

**Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Kosovo** 

Public perception survey and public dialogue about future TRC of Kosov
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# Public perception survey and public dialogue about future Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Kosovo

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# **List of Acronyms**

CSO(s) Civil Society Organizations

FG(s) Focus group(s)

JNA Yugoslav People's Army KLA Kosovo Liberation Army

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

SPRK Special Prosecution of the Republic of Kosovo PT Preparatory Team (for the establishment of the TRC)

TRC Truth and Reconciliation Commission

## **Executive summary**

Twenty years after its conflict, Kosovo still needs to deal effectively with the legacy of mass violence and human rights violations. Since 1999, the approach

to dealing with the past in Kosovo has been inconsistent and inadequate. War crimes have been tried by international courts (ICTY), through international institutions (UNMIK and EULEX) and in national courts. While justice for war crimes is important, the focus on such trials neglected serious investment into means of advancing coexistence and reconciliation. The efforts designed so far in Kosovo to reach reconciliation have not produced the expected results, especially as there has not been serious political interest nor investment, as well as a lack of concrete and valid understanding of mechanisms that are paramount to reconciliation.

The sense of a lack of justice having taken place, as well as the lack of acceptance and recognition of the violations and harms suffered by victims during the armed conflict have become obstacles to intra-Kosovar co-operation and reconciliation and the development of society so far. Kosovo is at a crossroads in dealing with the struggles that come with full sovereignty. A test of Kosovo's capacity to function as an inclusive, progressive society involves primarily dealing with the legacies of the conflict of 1998-99 and its aftermath.

In 2017, Kosovo's President launched the idea to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) for Kosovo, on which a Preparatory Team (PT) is currently working. This report is the result of a perception survey research to inform the Preparatory Team about the knowledge and views of Kosovar society related to the concepts of truth, reconciliation and the proposed TRC for Kosovo. The research shows clearly that public awareness about establishing the TRC, its purpose, mandate and scope of operation is extremely low.

The survey was conducted among 1065 respondents representing all ethnic communities in Kosovo, followed by qualitative Focus Group sessions with mono-ethnic groups to further discuss the concepts of truth and reconciliation. The majority of respondents think reconciliation is needed and that truth and justice are important preconditions to achieving it, while also recognizing it is a long process. In this light, most of the respondents are in support of the establishment of the TRC, even if it would reveal negative things about one's own ethnic group or facts they had not known about. However, there are distinct differences, especially between K-Albanians and K-Serbs when it comes to what time period, actors and crimes to be investigated by the TRC. Overall, people are concerned that Kosovo's weak justice system and issues of corruption might impact the work of the TRC. The Preparatory Team needs to make sure the TRC's mandate is inclusive of these different perspectives and that the TRC will be able to work fully independently and transparently.

## **Key findings**

- The majority of respondents (62%) have never heard about the Right to Truth for victims of past human rights abuses. Only after a short explanation, the vast majority thought it is very important (80%) that victims and their families know the truth. This belief was held by the majority, no matter what the truth would reveal. Those who did not find the Right to Truth important, also did not believe the truth would change anything.
- The study reveals that the concept of reconciliation is understood as peace (the reduction of violence and establishment of peace) and respecting an individual's human rights by a substantive majority of respondents (83%).
- In order to achieve reconciliation in Kosovo, respondents agreed to a great extent that finding out the truth is necessary (90%), as well is legal justice (88%).
- 63% of all respondents believe that reconciliation should happen between relevant entities. However, K-Albanians regard the Kosovo and Serb governments as the main entities for realizing reconciliation, while the majority of K-Serbs believe that it should happen between communities.
- The majority of respondents (72%) have never heard of the initiative for a TRC for Kosovo, with only 14% who have.
- After respondents were given extra information about the TRC, the majority (76%) felt positive about it. However, ethnically speaking, a significant number of K-Albanians respondents (79%) were positively, while less than a third (29%) of K-Serb respondents felt positively about it with 50% not knowing or feeling neutral towards it and 14% feeling negatively.
- Though only 3% of all respondents would not support the establishment of the TRC in Kosovo, 19% of K-Serbs would not.
- The main reason participants support establishing the TRC was discovering the truth (39%).
- Among those who do not support the establishment of the TRC 26% believe that the TRC will not succeed, and 21% are negative due to the fact that the initiative came from the President of Kosovo, Mr. Hashim Thaçi.
- Some respondents (12%) do not support the TRC because they think forgiveness would be asked from victims and the Commission would deal with the pardoning of crimes committed during the recent conflict in Kosovo.
- Mass killings (66%) and sexual violence (63%) were the two most chosen violations to be covered under the mandate of the TRC. The most important result to be achieved by the TRC according to respondents is letting the families of the missing people know what happened to their loved ones (69%).
- Similarly, there are significant differences between K-Albanian and K-Serb respondents about which actors responsible for human rights violations should be investigated by the TRC.

- There was no clear consensus among the respondents on the exact period of violence to be investigated by the TRC.
- In terms of its formal establishment, most respondents (66%) think the TRC should be established by a legislative act to have credibility. Furthermore, the Kosovo Parliament is seen as important for appointing commissioners (based on a list of nominations provided by a selection committee consisting of the victims of war, NGOs, media and overall public), as well as for approving and controlling the budget for the TRC and monitoring its work.
- A majority of respondents agreed that there should be quotas to ensure adequate representation of women (84%) and of minorities (77%) as TRC commissioners.
- Many respondents find it very important that if the TRC is established it should be fully independent, transparent while protecting victims and witnesses and that its recommendations are implemented. The majority believes that the final report of the TRC should be published and made available to the general public both online and in print (66%).

### Introduction

Truth commissions have emerged as complementary justice and reconciliation venues in countries that have tried to move from a period of past human rights abuses to a sustainable and democratic future. These commissions are official bodies usually set up by states during moments of regime change in order to investigate and report on patterns of human rights violations. These bodies do not just resolve specific facts, they also intend to affect the social understanding and acceptance of a country's past. In fact, many truth commissions have the explicit goal of fostering national reconciliation which can be understood broadly as a process that acknowledges the past and repairs the relations it has destroyed. Nevertheless, reconciliation should be understood as a long-term social process that cannot be achieved by a truth commission alone. At best, commissions can help to create better conditions for reconciliation by encouraging institutional reform and changes in the political culture of a state, and by restoring the dignity of those most affected by violence. <sup>1</sup>

Truth commissions are most effective when integrated in a comprehensive transitional justice strategy that includes reparation policies, criminal prosecutions, and institutional reforms. By delivering clear findings and compelling recommendations, commissions can enrich policy and create political and moral momentum for these initiatives.<sup>2</sup>

In the late 1990s, the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, set up to deal with the legacy of Apartheid, brought the concept of truth commissions to the center of international attention. But there have been many other truth commissions, under various names, before and since with different levels of 'success'. In the 1980s, Argentina was the first country to successfully hold a truth commission, named the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons, to deal with crimes committed by the outgoing leaders of a brutal military dictatorship. The commission's report, Nunca Mas ("Never Again") became known around the world. A decade later, Guatemala's Commission for Historical Clarification also succeeded in collecting, processing, and summarizing vast amounts of firsthand information into a final report which established an authoritative record of serious human rights violations. Nevertheless, the commission faced significant challenges such as financial insecurity and, few investigative powers. The Guatemalan Commission also was prohibited from naming specific individuals responsible for the violence in the final report, while the more recent Moroccan Equity and Reconciliation Commission was allowed to establish institutional rather than individual responsibility of wrongs committed during a 43 year period.<sup>3</sup>

Overall, truth commissions can contribute a lot to society by creating official records of human rights abuses committed in the past, identifying the factors that drove the violence and paving the way for victims to heal and former combatants to reintegrate into society by providing a safe space

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> González, E. & Howard Varney (eds.), 'Truth Seeking: Elements of Creating an Effective truth Commission', ICTJ, 2013. https://ictj.org/sites/default/files/ICTJ-Book-Truth-Seeking-Chapter2-2013-English.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> https://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/document.php?id=cqrglobal2010010000

for testimonials. Nevertheless, they can be criticized "who's truth" they tell as their findings on patterns of violations and responsibility can challenge different societal narratives of the past.

In 2017, Kosovo President Hashim Thaçi initiated the idea of establishing a Commission for Truth and Reconciliation in Kosovo, to help provide the basis for dialogue among Kosovo's divided communities. Basically, such a TRC should aim to establish facts about the recent Kosovo war, protect the victims and survivors and inform policy changes in Kosovo. After several consultations with key policy actors, victims and families of missing persons, civil society and the wider public, the President, in accordance with Article 84 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Article 6 of Law no. 03 / L-094, and in accordance with Article 3 (4) of Regulation (P) No. 02/2016 on the Organizational Structure of the Presidency (8.9.2016), and Decision no. 51/2017 issued a decision on the appointment of the Preparatory Team for the establishment of the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation (Nr. 892-01.11.2017 Protocol). This team consists of individuals from government and, civil society, as well as independent experts and has been mandated to prepare documentation for the establishment of the TRC.

