set by granting agencies and sustainability continues to be a significant challenge for CSOs [...]

successful [projects] may not be repeated due to shifts in funding opportunities” (Project Document 1519). This results in CSOs having “strong economic self-interest [...] of surviving” (Interview Project Team 3007), which can draw attention away from the aims of a project itself.

The economic constraints also played out in respect to the amount of time the project had to engage participants, affecting the potential of transformative change. As the project team noted in regard to ACT “the three days that we had set aside [for the PAR workshops] were not enough...if we had planned them for a longer period of time, we could have actually been able to co-produce more of the research together with the participants” (Interview Project Team 1125). Participatory action and participatory arts projects are renowned for needing a substantial time investment which was not possible within the remit of these ACT and MME projects. The young participants also highlighted that there was not enough time allocated to the project, and that it felt “rushed” (Interview 1917, ACT, Female). A number of participants felt that they could have created something more meaningful if they were given more time, noting that “It felt like we could have done way more better if we [had] a bit more time.” (Interview 1113, ACT, male) and:

“One thing that I always wanted to know, what if this workshop lasted longer and then maybe we could have had something to present to people because I think that's what I got from it was only the idea of what we could have created but not actually results” (Interview 1917, ACT, Female).

As will be examined in the remainder of this chapter, the participants of the project felt passionate about what they had learnt through the project and the potential to contribute to society with their new knowledge. However, the time constraints, caused to some degree by funding constraints, left them feeling that they could have done more to contribute to transformative societal change through the project.

The ACT and MME projects therefore sought to contribute to transformative change not just through the processes and outcomes of the programmes, as will be discussed throughout the remainder of this chapter, but also through the programmes' structures. Adopting a collaborative and participatory approach to the management of the programme, the team aimed to contribute to the recognition and reframing of Kosovo's past and present, as well as seeking to deconstruct some of the frameworks in international development that contribute to maldistribution, misrecognition and misframing. Paradoxically perhaps, the project was limited in these processes by the very same underlying economic frameworks.

5.3.2 The intersection of education and the arts: participatory engagement with history

Having examined the structures of the two CTS projects in Kosovo, I now analyse their content, process and outcomes. This section in particular will investigate how the projects intersect with the formal education young people received about Kosovo's history (answering SQ IV). After providing an analysis of young people's perceptions of their formal history education, I will analyse the two main elements of the CTS projects that young people valued; namely the historical focus of the projects and the use of arts-based methods. These two elements have important pedagogical implications and work to contribute to social justice and peacebuilding through representation and recognition, in processes that are currently missing in the formal education that young people in Kosovo receive. Specifically, the historical focus and arts-based methods used in these programmes have resulted in a particular expression of recognition, which through this chapter I conceptualise and analyse as *affective* recognition.

Young people's perceptions of history education in Kosovo

The young participants highlighted the problematic nature of formal education in their country, stating that issues with the education system are one of the biggest problems faced by young people

in Kosovo today, alongside gender inequality and the country's political situation. One participant explained that:

“the system of education here has really a lot of problems in many, many ways...the whole system, education, it's really bad. I don't agree with anything that we learn and especially history has a lot of problems. It's not written very well. It's not taught very well...” (Interview 1917, ACT, Female).

Many others highlighted that the education system urgently needs to change. Their emphasis echoes findings presented in the critical review conducted by the project team in Kosovo (Pollozhani and Çeku, 2019). In this review, both students and staff highlighted limitations within the education system including outdated textbooks, too heavy a focus on theory and an associated lack of applied or experiential education, and limited or indeed no extra-curricular activities (Pollozhani and Çeku, 2019, p.260). Similarly a recent “Youth Study” on Kosovo found that only 23% of young people were satisfied with the quality of formal education they had received (albeit that the specific meaning of ‘quality’ remained undefined) (Rrumbullaku, 2019). This educational gap is often filled by NGOs and CSOs in Kosovo, who provide more experiential or applied learning (Pollozhani and Çeku, 2019). A number of the participants discussed how they had set up their own educational initiatives in an attempt to improve educational attainment and experiences for younger students.

Specific to their education about the conflict in Kosovo, young participants reported a mixed experience of what and how they had learnt about this history. Some stated that there was “not a single page in the history books” (Interview 1619, Museum, Female) on the issue and a smaller number highlighted that they had teachers who “couldn't stop talking about it” (Interview 2026, ACT, Male). Some participants highlighted that their teachers would refuse to talk about the conflict, whilst others would be more comfortable teaching the subject, or would talk about it too much and too graphically. Indeed, although students were critical of the curriculum and textbooks, the extent to which they were educated about this past largely depended on their teachers. As discussed in

Chapter 3, both formal and non-formal education initiatives rely heavily on educators, on the assumption that educators are willing to promote the ideas and ideals of a given programme and will be neutral about the teaching content. Yet, often, training in how to teach complex and sensitive issues is not provided and, particularly in conflict and post-conflict settings, teachers and educators have personal experiences of conflict which shape their views and positionality, as do the collective narratives around them (see Rubagiza et al., 2016).

Participants highlighted that;

“On Kosovo...I would say we would skip those parts. And I think it depends, like from teachers like you know from elementary school, from first grade to fifth grade, I had one teacher and she would refuse to talk about that because she has experienced it, and her family members were killed during the war. So she wouldn't talk about that. And then from fifth grade to ninth grade I think I heard more about the conflict and the war during that time, because my history teacher he would talk about more of that. And in high school we did not learn anything about. Literally, my professor would skip.” (Interview 1419, ACT, Female)

“My former Albanian language teacher, he was a part of the war, so he couldn't stop talking about it. Like at some point it got, it got kind of annoying because we were children like 11 years 12 years old and it's definitely not what you want to hear at 11 years and 12 years - like flying heads, flying hands and whatever.” (Interview 2026, ACT, Male)

The educational experience of these participants exemplifies the diversity in the practices and approaches of teachers, and how these shape students' education. Some educators may not want to teach about issues that have deeply and personally affected them, whilst others may teach about these issues in ways deemed inappropriate because of their own experiences.

Despite these diverse experiences, there was a consensus amongst the participants that the history of the conflict in Kosovo was not taught adequately, if it was taught at all, in formal education. Young people highlighted that their education on the subject was “blurry” (Interview 1619, Museum, Female) and “superficial” (Interview 1113, ACT, Male). As one young person articulated, after they began researching the past themselves, they realised that the content of the history education they received had been narrow and restricted:

“I mean, I thought I learned a lot [in school] until I started doing my own research and I saw that history, history is quite washed from [the curriculum][...] It kind of ruined the whole concept that I had about our history and everything. So I guess, I can't say that I learned a lot. I mean I learned a lot, but not the right thing.”
(Interview 2026, ACT, Male)

This “superficial” and “washed” education meant that even when young people had been taught about the conflict, many did not feel like they understood the process and politics that led to the outbreak of war in Kosovo, nor the lived experience of people at the time. Some participants, for example, described how they had only been taught “the violent part of the war” (Interview 2224, Museum, Female) and not the processes leading up to this. Many participants explained that their formal education only provided a very narrow narrative of the time, focussing on the dominant national narratives around the role of KLA and the heroes after the war, but not on how the conflict was actually experienced by people in the country. One participant expressed that this had the effect of “a glorification of history”, with education about the conflict being “too exaggerated and hyperbolic. And I think it really just inspires, you know, the same kind of hatred that the two peoples had, even now.” (Interview 1311, ACT, Male).

The concerns of this participant demonstrate the caution that the participants felt over teaching about the conflict in school. Almost all participants believed that students should be taught more about the conflict within the formal schooling system – especially given how recent the events of the

war are. But young people were cautious about *how* this should happen to ensure that ethnic tensions are not promoted or entrenched. Young people therefore demonstrated an awareness of the two faces of education; believing that formal education should promote a deeper recognition of the lived realities of conflict, whilst also being cautious of the way that narratives within education have the potential to create and exacerbate ethnic tensions and glorify violence:

“Had I known these things as a kid, maybe I would start hating or, you know, start to develop a hate against other ethnicities in Kosovo [...] I think like in high school, maybe it's the time when you can start to talk about this, but I really don't like the idea of teaching children who are very young age about any kind of conflicts, you know, any kind of war” (Interview 1419, ACT, Female)

“I think they should [be taught history], but it should be an accurate, historical version and it shouldn't be so, you know, bloated with, you know... kind of like it's pretty much a glorification of history and, to be honest, war, any kind of war, is hell. It's not much of a glorious thing. Even, I think that there's also a problem in the way that, you know, we kind of idealise war heroes here as well. You know, I'm not saying that it's a bad thing because they died for their country, but the way that we kind of have their statues up. And the way that you know we commemorate them in these, this very exaggerated, great way, I think that's a bit too much and it's sending the wrong message.” (Interview 1311, ACT, Male).

The latter of these participants reflects Davies (2005) argumentation that education can promote violent masculinities and the cult of the hero. They also go a step further in their critique, discussing the memorialisation of conflict in Kosovo in national narratives beyond education which, as noted earlier, are largely based on memorialising heroic masculinities.

The decentralised historical focus of the CTS Kosovo projects

In the context of young people's dissatisfaction with their formal (history) education, the participants of the ACT and MME projects especially valued the historical focus of the projects. This was for three key reasons; firstly, it enabled young people to learn about a period of Kosovo's history that was largely unknown to them, and which helped them to better understand the processes in the country that lead to violent conflict. Secondly, the projects enabled young people to engage in more decentralised narratives of the past, exploring the lived realities of people at the time, rather than focusing on the overarching state narratives or "facts" about the conflict that they critiqued in their formal education. Finally, the historical narrative presented in the projects shifted the frame of history from conflict to resilience and strength. As well as the pedagogical implications of this historical framing, there are also crucial implications for social justice, with the projects working to promote recognition and representation through their historical focus.

Most participants discussed having limited knowledge of the BOOM concerts and the political nature of the music performed in the 80s, and of the parallel education system in Kosovo. Participants describe being "amazed, of how much I didn't know because it's such an important part of our history" (Interview 2224, Museum, Female) and being "so embarrassed of myself, because I don't have any information for 1990s" (Interview 1619, Museum, Female). As one participant remarked:

"I had one thing in common with every other participant: being young. But that meant that we were kind of a completely unaware of what happened, you know, in Kosovo. For, when freedom kicks in, then, most people just forget about the power of the collective memory of those years or they kind of feel very far away. But for us, as youngsters, they are quite close when you think about it, we are born in those times and we dug into those topics that we never discussed in our in our collective way or a formal way" (Interview 2520, Museum, Male)

This quote exemplifies what many participants of the two CTS programmes discussed: that the relatively recent nature of the events in the 80s and 90s make them especially important to study. Moreover, it articulates comments made by the majority of participants that stories of the BOOM concerts and house schools have not been memorialised in the collective memory or national narratives of Kosovo.

This was also echoed by the project team, who explained that:

“For some people it was there, but for some it was an unknown story, an unknown history, something that was - even if not intentionally silenced - it was somehow forgotten and not part of a larger collective memory. So it was something that was not necessarily memorialised and has not come part of any existing, or was not part of an existing, mainstream narrative” (Interview Project Team 1125).

Learning this history helped participants to better understand the processes that were precursors to the conflict in Kosovo. They explained that “When I learned about the 90s [in the project] everything started to make sense, and I saw how one thing really led to another” (Interview 2224, Museum, Female); an understanding that many stated they had not gained through their formal education. This had important consequences for steps towards peacebuilding and transformative change: this new knowledge helped participants to “ask questions about what it is that happens in a particular society that makes that kind of violence possible” and to recognise “political manipulation and the wider social, economic injustices that can lead towards state violence” (Interview Project Team 3007). In other words, through learning about what happened *before* the conflict, and not just about the conflict itself, young people were able to develop a better understanding of how economic, socio-cultural and political injustices can lead to violence and war. As one participant reflected:

“it just gives me a better understanding of all stuff that history might repeat itself if we don't take care of it if we don't promote good stuff and if we promote hate

and if we promote propaganda populism [...] I think we could always create good stuff in the Balkans by not repeating this stuff, so by not forgetting also about this topic that might happen" (Interview 2520, Museum, Male)

This young person, in line with many of the participants, reflects the kind of "never again" rhetoric that is common in post-conflict programmes. However, the pedagogical implications of engaging young people in histories *before* conflict meant that the ACT and MME projects produced a more nuanced notion of "never again", that is not just about reconciling past conflicts, but developing the critical skills needed to identify injustice and understand how this might lead to violence and conflict.

For the participants, the historical focus of the projects was also important because it created space for a more decentralised understanding of the past. Rather than focusing on overarching narratives or "facts" about what happened, as young people explained was common in their formal history education, the projects enabled young people to understand the more personal, lived experiences of the time. This contributed to representation and recognition as the narratives of groups whose experience do not form a part of the country's collective memory of the past were represented in the programmes, particularly the experiences of women. This representation of marginalised narratives opened up spaces for the recognition of groups whose experiences have been institutionally subordinated from Kosovo's political and cultural memory structures. Participants discussed that both learning about, and deconstructing, this previously "unknown" history enabled them to piece together aspects of their culture and history that they previously only knew about on a superficial level, if at all. They described this process as "very intense" (Interview 1113, ACT, Male) and "a bit brutal... before this I was more obnoxious about that, like I wasn't aware of what actually happened" (Interview 2520, Museum, Male). Yet all spoke passionately about what they had learnt. This included the underlying and often hidden messages in the music of the 1980s, and the role of women in the 80s rock movement for those on the ACT project. Those who participated in the MME

project highlighted their interest, surprise, and admiration at the systematised resistance through the schooling system.

Finally, the historical focus of the project was important because it moved the framing of the project away from violence and war. The project team argued that a persistent focus on the conflict in international development programmes in Kosovo can go hand-in-hand with “defining people in terms of a national category that is about violence and war - something they want to reject and don't want to be identified with...” (Interview Project Team 3007). Instead, the historical focus shifted the frame of study away from conflict to national resilience and strength. The projects therefore worked against the misrecognition and misframing of both Kosovo, and Kosovo’s young people.

A number of participants highlighted that their engagement with the projects had made them feel prouder of Kosovo as a country and “see the history in a more positive light” (Interview 2224, Museum, Female), as well as feeling a greater cultural belonging to Kosovo. The programmes demonstrated to young people the strength of the resistance and resilience of Kosovar Albanians during the conflict, as they explained:

“Everybody talks about war... who's going to institutionalize or who's going to take the monopoly [over the narratives of the war], who won the war and this kind of stuff so it's a bit strange, but nobody has actually talked about the good stuff that happened, like this parallel education system, it is something I am very proud of, as a Kosovar citizen.” (Interview 2520, Museum, Male)

“I started to see the history in a more positive light, because of the project and really like really appreciated the power of the people in Kosovo, and what they did in those tough times” (Interview 2224, Museum, Female)

The pride that these participants felt demonstrate the effect of moving away from narratives of violence to resilience and strength. The project team highlighted that this was especially meaningful for young people in Kosovo, who are often defined in relation to war when they meet people from outside of the country, if their country is known or recognised at all:

“[you have] to fight your corner in terms of first of all, explaining where your country even is and you know that that nobody might know anything about it, and if they know anything they tend to go with the stereotypical things about it, like... Kosovo immediately war, if anything. You know, so it's nothing or negative. And meanwhile you're in a country which is politically fighting for recognition, this is not a solved conflict right [...] [As such] there are heightened image anxieties, so you find that all the time and in these presentations of self.” (Interview Project Team 3007)

According to this member of the project team, young people’s presentation and sense of self is affected by the negative images and narratives that are portrayed about Kosovo which centre around the conflict, if Kosovo is known or recognised as a country at all. These narratives promote misrecognition, which, this exemplifies, can have real, lived effects on individuals and their sense of self. By changing the historical focus of the project, to focus on what participants perceived as “good stuff that happened”, and the “power of the people in Kosovo”, the project therefore worked to deconstruct this misrecognition.

5.3.3 Engaging participatory arts for affective recognition

The historical focus of the programmes combined with arts-based participatory methods to foster deeper recognition through the projects. This contributed momentum towards transformative change. The use of arts-based methods and arts-based participatory action research to explore the

80s and 90s in Kosovo in the two projects meant that young people were not simply being taught about Kosovo's past, but were themselves actively researching this history through artistic expressions of social and cultural movements. In ACT, participants worked with animation, music, sound and text. In MME, participants engaged in archiving work and video diaries. Through these processes, the participants worked to deconstruct narrow and state-based narratives about the past.

The project team noted that the participatory methods used in the programmes meant that young people moved away from being research subjects, enabling a closer connection to the issues addressed in the project:

"I think, for them is that maybe it didn't feel as being turned into, kind of, research subjects and I think that has to do with PAR itself, but I think the fact that they were producing things all along, created for a better, kind of... connection with a project" (Interview Project Team 1125)

"it made them [the young participants] not feel felt turned into research subject, but it did actually make [them] an agent of the creative process, and the creativity is, I think the big, the big opening here on the space that creates." (Interview Project Team 3007).

Participatory arts were therefore used as a pedagogical tool through the projects, promoting experiential and participant-led learning. Young people were actively engaged in the research, knowledge production and creative processes on the projects. They therefore moved away from simply being passive participants in a programme, to becoming knowledge producers through the programme. This meant that the participants were *framed* and *recognised* as important socio-political and agentic actors. Both the project team, and a couple of young participants highlighted that this is not the norm for programmes in Kosovo where "most of the time [...] you sit down, you listen to a speech, or you watch the presentation you go home, and you get the certificates. But

here, you really had to [...] be curious and work and try to figure things out” (Interview 1311, ACT, Male). This process of having to “figure things out” was central to young people’s experience on the projects, and to the recognition that developed. Young people themselves became researchers and knowledge producers and framed themselves in this way throughout the interviews, stating that “I was involved as a participant, and sometimes as a researcher” (Interview 2224, Museum, Female) and that the knowledge and understanding they gained was “all in me who did the research” (Interview 1917, ACT, Female).

This participation, in collaboration with the projects’ arts-based methods, resulted in young people developing a considerably greater understanding of Kosovo’s past. In the interviews, young people explained that the participatory arts approach made it “easy for me to absorb everything that happened and to really make sense of it” (Interview 2224, Museum, Female). It “brought the history more, you know, more concrete more pragmatic, and we could actually see that” (Interview 1619, Museum, Female). Young people actively exploring music, photos and videos of Kosovo in the 80s and 90s then, resulted in a more pragmatic form of learning that meant the previously blurry past started to make sense to the project participants. As one participant articulated “It’s so much easier to get it if you see it or hear it.” (Interview 1917, ACT, Female).

Strikingly, the majority of the participants explained that the use of the arts in the programme elicited a visceral sense of what it may have *felt* like to live in Kosovo at the time. In other words, participants had an *affective* response to the content of the projects, because of their participatory arts-based methodologies. Participants stated, for example, that engaging in the project “was like reliving this era again”, “it was like we were there” (Interview 1417, ACT, Female) and “made it more real” (Interview 1113, ACT, Male). The programme team also highlighted how the CTS programme enabled young people to feel the 1980s and 1990s differently through the projects’ arts-based and PAR methodologies:

“it's both the affective and the aesthetic right because, through the music they would kind of imagine the sound, so that's also kind of particular affect to the sound with the time, to the colours, to how we might have felt at that, kind of sensory... experiences of the time.” (Interview Project Team 1125)

This affective response was particularly notable when young people discussed how the project enabled them to better recognise the lived experiences of the time. In this way, as well as being a pedagogical tool, the use of arts on the projects allowed for a particular form of recognition that goes beyond Fraser's notion of recognition. It incorporated the socio-cultural experiences of different groups (particularly, in this case, between generations) and elicited an affective response to, and understanding of, these experiences. Participants explained, for example, that the participatory arts methodologies enabled them to reflect on what it meant to experience the conflict, and how it might have affected, and continue to effect, their parents and grandparents:

“it's very interesting because then I can really think of what that means, what it meant, how that affected the way that I was raised, or how my parents behave...”
(Interview 1917, ACT, Female)

“So, when they would show pictures and videos and the music and everything, I would just kind of see what my parents had to go through at that time, because it was so apparent. It was so real to see normal people in those videos. And then I would kind of link those videos with stories that I heard from my parents or somebody else that went through that time. And they would just link up so suddenly now... they would kind of bring me a better idea of what it was because I didn't actually experience it so... it made it more real.” (Interview 1113, ACT, Male)

“[In the pictures and films] I could see people hurt, covering their blood with tissues. I could see through the pictures that they were running to houses that weren't their houses, but they just wanted to hide somewhere to not be beaten by police. If we have those pictures we have it right, it is a live action - and was so much easier for me to be emotional with pictures and with narratives.” (Interview 1619, Museum, Female)

These participants exemplify how, to some degree, this process of recognition acted as a process of truth validation on the project; by seeing and engaging with primary sources, the veracity of the lived experiences of the conflict were confirmed. Moreover, the visceral and affective response that the use of the arts elicited, resulted in participants thinking about the conflict in Kosovo in a different way. It enabled them to recognise, and emotionally engage in, these lived realities, decentralising the narrative that young people heard in their formal education.

Put simply, the projects enabled young people to affectively recognise the experiences of conflict. Based on these findings, I argue for a new conceptualisation of recognition, which I frame as affective recognition. Affective recognition, I contend, provides a way of understanding what processes of recognition look like in (arts-based) educational programmes with young people in post-conflict settings. Responding to critiques that Fraser's work fails to clarify “what it means to be ‘recognized’” (Kompridis, 2008, p.260), conceptualising affective recognition enables an understanding of the “recognition strategies” (Feldman, 2008, p.224) that apply in these contexts.

5.3.4 Unpacking the concept affective recognition

As discussed in Chapter 2, in order to conceptualise affective recognition, I understand affect as the intangible and visceral emotions and feelings individuals have to a stimuli, and how they experience them. Affect sees emotions and feelings as causal, structuring embodied experience (Schaefer,

2019). I specifically draw on Sara Ahmed's work on the economies of affect, which highlights the importance of understanding what emotions *do*, and their role in mediating relationships, particularly "between the individual and the collective" (Ahmed, 2004a, p.119).

In the ACT and MME projects, the affective response that the participatory arts methods elicited mediated the relationship between the individuals – the young participants of the programme – and the social or collective - the societies and culture of the 80s and 90s and the experiences of those who lived through that time. These narratives and experiences are largely excluded from Kosovo's memory structures. Young people recognised these experiences *affectively*, emphasising the visceral nature of their experience on the project, in which the events they were exploring felt "real" (Interview 1113, ACT, Male). The programmes therefore promoted affective recognition of the lived realities and experiences of the 80s and 90s in Kosovo.

This idea of affective recognition is particularly pertinent to post-conflict societies with post-memory generations. Post-memory generations, like the young participants in Kosovo, tend to predominately hear state narratives of the past. They are often disconnected from the lived experiences of the past, despite being embedded in political and cultural memory structures that shape narratives of the past (Hirsch, 2012). Participants explained that, through their formal education, they had only learnt overarching, national narratives of the past. Many had little knowledge of the events and movements of the 80s and 90s explored in ACT and MME. Hirsch calls for what she defines as "post-memorial work" to "*reactivate* and *re-embody* more distant political and cultural memorial structures by reinvesting them with resonant individual and familial forms of meditation and aesthetic expression" (Hirsch, 2012, p.33). The experiences of participants on the ACT and MME projects suggests that affective recognition has the potential to do exactly that: the memory structures of Kosovo's past were reactivated and reembodyed through young people developing an affective understanding of the past. This promoted deeper recognition of the lived experiences of the past amongst participants. As the proceeding section will demonstrate, affective recognition also

resulted in young people taking ownership of narratives of the past, deconstructing these, and carrying them forward for future generations.

