



Etničke manjine -
izazovi i prepreke
za uspešnu integraciju

Etnik Azınlıklar –
daha başarılı bir
entegrasyon için
engel ve meydan
okumalar

Etnikune Minoritetya-
Sfide thay obstrukcie
jekhe suksesno
integripaske

Ethnic Minorities-
Challenges and
Obstacles for a
Successful
Integration

SOROS

Fondacioni i Kosovës për Shoqëri të Hapur
Kosovo Foundation for Open Society
Kosovska Fondacija za Otvoreno Društvo



RIINVEST
INSTITUTI PËR HULUMTIME ZHVILLIMORE
INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

Decentralisation – New Serb Municipalities

Radio KIM

RESEARCH ANALYSIS

on the operation of new municipalities in Kosovo in May 2010

1. Introduction

After introducing the international protectorate in 1999, which marked the end of the war and of inter-community tensions between the Kosovo Albanians and Serbs lasting for many decades, the period of institutional transition has started in Kosovo. Nine years later, mostly in line with the recommendations of the Kosovo Plan by the former Finnish President, Martti Ahtisaari, majority Albanian institutions in Prishtina declared their independence from Belgrade. Although there were some ten Serbian MPs in the Parliament then, they did not participate in the session when independence was declared, which could be interpreted as a beginning of a new, inter-ethnic institutional crisis.

Local elections were announced in 36 municipalities for November 2009 also on the base of the clear recommendations from the Ahtisaari Plan. Among these municipalities three were absolutely new ones with majority Serbian population: Gračanica/Gračanicë, Klokot-Vrbovac/Kllokot-Vërboc and Ranilug/Ranillugë. On that occasion, the Serb voters showed significant interest and high turnout, hence, first time over the last decade, so called “decentralised municipalities” were formed in these municipalities, where – under the auspices of the Prishtina – the majority is made up of the local Serbs. Though, prior to the elections, the Serbian Government, state and church representatives urged that “there were no conditions for the Serbs to take part in elections announced by Kosovar institutions”¹, the turnout of Serbs was significant: from 14% (in Ranilug/Ranillugë) up to 25% (in Gračanica/Gračanicë and Klokot/Kllokot). However, Belgrade's negative campaign led to a situation that Serbs lost two municipalities, where they constitute majority, i.e. Novo Brdo/Novobërda, and Štrpci/Shtërpçë, where they succeeded in electing a mayor among themselves only in the runoff. With regard to the fact, that the turnout of Serbs in former elections in Kosovo was only a few percent, the new circumstance surprised both international and local observers, and took the Government in Belgrade into an exceptionally inconvenient situation, which, in its statements and comments about the elections, attempted to downgrade the importance of its compatriots' participation and to contest the figures by alleged manipulations, while there was only a few number of Serb politicians, who saw in all that the failure of Belgrade's influence on the Kosovo Serbs.² Thus, the new municipalities, because of the fact that, owing to their own work, they became the first democratically elected local institutions within the new state of Kosovo and with the majority participation of Kosovo Serbs, from the start had to face the criticism of those, who had a negative approach to the elections in Kosovo. Beyond that, new municipalities became direct competitors of the existing local assemblies, controlled by Belgrade and not recognized by Prishtina, whereof their mutual criticism and statements bear witness. A sharp disagreement with the concept of creating municipalities on ethnic grounds was also expressed by a part of the Albanian NGO activists from Prishtina through a series of actions, when they emphasised their opposition to Ahtisaari's Plan.

These decentralised municipalities, created in and operating under very specific and complex conditions and which the Serb community in Kosovo has taken over local authority in late 2009, are in the focus of our independent research with a review of the first 100 days after their

¹ Source: Večernje novosti: <http://www.novosti.rs/vesti/naslovna/aktuelno.69.html:253278-Bogdanovic-Nema-uslova-da-Srbi-izadju-na-izbore>

² Source: B92: http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2009&mm=11&dd=16&nav_category=640&nav_id=392873

establishment and commencement of their operation. The research was made in May 2010 on the territory of the municipalities of Gračanica/Gračanicë, Štrpci/Shtërpçë and Klokot-Vrbovac/Kllokot-Vërboc. All three municipalities have a mayor from the Serb community, while in Štrpci/Shtërpçë – unlike the other two municipalities – Albanians make up the majority of the local assembly. Due to its special location and the size of the Serb community, Štrpci/Shtërpçë seemed to be an interesting settlement to be included into this research. The Municipality of Ranilug/Ranillugë, where Serbs enjoy a majority in the assembly and have a mayor, was not part of this research.

2. The target group and research methodology

The research was conducting only in the Serb community in Kosovo on a random sample of 600 people, from each of the three municipalities about 200. Since no accurate and systematic census has been made in Kosovo after 1999, based on an approximate estimation, we are of the opinion that this sample represents between 1,7% and 2% of our target group. This sample was sufficient for a survey of this type in which the media investigates the manner and mechanisms of influencing the public through a topic of new municipalities, while the quantitative method was chosen as the most appropriate for obtaining as reliable results as possible within the research. The interviewers for the territory of the Gračanica/Gračanicë municipality were hired by Radio KIM, while part of the survey conducted in the municipalities of Štrpci/Shtërpçë and Klokot-Vrbovac/Kllokot-Vërboc was organised in cooperation with the partner radio stations Herc and Klokot. High level of seriousness and professional work was demanded from the hired interviewers. They were requested to explain to the respondents the purpose of the survey and that their privacy will be protected, and that each questionnaire is to be filled in their own handwriting based on the respondent's response and in his/her presence.

The target group comprised both women and men from the age group between 18 and 49 mostly (84% of the respondents), who are, at the same time, the most active part of population in work and politics. This part of the respondents is entitled to vote in elections, economically is the most productive, hence shows the highest level of interest in who will make decisions on their behalf about their destiny and solve their daily problems in local institutions. The other criteria, like education, employment and economic status respectively, are the result of random sampling, and roughly reflect the circumstances in the municipalities serving as a starting point for an insight in the structure of response.

3. The content of survey – questionnaires

The questionnaire, used for the research, comprised 15 questions printed on an A4 format paper. The aim with such a format containing a short questionnaire was to attract the respondents and facilitate their opting for participation, because answering the questions did not took long time, and it proved to be the right approach. The questions were thematically, conceptually and visually divided into three parts. The introductory questions from 1 to 5 aimed at defining the social structure of respondents (sex, age, education, employment) and the way respondents get daily information (newspaper, radio, television, internet). There were words offered as answers for these five questions, whereof one had to be circled, except for the last question, where there were multiple choices for answering.³ The next seven questions from 6 to 12 make the second part of the questionnaire targeted at assessing the personal interest of the respondents and their relation to the new municipalities, and also at the potential influence

³ See the attached Questionnaire

of the media on the population and vice versa, on their relation to the media. The answers were offered in a form of scaling from 1 to 5, whereas 1 expressed a negative attitude, disagreement and 5 expressed full agreement or a positive attitude to the question. The authors of the questionnaire were interested in if the respondents are sufficiently informed about the transparency and accessibility of information about these municipalities in the media, about the spheres where the new municipalities are active, and also, they wanted to know the assessment of the respondents about the influence of the media on the inhabitants and the opportunity that citizens make an impact on the work of local institutions through the media. The last question from the first group (question no. 5), relating to the method by which respondents obtain daily information, is in fact linked to the second group of questions, hence in the subsequent analysis it would attempt to provide an answer to the question, which is the most reliable way of getting information in these settlements according to the research. The last group comprising three questions (from no. 13 to 15) dealt with the personal emotions and sentiments of the inhabitants to the new local leaderships. Respondents were asked to give answers in their own words to the questions: what are those things they are the most satisfied (or unsatisfied) with in the operation of the new municipalities and what would they propose to improve their work.

3.1 Deficiencies of the survey

Although the survey questions were thoroughly prepared and analysed, there were some deviations during the implementation of this questionnaire, which are to be taken into consideration at the review of its results. The designed number of respondents was 600, i.e. 200 from each municipality, but the number of questionnaires returned from Klokot/Klllokot was less for two, from Štrpci/Shtërpçë for seven, while from Gračanica/Graçanicë we received one more. Though we wanted to have the same number of men and women respondents, it turned out that the share of men was for 7% more, wherein the reason behind is the tradition in Kosovo that men are more engaged and show more interest in domestic political issues. It has already been mentioned, that in the Ranilug/Ranillugë Municipality the survey was not conducted, and this municipality appears together with the municipality of Parteš/Partes, where the leadership was elected later, and the municipality of North Mitrovica. This process has not been completed in the latter one, mostly due to the Serb community's listlessness, radically oriented local political leaders and the inability of the Kosovo authorities to establish control over this part of the territory. Since answering the last group of questions required additional efforts, only a part of the respondents was activated, hence we do not have a full insight in the views of all respondents. However, this fact adds to the weight of views, which the respondents had to formulate themselves as their own answers. Finally, it should be emphasized that these mistakes, which occurred during the research, did not essentially influence its final outcome and results.

4. Research results and conclusions

4.1 Social structure of respondents

What has been obtained as the result of the inhabitants' social structure within the researches approximately reflects the real situation in these municipalities. It is important to point out, that the respondents' level of education and literacy respectively, accompanied with their economic standing and employment, are one of the crucial factors influencing the quality of answers given in the questionnaire. According to the survey, in view of education, four out of five respondents completed more than primary school, while each fifth of the respondents have completed higher education (Figure 1).

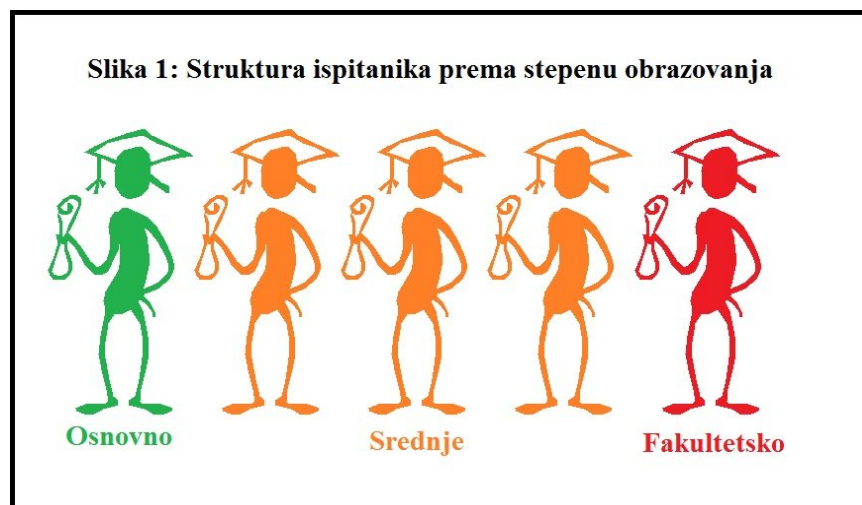


Figure 1: Structure of respondents according to education level

It means that this is the absolute structure of literacy in these three municipalities, and it indicates the quality of other offered answers to the posed questions, since literacy was not the topic of the survey. Parallel with the respondents' level of literacy, their economic capability and productivity should also be emphasized, which is partially reflected in the results of the answers given to the question about employment. Based on that, it is obvious, that two out of three respondents are employed in some manner or have incomes from pensions, while each third respondent, both women and men, stated that they are unemployed. Regardless of the current high unemployment rate among the Serbs in Kosovo, the survey indicates a somehow increased number, due to the fact, that part of the respondents, receiving some minimum compensation from Serbia after 1999, do not want to declare it publicly, since they are afraid of losing some other potential incomes if they do so. According to the statement of Goran Bogdanović, the Serbian minister for Kosovo, their number is almost 21.000, which makes about 20% of the Serb community.⁴ It is also underpinned by the fact, that each tenth respondent failed to state anything about his/her employment. Yet, this question was just an introduction to other questions relating to the operation of new municipalities and was not aimed at accurately defining the inhabitants' real economic potential.

4.2 The relation of local institutions and the inhabitants

During the preparation process of new municipalities, the elections and after their constitution, there was an intensive anti-campaign by the Serbian Government and most of the opposition parties and the church in the media. Hence, it could be expected that the new institutions might need a lot of efforts to win the trust of the Serb community in Kosovo, who, traditionally, listen to Belgrade's stands. The activities of the Kosovo Serbs' political parties during the pre-election campaign, which are reflected in the percent of the Serbs' turnout and participation in these elections, are the first step and indicator of the trust in the institutions by a part of the community and which confuted the opposite expectations of most of the observers.

One third of the questions in this questionnaire deal directly with the inhabitants' perception of the new institutions. In order to build any relation with the institutions, the respondents should get some information about them, based on which they can create their, more or less

⁴ Source: Politika: <http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Politika/Vlada-Srbije-nastavlja-se-isplata-kosovskog-dodatka.lt.html>

independent, stand. In this regard, part of the respondents (almost 15%), in their answers to the question relating to information about the work of decentralised municipalities, circled 1 on a scale from 1 to 5, i.e. that they are not informed about their work at all. This percentage is raised to even 41%, when we add those who evaluated their level of being informed about their work with 2, which means that they are poorly informed. Based on the correlation with other answers given by this group of respondents, which exceeds two fifth (2/5) of the total number, it turns out, that most of the “uninformed” belong to that part of the Serb community who do not recognize the new local institutions within the statehood of Kosovo. It is especially reflected in those answers, in which respondents give remarks on the work of institutions in their own words. Instead of constructive comments, this group gives only statements and criticism: “They have no idea about the work of municipalities” “They do nothing smart” “I am not satisfied with any of their measures”, including statements like: “They are traitors”, “They should be abolished” “They should resign” “They should leave to Albania” “It is not our municipality” and so on. Globally, the transparency of the work of municipalities and their engagements in solving local issues are rated as poor by this group. Interestingly, the citizens of Štrpci/Shtërpçë, having the only strong local TV station, are the least represented in this group. Due to this fact, maybe, the number of those who are well and very well informed about the municipality’s work is significantly higher in Štrpci/Shtërpçë, while there are more moderately or poorly informed citizens in the other two municipalities (Figure 2). After losing their majority in the local assembly in the first round of the elections, the local Serb politicians of the Štrpci/Shtërpçë Municipality had a runoff for the election of the mayor, and finally, after a heavy informative campaign, their candidate was elected.

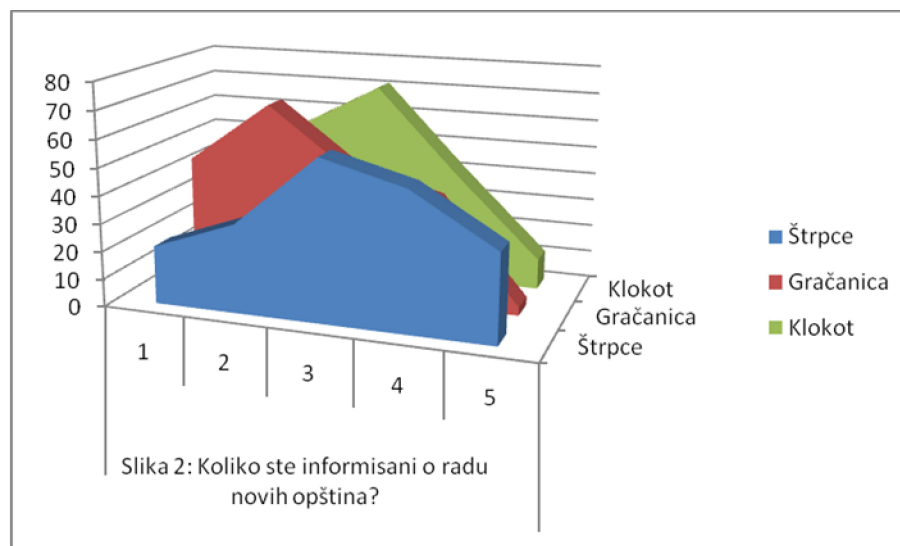


Figure 2: Answers to the question: To what extent are you informed about the work of the new municipalities?

Unlike the first group, in which a generally negative attitude towards the work of the new local institutions was express, a group of 59% of the respondents, or about 3 respondents out of 5, in their answer to the question “To what extent are you informed about the work of new municipalities?” answered that they are well or very well informed. When we look at the descriptive answers given by this group of respondents at the end of the questionnaire, there is an apparent linear link between the level of being informed and the respondents' constructiveness. In other words, respondents endeavour to get informed about the mechanisms, which help to carry out satisfying their needs in the local community and about

those things they support. In view of the new municipalities, these citizens are satisfied with, *inter alia*, the “qualified staff”, “new ideas, updated and transparent work”, “determination to improve things”, “introducing discipline, law and order.”

Regarding the questions, which should be the most important for the respondents, i.e. the engagement of new municipalities in the field of education, healthcare, public services and institutions, the results in all three municipalities are rather uniform and were rated good (by 33%) and very good and excellent (by 22%), hence the ration of those who rated it from 3 to 5 exceeds 55% altogether. Based on the average rating for this question, Štrpci/Shtërpçë comes again to the first place with an average of 3,0, followed by Gračanica/Graçanicë with 2,8, while the average in Klokot/Klllokot is 2.2.

Let’s remind that about 100 days prior to this survey, the new institutions were supported by an average of 20% of the population in these three municipalities.⁵ Based on the respondents’ answers, who openly support or show some kind of affinity towards the decentralised municipalities, or, at least, constructively suggest the improvement of their work, we can conclude, that this figure has tripled to about 60%. It can be explained by the usual phenomenon, that part of the population follows social changes without any engagement and traditionally disinterestedly, but later, after assessing the state of affairs and their own benefit from it, join those where they see prospects. The new municipalities have, obviously, as assessed by the respondents, by “introducing discipline, law and order” implemented an action of eliminating illegal shop-stands from the pavement, arranged car-free zones, regenerated infrastructure and started to build facilities important for the community.

4.3 Citizens’ disposition to local authorities

In order to obtain a complete insight in the state of affairs within the Serb community prior to 2008 and the declaration of Kosovo’s independence, we will quote some results from an independent research from October 2007, supervised by Strategic Marketing.⁶ In that period, the institution most trusted by Kosovo Serbs was the church (92%), which was represented in Kosovo by Bishop Artemije, while the then prime minister of Serbia, Vojislav Koštunica, was ranked second (by 86%). Both of them presented a strong nationalist stand towards Kosovo and a negative attitude towards the international community. As to the interest of the people to get involved in local institutions in order to solve their problems, it is obvious, that within that research one fourth (25%) of this target group supported that Serbs participate in the local elections held that same year. Interestingly, almost two out of five respondents (36%) think at the same time that boycotting the elections would be a loss for their community.⁷ Regardless of this relative openness of Serbs towards the elections, expressed without any pressure in an atmosphere of privacy and anonymously within an independent research, it was not practically shown in the public. In the general and local election in November the same year, after the call for boycotting elections by the church and the intensive campaign of the Serbian authorities, which involved even open threats on local level, the Serbs from Kosovo participated in the elections only in an insignificant number, only a few percentage of them.⁸ One should not ignore the fact, that later, both Koštunica and Artemije, among others, due to such stands and actions relating to Kosovo, ended their career on the social margins in Serbia. The citizens expressed their mistrust in Koštunica already in May 2008, while top church leaders, guided by

⁵ See: 1. Introduction, paragraph 2

⁶ Kosovska fondacija za otvoreno društvo, *Srpska zajednica na Kosovu - problemi i nade za budućnost* (Priština, 2007), p. 21

⁷ Ibid, strp. 32-33

⁸ Source: Kosovo Central Election Commission: <http://www.kqz-ks.org/SKOZ-WEB/sr/zgjedhjetekosoves/rezultatetzl.html>

the same reasons, forcibly sent Artemija to retirement exactly two years after these events. The discontinuity of such edgy views towards Kosovo was, at the same time, a specific signal for the Kosovo Serbs, that, in the future, Belgrade would not provide an impetus to local nationalist waves and, probably, time had come for them to focus their attention more on their local problems. Regardless of the sporadic verbal opposition by Belgrade, such a soft stand, two years later, resulted in the growth of the Serbs' turnout threshold of 25% in the municipal elections in Kosovo, which confirmed the results of the former research. That part of the citizens, who - despite their personal boycott - thought that their communities would be at loss if they did not participate in the municipal authorities, joined this group with their support to local institutions only after the voting, during the constitution and commencement of the work of these municipalities. As already stated in our research, the number of those, who are either openly for participation, or at least have constructive suggestions for the new institutions, has raised to more than half of the respondents. The answer to the question about the disposition of respondents towards the new municipalities is in the final part of the questionnaire. That part of the questionnaire deals with the citizens' personal sentiments towards the new local authorities, whereby they should provide descriptive answers, in their own words.

More than half of the respondents in Štrpci/Shtërpçë expressed their satisfaction with the work and transparency of the new municipality and gave suggestion how to improve its work, or indicated specific problems the community is faced with. However, part of the respondents from this municipality expressed their utmost dissatisfaction with the participation of Serbs in Kosovar institutions, and they suggest them: "to be Serbs", "to resign" and "to be abolished". Yet, a smaller part of them (16%) is, besides their expressed dissatisfaction, still constructive in the indicated problems. They disapprove the speed at which the municipality carries out the social programme, the small number of notices of vacancy, lack of experience and professionalism.

Unlike in Štrpci/Shtërpçë, even 80% of the respondents in Gračanica/Graçanicë did not want to answer, what do they find satisfactory in the work of the new municipality, while this percentage was 66% in Klokot/Klllokot. It can be partly explained by the fact, the Štrpci/Shtërpçë is a municipality that – regardless of the former poor participation of Serbs – exists since 2007, while Klokot-Vrbovac/Klllokot-Vërboc and Gračanica/Graçanicë are fully, recently established municipalities, hence the time for assessing their operation was significantly shorter. Beyond that, respondents also have fully specific requirements in each of the municipalities. Accordingly, the inhabitants of the Klokot-Vrbovac/Klllokot-Vërboc Municipality suggest the dislocation of their municipal premises to a more accessible location, while almost one third of them are the most dissatisfied with the mayor. Thereby, unlike others, they are dissatisfied with the way the employment procedures are implemented and municipal bodies are established, likewise the representation of women in local structures. In Klokot/Klllokot only 99% of the respondents have a suggestion to improve the work of the municipality, its social programmes, loans, employment and building infrastructure. As to suggestions, the situation is quite the contrary in Gračanica/Graçanicë. Even 98% has not suggestion whatsoever for the new municipality, while the rest of 2% of the respondents wants better social programme, employment of the youth and better infrastructure.

