A Student's Europe:

The Constructivist Approach to Multimedia Learning about Integration

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Abstract: This paper reasons that in a global environment there is an increasing need to assess the relevance of constructivist approaches to teaching about European integration. By drawing on literature about constructivist learning environments, its analysis focuses on the potential in transnational community building via education. The paper's findings rely on several years experience establishing a learning community with a focus on conflict prevention in the Balkans as a dimension of European construction. This topic is particularly significant as we contemplate the implications of the Union's enlargement. The rationale for choosing synchronous tools (traditional teaching, audio talking room and PC videoconferences) and asynchronous tools (email exchanges, listserv dissemination, and threaded discussion forum) to create a transcontinental multimedia seminar is explained. The paper also questions the effectiveness of these tools to sustain a quality learning experience. In this context, survey data available in numerous student evaluations is interpreted. As a European public space emerges, this paper's objective is to shed light on the challenges and opportunities e-Learning may present for the younger generations, Europe's future leaders. Its analysis questions the likelihood of a possible future for the European Union that Stanley Hoffmann identifies as "between regional enlargement and global irrelevance."

Introduction

In 2002, the first European Union Student Council (EUSC) was elected.[1] The European student mobility program, ERASMUS, achieved a milestone as well: a total of 1 million students participated in one of its exchanges. At present, there are over 15 million students in Europe. These students are the leaders of the future. For this reason, it is critical to understand the educational opportunities available to this segment of Europe's citizenry. Key decisions in the area of European higher education are the result of the Sorbonne and Bologna Declarations.[2] Students do not have input into these decisions, however. It is clear that the use of new technologies is a priority in Europe's educational reforms. In this context, it is necessary to assess the extent to which constructivist learning that employs multimedia tools may contribute to students' knowledge of, and participation in, European integration.

This paper uses substantial findings about the development of the Transatlantic Internet/Multimedia Seminar Southeastern Europe (TIMSSE) series, 1999-2003,[3] to orient its analysis. It also evaluates the impact of a unique pedagogical experience on diverse groups of students. As citizens, these students are increasingly the actors, alongside the member states, in the European integration process. Significantly, their previous education exposed these students to traditional class instruction that evidences an academic-practitioner gap. The TIMSSE experience in the cyber classroom leads us to assess the ways in which constructivist learning can make the dynamics of European

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[1] http://www.eusv.org/indexprimen.htm

[2] One of this paper's premises is that the degree to which, and the manner in which, the decisions taken in the Bologna process are implemented are likely to have a critical impact on the future of the European integration process over the next generation given the challenges of successive enlargements and the diversity they are destined to introduce, http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/Sorbonne_declaration.pdf and http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/erasmus/bologna.pdf

[3] The TIMSSE series is the result of financial support by the Robert Bosch Foundation, Stuttgart, Germany.

integration more immediately relevant to their daily lives. It also prompts us to elaborate on the potential applications of the Mazzucelli Boston Meurs model in multimedia pedagogy to our strategic educational objectives in the field of European integration.

Establishing a Constructivist Learning Environment

As educators, we take as our starting point that European construction is a choice for peace. It is an alternative to the wars that marked the Continent's history. Therefore, as the Union evolves, its policy emphasis on conflict prevention is likely to increase. For this reason, in our learning community, we strive to translate "swords into words" in the spirit advocated by former UNESCO Director General Frederico Mayor.[4] In order to realize this vision, we must first comprehend the basis of traditional teaching in higher education, and more specifically in conflict prevention. In the 21st century, the unprecedented challenges and opportunities in education influence our vocation. Our responsibility is to be proactive as we anticipate and seize upon new approaches to learning.

In "The Futures Project: Policy for Higher Education in a Changing World," Frank Newman discusses a critical weakness in United States higher education as we begin the 21st century. In his findings, higher education fails to apply insights about the nature of effective pedagogy to teaching and learning on a consistent basis. In this context, Newman also cites a slower pace in the academy to take advantage of technology that introduces effective pedagogy either in the traditional classroom or in distance learning.[5] Our experience to date in the TIMSSE series identifies ways in which constructivist principles enhance our pedagogical approaches. For this reason, it is

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[4] Frederico Mayor, Remarks, Peace Education Program, Teachers College, Columbia University, 2002
[5] Frank Newman, "The Futures Project: Policy for Higher Education in a Changing World," September 9, 2002, Brown University, draft.

essential to explain some basic principles that apply in transcontinental constructivist learning environments.

As Wilson explains, those within a community of learners cooperate on projects and learning agendas. Participants are supportive of each other and interested to learn from their fellow students and from their environment. An effective learning environment is one in which each participant grapples with tools and information in activities that are complemented by the resources of the others involved and by the surrounding culture.[6] In the TIMSSE series, a group of learners in New York, Paris, Munich, San Jose and different parts of the Balkans is discovering over time how to utilize effectively the tools that define the multimedia seminar series, including language and "rules for engaging in dialogue and knowledge generation."[7] Our task remains to create what Wilson defines as a constructivist learning environment: "a place where learners may work together and support each other as they use a variety of tools and information resources in their guided pursuit of learning goals and problem-solving activities."[8] By this definition, the TIMSSE series is an evolving constructivist learning environment in cyberspace. The objective of this paper is to explain how we may learn from its experience to create other, similar offerings related to European integration as the Union enlarges.

The emergence of the TIMSSE experience since 1999 takes place in a world that is, in Stanley Hoffmann's terms, "complex and messy" as well as increasingly uncertain. There are basic skills required to participate fully in the information revolution's knowledge society: critical thinking, comparative analysis and the ability to synthesize

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[6] Brent G. Wilson, "What is a Constructivist Learning Environment?" in *Constructivist Learning Environments*, Brent G. Wilson, ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Eductional Technology Publications, 1996), p. 5.

[7] Ibid

[8] Ibid

information in problem solving. Dunlap and Grabinger have already cited references to underline that, in the United States, the higher education classroom setting does not consistently provide individual attention to students who must acquire these skills.[9] In many other countries throughout the world, the educational challenges states confront to enhance the well being of their societies are increasingly evident.[10]

One of the greatest challenges educators face is to "teach for transfer", in other words, to teach in such a way that the skills previously cited become an inherent part of the student's learning experience broadly conceived. This experience may be distinguished from teaching "specific skills for each situation which builds students' performance on a narrow range of...tasks."[11] This is a qualitative difference that we believe allows for a greater number of people to contribute productively to the knowledge society. Here, as Redding underlines, human beings each have the potential to play a role that can determine the future of our planet.[12]

One of the ways to enhance initially the human capacity to contribute to societal needs and, more widely over time, to the demands of a global economy is to integrate reasoning and problem solving skills in an interdisciplinary program of study. TIMSSE is designed as a 15-week program that encourages student responsibility and "generative learning."[13] Figure 1 in the Appendix illustrates the range of topics and the rationale of the TIMSSE series in 2002. As one example of a growing number of rich environments

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[9] Joanna C. Dunlap and R. Scott Grabinger, "Rich Environments for Active Learning in the Higher Education Classroom," in Wilson, ed., (1996), pp. 65-66.
[10] Human Development Report 2002, *Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented world* (New York: United Nations Development Programme, 2002), http://www.undp.org/hdr2002/
[11] Dunlap and Grabinger, p. 66.
[12] Terrence R. Redding, Ph.D., "One Planet, One People?" The Taxonomy for Conflict Prevention and the Emergence of Human Security, in Colette Mazzucelli and Roger Boston, eds., with the assistance of Adrienne Bortree, *Rebuilding Education for Human Security in the Balkans*. Multimedia Dimensions in Conflict Prevention (Volume 1), manuscript in progress.
[13] Dunlap and Grabinger, p. 67.

for active learning (REALs), TIMSSE strives to foster collaboration among teachers and participants within and among higher education classrooms in several countries. Rich environments for active learning provide an alternative to the traditional lecture-based content delivery that still characterizes teaching in the majority of higher education systems on a comparative basis throughout the world.