The Preparatory Team (PT) started its work in May 2018 and so far has produced a draft Normative Act that describes the objectives, mandate and functions of the future TRC. The Act recalls that the people of Kosovo have long suffered the consequences of a violent past and, thus should commence a healing process through the seeking of truth, ecognizing that victims of human rights violations have a right to the truth, and are entitled to adequate redress for the suffering they endured. This process will pave the way for the coming generations to build and maintain a sustainable peace.

This study aims to find a Kosovar specific understanding of, as well as need for reconciliation and the related concepts of truth, justice, and documentation in relation to the recent conflict of 1998-99 in Kosovo. Next to this, the understanding and support for establishing a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in Kosovo was assessed.

Previously conducted research, suggests that the concepts of truth, reconciliation and transitional justice mechanisms like truth commissions are understood in different ways by different groups in Kosovo.<sup>6</sup> For this study, the researchers needed to provide initial conceptual information, to enable

<sup>4</sup> https://www.president-

ksgov.net/repository/docs/2019\_10\_16\_125802\_DECISION\_ON\_THE\_APPOINTMENT\_OF\_THE\_PREPARATORY\_TEAM\_ 15102019.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Adamović, Mirjana, Anja Gvozdanović & Marko Kovačić, *Process of Reconciliation in the Western Balkans and Turkey: A Qualitative Study*, Zagreb 2016 (part of the Divided Past - Joint Future project); Ahmetaj, Nora & Thomas Unger, 'Kosovo's Framework for Dealing With the Past at a Turning Point: Civil society review of progress towards a National Strategy on Transitional Justice', April 2017 <a href="http://kosovomemory.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Civil-society-review-of-progress-toward-a-National-Strategy-on-Transitional-Justice.pdf">http://kosovomemory.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Civil-society-review-of-progress-toward-a-National-Strategy-on-Transitional-Justice.pdf</a>; Ahmetaj, Nora, 'Deconstructing Reconciliation in Kosovo', Centre for Research, Documentation and Publication, June 2017

respondents/participants in FGs discussion to express their initial thoughts about the truth(s) related to the recent conflict in Kosovo, and on the need for establishing the TRC. The process of establishing the TRC raises a series of fundamental questions among respondents regarding the narratives from the past, its acceptance by the elite and societal consent by all stakeholder groups and communities.

The objective of this research was a compilation of a representative survey on the public perception about the Commission on Truth and Reconciliation (CTR), covering at least 1065 respondents, the results of which were further analyzed by mono-ethnic focus group discussions.

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## Methodology

The research adopted a mixed-method approach, considering the complexity of the issue it treats in order to increase validity and depth. It consisted of a quantitative survey followed by a qualitative study with six focus groups (three with K-Albanians and three with K-Serbs and K-other minorities) in order to test the hypothesis with respondents around concepts of truth, reconciliation and the establishment of TRC.

## **Quantitative research**

The survey was conducted using the random sampling method, with 1065 randomly selected individuals throughout all 38 municipalities in Kosovo. This sample was calculated considering the confidence level of 95% and a margin of error of 3% for the entire sample and is representative of the targeted population. The survey was conducted among representatives of Kosovo Albanians, Kosovo Serbs and other Kosovo minorities (Bosniaks, Roma, Turks and Gorani), 18 years of age and older and was carried out equally in urban and rural areas. The overall sample of 1065 was split into three sub-samples based on ethnic groups living in Kosovo: K-Albanian, K-Serb and K-other non-majority communities referred in this research as 'K-Others'. The K-Serb and K-Other sub-samples were oversampled so as to allow an indicative analysis of results broken down by ethnic group. Below, the distribution of interviews for all three sub-samples is shown:

Ethnicity	Number of interviews
K-Albanians	818 (77%)
K-Serbs	150 (14%)
K-Others	97 (9%)

Considering that the K-Serb and K-Other ethnicities were oversampled, sample weights were constructed to adjust for this oversampling, in order for the general results to reflect the population structure of Kosovo consisting of 92% K-Albanians, 4% K-Serbs and 4% K-Others.<sup>7</sup> These weights were used throughout the analysis of the results whenever referring to the whole Kosovo adult population.

The questionnaire was administered through face to face interviews, using computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) technique. CAPI technique ensures less errors and higher data quality, ensuring validity of the study. The fieldwork team consisted of 23 carefully selected

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> KAS, Census 2011

enumerators, two field supervisors, one technical controller, and one field coordinator. The entire team was trained to ensure that enumerators fully understood the survey questions, were familiar with the methodology of sampling and interviewing and were able to administer the interviews easily, accurately and consistently.

Before the field research, a pilot-testing of the questionnaires was conducted to validate them in terms of content and logic. The pilot test also allowed to establish the reliability of the questionnaires, as well as to measure the time required to successfully complete an interview. Afterwards, necessary modifications were made and reflected in the two languages in which the questionnaire was conducted; Albanian and Serbian.<sup>8</sup>

The survey fieldwork was conducted between 24 September and 15 October 2019.

In broad terms, the questions included on the questionnaire can be grouped into three areas: demographics, citizens' perception of truth and reconciliation, and their views on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Kosovo.

#### **Qualitative research**

In the second part of the study, qualitative research was conducted with six focus groups held in Prishtina, three with K-Albanians and three with K-Serbs and K-Others (Turks, Roma, Gorani, Bosniaks) - with a total of 87 participants from the different groups. The focus groups consisted of 12 to 15 individuals, ages ranging from 20 to 60 years old, with a 50/50 ratio gender representation and diversity in profiles including: journalists, historians, teachers, members of associations of civilian victims and missing persons, artists, academic and religious community, public employees, NGO activists\workers, retired, unemployed, freelancers, and public employees.

The questions were designed to fill in gaps identified from the results of the quantitative survey and were presented to the participants in order to gain their inputs on issues of reconciliation and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's mandate. Focus group discussions were recorded, transcribed, and reviewed by the researchers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> An English translation was prepared for review by external experts.

### **Research results**

## **Demographic profile of respondents**

From the 1065 survey respondents 52% were men and 48% women, who mainly belonged to the age group of 25 - 34 (25%), followed by the age-group of 18 - 24 (19%). In addition, 45% of the respondents finished secondary school of 4 years and 31% are employed full-time. Slightly more respondents come from rural areas (53%) than urban areas (47%). Among the respondents, 53% belong to one of the legally established groups related to the war time experience. This shows a large percentage of the population has been affected by the recent conflict.



Figure 1. Do you belong to any of the following legally established categories?

#### Views on truth, reconciliation and major actors

To begin with, it was important to assess the respondents' opinions regarding the changes they have observed since the end of the armed conflict in Kosovo in 1999; see Figure 2. Three areas that respondents believe have seen improvements are: infrastructure (74%), mobility (69%) and gender equality (60%). Whereas, 58% of the respondents are of the opinion that education improved. Regarding employment, the opinions are divided; while 36% of respondents feel the employment situation improved, 34% thinks it actually worsened. With regards to Memory and Memorialization, 39% thought it has received more attention, while another 37% did not see any changes in this field.

More than half of respondents (54%) are worried about the level of corruption which according to them has aggravated since the end of the war. With only 17% of respondents thinking corruption diminished, it is a serious issue for citizens.

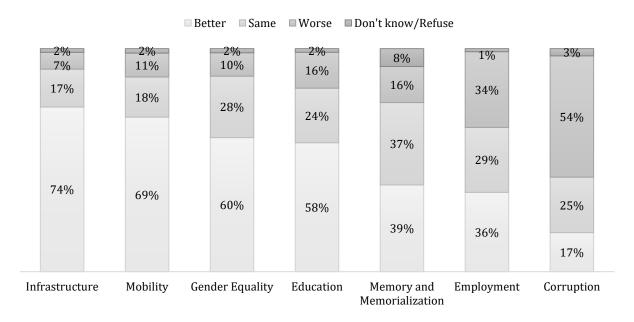


Figure 2. How do you evaluate the change in the following areas since the end of the war?

Figure 3 shows the views of respondents on changes in the areas of security, ethnic relations, civil and political rights, economy, inequality, social security and justice since the end of the war. While more than half of respondents interviewed (59%) think that their security has improved, only 38% of them think that the justice system got better.

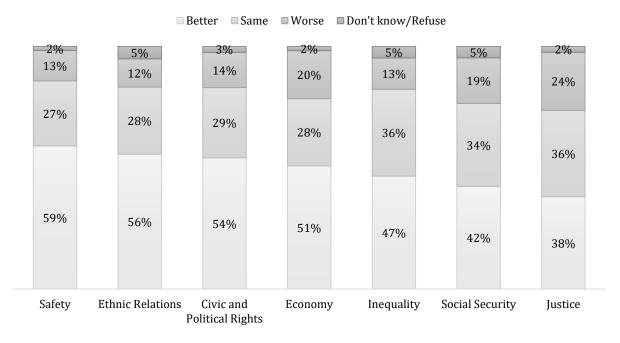


Figure 3. How do you evaluate the change in the following areas since the end of the war?