Affective recognition also draws parallels with ideas of reconciliation, which Novelli et al. (2017, p.24) argue is an important factor, alongside redistribution, recognition and representation, in the “potentially transformative role education can play” in post-conflict contexts. Scholars such as Metro (2013, p.146), for example, discuss that part of the process of reconciliation includes “stepping into the shoes’ of others” in order to problematise the narratives one holds about a certain group of “others”. The participants articulation of feeling, through the projects, as if they were reliving the period, has similarities of this idea of stepping into the shoes of others. As discussed in Chapter 2, the notion of reconciliation is problematic in many contexts, including Kosovo. Conceptualising affective recognition has the potential to examine how educational programmes can contribute to empathy and understanding, through recognition. Rather than the political implications of invoking ideas of reconciliation, the focus therefore remains on promoting social justice.

At the same time, the project team highlighted that young people “were looking to these past events through the prism of current conceptualizations of the past. And so I think [...] that they didn't necessarily have all the knowledge to... contextualize it better” (Interview Project Team 1125). This highlights how affective recognition can be restricted by the limited formal and informal education young people experience in relation to the past. It also demonstrates the ultimate “impossibility of being in another’s shoes” (Harvey and Bradley, 2021, p.4). A number of participants similarly reflected on this tension, one articulated, for example, that:

“All the work that we did was kind of reflection, we never knew how it actually felt to be there so everything is kind of what we thought it might have been. To get ourselves in that position of actually think of how those times might have been is very different to then reflect on what privilege do we have now.”

(Interview 1917, ACT, Female)

Young people were therefore aware of this paradox through the programme, in which they had an affective response to the programme and were also aware that this response was based on their own conceptualisations and reflections of the past. Still, this affective recognition enabled young people to reflect critically and with more depth on Kosovo's history and its continued impact on the country today.

The concept of affective recognition therefore demonstrates how Fraser's framework can be reconceptualised to explore and analyse (arts-based) educational initiatives in post-conflict contexts. It this helps to determine "what it means to be 'recognized'" (Kompridis, 2008, p.260) within these settings, and how processes of recognition play out in practice. At the same time, it responds to the call of post-memorial work and addresses challenges posed by incorporating notions of reconciliation into a social justice framework of education in post-conflict contexts.

5.3.5 The economy of affective recognition: young people taking ownership of narratives of the past

The concept of affective economies demands an analysis of what affective recognition *does* in the ACT and MME projects. The affective recognition that projects elicited, resulting from and in combination with the participatory arts methodologies used, resulted in participants wanting to contribute to and shape the narratives of Kosovo's past, and share these narratives with future generations and "outsiders" to Kosovo. In particular, the participants expressed a desire to elicit further affective recognition amongst those they shared these narratives with.

The projects not only created space for young people to take on the role of researchers through the project, they also engaged participants in creating something constructive with what they had learnt through the project. In ACT, this included the animations, music, soundscapes, and literary text. In MME it included video diaries, as well as contributing to the creation of the Museum of Education.

Participants described how, through these creative outputs, they were “trying to tell the story” (Interview 0813, ACT, Female) of the 80s and 90s, in order for their prospective audience to develop a better sense of what Kosovo was like at the time, as *they* had through their engagement with the work. In other words, participants were seeking to promote recognition through their art. One participant, for example, described the soundscape they had produced during one workshop as “how to experience the 80s in three minutes”. They described how the soundscape could recreate the process of memorialisation as “it would be like in the eyes of somebody who went through it, but is alive today, so they won't remember everything they will just remember this” (Interview 1113, ACT, Male). The idea being that the short and overlapping snippets of sound used in their soundscape reflect what it is like to think back to a particular moment, where the memory does not play out chronologically but is more muddled and fragmented. Others described that they were helping to “build a narrative that can possibly then be spread out to a larger audience” (Interview 2224, Museum, Female), and were contributing to shaping narratives of the past that “can help future generations to understand our history better” (Interview 2224, Museum, Female) and “shed light to the youth about this” (Interview 1113, ACT, Male).

Affective recognition therefore resulted in young people wanting to take ownership of narratives of the past, and seeking to share these narratives with others. It promoted youth agency within the projects, and acted as an important driver of transformative change. In particular, the participants began to think it very important for younger generations in Kosovo to better understand this past, and indeed understand a more decentralised narrative that recognised the lived experiences of people at the time. They therefore saw their work on the museum in particular, but also in creating art for the public, as a “great opportunity to put this period of time into something static” (Interview 1619, Museum, Female) - to ensure, through the physicality and tangible nature of the museum, or artistic outputs, that this period of time is remembered in a way that would encourage both empathy and curiosity. As one participant noted regarding the pictures that they found of poisoned students in house schools through their archival work:

“It got me so so emotional and maybe I thought if I get emotional, maybe a lot of other people would feel bad, would feel sympathy for the students and I really think that pictures, are very important parts of this period on this project, and there are a lot of them and thank God, there are a lot of them, and we have the chance to keep them safe. To be sure that the spirit won’t be all vanished and be let’s say destroyed by us not being active.” (Interview 1619, Museum, Female).

This young person’s articulation exemplifies that participants themselves recognised the affective value of the arts, and the importance of affective recognition. Participants hoped that others would have the same affective response as they did to the experiences of those who lived through the 80s and 90s in Kosovo. They believed that this would encourage recognition of these experiences, as well as a desire to keep the history of the time alive. They aimed to elicit this affective recognition through the outputs they created on the projects.

The participants therefore began to see the role that they could play in contributing to society through the arts. Many young people expressed their sincere belief that the outcomes that they were creating through the project – whether the animation or songs they had produced, or the work on the museum project - had the real potential to contribute to transformative change in the society, especially to ensuring that these periods of time were not forgotten by younger generations, were embedded in the collective memory of the time, and were understood by those outside of Kosovo. They saw the contribution the outcomes could make in light of the limited formal education young people receive about the past. As a participant in one of the animation workshops stated, for example, “I think animations are a very good way to reach the people, making [it] more simple to explain the history with them that. You can’t get that from schools where you actually should have got in the first place” (Interview 1917, ACT, Female). Young people therefore saw the potential power the arts hold in transforming education around the conflict in order to encourage post-memory generations to think about the conflict in a different way, particularly encouraging a less

superficial and monological narrative and instead replacing this with a narrative that explores, and allows an affective response to, the lived realities of ordinary people at the time.

As well as promoting a desire amongst participants to share narratives of the past, the economies of affective recognition also resulted in young people taking the initiative to conduct their own research to further develop and construct these narratives. Some of the participants discussed that they continued working on deconstructing and recreating music from the 80s in their free time. Others highlighted that they wanted to use similar methods on projects in the future. Most notably, the young people involved began to explore Kosovo's past through intergenerational dialogue. Moving beyond the interviews participants were encouraged to do as part of the project, young people explained how, as a result of their engagement with the projects, they had started up conversations with their relatives about Kosovo's past, particularly their parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles. This process evolved organically as a result of the projects and was instigated by the young people themselves and seems to be a widespread outcome of the programme. Young people discussed the enjoyment that came out of these family discussions, describing listening to the stories as "fun and exciting" (Interview 1311, ACT, Male). One participant described:

"I had a lot more questions because before the project I didn't know what to ask; I didn't know what was going on and I couldn't create questions out of nowhere. I wasn't interested to ask them because I didn't know facts and, later on, I was very interested, very curious to know on how things were, so I asked my members of my family, my uncles and they were surprised and they asked me 'why are you doing this' and I explained that I'm in this project and they were very happy that finally someone actually remembers that this period of time existed. I have the memories of the spirits of this period of time. On the collective memory, it is very, very I think is very little." (Interview 1619, Museum, Female).

This participant demonstrates that the increased knowledge they had gained through the project enabled them to ask questions that they didn't know they had. The reference to "memories of the spirits of this period of time" also emphasises the affective recognition that the both the projects, and young people's independent research, elicited, which prompted a desire to know more. The happy and relieved response of the uncles demonstrates the importance of post-memory generations (affectively) recognising the experiences of those who experienced violence and conflict.

As Ahmed describes then, affect works in "concrete and particular ways" and mediates "the relationship between...the individual and the collective" (Ahmed, 2004a, p.119). In the ACT and MME projects, affective recognition worked to mediate the relationship that young people held with Kosovo's past, present, and future. Participants wanted to develop a greater understanding of this past, and share their knowledge and affective recognition with future generations, seeking to promote further transformative recognition. Their approach draws close parallels with Hirsch (2012, p.33) notion of post-memorial work, which reactivates and reembodies "more distant political and cultural memorial structures by reinvesting them with resonant individual and familial forms of meditation and aesthetic expression" (2012, p.33). This, combined with the participatory nature of the project, enabled young people to recognise themselves as important social, cultural political and agentic actors who have the capacity to contribute to the narratives of the past, and to Kosovo as a country.

5.3.6 The articulation of representation: gender and space

As one of the key dimensions of Fraser's framework on social justice, it would be remiss to fail to include an exploration of representation in the ACT and MME projects, especially given the projects' focus on addressing the misframing of women in Kosovo's past. The representation of women

through the project makes further important contributions to recognition and transformative change.

Both projects centre the role of women in the movements they explore in Kosovo in the 1980s and 90s; examining, for example the music of Violeta Rexhepagiqi, who went by the stage name Vivien, a female Rockstar in the 80s, and the role of women in setting up the practice of house schools in the 1990s. As project documentation explains:

“The role of women has been an important consideration in the projects, particularly as it remains an area of transitional justice processes that is often underestimated or misunderstood, particularly when it comes to who is remembered and how much space do women have in the narratives of the past.”

(Project Document 2219)

The role and positioning of women is therefore strongly represented in the projects as a response to how women have been misframed in the narratives of Kosovo’s past. As discussed above, while Fraser (2008c) explains that misframing occurs when the boundaries of a political community are drawn in a way that excludes people from participating in contests over justice and pressing justice claims in the political community, I argue that it is also important to consider how this notion of misframing is relevant to the political narratives and memory structures of a society. In Kosovo, as is common across post-conflict countries (See for example, Denov, 2008, Gordon, 2019, Luci and Schwander-Sievers, 2019), women’s experiences of conflict are often excluded or marginalised within narratives of the past, which tend to focus on their vulnerability as opposed to their actions. Women are therefore *misframed* in national memory structures. A member of the project team reflected on the representation of women in Kosovo:

“The work of representation that is being done has been problematic, because it relies on particular scripts of... where gender sits in the national frame, the

national imaginary, so that women are kind of... so the idea that rape is the most horrible thing that can happen to any one person, right. So this kind of reinforces the idea of how horrific it is, but it also slips into moralizing frame, it also maintains a specific way of thinking about rape and women's sexuality, so that rape is this violation of a women's selfhood. And what it does, is that it anchors women's selfhood to their sexuality and to their vulnerability, or you know there's always assumed vulnerability in terms of their biology. So it reinforces, I think, the idea of women being vulnerable" (Interview Project Team 1125).

The project, then, works to dismantle this misframing of women and the focus on women's vulnerabilities, by representing women as agentic political and societal actors, highlighting their role not as victims of violence, but as contributors to resistance and strength in Kosovo. This again shifts the frame from violence to resilience and works to deconstruct and transform underlying societal structures that marginalise the experience and positions of women within society. This reframing and representation allowed participants of the programs to recognise the experiences and position of women in the past in ways they had not before, highlighting the interconnected nature of recognition and representation in achieving social justice. The participatory arts methodologies of the programmes meant that this recognition of women's experiences was affective, inspiring young people to critically contribute to these narratives.

The participants of the project frequently referred to the representation of women in the project. They were particularly interested in the work Vivien, commenting frequently on her aesthetics ("She would colour her hair and have different hairstyles and a different image" (Interview 1419, ACT, Female)) and her activism through music ("she was like revolutionary artist back then" (Interview 1113, ACT, Male), "she was like kind of fighting for woman rights" (Interview 0123, ACT, Male)). The fact that Vivien was a woman was particularly meaningful and inspiring for the participants, given the gender inequality that persists in Kosovo today. Many participants had either not heard of Vivien

before engaging in ACT, or had not realised the political nature of Vivien's music. Several mentioned feeling sad or disappointed that they had not known about the work of female rock musicians in the past, as one participant noted:

"It was sad for me that I didn't know them [female rock bands] until that point because they were very famous at the time, but no one mentioned them later. For me, it was very, very interesting to get more used to how women created rock. And for me, it was very fascinating to see the style and how brave they look and the crowd. I'm a bit disappointing that I didn't know about some of them earlier, but I knew all of those male bands who are so famous now." (Interview 1917, ACT, Female)

This quote highlights the "bravery" that many participants emphasised they felt was present in the work of female musicians in the 1980s, whilst at the same time depicting how women's roles in these cultural movements are part of the "silenced" or "unknown" narratives that the programme team referred to (Interview Project Team 1125). The representation and (affective) recognition of the role of women in the 80s and 90s was especially important for young people not just because women's roles had been silenced in narratives of the past, but also because of the positioning of women in Kosovan society today. Many of the participants highlighted that gender inequality was one of the biggest problems in Kosovan society today, and wanted to learn from the bravery of women in the 80s and 90s.

Participants argued that young people in Kosovo are actively trying to address gender inequality in the country, stating that "every day we get one step closer to abolishing patriarchy, and that's a collective movement" (Interview 2026, ACT, Male). The participants therefore highly valued that the project "was an outlet to make it [gender] a part of this activism" (Interview 2026, ACT, Male). They noted:

“She [Vivien] was quite a woman, like we take pride, the youth takes pride of them so. Definitely, a person worth writing for.” (Interview 1113, ACT, Male)

The participants highlight that young people themselves want to play a part in ensuring the representation and recognition of women and the roles that women played in the past is maintained through society, another example of how affective recognition encourages young people to take ownership of narratives of the past, and shape the future.

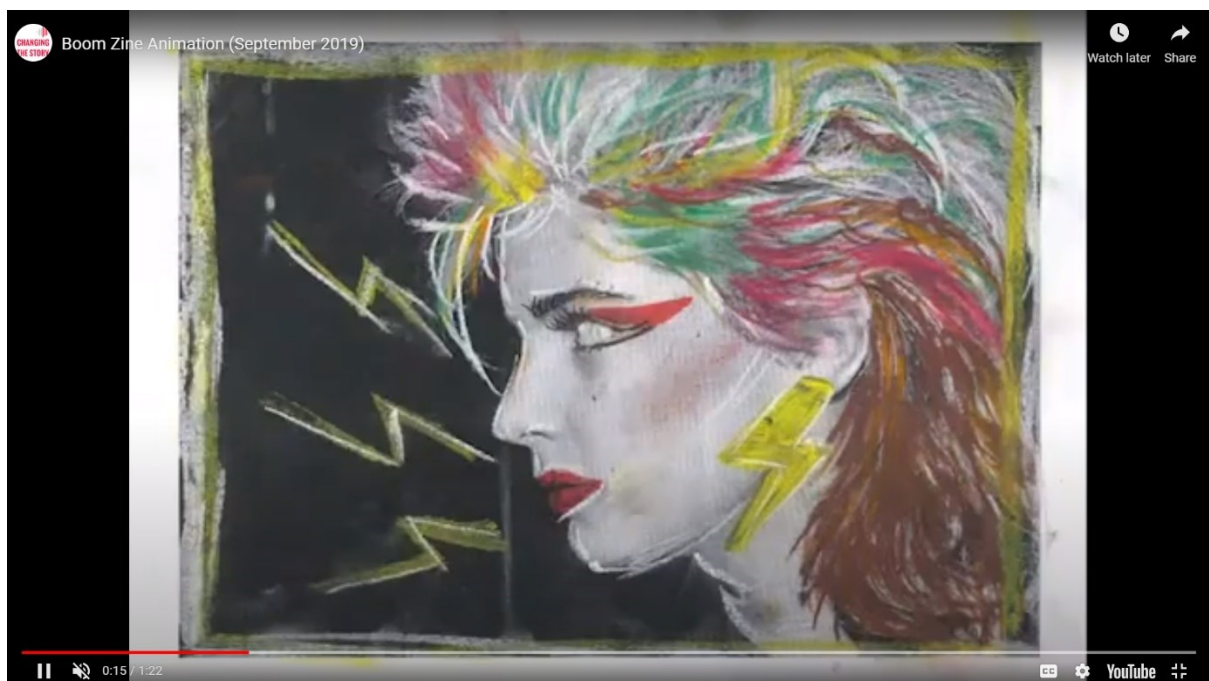


Figure 5- Still from the Boom Zine Animation, developed on the ACT project (Changing the Story 2019)

The representation and recognition of different spaces

Beyond representations of gender, the initial project design highlighted that it is

“important to look at the peripheral spaces beyond the elites and trends in the centre. The periphery is an often-neglected space of research and practice, which

mostly focus on first cities. With this project, we aim to bring an exchange of ideas between different organizations in diverse cities” (Project Document 1213).

Here we see that the project aimed to ensure spatial representation – that is, ensuring the experience of those from different places and spaces in Kosovo, particularly those from outside Prishtina, were represented and recognised through the programme. There was also the intention to move “beyond the elites”, suggesting the representation and recognition of those from different socio-economic backgrounds.

A small number of participants highlighted that their engagement with others on the programme from different geographical locations enabled them to recognise how the conflict had had different effects on people in Kosovo. These participants explained that before engaging in the project, their knowledge about Kosovo’s past had largely been based on the experiences of those in Prishtina. When they heard narratives from other regions of country through the project, they found that it was “completely different and I had no idea what happened there” (Interview 1419, ACT, Female). However, a larger number of young people noted that participants on the project represented only a small part of Kosovan society, particularly as they were all educated in Prishtina. As one participant noted: “I had an education in the capital city and I’m [part of] a specific group of people who also have the chance to go to university and my parents are working and are educated.” (Interview 1917, ACT, Female). Participants discussed the importance of hearing from more diverse perspectives, and including these perspectives in the creation and distribution of knowledge:

“I do think that we should also hear from the perspective of someone who is not a student and comes from a completely different background, maybe a rural area... I think that's, you know, a different perspective.” (Interview 2224, Museum, Female)

“As more different people are introduced [to the issues], then different people are like, has a chance to learn about it. And it's more spread to different people not only who are educated and who live in the capital city and are only Albanian, because that then creates separation between knowledge, and I think that should be accessible to everyone. (Interview 1917, ACT, Female)

Young people were therefore aware of the importance of representation through programmes and believed that the projects may have been experienced or understood differently by those who occupy other spaces in society. Similarly, they argue that the representation of those in the “periphery” may contribute to new forms of understanding and recognition, which was missing from the project.

5.3.7 Learning from the past to reflect on the present

Participants used what they had learnt through their engagement with the ACT and MME to reflect on Kosovo’s past and future, and their role in society. This opened up space for young people to critically engage in the legacies of conflict, and therefore space for greater participatory parity.

Young people in particular reflected on the lessons they had learnt through the cultural and resistance movements of the 80s and 90s, and the unity of parts of the country over these decades. Participants felt that young people in the country could learn from the political activism in the ‘80s and 90s, with one participant explaining that

“...people were doing a lot of demonstrations and a lot of protests back then. And so I think people were way more courageous back then because back then they would have to speak up to a different country. Somebody who is not your people.

And now, our people are doing a bunch of bad stuff for the country, and we are not speaking up” (Interview 1113, ACT, Male)

This quote highlights the argument made by several participants that young people in Kosovo today can be politically apathetic and need to stand up for their rights and beliefs. One participant, for example, argued that young people should learn from Kosovo’s activists in the 90s who “did not give up [...] they really fought for their rights” (Interview 2224, Museum, Female). Participants commented especially on the use of peaceful resistance in the 80s and 90s, stating that

“this is like really great thing to learn to the students because they can see that peaceful resistance also can be you know very, very effective and combating many issues that arise... when people are united and show solidarity towards a greater good, then that also can be very effective and bring a lot of positive effects.” (Interview 2224, Museum, Female)

Young people therefore believed that the history of peaceful resistance should be taught in schools, although a couple of participants also posited that these movements were not taught in school precisely so that young people did not learn the benefits of protesting and resisting in this way. It highlights that learning about the past through the projects enabled young people to question their position in society and call for a reframing of Kosovo’s young people through youth activism. The latter quote also highlights the unity that many of the participants referred to when discussing the 80s and 90s. Those that studied the BOOM concerts spoke often of the unity between ethnic groups through music and in bands such as Bijelo Dugme, and those on the Museum Project spoke of the unity between Kosovar Albanians through the parallel education system. They contrast this to the “polarized” political situation in Kosovo today.

Indeed, participants also used the knowledge gained through the projects to reflect on the current political situation of Kosovo. A couple of participants highlighted that they now understood why

some Kosovan Albanians hold “this nationalist approach towards all this ‘unfairness that have done to us [said with air quotes]” (Interview 2520, Museum, Male) and prejudicial ideas towards Serbs. Whilst the participants continued to disagree with these positions, the process of affective recognition had enabled the young people to understand how the lived experiences of conflict resulted in continued ethnic divides in the country. This understanding, according to the participants, enabled them to be more constructive and have conversations about the issues with people they disagreed with. Affective recognition therefore began to disrupt political binaries in a way that opened up the potential for conversations to address “present tensions, grievances, and injustices” within society (Novelli et al., 2017, p.24).

Young people further explained that the project enabled them to reflect on their own lives in Kosovo today, explaining that after the projects they better understood how the conflict had impacted the opportunities and development of Kosovo:

“So when I saw [whilst studying abroad] how it was to be in a better functioning or better you know state, then I came back here and then this [project] happened, it kind of all made sense. How like war and all of that stuff set a lot of things back and keeps you from doing like normal things ... for me it was like, what if it didn't happen? Would I have been able to study what I've studied in [city abroad], here?[...] You know, it's just maybe things you would be a bit more flowing, you wouldn't have to do double the effort to get half the result” (Interview 1113, ACT, Male).

The historical and educational focus of the projects therefore opened up new ways of thinking and understanding for young people, both in terms of the process that led up to the conflict and the conflict itself, but also space to critically consider what they can learn from the 80s and 90s and how the aftermath of the conflict continues to affect their lives today. In doing so, the project created

space for improving participatory parity; enabling young people to better engage in political constructions of the past and articulations of the present and future.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that the intersection of formal education and the arts in the CTS projects in Kosovo worked to decentralise historical narratives of the past, in order to recognise the lived experiences of different groups at the time, and reframe notions of whose histories and stories are legitimate. The use of arts-based methods and arts-based participatory action research to explore these histories in Kosovo meant that young people were not simply being taught about this history but were themselves actively researching the past through artistic expressions of social and cultural movements and working to deconstruct centralised narratives about the past. These processes resulted in young people developing a visceral, affective connection to the past. Young people frequently referred to how engaging in arts-based practices had promoted a deeper recognition of Kosovo's past, and the experiences of their parents' and grandparents' generations. They specifically highlighted that the projects enabled them to *feel* or in some way *experience* this recognition in a visceral way, that made the past feel *real* to them. In this chapter, I have conceptualised this process as affective recognition, drawing on notions of affect developed through feminist cultural studies and particularly the work of Sara Ahmed (2004a).

In this chapter, I have begun to tease out the connections between affective recognition, post-memorial work, and peacebuilding. I have demonstrated that affective recognition does some of the requirements of post-memory work, in re-embodiment memory structures by bringing new, affective meaning to these structures for the post-memory generation. Affective recognition similarly makes steps towards peacebuilding in post-conflict contexts, through promoting deeper recognition of the

lived experiences of the past, and in particular recognition of experiences that are often missing in national memory structures.