REALs are defined as "comprehensive instructional systems" that "promote study and investigation within meaningful and information rich contexts."[14] The utilization of student participation in dynamic, not static, activities is meant to encourage complex, multi-faceted and original thinking processes. In TIMSSE, these activities reference the history of the Balkans region to help participants learn with an awareness of generational differences. Students are likewise encouraged to look ahead by incorporating problem solving, experimentation, creativity, group discussion, and the ability to examine topics from multiple cultural, disciplinary and linguistic perspectives in work that is self-directed and purposeful.[15]

Facilitating Active Learning in an "Open, Virtual Environment:" Blending Characteristics, Content and Experience in the Cyber Classroom

TIMSSE relies on a variety of tools in communications software to implement multimedia pedagogy. This is likely to be the case for larger numbers of established constructivist learning environments over time. It is, by definition, an "open" system.[16] This is because the tools we select to use, as well as others our technical director Roger Boston creates, aim to maximize the interpersonal interactions among multimedia seminar participants in several countries. Moreover, these tools should make the

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[14] Ibid

[15] Ibid

[16] Wilson, "What is a Constructivist Learning Environment?," p. 8.

availability of information resources easier. In this way, students are encouraged to work together and to learn from each other as they access a range of resources: articles & books in print, CD ROM materials, films, audio, video or text-based guest lectures on the Web and videocassette documentaries. In a virtual environment, participants interact primarily with other participants in an open network using information technology tools available on the public domain. Although the design challenges and concerns in this type of a system are substantial, the potential for learning is significant.[17]

The pages that follow provide analytical insights into how the TIMSSE series has evolved to utilize some of the "building blocks" that establish a structure for constructivist learning environments, including generative learning, anchored instruction and cooperative learning.[18]

Generative Learning

The TIMSSE series highlights an initial building block that helps us grapple with the characteristics of constructivist learning environments: generative learning. In this experience, the teachers ask the students to take action deliberately and to assume responsibility to create meaning from the materials studied. Thus, the students are engaged in a dialectical manner. As they try to make sense of alternate viewpoints, students confront each other's ideas and reflect on their own knowledge, often by drawing on previous, comparative experiences that are influenced by differing cultural and linguistic backgrounds. In this context, traditional roles shift: students investigate and seek knowledge to solve problems as teachers forgo presenting knowledge in order to facilitate and guide a holistic learning process.

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[17] Ibid
[18] The following section draws on Dunlap and Grabinger, p. 67.

In TIMSSE, students are engaged in pair and smaller group discussions within the class based on questions raised about the topic of each module in the syllabus. Figure 2 in the Appendix illustrates a TIMSSE module. During the 2002 series, one student in Paris was paired with one student in Munich. In some cases, e-mail exchanges between exceptionally motivated students allowed one-on-one discussions to develop throughout the semester. Here some very insightful dialogues emerged, for instance, between a Lithuanian student in the Paris class, Arnoldas Pranckevicius, and a Russian student in the Munich class, Sergey Tereshenkov. By changing languages at times to write to one another, Arnoldas in Russian and Sergey in Lithuanian, each gained additional insights from a different cultural perspective about the tensions rooted in the historical relations between their respective countries. This is a critical aspect of mutual understanding, rooted in knowledge of the other's language, which has a particular relevance for European integration as the Union becomes more heterogeneous.

In addition, smaller discussion groups of 3-6 students were organized within the classes in Paris and Munich. The inclusion of 12 students in Paris and almost as many in Munich aimed to create a balanced number of groups. Initial group discussions took place offline in Paris and Munich during the first hour of the Wednesday weekly session. The second hour brought the students together via PC videoconference using the CUseeMe tool. Group exchanges then took place within the context of the larger class. In order to deepen the discussions after this larger class meeting, yahoogroups.com was utilized as an asynchronous, Web-based discussion tool. This tool offered all the participants in each group, A, B and CD, the opportunity to exchange ideas at different times among the

group's members. At times, these group discussions were broadened to include the entire class using the TIMSSE02 general list.

In addition to the students in each group in Paris and Munich, two other types of participants were assigned to each group. First, several participants from the Balkans undertook the task to provide each groups' members with a critical perspective from the region based on their experiences and insights. This is an essential dimension of the multimedia seminar. Our challenge is to increase its influence in our learning community over time and thereby steer away from the phenomenon Badie identifies as the "imported state"[19] and from discussions that are too "Western" in orientation. This is a serious concern in e-Learning that analyzes European integration as the diversity of the Union's membership increases. In TIMSSE, less than half the students in the entire series were proficient in a language of the Balkans region. Their ability to understand the challenges there on the basis of direct experience and linguistic comprehension was thereby limited. Second, a number of observers participated in each discussion group who were either alumni/ae of previous TIMSSE series or those taking part in TIMSSE's public education videoconference sessions in New York as part of the Teachers College (TC) *Muses* program.[20] This approach to learning motivates the students although, in the world of communications technology, we learn to expect the unexpected.

For instance, on 23 October 2002 the CUseeMe server in Houston was down due to an attack on the Internet's backbone. Some 9 out of 13 primary sites were taken out, which presented us with a serious situation. At the time, Roger Boston was in China

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[19] Bertrand Badie, *L'Etat importé* (Paris: Fayard, 1992).
[20] The *TCMuses* program, established in 2000 at the Center for Educational Outreach & Innovation, Teachers College, designs public education programs for members of the "Baby Boomer" generation.

working with colleagues on low bandwidth content delivery applications. He emailed to inform us of potential difficulties. When Mazzucelli realized that it was impossible to join New York-Paris-Munich via videoconference, she emailed the two TIMSSE assistants in Paris and Munich. The entire session was conducted via email back and forth among the three sites, taking different groups views into account about the weekly module's questions. Two days later, we were all joined once again via videoconference to resume our discussions. The use of the yahoogroups.com listservs in the series occurs with moderation by Mazzucelli in the general list messages and open postings by students in the group discussion lists. This option provides constructive opportunities for dialogue in multimedia learning. Regular email exchanges also contribute to this goal although we must be careful to limit the number of emails disseminated on a weekly basis.