4.4 The influence of the media

The last question in the first group is, i.e. via which media respondents get informed most frequently, the key to one of the central questions in the questionnaire: which media are the most influential to the relation between the local institutions and the inhabitants. On the base of the processed responses, the most popular media among almost half of the respondents is television; each third respondent prefers radio, while only one fifth of the respondents read the

news in newspapers or in electronic version, on the internet. It should be noted, that there is no printed daily paper in Serbian in Kosovo, except for a weekly, “Jedinstvo”, issued in Mitrovica/Mitrovicë, and there is no television or radio station covering the whole territory either. As to local media, the municipality of Štrpci/Shtërpçë is covered by TV Herz, while in the rest of two municipalities there is no local TV in the Serbian language, nor any local, daily or weekly printed media either. Since, beside that, there is only a few number of local informative internet sites with agency news (such as www.radiokim.net), bearing in mind the overall situation on the media scene in Kosovo, it might be said, that Serbs from Kosovo get most of the daily information via the media located in Belgrade. Bearing in mind, that these media are, conditionally, mediators of Belgrade's policy towards Kosovo, poor information about the new municipalities in Kosovo, which reach them from time to time, are, mostly, negatively and ambivalently inclined in their content. Beyond that, vital service information, which these municipalities intend to launch, each plan or action started by them, each tender published by them, from the nature of things, is not published in these media. Otherwise, local municipal news are not interesting for the wide public outside these municipalities, hence such information are accessible only through the local Kosovar radio stations in the Serbian language, whereof there are several (from 2 to 4) in each of the indicated enclaves. In addition, five of the more active radio stations are networked in the KOSMA organisation (Kosovska medijska asocijacija –Kosovo Media Association),⁹ which has a joint production of daily, half-an-hour long broadcast in Serbian, so it might be said, that, so far, this is the only way of simultaneous broadcasting of information to communities on the whole territory of Kosovo.

As to respondent answers to the question on the relation of the media towards the work of new municipalities, the results vary from Klokot/Klllokot (with a mean ranking of 4,1), where citizens are of the opinion that the media has an expressed positive attitude in its reporting, through Štrpci/Shtërpçë (3,2) to Gračanica/Gračanicë (2,6) where, regardless the high level of medium rankings, the impression of the media's negative attitude towards these institutions prevails. In attempting to explain this situation, we would remind of the previous consideration of differences in the relation of regional and local media towards the events related to new municipalities. It might be concluded, that in the enclaves where the attitude of the media is not ranked high, regional programmes are more popular, although this group comprises some of the local media as well, such as Radio Gračanica, which still belongs to the informative system of the Serbian Radio and Television (RTS). Taking into consideration the responses from all three municipalities, it is apparent, that 22% of the respondents thinks that the media has mostly positive relation, while 57% concludes that the media has a negative attitude.

In Klokot/Klllokot, besides the opinion that the media has a positive attitude, a high percentage of respondents, i.e. 85%, states that the media has the power to influence new municipalities. Even 55% of them thinks, that they could personally, through the media, influence the work of new municipalities, and a somewhat fewer percent (42%) believes, that the media, as a matter of fact, influence the creation of their views about it. In Štrpci/Shtërpçë, where the attitude of the media to local institutions was ranked median, only one third of the respondents think that the media can influence the municipality's work, while each fourth one (25%) admits that they are susceptible to media influence. The percentage of those, who do not fall under the influence of the media, based on respondent answers, is only 17% in Gračanica/Gračanicë, while in Štrpci/Shtërpçë only one third of them admit the power of the media on the institutions.

Based on the analysis of respondent answer, it might be concluded, that, unlike regional media, the relation of local ones to new municipalities is more directed to public service, providing information about events and methods of solving practical problems, since the auditorium of

⁹ www.kosmainfo.net

these media is, indeed, the local population. In addition, their influence on the institutions and citizens is also significant.

5. Recommendations

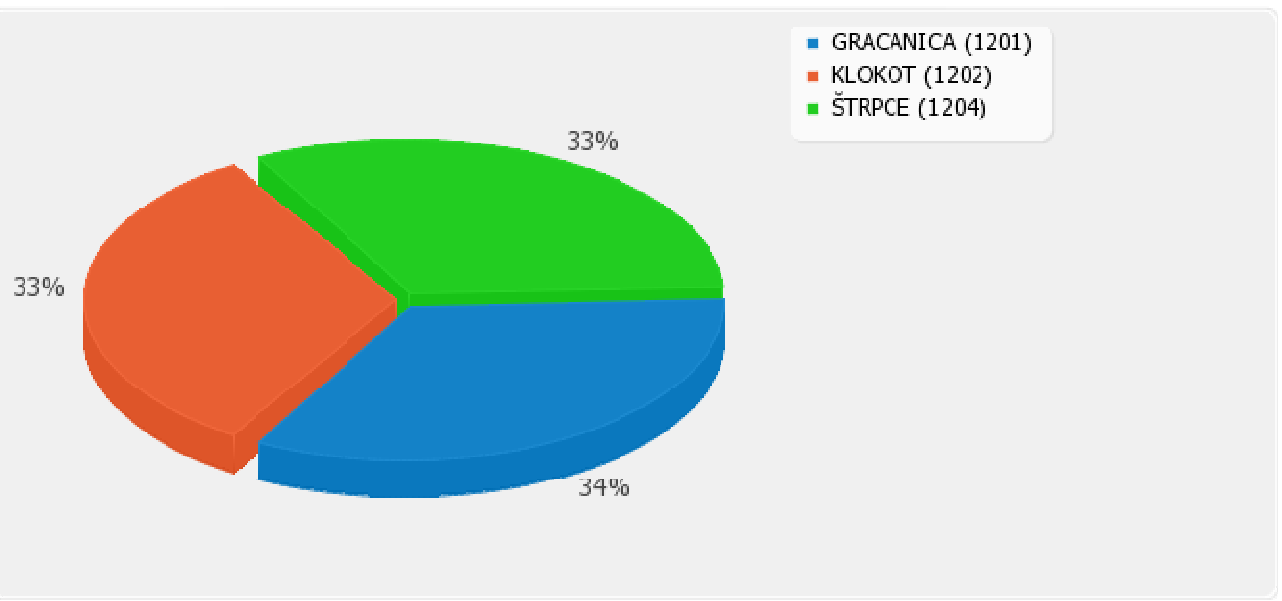
After the pre-election campaign, election and constitution of local authorities, the atmosphere in Belgrade's relation to the new municipalities in Kosovo is, finally back to normal. From statements, that "there are no conditions" for the integration of Serbs, through minimizing their fiasco because of the participation of Serbs in the elections, the authorities in Belgrade have come to a point, when – at least publicly – they stopped to put these municipalities in a negative context. However, Belgrade faces a problem in making a step forward, in having a positive attitude and cooperation with these institutions and it is, that it [Belgrade] believes, that by doing so, it would recognize their legal existence and that the source of their authority in Prishtina. So, instead of being occupied with issues, which Belgrade set for itself as a high national policy, it should turn to cooperation with these municipalities, which are, currently and potentially the only ones with a capacity to serve the local communities of Serbs in Kosovo. If that capacity and the staff, in certain segments, are technically not at a sufficiently high level, Serbian authorities should address their support and education. Finally, the better life of their compatriots in Kosovo would shift the focal point of their so far unproductive policy to dealing with their own burning economic and social issues.

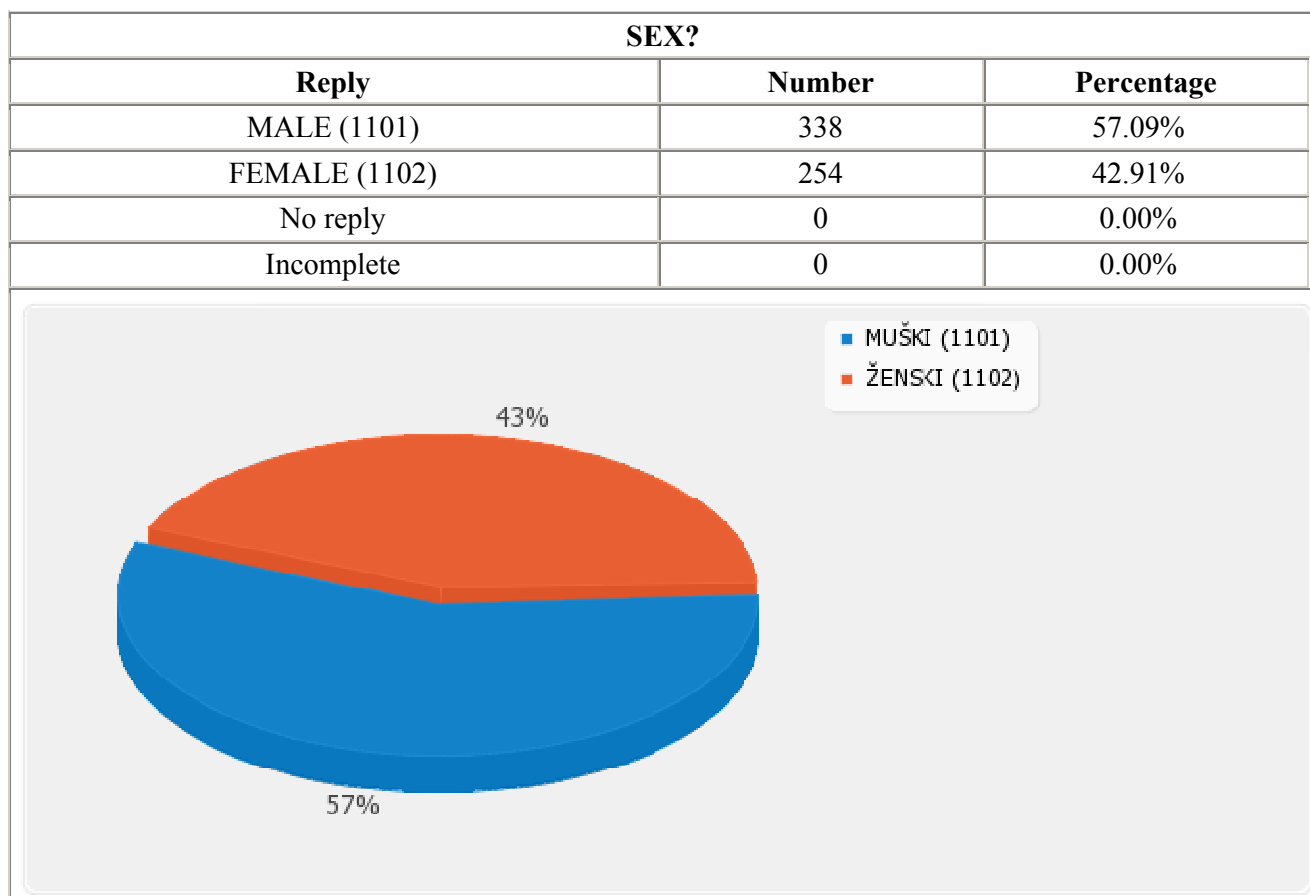
In the meantime, as long as the political conditions for the cooperation with Serbia are not met, which would relieve new municipalities of the burden of "collaborationism", these new municipalities should take advantage of the time and strengthen their position and build stable institutions. Beyond the current neutrality of Belgrade, citizens' support, achieved in the elections, the slow growth of their rating and the trust of citizens, apparent from the results of this research, should also go in their favour. Currently, these municipalities also enjoy a significant material support coming from the Government of Kosovo and the international governmental and non-governmental organisations in the country. The political support of key international stakeholders is an additional encouragement to local leaders, and it is confirmed by the recent visit and support to the municipality of Gračanica/Graçanicë by the US State Secretary, Hillary Clinton. Such a state of affairs should be an extra impetus for investments in new municipalities and the fulfilment of pre-election promises of their leaders, because the response of citizens at the next elections will directly depend on what was promised in the pre-election campaign and what has been delivered.

It is hard to imagine, that the media, located in Belgrade, without any specific attitude or prejudice, could provide a better service to the public than the ones at the source of local information. Hence, at the end of the day, local media in Kosovo, which broadcast their programme in the Serbian language, should be provided better conditions for their undisturbed professional work. In line with the Ahtisaari Recommendations, it is essential to support financially and materially the opening of a radio-television channel in the Serbian language for the whole territory of Kosovo, which would independently and unbiased edit its own programme content and cooperate with the other local, regional and international media. Daily printed media, regardless of the scarce number of those who read them as information source, should also be established and printed in local communities, at least as an opportunity of choice, which is an imperative in each society tending to democracy. On top of that, the set of active local independent media, television and radio productions, which have been the only media services of local communities for many years, should be supported as the backbone of the new informative media system. The present research, likewise any common sense conclusion, lead us to the point, that information is the most reliable, most accurate, and also, the most important at its source.

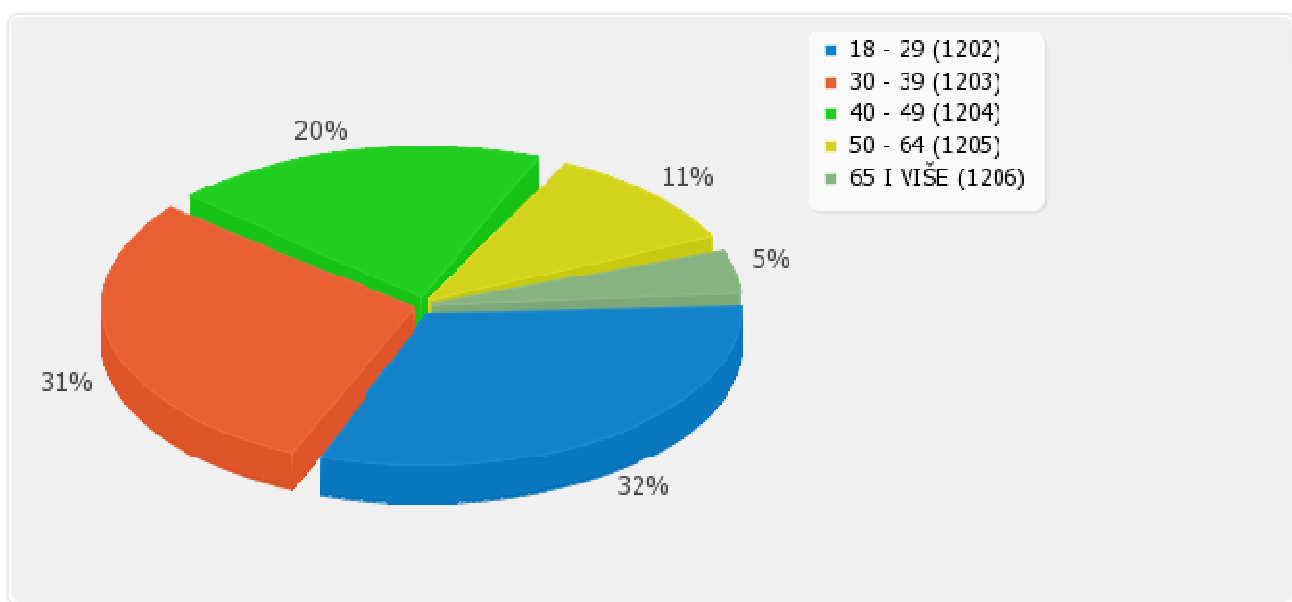
RESEARCH RESULTS, DECENTRALIZED MUNICIPALITIES OF GRAČANICA/GRAČANICĚ, KLLOKOT/KLOKOT, ŠTRPCE/ŠTERPCĚ

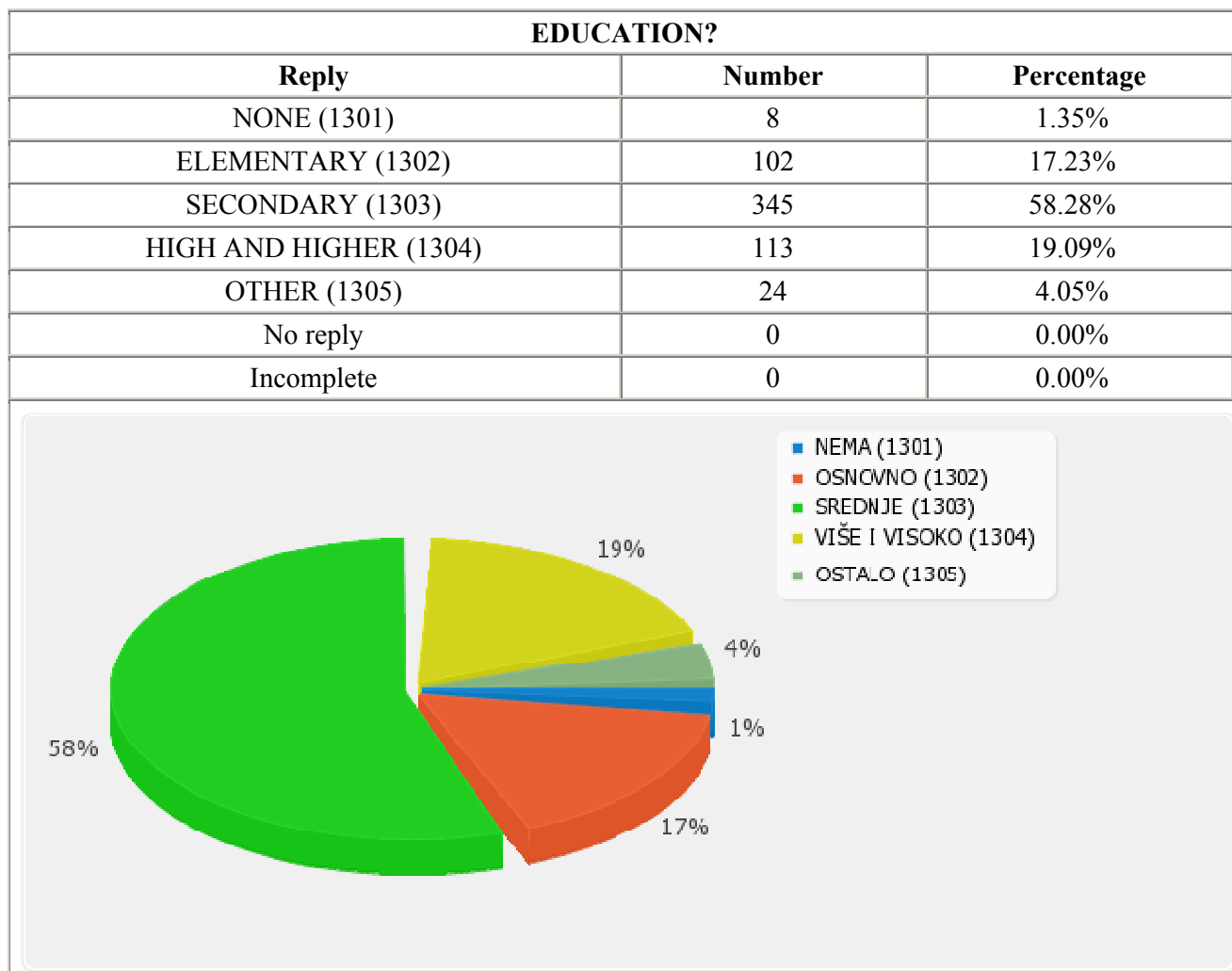
REGION?		
Reply	Number	Percentage
GRAČANICA/GRAČANICĚ (1201)	201	33.95%
KLLOKOT/KLOKOT (1202)	198	33.45%
ŠTRPCE/ŠTERPCĚ (1204)	193	32.60%
No reply	0	0.00%
Incomplete	0	0.00%