The Right to Truth as the first pillar of Transitional Justice as a process affirms that victims of gross human rights violations and serious violations of international humanitarian law and their family members have the right to know the truth about the identity of perpetrators, the causes that made them suffer, and the fate or whereabouts of those disappeared. In the end, they have their rights guaranteed by domestic and international conventions to seek justice. As Figure 4 shows below, this right seems to be unknown to the majority of citizens. Roughly 62% of respondents have never heard about it, while 25% have, and 13% were left not sure about the subject. For this reason and before continuing with other questions relating to transitional justice and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, respondents were given additional information about the right to truth.

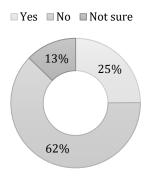


Figure 4. Have you ever heard about the right to the truth?

In terms of their opinion on the importance of victims and their families knowing the truth about the past (see Figure 5), 80% of respondents believed that it was very important whereas only 8% of respondents were neutral or did not think it was important.

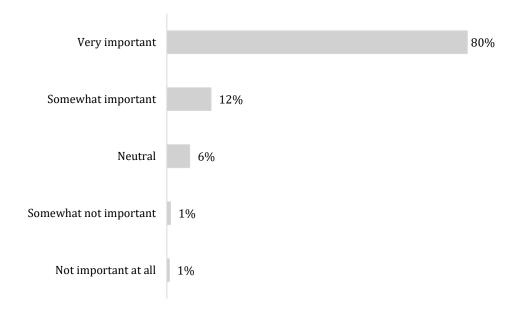


Figure 5. Do you think that it is important for victims and their families to know the truth?

Of the small group of respondents (2% or n=21) who said that it is of little importance for victims and their families to know the truth, more than half (59%) explained they think finding the truth has no impact, while others (33%) did not provide further explanation. Only (8%) of them truly believe that the war damaged Kosovars beyond repair and therefore the truth is not important (see figure 6).

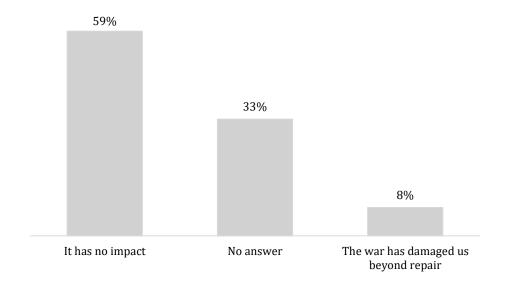


Figure 6. Why do you think it is not important?

In the FGs where the participants had more space to discuss and answer the questions, several K-Serb participants conceptualized the truth as a necessary process in order to deal with the legacies of the recent past in Kosovo:

"The moment I say, it's true, we were killing your brother, at that moment, reconciliation can occur. The truth should come out and loud, but from the people." (K-Serb participant)

"The truth is when you let the other side know why some crimes were committed in the 1990s...I think, the truth is a kind of confession by both parties about crimes committed in the past, when guilt is accepted and this should lead to reconciliation." (K-Serb participant)

Also among participants in the K-Albanians FGs, there was recognition for the need for facts and truth, for all sides:

"No matter what period of time, every murder that has taken place deserves equal treatment, whoever committed it. The idea is that if we seek justice, then we should investigate and interpret the facts in the international arena, but when we do, I think the more the better because we are now entering the third decade after the war, even as the years go by, the witnesses are potentially dead, therefore gathering facts becomes a problem." (K-Albanian participant)

A concern about lack of preserved evidence or data was shared by several participants:

"I think there is not enough evidence ... I would like to point out a fact that a friend of mine was at the Kosovo Agency of Statistics a few days ago and was looking for a number for houses burned during the war and found no such data ... I suppose the data are not even accurate for the missing, or for the sexually abused women in the war, and we really need them not only to heal the wounds of the past, but perhaps to seek justice..." (K-Albanian participant)

In terms of its importance no matter what the truth will reveal, a large majority of respondents think that the truth is important even when it reveals the identity of perpetrators (91%), information that is different than what they have heard/read until now (90%), or something unfavorable about persons who have their political support (86%). The truth is also still regarded as important when it reveals something unfavorable about someone's city or region (86%), ethnic community (84%) or religious identity (83%).

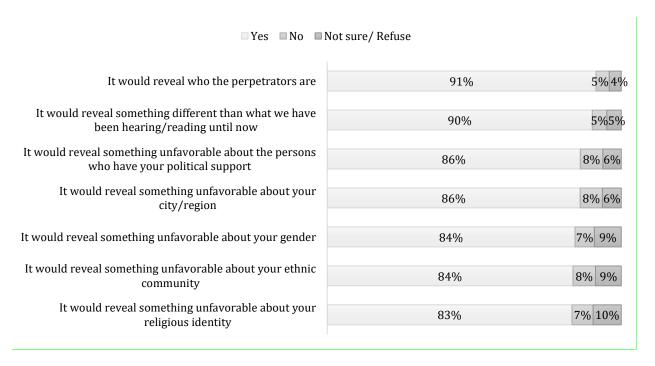


Figure 7. Do you think that the right to truth is important even if...:

#### **Views on Reconciliation**

Respondents could choose more than one answer to define what reconciliation meant to them (see Figure 8). The meanings of reconciliation chosen by at least three quarters of respondents were: peace (defined as the reduction of violence); respect for individual human rights; ethnic coexistence; the truth about the past; dialogue; past perpetrators taking responsibility and apologizing (making amends); two sides making a compromise; holding perpetrators accountable; and improving relationships between past conflicting parties.

At the same time, over half of respondents (55%) answered that reconciliation meant doing nothing about the past and instead focusing on the future, while 45% linked reconciliation with forgiving past perpetrators. For a third of respondents (33%) reconciliation and dealing with the past have no meaning at all, which is quite significant.

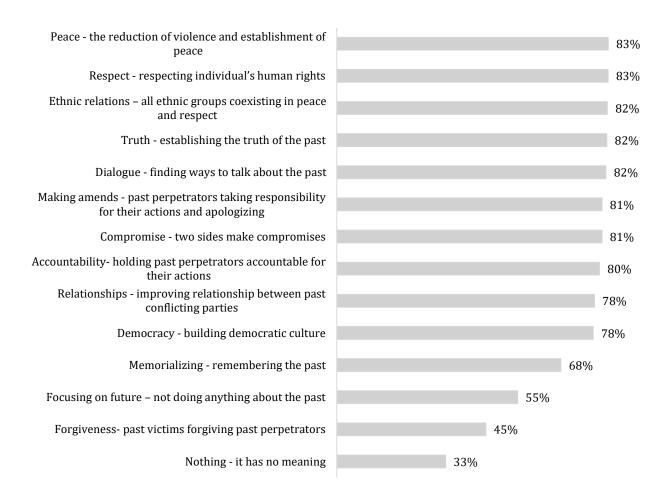


Figure 8. What does 'reconciliation' mean to you, when you think about dealing with the past in Kosovo?

However, the focus group discussions gave slightly more specific and clearer answers about the discourse of reconciliation. While both K-Albanians and non-Albanians see reconciliation as a continuous process after completing a range of prior activities, the activities proposed by K-Albanian respondents differ from those given by the K-Serbs. K-Albanian participants think that a reconciliation process should be preceded by finding missing persons, and also see an apology provided to victims by the Serbian authorities as a precondition. According to them, this would bring, at least a certain level of satisfaction to the victims and those close to them.

"I do not believe there is anyone in Kosovo who says he will forgive criminals. This is a principle of justice. Whoever committed crimes, he should be jailed. Here we lack the justice system and it has not been efficient. Justice usually leads to reconciliation, if there were more convicted criminals, I'm sure people would be satisfied." (K-Albanian participant)

K-Serb participants also associate punishment of war crimes as an important precondition for reconciliation One of them commented:

"But the point is not only in forgiveness, but in punishment. Without punishment, forgiveness has no purpose. On the contrary, it is the greatest service. Because it creates the conditions for committing new crimes in the future. Because no crimes of the past were punished.'

Furthermore, for K-Serbs reconciliation also has a future dimension in a way of normalization of relations between the two parties;

"Well, for me reconciliation is a normalization of relations between Serbs and Albanians, which has to be worked on for many years to come" (K-Serb participant)

In addition, both K-Albanian and K-Serb participants in FGs believe that reconciliation must be reached at the institutional level, through an agreement between the governments of Serbia and Kosovo and their mutual recognition, where both assist rather than hinder the process of reconciliation between ethnic communities in Kosovo. Participants stated that all ethnic groups in Kosovo should accept what happened and work at the local level first, and that the past should serve to build the future.