Anchored Instruction

Undoubtedly one of the strongest features of the TIMSSE series since its origin has been anchored instruction that takes place in a context students find appealing and meaningful. In other words, students are able to find ways to use the activities related to anchored instruction in their professional lives. The weekly presence of TIMSSE guest speakers, who are often high-ranking practitioners in the field, helps to enhance activities in and outside the classroom. This fact, acknowledged by most if not all students since the series inception, is essential to experience in constructivist learning environments.

The limitations we faced to include regional participation in the TIMSSE series led us to rely on the extensive field experience and knowledge of the Balkans demonstrated by a diverse array of guest speakers, including: Ambassador John McDonald, founder, Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy; Miss Julianne Smith, German

Marshall Fund; Mr. Tim Judah, noted journalist and author of books about the Balkans region; Professor Jacques Rupnik, Center for International Studies and Research (CERI), Paris and member of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo; H.E. Dr. Geza Jeszenszky, former Hungarian foreign minister; Professor Lily Gardner Feldman, American Institute for Contemporary German Studies; Dr. Harvey Sicherman, president of the Foreign Policy Research Institute and adviser to three former US Secretaries of State; Professors Pierre Hassner, Bertrand Badie and Didier Bigo, CERI, Paris; and Ambassador Christian Pauls, deputy political director in the German federal foreign office.

Two guest speakers, in particular, imparted knowledge that helped students incorporate constructivist values in their learning, including personal autonomy, reflectivity, collaboration, active engagement and personal relevance.[21] As a "building block" in constructivist learning environments, anchored instruction supports the opportunities for students to learn "in a continuous collaborative process of building and reshaping understanding as a natural consequence of their experience and interaction with the world".[22]

During the fall 2001 series, Albert Bruun Birnbaum, a Danish student participating in the TIMSSE series for credit in Paris, related Michael S. Lund's analysis of preventive diplomacy to a guest speaker presentation by Michael Watkins originating from Harvard Business School in Cambridge. Watkins' audio presentation was relayed to Paris and Munich via a direct phone connection to the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs in New York. Watkins discussed a case, "Ending the War in

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[21] Dunlap and Grabinger, p. 67.
[22] Ibid

Bosnia," on which he collaborated with Susan Rosegrant. The case analyzes Ambassador Richard Holbrooke's roles as negotiator, mediator and arbitrator during the Dayton peace talks.[23] Watkins presentation highlighted a number of elements critical to success in negotiations including timing, the role of personalities, and the relationship between the potential use of force and diplomatic pressure. Each of these elements is crucial to understand given the nature of the European Union identified by Helen Wallace as a continuous, multilateral negotiating forum.

Watkins' analysis led Birnbaum to contribute a set of remarks via the Web-based discussion tool, NICENET, used regularly in the 2001 series. Attachment 1 in the Appendix illustrates the use of NICENET. In these remarks, Birnbaum focused on five factors Lund identifies as "among the most important determinants of violent or non-violent resolution of emerging political disputes."[24] Three external factors are: the timing and role of third parties; the breadth and depth of international agreement; and the support from major global and nearby powers. Two indigenous factors are: accommodating leaders; and the strength of state institutions.

The empirical findings in the Rosegrant and Watkins case, supported by Watkins audio presentation and interaction with teachers and students, provided the basis for a meaningful learning activity. Here Birnbaum and the other students accepted the opportunity to relate concepts and practice in order to understand what factors were decisive to end the war. This activity also challenged the students to grapple with the

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[23] Michael Watkins and Susan Rosegrant, *Breakthrough International Negotiation. How Great Negotiators Transformed the World's Toughest Post-Cold War Conflicts* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2001), pp. 228-80.

[24] Michael S. Lund, "Early Warning and Preventive Diplomacy" in *Managing Global Chaos,* Chester A. Crocker and Fen Osler Hampson with Pamela Aall (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996), pp. 391-95.

choices and the decisions that a negotiator in Holbrooke's position must face. This was one example of a collaborative activity in the analysis of negotiation and problem solving supported by Web-based tools in an open, virtual environment.

A second guest speaker presentation by Dr. Abiodun Williams, Director, Strategic Planning, Office of the United Nations Secretary General, addressed issues explained in his volume, *Preventing War The United Nations and Macedonia*. Williams' analysis focuses on a successful case in preventive deployment. His in-depth understanding of the dynamics on the ground in Macedonia presented the students with empirical knowledge to orient their discussions. This fact led Birnbaum to circulate, via e-mail attachment, a short paper to the class in which he applied Lund's five factors cited previously to preventive action in Macedonia. In this paper, he compared the period analysed in Williams' volume, 1992-99, to the present one starting in 2001. One of our participants in Kosovo/a, Ylber Hysa, Director, Kosova Action for Civic Initiatives (KACI), asked to publish this paper in one of the organization's periodic reviews.

Williams' case study also prompted one of the German students in Paris, Alexander Buergin, to compare the United Nations presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina with that in Macedonia. Buergin shared his initial remarks about the comparison between the situations in Bosnia and Macedonia with the entire class via the yahoogroups.com listserv. He then made an audio presentation to the class that was heard very clearly among New York, Paris and Munich. This presentation formed the basis for his remarks in NICENET that were disseminated to an even larger group of TIMSSE series participants, including those in the Balkans region.

In one of the highlights of the 2001 series, Williams' TIMSSE presentation placed Buergin's comments in perspective from the vantage point of an actor in the field. Williams' remarks also demonstrated the effectiveness of conveying empirical content with an almost flawless Internet PC videoconference delivery. As he spoke at the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, New York, Williams was viewed in a window on screen as part of a cyber classroom. Other windows highlighted audiences in Munich, Houston, Paris and Ljubljana. During that program, General Klaus Reinhardt spoke initially from the Center for Applied Policy Research, TIMSSE's partner site in Munich. Reinhardt shared his experiences as KFOR commander in Pristina.[25] During the 2-hour CUseeMe session, audio, video and chat connections worked flawlessly among the 5 sites. This event also included alumni of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy who were invited to join TIMSSE from different parts of the world. The Fletcher participants accessed a listening page designed by Boston. This page included a chat room feature provided courtesy of the EducWeb project,[26] initiated by another TIMSSE series guest speaker, Armand Burguet. The listening page established the basis for a global learning community and offered the members in its chat space options to interact with the other 5 sites. These interactions have significant potential to promote a third constructivist building block, cooperative learning, to which we now turn.

Cooperative Learning

The support of their peers is considered an important element to persuade students to engage in cooperative group learning and problem solving. Constructivists argue that

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[25] CAP-Info-Newsletter, http://www.cap.uni-muenchen.de/aktuell/news/2002_01_reinhardt.htm
[26] http://www.educweb.com and http://users.skynet.be/bs974554/Kosovo/index.htm

this, in turn, facilitates generative learning.[27] Students are encouraged to take on more complex problems given the prospect of working in tandem with others. At Sciences Po Paris, TIMSSE is the exception that confirms the rule, in this regard. Most other classes foster competition for grades in an atmosphere in which the traditional lecture style is evident. The professor acts as knowledge provider, not facilitator; for this reason, students look to the professor first in a less student-centric environment.