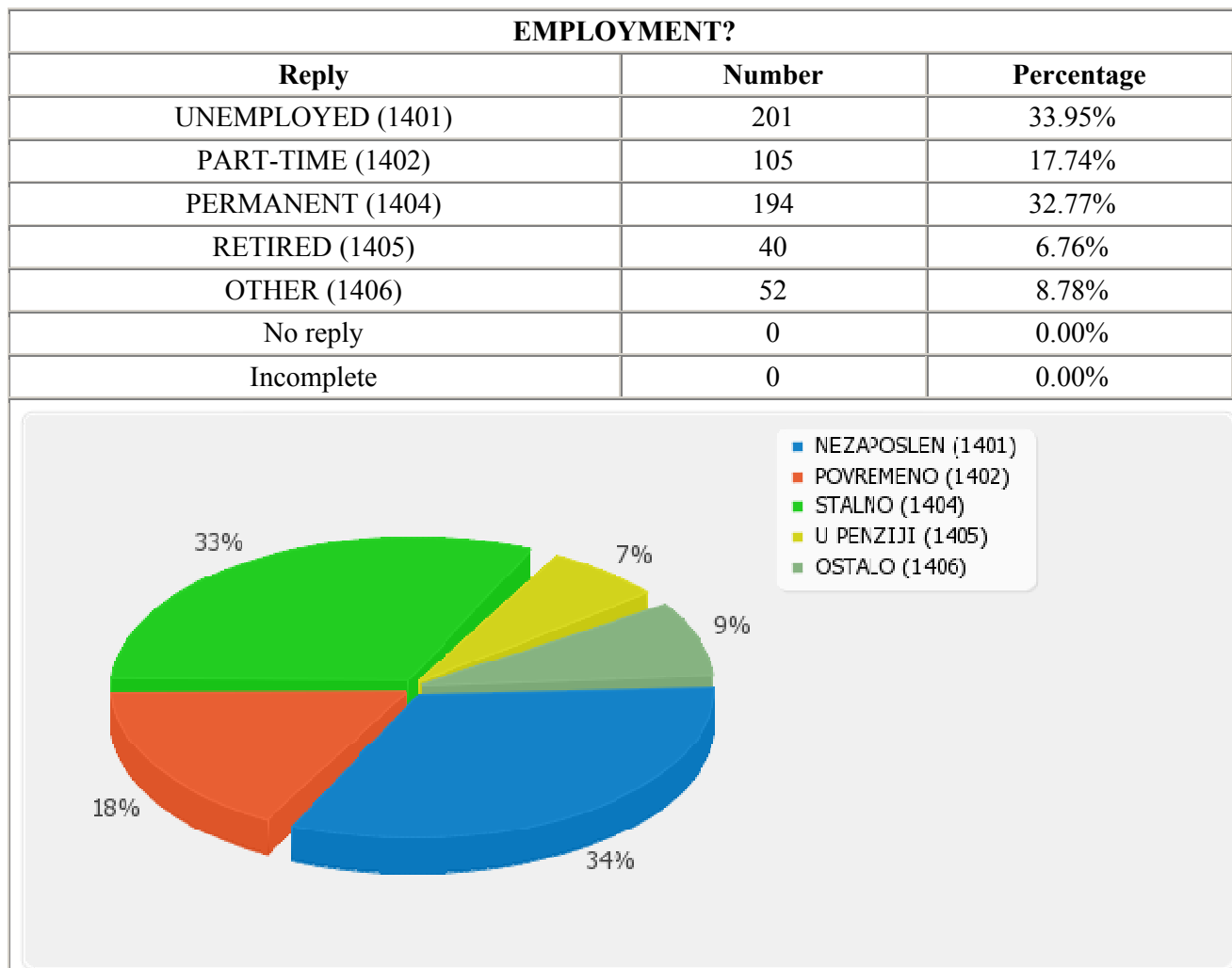


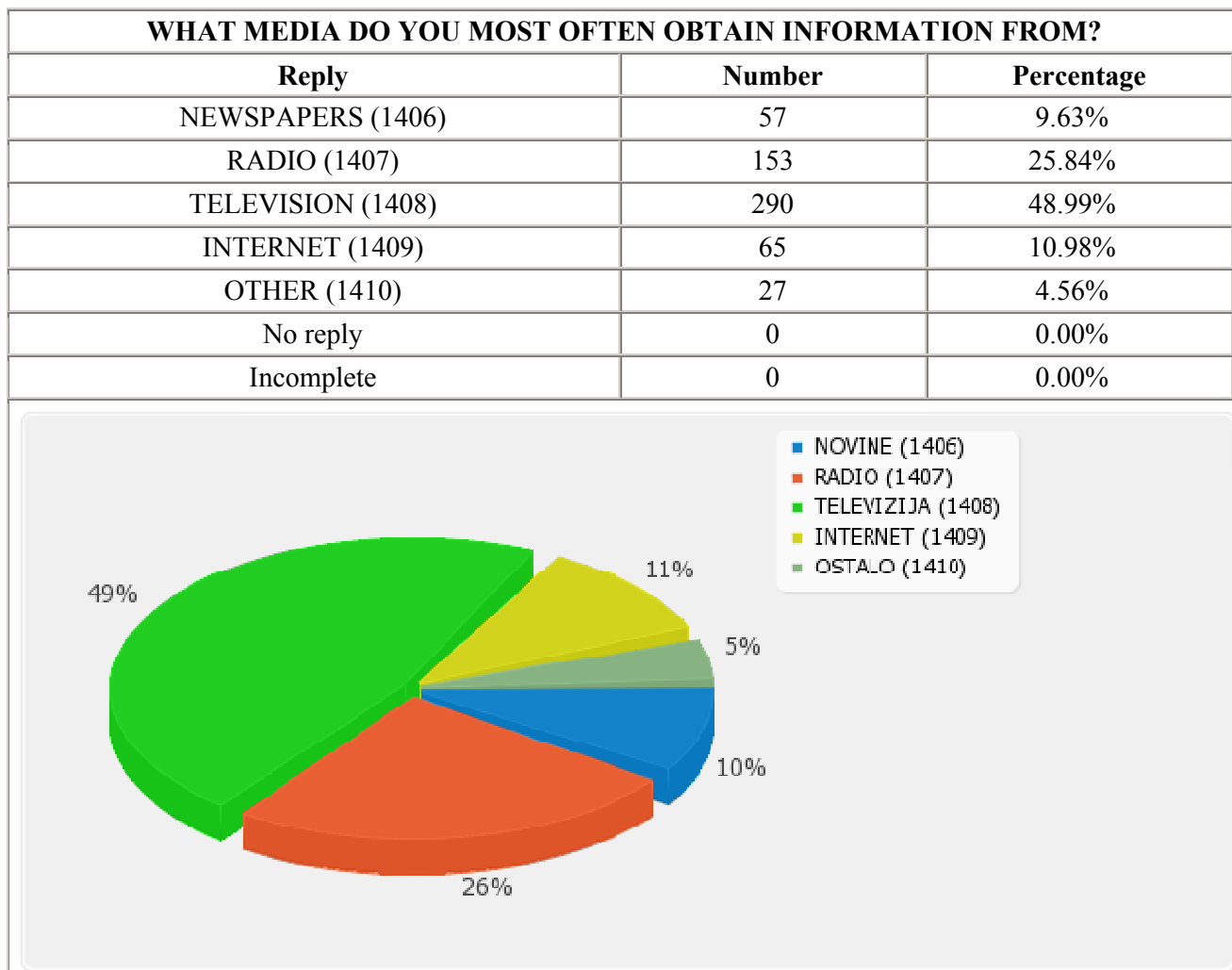


AGE?		
Reply	Number	Percentage
18 - 29 (1202)	192	32.43%
30 - 39 (1203)	184	31.08%
40 - 49 (1204)	120	20.27%
50 - 64 (1205)	67	11.32%
65 AND OVER (1206)	29	4.90%
No reply	0	0.00%
Incomplete	0	0.00%

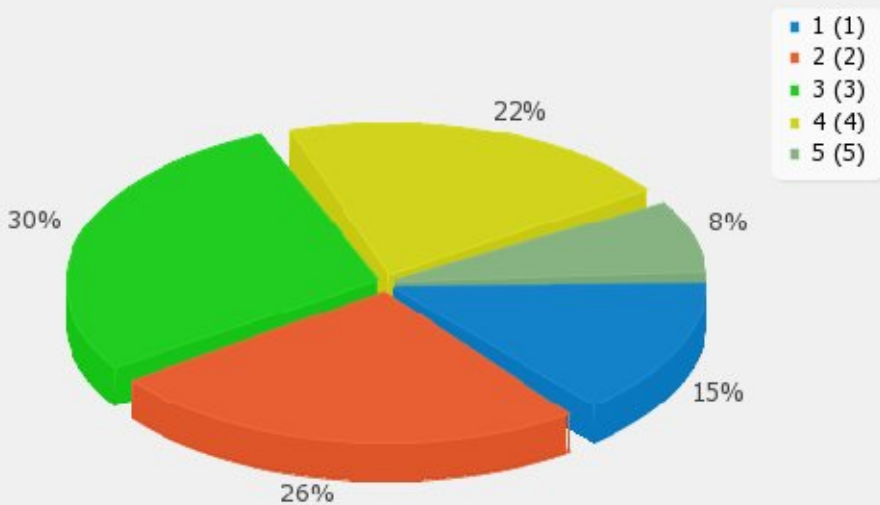


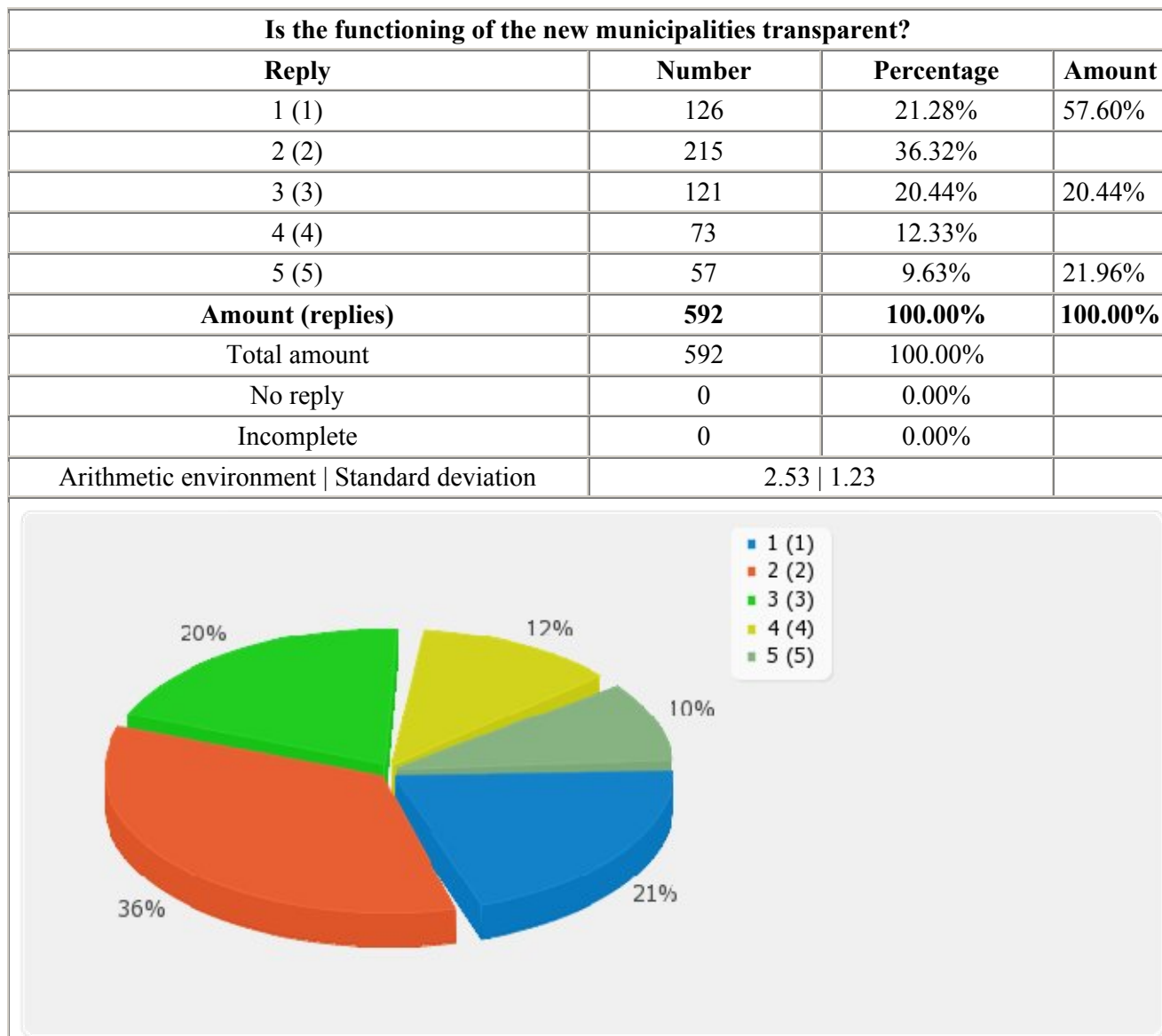


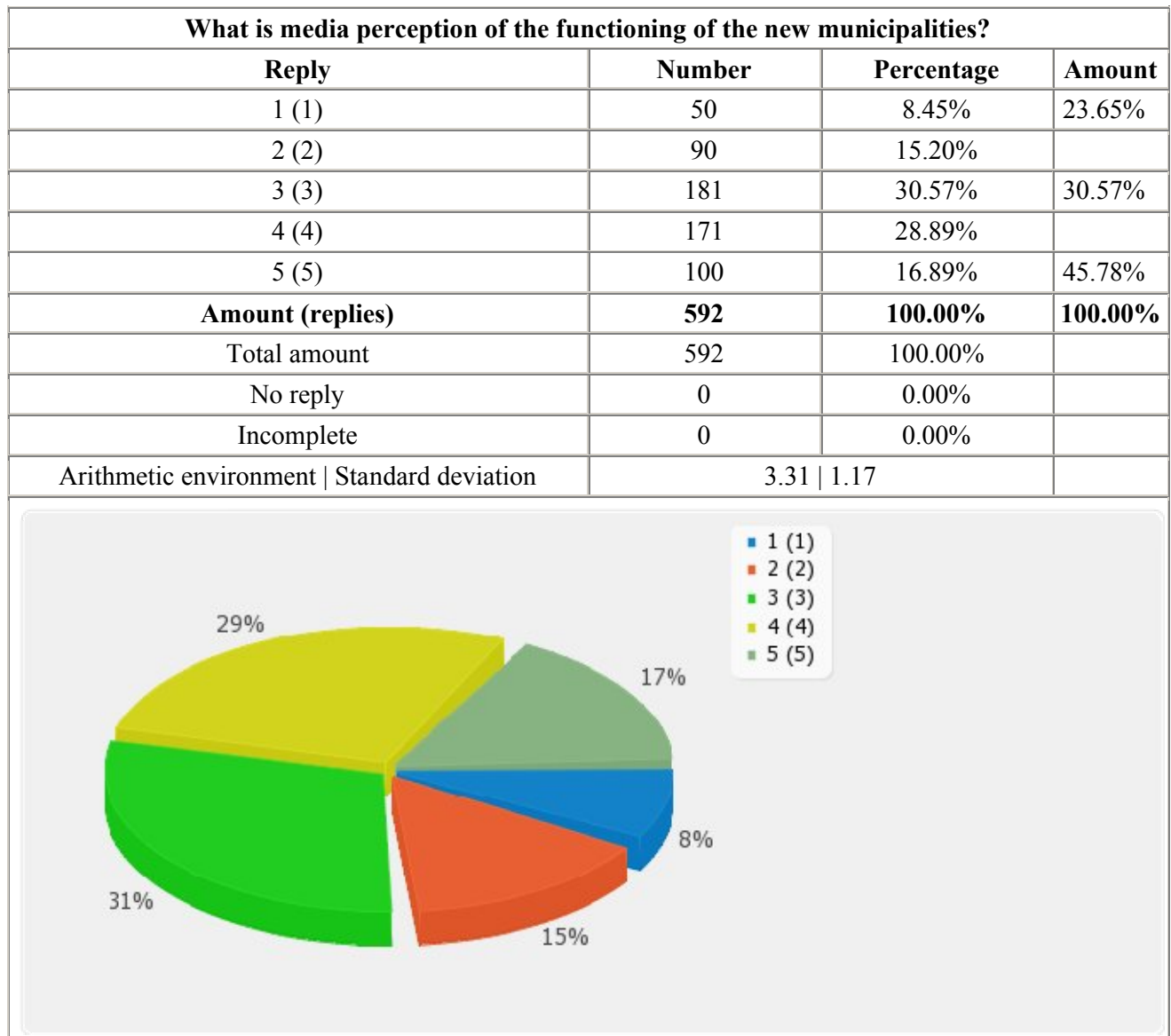




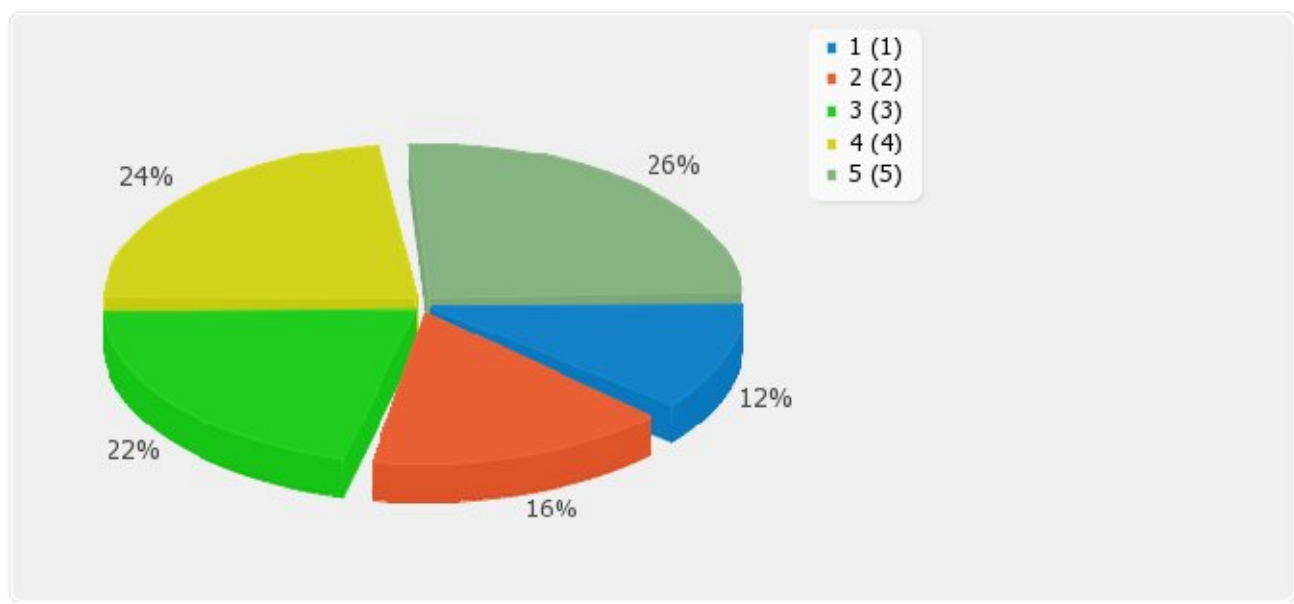
How informed are you about the functioning of the new municipalities?			
Reply	Number	Percentage	Amount
1 (1)	88	14.86%	41.05%
2 (2)	155	26.18%	
3 (3)	175	29.56%	29.56%
4 (4)	128	21.62%	
5 (5)	46	7.77%	29.39%
Amount (replies)	592	100.00%	100.00%
Total amount	592	100.00%	
No reply	0	0.00%	
Incomplete	0	0.00%	
Arithmetic environment Standard deviation	2.81 1.16		



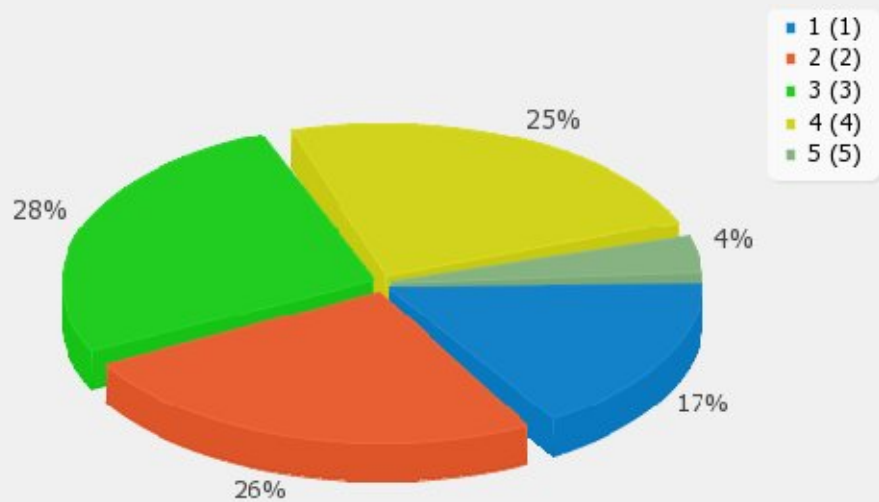




Field Summary for 2004:			
Reply	Number	Percentage	Amount
1 (1)	69	11.66%	28.04%
2 (2)	97	16.39%	
3 (3)	129	21.79%	21.79%
4 (4)	141	23.82%	
5 (5)	156	26.35%	50.17%
Amount (replies)	592	100.00%	100.00%
Total amount	592	100.00%	
No reply	0	0.00%	
Incomplete	0	0.00%	
Arithmetic environment Standard deviation	3.37 1.34		

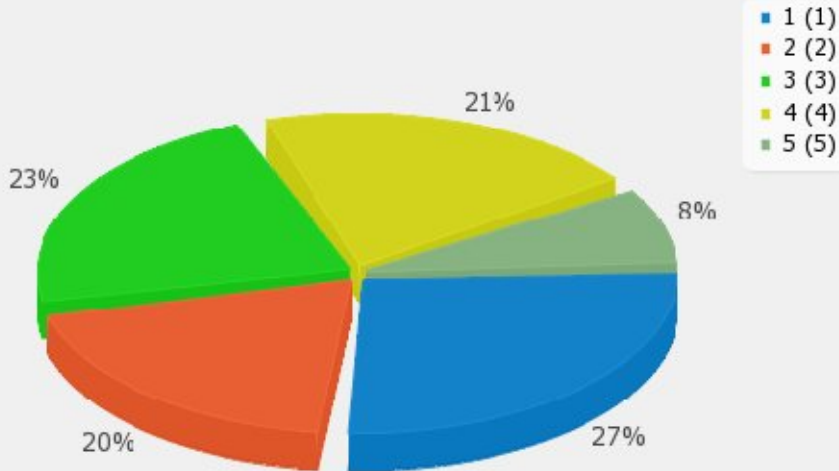


Do the media influence your opinion on the functioning of the new municipalities?			
Reply	Number	Percentage	Amount
1 (1)	102	17.23%	43.07%
2 (2)	153	25.84%	
3 (3)	165	27.87%	27.87%
4 (4)	149	25.17%	
5 (5)	23	3.89%	29.05%
Amount (replies)	592	100.00%	100.00%
Total amount	592	100.00%	
No reply	0	0.00%	
Incomplete	0	0.00%	
Arithmetic environment Standard deviation		2.73 1.13	



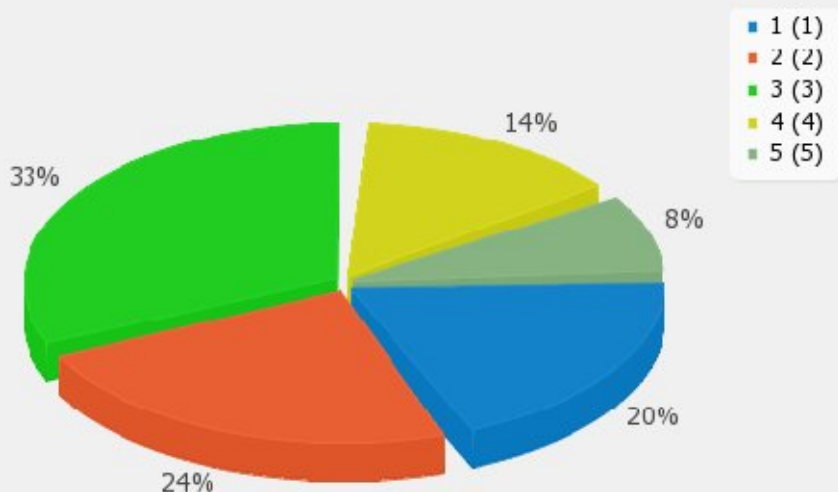
Do you believe that you, personally, could influence the functioning of the new municipalities through media?