"Well, one step towards normalizing relations between Belgrade and Pristina leads to reconciliation, except that I would do this reconciliation at the local level first, because we have seen so far that there has been no success at the central level" (K-Serb participant).

In the survey, respondents could give multiple answers regarding who reconciliation should happen between. More than half of the respondents (63%) believe that reconciliation should be reached by the two Governments-that of Kosovo and Serbia as two states.

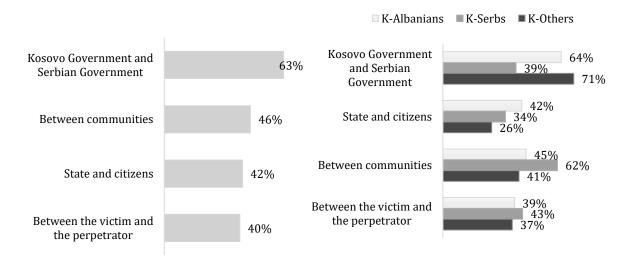


Figure 9. In your opinion, reconciliation should happen between: (by ethnicity)

Broken down per ethnic group, this view is mainly supported by K-Albanians (64%) and non-Serb minority respondents (71%) with just over a third of the K-Serbs (39%) holding this view. In comparison, just less than half of all respondents (46%) favor the communities to be involved in reaching reconciliation; among them 63% of the K-Serbs hold that view. 40% of the respondents believe that reconciliation should occur between the victims and perpetrators.

Furthermore, in terms of importance of support from specific actors in achieving reconciliation, the state institutions and the international community were seen as very important by the majority of respondents (82% and 79% respectively). Though, civil society, media and the private sector were also considered important by the majority of respondents. (see Figure 10).

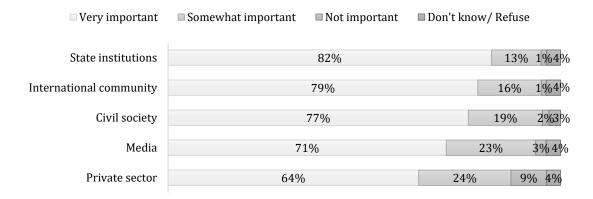


Figure 10. How important do you find the support of the following actors and initiatives for achieving reconciliation in Kosovo?

Respondents in the survey were also asked about the relevance of truth as a precondition to reconciliation. 90% of respondents indicated they completely or somewhat agreed with the truth being relevant for reconciliation (see Figure 11). This suggests that the majority of respondents are aware that a well-documented truth is necessary to be known by both parties in order to achieve reconciliation. However, there are different opinions on how to establish the truth. A considerable majority of respondents (86%) completely or somewhat agreed that Kosovo citizens possess sufficient information about the facts and truths of the past related to the '98/'99 conflict. Similarly, 73% completely or somewhat agreed that Kosovo institutions provided good foundations in bringing about reconciliation.

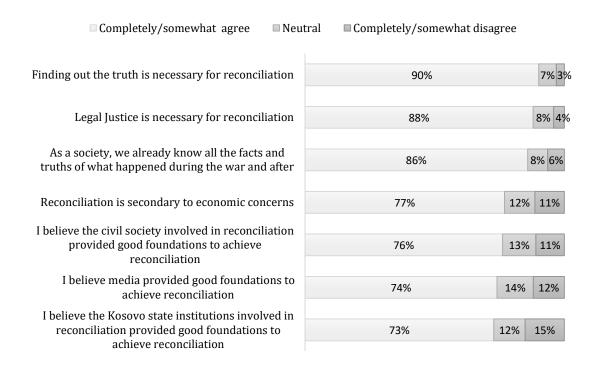


Figure 11. Please tell us whether you agree or do not agree with the following statements?

The following table (Table 1) depicts the views of respondents from each ethnicity regarding the statements mentioned above. While 75% of K-Albanians and 74% of K-Others completely or somewhat agree that Kosovo state institutions provided good foundations for reconciliation, only 23% percent of K-Serbs support such a view.

Table 1. Please tell us whether you agree or do not agree with the following statements? By ethnicity

	K-Albanians			K-Serbs			K-Others		
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
I believe the Kosovo state institutions involved in reconciliation provided good foundations to achieve reconciliation	75%	12%	13%	23%	9%	68%	74%	20%	6%
I believe the civil society involved in reconciliation provided good foundations to achieve reconciliation	79%	12%	9%	32%	25%	43%	71%	23%	6%
I believe media provided good	77%	13%	11%	34%	20%	45%	67%	28%	5%

foundations to achieve reconciliation									
Legal Justice is necessary for reconciliation	90%	7%	3%	68%	13%	19%	72%	23%	5%
Reconciliation is secondary to economic concerns	79%	10%	10%	38%	32%	30%	65%	25%	10%
Finding out the truth is necessary for reconciliation	92%	6%	2%	63%	14%	24%	80%	18%	2%
As a society, we already know all the facts and truths of what happened during the war and after	87%	7%	6%	65%	22%	13%	71%	23%	6%

In the FG discussions the belief in local institutions' capabilities aimed at reconciliation was not shared. Participants in the FGs were much more skeptical about achieving reconciliation beyond individual communication. The participants agreed that reconciliation is a complex matter, requiring substantial changes within and across communities. Due to lack of trust in institutions and political leaders, and mistrust between communities, they believe that reconciliation, beyond the individual level, will be hard to achieve for years to come.

Many of the K-Serb participants in FGs talked about their private relationships with Albanians as friends, co-workers, acquaintances and similar, marking it as a demonstrator that reconciliation is possible. However, once the conversation developed deeper into truth and reconciliation, there were more "we" versus "them" references, highlighting the differences in an understanding of the past and present and the difficulties in overcoming it. Reconciliation seems to be more acceptable at an individual, rather than at a group level.

'On the other hand, do you really think that, if we call it that, Kosovo society, or should I say Albanians as a people... Do you think that they are nationally, collectively, in such a state of consciousness as a nation that they can face their crimes?' (K-Serb participant)

### **Knowledge on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission**

In order to test the general knowledge of respondents about Truth and Reconciliation Commissions in general and the initiative to establish a TRC in Kosovo in particular, it was necessary to ask a few basic questions on such institution.

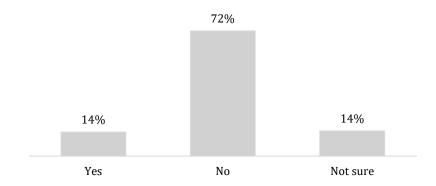


Figure 12. Have you ever heard about the idea of setting up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Kosovo?

The respondents who said they have heard about the TRC in Kosovo (14% in Fig.12), were further asked to share their level of knowledge about the TRC (Figure 13). Almost half of them (49%) said they know to some degree about the TRC, with only 10% knowing a lot about it. Another 41% reported knowing nothing or not very much about it.

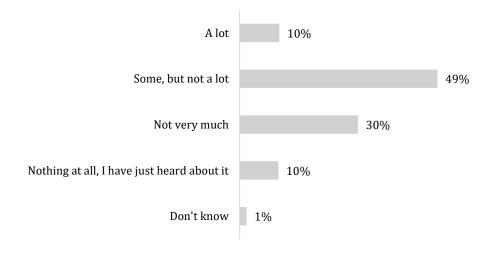


Figure 13. How much would you say you know about TRC?

#### **Views towards the Truth and Reconciliation Commission**

In order to dig further into respondents' beliefs and opinions on the TRC and assess their views on its establishment, a general description was given to each respondent, in order to provide them with an idea of the TRC's role and mandate. In that light, 76% of respondents felt positive in

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The following text was read to respondent: "Truth commissions are official, non-judicial bodies of a limited duration that are established to determine the facts, causes, and consequences of the past human rights violations. They particularly give attention to testimonies, provide victims with recognition. In 2017 Kosovo President Hashim Thaçi initiated the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which aims to provide the basis for dialogue among Kosovo's divided communities. The TRC

establishing the TRC in Kosovo. Only 13% of the respondents were neutral about the TRC's establishment, whereas 3% felt negatively. Ethnically speaking, 79% of K-Albanians and 60% of K-Others expressed being positive about the idea of establishing a TRC, while only 29% of K-Serbs were positive (see Figure 14). At the same time, a substantive part of K-Serb respondents were either neutral (29%) or did not know what to think about the TRC (21%).