In TIMSSE there are students from many different cultural and educational backgrounds, with varying degrees of English proficiency. This requires us to strike the right balance so that all students are engaged in active learning- as individuals, as part of smaller discussion groups, and in the larger class. We do this by providing the structure necessary and guiding the students to work together, in person and online, through a series of steps. Here the choice of technical tools we use is critical. This choice addresses the fact that rich environments for active learning are reflective of thinking that has led to greater understanding of constructivist values.[28]

In this context, there are three ways in which REALs may fulfill the objectives of constructivist learning environments: enlarging the existing scope of "students' responsibility and ownership" in learning; promoting study and problem-solving in a real-world context with relevance to students in their professional lives; and engaging students in dynamic, not static, learning activities that promote "knowledge construction."[29] Elements inherent in these three objectives are explored in the context of the evolving model in multimedia pedagogy that provides a rich environment for active learning to support TIMSSE's evolving community experience.

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[27] Dunlap and Grabinger, p. 68.
[28] Ibid
[29] Ibid, p. 69.

Constructivist Learning at the Nexus of Public Affairs and Policy Research: The
Mazzucelli Boston Meurs Model in Multimedia Pedagogy

Our efforts in TIMSSE to date are student-centric in focus and highlight several basic principles that are relevant to constructivist learning environments:

1) The use of multimedia tools in an original pedagogical model can be a motivating force for students to learn about the realities that characterize the Balkans region with a caveat: it must be balanced with an initial face-to-face encounter among the students and teachers as well as the presence of a facilitator to guide each group of students in the TIMSSE cyber classroom. In other words, the human dimension takes precedence. The use of multimedia tools must support that dimension and facilitate a clear dialogue that enhances interpersonal communication across continents.

Colette Mazzucelli, who chairs the multimedia seminar and facilitates instruction from the Center for Educational Outreach & Innovation, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, is responsible for the students in Paris. In the 2002 series, Delphine Reculeau, France, set an example for others to emulate by her outstanding commitment as facilitator. Sebastien Loisel, France, initiated the role of facilitator officially in the 2001 series, which was complicated by technological difficulties. Earlier in the series, self-motivated students assumed the role without being appointed: Matthias Wabl, Austria; Emilie Combaz, France; Silke Rusch, Germany; and Travis Nesbitt, United States.

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Mazzucelli is present for an initial orientation in Paris at the start of the TIMSSE series, teaches in Paris once every 6-8 weeks, and meets individually with each student for an hour discussion about academic and professional interests twice each semester. This arrangement establishes the series' transatlantic connection and contributes to its global outreach. Wim van Meurs is always present in Munich with the students there and travels on occasion to Paris to join the Sciences Po group.

Mazzucelli's long-standing professional partnership with Roger Boston, Rockwell Chair Instructor and Creativity Consultant, Houston Community College System, http://www.teched.org, allows the series progressively to demonstrate the advantages and necessities of multimedia learning in a culturally sensitive, inclusive and personalized manner. The teamwork of Mazzucelli, Boston and Meurs determines: the content and design of the TIMSSE web site; the human and technological infrastructure TIMSSE establishes over time; and the interactive communications tools the series utilizes to create a "meeting place" in cyber space.

TIMSSE's web site, http://www.timsse.com, provides a reference point for students to take responsibility and ownership in a dynamic learning process. It offers access to the materials required for weekly module discussions and also aims to integrate the TIMSSE series into a diverse spectrum of resources about European integration and conflict prevention and the Balkans region available on the Web. Each class of students is asked to complete thorough written evaluations about the TIMSSE series. These evaluations are then discussed in the cyber classroom. This gives students a stake in the e-Learning community. Their comments are incorporated into plans to improve the next series. In addition, students are subsequently invited to join a growing TIMSSE alumni

network as each series closes. Their class photos and short biographies are included on the web site for purposes of networking for internships or initial positions in the region, throughout Europe, and around the globe, http://www.timsse.com/tiskse01/sebas.htm.

TIMSSE students have responded extremely positively to the personal attention they receive from teachers and facilitators and to the presence of numerous guest speakers with extensive professional experience. The students are interested in the practical applications of the concepts we teach as these provide additional insights into the cultural, historical and social dimensions of the Balkans regional context. In this regard, increased opportunities for the students to engage in decision-making exercises in a conflict prevention scenario about the region are encouraged. The use of active learning modules is an option in future multimedia seminars. Moreover, students appreciate the chance to hear the views of their counterparts outside Europe. There is not a great difference in the ways students in Paris and Munich understand the Balkans. Virtual links to institutional sites as far away as China, India, Japan, Russia and Vietnam provide an additional dimension to the conflict prevention dialogue in the TIMSSE series.

2) The judicious mix of email, listserv discussion, chat, audio and video enhances the overall learning experience. The asynchronous dimension, with exchanges determined by each user's availability at different times, allows for a flexibility to be integrated into multimedia learning. This mode has allowed us to "bring the Balkans in" to the series' group discussions. In Web-based teaching at the service of conflict prevention, the challenge to establish a bridge to and for the

region suggests to us that we must continue to work with multimedia tools that are readily available to all and operative at modem speeds.

One of the realities of multimedia learning is that, unlike the traditional classroom, its rhythm is continuous across time zones in a virtual 24/7 environment. The use of asynchronous tools like email, listserv and text-based discussion groups offers students a greater opportunity to take their time to respond to one another's postings and to integrate knowledge from one module into exchanges in other modules. In this way, students are able to learn independently in a self-directed way by questioning their own assumptions, as well as from discussions among the group's members, constructing knowledge over the course of a semester.

Furthermore, most of the critiques about the literature used, or the assumptions made by TIMSSE participants out of region, take place in this mode simply because electricity shortages or lack of Internet access for extended periods curtail time online for those in the Balkans. There is also limited time during the synchronous, videoconference sessions to pursue all avenues of inquiry. Participants often continue discussions in Paris, Munich and New York after the videoconference sessions have closed for the week. Some module topics actually require two or three weeks of attention in order to facilitate an intellectually satisfying class dialogue.

The asynchronous tools give us a complement to deepen discussions and to offer a wider range of views than would otherwise be the case. In this mode, smaller groups of students, or a pair of students in different cities within the class, can exchange ideas in languages other than English without disrupting the flow of general discussions. In

addition, these tools do not require the extensive bandwidth and use of hardware resources that the synchronous mode demands.

The essential tools we use asynchronously are all readily available on the public service domain, http://www.yahoogroups.com. These tools, which are both cost effective and inclusive, must be simple to use so that the nature of learning to prevent the tragic consequences of conflict is not overshadowed by a preoccupation with technological innovation. Asynchronous usage is, by extension, a more democratic component in the model of multimedia pedagogy presented here.

        3) The Internet PC videoconference tool, CUseeMe, integrates three elements, audio, video and chat, in one learning space to strengthen the impact of synchronous learning at the same time among all sites. When used in conjunction with the "Boston viewing page," CUseeMe offers a novel approach to community building on a broad scale. This is because the design of the Boston viewing page makes the multi-point videoconferencing accessible to those sites that could most contribute to our discussions in region. As a result of the CUseeMe stream fed into the Boston viewing page, the videoconference exchanges that normally exclude the region's sites are broadcast to anyone with Internet access offering the option for those in region to comment and respond to questions through an integrated chat space. Attachment 2 in the Appendix depicts the Boston viewing page.