Reply	Number	Percentage	Amount
1 (1)	162	27.36%	47.64%
2 (2)	120	20.27%	
3 (3)	138	23.31%	23.31%
4 (4)	124	20.95%	
5 (5)	48	8.11%	29.05%
Amount (replies)	592	100.00%	100.00%
Total amount	592	100.00%	
No reply	0	0.00%	
Incomplete	0	0.00%	
Arithmetic environment Standard deviation		2.62 1.3	



Do the new municipalities deal with the issues of education, health, public service and institutions sufficiently?

Reply	Number	Percentage	Amount
1 (1)	118	19.93%	44.09%
2 (2)	143	24.16%	
3 (3)	197	33.28%	33.28%
4 (4)	85	14.36%	
5 (5)	49	8.28%	22.64%
Amount (replies)	592	100.00%	100.00%
Total amount	592	100.00%	
No reply	0	0.00%	
Incomplete	0	0.00%	
Arithmetic environment Standard deviation		2.67 1.19	



Riatdhesim pa përgjegjshmëri

Mbi natyrën dhe ndërlikimet e procesit të riatdhesimit të romave, ashkalive dhe egjiptasve në Kosovë

Qendra për Dokumentim e Romëve dhe Ashaklive

Gëzim Visoka and Adem Beha

Repatriation without Responsibility

The nature and implications of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced repatriation to
Kosovo

Gëzim Visoka and Adem Beha

I. Brief summary of the findings

This paper examines the issue of forced repatriation of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians from some European Union member states in recent years and draws partially on the assessment of the previous 2009 RADC report 'Hopelessness: Roma, Ashkalia and Egyptian Forced Returnees in Kosovo' and also, has tapped on the data gathered by the RADC and other local or international institutions that monitor the situation of forced returnees, as it progresses. Exploring the paradoxical situation of the forced returnees from these three ethnic communities, the paper extends the following observations: regardless of comprehensive public policy and legal framework to accommodate the community rights of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, these communities continue to be exposed to discrimination in all spheres of daily life, in the process of forced repatriation of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian from host EU member states to Kosovo there is a gap in between the institutional commitment and the ability to facilitate sustainable re-integration in Kosovo, the sustainability aspect of the re-integration of forced repatriated persons in Kosovo is being hampered by the overall grim existing socio, political and economic situation of Kosovo and of the dire circumstances under which Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities currently live in Kosovo, that are characterized by the inadequate housing, nutrition, access to education, property disputes, social discrimination and exclusion, and weak public security, lack of the institutional coordination, first, among the hosting EU member countries and Kosovo institutions, second, among central level institutions of Kosovo, and finally, between the central and municipal authorities in Kosovo and their weak performance concerning the implementation of policies that foster the re-integration of the forced returnees, considerably affect the successful re-integration of the forced returnees in Kosovo life.

The paper concludes that the re-integration of forcibly returnees will remain difficult due to the dismal conditions under which Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities live and it will only impose on the sharing of space and limited resources and it will weaken social cohesion and it may stir towards local grievance and inter-personal and communal conflicts, thus contributing to social instability in Kosovo.

The paper extends the following recommendations: the sending states should stop temporarily the repatriation process of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian families and expand the financial and technical assistance to Kosovo authorities in facilitating the re-integration of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian repatriated families, Kosovo authorities should increase their institutional responsibility and commitment to facilitate the re-integration of Roma, Ashkalia and Egyptians forcefully repatriated families, the civil society organizations and donor agencies operating in Kosovo should develop projects that facilitate the social and economic re-integration of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced repatriated people.

II. Brief overview of recent developments

Kosovo is not able to receive refugees 'in a way that protects their rights'¹⁰

Since the end of 1999 conflict, the UNHCR estimates that 2,529 Roma and 4,883 Ashkali/Egyptians returned voluntarily to Kosovo between 2000 and the end of 2007.¹¹ It is estimated that 20,000 Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian asylum seekers have failed to receive

¹⁰ Thomas Hammerberg, Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights, DW, 15 April 2010.

¹¹ Kosovo Government, *Strategy for the Integration of Roma, Ashkalia and Egyptian Communities in the Republic of Kosovo (2009-2015)*, p. 46.

citizenship in the European host states¹²; meantime, circa 50,000 Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian live in Serbia proper, where Serb authorities continue to treat them as IDP's. By contrast, the Kosovo authorities treat them as refugees, reflecting the discursive implications of Kosovo's independence.

Table 1: Voluntary and Forced Returns from all countries, 2007- May 2010

	2007	2008	2009	Jan - May 2010	Total 2007 - May 2010
Voluntary returns*	3,836	2,382	3,544	2,096	11,858
Forced returns	3,219	2,550	2,962	1,249	9,980
	7,055	4,932	6,506	3,345	21,838

* From all countries, including returns from FYROM, Montenegro and Bosnia Herzegovina, and IOM-assisted returns. Source: UNHCR OCM Prishtinë/Priština, May 2010¹³

¹² KRAEF, 'Our Position 2006', Kosovo Roma, Ashkalia and Egyptian Forum, Position Paper 1, 2006, p.10. Text available at: http://www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2006/12/23321_en.pdf, (Accessed on 20 July 2010)

¹³ See more: Verena Knaus and Peter Widmann, '*Integration Subject to Conditions: A report on the situation of Kosovan Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children in Germany and after their repatriation to Kosovo*', German Committee for UNICEF, 2010, p.73.

The increased number of voluntary and forced returnees is influenced to a large extent by the readmission agreements between Kosovo and several EU member states. The first agreement was signed between German Federal Government and UNMIK on behalf of Kosovo in 2003 and has been revised subsequently, in 2005, 2006 and 2007. The last revision of this repatriation agreement was ratified on June 2010.¹⁴ Under this bilateral agreement, it is expected that around 12,000 Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians, including over 5,000 children, will be returned from Germany to Kosovo.¹⁵

After the 2008 declaration of independence, the Kosovo Government signed repatriation agreements with Albania, France, Austria, Switzerland, and Belgium. On October 2009, an agreement was ratified between Kosovo and Albania for readmission of persons.¹⁶ Following this, an agreement was ratified and signed on 2 December 2009 between Kosovo and France on the readmission of persons residing without an authorization.¹⁷ Austrian authorities also concluded an agreement with Kosovo on August 2009, which regulates the dynamic, conditions, and the terms of collaboration with Kosovo authorities in the repatriation process of Kosovo

Spotlight on the Mujolli Family

The family of Florim and Feride Mujolli from Fushe Kosove was forcefully repatriated to Kosovo after living for nearly twenty years in Germany. They have six children - the oldest is 18 and the youngest is 2. The Mujolli family had a normal life in Germany and respected the local laws, they had jobs and children attended German schools.

Life continued as normal until 17 March 2010, when the German Police entered their house at 6:00am and asked them to leave immediately. According to the oldest daughter, Hamide, the police forced them into cars while still in their pajamas. This all happened while Florim was at work. After three weeks he decided to return voluntarily and join the family in Kosovo.

Before migrating to Germany, the Mujolli family lived in the village Maxhunaj of Vushtrri, where they owned land and houses, but now their property is destroyed. The Mujolli family is now obliged to rent a house in Fushe Kosove, with no income and no job opportunities. In addition, the Mujolli family cannot register their children in Kosovo as they lack the correct documents – their children were born in Germany. Accordingly, none of the children are attending school in Kosovo.

Interviewed by RADC on 21 September 2010, Fushe Kosove.

¹⁴ 'Agreement between the Republic of Kosovo Government and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on the Readmission and Transit of Persons (Readmission Agreement)', 14 April 2010. Text available at: http://www.mfa-ks.net/repository/docs/Marrveshja_Ks-Gjer_per_ripranmin_e_personave_021_%28English-gjermonisht%29.pdf, (Accessed on 15 September 2010).

¹⁵ Verena Knaus and Peter Widmann, 'Integration Subject to Conditions: A report on the situation of Kosovan Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children in Germany and after their repatriation to Kosovo', German Committee for UNICEF, 2010, p.8

¹⁶ 'Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Kosovo and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Albania the on Readmission of Persons Residing without Authorisation', 06 October 2009. Text available at: <http://www.mfa-ks.net/repository/docs/anglisht-261.pdf>, (Accessed on 15 September 2010).

¹⁷ 'Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Kosovo and the Government of the French Republic on the Readmission of Persons Residing without Authorisation', 02 December 2009. Text available at: http://www.mfa-ks.net/repository/docs/Marrveshja_Ks.Fr_%28anglisht%29.pdf, (Accessed on 15 September 2010).

citizens, including the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities.¹⁸ Similarly, in February 2010 Kosovo signed an agreement with Swiss Federal Council on repatriation of persons without a residence authorization in Switzerland.¹⁹ These bilateral agreements establish the conditions concerning readmission procedures and technical aspects of the repatriation process for Kosovo citizens or third-country citizens and stateless persons affiliated with Kosovo.

While signing these bilateral readmission agreements might reflect Kosovo's institutional capability to enter international agreements, and close the long gap to the EU by fulfilling the necessary conditions to start a visa dialogue that would lead to visa-free travel for Kosovo's citizens²⁰, yet, Kosovo is not ready to receive these forced returnees as it lacks resources, political will and institutional capacities to accommodate the needs of returnees and facilitate their sustainable re-integration into Kosovo society by providing housing, healthcare, education, employment, security and social inclusion.

In fact, signing these readmission agreements has legalized an already existing irresponsible practice, where sending state does not provide sufficient support for sustainable re-integration and the receiving country lacks resources and institutional commitment to manage the situation.²¹ Indeed, as the CoE Human Rights Commissioner recently asserted 'Kosovo is under political pressure to accept these agreements, without having in place the budget or the capacity to receive these families in dignity and security.'²² Continuously, the UNHCR, Council of Europe, OSCE, Amnesty International, Minority Rights Group International (MRGI) and European Roma Right Centre (ERRC), campaign for delaying the forced returning of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities due to unsatisfactory socio-economic and security conditions for sustainable re-integration into Kosovo society.²³

While Europe tries to promote democratic values and human rights principles, social inclusion and social justice, the controversy and divided policies of the EU member states on home affairs, justice, and migration in essence disregards the principles of human rights and dignity. The incident with Roma expulsion in France could trigger two asymmetric developments: the expansion of similar expulsion practices to other EU member states, or delaying forced repatriation to avoid further public attention and criticism.

In concluding these bilateral repatriation agreements, Kosovo Government has not conducted any public information campaign to explain the implications of such agreements and how it affects Kosovo society, nor has ratified these agreements in a manner that allow legislative scrutiny of the Kosovo Assembly, by invoking the constitutional provision that allows the

¹⁸ Austrian Government, 'Safe Third Country Agreement' with Kosovo Government, 01 August 2009.

¹⁹ 'Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Kosovo and the Swiss Federal Council on the readmission of persons residing without authorization', 03 February 2010. Text available at: http://www.mfa-ks.net/repository/docs/Marrveshja_Ks-ch_015%28anglisht%29.pdf. (Accessed on 15 September 2010).

²⁰ In order to accelerate and meet visa liberalization criteria, Kosovo authorities have adopted Law on Citizenship, Strategy Against Terrorism, Strategy for Border Management, and have entered into bilateral readmission agreements with EU member countries, and not with EU as such due to non-recognition.

²¹ Alongside visa liberalization process, the EU and Kosovo authorities should create the conditions for integrating repatriated people and address the multiple problems of those minorities who are affected by these agreements, such as Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian. See more: ESI Discussion Paper, 'Isolating Kosovo? Kosovo v, Afghanistan 5:22', 19 November 2009, p.2; Forum 2015, 'Living in Gheto', July 2009.

²² Council of Europe, *Report of the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights' Special Mission to Kosovo*, CommDH(2009)23, 23 – 27 March 2009, p.5.

²³ See a recent publication of Amnesty International, 'Not Welcome Anywhere: Stop the Forced Return of Roma to Kosovo', September 2010.

President of Kosovo to ratify certain international agreements²⁴ and the inclusion of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian political representatives and their consultative bodies in the political debate in determining the terms of these repatriation bilateral agreements.

III. Policy, Legal and Institutional Framework

Kosovo has signed on to most international and regional human rights covenants that recognize the rights of returnees, refugees and displaced persons and altogether with Kosovo's Constitution of 15 June 2008, the Law on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Communities, adapted on March 2010 and the Law on Anti-Discrimination and on Languages constitute the core legal documents, which provide the framework for community rights in Kosovo. Specifically, the Article 156 of Kosovo Constitution asserts that 'the Republic of Kosovo shall promote and facilitate the safe and dignified return of refugees [...] and assist them in recovering their property and possessions.'²⁵ In 2009, the Council of Europe's Commissioner for Human Rights observed that 'the Constitution provides a good legal framework for human rights protection', however it was underlined that 'it is now incumbent on the authorities, including the local authorities, to put these commitments into practice.'²⁶

Aiming to put these commitments into practice and at integrating Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities in the Kosovo life, the Government of Kosovo developed in 2008 the Strategy for the Integration of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Communities in the Republic of Kosovo for the period 2009-2015 (hereafter, the Strategy). The Strategy, supported also by Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian civil society and international organizations, accordingly, identifies the fundamental need to improve the socio-political condition of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities in Kosovo, the effective implementation of legislation on protecting the rights and interests of communities, to empower Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities through provision of health, education, and social welfare services, and to increase political participation and representation in the public sphere. Relevant to the forced repatriation issue, the Strategy demand from the host countries the following:

to consider granting residence permits at least for those groups of refugees who have lived for a longer period of time, have permanent employment, whose children attend school, and who suffer from diseases that cannot be treated in Kosovo, b) to refrain from forcefully returning persons whose property is illegally occupied or destroyed until it is guaranteed that the returnee can re-possess his or her property, and, c) to provide financial resources in order to allow the Kosovo authorities to create temporary accommodation for returnees who have no accommodation... ²⁷

The main policy guiding the Kosovo Government on the forced repatriation of people who could not obtain asylum status or citizenship in countries of displacement until 2010 has been the Strategy for Reintegration of Repatriated Persons developed by the Kosovo Government and UNMIK in 2007. The Reintegration Strategy of Repatriated Persons seeks 'to ensure sustainable and durable solutions for forcibly returned persons in the areas of health, education,

²⁴ The Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Article 18, 15 June 2008.

²⁵ The Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Art. 156, 15 June 2008.

²⁶ Council of Europe, Report of the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights' Special Mission to Kosovo, p.5.

²⁷ Kosovo Government, Strategy for the integration of Roma, Ashkalia and Egyptian Communities in the Republic Kosovo (2009-2015), p.54.

employment, legal reintegration, social welfare, housing and property related issues'²⁸. Both strategies and their respective action plans have yet to be implemented. Lack of allocation of adequate financial resources from the Kosovo Consolidated Budget, the functioning of the coordinating bodies and the putting into effect of the mechanisms of transparency and accountability during the implementation of these initiatives can be cited as the major sources that contribute to the failed performance of Kosovo state institutions, in addition to their lack of will and ineptitude. By March 2010, the only funds dedicated to cover the costs for implementing the Repatriation Strategy was 100,000 Euros, as included in the budget of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, and earmarked for running two shelters as temporary accommodation for forced returnees.²⁹

An OSCE report finds that 'Kosovo's local authorities fall short in fulfilling their obligations to support the reintegration of persons repatriated to Kosovo from host countries.'³⁰ The European Commission 2009 Progress Report for Kosovo confirms this ineffectiveness of local authorities:

*'Municipal return strategies, if adopted, are not fully implemented. Guidance and support from central authorities remain insufficient and a lack of financial resources persists. There is no synergy between the frameworks put in place for voluntary returns and forced returns. Repatriated persons do not have access to temporary accommodation. Persons in need of medical treatment are not always treated. There is no reintegration monitoring mechanism.'*³¹

While Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian civil society organizations are also encouraged to join the Municipal Working Groups on Return in order to exercise immediate influence over municipal return policies, they have been unable to address effectively the issue as have insufficient power and resources. Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian civil society activists complain that they 'do not have access to donations and that their implementers often choose the wrong partners and some donations fall into bad hands'.³² On the other hand, there are also calls from Roma activists for the external monitoring of projects, especially the quality of material used in constructing houses.³³ Meantime, the employees of the municipal offices continuously have criticized the lack of action plans in municipality level and the specific information for the municipal officers in dealing directly with the refugee issues, and that 'it had been ignored to create a joint group, which included the municipalities'.³⁴

In late June 2010, following the recommendation of European Commission³⁵, the Kosovo Assembly adopted a Readmission Law which sets out procedures for establishing whether persons whose readmission to Kosovo is requested by sending states actually originate from

²⁸ Kosovo Government, Strategy for Reintegration of Repatriated Persons, 2007.

²⁹ Verena Knaus and Peter Widmann, 'Integration Subject to Conditions: A report on the situation of Kosovan Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children in Germany and after their repatriation to Kosovo', p. 78.

³⁰ OSCE, Implementation of the Strategy for Reintegration of Repatriated Persons in Kosovo's Municipalities, Prishtina, November 2009, p.1.

³¹ European Commission, Progress Report on Kosovo, October 2009, p. 20.

³² Interview with Nexhip Menekshe, Radio Romano Avazo, Prizren, 4 September 2010

³³ Project on Ethnic Relations, International Roundtable on Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians of Kosovo: Challenges and Prospects of Sustainable Integration, Vienna, 22 October 2008, p. 12.

³⁴ Interview with Xhevahire Dervishi-Rexhepi, Municipal Return Officer in Ferizaj, August 2009.

³⁵ Often the 'recommendations' coming from the European Commission have the power of an 'executive order' as the Kosovo authorities assign to any suggestion coming from the international community that is considered in the interest of Euro-Atlantic Integration of Kosovo.

Kosovo, and whether they have a legitimate claim to citizenship.³⁶ According to a recent Amnesty International report ‘the Law on Readmission is inadequate in preventing persons originating from Kosovo from being at risk of statelessness’³⁷ as it requires evidence of citizenship which is problematic for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities due to the lack of documentation and civil registration.

Within the framework of the Kosovo Constitution, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities in Kosovo are represented at the President’s Office through the Community Consultative Council, at the Prime Minister’s Office through the Office for Community Affairs, and at the Assembly of Kosovo through the Parliamentary Committee on Community Rights and Interests and the Returns. These representative mechanisms aim to provide Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities (among other community groups in Kosovo) with the opportunity to represent directly their political interests at the levels of governance and decision-making. However, as it was indicated in another paper recently done by RADC that Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian representatives in the co-decision, consultation, and coordination mechanisms have achieved limited success due to ‘lack of inter-institutional cooperation and coordination; lack of meaningful engagement in reviewing and commenting on legislative and policy initiatives; political interference of government; and the lack of attention of the Kosovo Government for these communities, focusing instead on the Serb community’³⁸.

IV. The Overall Conditions of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Returnees

During the process of forced repatriation, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian people are exposed to several human rights violations, including psychological pressure to leave the host country, short notice to leave the country, disrespectful behaviour of the police, and insufficient support and assistance after returning to Kosovo. For example, in Germany Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian families experience problems even before being repatriated forcefully, including difficulty in receiving social assistance, benefiting from health services, attending schooling, and finding jobs.³⁹ As asserted in a UNICEF report, ‘the best interests of [these] children have not so far been considered a priority, despite the fact that over half these individuals with Roma background are children and almost two-thirds of them were born and have grown up in Germany’.⁴⁰

Upon returning to Kosovo, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced returnees face a new stage of difficulties due to limited living space and shortage of resources, while the continuous return of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian refugees increases the number of dependants on social assistance, which is already very high among Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities in Kosovo. It can be assumed that in this regard approximately 50,000 refugees considered to be repatriated will fall under social assistance with a monthly support of €35 and €65 per family, irrespective of the number of children. It is widely acknowledged that a family, even in Kosovo, cannot survive with this extremely low income. Calculated on an average amount of €50 per month, the Kosovo government would have to provide a budget of €500,000 per month or six million

³⁶ Kosovo Assembly, Law on Readmission, Article 1, No.03/L –208, 25 June 2010, p.1.

³⁷ Amnesty International, ‘*Not welcome anywhere: Stop the Forced Return of Roma to Kosovo*’, p.30

³⁸ Adem Beha & Gezim Visoka, *Minority Consultative Bodies in Kosovo*, RADC Center, Prishtine, 2010, p. 6.

³⁹ For the conditions of RAE communities living in Germany see: Verena Knaus and Peter Widmann, ‘*Integration Subject to Conditions: A report on the situation of Kosovan Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children in Germany and after their repatriation to Kosovo*’, German Committee for UNICEF, 2010.

⁴⁰ Verena Knaus and Peter Widmann, ‘*Integration Subject to Conditions: A report on the situation of Kosovan Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children in Germany and after their repatriation to Kosovo*’, p.6.

Euros annually to provide social assistance for returnees, without estimating the costs of the provision of accommodation and re-integration.⁴¹ Such harsh circumstances propel Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian returnees and their communities into a vicious circle of poverty and further marginalization, while disadvantaged groups such as women and children may find themselves trapped into forced labour and marriages and trafficking.