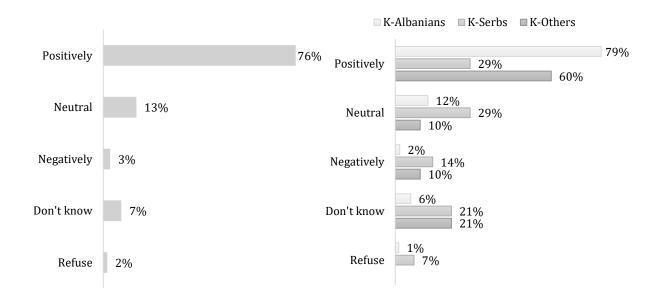


Figure 14. In the light of this information, how do you feel about the establishment of the TRC? By ethnicity

Similar percentages were found for actual support for the establishment of the TRC (see Figure 15). Overall, 72% of respondents in principle supported the TRC's establishment compared to only 3% who confirmed the opposite. One in four respondents said they were not sure whether they support it or not. Broken down by ethnicity, K-Albanians respondents are more in favor of it (76%)

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aims to establish facts, protect the victims and survivors related to the recent Kosovo war and inform policy changes in Kosovo. Currently there is a Preparatory Team working on the TRC establishment and the law resulting it is being designed. Therefore, your input and views as a citizen are very important in this process."

than non-Albanians (28% of K-Serbs and 51% of K-others). Ambivalence towards supporting the TRC was higher among non-Albanians (K-Serbs 53% and K-others 47%, respectively).

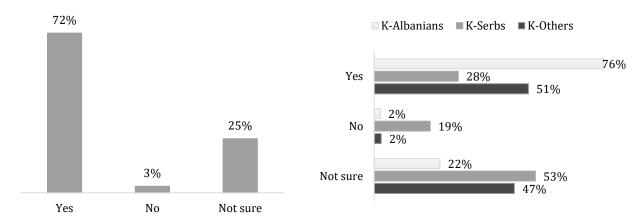


Figure 15. In principle, do you support the establishment of the TRC? By ethnicity

Further, the respondents were asked to list the reasons for supporting versus not supporting the establishment of the TRC (Figure 16). Of those in favor, 39% argue that the TRC will serve as a way to discover the truth, followed by 16% who think that the TRC will be an instrument that will bring about justice to all by establishing retributive measures (punishment of perpetrators). Surprisingly, 12% seems not to have an opinion on why they support it or not. Whereas (11%) replied that their main reasons for supporting the TRC is so that it can contribute in finding the whereabouts of the missing persons from the recent conflict.

Among those who do not support the TRC, 33% did not give a reason why not. Another 26% believe that such a Commission will not succeed, followed by 21% who do not support the idea due to the fact that the initiative came from the president of Kosovo, Mr. Hashim Thaçi. Then, 12% of respondents answered that they do not support the TRC because they do not want to forgive the perpetrators about past wrongdoings. In this light, it should be noted that in the objectives set out in the draft statute<sup>10</sup> of the TRC that the Kosovars aspire to establish, victims are not required to bargain with perpetrators; victims can give statements or speak at a public hearing, and they will not be asked to forgive. Therefore, forgiving will be their personal decision.

In the FGs discussion among K-Albanians participants, an apology from the Serbian state was continuously stressed as a precondition to reconciliation:

"And the commission can only be established when Serbia officially apologizes, and certainly accepts the responsibility for the wrongdoings in the past and pay reparations." (K-Albanian participant)

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Source draft statute.

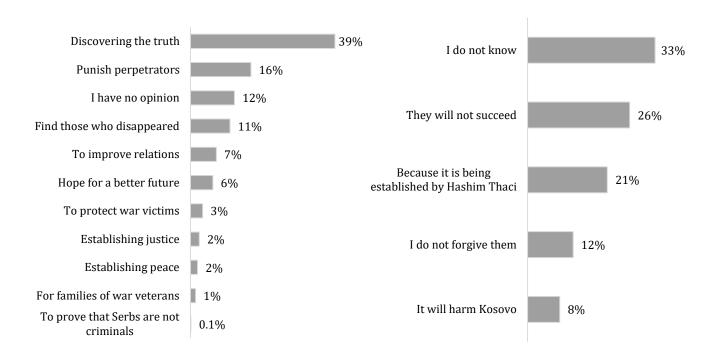


Figure 16. What is the main reason for supporting the TRC vs the main reason for not supporting the TRC?

#### Preferences for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Kosovo

This section covers the respondents' preferences regarding Kosovo TRC's mandate and functioning, as well as the results that the TRC should achieve.

Regarding the type of human rights violations that the TRC should cover, all options offered (see Figure 17) were accepted by a significant share of respondents. Over half of the respondents (66%) identified mass killings as a violation to be researched by the TRC, as well as rape and sexual violence (63%), unjust imprisonment (60%), torture or abuse (60%) and abductions (59%).

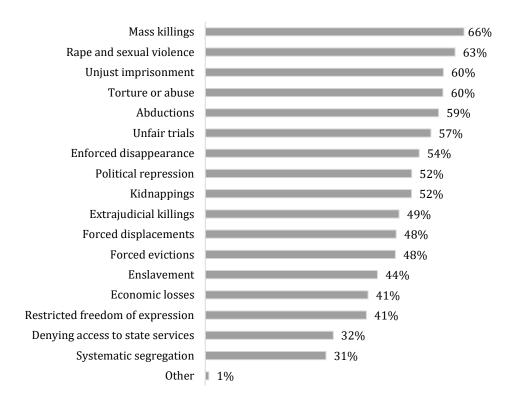


Figure 17. What types of human rights violations should the TRC cover?

When broken down by ethnicity, we can observe a few differences in which human rights violations that people from different ethnicities believe the TRC should cover (see Figure 18). The main violation stated by the majority of K-Albanians and K-Others are mass killings (66% and 62%, respectively), which was stated by a smaller part of K-Serbs (47%). On the other hand, abduction was the main violation chosen by K-Serbs (50%). The majority of K-Albanians mentioned other violations such as rape and sexual violence (64%), unjust imprisonment (61%) and torture and abuse (61%). K-Serbs mentioned forced displacements (49%), mass killings (47%) and forced evictions (45%). Lastly, the majority of K-Others think the TRC should cover mass killings (62%), unjust imprisonment, torture and abuse, and enforced disappearance (52% for the three).

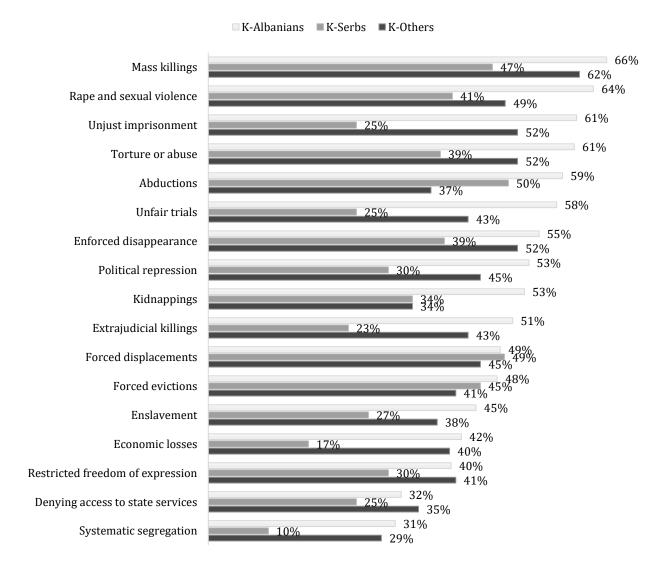


Figure 18. What types of human rights violations should the TRC cover? By ethnicity

In terms of the timeframe of investigation by the TRC, respondents were asked what the period they think the TRC should cover (see Figure 19). The respondents could choose the year or period from which the TRC should to start its research and the ending year or period for the TRC research. There was not a specific timeframe for TRC investigations that was chosen by a clear majority of respondents. The respondents could give open answers and Figure 19 shows the array of opinions on this matter, with 'peaks' for certain timeframes; 7.3% opted for the period from 1981 to 2000, followed by 1999-2000 (6.4%), 1998-2019 (6.3%) and 1981- 1999 (4.8%).

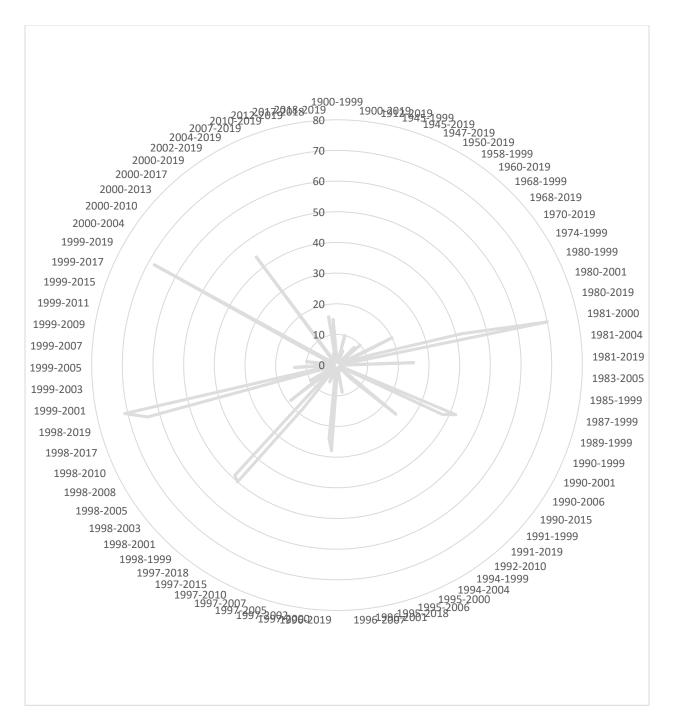


Figure 19. Which time period do you think the TRC should cover? (From...to...)