The use of CUseeMe videoconference software in the TIMSSE series has afforded us multi-point connections across continents since 2001. This is an important

compliment to the asynchronous dimension. Particularly for those students whose native tongue is not English, which represents the majority in the TIMSSE series, visual images are a very important part of our learning experience. The inclusion of guest speakers who are engaged on the ground in the Balkans, sharing their knowledge with us via a virtual connection, not only tests the performance capability of the tools we use. It also demonstrates the ways in which a Web-based dialogue offers our students new directions in policy research and in their aspirations for careers in public affairs, locally, nationally or globally. According to some who have already used the Boston viewing page, the layout or feel is that it is instantaneous streaming. In one observer's experience, this "feel" is not evident in "other chat layouts... [because] it is a comfortable and organized one that simply does not exist with other programs." Although chat is available on the WebCT, in that user's experience it is not as "eloquent" as the Boston viewing page is in feel.[30] This paper assesses the implications of the use of the Boston viewing page for the model of multimedia pedagogy analysed in the pages that follow.

In TIMSSE, multimedia learning as a tool to redefine practical approaches in conflict prevention, as well as in peace making and peace building, has resonance beyond track two approaches in which the involvement of the citizen is noteworthy because of the variety, scope and depth of the person's activities. Multi-track diplomacy, as practiced and explained by Ambassador John McDonald,[31] and more immediately in Kosovo/a in the EducWeb project, is particularly relevant. In this context, people, not
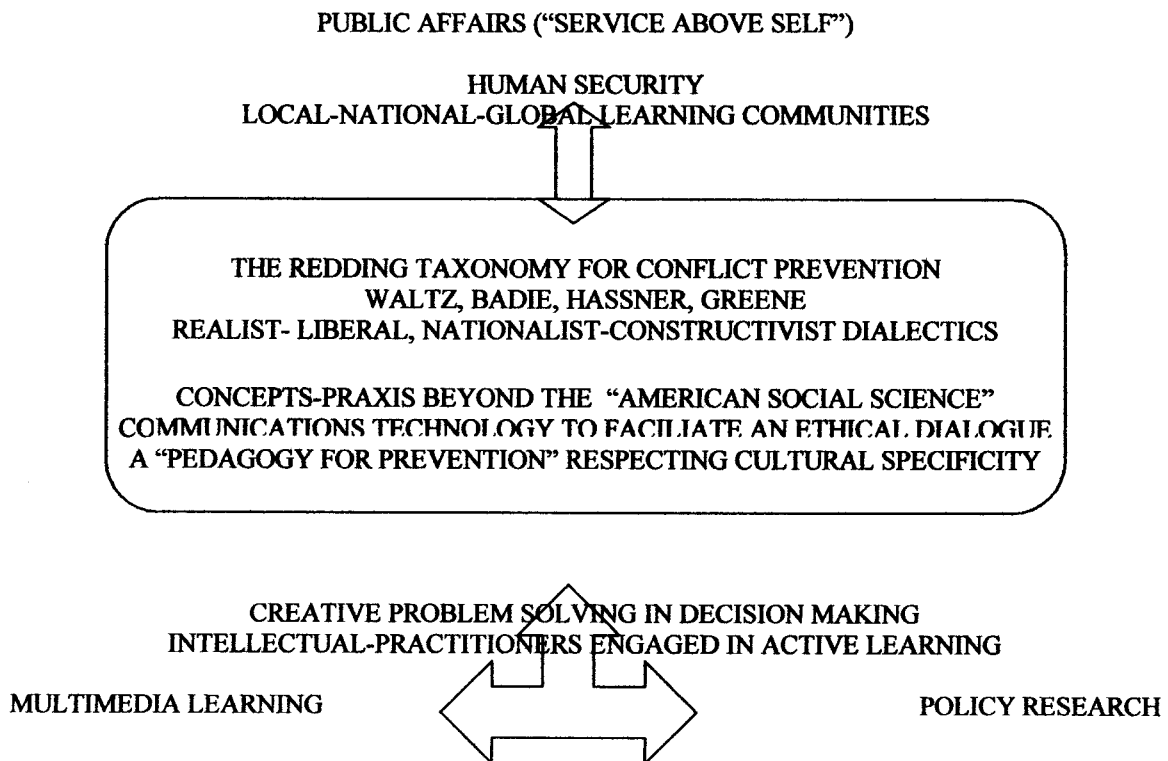
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[30] Arthur Moers, Email Comments to Roger Boston, January 5, 2003.
[31] Ambassador John McDonald, Response E, "A System's Approach to Peace," JCPD, e-Symposium 2001, http://www.dwcw.org/e-symposium

institutions, are the central actors in a learning experience that aims to establish the foundations for a culture of prevention.

Our initial TIMSSE experiences contribute to the development of the Mazzucelli Boston Meurs model illustrated in Diagram 1. As the model evolves, there are on-going tensions in the following areas: the individual and community dimensions of e-Learning as we explore human security needs; the inclusive dialogue that emphasizes a local perspective and the exclusive nature of the "digital divide"; the mental openness to embrace active learning via communications technology and the static nature of traditional pedagogy worldwide. Each of these tensions has relevance to the application of this model to learning about European integration.

Diagram 1: The Mazzucelli Boston Meurs Model in Multimedia Pedagogy

PUBLIC AFFAIRS ("SERVICE ABOVE SELF")

HUMAN SECURITY
LOCAL-NATIONAL-GLOBAL LEARNING COMMUNITIES

THE REDDING TAXONOMY FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION
WALTZ, BADIE, HASSNER, GREENE
REALIST- LIBERAL, NATIONALIST-CONSTRUCTIVIST DIALECTICS

CONCEPTS-PRAXIS BEYOND THE "AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE"
COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY TO FACILIATE AN ETHICAL DIALOGUE
A "PEDAGOGY FOR PREVENTION" RESPECTING CULTURAL SPECIFICITY

CREATIVE PROBLEM SOLVING IN DECISION MAKING
INTELLECTUAL-PRACTITIONERS ENGAGED IN ACTIVE LEARNING

MULTIMEDIA LEARNING   POLICY RESEARCH

Individual and Community Dimensions of e-Learning and Human Security Needs

This model reveals the inherent tensions in relations between the importance of the transformation of the individuals engaged in e-Learning, which the liberal and constructivist perspectives highlight, and the need to develop communities in their local, national and global dimensions. Here it is essential to accentuate the necessity to promote a balance of traditional and virtual teaching, with face-to-face interactions throughout the semester. The advantages of virtual teaching for the individual include: a breadth of sources to consult online; the impetus offered during studies to establish a dialogue with practitioners; and the opportunity for students to reflect initially on concrete goals vis-à-vis the region.