Housing and Accommodation

Upon their arrival in Kosovo, the forced returnees, in the absence of their own dwelling place receive short-term accommodation from Kosovo authorities, until another solution is found. However, the forced returnees are at risk of becoming homeless people, due to the following reasons: a) most of the returnees sold their land and property before leaving Kosovo to finance the (often) illegal travel to Western Europe, b) their houses might have been burned or demolished during or after the 1999 conflict, c) their property may have been occupied illegally by their community members, or Serbs and Albanians, d) cases reported where Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities bought land from Serb owners before the 1999 conflict, without appropriate documentation and upon return they have problems to prove the legality of property ownership as they do not possess the necessary documentation. The former owner/s of property may have moved out of Kosovo or died, or they face difficulties to claim the land ownership as the Serb former owner demands additional money and puts other conditions.⁴² There are also cases where the temporary occupiers of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian houses do not pay public utilities such as electricity, leaving the returned families to cope with the situation.⁴³

Finding themselves in this situation, most returnees have no choice but to seek temporary shelter with relatives, friends and neighbours, which can exacerbate the social and economic conditions of these communities. For example, an Egyptian family of seven members in Gjakove lives in a small shelter of twenty to twenty-five meter squares. Similarly, an Ashkali family in Fushe Kosove sheltered twelve people in a three-room house, consisting of only seventy-two meters squared. Kosovo authorities recognize this difficult situation but as an OSCE report asserts: 'none of the municipalities in Kosovo has taken any steps towards finding temporary and/or durable housing solutions for repatriated persons, and none has included budgetary projects in its budget plans to meet the housing needs of repatriated persons.'⁴⁴ Of 7,000 Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian properties in Kosovo that are currently occupied by third parties, nothing has been done to resolve the situation⁴⁵, though property rights and land ownership are critical aspects in finding a sustainable solution for the accommodation of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced returnees.

Employment

Employment and income generation opportunities are generally scarce in Kosovo and 75% of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian families receive from 50 to 120 Euros per month through social

⁴¹ Council of Europe, Report of the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights' Special Mission to Kosovo, p. 158.

⁴² Interview with Qerim Gara, Ashkali Community Leader in Fushe Kosove, 15 October 2009

⁴³ Testimony provided by the European Roma Rights Centre from primary research for its forthcoming report on the human rights situation of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians in Kosovo. ERRC interview with N.Sh. (Gjilan, 26 May 2010). Among others, during this interview he emphasized: 'The Albanian occupiers were here for 4 years. 'Why should I pay for someone else's electricity? I pay for what I use.'

⁴⁴ OSCE, *Implementation of the Strategy for Reintegration of Repatriated Persons in Kosovo's Municipalities...* p.10.

⁴⁵ PER, *International Roundtable on Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians of Kosovo: Challenges and Prospects of Sustainable Integration*, p. 8.

assistance, community support, humanitarian aid, and occasional work through the informal economy.⁴⁶ According to this data, a Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian person lives on 21.37 Euros a month or 0.71 Euro cents a day.⁴⁷ That is, below the hunger line – not enough money to even buy food for your basic calorie intake.⁴⁸ Moreover, it is estimated that only 40% of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian families receive social assistance, whereas the remainder are disqualified as they don't fulfil the condition of having children under the age of 5 and elderly dependents incapable of work, while 70% of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian families are dependent on assistance from outside Kosovo.⁴⁹

The scarce employment opportunities combined with discriminatory practices exhibited in the labour market result in low level of employment of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian community members where numbers reveal that only 5% work on public sector and public enterprises, whereas only 3.5% are employed in the private sector.⁵⁰ In 2007, Humanitarian Law Centre (HLC) identified the insufficient implementation of Anti-Discrimination Law, particularly in the case of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian employment and highlighted the unequal opportunities that Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian people face when it comes to employment in public enterprises. The privatization process has not helped much in improving the employment opportunities for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities. As most privatized companies are owned by Albanian employers, they generally avoid hiring members of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities because of ethnic prejudice or lack of qualifications. There are also cases where an ethnicity is claimed falsely to get reserved jobs for minorities. An Ashkali activist from Magura argues that 'the airport is very close, recently an Ashkali had an opportunity to apply for jobs there, but Albanians claimed to be Ashkali and took the jobs in the name of the Ashkali. They are violating our rights.'⁵¹ Also, "...most of the jobs which Roma traditionally had are taken by Albanians, like blacksmith or trading.'⁵² In the rare cases of employment, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian people usually are asked to perform hard physical work and are paid less than Albanian employees performing equivalent tasks. Responding to the issue of forced return of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian families, Danush Ademi, an Ashkali MP in the Kosovo Assembly asserted that 'a common source of income of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian families is the support from the relatives living abroad as asylum seekers or with residence permit.'⁵³ Hence, Ademi warns that the forced return of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian families will have a disastrous impact on Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities in Kosovo, as the last remedial source of income is taken away.

Healthcare

In addition to being serviced by a poor health system, with insufficient services and ineffectively managed, Kosovo people are not covered by public health insurance scheme and

⁴⁶ KFOS, *The Position of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian Communities in Kosovo: Baseline Survey*, Prishtina, 2009, p.21

⁴⁷ Ibid, p.21

⁴⁸ DW-WORLD, 'New UNICEF report condemns German policy of deporting Roma children', 08 July 2010. Text available at: <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,5775224,00.html> (Accessed on 19 September 2010).

⁴⁹ KFOS, *The Position of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian Communities in Kosovo: Baseline Survey*, Prishtina, 2009, p.23

⁵⁰ Ibid, p.31

⁵¹ Testimony provided by the European Roma Rights Centre from primary research for its forthcoming report on the human rights situation of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians in Kosovo. ERRC interview with H.A. (Magura, 24 May 2010).

⁵² Testimony provided by the European Roma Rights Centre from primary research for its forthcoming report on the human rights situation of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians in Kosovo. ERRC interview with N.M. (Prizren, 22 May 2010).

⁵³ Interview with Danush Ademi, currently an Ashkali Member of Kosovo Assembly, Prishtine, 12 October 2009

patients have to pay for the most of medicine. In the case of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced returnees suffering from serious diseases are not able to find a sufficient and affordable way of ensuring their healthcare and medicine in Kosovo. In general, municipal health authorities do not conduct any information and outreach activities with Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced returnees, nor they facilitate the recuperation of ill returnees by providing free-of-charge medication and services.⁵⁴

Shemsi Miftari, an Ashkali returnee and insulin-dependent patient confesses that besides insulin, he also needs other medication which he cannot afford by himself. Shemsi needs approximately 110 Euros per month to buy the medication, on which his life depends. The Miftari family has also two children of age 12 and 6 who are dumb and deaf who are unable to attend the special institution for hearing-impaired students in Prizren due to the impossibility to finance the transport and accommodation. The Miftari family was given notice to leave Germany in 2007 and they decided to return voluntarily in order to get the promised assistance from different organizations, but upon arriving in Kosovo they have been ignored. In many cases, to receive adequate healthcare, patients are obliged to visit private clinic which have unaffordable prices for poor people. Skender Broraj after spending twenty years in Germany was forcefully repatriated in June 2010 and among many other problems, he is concerned with the health care of his mother. In his words:

*'My mother suffers from a heart diseases and is diabetic... [in Germany]... she used to get medicines for free and she used to have regular check-ups but now I do not know how I am going to take care of her, when I know that my house is totally destroyed and I do not know where I am going to stay.'*⁵⁵

A UNICEF report indicates that half of Roma departed from Germany are children.⁵⁶ In Kosovo, one of the major challenges concerns the improvement of mother and child health status where there is a 'lack of knowledge and awareness among communities and families about adequate home care management, child physical and cognitive development and general reproductive health.'⁵⁷ Hence, these repatriated children will be exposed to this poor health and nutrition conditions, which will impact negatively on their wellbeing. The poor environmental conditions where Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced returnees are accommodated also impact their health situation. As declared by Basri Rexhepaj, an Ashkali Community Officer in Ferizaj:

*'Here in Dubrave hygienic circumstances are very bad. Many tuberculosis cases are caused by poor living conditions and bad food. A particular problem is that we do not have a sewerage system. Nobody is giving any money for that, and no one delivers medicine for the sick people.'*⁵⁸

⁵⁴ OSCE, *Implementation of the Strategy for Reintegration of Repatriated Persons in Kosovo's Municipalities...* p.8.

⁵⁵ Interview with Skender Broraj, Istog, 21 September 2010.

⁵⁶ See more: Verena Knaus and Peter Widmann, *'Integration Subject to Conditions: A report on the situation of Kosovan Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children in Germany and after their repatriation to Kosovo'*, German Committee for UNICEF, 2010.

⁵⁷ UNICEF Kosovo, Section of Health and Nutrition, Text available at: <http://www.unicef.org/kosovo/children.html>, (Accessed on 21 September 2010).

⁵⁸ Interview with Basri Rexhepaj, Ashkali Community Officer in Ferizaj, 4 October 2009

These cases illustrate that many Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian community members, who were forcibly returned and suffer from health problems, are exposed continuously to new diseases such as tuberculosis (TBC) in Dubrave, or lead poisoning in Mitrovica. Indeed, these EU member states, aware of poor healthcare services and conditions in Kosovo, forcefully repatriate Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian people who suffer from diseases, thereby violating their right to health wellbeing, social protection, and right to life.

a) Education

Integrating Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced repatriated young people and children into the mainstream education system remains one of the greatest obstacles of public schooling in Kosovo. A recent UNICEF Report states that ‘while most children had attended school regularly in Germany, once they returned to Kosovo, three quarters dropped out of school, mainly due to poverty, language barriers and the lack of school certificates from Germany’.⁵⁹ In such difficult educational conditions, there is the risk that many deported children and youth people will attempt to return to their host country through organized crime networks, where the only prospect awaiting them is the status of an illegal immigrant.⁶⁰

After spending nearly twenty years in Germany, the Berisha family was forcefully repatriated to Kosovo in December 2009.⁶¹ Since then, due to the lack of educational documentation, five of their children are unable to attend public schooling in Kosovo. Children also face language difficulties as they have been born and raised in German-speaking environments. Many repatriated families complain about lacking documents, which they were unable to gather in Germany before an unexpected or unwanted repatriation. However, Frank Michael Wellna at the Migration Attaché at the German Embassy in Prishtina explains that these families can contact the embassy, which will provide them with birth certificates and other documents.⁶²

To date, no municipal working plan on education considers the specific needs of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian repatriated children and youth, including the language constraints, securing documents, and supporting with textbooks.⁶³ Many other young people leave education due to security reasons. An Ashkali 17 year-old girl was born in Germany and forcefully repatriated to Kosovo in 2003. She did not continue her education in Kosovo due to her fear that Albanian students might behave violently with her. Roma living in Serb populated areas experience a similar phenomenon. Seljatin Emini, a Roma activist from Preluzje, declared that ‘they face discrimination, as it is obvious that a Roma student cannot follow an academic career the same as his or her Serbian peers’⁶⁴.

b) Security and Discrimination

In most cases, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced repatriated families do not face security problems, except the perceived fear and uncertainty of travelling to unknown places due to

⁵⁹ Verena Knaus and Peter Widmann, ‘Integration Subject to Conditions: A report on the situation of Kosovan Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children in Germany and after their repatriation to Kosovo’, p. 81.

⁶⁰ Ibid, p.14.

⁶¹ Interview with Ismet Berisha, Gjakove, 20 September 2010.

⁶² Interview with Frank Michael Wellna, Migration Attaché at the German Embassy in Prishtina, 29 September 2010.

⁶³ OSCE, *Implementation of the Strategy for Reintegration of Repatriated Persons in Kosovo’s Municipalities...* p.9.

⁶⁴ Testimony provided by the European Roma Rights Centre from primary research for its forthcoming report on the human rights situation of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians in Kosovo. ERRC interview with S.E. (Preluzje, 23 May 2010).

language barriers. In general, for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities in Kosovo, there are three main threats to security: theft (23%), followed by robberies, murders, organized crime/mafia (23%), and infectious diseases (15%).⁶⁵ However, depending on the region, many Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced returnees feel insecure in different situations as they live with the impression of being treated differently from the majority.

The security for the Roma community in the Albanian dominated areas is still a problem, as it is the same problem of security for Ashkali community living in areas, dominated by Serbs. Security concerns occur only in sensitive regions where Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced returnees become a minority within minority, such as in the cases of North Mitrovica. As the Serb-controlled municipalities in the North of Kosovo do not recognize or implement laws and other measures taken by the Kosovo authorities, they do not maintain data on returns and consequently do not provide any assistance for Roma living in that region.⁶⁶ Indeed, in 2009 the UNHCR stated that ‘Kosovo Serbs and Kosovo Albanians inhabiting areas where they are in the minority, and Kosovo Roma inhabiting any part of Kosovo continue to face serious restrictions to their freedom of movement and their exercise of fundamental rights, including serious societal and sometimes administrative discrimination that would limit in particular their ability to exercise their political, social and economic rights’.⁶⁷

Kosovo Roma usually avoid reporting crimes to local police due to the low confidence in law enforcement⁶⁸ and because “they are afraid of possible repercussions.”⁶⁹ Moreover, low confidence in law enforcement results also, from both the under-represented recruitment of police belonging to these communities and the institutional weaknesses of Kosovo Police. On the other hand, the forceful repatriation of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian people creates security concerns also within their communities. There are reported cases where the returned Roma began illegal business with drugs and crime. Such cases are reported by Roma activists in Prizren, declaring that ‘in my neighbourhood, ten persons were forcibly returned and now they are all drug dealers’⁷⁰ claiming that this will affect their children tomorrow.

Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians constantly feel discriminated against and believe that municipal authorities, public companies, central government, and public schooling are responsible for this discriminatory situation.⁷¹ In many cases, they report discrimination in education, employment, or in unequal consideration for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian in utilizing public services. All these factors complicate the gradual re-integration of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced returnees to Kosovo society. To illustrate this, a 22 year-old female who returned to Kosovo with her family in 2005, after having spent 14 years in Germany, witnessed ethnic discrimination:

‘I was at this basketball court with some other Ashkali girls and boys, when an Albanian boy came there and beat a boy from our group. Children were coming and calling us insulting names and

⁶⁵ UNDP, *Early Warning Report Kosovo* 28, p.30.

⁶⁶ Amnesty International, ‘*Not Welcome Anywhere: Stop the Forced Return of Roma to Kosovo*’, p. 13.

⁶⁷ UNHCR, *Eligibility Guidelines for Assessing the International Protection Needs of Individuals from Kosovo*, 9 November 2009, HCR/EG/09/01, p.18.; See more: Council of Europe, *The Situation in Kosovo and the role of the Council of Europe, Political Affairs Committee*, Doc. 12281, 7 June 2010.

⁶⁸ UNHCR, *Eligibility Guidelines for Assessing the International Protection Needs of Individuals from Kosovo*, 9 November 2009, HCR/EG/09/01, p.11.

⁶⁹ MRGI, *Filling the Vacuum: Ensuring Protection and Legal Remedies for Minorities in Kosovo*, 2009, p.15-20.

⁷⁰ Interview with Nexhip Menekshe, Radio Romano Avazo, Prizren, 4 September 2010

⁷¹ UNDP, *Early Warning Report Kosovo* 28, p.33.

shouting “Gypsies, gypsies!”. I was so afraid, and the Albanian boy did not even know the person he was cutting into pieces!’⁷²

Kosovo’s weak judicial system also has implications for addressing discrimination cases. Regarding the judiciary in Kosovo, the 2009 EU Progress Report notes that ‘the justice system remains weak, vulnerable to political interference and inefficiency’ and that ‘Kosovo’s judiciary is still in need of a major reform.’⁷³

c) Obtaining legal and official document

Apart from an initiative undertaken by UNHCR, CRPK and RADC to assist Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities in obtaining legal and civil documents, there are no significant activities undertaken by relevant national and local authorities to raise awareness among Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced returnees about the importance of civil registration and provide assistance in obtaining the documents.⁷⁴

There are also cases where the children of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced returnees that are born in the host country face civil registration difficulties. In Kosovo, child born outside of Kosovo must possess an international birth certificate issued by the country of birth. In many cases the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian returnees do not have such documentation as they were forced to leave without warning. Accordingly, these children are unable to receive legal identification documents in Kosovo which makes impossible registering to public schools and receiving healthcare.⁷⁵ The Kosovo Government indicated in the Action Plan for the Implementation of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Integration Strategy that it aims to ‘strengthen cooperation among institutions of Kosovo and institutions of host countries to enable information and registration of returnees and the repatriated persons.’⁷⁶ In achieving this, it plans to draft information packages for refugees and the displaced that are able to return.

d) Psychological Consequences of a Deportation

‘We had been detained like prisoners. And we did not even have enough time to pack our bags.’⁷⁷

The process of deportation imposes humiliation, fear and insecurity and disrespect of privacy. The psychological distress that the deportees experience during the deportation phase, when police often enter their dwelling place in the middle of the night to make sure that no one escapes and the approach used by the police bears resemblance to those of torture approaches, as the deportees are put under mental, emotional and physical duress.

These forced repatriation scenes mainly affect children and young people as they experience the spiraling vortex of trauma caused from both deportation events and adjustment to Kosovo reality where they to adopt to various, especially those ‘related to language barriers, lack

⁷² Interview with A. S., 22 October 2009

⁷³ EU 2009 Progress Report for Kosovo, p.11

⁷⁴ OSCE, *Implementation of the Strategy for Reintegration of Repatriated Persons in Kosovo’s Municipalities...*p.9.

⁷⁵ UNICEF, *Every Child Counts: Birth registration in Kosovo...*p. 51.

⁷⁶ Kosovo Government, ‘*The Republic of Kosovo Action Plan on the Implementation of the Strategy for the Integration of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Communities, 2009-2015*’, p. 91-2.

⁷⁷ B. Sh., 17 years old, 13 August 2009

electricity or water or other adaptation to lower standards of living and adaptation in school.’⁷⁸ Children, who lived in western countries, usually thought that they would be on vacation in Kosovo. After realizing that they would never be able to go back to their schools and friends, they were often disillusioned and shocked⁷⁹.

The proceedings of a forced return can vary greatly and forced returns are not informed at all on the proceedings. Sometimes the people are brought to the airport directly, but in some cases the whole family is first being taken into custody pending deportation, in order to bridge the time-frame between the detention and the flight to their home country. Methods of repatriation can also differ between countries, i.e., Switzerland returns returnees via commercial flights, whereas Austria and Germany repatriate people in charter flights. Unfortunately, there are a number of cases, in which families are separated in the deportation process. For instance, in Ferizaj a young Ashkali man reported that he had not seen his parents since 2001, began crying as he explained that he avoids talking to his mother on the phone, as she suffers from deep depressions and a sleep disorder. Separating family members like this can easily be seen as an instrument of psychological pressure to encourage the rest of the family to return to Kosovo voluntarily.

It should also be considered that the social position of young girls and women is not the same as in western societies. Female Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian community members often face gender-based discrimination and find it difficult to reintegrate into the village communities. Often there is a perceived prevalent feeling of inferiority, and girls who used to go to school in their host countries are confronted with unequal treatment by teachers and male schoolmates in Kosovo. Despite the ongoing Westernisation in Kosovo, social norms and moral values still differ very much between the western countries and Kosovo, and female Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian returnees report social condemnation for behaviour which was seen as normal in their host countries.

V. The Political Position of Western Countries and Donor Assistance Regarding Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Forced Repatriation

Between 2008 and 2010, Kosovo Government has signed five repatriation agreements with Albania, France, Austria, Belgium and Switzerland. There are also several readmission agreements pending to be signed with other European countries. In general, the readmission agreements signed thus far establish the repatriation conditions for Kosovo citizens or third-country citizens and stateless persons affiliated with Kosovo, readmission procedures and technical aspect of repatriation process. In all of these bilateral agreements, three broad reasons are invoked to regulate the issue of repatriation and readmission of persons remaining illegally in the host state: (a) the desire to develop friendly relations and deepen mutual cooperation; (b) friendly relations and deepen mutual cooperation; (c) the necessity to eliminate illegal migration; and (d) to promote compliance with international treaties and conventions.

Certainly, Kosovo’s position of incomplete international recognition and membership in regional and international institutions is a weak position and is obligated to sign repatriation agreements in order to maintain the international support and development assistance from EU

⁷⁸ Anica Mikuš-Kos, Slovene Philanthropy; Ljubljana, Slovenia, ‘The psychological and psychosocial situation of returnee children and youth’ in the Expert Conference RETURN and IMPACT: The Challenge of Good Practice in International Return Programmes to Kosovo, 17-19 October 2008, Prishtina, Kosovo, p.14.

⁷⁹ Bashkim Kurti, a Community Officer in Gjakova, 15 August 2010

member states. Such agreements also provide evidence for Kosovo's capacity as sovereign and independent state to conclude international agreements and comply with international norms and principles. Furthermore, the repatriation process is fostered in particular after Kosovo's independence due to the perceived political and eco-social improvement of situation in Kosovo.

The Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forceful repatriation procedure occurs in four stages. First, if Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian families fail to prove possession of citizenship, residence permit or visa in the host country, they are listed for repatriation. In this respect, Switzerland appears to be more cautious in approaching the repatriation of asylum-holders on an individual basis. In a Conference organized in 2008, Grégoire Crettaz, First Secretary, Migration Attaché, Embassy of Switzerland in Kosovo confirmed this:

Out of a Diaspora of 150,000 from Kosovo, about 8,000 are of RAE communities, of whom 6,000 have either citizenship or a permit. Out of the 2,000 that remain under asylum law, around 1,500 have temporary residence permits. Only 500 remain that are either in processing or about to return. But only about 62 members of RAE communities impend immediate return.⁸⁰

In the Swiss case, the position to repatriated Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian families in gradual manner and through identifying cases individually and based on appropriate criteria also continues in 2010, where the number of returnees has not increased.