I have demonstrated that the economy of affective recognition promotes youth agency and encourages transformative change. Affective recognition resulted in young people taking ownership of narratives of the past, desiring to continue to (re)construct these narratives, and share them with the younger generation in the country. They did this with the intention of promoting further transformative affective recognition and representation in society. After the projects, for example, young people wanted to continue to redress the misframing of women in Kosovo's past and address the continued misrecognition and misrepresentation of women in the society today. Affective recognition through the projects therefore worked to mediate young people's relationship with their past, present, and future.

In Chapter 6, I will now present the analysis of the empirical findings from the study in Cambodia. In doing so I will further develop and interrogate the notion of affective recognition. I examine how the economies of affective recognition work in this different context, and the role that they play in contributing to peacebuilding and transformative social justice by breaking down binaries and barriers between generations and between "victims" and perpetrators". I also demonstrate through the empirical data that, just as education and the arts can have negative faces in conflict-affected settings, so too can affective recognition.

6. “I feel as if I have gone through the period”: Representation, affective recognition and transformative change for social justice in Cambodia

6.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents the empirical findings from the Anlong Veng Peace Tours programme (hereafter referred to as the “Peace Tours”) in Cambodia. It examines the intersection of the arts and formal education on the programmes and the integral nature of recognition and representation in promoting transformative change and producing affective recognition. The chapter continues to analyse the articulation and economy of affective recognition through the Peace Tours. In so doing, it provides further evidence for the role that affective recognition can play in fostering transformative change, social justice, and peacebuilding. On the Peace Tours, affective recognition worked to disrupt societal binaries – including binaries between victims and perpetrators and between older and younger generations. It also politically empowered young people to engage with narratives of the past. However, this chapter also demonstrates that just as education and the arts can have two faces in conflict-affected contexts, so too can affective recognition. In a small number of cases, affective economies in the Peace Tours resulted in what I define in this chapter as affective *misrecognition*, with a handful of young people adopting problematically revisionist narratives of Cambodia’s past.

The chapter will proceed as follows: in order to situate the empirical findings, section 6.2 provides a contextual overview of the history of Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge and the peace process in Cambodia. It also presents an analysis of youth inequalities in contemporary Cambodia, and the position and role of education and the arts in the country. The empirical research findings for this case study will then follow in Section 6.3. Section 6.3.1 examines the situated context of the

programme and its structures, including participant perceptions of narratives of the past in formal education. Section 6.3.2 analyses how the Peace Tours promote both representation and recognition, and the interlinked nature of these two spheres of justice. The Peace Tours had a particular focus on representing former Khmer Rouge cadre, and survivors of the Khmer Rouge regime, as well as different generations. Yet, the young participants used their engagement on the Tours to articulate the experiences of women through the Khmer Rouge regime, and reflect back on the issues women and girls face in society today. Examining how this representation has led specifically to affective recognition, Section 6.3.3 analyses the articulation and economies of affective recognition in this context, in particular the role it played in deconstructing notions of “other”. Section 6.3.4 studies the negative face of affective recognition, and how economies of affect resulted in affective misrecognition in a small number of cases. Section 6.3.5 highlights how the programmes seek transformative change through engaging with formal education systems, and demonstrates how affective recognition has helped to make this process possible. The Chapter concludes with a summary in Section 6.4, which draws out the main conceptual findings of this chapter.

6.2 Contextual overview

This section will seek to provide the contextual background to Changing the Story’s work in Cambodia in order to understand the situated context of the Anlong Veng Peace Tours and the impulse behind the project. The lead up to the Khmer Rouge taking control of Cambodia, and the social and political aftermath of the regime is complex, and it is not possible to do justice to this history here. Nevertheless, I have attempted to summarise some of the key events necessary for understanding my analysis of the research findings, presented in section 6.3. After presenting the

historical context, I examine the situation of young people, education and the arts in Cambodia today.

6.2.1 The rise and fall of the Khmer Rouge Regime

The rise of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia followed decades of conflict, violence, and an increasingly destabilised economy, compacted by the actions of international actors. Historians consider that a number of key events paved the way to the Khmer Rouge, led by Pol Pot and others including Ieng Sary, Non Chea and Ta Mok, taking power in the country. One of these events was the “secret bombings” of Cambodia by the United States of America from 1965-1973 (Bophana, 2017). These strikes targeted the Ho Chi Min trail, which ran from North to South Vietnam, through Laos and Cambodia. North Vietnam used the trail to carry supplies to support the Viet Cong, who were fighting South Vietnam and the US. The Viet Cong had set up military sanctuaries in Cambodia with the permission of Cambodia’s ruler, Prince Sihanouk. These bombings took place without US congressional approval. Estimates vary about the tonnage of bombs dropped on Cambodia, but it is suggested that more bombs were dropped there than in the second world war, killing somewhere between 50,000 – 150,000 Cambodians, and destroying bridges, roads, railways, factories and shipping ports (Chandler, 2008, Grabar, 2013, Bophana, 2017). The bombings displaced one third of the Cambodian population who fled the cities into the jungles. Here, many joined communist rebel groups, or the Khmer Rouge (Bophana, 2017, Chandler, 2008).

Another key event leading to the rise of the Khmer Rouge was the Samlaut Rebellions in Cambodia (1967-1968). During these rebellions, hundreds of rural peasants rose up against land grabbing, low payments from the government for rice crops, and mistreatment by the local military (Bophana, 2017, Diepart and Dupuis, 2014). Two soldiers and a local official were killed. In response, Sihanouk’s government sent in military forces to quell the rebellion which resulted in thousands of villagers

fleeing their homes. This increased the anti-establishment feeling amongst peasants in the country (Diepart and Dupuis, 2014) with some joining the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) forces – otherwise known as the Khmer Rouge. This moment was considered by the CPK to be the starting point of the armed struggle in Cambodia, and the beginning of the formation of the Cambodian Revolutionary Army (Bophana, 2017).

In 1970, Cambodians who had become increasingly frustrated with the presence of the Viet Cong in the country held two large demonstrations in Svay Rieng Province, and then in Phnom Penh. These resulted in a coup launched against Sihanouk and his government. General Lon Nol became leader of Cambodia, declaring it the “Khmer Republic”. In an attempt to retain power, Sihanouk, in exile in China, formed an alliance with the Khmer Rouge. Sihanouk called on the Cambodian people to join guerrilla armies and fight against the Lon Nol government; many joined Khmer Rouge forces (Bophana, 2017, BBC, 2018, Becker and Mydans, 2012).

By 1973, Khmer Rouge controlled large parts of Cambodia. The party indoctrinated people in these areas through meetings, radio broadcasts, political lessons, songs, and performances – positioning peasants and workers as the only worthy class within society. As a prime example of how the arts can be harnessed to ignite violence and division, songs were used to denounce the enemies of the revolution and encourage support for the Khmer Rouge. Theatre was similarly used to “ignite and sustain the anger of people against the revolution’s enemies” and motivate revolutionary forces (Bophana, 2017 [online], Delano and Knottnerus, 2018).

On 17th April 1975 Khmer Rouge troops captured Phnom Penh, overthrowing Lon Nol and taking full control of Cambodia. The Khmer Rouge regime ran Cambodia from 1975-1979, renaming the state “Democratic Kampuchea”. Life in Democratic Kampuchea was brutal. In an attempt to create a utopian, classless, agrarian society, the Khmer Rouge abolished money, schools, hospitals, and religion. Those who lived in cities – labelled as “new people” by the regime - were forced to move to rural areas, where men, women and children were put to work as agricultural labourers and lived in

communal units. Without adequate food and no modern medical care, many died of starvation, disease and exhaustion. In an attempt to enforce loyalty to the state, family ties were broken, and people were forced into marriages with strangers in mass wedding ceremonies. Those deemed enemies of the revolution were tortured and killed. “Enemies” included professionals, intellectuals, the educated, ethnic Vietnamese, Cham Muslims, and anyone suspected of having connection with the former government. These killings often took place in interrogation and detention centres, including the infamous Tuol Sleng S-21 centre, where people were systematically tortured, forced to give false confessions and then executed. The families of those executed were also killed; they were considered guilty by association, and were executed to avoid them seeking revenge for the death of their family member. It is estimated that between 1.5 – 2 million people died in the Cambodian genocide, a quarter of Cambodia’s population at the time (Bophana, 2017, Chandler, 2008, Manning and Ser, 2020).

As their rule progressed, the Khmer Rouge leadership, including Pol Pot, became increasingly paranoid about perceived enemies in Democratic Kampuchea, and members of the Khmer Rouge themselves were frequently tortured and executed. When these executions began, many Khmer Rouge cadre fled to Vietnam. Once in the country, they joined forces with other Cambodians, under the guidance of Vietnam, to form the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation. Along with Vietnamese troops, they attacked Cambodia and defeated the Khmer Rouge in 1979. A new government was set up, which renamed the state the People’s Republic of Kampuchea (PRK). The PRK was therefore primarily led by former members of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, and former Khmer Rouge. As the PRK government took control of the country, Khmer Rouge leaders, including Pol Pot and Ta Mok, along with thousands of Khmer people, fled to the Thai border. The Khmer Rouge – still led by Pol Pot – however, retained Cambodia’s seat at the UN, as political powers including the US saw the Khmer Rouge as the best organisation to challenge the spread of communism in Vietnam and South-East Asia (Bophana, 2017, Chandler, 2008). This meant that the

PRK received no international aid, and only limited humanitarian assistance, thwarting the possibility for the new regime to rebuild institutions including schools (Dy, 2013)

The Khmer Rouge continually aimed to launch their revolution from the border, and, still supported by thousands of young Cambodian people, continued as a guerrilla army and conducted a guerrilla war throughout the 1980s and 90s (Chandler, 2008, Mayer, 2017). Anlong Veng, the site of the Peace Tours programme analysed in this chapter, “served as a military hub for the Khmer Rouge combatants to regroup, rearm and resume offensive guerrilla operations” (Mayer, 2017, p.65). The area “changed hands repeatedly between government and KR, though following successive amnesty programs deployed by the Cambodian government in the mid-1990s Anlong Veng was left as the final stronghold of control for the remaining KR leadership” (Manning, 2015b, p.393). Ta Mok launched a building programme in the area in the 1990s to improve living standards; building the school, hospital, dam, and bridge that form a part of the Peace Tours programme. Pol Pot himself died in Anlong Veng, after being imprisoned by his comrades for ordering the murder of Son Sen, the Deputy Prime minister of the Khmer Rouge, and 13 of his family members. Pol Pot’s cremation site also forms a part of the Peace Tour. Ta Mok, known as “the Butcher” for his oversight of mass killings both before and during the Democratic Kampuchea era, effectively took over the leadership of what was left of the Khmer Rouge (Chandler, 2008). The Khmer Rouge finally surrendered to government forces in 1998, and “the local population of Anlong Veng who had either voluntarily joined or were coerced into joining the KR movement, were officially reintegrated into Cambodian society in February, 1999” (Mayer, 2017, p.68) after disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration. Ta Mok continued to wage armed resistance from the area until he was captured in Anlong Veng in 1999 (Chandler, 2008).

6.2.2 The Peace Process

The peace process in Cambodia has focussed on remembering the suffering of the Khmer people during the Khmer Rouge regime and prosecuting the Khmer Rouge leadership. Rather than distancing themselves from the ideologies of the CPK, or from the dangers of one-party rule, the Cambodian government instead “preferred to demonize the ‘genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique’, blaming the 1975-79 catastrophes on these two individuals...” (Chandler, 2008, p.280).

Following the liberation of Phnom Penh from the Khmer Rouge, Cambodia faced challenges including famine, civil war and reconstructing the country. The new government launched numerous initiatives supporting national reconciliation in the country that were “intended to enhance domestic and international legitimacy, promoting themselves as ‘saviours’ from the ‘genocidal’ Khmer Rouge” (Manning and Ser, 2020, p.146). These included creating memorialisation and commemoration sites of Tuol Sleng and the killing fields (particularly Choeung Ek). These continue to act as educational and memorial sites in Cambodia, although their curation has been criticised by some scholars for promoting a “hegemonic story of events” which “obscure both the motives and pervasiveness of violence that touched each community in Cambodia, and isolates blame solely to those who were associated with Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek” (Hannum and Rhodes, 2018, p.343). Further reconciliation initiatives by the new Cambodian government included organising the annual “Day of Anger” or “Day of Hate” (“Tivea Chang Khmng”) commemorations at these sites and other mass graves and sites of labour and torture. On these days survivors are invited to tell their stories of life under the Khmer Rouge (Manning and Ser, 2020, Chandler, 2008).

After Vietnam withdrew from Cambodia, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) was established in 1992 as a “multinational protectorate over Cambodia” (Chandler, 2008, p.287). UNTAC’s mandate “included aspects relating to human rights, the organization and conduct of free and fair general elections, military arrangements, civil administration, the maintenance of law and order, the repatriation and resettlement of the Cambodian refugees and displaced persons and

the rehabilitation of essential Cambodian infrastructure during the transitional period.” (UNTAC, ND [online]). UNTAC’s focus was therefore primarily on political security and national stability, with education continuing to receive little to no attention (Dy, 2013).

Elections were held in Cambodia in 1993, widely considered to be free and fair. The Cambodian people voted for a royalist party – FUNCINPEC - led by Prince Sihanouk’s eldest son, Norodom Rannaridh. By the end of 1993 a “fragile compromise” (Chandler, 2008, p.288) was reached in which the Cambodian People’s Party (CPP), led by Hun Sen, formed a coalition government with two prime ministers. The monarchy was restored, with Sihanouk claiming the throne again. The Khmer Rouge was outlawed in 1994, and in 1996 Ieng Sary, the Khmer Rouge’s Foreign Minister defected and received a royal pardon, and “hundreds of Khmer Rouge soldiers were absorbed into Cambodia’s national army” (Chandler, 2008, p.289). In 1997, Hun Sen launched a deadly coup against FUNCINPEC troops. However, the same coalition government retained power in the country’s 1998 elections and the Prime Minister, Hun Sen, continues in office today.

The Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) were established in 2006 to prosecute crimes that occurred during the Democratic Kampuchea and “redress and acknowledge its experiences of political violence” (Manning, 2015a [online]). The court can only prosecute “Senior leaders of the Democratic Kampuchea” and “Those believed to be most responsible for grave violations of national and international law” (ECCC, 2021 [online]). Manning (2015a) argues that the courts’ “limited personal jurisdiction reflects a longstanding politics of peace-building and reconciliation in Cambodia, bound to a history of amnesty agreements provided for lower and mid-level Khmer Rouge members during the civil war in the 1980s and 1990s”. Despite the court’s jurisdiction, lower-level Khmer Rouge cadre continue to be nervous about potential legal repercussions of discussing their roles in Democratic Kampuchea (Manning, 2015b).

The ECCC has also granted victims/survivors of the Khmer Rouge regime legal party status in the proceedings (Hoven, 2014), and these civil parties have been able to “seek collective and moral”

reparations through the ECCC (ECCC, 2015, p.23). These reparations have included memorials and exhibitions, self-help groups and testimonial therapies. Educational activities have also been encompassed in reparations, including an education project exploring history and transnational justice, a Community Peace Learning Centre, a Khmer Rouge History education app and Khmer Rouge History Education through Teacher and University Lecturer Training and Workshops (Sperfeldt and Hughes, 2020). Reparations have also increasingly included participatory arts-based initiatives, including a Community Media Project engaging young photographers, film-makers and researchers from the Cham population and a song-writing contest and concert (Sperfeldt and Hughes, 2020, Manning and Ser, 2020).

6.2.3 Youth and inequalities in contemporary Cambodia

Since the fall of the Khmer Rouge, Cambodia's economy has grown rapidly, especially driven by garment exports and tourism (World Bank, 2021). Cambodia reached lower-middle income status in 2015, and as one of the fastest growing economies in the world, aspires to meet upper-middle income status by 2030 (World Bank, 2021). There have been major developments within social systems in the country, including access to education, healthcare and water and sanitation (UNICEF, 2021). People are coming out of poverty, with a poverty rate of 13.5% in 2014, compared to 47.8% in 2007 (World Bank, 2021). However, this progress is uneven, with marked differences between rural and urban areas. 90% of those in poverty live in rural areas (World Bank, 2021, UNICEF, 2021). A further 4.5 million people in the country remain near poor and are vulnerable to falling back into poverty, an issue which has increased since the COVID-19 pandemic, in which 150,000 households were identified as newly poor between June 2020 – January 2021 (UNICEF, 2021).

Despite these economic and social service developments within the country, political oppression and persecution remains common. Hun Sen, Cambodia's Prime Minister, is one of the longest-ruling

leaders in the world, and the longest ruling Prime Minister in the world, having held office for 36 years at the time of writing. Opposition activists and politicians in the country continue to be faced with detention and met with force, and the ruling party maintains tight control of media outlets and the flow of information, with media outlets that are considered to support the opposition having their licenses blocked or revoked, and some owners being arrested (HRW, 2020, Lee, 2018). State-sanctioned violence against peaceful protests is high, and many peaceful protestors face violence and arrest.

Gender inequality in Cambodia persists, with “traditional gender norms and social attitudes [that] continue favouring men in both public and private spheres.” (UNDP, 2017 [online]). Women are, less likely to be educated and less likely to be involved in politics and public decision making (OHCHR, 2015, UNDP, 2019, Netra et al., 2019). Traditional gender norms continue to see women’s role as working in the home, whilst studies suggests that around 60% of men and women believe men should have the final say in family matters (UNDP, 2017). 70% of young women are in vulnerable employment (OHCHR, 2015) or informal employment, particularly as unpaid family workers (Netra et al., 2019) due to traditional social norms that expect women to carry out household responsibilities and care for children, regardless of their employment status (OECD, 2017). Gender-based violence continues to be an issue in Cambodia, with 1 in 5 women having experienced physical or sexual violence (OHCHR, 2015).

Cambodia has one of the youngest populations in Southeast Asia with a third of citizens under the age of 15 (UNICEF, 2021) and 15-29 year olds making up another 30% of the population (OECD, 2017). Youth in Cambodia are formally defined as being between 15-30 years old (Vong and Hok, 2018, Norén-Nilsson, 2021). Young people face a number of challenges around employment, gender inequality and political participation. Whilst youth unemployment levels in Cambodia are relatively low, young people often find themselves in poorly paid and vulnerable employment. 40% of young people are in vulnerable employment and 73% of those in waged employment earn less than the

country's average weekly wage (OECD, 2017). Only 30% of young people have jobs that match their qualification, with 23% being overeducated – due to the limited jobs available to them - and 46% being undereducated, often due to high levels of school drop-out (OECD, 2017). Un(der)employment is therefore one of young people's top concerns. Young women further find it difficult to engage in vocational training and higher education due to social norms and stigma against women's mobility (OECD, 2017). Young men, on the other hand, feel a particular pressure from families to migrate out of the country for work, due to a lack of meaningful employment in Cambodia and pressure to earn a higher income in countries such as Thailand (Bylander, 2014).

Political participation and trust in politics is another major issue. Young people's trust in institutions, particularly in the police, courts, media and politicians, is notably low, and they are especially critical of the government's support for the poor and youth employment (Netra et al., 2019, Eng and Hughes, 2017). Nepotism dominates the political culture; young people who have family members in key governmental positions more likely to be employed in public institutions and be promoted rapidly (OECD, 2017). Again, this issue is gendered; 77% of public sector employees, and 85% of decision makers, are men (OHCHR, 2015).

Engagement in political activities carries many risks, which has historically limited young people's political participation (Lee, 2018) and "engagement in political activities is believed to cause more harm than benefit" (OECD, 2017, p.33). In 2013, Cambodia's ruling party (CCP), expecting a landslide victory, lost 22 seats to the opposition party, the Cambodian National Rescue Party (CNRP) (Eng and Hughes, 2017). This was largely enabled by a dramatic rise in youth engagement in the elections, where 50% of eligible voters were under 25 (Un, 2015). Cambodia's younger population have, contrary to their parents and grandparents, grown up in a largely peaceful country with rapid economic and structural growth and regular elections. Whilst young people acknowledge Cambodia's progress, many also "believe that Cambodia's real potential is undermined by entrenched corruption, nepotism, and cronyism" (Un, 2015, p.103). The 2013 elections results were

seen to result in a governmental policy shift to address young people's concerns, and the government of Cambodia, along with others in the ruling elite, have developed avenues for increased youth participation through state-sponsored youth organisations and youth participation in the civil service. However, Hun Sen and Cambodia's Supreme Court dissolved the CNRP in 2017. Dubbed the "death of democracy" in Cambodia, this meant that Hun Sen effectively ran uncontested in the 2018 election (Holmes, 2017). Furthermore, Norén-Nilsson (2021, p.267), argues that these areas for youth participation "serve [simply] to recalibrate power relations between the young generation, powerful elite networks, the party and the state." By determining the rules of the game and the degree of participation, as well as prioritising the engagement of the families of the ruling elite, youth participation has therefore been used to "extend the ruling elite's control over the young generation through state structures rather than functioning as an avenue for genuine youth input". Youth participation in Cambodia can therefore in fact reflect processes of co-option, as discussed in Chapter 3.

In the 2013 election, many of young people's concerns were amplified, and mobilised, through social media. Indeed, the rise in use of social media has provided space for young people who were previously excluded from political participation to play a role in political activism (Lee, 2018, OECD, 2017). In response to the growing importance and impact of the youth vote, the CCP increased their use of social media as a means to politically engage with young people through, for example, the Prime Minister's Facebook page being used as a site for people to express their grievances and requests (Vong and Hok, 2018). However, the level of state censorship and media control mean that this also subjects young people to surveillance and censorship; young people are arrested for posts on social media, the response to protest is repressive and violent, and the laws that the government use against activism are vague and irregularly enforced, meaning that the risk of public protest are high and people are likely to self-censor (Lee, 2018). In 2020, for example, 14 youth and environmental activists were arrested for engaging in peaceful protests and a 14 year old girl was arrested for a Facebook post related to the COVID-19 pandemic (HRW, 2020). Young people are

therefore widely misrepresented and misframed in the political system, which is absent of participatory parity, and can be actively harmed through their political engagement.

6.2.5 Education and history in Cambodia

Cambodia has high rates of enrolment in primary school, with 97% of children in primary school in 2017/18 (UNICEF, 2021). However, enrolment and completion of secondary education is low. Lower-secondary school is compulsory yet has only 39% net enrolment, and upper-secondary has only 19% net enrolment (OECD, 2017). Other figures suggest the completion rate for lower-secondary is only 45% (World Bank, 2021). The OECD (2017) estimates that 63% of young people aged 12-22 who could be in secondary or tertiary education, are out of school.

Whilst public education is free, systemic economic constraints, underqualified teachers and poor infrastructure continue to limit young people's access to, and engagement in, formal education. On average, class sizes are 48 students in primary school classes and 49 in secondary school classes (OECD, 2017). Teachers, especially in rural areas, are often underqualified; 35% of primary school teachers only have lower secondary education (OECD, 2017), and teachers who hold only primary school level credentials are asked to teach secondary school students (Dy, 2013). Teachers therefore discuss not having the knowledge they need to effectively teach the curriculum (King, 2019). Furthermore, teachers experience poor working conditions, including poor infrastructure, overcrowded classrooms, and a lack of training (Brehm and Aktas, 2020, OECD, 2017). Many are also severely underpaid, with low salaries making even basic accommodation unaffordable, resulting in teachers sleeping in their classrooms (Dy, 2013).