A critical tension underscored by this model is that of retaining inclusiveness as we integrate the local perspective and strive to offer each participant the fullest learning experience. This possibility comes about as a result of a sensible number of hours online in each weekly module, i.e., 2 hours, maximum, per session, as well as a structure for each session that encourages and facilitates interactive exchanges, not mere lectures with question and answer time. Thus, each weekly module contains questions to orient discussion. Students are asked to contribute e-journals on a periodic basis. These e-journals are 3-5 pages in length emphasizing a critique of the readings and Web references for the weekly modules chosen in light of TIMSSE's themes, their relevance to the student's current interests, personal and professional, and the insights the readings may offer in light of the student's previous internship, travel, residency abroad, cross-cultural and/or intellectual experiences.

Diversity in participation is a trademark of the TIMSSE series. Students hailing from George Washington University, Rutgers University-New Brunswick, the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor and Columbia University, all attending Sciences Po Paris on dual degree or exchange programs or as Rotary World Peace Scholars, bring a plurality of viewpoints into our discussions. In the earlier TIMSSE series, five-seven students audited the multimedia seminar from San Jose, thereby bringing in another perspective from the Americas. Their participation taught us much about the challenges a country with a relatively weaker technological infrastructure faces in e-Learning.

As each person engages in a group dynamic within the cyber classroom, the "meeting place" we create takes on the dimension of a learning community. This requirement places the responsibility squarely on the educators to choose those multimedia tools most useful to develop a communitarian dialogue that strengthens each participant's learning potential.

For example, our initial experience with the threaded discussion forum NICENET taught us that this tool is, at times, less easily integrated into Web-based learning each week. This had much to do with technological challenges at our institutional partner sites as well as complications on occasion to access NICENET with ID and password use. On the other hand, global e-Symposia in conflict prevention, like those organized by Cameron Noble at the Japan Center for Conflict Prevention, www.dwcw.org/e-symposium, may be used more systematically. This offers TIMSSE alumni/ae, and those in its public education learning community, another virtual forum to contribute to a dialogue for conflict prevention. The participation of academics and policy makers from the Balkans and other areas to these forums is particularly welcome. This enriches a

dialogue created for and sustained by citizens to link those in the Balkans and across the European Continent with their counterparts around the globe.

A Sui Generis e-Learning Community for Conflict Prevention: The Significance of the Local Perspective

The greatest obstacle we faced in the TIMSSE series presented us also with the most significant opportunity: how to tap into the local perspective by involving participants from the Balkans in our dialogue. Our initial breakthrough occurred in fall 1999 when we included Bucharest on a regular basis. Our Romanian participant, Mr. Gigi Roman, who worked in the office of former president Emil Constantinescu, said that the audio transmission was quite clear, just like "listening to the radio."[32] Other possibilities were realized throughout 2001 when we established direct text chat and audio links with Pristina. The 2002 series made direct text chat links with the former Yugoslavia possible.

At the Balkans crossroads, a geographical area trapped by the weight of history and the persistence of civil strife, education has a role to play if Europe and the world are to learn directly from the Bosnia tragedy, the on-going humanitarian crisis in Kosovo/a, and the tensions in Macedonia. During the course of the TIMSSE series some 25 nationalities across the European continent, including a number of countries in or neighbouring the Balkans, were represented in its student body. The use of the Boston viewing page allows us to include students from Turkey and other areas soon to border the Union in our classroom dialogue. For this reason, the use of this tool is likely to increase in relevance for community building over time.

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[32] Colette Mazzucelli and Roger Boston, "Facilitating Interactive Learning in Internet Pedagogy: A Course in Conflict Prevention," *The Technology Source*, November-December 2001, http://ts.mivu.org/default.asp?show=article&id=949

Today there are opportunities in Europe for the youth to embrace mobility in ways that allow for a return to the spirit of inter-university learning during the time of Erasmus. Although only a small percentage of the youth population in Europe takes advantage of these opportunities, the numbers are likely to grow throughout the Continent. This is in part because of the dynamics of the internal market. It is also driven by the changes heralded by the technological revolution. The unprecedented scope and relative ease of global communications for the ten percent of the world's population that has Internet access lead some to overestimate the forces of globalization and their potential over time. This optimism does not question critically the extent to which liberalism can address the relative inequalities within Europe or in the world, as the digital divide increases. As a corollary, it is fair to argue that the on-going exchanges between realism and liberalism do not speak directly to the obstacles the majority of the world's population now faces.

Over the last decade, nationalist sentiment in intra-state conflict returned to dominate the international agenda with a vengeance. Weak or failed states were the result of internal struggles for power that degenerated into chaos and conflict. The tragic consequences of this scenario in various African countries, in the Balkans, and in Asia, including the Middle East, evolved as the use of technology, in particular multimedia applications in the arts, education, and the press, began an exponential proliferation. Existing feelings of nationalist sentiment are only exacerbated by the sense of exclusion on the part of those left behind in the communications revolution.

In education and youth, taking the Franco-German example, the teaching of history contributes to reconciliation between former enemies. In the Balkans case, history and the way it is interpreted and taught, leads to conflict and division. For this reason, the

type of learning analysed in this paper must rely on what may be defined as the nationalist-constructivist dialectic. The roots and implications of nationalism are an essential element of analysis in transcontinental, Web-based curricular offerings.[33] The purpose of this paper is to explain why multimedia seminars develop the use of constructivist principles[34] that create rich environments for active learning to facilitate conflict prevention through inquisitive dialogue and debate.[35]

In conversations with European colleagues[36], it is evident that the type of learning in the TIMSSE series responds to a post-modern environment and its requirements: emphasis on the rule of law over force, a multilateral reflex, negotiation, and the ability to persuade rather than to coerce. In this context, the constructivist approach to multimedia learning about integration has the potential to result in the creation over time of a learning paradigm that offers citizens in modern states, most notably America, and the evolving post-modern society in Europe the opportunity to communicate across the present divide that the Iraq crisis highlights.

Our awareness of the needs of people in Europe must be increased if we are to foster partnership in the tradition of Jean Monnet. His legacy to unite people beyond their

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[33] In light of transatlantic divergence concerning the appropriate response to the situation in Iraq, it is critical to place more of a focus in future TIMSSE series on a historical perspective to understand the dynamics in a much broader geographical area: for example, between the Paris settlement of 1919 and the present difficulties we are facing in the Balkans and the Middle East today. Therefore, the series will most likely become more historically based and comparatively focused in conflict prevention over time. Two books that come to mind that are illuminating in this context are: David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, Avon Books, 1989 and Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House, 2001.

[34] The author expresses her appreciation to Mrs. MaryRose Barranco Morris, Center for Educational Outreach & Innovation, Teachers College, Columbia University, for her suggestion of reference materials in this field of study.

[35] Colette Mazzucelli, *The Treaty of Elysée (1963-2003) An Inquiry into the Objectives in "Education and Youth" for the Citizens of France, Germany and Europe*, Remarks for a Public Panel Discussion at the School of Public and International Affairs (SIPA), Columbia University with Hubert Védrine, Colette Mazzucelli and Fritz Stern, 27 February 2003, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/alliance/webpages-2/Docs%20archives/NEWS-FrancoGerman%20Relations....htm.