When broken down by ethnicity, the periods to be investigated by the TRC mostly chosen by K-Albanian respondents were 1981-2000 (7.3%), 1998-2019 (6.8%) and 1999-2000 (6.1%). K-Serb respondents mostly chose 1999-2019 (13.3%), 1998-2004 (10%) and 1999-2000 (8.7%). Lastly,

K-Other respondents chose the period of 1999-2019 (16.5%), followed by 2000-2019 (15.5%) and 1981-2000 (10.3%). See Table 2.

Table 2. Which time p	period do you	think the TRC s	should cover? From.	to (	open q	uestion)
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Top three time periods								
K-Albanian	s	K-S	erbs	K-Others				
1981-2000	7.3%	1999-2019	13.3%	1999-2019	16.5%			
1998-2019	6.8%	1998-2004	10.0%	2000-2019	15.5%			
1999-2000	6.1%	1999-2000	8.7%	1981-2000	10.3%			

In terms of establishing the TRC, all FGs participants expressed that total transparency is required, while from one FG to another there were a variety of opinions on the period of time into which TRC is to investigate. For instance, K-Albanians participants preferred the starting point of research and investigation by the TRC to be  $1968^{11}$  to the present day, or a period from 1981-1999 or 1998-1999. For K-Serb participants on the other hand, a preferred period was from 1998 until 2005. 12

Figure 20 shows the percentage of respondents who chose various actors to be investigated by the TRC. When looking at the entire group of respondents, 74% think the K-Serb police should be investigated, followed by violent non-state actors that cannot be considered government or paramilitary agents (72%). Next to these, 69% of respondents would like the Yugoslav Government Agents to be scrutinized, as well as the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) forces (65%) and the Paramilitary agents (64%). Only 10% of the respondents chose the KLA to be scrutinized by the TRC.

When broken down by ethnicity, only (7%) of K-Serbs believed that the K-Serbs police and the Yugoslav government agents should be investigated compared to 77% of K-Albanians and 67%

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The history of the student movement in Kosovo starts with the 1968 demonstrations, when professors and students of the University of Prishtina organized peaceful protest for returning to school facilities. See: The Democratic Values of the Student Movement in Kosovo 1997/1999 and Their Echoes in Western Diplomacy Lulzim NIKA, 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The inclusion of 2005, likely has to do with the violent rioting on March 17 and 18, 2004, by ethnic Albanians throughout Kosovo, spurred by sensational and ultimately inaccurate reports that Serbs had been responsible for the drowning of three young Albanian children. For nearly forty-eight hours, the security structures in Kosovo (the NATO-led Kosovo Force KFOR, UNMIK police, and the locally recruited Kosovo Police Service KPS) almost completely lost control, as at least thirty-three major riots broke out across Kosovo, involving an estimated 51,000 participants. See: Human Rights Watch, 'Failure to Protect: Anti-Minority Violence in Kosovo', July 2004; https://www.hrw.org/report/2004/07/25/failure-protect/anti-minority-violence-kosovo-march-2004

of other non-Serb minorities. Moreover, quite a large share of K-Serb respondents (63%) stated that the KLA should be investigated by the TRC, while only 8% of K-Albanians support this.

Interestingly, the figure below shows K-Albanians, K-Serbs and other non-Serb minorities expressed approximately similar attitudes regarding violent non-state actors or paramilitary agents (with 73%, 62 % and 53% respectively).

It is clear that there are distinct differences in opinions between K-Albanians and K-Serbs as to which party/parties committed serious human right violations and who should be scrutinized and held accountable for past wrongdoings. This gap in perceptions is one of the reasons a truth commission is necessary.

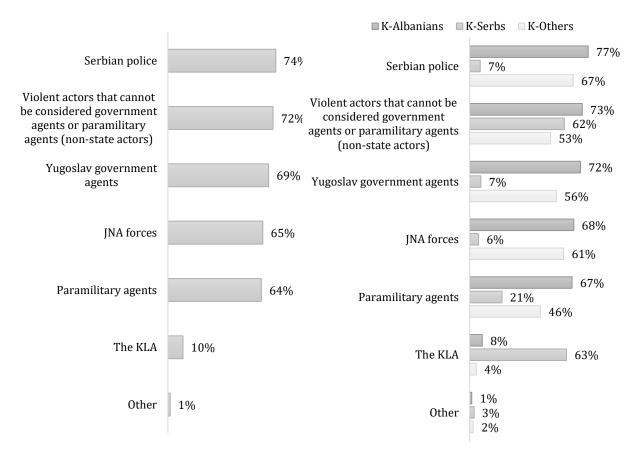


Figure 20. Which actors do you think the TRC should scrutinize/study? By ethnicity

When asked about the results that the TRC should achieve (see Figure 21) multiple answers could be chosen. A lot of support was given to letting the families of the missing people know what happened to their beloved ones (69%), followed closely by providing information and making recommendations so that those guilty of human rights violations and crimes during and after the

war are held accountable (67%). Also, many feel that the TRC should provide a true and unbiased account of the recent war (62%). Over half of the respondents also want policy recommendations by the TRC to help prevent human rights abuses in the future (60%) and recommendations on compensation for those who suffered human rights abuses (56%). The least selected answer by respondents was that the TRC should recommend offering mitigation of punishment to the perpetrators who decide to collaborate with the TRC (37%).

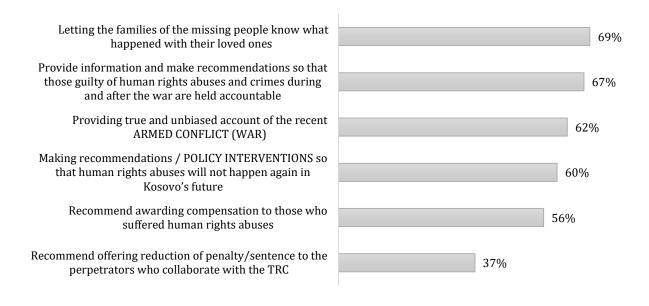


Figure 21. Which ones of the following results you think TRC should achieve?

The respondents were also asked a series of statements about the TRC for which they had to state if they agreed, disagreed or felt neutral (Figure 22). In general, the respondents completely or somewhat agreed with all the statements given. A substantive majority of respondents (90%) feel that a Truth and Reconciliation Commission is needed in Kosovo, that the TRC should be impartial and independent and that it should have protective mechanisms for victims and witnesses. Also, respondents find it very important that the TRC should have the support of the public and the members of Kosovo Assembly (both 91%, respectively). Next to this, 87% of respondents agree that now is a good moment for a TRC to be established. In addition, respondents also strongly support oversight mechanisms, transparency, confidentiality (regarding witness information) and the need for adherence by Kosovo institutions to the TRC's (legally binding) recommendations.

☐ Completely/Somewhat agree ☐ Neutral	■ Somewhat/Completely disagree	
It is important that the TRC has the support of the overall Kosovar public	91%	8%1%
It is important that the TRC has the support of the members of the parliament	91%	7%2%
It is important that the TRC is impartial and independent	90%	8%2%
The TRC should have protective mechanisms for the victims and witnesses	90%	7% 3%
Kosovo needs the TRC	90%	8% 2%
All institutions should adhere to TRCs recommendations	89%	9% 2%
The results/suggestions of the TRC should be legally binding for all institutions	89%	10% 1%
The international community should actively oversee the TRC processes	88%	9%3%
The TRCs work (interviews, sessions, reports, etc.) should be completely transparent	88%	10%2%
The TRC should implement the rigorous and internationally accepted practices and code of conduct for its research	87%	10%3%
There is a good momentum for establishing the TRC now	87%	10%3%
The sessions of the TRC should be public	87%	11%2%
The TRCs information about witnesses should be confidential	85%	11% 4%
The TRCs information about victims should be confidential	84%	11% 5%
The TRCs documents should be open to public without contradicting confidentiality	84%	11% 5%

Figure 22. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

The following (Figure 23) shows citizens' views on how credible they would find the TRC based upon the manner in which it would be established Establishment by a legislative act was favored by two-thirds (66%) of respondents with only 4% believing this would mean less credibility for the TRC. The option of a judicial process was supported by 51%, with 11% of respondents expressing that such a process would not benefit the TRC's credibility. Establishment through a presidential decree was favored least (42%), with 15% of respondents indicating that this option would lessen the TRC's credibility.