As well as making teaching an unattractive career pathway, these conditions can result in the common practice of private tutoring as a key source of income for teachers. This has "turned the public school system into a semi-private system that impacts school participation for families with

low socio-economic status” (Piquemal, 2017, p.324, Brehm and Aktas, 2020). Teachers take these private classes at lunch time, evenings, or weekends - or sell copies of lessons to students to earn an income. This is one of the main causes of inequality in education in Cambodia. It leads to high school drop-outs (Pov et al., 2020) as students who do not take private tutoring (that is, students whose parents cannot afford the additional classes) are treated differently in school and tend to fail school exams, sometimes because teacher splits the curriculum across their regular classes and private sessions (Edwards et al., 2019, OECD, 2017).

The poor quality of work available to young people on finishing school also results in some parents and young people deciding that education is not worth the costs. Students who live in areas with factories and industry are more likely to drop out of school in order to earn money (OECD, 2017), and students in rural areas are especially likely to be absent during the harvesting season (Pov et al., 2020).

Turning to young people’s history education, Khmer Rouge history is taught in two years in the education system; Grade 9 (ages 15-16) and Grade 12 (ages 17-19) (Dy, 2013, Interview Project Team 0816). This history is therefore confined to secondary education in Cambodia, by which point many students (particularly in rural areas) have dropped out of school (Hannum and Rhodes, 2018, Dy, 2013). Formal education about the Khmer Rouge regime is considered to be “highly politicized, subject to manipulation by interest groups in different parts of the country” and based around a “hegemonic story of events, which is told and retold through the authority of governmental institutions” (Hannum and Rhodes, 2018, p.334).

There are two main textbooks used for this history education. Firstly, there is the Government textbook, created by the Ministry of Education. This is very much considered by participants in this study to push the government narrative of the past. This textbook contains very limited information which is “far too brief to ensure that young Cambodians understood what really happened at that time”, whilst also omitting information not favourable to the Cambodian government (Dy, 2013,

p.6). The second history textbook was published by DC-Cam in 2007 as a supplementary text, alongside a teacher's guidebook and student workbook. This textbook goes into further detail about the past and is less focused on the narrative propagated by the government. However, on conducting an evaluation of the textbook in schools, DC-Cam found that the "teaching/integration of KR history in Cambodian classrooms is still limited. The teachers integrated DK [Democratic Kampuchea] history through brief oral descriptions at one or several points during the regular teaching" (Dy, 2013, p.5). Further educational resources include an app on Khmer Rouge History, developed by the Bophana Centre. This app has been developed with a scientific board made up of individuals from different disciplinary backgrounds, including those working at the Ministry of Education, historians, lawyers, and anthropologists. As well as text, the app includes images and theatre and film footage. However, whilst the Government has accepted the app as a supplementary educational tool, it has still only had a limited take up in schools, largely due to limited time and resources as well as reluctance from some teachers to use the mobile technology in the classroom (Personal correspondence).

6.2.6 The Arts in Cambodia

The arts are used throughout Cambodia for preservation, reparation, education, activism and peacebuilding. As Manning and Ser (2020) explore, (participatory) arts have played a key role in the peace process in Cambodia since the fall of the Khmer Rouge. This began with state-sponsored commemoration activities that homogenised "representations of a flattened category of 'national' Cambodian victimhood" (p. 145) launched by the PRK government. These initiatives included the curation of Tuol Sleng as a museum, and commissioning Van Nath, one of only 7 adult survivors of Tuol Sleng, to create oil paintings portraying the violence at Tuol Sleng, which are still on display today. Van Nath was spared execution in Tuol Sleng due to his artistic abilities that meant he was ordered to create portraits and busts of Pol Pot. The "Day of Anger" described above, similarly used

arts-methods for commemoration, with local schools and hospitals instructed to create banners and posters denouncing the crimes of Pol Pot's regime. Whilst the "representations of Khmer Rouge violence [in these events] resonated with the experiences of many survivors", Manning and Ser (2020, p.148) remind us that these were "highly politicised, propagandist and ultimately coercive forms of participation at work" intended to enhance the domestic and international legitimacy of the PRK government by "promoting themselves as 'saviours' from a 'genocidal' Khmer Rouge" (p. 146).

Top-down narratives of the past are still present in arts-based practice today, particularly rearticulated through the ECCC. However, the arts are also increasingly used to explore and acknowledge harms faced by different groups during the Democratic Kampuchea period, including women and ethnic minorities. The arts are similarly used to promote reconciliation with lower-level Khmer Rouge cadre, as complex victims who "may have both perpetrated and suffered violence" (Manning and Ser, 2020, p.149). NGOs used a range of arts-based methods before the establishment of the ECCC to disseminate knowledge about the court and improve understanding of its legal principles (Sperfeldt and Hughes, 2020). Since the creation of the ECCC, arts-based practices have been a key methodology in civil reparation programmes, as mentioned above, including song-writing contests and exhibitions of sketches depicting the memories of Khmer Rouge security centres (Sperfeldt and Hughes, 2020). Manning and Ser (2020) present the example of the production and performance of *Pka Sla Krom Angkar*, a dance based on oral histories of forced marriage under the Khmer Rouge, which has toured Cambodia. This performance both addresses specific harms experienced under the Khmer Rouge, and addresses continued human rights issues, criticising notions that sexual abuse is the survivor's fault, a belief found to be held by a large number of students in Cambodia. As the authors explain "confronting the gendered dynamics of violence under the Khmer Rouge offers a means to think and talk about issues of gender inequality and violence today" (Manning and Ser, 2020, p.156). Beyond ECCC reparations, the arts continue to be used in

Cambodia to critically explore Cambodia's past and possibilities for the future, through music, plays, films, arts scholarships and many more art forms.

Many NGOs in Cambodia use the arts for processes of memorialisation, reconciliation, and education. Youth for Peace, for example, has held workshops in which survivors of the Democratic Kampuchea painted their experiences of the Khmer Rouge regime and engaged in dialogue with younger generations about their artwork. Students were then trained to perform their own theatre piece expressing their understanding of life under the Khmer Rouge. They have similarly launched a book which compiles paintings and portraits made by survivors of the Khmer Rouge regime, and young people who were born after the regime. The artwork both presents the memories of the Democratic Kampuchea, and explores how young people experience these memories, enabling intergenerational dialogue through art (YFP, nd). Murals have also been painted in villages to remember and educate about local suffering under the regime; creating space for local narratives of suffering that are both geographically and conceptually separated from the hegemonic narrative of the Khmer Rouge regime (Hannum and Rhodes, 2018).

The arts are further used by young people in activism. Given the threat of political repression and prosecution by directly discussing ideas perceived as critical, young people engage artistic and cultural lenses as a tactic in activism to remain safe from persecution (Lee, 2018). Young people, for example, create art or media pieces with hidden messages, or develop participatory arts projects to engage others in their activism. Lee (2018) shares the example of young environmental activists who developed a participatory activity in which people cycled around Phnom Penh taking photos of places that were beautiful, and places with environmental problems. Those who took part were divided into small groups to avoid the overt appearance of protest and activism.

Preservation of Cambodia's traditional art is also central to many arts-based practices. Traditional art forms in Cambodia have historically been passed down through oral traditions, and with few musicians and artists surviving the Khmer Rouge, traditional arts are seen to be in a precarious state

of recovery (Kallio and Westerlund, 2015). Arts-practices therefore seek to balance “navigating between the protection of a frail, but valuable past, and Cambodia’s ever increasing cosmopolitanism” (Kallio and Westerlund, 2015, p.100). Dynamics of simultaneous preservation and innovation are central to many arts-based practices, with young artists wanting to preserve Cambodia’s traditional arts, portray their current sense of national identity, and reflect the history and pain of the country (Mam, 2021). This has led to innovative collaborations that combine both contemporary and traditional arts (Rogers et al., 2021). The song and music video “Time to Rise” is a key example of this (VannDa feat. Master Kong Nay, 2021). Young Cambodian hip hop artist, VannDa performs with Kong Nay, a 75-year-old Cambodian Master musician who plays the *chapei dang veng* – a traditional Cambodian instrument. The music video is set in Cambodia’s National Museum which showcases Khmer traditional art and sculpture, with footage from Cambodia’s temples and Angkor Wat. The song is a call for young artists to “open a new chapter” of arts in Cambodia, building on, and preserving, the work of Cambodia’s Masters, and a call for the arts to be valued in Cambodia. The song and music video are an invitation to the Khmer people to recognise that there has always been wisdom in art (Mam, 2021), and exemplifies how the arts are used for education, activism, and preservation in Cambodia.

6.3 Research Findings: Social justice and the economy of affective recognition through the Peace Tours

Having presented a contextual overview for the research in Cambodia, this section presents my analysis of the Anlong Veng Peace Tours and continues to develop the conceptualisation of affective recognition. I analyse participants’ own perceptions of the contexts in which the programme was working, including the narratives about the past in formal education, and the political constraints of teaching about the genocide, as well as the positioning of young people in the Peace Tours. As in

Kosovo, the funding structures in which the project is embedded shape and limit the way that young people can be engaged. I analyse the manifestation of representation and recognition through the Peace Tours and examine how these processes elicited affective recognition. I thus examine the articulation and economy of affective recognition through the Peace Tours, studying how affective recognition worked to deconstruct victim-perpetrator binaries and nationally prescribed relationships, and thus transform societal relations. However, I also find that economies of affect can promote affective misrecognition and I examine how this, in part, is a result of young people's limited historical education. I discuss how affective recognition can have a cyclical nature, and the role it can play in formal education settings.

6.3.1 Setting the Scene: The situated context of the programme and its structures

Before exploring young people's engagement with the Peace Tours, in this section I will first present an analysis of the findings that sets the scene for the Peace Tours project, including the programme team's conceptualisation of formal education in Cambodia, the positioning of young people on the project, and limitations to the work of the project.

Narratives in formal education

The project team explained that the history young people are taught in schools in Cambodia is "clinical" and "positivist" (Interview Project Team 2110), both as a result of structural and political constraints. Formal education is necessarily effected by the context in which it is taught, where structural and economic constraints result in overcrowded classrooms and undertrained teachers, as described above. This means "There's very very limited capacity; teaching groups is one person teaching 50 young people, that's impossible to teach away from a monological lecture" (Interview Project Team 2110). It is therefore very difficult to achieve a nuanced and critical discussion of history in the classroom.

Furthermore, the project team agreed with the scholars in section 6.2.5 who argue that formal education is largely based on the government narrative that discusses the cruelty committed by higher level Khmer Rouge leaders who are denounced and demonised, and the suffering experienced by the people, as a whole, at the time. As the team explained, this is “not wrong to mention, it’s just to present one narrative” (Interview Project Team 0816) and only equips young people with a limited understanding of the past. In particular, it leaves gaps and questions about the events leading up to, and at the end of, the period of the Democratic Kampuchea, as well as the role of lower-level Khmer Rouge cadre. In the pre- and post- tours, young people similarly indicated that they had only a limited knowledge of the intricacies of life under the regime and how this was experienced.

Young people receive a particularly limited education about the events leading to the rise of the Khmer Rouge and the Cambodian genocide in schools because this is considered a “sensitive” and “political” topic, which teachers are often dissuaded from discussing this in the classroom. A member of the project team explained:

“The history of the Democratic Kampuchea involves some of the work that teachers call sensitive topics. It firstly involves the role of Prince Sihanouk, which the school director would not allow teachers to talk about. Or the sensitivity from the government means that some teachers kind of fear themselves that...it would not be good to talk about the topic. So those topics such as the role of Prince Sihanouk, role of Vietnamese, the Communist Vietnam... and also when students ask about what the current government, what those top leaders have been doing during the Khmer Rouge for example...” (Interview Project Team 0816)

Teachers are therefore either actively prohibited from talking about “sensitive” and “political” issues in class, or censor this information themselves due to government sensitivity around the issues. Whilst any discussion of history is necessary political, teachers avoid the perception that they are

engaging in political narratives by “follow[ing] the narrative of the government” because “then that will not be [considered] the politics” (Interview Project Team 0816). Whilst teacher’s caution about teaching these issues is clearly understandable, these political constraints can leave young people with a limited understanding of the context surrounding the Cambodian genocide.

Given the close relationship that the Peace Tours programme has with the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Tourism, it is worthwhile noting that the programme is also impacted by these political constraints to some degree. A member of the programme team described needing to ensure that the Peace Tours were not “travelling too far beyond what is politically palatable” as the “state... polices... the sort of boundaries of what sort of historical narratives and accounts can at least be taught in educational settings quite tightly” (Interview Project Team 2110). Educational programmes, including the Peace Tours, are therefore embedded in the wider political narratives around the genocide in Cambodia, which, as discussed above, have historically been focussed on holding higher level Khmer Rouge to account for the atrocities of the genocide and reintegrating and reconciling with lower-level Khmer Rouge Cadre, as well as a focus on non-recurrence. These two interlinking narratives of peacebuilding and reconciliation have deeply shaped the aims of the Peace Tours programme, which is “sold as an exercise in non-recurrence” (Interview Project Team 2112) and is centred around the reintegration of former lower- level KR cadre into mainstream society.

The positioning and participation of young people

These narratives of non-recurrence and peacebuilding therefore situate the position of young people in the Peace Tours programme. Young people, as the post-memory generation who continue to experience the effects of the genocide in Cambodia today, are expressly engaged in the Peace Tours to promote peacebuilding by developing an understanding of the past, and (re)constructing narratives of the past for future generations. A member of the project team explained that:

“History is like our shadow... So we need to understand, okay, it happened. So how did it happen? And how did it impact the society? So people need to ask this question, then they can have a better way of thinking they can have a better way of moving forward. It’s not going back to the past. But it’s understanding the past to move forward” (Interview Project Team 3015)

Young people’s participation therefore enables an understanding and reengagement with Cambodia’s history. This can enable young people to understand how the impacts of the past continue to resonate in society today, and think about ways of moving forward.

The Peace Tours thus frame young people as agentic actors who can play an active role in researching, preserving, and telling the history of Cambodia. Rather than passively learning about histories through lessons or textbooks, the project team are engaging young people to participate in the construction and deconstruction of narratives of the past. Young people have a particular role to play in continuing to translate these narratives to ensure they are relevant to future generations. As the project team member went on to describe:

“The younger generation has the role in understanding this memory, reflecting on it, using it as an experience, knowledge. And then they create their own story. They create, you know, their own memory for their generation and the next generation, [it’s] the continuation of transmitting the story from one generation to another. So my parents went through the story of the Khmer Rouge, they transmitted to me in a way that I do understand. And then I transmit that to my younger generation in the way that I understand... the way of communicating, the way of language evolves...” (Interview Project Team 3015)

Participants are expressly being engaged in post-memorial work, to “reactivate and re-embody more distant political and cultural memorial structures” (Hirsch, 2012, p.33) and make these memory structures knowable to younger generations.

But more than simply translating and activating existing narratives of the past, the participants are also engaged in the Peace Tours to research and develop understandings of narratives that have, perhaps, been excluded from national memory structures. Such narratives have therefore been misframed; notably the experiences of former lower-level Khmer Rouge cadre. A member of the project team explained that former Khmer Rouge cadre “find it hard to talk to people like me” out of “fear that they might be implicated in the judicial process”. However, with younger generations they are “willing to share; people are happy to talk and express something that they want to say about their personal experience during the Khmer Rouge period and also the period during the war” (Interview Project Team 0918). Young people are therefore not engaged in the Tours to simply learn from what is already known about life under the Democratic Kampuchea, but to continue to develop this knowledge and reframe whose stories are embedded in narratives of the past.

Limitations to the programme

Whilst the Peace Tours aimed to engage and frame of young people as political actors the funding structures for programmes affected the extent to which participants could be engaged. As one of the project team discussed:

“It's just one of those problems that's just endemic to sort of NGO and grant-led projects where you tend to have quite episodic engagements with people, you don't ever feel like you've got enough time with them. And I wish we could have sort of had more time to better train them with the equipment, but better train them with, with the sort of questions we'd be asking them or getting them to ask.”

But we did the best that we could, and I think, you know, and they were still really impressive and creative in what they were asking” (Interview Project Team 2110)

The limited timeframe, shaped by the limits to funding, therefore affected the degree to which participants could engage with the Peace Tours programme. This again demonstrates how underlying redistributive factors can limit the participatory role of programmes. In the Peace Tours, for example, young people were not able to edit their own films. Instead, they created their interview guides, filmed the conversations, and developed structures for the films. However, the final editing of the films was left to DC-Cam. This has the potential of limiting the transformative role of the programme. Fraser argues that transformative change requires disrupting underlying power structures, yet in the Peace Tours, whilst the films represent young people’s conversations, the curation of these conversations into narratives was done by those who already hold positions of power in society.

The participatory nature of the Peace Tours, as well as other programmes in Cambodia, was therefore limited to some degree by the funding landscape. Like most arts-based programmes in Cambodia, the Peace Tours rely on donors and funding bodies, usually based overseas, to finance their projects. Whilst participants agreed that the government largely allows NGOs and other organisations to run programmes as they see fit, the design and enactment of programmes is strongly shaped by donor priorities and in-country funding mechanisms. Participants discussed how funding impacted programmes throughout Cambodia. There is, for example, an uneven distribution of programmes across the country, where “in some places young people receive even an overload of the activities and the training about the Khmer Rouge” whilst others are “left behind” (Interview Project Team 0816). It was also argued that arts-based and educational programmes can find it particularly challenging to receive support because the results are not immediate:

“The thing is that they don't see the results, you know... you bring people knowledge, you bring people education, it's not tomorrow you [get the results] it

takes a while... And then that's the goal in very fragile community, to refresh our society.” (Interview Project Team 2015)

Organisations running programmes therefore feel under pressure to deliver more immediate results, despite the fact that their ultimate goal is for longer term transformative social change. This is not least because the international community make grand promises about what they are going to achieve with their (often short-term) programmes with the idea that “we’re going to change everything, do everything, resolve everything” (Interview Project Team 2110). Instead, the project team argue, the development sector needs to recognise the importance of supporting incremental, locally driven change.

The Peace Tours are therefore operating in a context where young people receive a limited understanding of the past, and where economic constraints limit their engagement with NFE initiatives. Nevertheless, young people are framed through the programme as key agentic and political actors who can, and should play an active role in the construction of narratives of the past, and conceptualisations of the future.

6.3.2 Representation and recognition through the Peace Tours

Notions of representation were crucial to the design and enactment of the Anlong Veng Peace Tours. From the outset, the project sought to represent the histories, narratives and experiences of different, and often marginalised groups. Primarily, the programme represented different generations – namely those who had lived through the Khmer Rouge regime and the post-memory generation - through intergenerational dialogue. Amongst the older generation, the programme specifically chose to represent former lower-level Khmer Rouge cadre, who, as a result of their status as “perpetrators” or “complex victims” of the Cambodian genocide, continue to be stigmatised and marginalised in society. At the same time, those who lived through the Khmer

Rouge regime – the “victims” or “survivors” of the genocide - were also represented in the intergenerational dialogue. Finally, whilst not an explicit aim of the project, the representation of gender also became important for the young participants of the programme. These representations through the tours promoted recognition and peacebuilding.

There is a perception in Cambodia that young people do not know, understand, or fully believe what happened under the Khmer Rouge regime, because it “is beyond the understanding. It’s beyond the human acts” (Interview Project Team 1520). Young people, as discussed in sections 6.2.5 and 6.3.1 are not adequately taught this history at school. Similarly, parents and grandparents often do not talk in detail to younger generations about the experience of conflict, not least because of the psychological trauma involved in reliving these events (Dy, 2013). Adopting the language of post-memory, in Cambodia there has therefore been a “break in [memory] transmission resulting from traumatic historical events” (Hirsch, 2012, p.32). The aim of representing multiple narratives and experiences in the Peace Tours was therefore designed into the programme to educate young people about this past in a way that would both benefit their own understandings of society, and respond to the desires of survivors of the Khmer Rouge regime who “want young people to recognise and acknowledge” (Interview Project Team 2110) their experiences. As a member of the project team explained:

“I mean that acknowledgment in a substantive way, you know, there’s difference between knowledge and acknowledgement. Everybody knows what happened. It’s not acknowledgement until it’s that sense of ownership is encouraged around it, you know, that it’s a shared history.” (Interview Project Team 2110)

The representation of different generations in the programmes was therefore embedded to “reactivate and re-embody more distant political and cultural memorial structures” (Hirsch, 2012, p.33), in line with post-memorial work, in order to foster substantive acknowledgement of the past. This was done in a way that simultaneously countered the misframing of certain groups within

society, and opened opportunities for participatory parity in the construction of narratives of the past. The project worked, for example, to reframe the role of young people, who were represented and presented with the chance to take ownership over these narratives of the past.

Representation, particularly of different generations, was central to the promotion of recognition through the projects, and directly linked to notions of peacebuilding. As the project team member went on to explain:

“I think it's about a sense of dignity, you know, it's about a sense of sort of recognition.... I think people do genuinely believe that the more young people take ownership of that history, the more survivors think that then the less likely it is to happen again. I mean, I think there is a genuine sort of worry, concern you know. Non-recurrence is important. And the best way of sort of preventing things, it's by is by learning about them to sort of hold leaders in check” (Interview Project Team 2110)

This quote demonstrates that the programme promoted representation through the projects to foster recognition and peacebuilding. Through the representation of different constituencies in the programme, the aim was for young people to recognise the experiences of life under the Khmer Rouge and take ownership of the “shared history” of Cambodia. In doing so, young people would better understand the processes surrounding the genocide and be able to “hold leaders in check” to ensure non-recurrence and the maintenance of peace.

This sense of ownership over the past was achieved on the programme through embedding intergenerational dialogue into participatory film making and enabling young people to interview Anlong Veng’s residents themselves. This moved participants away from being passive participants in the programme, to themselves taking on the roles of the researchers and playing an active role in constructing narratives of the past. In the post-tour surveys, many young people reflected on the

value of the interview skills they had developed, highlighting that “What interests me the most is when I met victims of Khmer Rouge regime because this was the chance for me to ask them the questions that I want to know for a long time.” (Daily Reflection 2007, August 2018, Female) and

“What interesting the most are the interview with victims. Also, how to do an interview. The interview is really important to us because it makes us understand the lives and hardships in that regime. It also pointed out whether what we learned in textbook is true or not.” (Daily Reflection 2620, September 2018)

These quotes demonstrate that young people valued the opportunity to interview Anlong Veng’s residents because it opened up opportunities to better understand life under the Khmer Rouge regime. The interviews enabled young people to find answers to their questions about the time, which perhaps they did not feel comfortable asking at home or in school. These processes opened up spaces for recognition of the lived experiences of Democratic Kampuchea. Through the intergenerational dialogue in the peace tours, young people were able to develop this knowledge through people who “have gone through it so they can show us the truth such as the state of living, society, jobs, food, freedom, discrimination, torture, killing, and some other problems that happened in that regime.” (Daily Reflection 2007, August 2018, Female). Young people learnt “all about the cruelty of that regime [which] indicates that the people hated this regime and don’t want it to happen. Just like what the book said.” (Daily Reflection 0811, September 2018).

Young people therefore also used the interview process as a sort of truth-seeking exercise; both uncovering the “truths” about daily life during the Democratic Kampuchea, and assessing the veracity of what they had learnt in school and in textbooks. This may be reflective of the difficulty many young Cambodians feel in fully processing what happened under the Khmer Rouge regime. It also further reveals the limited narratives that are embedded in the formal education system. The fact that young people themselves were the interviewers was therefore particularly important; they

were able to gain first-hand insight into this information, and specifically investigate the aspects of history that were relevant, important, and interesting to them.