The next step in the repatriation procedure holds that in case the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian family does not comply with the rules of voluntary return, security authorities in the host country use different methods to repatriate forcefully. In this regard, as most of the repatriated families come from Germany, it is stated by German authorities that forced return is a last resort, and decisions are taken under rather strict conditions. In the words of a German Diplomat:

'Only if no voluntary return is chosen, our Government might choose means of forced return of last resort, but on rather strict conditions and limitations. We are operating based on UNHCR position statement, which last time saw the return of Roma as not desirable.'⁸¹

According to this, there are no forced returns of Roma with the exception of criminals. This is not the case in reality because there are hundreds of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian families repatriated to Kosovo without any criminal record. 'Daily newspapers in Kosovo are misinformed', said Frank Micheal Wellna of the German Migration Attache. There would be no mass deportation. According to the German Migration Attache/Repatriations in Prishtina, there are only 108 Roma, 37 Ashkalia, and 5 Egyptians who are deported up to August 2010. RADC asked the German Migration Attache for the list of people who are deported, but German Migration Attache, Frak Michael Wellna, said he cannot give RADC this list due the

⁸⁰ Grégoire Crettaz, First Secretary, Migration Attaché, Embassy of Switzerland in Kosovo, in the PER International Roundtable on Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians of Kosovo: Challenges and Prospects of Sustainable Integration, Vienna, 22 October 2008, p.7.

⁸¹ Lorenz Barth, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the OSCE, in the PER International Roundtable on Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians of Kosovo: Challenges and Prospects of Sustainable Integration, Vienna, 22 October 2008, p.6.

fact that this information is protected under the data protection law, making it unavailable for the public.⁸²

In the meantime, procedures regulate that the sending and requesting states establish contacts and the requesting state receives the forcefully repatriated people to the airport and provides temporarily accommodation and food. Prior to repatriation, the host state sends the list of people planned to be repatriated to the Kosovo authorities to verify if they possess currently or in the past Kosovo citizenship and residency. The Kosovo Minister of Internal Affairs, Bajram Rexhepi declared that there are cases when people on list have declared that they originate from Kosovo, but in fact they are citizen of one of the neighbouring countries, Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro or Albania. Recently, a case was verified that they belong to Albanian community but they have been registered in Germany as Ashkali in the hope to prolong the toleration status and eventually to obtain German citizenship.⁸³

As the majority of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian families are repatriated from Germany and Switzerland, these two countries try to provide assistance to facilitate re-integration to Kosovo. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) also provides direct and immediate assistance when the returnees arrive in Kosovo, providing information, airport assistance, special assistance for medical cases and onward transportation to the returnees' final destinations.

Some of the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forcefully repatriated families benefit from a re-integration scheme provided by three of the German federal states. URA (Bridge) is a project supported by Baden-Württemberg, Niedersachsen and Nordrhein-Westfalen, which provide assistance primarily to the voluntary returnees from these regions, but also to forcefully repatriated families. The financial support entails providing 50 Euros per person immediately and paying 100 Euros per month for five months after returning to the host community. In addition, URA financial schemes support returnees with 300 Euros per person for furniture and 75 Euros per person for medicine and healthcare. In supporting the re-integration process of returnees from Germany, the URA project also supports language courses, professional and vocational trainings and an education grant up to 120 Euros per person. In addition, URA projects support several employment opportunities by assisting and mediating in finding jobs, organizing seminars and support to establish a business through a grant of up to 2000 Euros based on a successful proposal. As of December 2009, URA has provided employment assistance to 77 returnees and provided funds to another 13 to start a small business.⁸⁴

Although the German-funded reintegration program URA is considered a comprehensive package for targeting forced returns, it focuses almost exclusively on the needs of parents and does not pay much attention to the needs of returning children.⁸⁵ In addition, a Roma civil society activist from Prizren stated that the URA project does not partner with any Roma organisations. Indeed, accessibility to the URA project is one of the challenges for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian repatriated persons, as travelling from peripheral regions of Kosovo, like Prizren, Peja, and Gjakova to Prishtina (where the URA project is administered) costs around 20 Euros per person. Hence, a person receiving less than 100 Euros per month is faced with the

⁸² Interview with Frank Michael Wellna, Migration Attaché at the German Embassy in Prishtina, 29 September 2010.

⁸³ Kosovo Daily Express, 'Only our Roma', 19 April 2010, p.8-9.

⁸⁴ Verena Knaus and Peter Widmann, *Integration Subject to Conditions: A report on the situation of Kosovan Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children in Germany and after their repatriation to Kosovo*, p. 95.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 95.

difficult decision between trying to seek support from URA by travelling to the capital and staying home to save that money for food and basic needs.

Kosovars who return voluntarily from Switzerland can benefit from two projects financed by Swiss authorities that promote the sustainable reintegration through economic and social development and employment assistance. These projects also provide technical assistance to Kosovar institutions involved in providing assistance for returnees. Another project funded by the Swiss Government seeks to contribute to the social and economic development of specifically disadvantaged members of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities living around Prishtina region, focusing mainly in the areas of education, economic development, basic infrastructure and community building.⁸⁶

VI. Recommendations

- 1. The overall recommendation of this report is that the sending states should temporarily stop the forced repatriation of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities to Kosovo and should synchronize their policy action in the spirit of ensuring that the human rights of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced returnees are respected and protected. Hence, the best solution seems to be the naturalisation and integration in their host country, or repatriation to Kosovo with genuine assistance.**
- 2. Kosovo authorities should immediately:**
 - 2.1 allocate sufficient funds for implementing the Strategy for Reintegration of Repatriated Persons and its explanatory Action Plan,
 - 2.2 Increase their inter-ministerial communication, cooperation, and coordination of activities in order to implement the Strategy for Reintegration of Repatriated Persons,
 - 2.3 instruct the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare to create a special budgetary line to provide basic social assistance for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced returnees after sufficient proof is provided that they need assistance in housing, healthcare, and income generation,
 - 2.4 facilitate through the Ministry of Internal Affairs the civil registration of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced returnees and re-consider slowing down the process of accepting and confirming the citizenship of repatriated families for the sending states,
 - 2.5 provide through the Ministry of Health and its entities, free healthcare to Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian returnees in case they are unemployed and don't have sufficient social assistance,
 - 2.6 through Ministry of Education create inclusive and equal conditions for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian repatriated children by registering to school without complicated criteria

⁸⁶ See more on Swiss assistance projects to Kosovo returns at: http://www.swiss-cooperation.admin.ch/kosovo/en/Home/A_list_of_current_projects, (Accessed on 23 September 2010).

and documentation, provide language catch-up classes, and respect their cultural and linguistic barriers,

- 2.7 through Ministry of Returns and Communities include Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced returnees to their list of beneficiaries in housing projects, and allocate funds to fulfil their basic living conditions,
- 2.8 Moreover, the minority consultative bodies based at the President's Office, Prime Minister's Office and the Kosovo Assembly should engage and use their political power to demand upon the central and local authorities in Kosovo to take full responsibility in assisting Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced returnees.

3. The civil society organizations and the donor agencies present in Kosovo should develop projects that facilitate the social and economic re-integration of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian forced repatriated people.

- 3.1 The domestic NGOs in Kosovo, together with the international donor agencies and Kosovo authorities, should organize a donor conference to create a special fund to assist the repatriated families with housing, healthcare, employment and social inclusion in the public sphere,
- 3.2 Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian civil society communities should design assistance programmes for forced returnees and use public means to increase the pressure to local and central authorities in Kosovo,

Arsimi në gjuhën boshnjake në Kosovë

(nga arsimimi parashkollor deri te i larti)

**OJQ Shoqata e Boshnjakëve të Kosovës
UBKA - Prishtinë/Prizren**

Education in the Bosnian Language in Kosovo

(from preschool through higher education)

**NGO Udruženje Bošnjaka Kosovski avaz
The Voice of Kosova Association of Bosnians
UBKA – Prishtina /Prizren**

“Multicultural education involves the educational policies and practices which meet the separate educational needs of groups in society which belong to different cultural traditions; while intercultural education involves educational policies and practices by which the members of different cultures, whether in majority or minority position, learn to interact constructively with each other. Intercultural education aims at highlighting the preservation of each group’s identity, accompanied by the acceptance of diversity leading to understanding and tolerance.”

(UN Montreal International Seminar on Intercultural and Multicultural Education)

Article 1.4. of the Law on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Communities and their Members in the republic of Kosovo (The Law on the Rights of Communities, 2008) defines communities as “national, ethnic, cultural, linguistic or confessional groups traditionally present in Kosovo, who are not in majority”, and recognizes Kosovo Serbs, Kosovo Bosnians, Kosovo Turks, Roma, Ashkali, Egyptians, Gorans and other communities (such as Kosovo Croats and Kosovo Montenegrins).

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The present analysis is based on the fact that there has NEVER been education in the Bosnian language in this region due to special circumstances under which Bosnians lived here over the past century. This means that it covers teaching in the Bosnian language in Kosovo, which was introduced for the first time in history in 1999, and has been written based on the data which were available during the research work.

Bosnian language education is provided according the curriculum of Kosovo, hence it provides the opportunity to integrate Bosnian communities into the Kosovo society.

The analysis is based on research work and interviews with the stakeholders of such education (teachers, pupils/students, coordinators of teaching in Bosnian, representatives of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, civil sector) made in September 2010.

The analysis covers a number of pupils and students in primary and secondary schools in those settlements where such teaching is provided. This refers to seven (7) municipalities in Kosovo: Prizren, Dragaš/Dragash, Peć/Pejë, Istok/Istog Mitrovica/ Mitrovicë, Priština/Prishtine, Dečani/Deçan. It also covers higher education at two faculties (Peć/Pejë and Prizren) providing teaching in Bosnian.

It can be stated that, ten years after introducing teaching in Bosnian in Kosovo, the main problem is the lack of textbooks in the Bosnian language. It is a special concern for primary school pupils, because they should be provided textbooks free of charge, but they still haven’t got any, so they feel discriminated against the majority community pupils.

At the same time, generally, there are still no textbooks for secondary schools!

This is an acute problem putting at risk the quality of teaching in Bosnian ten years upon its introduction. An urgent solution of this problem could be the purchase of textbooks in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the B&H Federation respectively; and the funds should be provided by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology. It is to be emphasized, that the Sarajevo Canton expressed willingness to support the Kosovo Bosnians in providing textbooks. It is to be implemented. Another specific concern is that there are no textbooks for the “NATIONAL GROUP” subjects.

In spite of that, it should be highlighted, that the graduation test results show, that Bosnian pupils achieved the best pass ratio in Kosovo. Bosnian secondary school graduates achieved

82 percent pass ratio on the national test held 6th June 2010, and it was the best result compared to pass ratios of other communities (it was 45.66% for pupils from the Albanian community).

Another crucial problem is that teachers – since they were trained for generations in Serbian - have not acquired the standard Bosnian language fully yet, and this fact, coupled with the lack of textbooks for the Bosnian history and with the lack of opportunity to contact the kin state, i.e. Bosnia and Herzegovina, significantly slow down the process of returning Bosnian identity (as it has been ignored for a whole century) and of the ethnic affirmation of Bosnians in this region. In this process, the general education of Bosnians is a vital factor of their survival and in this sense such an education should be better organised in line with need to regain the Bosnian national identity.

Simultaneously, the result of common Serbian language education with the Serbian community is the insufficient knowledge of the language of the environment, i.e. the Albanian language, which is indispensable for the further integration of Bosnians in the society of Kosovo.

In areas settled by persons belonging to communities whose mother tongue is not an official language, pupils belonging to these communities are entitled to preschool, elementary and secondary education in their respective primary languages. In settlements, where due to the insufficient number of pupils, or for some other reasons, there is no possibility to provide quality education in the mother tongue; other opportunities are to be provided. However, for Bosnian pupils it is vital to learn the Albanian language from the first grade of the elementary school, with the opportunity of multiethnic preschool institutions. In areas settled by Bosnians, it is also important to enable that teaching in Bosnian is organised in elementary schools, accompanied by intensive courses in Albanian, in order to avoid situations that Albanian teaching language education is organised in places where the inhabitants are Bosnians. Namely, there are parents who believe that for the sake of the child it is better if she/he studies in the language of the majority, in order to facilitate her/his integration later and to provide her/him better opportunities for studies and employment. If Bosnian pupils learn the Albanian language well at preschool and elementary school level, there will be fewer and fewer of such considerations, and a sufficient number of children will be provided for teaching in Bosnian in all areas settled by Bosnians. Hence, the drop out among Bosnian children will be less and their number will increase in the teaching in Bosnian language.

With regard to the fact, that the problem of human resources is still present in teaching in the Bosnian language, the measure of the Government of Kosovo on dislocating the Faculty of Education to Prishtina is absolutely not acceptable, since it was decided without any consultation and agreement with the representatives of Bosnians about the continuity of teaching in Bosnian and the needs of Bosnians. The degree of the damage to the Bosnian language education made by way of opening a new university in Prizren cannot be defined at the moment, and it is not sure either, how the Government will keep its promises and transfer the overall Bosnian language teaching to the new university, and which departments will be opened for Bosnians, and whether that university will indeed be a multiethnic and multilingual one, as announced.

1. Introduction

Prior to the armed conflict in Kosovo in 1999, Bosnians⁸⁷ attended primary and secondary schools, and faculties in the Serbian language. They were called Muslims with a Serbian

⁸⁷ According to unofficial data, some sixty thousand Bosnians live in Kosovo currently, and the number of Bosnians living in the neighbouring and west European countries is approximately as much as that. It is believed

mother tongue during the occupation of Kosovo by Milošević's regime, although Bosnians were returned their national name and the name of their language in Sarajevo on 28th September 1993: Bosnian.

After the deployment of international forces in Kosovo in July and August 1999, the parents of Bosnian pupils wrote a petition to the then competent authority for education demanding the education of their children in the Bosnian language. Immediately upon the end of armed conflicts in Kosovo, the newly established institutions, led by the UNMIK Administration, despite numerous problems, were also faced with the problems in education. Besides the delay in the beginning of teaching due to safety reasons, there were also problems in organising teaching because some of the teachers had migrated.

The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST) of the Republic of Kosovo passed a decision in October 1999 enabling the Bosnians to attend teaching in the Bosnian language in primary and secondary schools. After that, the Faculty of Applied Sciences in Business was established in October 2002 in Peć/Pejë, and the Faculty of Education in Prizren, as a department of the University of Prishtina in 2003, where studies in Bosnian and Turkish are also provided.

Pupils belonging to the Bosnian community are educated in line with the curricula of MEST. Besides in Albanian, teaching plans and programmes, prescribed by that Ministry, are also provided in Bosnian and Turkish. The MEST of Kosovo accommodated the plan and programme for teaching in Bosnian for mother tongue, history, arts and music, because of the need of maintaining the ethnic identity of the Bosnian community.

The Bosnians from Kosovo had, as early as the end of the war on Kosovo, i.e.: September 1999, been entitled to education in their mother tongue.

In preschool, primary and secondary school and higher education institutions some 9000 pupils and students attend teaching in Bosnian. This right is exercised in the municipalities of Prizren, Dragaš/Dragash, Peć/Pejë, Istok/Istog, Prishtina, Dečani/Deçan and Mitrovica/Mitrovicë.

As for secondary schools, there are several courses: a general grammar school, and secondary schools for economy, medicine and technical sciences. In Prizren all these secondary courses are present, but not in Dragaš/Dragash, where, due to certain specificities of education, there are no medical and technical schools.

Education in the Bosnian language is provided from preschool through primary and secondary schools to higher education in the whole region, where Bosnians live in Kosovo.

2. Preschool, Primary and Secondary Education

Teaching in Bosnian covers education from preschool through primary and secondary school to faculty. There are about 2500 children included in preschool education, some six thousand in secondary and higher education, and most of the pupils are in the municipalities of Prizren

that the share of Bosnians in the overall population is about 3% . According to the last valid census from 1981 their share was 3,7% (at that time, their ethnic name was "Muslims"). The 1991 census was boycotted by the Kosovo Albanians and a number of Bosnians, some of whom declared themselves as Muslims and others as Yugoslavs. The share of Bosnians in the censuses so far was the following: in 1981: 58,562 or 3,7%; in 1991 66,189 or 3,4%. According to the estimation of the Kosovo Statistics Office from 2003, the share of Albanians was 88%, of Serbs 7% and of other ethnic communities 5% in the overall population. The same office emphasizes in its publication "Kosovo in Numbers 2006", that the share of Albanians in the overall population is 92%, while other ethnic communities make up 8% in the population of Kosovo.

(about 3200), Peć/Pejë (about 800), and there are smaller schools in the Municipality of Dragaš/Dragash with a total of about 1500 pupils, whereof 2/3 attend teaching in Serbian (because wages are higher in Serbia than in Kosovo), and 1/3 in Bosnian, i.e.: about 500 pupils.⁸⁸

The total number of pupils attending teaching in Bosnian in Kosovo is: 2350 children in preschool institutions; 3469 pupils in primary schools; and 1263 pupils in secondary schools. The number of Bosnian students at faculties are as follows: Faculty of Education in Prizren: 250 students; Faculty of Applied Sciences in Business in Peć/Pejë: 400 students. The number of Bosnians in Kosovo being educated in Albanian, Turkish and Serb languages is not known. The accurate number of those students, who study in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Turkey, Sandžak and elsewhere in the region and the world is not known either.

2.1. Preschool Education

Bosnian language teaching in preschool education in Kosovo is provided in Prizren, Mitrovica/Mitrovicë, Dragaš/Dragash and in Vitimirica near Peć/Pejë. Teaching is provided according to the curriculum of the Republic of Kosovo. Preschool teaching in Bosnian is attended by about 2350 girls and boys in these Bosnian environments. Depending on his/her individual psycho-physical characteristics, a child adapts himself or herself to the school environment and learning easily or with difficulty. Institutional preschool teaching and education encourages the development of all potentials of children of different age, hence it is one of their essential periods in the process of preparing for school.

Preschool education in Bosnian is provided in Prizren within the Motrat Qiriazzi and Mustafa Bakija schools. Children are included in preschool education in the settlements of Planjane, Donje Ljubinj and Rečani in Župa.

2.2. Prizren Municipality

Primary Schools

Seven (7) schools in Prizren provide teaching in Bosnian: Lek Dukagjini, Motrat Qiriazzi, Mati Llogoreci, Abdyl Frasheri, Prizrenska Liga, Fadil Hisari and Mustafa Bakija.

In Župa, 6 central schools provide teaching in Bosnian: Meto Bajraktari in Rečani (with departments in Lokvica and Nebregošte), Šar in Jablanica (with a department in Pousko), Svjetlost in Manastirica, Izvor in Gornji Ljubinj, 25. maj in Donji Ljubinj and Planjane in Planjane. Teaching in Bosnian is also provided in Gornje Selo, in an OUTPOSTED department of the central school in Mušnikovo, which is a settlement with mostly Bosnian population, but where teaching is provided only in Albanian.

In Podgora, teaching is provided in the central school named 7. mart in Ljubidža with departments in Grnčar and Novo Selo.

Number of Bosnian pupils in schools in the 2010/2011 school year

⁸⁸ The consequence of dividing and fragmenting Muslims (as persons belonging to this nations were called, as long as in Sarajevo on 28th September 1993 their old and for one century forbidden name was returned: Bosnians and Bosnian language) to Bosnians and Gorans during Milosevic's occupation of Kosovo, under the influence of the GOS SANU project, also accepted and supported by the international community, UNMIK and OSCE.

Ser . no.	Settlement	School	Numbe r of pupils
1.	Prizren	Lek Dukagjini	341
2.	Prizren	Motrat Qiriazhi	94
3.	Prizren	Prizrenska Liga	66
4.	Prizren	Abdyl Frasheri	53
5.	Prizren	Fadil Hisari	42
6.	Prizren	Mustafa Bakija	42
7.	Prizren	Mati Llogoreci	60
8.	Gornje Ljubinje	Izvor	317
9.	Rečane	Meto Bajraktari	230
10.	Planjane	Planjane	221
11.	Donje Ljubinje	25. maj	218
12.	Manastirica	Svjetlost	210
13.	Jablanica	Šar	126
14.	Ljubižda	7. mart	272
TOTAL:			2292

There were 2332 Bosnian pupils in primary and lower secondary school in the last, 2009/2010 school year. There are 2292 in this 2010/2011 school year.

The reason behind this latter number, which is 40 pupils lower than the former, is that pupils from Bosnian communities changed to attend teaching in Albanian and Turkish.

There are mixed classes in Prizren in all primary schools, except for at Lek Dukagjini, where most pupils attend teaching in Bosnian.

There are mixed classes in Župa in the neighbourhoods of Lokvica, Nebregoš, Gornje Selo, Jablanica and Pousk. In Podgora, there are mixed classes in Ljubižda and Novo Selo.

Secondary Schools

There are 4 secondary schools in Prizren providing teaching in Bosnian:

Ymer Prizreni – School of Economics
 Luciano Motroni – Medical School
 Gani Çavdarbashi – Technical School
 Gjon Buzuku – Grammar School

Number of Bosnian pupils in secondary schools in the 2010/2011 school year

Ser. no.	Name of school	Course	Number of pupils
1.	Luciano Motroni	Medical	298
2.	Gjon Buzuku	Grammar school	250
3.	Ymer Prizreni	Economics	241

4.	Gani Çavdarbashi	Technical school	100
Total:			889

There are a total of 889 pupils in secondary schools in Prizren in this 2010/2011 school year.

There were 759 pupils in secondary schools providing teaching in Bosnian in the former 2009/2010 school year.

A growth in the number of secondary school pupils for 130 pupils (17%) has been recorded in this school year, which is a very positive trend.

The growth in the number of pupils was probably influenced by many factors. Besides a most numerous generation coming from lower secondary schools, contrary to former years, the increase in the number of girls continuing their education has also influenced this growth.

The Education of Girls

It is considered, that the new Law on Education stipulating secondary education as mandatory, will be a significant step in the further education of girls in this region, where a considerable drop could be detected in the further education of girls during the previous period. Civil organisation activities have also made a positive impact, whereof the most frequently referred to project was the VKBIK NGO Project, implemented with the aim to promote the further education of girls. In cooperation with the OSCE and the Directorate for Education, this project was carried out in rural areas. Meetings were held within the project with all parents of girls about the reasons for those dropouts, who did not continue their education after lower secondary school.