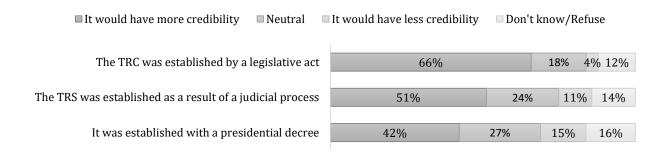


Figure 23. For you, would the TRC have more or less credibility if...

When respondents were asked to share their opinions regarding the entities that should be involved in drafting the normative act for establishing the TRC (see Figure 24), 62% of them support the idea of the Parliament being responsible. A group of national experts received support from 52% of respondents, while the international community and civil society were liked by 48% and 43% of respondents respectively. The least favorable option selected was the Office of the President, with only 31% in favor.

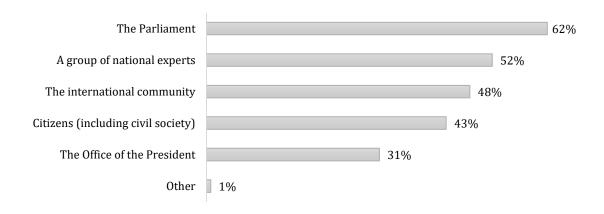


Figure 24. Who do you think should be involved in drafting the normative act for establishing the TRC?

Furthermore (see Figure 25), the majority of respondents agreed that quotas should be used to ensure that there is an adequate representation of women and ethnic minorities among those selected to be TRC commissioners. More specifically, 84% of respondents were pro quotas for women and 77% supported quotas for ethnic minorities. Whereas only 5% disagreed with having a quotas for women, and 7% disagreed with quotas for ethnic minorities.

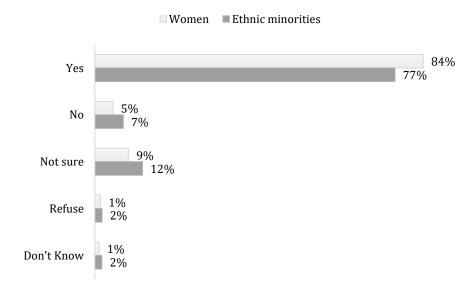


Figure 25. With regards to the TRC commissioners, do you think there should be quotas to ensure adequate representation of:

When respondents were asked who should select the commissioners of the TRC (see Figure 26), appointment by the Kosovo Parliament was chosen most - either made based on a list of nominations from a selection committee consisting of the war victims, NGOs, media and overall public - (45%) or directly by the Parliament (43%). The options of a professional independent body or the international community to take up the role of appointing the TRC commissioners received support of almost one-third (32%) of the respondents. The Office of the President was a less favorable option, with 32% supporting this choice if the nomination list is prepared by a selection committee composed of victims, NGO's, media and overall Public, and only 25% supporting direct appointments by the President's Office.

In the FGs discussions, K-Serb participants were a bit skeptical of the selection process of the TRC members. They preferred for the members to be directly elected by community members, and have members of victims' associations on the commission. The expressed wanting the TRC members to be unbiased and multi-ethnic in scope.

"The Commission should be unbiased with representation directly selected by communities, along with representatives of the missing and the victims, and CSOs" (paraphrased from several K-Serb participants)

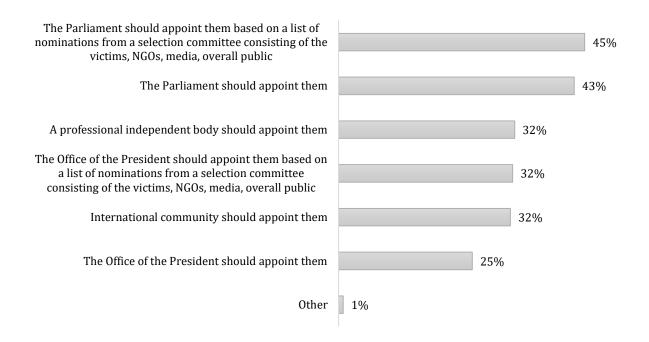


Figure 26. Who do you think should select the commissioners of the TRC?

Figure 27 shows that 61% of respondents stated that the Kosovo Parliament should bear ownership and responsibility to secure financial independence for the TRC. The other options were significantly less popular, with only 15% stating that the international community should contribute, and only 12% choosing the Office of the President.

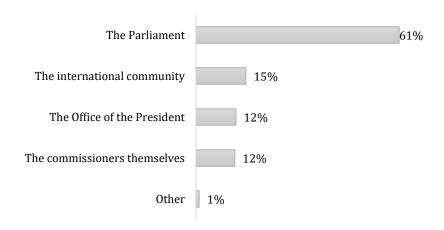


Figure 27. Who do you think should be responsible for the budget of the TRC?

Moreover, when asked who should monitor the TRC's work (see Figure 28), the majority (64%) of the respondents chose again the Parliament as the most trusted entity to bear this responsibility. The next most popular choice was the international community (44%), followed by civil society

and media (36%). The Office of the President received the support of just a quarter (24%) of respondents. Only 11% of the respondents said that there should not be any monitoring.

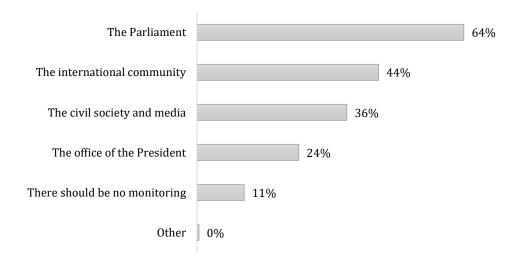


Figure 28. Who do you think should monitor the TRC?

It is usually in the mandate of a TRC to publish a final report with recommendations at the end of its work. Respondents were asked several questions regarding this final report (see Figure 29). Two out of three respondents (66%) agreed that the whole report should be published online and in print. Many less respondents (27%) stated that only certain parts of the report should be published and made available to the general public online, whereas only 6% preferred the report not to be available to the public.

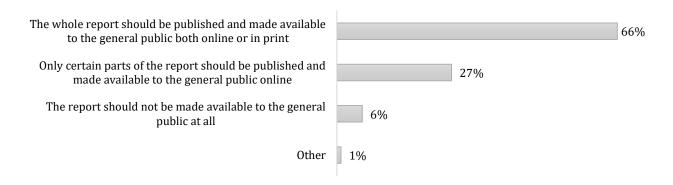


Figure 29. At the end of its work, the TRC will publish a report about its findings. How do you think this report should be published?

In line with this question, respondents were asked which body/unit or institution should be in charge to monitor and ensure implementation of the recommendations that derive from the TRC

final report (see Figure 30). More than half (54%) stated that it should be the TRC (or its units) that monitor and act as a checks and balance to the government's implementation of its recommendations, and consequently report back to the general public. In addition, the same percentage of respondents believe that the implementation of TRC's recommendations should be legally binding, whereas 41% of respondents stated that implementation should be ensured through a monitoring body/institution(s). At the same time, only 28% of respondents think that non-implementation of the TRC's report recommendations should have consequences.

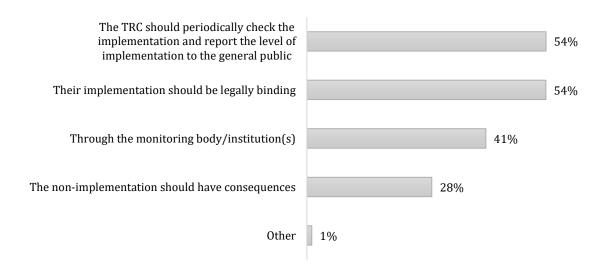


Figure 30. How do you think the implementation of the recommendations of this report by the relevant institutions should be ensured?

The final question explored whether there would be an aspect that could prevent respondents from trusting the TRC and its conclusions if it were to be established (see Figure 31). As results showed, less than one percent (n=6) answered positively, citing corruption and biases as preventing factors. Whereas 30% stated that they were not sure, leaving the dominant majority of (69%) asserting that there were no other reasons that would prevent them from trusting the TRC.

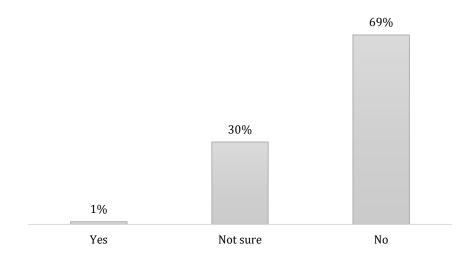


Figure 31. Assuming that the TRC is going to be established and would perform based on the preferences you provided, would there still be an aspect that would prevent you to trust to the TRC?

# **Conclusions**

This study aimed to assess the knowledge and opinions of Kosovo citizens of all ethnicities, sectors, ages and genders, about the concepts of truth and reconciliation and gathered their views on the proposed establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Kosovo.