Figure 6 - Still from the film "The Least Survival" produced on the Peace Tours (DC-Cam, 2018b)

The focus on daily life during the Khmer Rouge regime, which young people reflect on in these quotes, was particularly pertinent. As in Kosovo, the participatory methodologies used in the tour opened up space for an understanding of Cambodia's past that moved beyond over-arching national narratives. In particular, the representation of different constituents through participatory filmmaking shifted away from a monological narrative that expresses a singular, national experience, and instead opened up space for nuance, and the recognition of different experiences. Indeed, the use of participatory filmmaking was considered particularly important by the programme team because it allowed for more complex stories to be told without a resolution, creating space for dialogue and critical thinking about the past. As a member of the project team explained:

"The sort of agency in the creativity of young people is very good at sort of letting them work around boundaries, have questions that might be very difficult to define otherwise, you know. Film lets you do something; lets you leave questions a bit more open and to tell stories in a way that's a bit more open. It doesn't have

to have sort of very finite [answers]... [film allows you to] tell stories without sort of obvious points of resolution in a way that contrast quite neatly with the way transitional justice always wants points of very definitive resolution."

(Interview Project Team 2110)

Participatory filmmaking therefore allowed the complex and messy past to be presented as exactly this. Young people were able to ask questions without needing, or receiving definitive answers, and instead were encouraged to critically engage with the different meanings and experiences of the past. The Peace Tours, through participatory arts, thus engaged in peacebuilding education; promoting students' critical engagement with Cambodia's history.

Young people themselves reflected on this process, stating, for example that;

"firstly I thought that learning history by just reading a book or watching a documentary was enough, but after I participated on the trip, I learn one more thing, and it's the connection with the people, with the living history."

(Interview Teacher 1412)

This quote exemplifies the fact that participants valued the representation and recognition promoted through the Peace Tours, which enabled them to understand the nuances of history that cannot be presented in a textbook or a factual documentary. The notion of "living history" here draws close parallels with Fraser's notion of recognition as the dimension of justice "rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication" (Fraser, 1995, p.71). It similarly draws parallels with the concept of post-memory and how this seeks to "reconnect and re-embody an intergenerational memorial fabric." (Hirsch, 2012, p.32). Through participatory arts and a focus on representation then, the Peace Tours connect the post-memory generation with their country's past and the experiences of older generations, promoting recognition of the lived experiences of the time and a critical engagement with the past that promoted peacebuilding.

This recognition developed through the peace tours was particularly significant because it included recognition of the experience of victims/survivors of the Khmer Rouge regime, as well as former lower-level Khmer Rouge cadre. The experiences of the latter group are largely excluded from Cambodia's cultural memorial structures. Young people therefore learnt "the other side of the perspective in history" (Interview Project Team 0816). As they reflected in the surveys, the tour was "Letting us learn about other issues than we gained from books, which could be a little different from the direct encounter or actual visit." (Daily Reflection 2614, December 2018, Male). The experiences of former Khmer Rouge cadre who, borrowing Fraser's words, are often framed as "inferior, excluded, wholly other, or simply invisible – in other words, as less than full partners in social interaction" (Fraser, 2000, p.113) were recognised through the Peace Tours.

Whilst the representation of different generations and survivors and perpetrators was included in the design of the programme, the recognition of gendered experiences through the programme evolved through young people's participation. As discussed in Chapter 3, with hegemonic masculine discourses surrounding conversations about conflict, the representation of gender is particularly important in post-conflict contexts as it allows for often hidden narratives of the past to be recognised, expressed, and understood.

The participatory methods of the programme, as described above, enabled young people to explore the issues that were particularly important to them. Through this process, young people began to examine gendered experiences of life under the Khmer Rouge. In one film, interviewees discuss the forced marriages under the Khmer Regime and their lasting effects. Other films reveal the role women played during the conflict – for example carrying artillery and messages across Cambodia. At the same time, one of the project team suggested that young people also used the interviews and the films to reflect on their current concerns in their day-to-day lives in Cambodia, specifically around ideas of violence, gender equality and forced marriage. Therefore, whilst exploring very difficult histories, the films also served as "proxies for the priorities and concerns of young

Cambodians today” (Interview Project Team 2110)). By being able to create films about issues of gender under the Khmer Rouge, young people were therefore also able to reflect back on gendered issues in Cambodian society today.



Figure 7- Still from the film "Forbidden Love Khmer Rouge Crimes" produced on the Peace Tours (DC-Cam, 2018)

The Peace Tours have therefore worked towards transformative change and participatory parity through representation and recognition. Fraser (1996, p.32) discusses how “culturally defined hierarchies of status” prevent people from being able to participate as peers in social life. Although Fraser discusses this at the state and interstate level, I maintain that the concept is similarly relevant to communities and programmes. In Cambodia, hierarchies of status have meant that narratives of former Khmer Rouge cadre have been excluded from narratives of the past. Furthermore, young people – by being exposed to only limited historical narratives – have been excluded from participating in creating and engaging with these narratives. Similarly, narratives of the gendered experiences of the conflict and genocide are often missing. Through including diverse groups within the Peace Tours, and opening the space for women, former cadre, and young people to share and shape these narratives, the programme is disrupting the dominant societal narratives.

6.3.3. The articulation and economy of affective recognition in the Peace Tours

The intergenerational dialogue through participatory filmmaking elicited an affective response to, and affective recognition of, the decentralised and marginalised narratives of the past discussed above. The participants frequently discussed feeling “shock”, “empathy” and “regret” about the stories that they were told through their interviews, as well as feeling as if they were reliving the period through the process. As participants described:

“I feel as if I have gone through the period. He narrated the hardship and starvation. I am so shocked and regrettable for the family separation and overwork... the losses of family members and the brutal killing.”
(Daily Reflection 2015, December 2018, Female).

“After I talked to them I feel sympathy for them having gone through such hardship in that regime. I feel like I could see what happened when they told me. I am sad for the many lives that was lost.”
(Daily Reflection 0810, August 2018)

The majority of young people on the Peace Tours therefore had a visceral response to the stories they were being told by the residents of Anlong Veng. The participatory methodologies of the programme enabled a visceral moment of connection with the past, which reactivated “more distant political and cultural memorial structures” (Hirsch, 2012, p.33); that is, memorial structures that focus on the lived experience of (marginalised) groups through the Khmer Rouge regime. This affective connection enabled young people to better recognise and understand what it meant to have lived through the Democratic Kampuchea. Another participant, highlighted, for example, that

“I first thought it is just one story that happened a long time ago, but upon an arrival here [Anlong Veng] the most battling area, I feel very regretful and know

what happened here is real through my field interview with those living through the war.” (Post-Tour Survey 1120, April 2018, Male)

This participant, as was the case for many, felt disconnected from the history of the Khmer Rouge (which felt like a story from long ago) before engaging in the Peace Tours. By talking with Anlong Veng’s residents, and the affective recognition this elicited, the reality of the period became apparent to the participants; a period of time that they may only have known about through overarching, centralised narratives, became “real”.

The economy of affective recognition: Deconstructing the notion of “other”

Ahmed’s theorisation of affect reminds us to examine the economies of affect; what affect does, and how it mediates relationships. As the above quotes demonstrate, affective recognition in the Peace Tours prompted feelings of sympathy and empathy, which worked towards the destigmatisation of former Khmer Rouge cadre. For the project team, the use of participatory methods was key to achieving this outcome, as participatory filmmaking disrupted the nationally prescribed relationships that young people are supposed to have with former members of the Khmer Rouge and created space for this de-stigmatisation and empathy. As a member of the project team explained:

“There’s a very clear sort of insider or outsider group, the students are outsiders going in to do a participatory method with a stigmatised group [former KR cadre] who they are supposed also to have a fraternal, national relationship with [...] What you saw is those distinctions begin to collapse, because young people clearly were identifying with the sorts of stories of loss and harm and suffering that they were encountering, and having great sympathy for it and empathy with it. Which was great in a way because it was sort of buttressing supporting de-stigmatising sort of empathetic account of reconciliation that I think it would be hard to object to.” (Interview Project Team 2110)

The concept of an “empathetic account of reconciliation” in this quote demonstrates the important, transformative role that affective recognition can play in programmes in post-conflict countries. It allows participants to develop a deeper understanding of lived experiences of others, in order to problematise the narratives that are held about this group of “other”. Indeed, it works to blur the idea that there is an “other” other at all, and thus to deconstruct and transform institutionalised social subordination and “interaction-regulating values” (Fraser, 2000, p.115).

For participants the affective recognition elicited through the programmes began to break down the “us” and “them” distinction between young people and older generations and began to blur the distinction between survivor and perpetrator, clearly contributing to deconstructive transformative change. In many of the pre-tour surveys, young people said they felt “afraid” and “angry” about the thought of meeting former members of the Khmer Rouge. However, the majority of young people in the post-tour surveys described this perception changing after interviewing Anlong Veng’s residents. As one participant explained:

“For me, from the beginning, and before meeting with the Khmer Rouge soldier, I think that he perhaps, is the extreme cruel person who had killed the people without compassion. But, after asking and talking with him, then I understood that in reality he is the same as the common people who survived in Khmer Rouge regime, living under the conveyance of the leader that having no freedom, do anything by appointing and by order of Angkar only.” (Post-Tour Survey 1409, June 208, Female)

This quote exemplifies that after the tours, young people began to recognise former lower-level Khmer Rouge cadre as complex victims, blurring the distinction between victims and perpetrators of the genocide. Participants described the suffering that cadre experienced under the Khmer Rouge, and the idea that the cadre were unable to say no to the tasks they carried out, for fear of harm to themselves or their families. One young person explained that they “could take a breath of relief”

having understood that “former KR members could not refuse to do any assigned tasks. This act was to save the lives of oneself and family members.” (Post-Tour Survey 1510, November 2017). Another noted that it became “hard for me to separate these two groups – victims and cadre” (Post-Tour Survey 0805, August 2019). Through affective recognition, the Peace Tours therefore began to deconstruct the institutional societal frameworks that subordinate, stigmatise, and marginalise former lower-level cadre.

In response to these disrupted distinctions, participants began to adopt the languages of reconciliation, peacebuilding, and non-recurrence that were embedded in the Peace Tours and have “huge discursive currency and power elsewhere in Cambodian life and politics” (Interview Project Team 2112). Throughout the post-tour surveys young people frequently made references to notions of peacebuilding, both between survivors and former members of the KR and in Cambodia as a country more generally. One young person, for example, explained :

“I would encourage victims not to be tied with malice with former KR members, contribute to the development of the community, seek for justice in accordance with the law, and inspire them to forget about the past.” (Post-Tour Survey 1515, November 2018, Female)

This young person highlights their belief that reintegrating former KR members will enable communities in Cambodia to develop. This notion of non-discrimination and moving on from the past in order to contribute to Cambodia’s development was a common trend in young peoples’ responses. The mention of seeking “justice in accordance with the law” chimes with the wider movements of prosecuting higher-level Khmer Rouge leaders, whilst facilitating the reintegration of lower-level Khmer Rouge Cadre. Another participant stated:

“What have make the changes to me after the tour is that it has changed my previous thinking that there is something which is unacceptable. Now we can only

use “reconciliation” to reconnect with each other and to embrace peace.” (Post-Tour Survey 2626, November 2017, Male)

The ideas shared by this young person, that their attitudes have shifted towards reconciliation and peacebuilding after their engagement with the project, was echoed by many of the participants that were surveyed. The economy of affective recognition in the Peace Tours therefore contributed to transformative peacebuilding and reconciliation. Indeed, as the quotes above demonstrate, not only did these processes occur through the programmes, but affective recognition also resulted in young people themselves promoting peacebuilding and reconciliation. Conceptualising affective recognition therefore draws attention to the mechanisms that can contribute to the development of a socially just post-conflict society, in a way that is aligned to, but not restricted or directly informed by, notions of reconciliation.

6.3.4 The negative face of affective recognition

The findings from Cambodia also indicate that there is also another, more problematic, face to affective recognition. In a small but not insignificant number of cases there was a less nuanced blurring of the victim/perpetrator binary, as participants adopted favourable views of the leaders of the Khmer Rouge regime. Through their interviews with Anlong Veng’s residents, young people were sometimes presented with perpetrator narratives that offered a revisionist history. Some of Anlong Veng’s residents continue to hold positive opinions about the leadership of Pol Pot and Ta Mok, who, in Anlong Veng “is still widely remembered as the benevolent leader who brought much-needed improvements to the lives of his followers; a sharp contrast to his ruthless reputation as ‘The Butcher’ arising from when he directed several purges prior to and during the DK era.” (Mayer, 2017, p.65). In their daily reflections, a small number of participants began themselves to adopt the

problematically revisionist narratives they were presented with. With regard to Ta Mok, for example, participants stated:

“For me, I really admire his leadership. The people trusted him even if he was a Khmer Rouge leader. Ta Mok was a good person and smart who know how to bend with the circumstance.” (Daily Reflection 5012, August 2018, Female)

“Before I thought that [Ta] Mok was the worst and most cruel person, but in reality, he built a lot of achievements in Anlong Veng like a school, a road, a hospital, a bridge and so on. And he was also a good person who was easy-going towards his followers.” (Post-Tour Survey 0921, April 2018, Male)

The deeper, affective connection with the past that was elicited through the programmes therefore gave way to some young people accepting and adopting the narratives they heard on the tours. This demonstrates the issues that can arise through unmediated intergenerational dialogue, representation, and affective recognition, particularly where young people themselves may not have the historical and contextual knowledge that is needed to engage with these narratives critically. Whilst affective recognition can promote social justice, by recognising the experiences of those who are rendered as “less than full partners in social interaction” (Fraser, 2000, p.113) and deconstruct the narratives that prevent these groups from participating in society, this case study demonstrates that it can also work against social justice. It can affectively promote untruths which might work to invalidate the real suffering that people experience. I therefore refer to this as affective *misrecognition*.

In the case of the Peace Tours, participants limited historical and contextual understanding played a part in the unquestioned adoption of these narratives, and therefore this affective misrecognition, as young people did not have the knowledge necessary to question and critically engage with their interviewees. A member of the project team, for example, explained that they believed the limited

education and knowledge young people have about the different stages of the Khmer Rouge regime, resulted in young people developing positive opinions about Ta Mok. In particular, young people had not been taught to distinguish between the period of the Democratic Kampuchea from 1975-1979 when the Khmer Rouge had control of Cambodia, and post-1979, when the KR had lost much of this control and had been forced to the borders of the country; it was in the 1990s that Ta Mok launched his building programme. Another member of the project team noted that

“the students do not have the ability to challenge [interviewees] and they don’t know about the structures of the regime, the chains of command so they have to understand or think to believe in what they heard.” (Interview Project Team 0908)

In order for non-formal participatory programmes to contribute to social justice, this example demonstrates that young people require knowledge about a given context to be able to critically engage with the issues being addressed. In the Anlong Veng Peace Tours, whilst some young people assumed a political motivation behind Ta Mok’s perceived generosity (“he wanted to join the government” (Daily Reflection 0811, September 2018)), others seem to have triangulated the narratives they had heard from Khmer Rouge cadre, and the sites they had seen on the tour, and concluded that Ta Mok was a benevolent leader. Some went as far to note in their reflections that this is one of the key lessons they had learnt on the tour.

Other participants questioned the contradictions between what they knew of Ta Mok, and what they had seen on the tour and found this of particular interest, noting “He who want to abolish education, built a school. This is what I’m interested in.” (Daily Reflection 0807, August 2018, Male) and asking, “Why did he build such things when we know that he wanted to abolish schools in order to prevent education?” (Daily Reflection 1521, September 2018, Male). Whilst these comments demonstrate a more critical engagement with the narratives of the Khmer Rouge cadre, they also point to a lack of contextual understanding that left young people unsure about how to process these contradictory narratives.

The formal education young people receive therefore necessarily shapes their experiences of participation in non-formal and arts-based programmes, and can potentially limit the role of programmes in contributing to transitional and social justice. Similarly, affective recognition has its own constraints. The emotive and visceral connection young people felt to the stories they were being told resulted in young people connecting with the narratives of their interviewees. Yet without the contextual knowledge needed to engage in these stories critically, some young people were at best unsure of how to respond to the fact that these narratives contradicted their previous understandings of the past, and at worst were liable to believe and adopt revisionist historical narratives. Affective recognition therefore has two faces; it can promote social justice and peacebuilding but also revisionism and misrecognition.

6.3.5 Affective recognition and transformative change through the classroom

The above sections have demonstrated that the non-formal arts-based methods of the Peace Tours intersect with formal education in a myriad of ways: the Peace Tours allowed young people to verify what they have learnt about the Khmer Rouge regime in school. They developed this knowledge and made the events “real” to young people by opening spaces for more nuanced understandings and affective recognition of the lived realities of the past, including the experiences of marginalised groups. At the same time, the transformative potential of programme is sometimes limited by what young people learn in school. The programme further intersects with, and explicitly seeks to influence, formal education by engaging trainee teachers. The intention here is that when the participants become teachers themselves, they will be able to incorporate their knowledge and experiences from the tours into their classroom practice. Through engaging future teachers, the programme team therefore seeks a multiplication of the project, as the participants will go onto teach in “literally hundreds of classrooms around the country so it's kind of wonderful that we have

access to this group of people” (Interview Project Team 2110). Teachers are therefore framed as “cultural multipliers” (Cusack, 2009, p.253) through the Peace Tours.

In the post-tour surveys, participants frequently explained that they intended to share what they had learnt on the tours with their communities, peers and future students, as well as their desire to create structures for sharing this knowledge and history. They stated, for example that “I will share it to the people around me...to reach out to each community to know about this” (Post-Tour Survey 2611, April 2018, Male) and asked, “I want to know how did they organize the Anlong Veng historical sites? Because I want to take my knowledge to develop my district also.” (Post-Tour Survey 0805, July 2018, Male). Participants also explicitly described their intentions to apply their experience to their teaching practice, stating for example that “As a teacher I will try to teach this history to my students” (Daily Reflection 1720, August 2018, Female) and “To be participated in the part of national reconciliation process, I will assist to explain and teach Cambodian children, especially my own students to let them know about the Kampuchea Democratic regime” (Post-Tour Survey 0707, June 2018, Male).

As the latter of these quotes exemplifies, many young people linked teaching their future students more about the Khmer Rouge regime to their own acts of reconciliation and peacebuilding in the country, particularly with the intention of promoting acknowledgement of the past and fostering attitudinal change (Hamber and Kelly, 2004). Through the (physical) representation of different constituents, and in particular the affective recognition this promoted, young people therefore developed a sense of ownership of narratives of the past as well as a desire to continue to develop and pass on this knowledge. Affective recognition was crucial to this process, as it fostered a visceral sense of empathy, resulting in young people feeling a deeper connection to, and greater understanding of, decentralised experiences of the past. This enabled participants to develop a nuanced and critical understanding of Cambodia’s history, in line with the aims of peacebuilding education (Millican et al., 2021, Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015, Bush and Salterelli, 2000).

The project team again considered the use of participatory film particularly important for engaging trainee teachers, and heightening their ability to promote social and transformative justice, as the films created “a base for them to debate, to discuss in their classroom.... it’s a base for them to talk and generate discussion” (Interview Project Team 0908). As well as the knowledge gained through the Peace Tours then, the aim was for the artistic products that were developed - the films themselves - to be used in teaching practice to open up a more nuanced dialogue in the classroom. These products then could continue to contribute to transformative change by disrupting the dominant narratives in formal education and producing further moments of affective recognition.

In the surveys, young people did not tend to refer to the films they had created. This is likely because the films themselves were not finalised until after young people had participated in the tours, and participants were not involved in the editing of the films. However, those with whom I was able to conduct follow-up interviews, who were now working with teachers, explained that “I have a video that I made to show it for students to make them see ‘Ah, it really happened’” (Interview Teacher 3019). For these teachers, the videos, as well as the knowledge they had developed through the Tours, and the photos they had taken on their phones, constituted “exact evidence” (Interview Teacher 3019) that they could share with students.

The teachers explained that the tours gave them first-hand experience witnessing the stories and the sites from the Khmer Rouge regime. They were able to draw on this in the classroom which helped their students to feel more engaged and better understand this history. As one teacher described:

“When I went to Along Veng, I learnt a lot of knowledge and information from the tour, and it strengthened my knowledge of history of Democratic Kampuchea. It also helped me even more when I can see with my own eyes and experience the tour. It gave me the potential to teach students more easily and the students can understand more easily” (Interview Teacher 1709)

This increased level of understanding amongst their students was considered especially important to the teachers, who highlighted that many of their students either had not heard about, or did not believe, what had happened in the Cambodian genocide. The films and first-hand testimonials therefore enabled teachers to demonstrate the veracity of the Khmer Rouge regime, and their experience on the tours enabled them to better respond to students' questions about this. The teachers were therefore able to "reach for testimony to authenticate what they were saying" (Interview Project Team 2110) in the classroom, which is particularly valuable given the political constraints that they work in, as discussed in section 6.3.1. In this way, the project team highlights that,

"the peace tours were really good in that sense[...] we felt we could equip these trainee teachers with that sense of confidence and authority, witnessing history first-hand, you know, being part of sort of history first-hand. That was that was... really powerful" (Interview Project Team 2110).

Indeed, the teachers interviewed highlighted that they were better able to engage students in the subject through the more personal stories of daily life under the Khmer Rouge regime that they themselves had uncovered through participating in the tours. The affective recognition and representation that the participatory nature of the Peace Tours fostered itself then began to be multiplied through the classroom. This both demonstrates the value of affective recognition accumulating over time, and hints at the potential of transformative change through formal education, if the knowledge being shared is developed through participation, recognition and representation. Furthermore, as Section 6.3.4 has demonstrated, if young people develop a deeper and more nuanced understanding of history through their formal education, this also has the potential to prevent or mitigate against affective misrecognition if and when young people are presented with more problematic narratives of the past.

One young person also highlighted that more than just wanting students (and others in Cambodia) to recognise the lived experiences of life through the Democratic Kampuchea, they specifically wanted to promote *affective* recognition. They explained:

“we wanted them [the residents of Anlong Veng] to express their feelings, their hurt, we really wanted the exact evidence, the exact feeling. And it’s really important to take a video and let the young generation see that, because it’s really touching... they can feel how people who survived from the KR felt.”

(Interview Teacher 3019)

This participant echoes young people in Kosovo; young people purposefully wanted to elicit the same emotive response and affective recognition that they themselves had experienced through the CTS programmes. This participant demonstrates the desire to capture the emotions and feelings of interviewees, and the benefit of film for doing so. For them, film can emulate and reconstruct the feelings of a period of time, and enable the viewers to experience these feelings themselves. Film can therefore promote affective recognition, which works towards fostering social and transitional justice and reconciliation.

Affective recognition through the Peace Tours therefore resulted in young people wanting to engage in their own acts of peacebuilding through the teaching process. This multiplication of the learning developed through the tours was central to the conceptualisation of the project, and the engagement of trainee teachers. Those interviewed who had become teachers found that both the process of engaging with the participatory practices, in particular the intergenerational dialogue, and the products in the form of the films and pictures they had taken enabled them to better teach the history of the Democratic Kampuchea to their students. The Peace Tours therefore elicited representation and (affective) recognition, that began to be multiplied through the classroom, contributing to peacebuilding and transformative change.

6.4 Summary

This chapter has examined how the Anlong Veng Peace Tours programme in Cambodia reflect and contribute to social justice. Notions of participation, representation and recognition are at the core of the Peace Tours programme design, which brings together different constituents, including younger and older generations, survivors of the KR regime and former lower-level Khmer Rouge Cadre; a group whose experiences are historically excluded from narratives of the past. Young people's participation in the programme also brought recognition of gendered experiences to the fore. The participatory nature of the Peace Tours programme meant that young people were not simply being taught about the experiences of these groups, but were themselves working as researchers and knowledge producers, through interviewing Anlong Veng's residents and creating films of these interviews. This process opened up a space for more nuanced, personal histories and complex stories to be told. It was done without the need to provide definite answers or positivistic facts, such as young people tend to receive in formal education. Young people used this experience to check the veracity of what they had learnt in school, and those who had become teachers themselves used their experience on the tours to confirm the veracity of the history of the Democratic Kampuchea, and present a more complex and nuanced version of this history, to their own students.