[36] Thierry Monforti, College of Europe, Bruges; Silvia da Rin Pagnetto and Elianne Noble, Sciences Po, Paris; Arno Fischer, German Federal Armed Forces, Bonn.

own borders is artistic in its creative intensity. Throughout the 21st century, Monnet's philosophy may well find expression in that self-confidence, openness and impetus for change may come about through multimedia learning. Education has the potential to bring peoples across the European continent together in a sustained intercultural dialogue about global issues of common concern and to link this dialogue to other student, grassroots initiatives developing on other continents in a networked environment.[37]

Active Learning via Communications Technology: Criteria to Enhance Multimedia Pedagogy in European Integration

On the main page of http://www.timsse.com, online media sources that include access to relevant news in the Balkans on a weekly basis are cited. The use of these materials is meant to encourage direct interactions among students across borders. As previously explained, students in the TIMSSE classroom are asked to work together in pairs, Paris-Munich, and in Web-based group forums via email exchanges. Here it is essential to note critically that much depends on the self-motivation of the students involved. Some of the Munich students in the 2002 series did not use the multimedia tools to any great extent in part because of a lack of familiarity with, or interest in, active learning techniques.[38] Here we confirm that the obstacles to overcome in e-Learning in most classrooms are not so much technological as psychological. This is true in the majority of countries throughout the world today although its evolution over time, in light of changes introduced by technological advances, is open to question.

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[37] The Transatlantic Information Exchange Service's (TIESWeb) Miami Transatlantic Citizens 21st Week scheduled in 2004, for example, encourages students on several continents to enter into a dialogue using Web-based tools of communication, http://www.tiesweb.org/transatlantic_week/presentation.htm

[38] April Morgan, Lucinda Peach and Colette Mazzucelli, eds., *The Active Learning Sourcebook in Ethics and World Affairs* (Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2004).

To date our experience in TIMSSE has demonstrated that the technological tools available and their application in our area of concern are evolving at a fairly rapid pace. The implications of this experience for multimedia learning about European integration are significant. In this context, we have several options to:

1) develop Web-based constructivist learning environments to create a growing number of inclusive communities of students, NGO practitioners, journalists, military professionals and policy makers who can share their insights into integration as the Union enlarges;

2) address the relative lack of historical and linguistic knowledge about key regions in the larger Europe by its citizens and others in the world;

3) establish an educational commitment to, and investment in, European construction as an ethical imperative whose focus is on the security of peoples as well as states;

4) foster the development of multimedia seminars that bridge the academic-practitioner gap by pursuing new avenues of communication;

5) engage those involved in European integration, within the member states and the European institutions, and those outside who aspire to work in NGOs, in common learning projects that take into account the European Union's growing responsibilities around the globe;

6) integrate the use of active learning modules in Web-based teaching that may dovetail with more traditional European Union simulations organized by several US-based regional consortiums to emphasize creative problem solving and multilateral negotiations;

7)   acknowledge the projection that half the world's population may be Net-connected by 2010 and thereby illustrate how communications tools may be utilized strategically in service-oriented multimedia learning about integration that serves as a nexus between public affairs and policy research.

Our experience to date in the TIMSSE series attests to the fact that the project of European construction, as it has evolved since the 1950s, is ill understood within certain parts of Europe, especially by citizens, as well as in other regions of the world that might learn from its experiences. For this reason alone, one of our responsibilities as multimedia educators is to create innovative Web-based seminars that foster learning about European integration that may convince students to contribute to its development.

This responsibility leads the author to question Stanley Hoffmann's projected future for the EU as one "between regional enlargement and global irrelevance."[39] This paper concludes that a vocation for multimedia learning is to ensure that a student's Europe includes the Continent's future leaders in multilateral community-building projects among students in European member states and with citizens around the world. Our objective is to address mutual challenges and concerns, like education for HIV awareness and prevention. Undoubtedly, as educators, we will continue to learn more from the goals which we strive to achieve, and at times do not reach, than from the success of initiatives already tried and tested on a continuous basis as we teach.[40]

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[39] This is the subject of EUSA's 8th Biennial International Conference Keynote Address delivered by Professor Stanley Hoffmann on Friday, March 28, 2003.
[40] This paper is dedicated to the faculty in the departments of History, Philosophy, Modern Languages and Political Science at the University of Scranton whose commitment to teaching has influenced the author throughout her life and travels over the past twenty years.

Appendix

Figure 1

TIMSSE 2002 Series

Rationale: The transatlantic Internet/Multimedia seminar Southeastern Europe (TIMSSE) is an introduction to multimedia pedagogy in the field of conflict prevention. Its content presents various approaches and schools of thought in the emerging field of international peace and conflict prevention using Waltz's levels of analysis in *Man, the State and War* and assesses their relevance to the Balkans. Sources in the American, German and French literatures in international relations as well as Internet sites of the various international, governmental and non-governmental organizations involved in the Balkans provide TIMSSE's conceptual and empirical foundation. The first module focuses on analytical perspectives in conflict prevention. The second module presents conceptions of nation and state in the Balkans. The third and fourth modules assess the role of technology in education and its relevance to the Balkans. The fifth module discusses the question "Why Conditional Independence?" with an analysis of *The Follow-Up of the Kosovo Report*. The sixth module focuses on the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia. The seventh module considers human development and conflict prevention: insights from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The eighth module highlights the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe. The ninth module presents inquiries into aesthetic education: the historical meaning of holy monuments in Kosovo/a. The tenth module assesses European and transatlantic cooperation and competition in the Balkans. The eleventh module features an evaluation of the conflict prevention toolbox. The twelfth module analyzes the European Union's (EU's) stabilization and association process for the Western Balkans. The thirteenth module evaluates the ethical issues surrounding humanitarian intervention in the Balkans. The fourteenth module discusses post-Yugoslav status questions. The last module is an evaluation of TIMSSE concepts and the implementation of multimedia pedagogy in practice with a comparative focus on the pedagogy's potential applications in Africa.

Figure 2

Module 8. The Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe (27 and 29 November)

This multimedia seminar module presents readings with questions to orient discussion about the topic of the Stability Pact. The principal reading is accompanied by Web references that highlight the nexus between concepts, their practical relevance and on-going developments in region.

Presentation of Weekly Reading:

Access the Word document at http://www.timsse.com

How To Participate:

Asynchronous (at different times)

-Small group (7-8) interactive exchanges via email among students in Paris, Munich and other regional locations.

-TIMSSE class listserv, file sharing and threaded discussion forum at http://www.yahoogroups.com

Synchronous (at the same time)

-Individual Class Meetings Paris (with Dr. Mazzucelli), New York, and Munich, Wednesdays, 17.00-18.00.

-CUseeMe PRO interactive class discussions online, Wednesdays, 18.00-19.00 and Fridays, 17.00-19.00, New York, Paris and Munich.