“ We have visited rural areas several times and in the presence of girls graduating from 9th grades at that time and their parents discussed issues related to the termination of further education among girls. Pupils and their parents were shown in the best possible way, what the best is for them and for the community. The girls and their parents stated on these meetings, that they would do their best to provide further education for girls. The result was good. We have girls attending secondary schools even from those rural environments, where girls had not continued their secondary education at all. Though not all the girls continued their education in secondary school, their number in secondary education was higher than before.

Generally, the number of boys and girls, who carry on with further education in secondary schools is far higher than the number of those who don't.

(Miftar Adžemi, officer for the education of the Bosnian community in the Municipal Directorate for Education and Science in Prizren, Alem, no. 179.)

Teaching Staff

There are no un-qualified teachers in primary schools in teaching in Bosnian. The lion's share of that was contributed by the Faculty of Education in Prizren, in qualifying young teachers. In lower secondary schools, share of unqualified staff is about 20%, while in higher secondary schools the situation is much better, since only 10% of the teaching staff is un-qualified.

The quality of education in schools will significantly be improved if teachers are permanently upgrading their knowledge through specialised education and training, and by acquiring knowledge and, the concept of lifelong learning.

2.3. Dragaš/Dragash Municipality

Education in the Municipality of Dragaš/Dragash has certain characteristics compared to other areas where Bosnians live. They are the consequences of Belgrade's activities through the Centre for Coordination and the Serbian Academy of Science and Art through a longer period.⁸⁹

At the beginning of the introduction of Bosnian language teaching in 1999, the teaching was attended by 1.650 pupils in six primary schools, and by about 170 pupils in the secondary school centre in Dragaš/Dragash.

Despite the migration tendency, the number of pupils remained almost the same until 2006, which is apparent from the tables. There were 113 primary school teachers and 13 secondary school teachers included in the teaching process.

The plans and programs used in the teaching process were the old ones of Serbia, while some of the textbooks were provided by Bosnia and Herzegovina. The technical conditions of teaching quickly improved, while international organisations invested increasing amounts in the regeneration of old schools and the building of new schools.

Headmasters, nominated by the authorities from Serbia, got into contact with these authorities very quickly, and in that period, they did it rather discretely and listened to the instructions given by the institutions of Kosovo; however, they also followed the instructions given by the authorities in Belgrade.

In the period between 1999 and 2006, they were remunerated by both parties, i.e.: both Belgrade and Prishtina for their work.

When the Law on Primary and Secondary Education in Kosovo entered into force in 2002, the teaching staff was divided into those who wanted education according to the curriculum and programme of Serbia, and those who wanted to observe the law, curriculum and programme of Kosovo, and to integrate into the society in Kosovo.

Table on the number of pupils and teaching staff per years in primary schools

(Official statistics by the Municipal Office)

Settlement	2002		2003		2004		2005		2006	
	Pupils	Teach	Pupils	Teach	Pupils	Teach	Pupils	Teach	Pupils	Teach
Dragaš/Dragash	219	23	274	31	298	22	280	22	277	22
Brod	165	19	129	19	126	15	120	14	118	14
Rapča	235	24	182	24	161	21	164	21	151	21

⁸⁹ The 1991 census was boycotted by the Kosovo Albanians and a number of Bosnians, who declared themselves as Muslims or Yugoslavs. It is to be noted, that 95, 8 % of the inhabitants of Gora declared themselves as Muslims, while in 1971 this percentage was 81,9 %. It briefly explains the division among Gorans, who declare themselves as Bosnians and Gorans!

Vraništa	38	12	23	12	28	11	29	11	24	11
Kruševo	181	15	203	15	193	24	288	30	273	30
Restelica	682	30	733	30	732	36	650	35	673	35
Total	1520	123	1544	131	1538	129	1531	133	1516	133

Table on the number of pupils and teaching staff by year in secondary schools

(Official statistics by the Municipal Office)

Year	Number of pupils	Number of teachers
2000.	170	13
2002.	153	13
2003.	145	13
2004.	117	14
2005.	112	15
2006.	103	15

The Directorate of Education in Dragaš/Dragash, led by the legally elected representatives of the nation, attempted to explain the implementation of the new Law on Education in Kosovo, which included a ninth grade, to parents and teachers at the meetings. At that time, primary education in Serbia lasted for eight years (eight grades) only. Teachers advocating for parallel education take advantage of the unpreparedness of the MEST.

They justify insisting on eight-grade primary school by stating that the respective ministry of Kosovo had still not been ready for reforms and that neighbouring states had not accepted the ninth grade at that time. They also emphasised that there are no textbooks and plans for the full implementation of the curriculum.

Two times, so called “catch-up” teachings were organised, and an agreement was reached as a compromise; namely: that pupils not wanting to continue their education in Kosovo were granted a diploma on the completed primary school.

Parallel schooling

Immediately before the Vienna Negotiations over Kosovo, Ms. Sandra Rašković-Ivić, minister for Kosovo in Serbia at the time, in order to enable a better position for the Serbian delegation in Vienna, asked the teaching staff not to sign the contracts with the Kosovo Ministry of Education and cancel their accounts in banks in order to ensure that they were not controlled by the Ministry of Kosovo and to receive remuneration from institutions in Kosovo.

This was not all. The representatives of the teachers obeyed the authoritative order from Belgrade, but they also made more radical moves than requested. Among the first such moves was their refusal of prolonging their contracts with the MEST.

Some of the teachers even withdrew their documents from the schools employing them and asked for the termination of their employment with the aim to show their loyalty to the Republic of Serbia and to keep their salaries respectively.

Simultaneously, they started to establish parallel schools. The headmaster of the parallel school in Dragaš/Dragash, supported by the extorted parents, with the excuse that Dragaš/Dragash was not a safe place for the Gorani children, made the order to stop attending the teaching provided in the central school of Dragaš/Dragash. The children continued to attend teaching in outpost departments in the villages of Ljubovište/Lubivštë and Kukaljane/Kukajan.

Obeying the same instructions, grammar school teachers opened a parallel secondary school in Mlike village and in the department of the school from Vranište. This school for four-year education had been closed before the war and declared not appropriate for use, but, under the influence of Belgrade, it was declared a parallel grammar school.

In order to provide as many pupils as possible and keep the same number of teaching staff, they asked from Serbia that all parents who enrolled their children in the parallel schools, be awarded by certain remuneration in the form of child allowance.

Naturally, the legal and legitimate municipal and state authorities of Kosovo, who provided fuel and other necessities to schools, were helplessly watching all of this.

Under such circumstances, the municipal Directorate of Education had published a call for all jobs, but none of the teachers receiving salary from Serbia applied, because a similar order was also issued by the coordinator for education for Kosovo, Mr Predrag Stojčetiović, threatening to severely punish all disobedient teachers.

On the other hand, there were a number of citizens and parents, respectively, making pressure on the Directorate to be consistent in implementing the law, who demanded that their children attend school in line with the laws of the MEST. They wanted their children to be educated pursuant to the curriculum of Kosovo and not of Serbia.

Parents submitted petitions several times asking to have an organised ninth grade in central schools and to implement the plans and programmes of the MEST in teaching.

The Directorate of Education in Dragaš/Dragash employed new teaching staff in 2006 and in settlements, where conditions permitted, organised teaching in Bosnian language in line with the curriculum of Kosovo; while in places where there was no such teaching, left without an alternative, parents had to accept the old schooling, i.e.: according to the curricula of Serbia and in the Serbian language.

Teaching in the Bosnian language

Teaching in the Bosnian language was organised first in a school in Kruševo and in its department in Zlipotok. A number of teachers who did not want to prolong their contracts, established a parallel eight-year primary school in the village of Globočica/ Gllloboçicë. This time again, the Kosovo authorities failed to respond, although the behaviour of the teachers, paid by Belgrade, was contrary to the law and Constitution of Kosovo. This attitude of Kosovo's institutions: to apply laws only to that part of the population which observes the existing laws, increases tensions additionally, and creates mistrust towards institutions.

Urged by parents, teaching was organised in the grammar school in Dragaš/Dragash in 2006 for those pupils who wanted to be educated in line with the laws of Kosovo. Their number was growing year by year, and an interest in further education emerged. In 2009, a school was set

up in Brod on the demand of the parents, which provided education according to the curriculum of the MEST. At first it had only ten pupils, but at present the number of pupils is significantly higher. Teaching in Rapča is also organised according to the curriculum of Kosovo. A ninth grade class was formed with three pupils and a preschool class with 11 pupils. In Restelica/Restelice, 190 parents with more than 240 pupils declared this year that they want their children to attend teaching in the Bosnian language according to the curriculum of Kosovo.

This situation in education, accompanied by the lack of interest by the MEST and the Government of Kosovo to make additional efforts and to integrate minorities, resulted in increased migration. Parents take advantage of the situation in education and request asylum in western countries with the explanation that there are no conditions for the appropriate education of minorities in Kosovo. This is detrimental to the image of Kosovo.

The one responsible for such a situation in education and division of a small community is, first and foremost, the Government of Kosovo, for its hesitant and ineffectual implementation of the laws. It is true, that the Government had frequently been pressed by the OSCE in the issue of parallel teaching in Serbian language; however, it is not an excuse for the non-implementation of the adopted laws. Whenever the Directorate of Education in Dragaš/Dragash attempts to obey the law, pressure is exerted either by the Government or the OSCE to find a compromise, and so it goes, compromise by compromise. The result is a divided and quarrelling community and five generations without appropriate education.

The Current Situation

Currently, 324 pupils attend teaching in Bosnian in four primary schools, and 68 pupils in the grammar school in Dragaš/Dragash, according to the curriculum of Kosovo. It should be noted, however, that among the grammar school pupils there are no girls (as if it were not safe for girls).

It is also important to note, that the conditions under which teaching in Bosnian in secondary schools is provided, differ from those for their peers from the majority community. In most cases, their classrooms are in cellars, two classrooms are in a primary school building and they are not provided the opportunity to use cabinets for practical teaching.

Currently, 65 teachers are employed in teaching in Bosnian in four primary schools, and 13 teachers in the grammar school. Commuting is still a problem, despite the fact that a bus for transport of pupils from minority communities was ensured in 2002. For certain settlements, where bus transport is impossible, the Directorate is unwilling to ensure adequate means of transport. The lack of textbooks has been a problem in all generations so far, and presumably, this issue will not be solved for quite some time.

There are about 800 pupils in parallel primary schools providing teaching according to the Serbian curriculum, and about 120 pupils are attending parallel grammar school in line with the same curriculum.

2.4. Peć/Pejë Municipality

Primary Schools

In Peć/Pejë, a municipality with a significant concentration of Bosnians, education in Bosnian was also introduced immediately after the war in 1999 in 11 primary and secondary schools, in

which teaching in Bosnian is attended by a total of 725 pupils, whereof 457 are in primary and 268 are in secondary schools.

There are 945 pupils in total in the 7 Septembar Primary Schools in Vitimirica, who attend teaching in Albanian and Bosnian. From this number 323 pupils attend teaching in Bosnian in this year, 2010. The number of pupils attending teaching in the Bosnian language has varied by about ten pupils over the last decade.

The Gjermal Kada Primary School in Peć/Pejë ranks second in the number of pupils attending teaching in Bosnian, from 1st to 9th grade. In the 2010/2011 school year there are 105 pupils, which is 3 pupils more compared to the former year, when the number was 102.

The 28 novembar Primary School in Zlopek has 26 pupils in total, as in the former school year.

The Dardanija Primary School in Peć/Pejë has a total of 11 pupils this 2010/2011 school year, while this number was 8 in the previous one, in 2009/2010.

Orasje near Goraždevac in Peć/Pejë Municipality is a department with 9 pupils from 1st to 5th grade in the 2010/2011 school year, while in 2009/2010 there were 7 pupils.

In the Blagaje Primary School in Trebovice, there are 8 pupils from 1st to 5th grade, while there were 7 pupils in 2009/2010.

The Lidhja Pejës school in Novo Selo, has five pupils from 1st to 5th grade, and had 4 pupils last year taught in Bosnian.

Recently, after having completed the 8th grade, some pupils left for Montenegro in order to avoid attending the ninth grade, and then again came back to continue their education in Kosovo. They were of the opinion, that the ninth grade was lost time. The situation is changing now.

Besides the lack of textbooks, the lack of reading material is also an issue, hence, competent authorities are requested to solve this problem urgently; likewise the issues related to the lack of premises, cabinets and gyms. (The headmaster of the primary school in Vitimirica, Draga Babačić-Marković).

Secondary Schools

Teaching in Bosnian is provided in 4 secondary schools in Peć/Pejë:

1. Technical School Centre
2. School of Economics
3. Grammar School
4. Medical School

The total number of secondary school students in all four schools is 268. It was 239 last year.

In the Technical School Centre, pupils can choose courses in electrical sciences, informatics, mechanical engineering and mechanics. This school has 8 classes and the total number of pupils was 56 in 2009/2010, and is 65 in 2010/2011, i.e.: there is a certain growth in the number of pupils.

School of Economics: There are two courses: economics and law. Last year, in 2009/2010, there were 89 pupils. In this 2010/2011 school year there are 95 pupils.

The Grammar School offers general courses in natural sciences in 3 classes with 57 pupils this year, which is more than last year, when this number was 51.

The Medical School has 3 classes with 55 pupils in three courses. Last year, the number of pupils was less by 12, i.e.: it was 43.

Besides the lack of teaching staff, textbooks and premises, teaching in Peć/Pejë goes on normally and the number of pupils has increased in all secondary schools.

“Students do not have the necessary literature, especially the general ones. It is easier to obtain technical literature and I think this problem will not be solved soon. Besides the literature, the Technical School and the Medical School have difficulties with their buildings, which are being built. However, the Technical School is in a better position, because it has solar energy panels for collecting solar energy, thus the school's heating problem is solved.”

(Džafer Gutić, Bosnian language teaching coordinator)

It is good, that kids attending Bosnian language teaching are provided the opportunity to learn Albanian. The low number of children in a class is also an advantage, because it is more difficult both for the teacher and the pupils, when there are more than 30 pupils in a class, as is the case with Albanian language teaching.

One of the issues is that Bosnians enrol their children in Albanian language teaching classes, so it is estimated that about 30 Bosnian pupils attend school in Albanian.

“The lack of textbooks is a huge problem. Teachers make photocopies of textbooks, recommend what textbooks to buy and we invest efforts in ensuring quality teaching even without textbooks and despite the difficulties”, emphasise the teachers.

Most of the pupils continue their education after primary school in secondary ones, but the issue of the lack of textbooks has been repeating year by year.

(Ibro Sahljunović, teacher in the Grammar School and the Medical School)

2.5. Istok/Istog Municipality

Education in the Bosnian language is provided in two primary schools in Istok/Istog, in the Trepča PS in Pećka Banja/ Banjë e Pejës, and in Fan S.Noli PS in Dobruša/ Dobrushë with a total number of 213 pupils. Likewise in all other municipalities, teaching in Bosnian started immediately after the war. At the very beginning, there were many difficulties, such as: textbooks, teaching staff and the number of pupils.

In the Trepča PS in Pećka Banja/ Banjë e Pejës, teaching is provided from 1st to 9th grades and the number of pupils is the same as last year, i.e.: a total of 64.

In the period between 2005 and 2006 it was announced that this school was to be merged with the primary school in Dobruša/ Dobrushë because of the low number of pupils, and there were some attempts in this direction. Owing to the advocacy of the representatives of Bosnians and the approved request by the Istok/Istog Municipality president at that time, teaching in Bosnian could be continued in this school as well. However, the problem of ensuring transport for pupils from Pećka Banja/ Banjë e Pejës to the school in Dobruša/ Dobrushë and back by the municipality, still remains to be solved. Mixed classes are also an issue, because teaching is provided under difficult conditions.

Another issue is the lack of adequate teaching staff who would work in Bosnian teaching language schools in Pećka Banja/ Banjë e Pejës and Dobruša/ Dobrushë.

The number of pupils in the Fan S. Noli PS in Dobruša/ Dobrushë is declining compared to the former 2009/2010 school year. There were 179 pupils in total last year, but in this 2010/2011 school year there are only 159.

The municipality, supported by a World Bank grant, ensured return transport for pupils attending teaching in this school and coming from the neighbouring settlements.

2.6. Dečani/Dečan Municipality

There are 13 Bosnian families living in Dečani/Dečan Municipality. The largest number of these families live in the village of Papraćani, where teaching in Bosnian is provided. Primary school teaching from the 1st to 5th grades is provided in the Jusuf Grvala PS in Papraćani, while pupils from 6th to 9th grade travel to Zlopek, which belongs to the Peć/Pejë Municipality.

This municipality also faces the same problems which accompany teaching in Bosnian.

Due to the small number of pupils in primary education, teaching is provided in mixed classes, which makes it even more difficult. Otherwise, the number of pupils in this school year in Bosnian teaching language classes in the Jusuf Grvala PS is only 9. At the same time, only one pupil travels from Papraćani to Zlopek to attend the 6th grade.

Bearing in mind that pupils travel from distant settlements to the school in Papraćani, or Zlopek, there is the problem of their organised transport. However, according to the information from the field, the recent issue of transport has been solved and thus their attending the school in Zlopek is made easier. The school in Zlopek is a department of the central one in Raušić/Raushiq.

After completing their primary education, pupils travel to Peć/Pejë to attend secondary school. Teachers travel from Peć/Pejë to Papraćani to hold lessons.

2.7. Mitrovica/Mitrovicë Municipality

Primary School

Immediately upon the end of the war, the provision of teaching in Bosnian has started according to the Kosovar curricula in the southern part of Mitrovica/Mitrovicë in the Bedri Gjina PS and in the Frang Bardhi Grammar School. The number of Bosnians living in the southern part of the city is 317, while there are 1130 Bosnians in the northern part, as stated by Nedžad Ugljanin, the representative of Bosnians from the Bošnjacka mahala settlement; therefore, there are 1447 Bosnians in Mitrovica/Mitrovicë.

Since Mitrovica/Mitrovicë is a specific city, the education of Bosnians in this city is also specific. The data indicated here are from the southern part, because teaching in Bosnian is provided there only, while in the northern part Bosnians can attend teaching in Serbian only, without any extra lessons about the history and culture of Bosnians and about the language.

Yet, there are cases of attending teaching in Bosnian in the southern part by children from the northern part, and it is a safety risk for them because of the difficulties they face on their way to the school building. Nobody takes care about this fact, nor provides assistance or protection.

In the Bedri Gjina PS, 45 pupils attend teaching in Bosnian and this number is lower compared to last year's. Tasim Jusufi, the Bosnian language teaching coordinator thinks, however, that there is still hope for having more children, so these data are not final yet. The drop in the number of pupils has in the background political and safety reasons, likewise the economic situation in this part of Kosovo. Jusufi reminds us, that due to the issue of a divided city, children are in an awkward situation. Going from the northern to the southern part of

Mitrovica/Mitrovicë is a safety risk for pupils, yet, despite this risk, there are children and teachers, who cross the bridge and regularly attend the teaching in Bosnian language.

A girl from the 8th grade moved with her family to Finland, due to economic reasons. Most parents are unemployed, so a number of Bosnian families have moved away from Mitrovica/Mitrovicë lately.

Besides the fact that the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology of the Republic of Kosovo has been providing free textbooks for pupils attending teaching in Bosnian for two years now, not all textbooks are available, says Violeta Koljenović, informatics teacher in the Bedri Djina PS.

The worst situation is in the lower grades. For example, in the 5th grade there are only two textbooks used: "Čovjek i priroda" /Man and Nature/ and "Ručni rad" /Handcrafts/, so the teacher is in a very difficult situation because of the lack of textbooks. The teacher has to provide the translation of the textbooks from Albanian to Bosnian. Pupils do not have textbooks for technical skills and music from the 6th to 9th grade. The MEST provided textbooks last year and this year, however there is still a lack of textbooks in this school.

Secondary School

In Mitrovica/Mitrovicë, teaching in Bosnian for secondary school pupils has already been provided in the Frank Bardji Grammar School for 10 years. Generally, a declining trend in the number of pupils is recorded, although their number is 22 this year, as it was last year.

Teaching has been provided over the last 10 years without any textbook. Teachers try to find their way around, while pupils take notes during the lessons.

2.8. Prishtina Municipality

In the capital of the Republic of Kosovo, teaching in Bosnian is provided in the Naim Frasheri PS, where Bosnian pupils attend classes from the 1st to 9th grade.

Compared to last year, a drop in the number of pupils was detected in this school. In the 2009/2010 school year, the number of enrolled pupils was 30, while in the new, 2010/2011 school year, this number dropped to 28.

Bosnian language teaching is provided only in one secondary school, in the Medical School, in Prishtina.

In the 2010/2011 school year, there are no pupils in the 10th grade, there are 7 in the 11th grade, only 3 in the 12th grade and 6 in the 13th grade. The total number of pupils in the Medical School is 16, which has not changed compared to last year. However, the fact that there are no pupils in the 10th grade indicates the tendency for closing this class in the Medical School.

Apart from the lack of textbooks, there are no other problems.

3. Higher Education

3.1. Faculty of Applied Sciences in Business – Peć/Pejë

The Faculty of Applied Sciences in Business in Peć/Pejë was transformed from the Higher School of Commerce, which existed until 2002. Then, this higher school turned into a Collage of Business in the period from 2002 through 2005.

The Faculty of Applied Sciences in Business was established in 2005 as part of the University of Prishtina.

Teaching in Bosnian started in 2002. In the new, 2010/2011 academic year, the ninth generation of students enrolled. A total of 150 regular students were enrolled. Last year, in the 2009/2010 academic year, the number of enrolled students was 130, which means that the number of students has tripled since the enrolment of the first generation of students, which was 50.

According to this data, the number of students at this Faculty has been increasing, said Mujo Dacić, Ph.D, professor, noting: that there are 90 regular students at the third year of studies.