These processes promoted affective recognition through the programmes. In this chapter, I have therefore exposed the interconnected and mutually constitutive nature of affective recognition and representation. The Chapter has further demonstrated the contribution of affective recognition to post-memorial work and re-embodiment memory structures to make them meaningful for younger generations. I have shown the role that affective recognition can play in deconstructing notions of the "other" and disrupting binaries which can stigmatise or exclude certain groups from participating as peers in society. Affective recognition therefore worked to deconstruct "culturally defined hierarchies of status" (Fraser, 1996, p.32) which frame who is and who is not considered to be part

of a political community. This has revealed the transformative role that affective recognition can play in social interactions, and the role that it plays in contributing to peacebuilding and social justice.

However, this chapter has also revealed the possibility for affective economies in programmes to elicit affective *misrecognition*. It has shown that a limited formal education affects the way that young people engage in non-formal education and participatory arts programmes. Further demonstrating the interrelated nature of affective recognition and education, it has shown that without the background knowledge young people need to be able to critically engage with narratives of the past, affective misrecognition can occur within participatory programmes.

The Chapter has further highlighted the role that the economies of affective recognition play in politically empowering young people to take ownership of narratives of the past. Participants discussed wanting to share their knowledge and experience with their students, as well as their desire to promote peacebuilding and reconciliation in the country. This was particularly important on the Peace Tours as the young people engaged were training to become teachers. Affective recognition was therefore multiplied through the classroom, with the aim of promoting further affective recognition; demonstrating its cyclical nature.

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 have presented the findings from the case studies in Kosovo and Cambodia. In so doing, they have developed the conceptualisation of affective recognition and identified its economies within different contexts; highlighting the role that it can play in promoting peacebuilding and socially just transformative change, as well as potentially misrecognition. In Chapter 7, I will now interrogate the concept of affective recognition, further expanding on its role in peacebuilding education and for social justice.

7. Discussion: Interrogating Affective Recognition

7.1 Introduction

Chapters 5 and 6 have developed the notion of affective recognition, through the empirical findings of this thesis. In this chapter, I will interrogate this notion of affective recognition further; examining the relationship between affective recognition, transformative change, and peacebuilding. I demonstrate why affective recognition is an important concept for understanding the role and processes of peacebuilding education. I argue that affective recognition pushes beyond reconciliation, and shows that reconciliation should be conceptualised as a result of transformative social justice, rather than a part of the process itself. Using the concept of affective recognition allows for an analysis of reconciliatory and peacebuilding processes, whilst centring this conversation on social justice.

Section 7.2 delves into this discussion to analyse the importance of conceptualising affective recognition in order to develop, and better understand, ideas of peacebuilding and the role of post-memory work. Section 7.3 demonstrates the importance of education, participation, and representation in enabling the conditions that elicit affective recognition. It therefore highlights how affective recognition is deeply interrelated to, and often reliant on, other realms of justice and socially just practices. Section 7.4 brings the discussion together by drawing on the notion of the positive and negative faces of education, to discuss how affective recognition can contribute to transformative change, participatory parity, and peacebuilding, as well as misrecognition. I also examine the potential for affective recognition to be co-opted, and thus lose its radical and transformative potential. Section 7.6 closes this chapter with a summary.

7.2 Affective recognition, peacebuilding (education), and post-memorial work

The empirical chapters of this thesis have shown that affective recognition in the programmes in Kosovo and Cambodia contributed to notions of peacebuilding and post-memorial work. Affective recognition also enables an understanding of *how* peacebuilding through education might be achieved.

Scholars argue that peacebuilding education explores the manifestations and causes of violence, whilst promoting learners' abilities to critically engage with histories of conflict in ways that enable them to draw links between past and present issues (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015, Bush and Salterelli, 2000). Peacebuilding education should encourage this problematisation and critical thinking with the specific aim of transformation, articulating alternative realities and the path towards these, and changing the rules of group interactions (Bush and Salterelli, 2000, Novelli et al., 2015). In Kosovo, participants and the project teams discussed that a focus on events prior to the conflict enabled young people to better understand the causes of the violence in the country. In both Kosovo and Cambodia, young people developed a greater understanding of the manifestation of violence in their respective countries through affective recognition. This included a deeper understanding of violence against groups who are marginalised from historical narratives of the past. Through the projects, young people interrogated and critically engaged with these histories and narratives, fostering a greater understanding of the past, and new understandings and imaginaries of the two countries present and future situation. Affective recognition through the programmes played a transformative role in group interactions, disrupting political and societal binaries, and promoting intergenerational understandings. This reframed ideas of whose stories are valued in national narratives of the past, and who gets to tell these stories.

Scholars also suggest that peacebuilding education requires a bottom-up approach that can understand and express the "complexities at the local and national level" (Bengtsson and Dyer,

2017, p.22). I found that affective recognition, evoked through participatory activities, played a crucial role in the CTS projects in reshaping understandings of the past from top down, state-centric, to bottom-up, community-based, approaches. Affective recognition opened up spaces to explore complex, and at times contradictory, local and national histories. At the same time, affective recognition was a result of the CTS programmes purposefully addressing more nuanced accounts of history, that differed to the often monological historical narratives young people learnt in their formal education settings (analysed further in section 7.3 below). Affective recognition and the nuanced, critical, understanding of history needed for peacebuilding to occur were therefore shown to be mutually constitutive through this research; interdependently reinforcing each other to promote deeper affective recognition and the dynamics of peacebuilding.

The empirical chapters have made it apparent that affective recognition contributes to the varied goals of peacebuilding education by fostering a deeper understanding of lived realities of the past, developing new societal collectivities, and transforming social structures which exclude or marginalise the experience of certain groups. These processes similarly prompted young people to take ownership of narratives of the past, with a desire to use these to contribute to continued struggles for social justice through recognition and representation. I therefore propose that affective recognition provides a key analytical concept for understanding how processes of knowing, learning, and peacebuilding might materialise through educational initiatives. As examined in Chapter 2, scholars have argued that an intense focus on the rational, and a lack of understanding of the emotional and affective, have limited the potential of peacebuilding and history education (Cremin and Archer, 2018, Cremin et al., 2018, Trofanenko, 2014). This thesis further demonstrates that a failure to analyse the role and potential of affect has so far limited understandings of peacebuilding in and through education. This, in turn, may have limited policy and practices around peacebuilding education; downplaying the need to move beyond just what is taught and known, to *how* it is taught and known.

7.2.3 Affective recognition and reconciliation

In order to analyse the contribution of education to peacebuilding, Novelli et al. (2017) added the notion of reconciliation to Frasers three-dimensional social justice framework. I have shown through this thesis that affective recognition both embeds and creates similar processes to those conceptualised by scholars as reconciliation in order to contribute to peacebuilding. In both countries, young people acknowledged the experiences and suffering of the generation who had lived through violence in their countries, notably their parents and grandparents' generation. In Cambodia, young people similarly acknowledged the experiences and suffering of former lower-level Khmer Rouge cadre, who are often marginalised in society due to their positioning as "perpetrators" of the genocide. The affective nature of the recognition meant that young people appeared to begin to step into the shoes of others; young people explained that it felt that they were living through the experiences being narrated or depicted to them. However, they also recognised that their lived experiences were so different from that of their parent's generations, that, in fact, there is an "impossibility of being in another's shoes" (Harvey and Bradley, 2021, p.4); highlighting the complexity of notions of reconciliation in post-conflict contexts.

Indeed, this thesis has demonstrated that rather than reconciliation being considered a part of the transformative process, reconciliation should be conceptualised as a *result* of transformative social justice. In other words, reconciliation does not, and cannot, lead to transformative change, but instead is a result of transformative change. The outcomes described above, that can be likened to processes of reconciliation, developed as a result of affective recognition through the programme. Affective recognition complicated narratives of identity and contributed to cultural and attitudinal change. In particular attitudes and ideas about whose stories and experiences "count" in narratives of the past and conceptualisations of the future shifted, as did ideas about the political and agentic identities of those represented and engaged in the programmes. These transformative processes *enabled* dynamics of peacebuilding and reconciliation. The calls for reconciliation from young people in Cambodia, for example, were a direct result of the affective recognition that was created through

the programmes. The findings have therefore demonstrated that any processes of reconciliation can only be achieved through socially just transformative change.

Using the concept of affective recognition therefore allows for an exploration of the processes of reconciliation, whilst centring this understanding on social justice. This centring is particularly important given the contentious nature of reconciliation in certain contexts, and the potential for processes of reconciliation to replace, rather than contribute to, socially just transformative change. Indeed, for many in Kosovo, the thought of reconciling with a country that fails to recognise Kosovo as a nation seems illogical, implausible, and offensive. Calls for reconciliation before this recognition of Kosovo as a country has the potential to displace discussions of the injustices that citizens of Kosovo faced through the conflict and continue to face as a result of this lack of recognition. Citizens of Kosovo, for example, continue to be unable to travel to a vast number of countries who do not recognise the country. Similar tensions exist elsewhere. In Rwanda, for example, Thompson et al. (2009) suggest that a focus on reconciliation between ethnic groups in programmes may result in a suspension of justice claims and thus the misrecognition of experiences of Hutus and Tutsis during the genocide. The Rwandan government's policy of reconciliation, which prohibits individuals from identifying with an ethnic group, also results in the misrepresentation of Rwanda's indigenous Twa ethnic group who, because they are unable to legally identify as Twa, are unable to pursue justice claims and special legal protection based on their indigenous identity (Thomson, 2009). Given the contested and sometimes controversial nature of reconciliation, affective recognition can work to distance the problematic normative positioning that can be embedded in reconciliation discourse, and maintain focus on processes of social justice.

7.2.4 Affective recognition and post-memorial work

Conceptualising affective recognition is also valuable because it develops an understanding of how post-conflict educational programmes can work to build connections between generations within a society, in line with post-memorial work, and the ramifications this has for peacebuilding and

transformative social change. Existing understandings and practices of peacebuilding, and particularly reconciliation, are largely centred around addressing social cohesion, integration/segregation, and intolerance. That is, they largely focus on promoting connections between (previously) conflicting identity-based groups. This thesis, however, has shown the importance of building connections between *generations* in post-conflict countries to promote transformative change and peacebuilding.

Before participating in the programmes, the narratives young people heard about the past were largely state narratives or narratives that represent the dominant voices in society. This is partly because traumatic histories, particularly those of genocide and war, disrupt the intergenerational transmission of memory (Hirsch, 2012). Through the CTS programmes, however, young people began to engage in intergenerational dialogue, which was both embedded in, and evolved organically as a result of, the programmes. Through this intergenerational dialogue, young people developed a deeper understanding of the conflict, and deeper affective recognition of the lived experiences of the time. This affective recognition worked to “reactivate and re-embody more distant political and cultural memorial structures by reinvesting them with resonant individual and familial forms of meditation and aesthetic expression” (Hirsch, 2012, p.33). This acted to “reconnect and re-embody an intergenerational memorial fabric.” (Hirsch, 2012, p.32), in order to recall the pain of others, and carry their stories forward. Through this process, young people began to see themselves as political agents who are able to contribute to narratives of the past and use this to develop new conceptualisations of the future. Affective recognition through intergenerational dialogue therefore transformed understandings of agency within the contexts and, again, reframed historical narratives and representations within these narratives. Conceptualising affective recognition therefore enables an understanding of how processes of social justice, transformative change, and peacebuilding are developed not only through fostering connections between (previously) conflicting groups, but also between the post-memory generations and the generations who directly experienced conflict.

7.3 The importance of education, participation, and representation for affective recognition

Whilst educational programmes need to pay attention to the role of affect and affective recognition in order to contribute to peacebuilding, affective recognition similarly relies on education for its elicitation, as well as participation and representation.

As the Cambodian case study has demonstrated, if students experience an affective response to problematic narratives of the past, without having the necessary knowledge to critically engage in these narratives, misrecognition may occur. As Ahmed depicts in her work, affect therefore also has the potential to enhance social injustice – as will be argued further below in Section 7.4.2. To counter this, in line with the definition of peacebuilding above, young people need to be educated about the past. Crucially this education needs to be aligned with the positive face of education presented in Chapter 3: to ensure affective recognition fully contributes to social justice and transformative change, young people also need to be equipped with knowledge that has been constructed and disseminated through socially just mechanisms that themselves promote redistribution, recognition and representation. Such education will enable young people to engage critically with, and problematise, affective narratives of the past in order to develop their own, socially just, understandings of the past and its link to the present.

The findings of this research therefore suggest that affective recognition and education require a symbiotic relationship in order to foster social justice and peacebuilding. Much like Fraser's conceptualisation of the 3Rs, affective recognition, whilst analytically distinguishable, is deeply interconnected with other spheres of justice. Their interconnected nature means that the spheres of justice reinforce one another, either promoting social justice and transformative change, or "a vicious circle" of injustice (Fraser, 2008c, p.165).

In addition to a socially just education, the findings of this thesis suggest that affective recognition was predominately evoked through the participatory nature of the programmes, which embedded practices of representation. This included representations of those generations with direct experience of the events studied through the programmes, women – who are often excluded from national narrative surrounding conflict – and, in Cambodia both survivors of the Khmer Rouge regime, as well as former lower-level Khmer Rouge cadre. The representation of these different groups created space for the affective recognition of diverse lived experiences, which was particularly important given that many of these groups' experiences are excluded from national narratives of the past.

The use of participatory arts with these different constituencies proved central to promoting affective recognition and overcoming culturally defined hierarchies of status. The participatory activities meant that all groups were placed on an equal footing, each as experts of their own experience. The activities framed all participants as knowledge producers; young people became researchers - creatively exploring the past - and other groups whose stories have historically been marginalised were positioned as key actors. This overcame hierarchies of status about whose story and history counts and can be part of the national narratives of a country, what constitutes as knowledge, and who constitutes knowledge producers. The programmes therefore opened up space for developing participatory parity in conceptualisations of the past, present and future, by overcoming the existing obstacles of misrecognition and misrepresentation.

Indeed, it was precisely the positioning of young people as researchers and knowledge producers that opened up the space for them to explore the areas of history that they found most important, and develop their own affective understanding of these pasts. This was predominately through intergenerational dialogue with a range of actors, but also through exploring artistic and cultural pieces. Participants reflected on the value and importance of participating in intergenerational dialogue and the spaces this opened for affective recognition. However, the use of arts in the

programmes also played a key role in eliciting affective recognition. Participants explained that being able to see the past they were learning about through photos, videos, or historic sites, enabled them to feel a closer connection to the past. For young people in Kosovo engaging with this past creatively and artistically through soundscapes or animation, further enabled this deeper, affective connection. In both contexts, young people believed that the artistic outputs they had created through the projects had the potential to evoke further affective recognition and contribute to social justice in their communities.

7.4 The positive and negative faces of affect at the intersection of education and the arts

This thesis, and this chapter, has demonstrated that economies of affect in post-conflict education and arts programmes can be both positive and negative. I contend therefore, that as with education and the arts, the concept of affective recognition can also be conceptualised as having two faces; that there is both affective recognition, and affective *mis*recognition. My research suggests that the positive face; affective recognition, can contribute to social justice, in particular to recognition, representation, and ultimately participatory parity and transformative change by mediating narratives and wider societal structures, and disrupting culturally conceived binaries. On the other hand, the negative face of affective *mis*recognition can promote *mis*recognition and *mis*framing. I will thus summarise the role of affective recognition for social (in)justice here by reflecting on the “two faces” framework (Bush and Salterelli, 2000).

7.4.1 The positive face: Affective recognition

The use of participatory arts in Cambodia and Kosovo evoked affective recognition in young participants: when engaging with the past through the arts and intergenerational dialogue, young people had a visceral and emotional response to narratives of the past. This - affective - recognition works toward the notion of participatory parity that Nancy Fraser proposed. For Fraser, the norm of participatory parity “requires social arrangements that permit all (adult) members of society to interact with one another as peers” (Fraser, 1996 p.30). Fraser argues that in exploring social (in)justice we should question how maldistribution, misrecognition and misrepresentation/misframing – and the intertwinement of these - create obstacles to participatory parity, and what is needed to overcome these obstacles. Affective recognition inherently directly addresses misrecognition in post-conflict contexts, working to overcome obstacles to participatory parity in narratives of the past and constructions of the future. Affective recognition works to restructure social arrangements which exclude some (indeed, many) groups from these narratives and can empower others to recognise their role as political actors within society. The concept of affective recognition therefore enables us to understand not just what recognition might look like in post-conflict contexts – answering critiques of Fraser that her conceptualisation of recognition is too vague – it also enables an understanding of what recognition *does* and how it can contribute to participatory parity.

Affective recognition was largely achieved through the programmes as a result of *whose* narratives were embedded in the programme and *how* they were presented. Both programmes represented the experiences of groups who are largely excluded in national memory structures. The participatory nature of the programme meant that young people were able to delve into these decentralised narratives of the past that represented and recognised the lived experiences of people who had directly experienced the violence in both countries. It was precisely these narratives that evoked affective recognition. Affective recognition was therefore both enabled by, and mediated, narratives

of the past; further demonstrating this mutually constitutive relationship. Ahmed (2004a, p.119) writes, in relation to affective economies, that emotions “bind subjects together” they “work by sticking figures together (adherence), a sticking that creates the very effect of a collective (coherence)”. In Cambodia and Kosovo this process of adherence and coherence through affective recognition bound young people to new collective narratives about the past. These narratives moved away from governmental narratives that often focus on the suffering of a country as a whole, or on the role of (usually male) combatants or “heroes”. Instead, they explored the day-to-day lives and experiences of a wide range of people, including marginalised groups. The process of binding through affective recognition resulted in young people wanting to create new collective understandings and narratives about the past. Young people wanted to play an active role in embedding these understandings of the past into the collective memory of their respective countries, in order to move away from nationally prescribed understandings of the conflict and towards social justice through recognition and representation.

Young people in these programmes therefore sought to reframe what constitutes the political community in Kosovo and Cambodia, in particular whose narratives can and should be embedded into the national memorial structures, and whose lived experiences should be recognised. In this way, affective recognition worked in the programmes in Kosovo and Cambodia to mediate wider societal narratives about the past, embedding greater recognition and representation. Affective recognition can therefore contribute to transformative change, by working to correct “inequitable outcomes [...] by restructuring the underlying generative framework” (Fraser, 1995, p.82). The underlying framework in which certain histories and experiences are marginalised was restructured by representing different narratives through the programme, the resulting affective recognition, and the urgency this elicited in young people to continue to share these decentralised narratives. The experiences of these previously misframed and underrepresented groups were brought to the fore, promoting deeper recognition.

This process also highlights the role that affective recognition played in politically empowering young people through the programmes, promoting representation and participatory parity. The affective recognition evoked through the programmes resulted in young people themselves taking ownership of narratives of the past, understandings of the present, and conceptualising the future. In both countries, young people expressed a desire to continue to share the knowledge they had learnt with the younger generation and to those who were unfamiliar with their country's past. They considered that in doing so, they could contribute to social justice within their communities. In Kosovo, for example, young people referred to wanting to evoke the same affective recognition that they themselves had experienced in the programme in order to promote deeper recognition of Kosovo's past. In Cambodia, young people expressed wanting to share the stories they had learnt in order to foster greater recognition for reconciliation in the country. In line with conceptualisations of peacebuilding, participants in both contexts reflected on ideas of learning from the past in order to improve the development of society and not only to prevent violence, but also to recognise and respond to signs of political injustice and therefore contribute to positive peace. Affective recognition thus played a role in empowering young people as political actors. It enabled young people to see themselves as knowledge producers who can contribute to social change, reframing their notions of self and their idea of their position within society.

Finally affective recognition played a transformative role in the programmes by disrupting binaries within the two contexts. In Cambodia, affective recognition actively broke down victim-perpetrator binaries as participants began to understand former lower-level Khmer Rouge cadre as complex victims, recognising the fear and suffering that they had experienced themselves. In Kosovo, a small number of participants spoke about the breaking down of political binaries; after the programmes, they were better able to understand the origin of nationalistic viewpoints, enabling them to critically engage with this political standpoint and work to deconstruct it. In both contexts, deeper connections were made between generations. Young people, particularly in Kosovo, discussed being able to better understand their parents and grandparents after engaging in the projects, and

through the projects young people were able to discover what questions they wanted answering about the past and explore these through intergenerational dialogue. Again, then, affective recognition worked to disrupt and dismantle the underlying structures that result in binaries forming and replaced these with greater recognition.

Affective recognition, and its role in mediating the relationships between individuals and society, can therefore be understood as contributing to transformative and deconstructive change in the projects. This work undermined hierarchies of status which, according to Fraser, frame who is and is not considered to be a part of a community. It began shifting social relationships and worked towards developing participatory parity.

7.4.2 The negative face: Affective misrecognition

The Cambodia case (Chapter 6) suggests that there can also be a negative face to affect in post-conflict contexts which can be used to manipulate histories. I have referred to this as affective *misrecognition*. In Cambodia, some young people were presented with problematic and potentially revisionist versions of history that painted Pol Pot and Ta Mok as benevolent leaders and “good” people. Hearing such narratives is not bad in itself; it has the potential to open up critical spaces of reflection for young people to question *why* such narratives exist and who they benefit. Many participants started this process of reflection in their post-tour surveys. However, the affective response that the participatory activities evoked resulted in a handful of young people accepting these narratives at face value. In their post tour surveys, young people expressed their admiration for Ta Mok’s leadership and their perception of him as a “a good person who was easy-going towards his followers” (Post-Tour Survey 0921, April 2018, Male). Young people, through affective economies, therefore began to adopt these potentially revisionist accounts of history. Rather than opening spaces for the recognition of lived suffering through the Khmer Rouge regime, these

narratives had the potential to promote deeper misrecognition and misframing. Whilst affective recognition can be an articulation of socially just recognition in post-conflict countries, it can also become affective misrecognition if the narratives that promote a visceral response are themselves unjust and/or revisionist.

As shown in Chapter 6, participants' problematic adoption of these narratives is partly a result of their limited historical knowledge which made it difficult for them to critically engage with, and question, the narratives that they were hearing. This example provides further evidence of the importance of programmes engaging in wider social and political narratives and understandings of the past. Similarly, it demonstrates the importance of interaction between formal, non-formal, and informal education – where the narratives heard or excluded from one area of education necessarily affect how young people engage in another.

It should not be surprising that affective economies in post-conflict contexts have negative as well as positive faces. Indeed, Sara Ahmed's (2004a) conceptualisation of affective economies examines how affect works to "other" groups in society and spread fear and hatred. The adherence and coherence that Ahmed describes creates "us" and "them" distinctions based on race, religion, and borders. Whilst these dynamics were not present in this research, examples in the literature demonstrate the potential of affective recognition through arts-based practices to promote visceral emotional connections to narratives that promote the othering, misrecognition and misframing of certain groups in society. In this way, the negative face of affect has the potential to promote the same type of hatred, fear, and marginalisation that can provoke and perpetuate conflict. Section 6.2.1 showed, for example, that in Cambodia the Khmer Rouge indoctrinated followers with songs and theatre performances that denounced enemies of the revolution, and portrayed peasants as the only rightful group within society. In Rwanda (in section 3.2.3), radio stations played popular music which demonised Tutsis and moderate Hutus and called for them to be killed. The purpose of the arts in these instances was to elicit emotive, affective, responses in the audience that would work to

other, demonise, marginalise, and ultimately promote violence against, a particular group, or groups in society. In other words, the arts were used as propaganda to purposefully promote affective misrecognition and conflict.