To begin with, the majority of respondents had never heard of the initiative for a TRC for Kosovo. However, truth about the violent past was believed to be important by the majority of respondents, even if it would reveal unpleasant facts about one's own group or other information that they had not known before. The facts about the past are a necessity for achieving reconciliation. Reconciliation was generally understood as a process towards peace, respect for individual human rights and ethnic coexistence. In order to achieve reconciliation in Kosovo, respondents agreed to a great extent that finding out the truth is necessary as well as holding perpetrators accountable through legal means.

For K-Albanian respondents it would be very important that the Governments of both Kosovo and Serbia take reconciliation seriously. They also see an apology by the Serb Government as a precondition for reconciliation. K-Serb participants however, thought reconciliation should happen between communities first and foremost. Related to this, respondents have very clearly pointed out that they have no sufficient confidence in state institutions, especially when it comes to the issue of corruption and the legal system. FG participants agreed that reconciliation is a complex matter, requiring substantial changes within and across communities. Due to lack of trust in institutions and political leaders, and mistrust between communities, they believe that reconciliation, beyond the individual level will be hard to achieve for years to come.

When informed about the Right to Truth and further explanation on the role of truth commissions, about two-thirds of respondents prefer the establishment of a TRC, which is seen as needed and beneficial. The timing would be good now, as many people are afraid evidence is being lost over time. While the majority of K-Albanians support the establishment of a TRC in Kosovo, half of the K-Serbs were uncertain and a fifth do not support the TRC at all. Important reasons among all respondents for not supporting the TRC is a lack of confidence that the TRC will succeed, and the fact that the initiative came from the President of Kosovo.

Some of the respondents were negative about supporting the establishment of the TRC because they closely associate its work with forgiving perpetrators. However, this is not part of the current draft Normative Act and the PT should clearly inform citizens this is not within the objectives of the TRC for Kosovo.

The study shows there are distinct differences in opinions between K-Albanians and K-Serbs as to which party/parties committed serious human right violations and who should be held accountable for the past wrongdoings. There are also some noticeable differences on what type of crimes they

think the TRC should investigate, with the exception of mass killings which all found important. This relates to the different experiences, stories and narratives the different communities have constructed so far. At the same time, a considerable majority agreed that Kosovo citizens possess sufficient information about the facts and truths of the past related to the '98/'99 conflict. Caution is warranted here as it might show a lack of critical thinking about how the past was documented so far, and about the official narratives that were offered since the end of the conflict. These narratives are embedded in the memories and beliefs of many citizens, but should be questioned and reviewed.

Likely, the above differences explain why there was no clear consensus about what period exactly should be investigated and documented by the TRC. The TRC will have to have a clear mandate to research a specific timeframe; while the TRC could include broader historic data into its reporting, the investigation and documentation of serious human rights violations should be limited to a specific period. The different experiences and narratives about the past among distinct ethnic communities is perpetuating an environment of distrust and rancor, and this is one of the main reasons a TRC is necessary. It must be an independent Commission that would research and document the untold truth about the last conflict in Kosovo by not proving one group or another wrong, but on a societal level demonstrating the patterns and numbers of violations. In addition it could expose the suffering of victims from different communities to one another. This in the long run will create conditions for establishing a societal dialogue.

For those who want the TRC established it is important it meets certain criteria such as: credibility, transparency, political and financial independence, careful selection of commissioners, including quotas for women and ethnic minorities.

Building a successful TRC is a complex and demanding process. Kosovar society should show the willingness and responsibility to build a TRC that will create a space for the victims and survivors of war, and document truths that have so far been untold. This truth should create a space where K-Albanians, K-Serbs and other communities to listen to each other and acknowledge each other's suffering and losses during the recent conflict. A truth that can be accepted without hesitation by all ethnic groups in Kosovo. Only then, the TRC can help to create better conditions for reconciliation.

# **Recommendations**

Based on the discussion above, the following are recommendations for a range of stakeholders on how to proceed further.

## Preparatory Team for establishing the TRC in Kosovo should:

- Develop a comprehensive outreach strategy to provide clear information about the entire process for establishing the TRC and its functioning. First and foremost it should reach all communities and stakeholders in Kosovo, but also diaspora and relevant international actors;
- Through broad and inclusive national consultations and debate, engage all societal groups in Kosovo, with the aim of building consensus around the purpose and scope of the TRC;
- Ensure broader inclusion of Kosovo minorities in discussions around the truth about the past, reconciliation as well as about the TRC;
- Ensure that the views of citizens and stakeholders on the timeframe that should be researched by the TRC are taken into account so it is sensitive to the diverse experiences of the different ethnic groups;
- Ensure application of suggestions on the draft Normative Act, which derived from an inclusive public debate, and and the findings of this research, that the commissioners are selected by the Parliament based on a list of nominations provided by a selection committee consisting of victims of the war, NGOs, media and the general public;
- Ensure the establishment of the TRC by a legislative act which as derived from an
  inclusive public debate, and the findings of this research is a more credible approach,
  rather than being established by presidential decree;
- Ensure that there will be quotas as affirmative action in providing adequate representation of women and ethnic minority groups as TRC commissioners;
- Consider citizens' suggestions from this research, but also the suggestions that will
  emerge from the second public consultation cycle on the timeframe to be investigated by
  the TRC (among other matters), before finalizing the Normative Act for TRC.

#### **Government of Kosovo:**

- This study shows Kosovo's citizens need independently established facts about the violent past, towards a process of reconciliation. Therefore, the Kosovo government must meet its obligations under the Stabilization and Association Agreement and other international obligations Kosovo took on, and continue further efforts towards reconciliation which is crucial to firmly anchor peace and ensure lasting stability in Kosovo;
- Reaffirm the dedication and recognize the need for a Kosovo-Serbia dialogue and restart
  this process with the aim of improving relationships between the two societies, beyond just
  reaching the 'technical' *final agreement* between Kosovo and Serbia;

- Ensure that upon establishment, the TRC will be given sufficient authority to carry out its work independently, in line with the wishes of citizens;
- Support the TRC politically by cooperating fully and prevent any obstruction;
- Provide necessary financial means for the TRC to fully implement its mandate;
- Put more efforts towards combating corruption through a free and fair justice system as otherwise it will hinder the work of the TRC and affect its credibility;
- Provide full information about missing persons once the TRC is established. This study shows that the information about missing persons is crucial for society to be able to move forward;
- Ensure that the Special Prosecution Office of the Republic of Kosovo (SPRK) and specialized Kosovo Police War Crimes Investigators have sufficient professional and trained staff and resources to support the Commission when cases of war crimes are to be submitted for prosecution, with due respect for the rights of victims and survivors;
- Support the establishment of a mechanism to monitor the work of the TRC.

#### **Kosovo Parliament:**

- Duly and seriously consider the promulgation of the Normative Act for the establishment of the TRC once it is submitted to it;
- Ensure that in its deliberation the Kosovo Assembly assesses how the Act responds to the different views within society;
- Ensure that the Commissioners are appointed transparently, according to a list of nominations provided by a selection committee consisting of the victims of war, NGOs, media and overall public).

#### **Civil Society:**

- Monitor the set-up and functioning of the future TRC;
- Continue with implementing activities that support ethnic dialogue and reconciliation on individual and community levels;
- Continue working closely with youth in elementary and secondary schools to provide factual educational materials about the recent past in Kosovo;
- Support the future TRC by transferring all case files collected by NGOs and any associated documentation or evidence on crimes committed during the past conflict to the TRC.

## **International Community:**

 Recognize the need for truth-finding as a precondition for reconciliation, and both as important elements of the relationship between the Governments and citizens of Kosovo and Serbia;

- Provide political and technical support to the TRC so it can function independently and fully, while not imposing anything;
- Provide support to the political spectra in Kosovo in supporting the establishment of the TRC;
- Continue to support the efforts of Kosovo to strengthen democracy and the rule of law.

# The EU specifically:

- Within the pre-accession program and in the context of reforms required by the European Commission, highlight the need for transitional justice in Kosovo and support Kosovo with technical assistance on it;
- Support the establishment of the TRC within the context of the high-level talks on the normalization of the relationship between Serbia and Kosovo;
- Support independence of the work of the Commission, its research and archiving of the documentation;
- Monitor the implementation of the recommendations provided by the final TRC report.

## **UNMIK & EULEX:**

 Ensure that all case files and any associated documentation or evidence relating to reports, and investigations into crimes under international law still retained by UNMIK and EULEX are transferred without further delay to SPRK and/or the future TRC.



# Integra

Integra is an organization formed by a group of people committed to contributing to the recovery and development of Kosovo and the region. Integra's work is guided by the principles of good governance and full enjoyment of human rights, regardless of ethnicity, race, religion, gender, sexual orientation and political belonging, which are essential to building a democratic and tolerant Kosovo, fully integrated in the European community.

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