Guest speaker: Johanna Deimel, PhD, Southeast Europe Association, Munich

To Begin:

The Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe (Cologne, 10 June 1999)
 http://www.stabilitypact.org/stabilitypactcgi/catalog/view_file.cgi?prod_id=226&prop_type=en

Emerson, Michael; Nicholas Whyte, "The Future of the Stability Pact," *CEPS Europe South-East Monitor* 29 (Nov. 2001) http://www1.oecd.org/daf/SPAIcom/Word/CEPS29.doc

Questions to Orient Discussion:

What earlier pacts or initiatives were used as a model for the Stability Pact in 1999?

Explain the objective of the Stability Pact and its analysis of the causes of the problems of Southeastern Europe in 1999

What change of circumstances called for a rethinking of the Stability Pact by 2001?

What EU institutions have part of the responsibility for the Balkans, parallel to the Stability Pact as a non-EU institution?

Web References:

Stability Pact, http://www.stabilitypact.org/

Southeast European Cooperative Initiative, http://www.unece.org/seci/

CD ROM Material:

Videocassette Documentary:

To Learn More (Optional):

Emerson, Michael. "On the Forming and Reforming of Stability Pacts: from the Balkans to the Caucasus," *CEPS Europe South-East Monitor* 23 (May 2001) http://www.oecd.org/daf/SPAIcom/Word/CEPS23.doc

Altmann, Franz-Lothar. Regionale Kooperation in Südosteuropa - Organisationen, Pläne, Erfahrungen,

SWP-Studien (Mai 2002) http://www.swp-berlin.org/pdf/ap/s17_02.htm

Democracy, Security and the Future of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe. A Framework for Debate, EastWest Institute and European Stability Initiative (Berlin 4 April 2001) http://www.esiweb.org/pages/reports_stab.html

Deimel, Johanna. "Der Stabilitätspakt für Südosteuropa: Ansatz und aktueller Stand beim Regionaltisch und den drei Arbeitstischen," *Südosteuropa-Mitteilungen* 41. 2 (2001), pp. 175-198.

2 ½ Years of Stability Pact: Lessons and Policy Recommendations (Brussels 11 Dec. 2001) http://www.stabilitypact.org/stabilitypactcgi/catalog/view_file.cgi?prod_id=5735&prop_type=en

Anastasakis, Othon; Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic. *Balkan Regional Cooperation and European Integration* (July 2002)

Conferencing Topic: Conflict Resolution and the War in Bosina

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FROM: Albert Bruun Birnbaum   (11/14/01 3:42 PM GMT -06:00)
SUBJECT: The Dayton accords and Lund's theoretical approach
[Reply | Send a personal message to Albert Bruun Birnbaum]

Hi everyone, in this quick analysis I've tried to use the theoretical concepts of Michael S Lund, in order to link the insights from this approach with the empirical findings/facts from the article about the Dayton agreements.

My only fear is, that this approach might focus too much on Waltz' 2nd and 3rd level, on not initially take into account the importance of the 1st level. To compensate for this slight bias, I've therefore tried to incorporate the individual level in the model, As both the "Ending the War in Bosnia"-text and the Vance and Hamburg article highlights the importance of this level, which could be called "the Holbrooke factor". I' ve deliberately steered away from the conflict cycle (cf. question 3!) and instead focused on the five dimensions outlined by Lund (Managing Global Chaos, pp.391-395) which I've used to make a quick analysis of some of the factors that might help us to understand what ended the war:

External factors

1. Timing and the role of 3rd parties: As Rosegrant & Watkins ("Ending the…") notes, the war had raged since 1992, which meant that a certain fatigueness was beginning to prevail, as the different leaders were becomming "war weary". The EU, NATO and USA were furthermore beginning to act like a 'unified actor' that supported firm unequivocal pressures to end the war. This corresponds to the role of Holbrooke, whom the warring parties knew spoke for all of these actors. "Ripeness" of the situation.

2. Breadth and depth of international agreement: As the text shows,

34

this factor played a very important role in ending the war, as 'the unified role of the 3rd parties' allowed them to use (multitrack?) incentives, in coralling the actors to the negotioating table: This led to the use of "sticks" (NATO's military campaign) and "carrots" (the promise of economic aid). Furhtermore, the 'breadth and depth of international involvment' was almost unseen, which graced the efforts with a factor that previoud efforts had lacked: credibility.

3. The support from major global and nearby powers: As the previous point shows, major- and regional powers were certainly present. As Lund notes, the role of USA is very important in this aspect, and for the first time in years, the period was marked by an american willingness to actively engage itself in the conflict. An engagement that happened, and eventually brought and end to the war, through the role of a regional organization (NATO), whcih functionned as a 'legitimate vehicle' for US action. Furthermore the engagement had the blessing of the UN - although at times more tacit than overtly - just as the newly established Contact Group helped assure that concern for the international order was taken into account.

Indigenous factors

4. Accomodating leaders: As noted in point 1, the toll of the war was beginning to show, as several key actors began to show signs of 'war wearyness'. This gave the situation a sense of "ripeness", and produced a "window of opportunity" that Holbrooke was able to exploit. Again, as both Touval and Lund notes, the notion of timing is decisive. As the text shows, several leaders, including Milosevic and Karadzic showed "moderation" instead of using their usual flamboyant rhetoric.

5. The strength of state institutions: This might be the most difficult part to asses. Lund notes that the actors need to "pursue their differences through common governing procedures and institutions" (p.394) and that the actors need to work on the basis of agree-on enforcable rules. One the one hand, state institutions in the Balkans were in a poor condition, although each of the leaders were in control of the main political forces in their territory. On the other, not withstanding the lack of effective institutions, one could argue that the whole context of the Dayton-negotioations led to the emergence of certain rules and procedures. This "embeddednes" - to borrow a term from organizational theory (cf. F. Scharpf) - led to an acceptance of common procedures in which the parties could bring forth their different claims. However, one could just as easily argue that this had less to do with institutions and procedures, and owed more to Holbrooke's personality and importance as the chief-negotioator.

I've thought about the following questions, which could serve as a way to connect Lund's approach with the emphasis of the negotiator:

1) Not withstanding the explanatory value of Lund's five factors/dimensions, and their relevance to end the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, would the outcome have been different, if Holbrooke hadn't been at the helm?

2) What matters most: The 'framework' or setting of the negaciations, or the character/personality of the negociator?

last but not least:

3) Where on Lund's "conflict cycle " would we place the war in Bosnia? Why? What importance did this have for the succes of the negotiations? Is it really fair to speak - as I do above - of a "ripeness" of the conflict? Wouldn't the same factors have functionned in 1993 instead of 1995?

[Reply | Send a personal message to Albert Bruun Birnbaum]

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[Roger_2] five imageson the screen now

[Roger_2] wait I will see if I can borrow a camera from th de group

[mazzucelli] is there no way to capture this?

[mazzucelli] please do see if you can borrow a camera this is really fine

[Roger_2] BTW you can RIGHT MOUSE click on the video, select open in real player, then zoom this stream to any size you want, IM I send at faster than modem speed, it would still be crystal clear even full screen

[mazzucelli] I see this yes, just tried, could you get a camera by chance?

[Roger_2] no

[Roger_2] but I did do a couple of screen snapshots with the PRT SCRN feature

All Users

mazzucelli
Roger_2

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