In considering the negative face of affect in post-conflict settings in relation to the wider literature, it is also interesting to consider whether affective recognition has an internal paradox, similar to the tyranny of participation, described in section 2.6. Scholars suggest that whilst participatory practices, in international development generally, and participatory arts specifically, were initially considered as locally driven interventions that could transform top-down approaches to development, they are increasingly being co-opted by international organisations (Cooke and Soria-Donlan, 2020, Flower and Kelly, 2020). Organisations such as the World Bank adopt the terminology of participation, whilst continuing to push top-down neoliberal agendas that adhere to the international status quo, leading to the “tyranny of participation” (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). This makes it “more difficult for local communities and those, smaller, radical groups that first adopted participatory models to make their voice heard against the din of larger-scale interventions” (Cooke and Soria-Donlan, 2020, p.5, Cornwall and Brock, 2005). It similarly results in projects “circumnavigating rather than changing powerful political structures that generate inequality” (Flower and Kelly, 2020, p.225).

It is worth questioning whether the notion of affective recognition would similarly lose its radical, transformative nature, if it became the end goal in projects. In other words, perhaps the transformative potential of affective recognition lies in its organic production from interactions between different groups. It seems plausible that, much like participation, organisations could attempt to co-opt the processes that lead to affective recognition. In doing so, the dominant narratives within a society, or dominant international practices, could continue to be the focus of programmes, and attempts to promote “affective recognition” could instead result in continued, or enhanced, misrecognition.

7.6 Summary

This Chapter has interrogated the notion of affective recognition, and demonstrated the importance of the concept to understanding the dynamics of peacebuilding. I have shown how affective recognition contributes to peacebuilding education; enabling a nuanced and critical understanding of the past that works to politically empower young people to call for, and develop, socially just transformative change in their societies. I have particularly highlighted that a failure to understand the role of affect broadly, and affective recognition specifically, has limited both the conceptualisation and practice of peacebuilding education. Furthermore, using the concept of affective recognition to interrogate notions of reconciliation for peacebuilding has demonstrated that reconciliation does not contribute to transformative social change – and therefore peacebuilding. Instead, reconciliation is a *result* of socially just transformative change. Conceptualising affective recognition for peacebuilding, rather than focussing on reconciliation, therefore ensures the focus remains on social justice. Understanding affective recognition also expands understandings of peacebuilding, demonstrating the importance of not only working with (previously) conflicting identity groups, but also post-memorial work in developing peacebuilding and transformative change.

I have shown that there is a mutually constitutive relationship between affective recognition and nuanced, critical historical narratives; both are needed for the other to develop, and both are needed for transformative change within a society. Similarly, I have demonstrated that affective recognition and education require a symbiotic relationship to foster social justice and peacebuilding. I have also shown that affective recognition is closely intertwined with notions of representation. Affective recognition, like Fraser's 3 Rs, is therefore deeply interconnected with other spheres of justice and socially just practices.

Finally, in this chapter I have demonstrated that there are two faces to affective recognition. Affective recognition can promote transformative change and participatory parity within a society. However, affective *mis*recognition can also promote socially unjust processes that may enhance the likelihood of conflict (re)occurring. I have highlighted that affective recognition may hold an internal paradox: affective recognition could lose its radical nature if it becomes an end goal for projects or education systems, where it is subject to co-option by dominant societal narratives and practices.

Having developed and interrogated this concept of affective recognition through this thesis, I now conclude my work – circling back to analyse how programmes working at the intersection of educations reflect and contribute to social justice.

8. Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has analysed programmes working at the intersection of formal education and participatory arts (NFE) programmes with young people in conflict-affected contexts. It sought to examine how programmes working at this intersection of educations can contribute to social justice and peacebuilding. I have demonstrated that these programmes can contribute to potentially transformative representational and recognitional justice – in line with the work of Nancy Fraser (Fraser, 1995, Fraser, 1996, Fraser, 2005, Fraser, 2000, Fraser, 2008c) and scholars including Amanda Keddie, Mario Novelli, Mieke Lopes Cardozo, Alan Smith and Simone Datzberger who apply Fraser’s framework to understand education and education for peacebuilding (Datzberger, 2017, Lopes Cardozo et al., 2019, Novelli et al., 2015, Novelli et al., 2017, Novelli et al., 2019, Novelli and Smith, 2011).

I have gone beyond this, however, to argue that programmes working at the intersection of education and the arts evoke a particular form of recognition which is generally not articulated across these literatures. I conceptualise this as affective recognition. Affective recognition is crucial because it demonstrates what recognition means, and what recognition strategies apply, in post-conflict educational initiatives. It opens up peacebuilding education literature to understand the dynamics that take place beyond the rational, and works to bridge the existing gaps between academia and practice in education and the arts.

In line with feminist cultural studies scholars, particularly Sara Ahmed (Ahmed, 2004, Ahmed, 2004a), I have demonstrated that there is an economy to affective recognition in these contexts, This economy can promote peacebuilding, post-memorial work (developing from the argument of Marianne Hirsch (2012)), deeper and cyclical representation and recognition, and ultimately transformative societal change. Yet I have also provided a cautionary note; highlighting that just as

education and the arts can have two faces in conflict-affected contexts, so too can economies of affect which have the potential to promote affective misrecognition.

I conclude this thesis now by returning to Nancy Fraser's framework and reflecting on how programmes working at the intersection of formal education and non-formal arts programmes can contribute (or otherwise) to redistribution, (affective) recognition, representation, and participatory parity. I offer theoretical and methodological insights, and present potential avenues for future research.

8.2 Social justice at the intersection of education and the arts in post-conflict contexts.

8.2.1 Redistribution

What is largely missing from the discussion in this thesis is the first dimension of Fraser's conceptualisation of justice; redistribution. This represents a limitation to what arts-based NFE programmes were able to contribute towards social justice, as their limited scope and timeframe (compared, for example, to formal education systems), makes it more challenging for programmes to work towards addressing economic inequalities and resource allocation. This is perhaps especially true for the programmes analysed in this thesis, which were specifically working with university and college students, and thus not with the most economically marginalised in society. The interviews with the project teams in both contexts made apparent the limits that economic factors placed on the projects, with financial constraints limiting the scope of participation in both contexts.

This demonstrates that redistributive challenges in international development continue to limit the potential for transformative change. This may be particularly true in the arts and education sectors where it can take many years to see the societal impacts of programmes. Programmes in these sectors work towards societal change which is slow to mature and result in effects which may not be

tangible or measurable. Yet the donor community often seeks to find immediately tangible and easily measurable results. Affective recognition and its economies are far distanced from this, but no less important in achieving transformative societal change and peacebuilding.

Wider economic tensions in international development can also create tensions in programmes themselves, where CSO partners work in hugely competitive funding environments and lack money to continue their ongoing work. The wider issues of maldistribution in the international development sector, and in arts and education in particular, can therefore limit the possibilities for equitable partnerships and can create ongoing tensions within projects. There is therefore a paradox in the practice of transformative change in international development, which is itself dependent on and hampered by the very system that the sector needs to deconstruct to effect this change.

8.2.2 (Affective) Recognition

It is through processes of recognition that the programmes I have studied made the biggest contributions to social justice in their respective countries, and where the importance of the intersection of non-formal, arts-based education was most apparent. Thus, these processes of recognition have been a central focus of this thesis.

In their formal education, young people had largely heard overarching politicised narratives of the past which tended to focus on positivist facts and focused on the suffering of the country as a whole. Whilst not inherently wrong, these narratives left many questions unanswered. The programmes studied provided participants with a very different education, which focussed on the lived experiences of people living through the violence in the two countries, thus enabling more decentralised narratives of the past. This promoted recognition, with young people recognising these lived realities and decentralised versions of history, including the experiences of groups' who have been excluded from hegemonic narratives of the past. These groups had previously

experienced misrecognition according to Fraser's definition: where, through entrenched notions of cultural value, they were rendered "inferior, excluded, wholly other, or simply invisible – in other words, as less than full partners in social interaction" (Fraser, 2000, p.113). The programmes actively worked to dismantle this misrecognition and thus promote transformative recognition.

Most notably, the participatory and arts-based methodologies of the projects evoked what I have coined through this thesis as *affective recognition*. By becoming researchers themselves and exploring the past through intergenerational dialogue, historical sites, photos, videos, music, sound, and archives, young people developed a visceral and emotive response, and connection, to the past. Not only did these processes enable young people to better recognise the lived experiences of the periods being studied, they also resulted in young people feeling as if the events they were hearing about were "real"; that they were "reliving" the period through the projects. I have borrowed the notion of affect from feminist cultural studies to understand the intangible and visceral emotions and feelings that were evoked through the programmes, and which produced this specific articulation of recognition. I have identified the economies of affect in these programmes, which mediated the relationship between individuals – the young participants of the programmes – and the social or collective – the experiences of those who had lived through the conflict and genocide in Kosovo and Cambodia, and the societies and cultures of these times. This process enabled deeper recognition, with young people affectively recognising the socio-cultural experiences of those who lived through the violence.

I have argued throughout this thesis that the economy of affective recognition worked in ways that contribute to, problematise, and extend, conceptualisations of peacebuilding, reconciliation, and post-memorial work. In both contexts, affective recognition enabled young people to develop a greater understanding of the manifestation of violence in their countries and interrogate and critically engage in their country's histories and narratives of the past. This fostered a greater understanding of the past and new understandings and imaginaries of the present and future of the

countries. Affective recognition also played a transformative role in group interactions, disrupting victim-perpetrator and political binaries and fostering intergenerational understandings and relationships. Similarly, affective recognition encouraged young people to take ownership of narratives of the past and resulted in their desire to promote social justice, through recognition and representation. Participants, for example, described wanting to elicit the same affective recognition that they themselves had experienced amongst others in their country, particularly the younger generation. In Cambodia, affective recognition resulted in young people calling for reconciliation and establishing their own role in promoting this. Echoing the idea of post-memorial work, as defined by Hirsch (2012), affective recognition therefore works to deconstruct the state “political and cultural memorial structures” which tend to present the dominant voices in society. It does this by “reactivate[ing] and re-embod[y] [these] more distant political and cultural memorial structures by reinvesting them with resonant individual and familial forms of meditation and aesthetic expression” (Hirsch, 2012, p.33).

I have argued, therefore, that affective recognition enables an understanding of *how* peacebuilding through education might be achieved. It provides a key analytical concept for understanding how processes of knowing, learning, and peacebuilding might materialise through arts and educational initiatives. However, I have also added a cautionary note in this thesis, highlighting that affective economies in programmes with young people in post-conflict settings, also have the potential to promote affective misrecognition. Affective economies, like education and the arts, therefore have two faces in conflict-affected contexts.

8.2.3 Representation

The representation of different constituencies was central to the design and enactment of the programmes in the two countries, and integral to the development of affective recognition through

the programmes. Affective recognition and representation therefore have an interlinked, symbiotic relationship. The programmes represented politically marginalised groups within Kosovo and Cambodia. This included young people, who, as the 'post-memory' generation, often lack representation in conceptualisations of the past and future as well as political participation in the present. Similarly, the projects represented the experiences of those who directly faced violence and conflict, but whose experiences, knowledges and histories are largely absent from national memorial structures and narratives of the past. In both contexts, this included the experiences of women. In Cambodia, it also included the experiences of lower-level Khmer Rouge cadre. This representation in and through the programmes contributed to transformative social justice in itself. Representation reframes notions of whose voices and experiences are, and should be, represented in national narratives of the past, and in the education that young people receive about this past.

Representation in the programmes was also integral to the development of affective recognition, demonstrating – in line with Fraser's own argumentation – that whilst they may be analytically distinguishable, the spheres of recognition and representation are deeply intertwined in reality and practice. It is precisely through the representation of marginalised and diverse narratives that young people are able to develop a decentralised understanding of the past which elicit affective recognition. The representation of different narratives through programmes, and the resulting affective recognition, therefore, works to restructure the underlying societal framework in which certain histories and experiences are marginalised.

Furthermore, representation works through programmes by empowering young people as political agents. The participatory nature of the programmes framed young people not just as participants, but as researchers and political actors in their own right. As discussed above, this, combined with affective recognition, resulted in young people taking ownership of narratives of the past. Fraser explains that interconnected nature of the spheres of justice results in in "a vicious circle in which the three orders of injustice reinforce one another" (Fraser, 2008c, p.165). At the same time, this

research has suggested that their interconnected nature can produce a transformative, virtuous circle, in which representation works to enable affective recognition, which promotes further and deeper recognition and representation.

8.2.3 Participatory Parity

The normative core which brings Fraser's conceptualisation of justice together is the notion of participatory parity; the idea that "justice requires social arrangements that permit all (adult) members of society to interact with one another as peers" (Fraser, 1996 p.30). Fraser describes participatory parity as both an "outcome notion, which specifies a substantive principle of justice by which we may evaluate social arrangements" and a "process notion" which specifies the procedures by which we should evaluate legitimacy (Fraser, 2008c, pp.28-29). This thesis has demonstrated the role that programmes working at the intersection of formal education and non-formal participatory arts can play in enabling both socially just processes and socially just outcomes, by promoting affective recognition and participatory parity. In their processes, programmes can encourage participatory parity by representing and affectively recognising the experiences of groups who have historically been marginalised from contributing to narratives of the past, including women, young people, and complex victims of a conflict. Participatory arts can frame constituents as key knowledge producers and make space for the expression of their agency as key political and societal actors. As an 'outcome notion', the inclusion of narratives of these groups can create more affective, decentralised, and nuanced stories of the past, which can be represented through the artistic outputs of programmes. These processes can enable young people to increasingly recognise their own positionality as key political and agentic actors, seeing the role they can play in contributing to representation and recognition in their respective countries by continuing to develop and share critical knowledge about the past with younger generations and others.

8.3 Theoretical insights

The primary contribution of this research has been the theoretical development of affective recognition. This conceptualisation brings together the fields of the arts and education into much needed dialogue. In conflict-affected contexts (indeed, in all contexts), arts-based programmes necessary intersect with education practices. The majority of arts-based programmes developed in conflict-affected contexts to engage young people are themselves a type of non-formal education, and yet are rarely conceptualised this way. Moreover, arts-based programmes necessarily intersect with formal education; the young people who engage in arts-based programmes usually have been, or are, engaged in formal education where they hear narratives that may be confirmed, problematised or contradicted by arts-based programmes. These different forms of education can therefore clash, contradict or confirm one another. Despite these intersections, the academic fields of post-conflict education, and post-conflict arts-based initiatives rarely intersect, and largely operate in silo. My conceptualisation of affective recognition builds a theoretical framework by bringing together these two fields – notably through adaptations of Fraser’s social justice theory, education for peacebuilding, and conceptualisations of affect - in order to better understand, and potentially harness, the role that arts-based programmes, formal and non-formal education, and a combination of these can play in contributing to social justice, transformative change, and peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts. In so doing, this framework throws up and highlights the importance of affect.

Affective recognition therefore develops theoretical insights into education for peacebuilding, particularly building on the work of Novelli et al. (2017, 2019). Affective recognition, following Cremin et al. (2018), demonstrates the importance of attending to the transrational, as well as the rational and cognate, for peacebuilding in and through education. It highlights the interconnected nature of the structural and the affective and, in doing so, extends the focus of (critical) peace education on interpersonal relationships to demonstrate how, through the affective or transrational,

individuals' relationships with the collective can be mediated for transformative (and structural) social change and peacebuilding.

Affective recognition therefore develops understandings of the articulation of recognition for social justice and peacebuilding in formal and non-formal education, and reveals *how* processes of social justice and peacebuilding are achieved in these settings. Affective recognition also allows an analysis of peacebuilding in and through education that creates space to examine the positioning of reconciliation, by arguing that reconciliation is an outcome, and not a cause, of transformative social change. This ensures that peacebuilding education remains centred on understandings of social justice. Finally, my development of the conceptualisation of affective recognition emphasises how social justice and peacebuilding can be enhanced in post-conflict societies through intergenerational dialogue and understanding. Such a focus is often missing in the wider education and peacebuilding literature, which tends to focus on bringing together the different "sides" of a conflict, or different ethnic, linguistic and religious groups.

The conceptualisation of affective recognition similarly answers the direct critique of Fraser's work; that she fails to identify what recognition means in reality, and what it means to recognise and be recognised. In conflict-affected contexts, affective recognition enables an understanding not just of how recognition might be achieved, but also what this recognition *does* and how the economies of affective recognition can promote transformative social justice and peacebuilding.

8.4 Methodological insights

Methodologically, this thesis has demonstrated the importance and value of centring participants' voices in the research design and data analysis, and using these voices to drive the argumentation of research findings. In doing so, the role of a researcher shifts from independently extracting knowledge, to co-creating meanings and understandings with research participants (Mason, 2018,

p.157). It is only through this process, particularly the centring of youth voices, that the new conceptualisation of affective recognition emerged through this research. In line with my epistemological and ontological positioning, centring youth voices, and the voices of research participants more widely, not only enables a more ethical research project, it also opens space for the development of new concepts that are directly relevant to the experiences and understandings of research participants and their specific contexts.

This thesis has also demonstrated possibilities for conducting research remotely. By using pre-existing data and conducting online interviews, I was able to continue to conduct rigorous qualitative research online during the COVID-19 pandemic, that opened up space for new empirical and conceptual developments. However, it has also demonstrated the challenges and gaps that arise from an online data collection process. For example, participatory activities proved very difficult to do online, in part because of the limitations on participants' time, but also because of the technologies available, with participation restricted by data connectivity and the accessibility of online platforms. Participant observation of activities was also not possible online (as these activities did not take place online), which necessarily limits understandings of participant's experiences, and their "live" reaction and responses to projects at the time. Finally, there are undoubtedly both data and ethical limitations to conducting research fully online, as it limits the ability to develop an in-depth and situated understanding of context. Whilst these gaps are in many ways specific to the context in which this research was conducted – that is the COVID-19 pandemic – it is also possible to extrapolate from this experience some cautionary notes about online (qualitative) research more generally.

8.5 Areas for future research

The conceptualisation of affective recognition opens up a wide range of possibilities for future research, in order to develop a deeper understanding of the concept, its manifestations and economies – and ultimately how it can contribute to transformative social justice and peacebuilding.

This research has begun to develop an understanding of the economies of affective recognition; young people began to take ownership of narratives of the past and developed a desire to carry these narratives forward to evoke further (affective) recognition and representation. Longitudinal study - beyond the scope of this research - would be beneficial to understanding how these economies of recognition work in the longer term; (how) do young people go on to build on these narratives and work to promote the social justice they describe? (How) are the artistic outputs produced through the programmes used, and (how) do these evoke the affective recognition in their spectators/audiences/viewers that young people hoped they might?

The idea of affective economies remind us that affective recognition can mediate the relationship between individuals and the collective (Ahmed, 2004a, p.119). At the same time post-memorial work highlights the importance of post-memory work not just to the post-memory generation, but also to the generations who themselves experienced conflict and violence (Hirsch, 2012). Furthermore, critics of Fraser have argued that there is a lack of understanding of what it means to be recognised (Anderson, 2008, Kompridis, 2008). In this thesis, I have analysed affective recognition from the point of view of the young participants of the programme – the post-memory generation. To further understand what affective recognition does, what it means and how it contributes to social justice, future research could examine what it means for those who have experienced violence and conflict to be affectively recognised by the younger generation. How do they experience this recognition? (How) does it affect them and what does this mean for social justice?

This thesis has largely examined affective recognition – and its economies – between generations. This has enabled an understanding of how intergenerational connections can themselves promote social justice and peacebuilding, which is an under-researched aspect of research into peacebuilding education. I have also analysed the affective recognition of marginalised groups. To develop a wider understanding of affective recognition and its contribution to social justice and peacebuilding (as well as an understanding of affective misrecognition and its contribution to injustice and conflict), it would be imperative to study, through an intersectional lens, how these dynamics work between further groups within conflict-affected societies. This could include (previously) conflicting groups, and groups whose cultures and communities have been targeted in conflict.

Finally, this research has highlighted the important connections and contradictions between different spheres of education. It has pointed to the tendency for formal education to offer limited, positivist, over-arching national narratives of the past that contrast with the CTS arts-based NFE programmes that decentre and problematise these narratives. This is an interesting tension; and further research is needed to develop wider and deeper understandings of this intersection. For example, what happens when arts-based programmes, with their nuanced narratives of the past, are directly embedded in formal education, with their more limited, national narratives?

8.6 Closing

This thesis has contributed to developing the field of peacebuilding education by building conceptual bridges between different forms of education, and between education and the arts in conflict-affected contexts. It offers the conceptualisation of affective recognition, which arose from the empirical context. Affective recognition depicts the particular articulation of recognition in these contexts, and has been shown here as a means of critically exploring notions of peacebuilding, reconciliation, and post-memorial work. The thesis has demonstrated the role that programmes

working with young people at the intersection of the arts and education can play in contributing to transformative social justice in conflict-affected contexts, and the particular role of affective recognition at this intersection, and in these contexts.

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10. Appendices

NB: All interview guides were rough guides to ensure the conversation would answer my research questions. The questions varied from these substantially in the interviews, as I adapted my questions in response to the answers participants gave, and followed new tangents based on their answers.

Appendix 1: Participant information sheet for participants in Kosovo

Exploring the role of arts-based programmes and education for social justice Participant information sheet

You are invited to take part in research exploring arts-based programmes and formal education with young people in conflict-affected societies. This participant information sheet gives you some more information about the project and what you are being asked to do. Please feel free to ask any questions that you have.

What is the purpose of the project?

This research is for two separate but related projects. The first project – “CoLearnSEE” – brings together the learning from the four Changing the Story projects in Kosovo and Bosnia Herzegovina to explore how programmes can support youth-centred approaches to civil society building. The second project seeks to explore how programmes working at the intersection of the arts and formal education – including Changing the Story - reflect and contribute to social justice.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because you have participated in the Changing the Story project in Kosovo, and we would like to learn about your experience and opinions of this.

What does taking part involve?

Due to Covid-19, this research will take place online through online interviews and focus group discussions. Each activity will last for around 1-2 hours. You will first be asked to take part in an individual interview where you will be asked open questions about your experiences and opinions, like a conversation.

What type of information will be collected?

You will be asked questions about your experience on the Changing the Story programme, such as what you learnt or what skills you developed and questions on the narrative of the programme. You will also be asked some questions about your formal education (e.g., schooling) and how the programme compared to this. You will be asked to critically reflect on the programmes and to give your personal opinion about them. You may also be asked some questions about your background and personal characteristics. This is to see if different groups of people respond to programmes differently – for example, if there is a difference for females and males.

Will I be recorded, and how will the recording be used?

With your permission, the interviews and focus group discussions will be recorded. This is only for analysis purposes, so that the researchers can listen back to the discussions and ensure they do not miss any important information. The recordings will be transcribed for data analysis purposes. The recordings and transcriptions will be stored on a secure device and will never be shared with anyone outside of the research team. You will be asked at the start of each activity whether or not you are happy for it to be recorded.

What will happen to the data and the results of the research project?

The data will be used for a report on the CoLearnSEE findings, for the researcher's PhD thesis and for academic publications. The data may also be used to develop evaluation reports of programmes, which will be shared with organisations involved, and a manual for youth workers using participatory arts methods. It will **not** be possible for anyone reading the reports or publications to identify you. Publications may quote what you have said, but will never name you or include any information that would make it possible for someone outside of the research team to identify you – you will be completely anonymous. The first publications should be produced by March 2021 and can be shared with you if you would like. You can withdraw your data any time up until the point of publication.

All of the information collected about you, such as your contact details, will be kept strictly confidential and will be stored separately from the research data. Your personal information and the raw data - voice recordings and transcripts – will **not** be shared with anyone outside of the research team. We cannot guarantee anonymity in group activities because of the other participants; however, all participants will be asked at the start of the activities not to share any of the information that has been discussed.

It is possible that the data collected will be used for additional or subsequent research conducted by the researchers, but it will remain completely anonymous and will not be shared beyond the initial research team.

Do I have to take part?

No - participation in this research is completely voluntary, which means that you can decide if you want to take part or not, that you do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to, and you are free to stop taking part and to withdraw your information at any time up to the point of

publication. There will be no negative consequences should you decide not to take part, or to withdraw your information. It is important to note, that all the information you share and issues we discuss will be kept completely confidential and anonymous, meaning that no-one from outside of the research team will be able to trace your answers back to you.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

We will mainly be discussing programmatic activities, and so the disadvantages and risks are minimal. However, you may be asked questions about how the programme has influenced the way you view the conflict in Kosovo which is an issue some participants may of course find upsetting. If you feel any emotional distress during the research, remember we can stop at any time. We can help you to find support should you want to discuss it further or receive any help.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

This research will give you the chance to share your thoughts and opinions on programmes with young people in Kosovo in a confidential manner. The information you share will be used (confidentially) in an evaluation of the programmes, and so it is hoped that such programmes may improve as a result of the feedback that is given. You will not be paid for taking part in this research.

Who is organising/ funding the research?

The research is part of the wider Changing the Story project, funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council. The PhD is part of the Changing the Story project and is sponsored through the University of Leeds.

Contact for further information

For further information, please contact Katie Hodgkinson: [email] and/or Mary Drosopoulos [email]

Katie's PhD supervisor is Professor Paul Cooke: [email] [phone number]

Thank you for taking the time to read through this information sheet. Please do get in contact if you have any questions

Appendix 2: Interview Guide for project team in Kosovo

1. Could you talk me through the CTS programmes in Kosovo?
 - a. What are the main aims of the project for you?
 - b. How has it evolved or changed along the way?
 - c. What has prompted these changes?
 - d. Have you had to adapt the programme based on outside influences, such as the government or funding bodies?
 - e. In the conceptualisation of the project, there was a big focus on social inclusion beyond the periphery. Why was this important and how has the project contributed to this?
 - f. Is there anything about the project you would change in retrospect if you could?
2. Why does your project work with young people in general, and also the specific groups of young people you have engaged?
 - a. How have young people shaped the project itself?
 - b. What do you hope young people will get out of their involvement with the project?
 - c. How do youth think the programme affects the way that young people reflect on Kosovo's past?
 - d. How do you think the programme affects the way young people deal with and address this past conflict in Kosovo? (Probe: ethnic tensions, intergenerational tensions)
 - e. Have you found any differences in the way young people respond to the different aspects of the programme based on characteristics, such as gender, ethnicity etc?
3. How do you see that the project fits within the wider Kosovan society that young people live in?
 - a. How does what young people learn in programme relate to what they learn more generally in society, for example at home or through societal narratives about conflict?
 - b. How about what they learn in formal education?
4. One of the next steps for the project is engaging with formal education systems to design a pedagogic tool/curriculum; why do you see this engagement with formal education as so important?
 - a. Are there any barriers you are finding to this work?
 - b. What do you think the arts can bring to formal education practices?

Appendix 3 Interview Guide for Artists on Kosovo project

1. Could you talk me through your engagement with the CTS programmes in Kosovo?
 - a. What are the main aims of the project for you?
 - b. In the conceptualisation of the project, there was a big focus on social inclusion beyond the periphery. Why was this important and how has the project contributed to this?
2. Could you talk to me about other arts-based programmes you run with young people in Kosovo?
 - a. What are the aims of these?
3. Why do you work with young people in general, and also the specific groups of young people you have engaged?
 - a. How have young people shaped the project itself?
 - b. What do you hope young people will get out of their involvement with the project?
 - c. How do youth think the programme affects the way that young people reflect on Kosovo's past?
 - d. Have you found any differences in the way young people respond to the different aspects of the programme based on characteristics, such as gender, ethnicity etc?
4. How do you see that the project fits within the wider Kosovan society that young people live in?
 - a. How does what young people learn in programme relate to what they learn more generally in society, for example at home or through societal narratives about conflict?
 - b. How about what they learn in formal education?
5. Do you think it is important for arts to inform or be incorporated into formal education?
 - a. Why (not)?
 - b. Are there any barriers you are finding to this work?
 - c. What do you think the arts can bring to formal education practices?
6. Social justice – how can programmes contribute to this?

Appendix 4 Interview Guide for Young Participants

1. Can you talk me through your engagement with the project – What did you do in the project? What did you learn?
2. Did you learn anything new in the project?
 - a. Did you hear any narratives in the programme that you have not heard before? (Probe: stories from certain groups of people)
 - b. Are there any differences between what you learnt through the programme and what you have learnt in school?
3. How did learning this new information make you feel?
4. How has the project affected the way you think about Kosovo's past, present and future?
5. What did the use of art bring to the project, if anything?
6. Was there anything you think was missing in the project, or anything you would change?
7. Have you done anything with the outcomes from the project, e.g., have you shared what you learnt or shared the art you created? What have you done?

Exploring the role of participatory arts and non-formal education for peacebuilding and social justice - Participant information sheet

You are invited to take part in a research project exploring arts-based programmes and formal education with young people in post-conflict societies. This participant information sheet gives you some more information on the project and what you are being asked to do. Please feel free to ask any questions that you have.

What is the purpose of the project?

The purpose of this project is to explore and evaluate Changing the Story and other arts-based and education programmes. It seeks to explore things like if and how programmes reflect and promote ideas of social justice and how programmes engage with the wider society. It will look at the influence of the different people involved in programmes, including young people, facilitators, NGOs, academics and government officials.

Why have I been chosen?

have been asked to join because of your participation in the Anlong Veng Peace Tours.

What does taking part involve?

If you chose to take part, you will either be asked to have an interview online, using a platform that is convenient for you, or you will be asked to fill out a survey. The interview can take place either in English or Khmer, if it is in Khmer there will be a translator present. It will last for approximately 1 hour and it will be like a conversation. The researcher will ensure that the interview takes place at a time that is convenient for you.

What type of information will be collected?

You will be asked questions about your engagement with the Anlong Veng Peace Tours, such as what you learnt, your opinion on the programme and if you have used any of the lessons and films from the Peace Tours in your work.

Will I be recorded, and how will the recording be used?

With your permission, the interviews will be recorded. This is only for analysis purposes, so that the researcher can listen back and ensure they do not miss any important information. The recordings will be transcribed for data analysis purposes. They will not be shared with anyone outside of the research team. You will be asked at the start of each activity whether or not you are happy for it to be voice recorded.

Do I have to take part?

No - participation in this research is completely voluntary, which means that you can decide if you want to take part or not, that you do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to, and you are free to stop taking part and to withdraw your information at any time up to the point of publication. There will be no negative consequences should you decide not to take part, or to withdraw your information. It is important to note, that all the information you share and issues we discuss will be kept completely confidential and anonymous, meaning that no-one from outside of the research team will be able to trace your answers back to you.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

We will mainly be discussing programmatic activities, and so the disadvantages and risks are minimal. However, you may be asked questions about how the programme has influenced the way you view the conflict in Cambodia which is an issue some participants may find upsetting. If you feel any emotional distress during the research, remember we can stop at any time.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

This research will give you the chance to share your thoughts and opinions on programmes with young people in Cambodia in a confidential manner. The information you share will be used (confidentially) in an evaluation of the programmes, and so it is hoped that such programmes may improve as a result of the feedback that is given. You will not be paid for taking part in this research.

What will happen to the data and the results of the research project?

The primary use of the data collected is to develop the researcher's PhD thesis and academic publications. The data will also be used to explore the impact of the Anlong Veng Peace Tours and may be included in reports and academic publications on this topic. It will not be possible for anyone reading the reports or publications to identify you. Publications may quote what you have said, but will never name you or include any information that would make it possible for someone outside of the research team to identify you – you will be completely anonymous. The first publications should be produced by March 2021 and can be shared with you if you would like. You can withdraw your data any time up until the point of publication.

All of the information collected about you, such as your contact details, will be kept strictly confidential and will be stored separately from the research data. Your personal information and the raw data - voice recordings and transcripts – will **not** be shared with anyone outside of the research team. It is possible that the data collected will be used for additional or subsequent research conducted by the researcher, but it will remain completely anonymous and will not be shared beyond the initial research team.

Who is organising/ funding the research?

The research is part of the wider Changing the Story project, funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council. The PhD is sponsored through Leeds University.

Contact for further information

For further information, please contact Katie Hodgkinson: [email] [phone number]

Katie's PhD supervisor is Professor Paul Cooke: [email] [phone number]

Thank you for taking the time to read through this information sheet. Please do get in contact if you have any questions

**ការសិក្សាពិត្ននាទីនៃការចូលរួមធ្វើកិច្ចការសិល្បៈ និងការអប់រំក្រៅប្រព័ន្ធ
ដើម្បីការកសាងសន្តិភាព និងយុត្តិធម៌សង្គម - ព័ត៌មានសម្រាប់អ្នកចូលរួម**

អ្នកត្រូវបានអញ្ជើញឱ្យចូលរួមក្នុងគម្រោងស្រាវជ្រាវមួយអំពី ការសិក្សាពីការប្រើប្រាស់សិល្បៈ
និងការអប់រំជាមួយយុវជនវ័យក្មេងនៅក្នុងប្រទេសក្រោយសង្គ្រាម។ ព័ត៌មានសម្រាប់អ្នកចូលរួមនេះ
នឹងផ្តល់ព័ត៌មានអំពីគម្រោង និងអ្វីដែលយើងស្នើសុំអ្នកឱ្យចូលរួម។ អ្នកអាចសួរសំណួរ
មកយើងវិញបានបើមិនទាន់ច្បាស់។

តើអ្វីជាគោលបំណងនៃគម្រោង?

គោលបំណងនៃគម្រោងនេះគឺដើម្បីសិក្សា និងវាយតម្លៃលើគម្រោង Changing the Story និងការ
ប្រើប្រាស់សិល្បៈ ព្រមទាំងកម្មវិធីអប់រំ។ យើងព្យាយាមឈ្លែងយល់ថា តើកម្មវិធីនេះបានបង្ហាញ
និងលើកកម្ពស់គំនិតពីយុត្តិធម៌សង្គម និងទទួលបានការចូលរួមពីមនុស្សច្រើនក្នុងសង្គមបាន
ប៉ុណ្ណា។ យើងនឹងសិក្សាទៅលើអ្នកពាក់ព័ន្ធផ្សេងៗនៅក្នុងកម្មវិធីនេះ ដែលមានរួមទាំង យុវជន
អ្នកសម្របសម្រួល អង្គការ អ្នកសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវ និងមន្ត្រីរដ្ឋាភិបាល។

តើហេតុអ្វីបានអ្នកត្រូវបានជ្រើសរើស?

អ្នកត្រូវបានស្នើសុំឱ្យចូលរួម ព្រោះអ្នកជាអ្នកចូលរួមក្នុងកម្មវិធីកម្មសិក្សាសន្តិភាពនៅអន្លង់វែង
(Anlong Veng Peace Tour)។

តើអ្នកត្រូវចូលរួមអ្វីខ្លះ?

ប្រសិនបើអ្នកសម្រេចចូលរួម អ្នកនឹងត្រូវស្នើសុំសម្ភាសន៍តាមអនឡាញ ឬប្រើប្រាស់កម្មវិធីផ្សេងៗ
ដែលអ្នកងាយស្រួលប្រើ ឬក៏អ្នកនឹងត្រូវស្នើសុំឱ្យបំពេញការស្ទង់មតិ។ បទសម្ភាសអាចធ្វើជាភាសាខ្មែរ
ឬអង់គ្លេស ហើយប្រសិនបើធ្វើជាភាសាខ្មែរ នឹងមានអ្នកបកប្រែម្នាក់ចូលរួមដែរ។ បទសម្ភាសនេះ
អាចត្រូវការពេលប្រហែលមួយម៉ោង ហើយវាដូចជាយើងជជែកគ្នាលេងចឹងដែរ។
អ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវនឹងផ្តល់សិទ្ធិដល់អ្នកចូលរួមក្នុងការជ្រើសរើសពេលវេលាសម្ភាស ដែលសមស្របសម្រាប់អ្នក
ចូលរួម។

តើព័ត៌មានអ្វីខ្លះដែលយើងត្រូវការ?

យើងនឹងសួរសំណួរអ្នកពីការចូលរួមរបស់អ្នកក្នុងកម្មសិក្សាសន្តិភាពនៅអន្លង់វែង ដូចជា អ្វីដែលអ្នក
បានរៀនសូត្រ មតិយោបល់របស់អ្នកលើកម្មវិធីនេះប្រសិនបើអ្នកបានប្រើប្រាស់មេរៀន និងវីដេអូ
ពីកម្មសិក្សាសន្តិភាពនេះ ក្នុងការងាររបស់អ្នក។

តើត្រូវថតសម្លេង ហើយសម្លេងនោះយកទៅធ្វើអ្វី?

ដោយមានការអនុញ្ញាតពីអ្នក បទសម្ភាសនឹងត្រូវថតសម្លេង។ វាគ្រាន់តែយកទៅប្រើដើម្បីស្រង់ព័ត៌
ឱ្យបានត្រឹមត្រូវ ដែលអ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវអាចយកទៅស្តាប់ម្តងទៀតដើម្បីកុំឱ្យបាត់ព័ត៌មាន។ សម្លេងនេះ
នឹងត្រូវវាយជាអក្សរ ដើម្បីងាយស្រួលក្នុងការវិភាគព័ត៌មាន។ យើងនឹងមិនចែករំលែក

សម្តែងនោះទៅឱ្យអ្នកណា ក្រៅពីក្រុមការងារស្រាវជ្រាវនោះទេ។ យើងនឹងសួរអ្នកមុនពេលសម្ភាស ថា តើអ្នកអនុញ្ញាតឱ្យយើងថតសម្តែងដែរឬទេ។

តើអ្នកចាំបាច់ត្រូវតែចូលរួម?

មិនមែនទេ។ ការចូលរួមក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះគឺជាការស្ម័គ្រចិត្ត ដែលមានន័យថា អ្នកជាអ្នកសម្រេច ចិត្តថា អ្នកចូលរួមដែរឬអត់ ហើយអ្នកក៏អាចមិនឆ្លើយសំណួរ ដែលអ្នកមិនចង់ឆ្លើយដែរ។ អ្នកក៏អាចឈប់ផ្តល់សម្ភាសពេលណាក៏បានដែរ ហើយអាចសុំឱ្យដកព័ត៌មានរបស់អ្នកចេញដរាប ណាព័ត៌មាននោះមិនទាន់បោះពុម្ពផ្សាយ។ វានឹងមិនមានអ្វីប៉ះពាល់ដល់អ្នកនោះទេ។ យើងក៏ជម្រាប ដែរថា រាល់ព័ត៌មានទាំងអស់របស់អ្នក យើងនឹងមិនផ្តល់អត្តសញ្ញាណថា អ្នកជាអ្នកនិយាយ នោះទេ ដែលមានន័យថា ក្រៅពីក្រុមអ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវ គ្មានអ្នកណាដឹងថាព័ត៌មាន ដែលយកទៅសរសេរនោះចេញពីអ្នកនោះទេ។

តើអ្វីដែលអាចជាការប្រឈម ឬហានិភ័យពីការចូលរួមរបស់អ្នក?

យើងនឹងនិយាយតែពីកម្មវិធីដែលអ្នកចូលរួមប៉ុណ្ណោះ ចឹងហើយការប្រឈម ឬហានិភ័យស្ទើរតែគ្មាន។ ប៉ុន្តែ អ្នកក៏នឹងត្រូវសួរសំណួរពីថា តើកម្មវិធីនេះបានធ្វើឱ្យអ្នកយល់ឃើញពីដំបូងនៅកម្ពុជាយ៉ាង ដូចម្តេច ដែលជាសំណួរដែលអាចធ្វើឱ្យអ្នកចូលរួមខ្លះអាក់អន់ចិត្ត។ ប្រសិនបើអ្នកមិន មានអារម្មណ៍ចង់បន្ត អ្នកអាចឈប់ពេលណាក៏បាន។

តើអ្វីជាប្រយោជន៍ដែលអាចទទួលបានពីការចូលរួម?

ការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះនឹងផ្តល់ឱកាសឱ្យអ្នកចែករំលែកគំនិតយោបល់របស់អ្នកទៅលើកម្មវិធីដែលអ្នក បានចូលរួមជាមួយយុវជនកម្ពុជាដោយភាពជឿជាក់។ ព័ត៌មានដែលអ្នកបានចែករំលែកនឹងត្រូវ ប្រើប្រាស់ (ដោយមិនបញ្ចេញអត្តសញ្ញាណ) ក្នុងការវាយតម្លៃលើកម្មវិធី ដូចនេះយើងសង្ឃឹមថា កម្ម វិធីនេះនឹងអាចកែតម្រូវឱ្យបានប្រសើរ តាមលទ្ធផលនៃការផ្តល់មតិយោបល់របស់អ្នក។ អ្នកនឹងមិន ទទួលបានលុយកាក់ពីការចូលរួមរបស់អ្នកនោះទេ។

តើនឹងមានអ្វីកើតឡើងចំពោះព័ត៌មាន និងលទ្ធផលនៃគម្រោងស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ?

ការប្រើប្រាស់ព័ត៌មាននេះជាចម្បងគឺដើម្បីសរសេរនិក្ខេបបទថ្នាក់បណ្ឌិត និងការបោះពុម្ព។ ព័ត៌មាន នេះក៏នឹងប្រើដើម្បីសិក្សាពីផលប្រយោជន៍នៃកម្មវិធីកម្មសិក្សាសន្តិភាពនៅអន្លង់វែង ហើយ ប្រហែលជាប្រើក្នុងការសរសេរការស្រាវជ្រាវដើម្បីបោះពុម្ពផ្សាយដែរ។ អ្នកដែលអានរបាយការណ៍ នឹងមិនដឹងថា ព័ត៌មាននោះចេញពីអ្នកនោះទេ។ ក្នុងការសរសេរប្រហែលជាអាចស្រង់សម្តីរបស់អ្នក ប៉ុន្តែឈ្មោះរបស់អ្នកនឹងមិនបញ្ចូលក្នុងនោះទេ ចឹងហើយអ្នកអានមិនអាចដឹងបានទេ។ ការបោះពុម្ពទីមួយនឹងត្រូវចេញផ្សាយនៅខែមីនា ២០២១ ហើយក៏ជាចែកទៅឱ្យអ្នកដែរ ប្រសិនបើ អ្នកចង់បាន។ អ្នកអាចដកព័ត៌មានរបស់អ្នកចេញបានរហូតដល់មុនការបោះពុម្ពផ្សាយ។

ព័ត៌មានដែលយើងទទួលបានពីអ្នកដូចជា អាស័យដ្ឋានទំនាក់ទំនងនឹងរក្សាជាការសម្ងាត់ និងមិន ដាក់បញ្ចូលទៅក្នុងព័ត៌មាននៃការស្រាវជ្រាវឡើយ។ ព័ត៌មានផ្ទាល់ខ្លួនរបស់អ្នក និងព័ត៌មានដើមនៅ ក្នុងសម្តែង និងការវាយបញ្ចូលជាអត្ថបទ នឹងមិនត្រូវចែកចាយទៅណាក្រៅពីក្រុមអ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវ នោះទេ។ វាអាចដែរថា ព័ត៌មានដែលទទួលបាននឹងត្រូវប្រើក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវបន្តបន្ទាប់ទៀត ប៉ុន្តែយើងនៅតែរក្សាការមិនបញ្ចេញអត្តសញ្ញាណរបស់អ្នកដដែល ហើយនឹងមិន ចែកចាយទៅក្រៅក្រុមអ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវនោះទេ។

តើអ្នកណាជាអ្នករៀបចំ និងឧបត្ថម្ភការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ?

ការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះគឺជាផ្នែកមួយនៃគម្រោងធំរបស់ Changing the Story ដែលផ្តល់មូលនិធិដោយ ក្រុមប្រឹក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវសិល្បៈ និងមនុស្សសាស្ត្ររបស់ប្រទេសអង់គ្លេស (UK Arts and Humanities Research Council)។ ការសិក្សាថ្នាក់បណ្ឌិតត្រូវបានទទួលការឧបត្ថម្ភតាមរយៈសាកលវិទ្យាល័យលីដ (Leeds University)។

ទំនាក់ទំនងសម្រាប់ព័ត៌មានបន្ថែម

សម្រាប់ព័ត៌មានបន្ថែម សូមទាក់ទង

Katie Hodgkinson តាមអ៊ីម៉ែល [email] និងលេខទូរសព្ទ [phone number]

អ្នកដឹកនាំរបស់ Katie Hodgkinson គឺសាស្ត្រាចារ្យ Paul Cooke តាមអ៊ីម៉ែល [email] និងលេខទូរសព្ទ [phone number]

សូមអគុណដែលបានចំណាយពេលវេលាអានក្រដាសព័ត៌មាននេះ។ សូមទាក់ទងមកយើងខ្ញុំ ប្រសិនបើអ្នកមានសំណួរ។

Appendix 6 Interview Guide for Programme Team in Cambodia

1. The focus of the programme is about bringing young people, especially trainee teacher, into conversations with survivors of the Khmer Rouge and Former KR Cadre. I have three questions about this that are probably interlinked...
 - a. Why do you think it is important for young people to hear these stories from survivors and former KR Cadre?
 - b. Why is the focus on young people's ownership over the narratives of conflict so important to the work?
 - c. Why did you specifically choose to work with trainee teachers?

2. Could you talk about any other factors that have influenced the design and enactment of the programme?
 - a. How did young people themselves influence the programme?
 - b. Funding structures/the position of international development programmes

3. One thing comes through from the surveys is that young people are comparing the knowledge that they have learnt through conversations with their families or through schooling with what they learn on the peace tours. Would you be able to talk a bit about the dominant narratives surrounding the genocide in Cambodia, particularly in schools, and how the programme either works with these or problematises these?
 - a. Young people in the pre-tour surveys mentioned a lot about wanting to know *why* the genocide happened – obviously it is incredibly difficult to understand such violence – but I wanted to ask whether the young people are taught about the events that led up to the Khmer Rouge Regime?
 - b. Something that comes up in the surveys is that young people do change their opinions of former Khmer Rouge Cadre, but in some instances also develop favourable opinions of Ta Mok – why do you think this is, particularly in relation to what or how young people learn in school or society?

4. What was the benefit of using film in the project? How do you see arts and education working together?

5. Finally, how do you see the programme contributes to transformative change?

Appendix 7 Interview Guide for Teachers in Cambodia

1. What is your current occupation?
2. What new things did you learn as part of the Anlong Veng Peace Tour?
3. Have you spoken to anyone about the things that you learnt on the Peace Tours?
4. Have you used any of the things you learned in the tours in your teaching/work?
 - a. How do your students respond to this?
5. What challenges do you face in using the lessons from the Along Veng Peace Tours in your classroom?
6. How did you find the process of creating the films? (Probe: What might be the benefits of film)
7. Have you shared the films that you created with anyone?
 - a. How did they respond?