Staff-related problems are being solved more and more easily, by recruiting them from the country and region. The local staff (five full-time lecturers) is not enough, thus in courses with Bosnian teaching language, besides the Albanian professors, who lecture in Bosnian, two professors are employed part-time from Bosnia and Herzegovina and another two from Montenegro.⁹⁰

"We are doing our best to establish at the University to-be in Peć/Pejë a faculty with two departments and for master studies, which is very important. So that we can introduce within two or three years PhD studies, all with the aim of educating our Bosnian professionals."

Husniji Bibuljica, Ph.D, Professor, Vice Dean)

The students are Bosnians from Kosovo, both from Peć/Pejë and Prizren, Dragaš/Drageš, Mitrovice/Mitrovicë. There are also Albanians from mixed marriages with Bosnian as a primary language, but there are also students from Sandžak, mostly from Rožaj, Bar in Montenegro and Novi Pazar. Thus, through persons belonging to minority communities and through education in Bosnian, Kosovo builds invaluable regional cooperation with the neighbouring countries.

"For me, administration as a major is very attractive for me, because after graduation I can find employment easier. As far as I've heard, all students who graduated from our Faculty are already employed in the municipality administration, private companies and banks."

(Mersiha Mujanović, student from Rožaje)

"I came from Montenegro, from Bar, because I like the course in administration. Besides that, the scholarship is not expensive and we have been well accepted here in Kosovo. Later, when I graduate I can enrol in master's studies, which is another advantage of this Faculty".

(Aldin Basić, student from Bar)

Although there are no accurate data, professors and students emphasize that those who graduated from this Faculty had no difficulties in finding a job. More than 90 percent of the students who graduated from this faculty (there are about 100 of them) are already employed, mostly in education, municipal administration, ministries, private companies, banks....

"Ten Bosnian students are just about to complete their studies at the Faculty of Economy in Prishtina, so new experts are coming to our faculty. There is only one assistant lecturer at our faculty at the moment, and the preparations to employ more assistants and young experts are underway."

⁹⁰ The faculty employs the following professors in the Bosnian teaching language courses: full time: prof. Husnija Bibuljica Ph.D, prof. Sefer Mededović Ph.D, prof. Mujo Dacić, Ph.D., Elida Ćiriković M.A., Ajka Aljilji, M.A., and prof. Emruš Azizović, Ph.D, from Prizren. There are Albanian professors lecturing in Bosnian: prof. Mehdi Djakova Ph.D., , prof. Fetah Recica Ph.D., prof. Muhamed Sadiku Ph.D., prof. Gjavit Aličkaj Ph.D, prof. Fatos Ukaj Ph.D. Hired from Bosnia and Herzegovina for part-time: prof. Halid Kurtović Ph.D., from Montenegro: prof. Asib Alihodžić, Ph.D., prof. Safet Kalač Ph.D. Mersiha Kalač is employed as an assistant and Anita Cucović is employed for student-related matters.

(Husnija Bibuljica, Vice Dean)

“The courses in business administration are full, but there is an opportunity to open a new course in traffic and communications at this faculty.

Mujo Dacić, Ph.D. , professor)

Students provide the necessary textbooks themselves in the Bosnian language course, so it is not an issue, because their professors give the name of the authors and titles according to study course curriculum, likewise the needed literature. The curriculum and the plans of lectures to be held during the courses are available on the internet.

3.2. Faculty of Education - Prizren

The need to acquire higher education at the Faculty of Education, to a large extent, resolves the problem of providing teachers for primary schools in Bosnian teaching language. Teachers for the Bosnian language are a special issue, since in the period between 1907 till 1993, the name “Bosnian” was forbidden, hence there was no teaching staff educated and trained in Bosnian. According to the research conducted by Edukator, a civil organisation, the mean value of unqualified teachers teaching in primary schools in Bosnian is about 30 percent.

The Bosnian community is of the opinion, that this historical problem can be surmounted by capacity building at the Faculty of Education in Prizren, since it has already produced results in teaching in Bosnian.

“The introduction of education at the Faculty of Education in Prizren in the 2003/2004 academic year is of historical significance for the education of Bosnians in Kosovo. It is for the first time in our history, that we can educate our professionals in our mother tongue, according to curriculum and programmes in Bosnian. It is for the first time that we can study Bosnian language, literature, history and other humanities and exact disciplines”.

(S.I., professor of Bosnian language at the Faculty)

At the Faculty of Education, in the courses in Bosnian, which were established in the 2003/2004 academic year, during these six years 220 students were enrolled, and so far, some 50 of them graduated. The Faculty offers the following study courses:

- 1) Basic programme
- 2) Technology - informatics
- 3) Bosnian language and literature
- 4) Informatics – mathematics
- 5) Preschool teachers

There are 6 professors with Ph.D. titles, one Ph.D. candidate, ten lecturers with M.A. titles and one assistant. Beyond professors from Sandžak, Bosnia and Herzegovina and from other, neighbouring faculties, professors from the Prizren region are also employed at the Faculty.

The percentage of unqualified teaching staff in primary, but also in secondary schools providing teaching in Bosnian is increasingly less.

The students are very satisfied with the quality of education and the efforts of the professors. There is a lack in Bosnian language literature, and students also face some administrative problems: there are no student registration books in Bosnian.

Bosnian students are included in the parliamentary life at the Faculty of Education. In order to solve a set of practical problems, the students of the Faculty of Education has recently formed a student association under the name "Index" (SAI).

This non-governmental organisation aims at gathering all Bosnian students in Kosovo and the diasporas, said Ahmed Aslani, president of the organisation.

"We are not provided with student register books in Bosnian language. The solution of this problem has been promised several times, yet it is still an open issue. Otherwise, enrolment and exam forms and other documents are issued in Bosnian:"

(Ahmed Aslani, student at the Faculty of Education)

Besides students from Prizren, Župa, Gora and Podgora, at the Faculty there are students from the Peć/Pejë- Istok/Istog region and the neighbouring countries.

It is an encouraging fact that the Faculty of Education has significantly influenced the increase in the number of female students, who, after graduating from the higher school, decided to continue their education.

Informatics students have special opportunities, since their cabinets are equipped with the most modern technological aids, owing to the support by the OSCE, which organised a series of seminars and trainings aimed at capacity building for Bosnian language teaching. This organisation equipped special cabinets for teaching in Bosnian, and introduced the so called e-Learning system of lecturing, i.e.: distant learning.

In June 2009, with the further support of the OSCE in Kosovo, the rectors of the universities of Prishtina and Sarajevo, prof. Enver Hasani, Ph.D., and prof. Faruk Čaklović, Ph.D., signed a cooperation agreement with the aim of promoting teaching in Bosnian, and it includes also the elimination of legal barriers at the enrolment of high school graduates from Kosovo at the University of Sarajevo, and the recognition of high school diplomas issued with the inscription "The Republic of Kosovo" respectively. Owing to this document, students from Kosovo enjoy equal status with the students from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Faculty of Education signed similar agreements with the universities of Tuzla and Mostar in June.

"These agreements with the OSCE and the universities from Bosnia and Herzegovina are of essential importance, especially for the Faculty of Education in Prizren, since they directly enable us to improve the quality of teaching, integration in the Bologna system and the European system of education. It is also important, that there will be professor and student exchanges between our higher education institutions and those in Bosnia and Herzegovina."

(Emruš Azizović, Ph.D., professor, Bosnian language teaching coordinator at the Faculty of Education in Prizren)

Besides the cabinet for practical teaching, there is also a library at the Faculty of Education and its capacity of over 55.000 books surely ranks it among the largest in Kosovo. Besides books in Albanian, some 50 percent of the books are in Serbian and Croatian, while there are also books in Turkish, English and Russian.

During the last 2009/2010 academic year, the management of the Faculty of Education announced the process of additional education for those teachers who graduated from the former Xhevdet Doda Teacher Training Schools, and are included in the system of licensing. After an additional education lasting two academic terms, they might acquire B.A. titles.

As announced by the representatives of the Faculty of Education, due to the lack of teaching staff, teachers teaching in Albanian would also be included in the process of additional education.

Problems at the Beginning of the 2010/2011 Academic Year

The opening of a new university in Prizren brought along some unexpected problems in the teaching in Bosnian and Turkish at the Faculty of Education, which was part of the University of Prishtina.

The minister of education, Enver Hoxhaj, announced after October 9th last year, when the approval of the opening of the second public university was issued by the Government of the Republic of Kosovo, that the university in Prizren would be multidisciplinary, multiethnic and multilingual. It was expected that teaching in Bosnian and Turkish at the Faculty of Education of the University of Prishtina would simply be transferred to the new university in Prizren, since that teaching was provided in the building which “hosted” the new university.

In order to include other ethnic communities in the new university, the competent authorities of the MEST held consultations early this year with the aim to reach an agreement about the study courses, curriculum and teaching staff to be included in the teaching at this university.

However, after the decision of the Accreditation Agency of Kosovo, the MEST had been hesitating since June 2010 to publish the call for new students for the teaching in Bosnian at the Faculty of Education in Prizren. At the same time, there were no hints whatsoever, that the university in Prizren would be multiethnic, nor multilingual, as promised by minister Enver Hoxhaj.

Out of the blue, the Rectorate of the University of Prishtina decided that the Faculty of Education was to be displaced from Prizren to Prishtina. It created the public impression that the Faculty of Education in Prizren, along with the teaching in community languages of the Bosnians and Turks, would be the “victim” of the recently established university in Prizren. Having no appropriate infrastructure, this university moved into the building of the Faculty of Education, whereby it has been “forgotten,” i.e.: moving the Faculty of Education to Prishtina practically means the abolishment of teaching in Bosnian.

However, under pressure by the political representatives of Bosnians, the civil society, parents and students, and the media, the MEST published the call for student applications for teaching in Bosnian **for the summer (June) and winter (September) terms**. Yet, instead of five study courses, only two were licensed: the basic programme and the study course for preschool teachers.

The New University in Prizren

The call for enrolment was not published for all five study courses provided by the Faculty of Education, and no call was published for any of the study courses in Bosnian at the new university of Prizren in June! Parents and students panicked. Students, interested in these studies, had to enrol at the University in Prizren (for the courses: *Business Administration, International Management, Software Design, IT Technology*) in Albanian, although they intended to study in Bosnian.

Because of the huge interest of the students, the University in Prizren enrolled 1200 students for the teaching in Albanian instead of the announced 600.

After some hold-up and the expressed dissatisfaction among the Bosnians, a meeting was held between minister Hoxhaj and the political representatives of Bosnians and Turks in the Parliament of Kosovo. A decision was adopted at this meeting, that the University of Prizren, in the second term of the 2010/2011 academic year, i.e.: February of next year, start teaching courses in Bosnian and Turkish, thus ensuring the multiethnic and multilingual character of this University and the opportunity to study at this University in Bosnian and Turkish.

The competent authorities for education also stated that the present study courses at the Faculty of Education for Bosnians and Turks would be integrated into the new University of Prizren, as was expected. Its implementation is still ahead.

During the discussion with community representatives, minister Enver Hoxhaj also announced, that, prior to the beginning of the summer term, the UPZ Rectorate would employ two academic directors for teaching in Bosnian and Turkish, competent for: developing the curricula, employment of teaching staff and enrolment of students.

In this context, the Memorandum of Understanding, signed October 7th by Enver Hoxhaj, minister of education, science and technology, Mujë Rugova, the rector of the University of Prishtina and Ronald Munch, the rector of the University of Prizren, is encouraging, since it ensures the preconditions, that the Faculty of Education in Prizren, with a seat in Prishtina, becomes part of the University of Prizren.

The decision of the authorities competent for higher education, according to which the Faculty of Education in Albanian language is moved to Prishtina, because – as explained – it fails to have accreditation and to meet certain conditions, threatened the existing multiethnicity and multilingualism at the Faculty of Education, where teaching was provided in three languages: Albanian, Bosnian and Turkish.

It is to be expected that this tri-lingual tradition of education in Prizren will also be fostered at the University of Prizren.

“The Memorandum foresees the establishment of a committee, which will handle staff-, and curriculum-related issues, as well as other matters, such as infrastructure. From now on, the Faculty of Education is part of the University of Prizren”.

(Enver Hoxhaj, minister for education, on October 7th 2010 – info-ks.net)

“The Faculty of Education and its courses in Bosnian and Turkish is going into operation within the University of Prizren from the next academic year, and the Bosnian and Turkish communities will nominate their members for the University Board by that time.”

(Usmen Baldži, deputy minister for education)

As to the enrolment of students at the Faculty of Education in Prizren, about 60 students were enrolled for basic and preschool teacher training programmes for this academic year.

“There were 80 places reserved for the Bosnian community at different faculties in Prishtina, and these were mostly fulfilled in the first and second round of enrolment. If we take into account the enrolment at our faculties, where teaching is provided in Bosnian and the recently signed Agreement of Cooperation with universities from Bosnia and Herzegovina, which enables the enrolment of a certain number of Bosnian students from Kosovo at

universities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the needs of Bosnian high-school graduates for higher education are fulfilled to a great extent."

(Usmen Baldži, deputy minister for education)

4. Other Study Opportunities for Bosnians

Besides studies in Bosnian provided at the Faculty of Applied Business Science in Peć/Pejë and at the Faculty of Education in Prizren, Bosnian students in Kosovo can also study at all faculties of the University of Prishtina, where a certain number of places is ensured for them.

They can also study at private universities; and, if they have at least passive knowledge of the Albanian language, then they can take the exams in Bosnian.

Depending on the economic standing of a family – but, first and foremost, on owing the still-valid documents of the neighbouring Serbia – young Bosnians from Kosovo can also study at the International University in Novi Pazar and in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

High school graduates from Kosovo can enrol into different faculties in the countries of the region, except for those in Serbia, because educational documents issued in the Republic of Kosovo are not recognised there.

The University of Prishtina – quotas

Teaching at the University of Prishtina is provided in the Albanian language. Bosnians are ensured about 80 places for studying. For them, lectures are provided in Albanian and they take their exams in Bosnian.

The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, in cooperation with the University of Prishtina, for five years has been publishing calls for quota-based student enrollment from the communities of Bosnians, Turks and RAE. It facilitates the enrollment of students from these communities in various faculties of the University of Prishtina in order to meet the needs of those communities for certain profiles, for which there is no education in their respective mother tongues.

(Enesa Kadić, head of the Community Education Department of the MEST)

The forecast enrollment quota at the University of Prishtina for the 2010/2011 academic year is as follows: Bosnians 80, RAE 71, Turks 65. Total: 216 places.

Private Faculties

Besides the above-described opportunities, Bosnians can also study at other private faculties in Kosovo. For example, at the AAB Faculty there is a department for criminalistics, where teaching is mostly provided in the Bosnian language. After graduation, students from Kosovo will obtain not only a Kosovar diploma, but also the one from the University of Criminalistics in Sarajevo.

"We are aware of the fact, that higher education is the indicator of sustainability and development of a community, hence, also of the Bosnian community, so, we have continuously to invest in introducing new programmes in the Bosnian language. We built contacts with the Federal and Cantone Ministries of Education in Sarajevo, the Ministry of Education of the Government of Montenegro and the International University in Novi Pazar with regard to the enrollment of Bosnian students from Kosovo, who will be provided the opportunity of enrollment in their respective universities..."

(Usmen Baldži, deputy minister for education)

It means that Bosnians from Kosovo can study at the International University in Novi Pazar, if they still have valid Serbian travel documents.

“We are honoured to say that a certain number of students from Kosovo study here at our university. The total number of students from Kosovo studying at our university is eighteen. They regularly fulfil their obligations and, as their professors state, show high levels of knowledge and interest in the areas they study. I can confirm, that some of them have a average marks over 9,5. The International University is open for all students, and the geographical vicinity of our university is an additional convenience for the students from Kosovo.

(Jasmina Pljakić, International University, PR Officer)

Students from Kosovo can study in Bosnia and Herzegovina, of course, if they possess the still-valid passports of Serbia so that they can enter Bosnia, which has not yet recognized the travel documents of Kosovo. However, under the agreement signed owing to an OSCE project from last year, according to which students from Kosovo will enjoy the same status as the ones from Bosnia-Herzegovina, a whole set of opportunities will open up for studying in their mother tongue.⁹¹

This cooperation has already produced the first results, because some Bosnian graduates from Kosovo have been approved Bosnian state scholarships for their master's studies at Bosnian-Herzegovinian universities.

Supported by the Head of the OSCE Mission in Kosovo, Ambassador Werner Almhofer, the rectors of the universities of Prishtina and Sarajevo, prof. Enver Hasani, Ph.D., and prof. Faruk Čaklovica, Ph.D., signed an agreement in cooperation, owing to which, students from Kosovo enjoy equal status as their colleges from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The agreement also includes the elimination of legal barriers to the enrollment of graduated secondary school students from Kosovo in the University of Sarajevo and the recognition of secondary school diplomas issued with the inscription “The Republic of Kosovo”.

“The aim is to internationalize the University of Prishtina as much as possible. Beyond that, the quality and continuity of education in Bosnian is also very important and it is also a matter of achievements within the Bologna Process and efforts targeted at an intensive promotion of the Bosnian language. The University of Prishtina will help the Bosnians in Kosovo to obtain better and higher quality education, and will also provide scholarships, so that after graduation, the young teachers can transfer their knowledge to new Bosnian nationality students at the University of Prishtina.”

(Ambassador Werner Almhofer, Head of OSCE Mission in Kosovo)

After signing this agreement, the conditions for enrolling in Bosnian-Herzegovinian universities will be the same for the freshmen from Kosovo as for those from Bosnia-Herzegovina and from the region. “The procedure is the same for all: for students from Bosnia-Herzegovina, from Kosovo, Croatia, Serbia, Austria, Turkey... Our University is as open as yours and has students from the region and elsewhere. The entrance test is mandatory, and once it is passed, everybody knows the procedure.”

(prof. Faruk Čaklovica, Ph.D., rector of the University of Sarajevo)

⁹¹ The agreement on mutual cooperation was signed on 4th and 6th June 2009 among the University of Prishtina and the universities of Sarajevo, Tuzla and Mostar from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"Those who will benefit from the agreement the most are Bosnian students; likewise, the whole Bosnian community and the Kosovar society generally. The agreement includes raising the quality of higher education for Bosnians in Kosovo and the integration into the Bologna and European processes of education. There will be distance learning lectures with the University of Tuzla. Video link facilities to follow the lectures of professors from Tuzla are already provided."

(Prof. Emruš Azizović, Ph.D., Head of the Department for Teaching in Bosnian)

By signing this agreement, we became aware that it is in assistance to the Bosnian community not only in education, but also in preparing capable young people for the global world market. If we fail to have professionals capable to cope with the challenges of the global market, we will not succeed. More precisely, professionals who do not have the requisite qualities to do a job anywhere in the world, do not have the requisite qualities for the local community either. Because the local community is an integral part of the global world. We are ready to provide all to qualify professionally, completely: our human resources, laboratories, literature, corporate entities and also, lectures through video link."

(Prof. Džemo Tufekdžić, Ph.D.,)

Until the last 2009/2010 academic year, Bosnian secondary school graduates had the opportunity to apply for fellowships at one of the state universities in Turkey. The call for the enrollment of students from the Bosnian community was not published in Turkey. According to some incomplete data, some 50 students took advantage of that opportunity over the last years, and they are studying now in Turkey.

For Bosnians in Kosovo, studying abroad is mostly determined by the economic standing of the student's family, his/her knowledge and marks obtained during secondary education. So Bosnians from Kosovo have the opportunity to study both in Kosovo and in the countries of the region.

5. Issues, Observations and Recommendations for Solving Problems

Besides the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, teaching in Bosnian at all levels is provided only in Kosovo. For example, in Serbia, Bosnians from Sandžak are in an initial phase of exercising their right to education in their mother tongue; i.e.: Bosnian-language teaching is provided at lower levels of education. In the FYR of Macedonia one lesson of Bosnian language is being introduced and the first primary schools providing Bosnian-language teaching in Bosnian settlements have recently been opened.

The most significant drop in the number of pupils was observed in Dobrusha, in the Fan Noli PS, where there were 179 Bosnian pupils last year and only 159 this year, although this number can be changed by the additional enrollment.

The largest increase in the number of pupils was recorded in the secondary schools in Prizren. **There are a total of 889 pupils in secondary schools in Prizren in this 2010/2011 school year.**

There were 759 pupils in secondary schools providing teaching in Bosnian in the former 2009/2010 school year. **A growth in the number of secondary school pupils for 130 pupils (17%) has been recorded in this school year, which is a very positive trend.**

The total number of secondary school students in all four schools in Peć/Pejë is 268; and it was 239 last year, which is also a significant growth.

At the same time, the closure of minor schools with mixed classes and small numbers of students is an actual threat. The survival of the primary and secondary schools providing teaching in Bosnian in Prishtina and in Mitrovica/Mitrovice is also at risk. These issues should be thoroughly discussed and the best solution for the pupils and for the teachers should be found.

The lack (in secondary schools there is a 100% lack) of textbooks and literature in schools is the most pressing problem of teaching in Bosnian in Kosovo.

“Although there are provisional will and statements, likewise political and constitutional obligations of the Government of Kosovo to assume responsibility for minorities, practically, no sufficient budget funds are allocated, and there is a lack of the necessary capacities to publish the already developed textbooks or to translate the ones for vocational subjects and the documents from Albanian to Bosnian. On the other hand, there are no quality experts among the Bosnians, who could be (co)authors for all the needed textbooks for nation-specific subjects.”

(Ćerim Bajrami, member of KVZ)

The MEST has been providing free textbooks for pupils attending teaching in Bosnian for two years now, but not all textbooks are available. The worst situation is in the lower classes. For example, there are only two textbooks in the 5th grade: “Čovjek i Priroda” /Man and Nature/ and “Ručni rad” /Handcrafts/, so teachers are in a very difficult position, because they have to translate the textbooks from Albanian to Bosnian themselves. Pupils do not have textbooks for technical skills or music from the 6th to 9th grade.

(Violeta Koljenović, informatics teacher in the Bedri Djina PS in Mitrovica/Mitrovice)

Teaching in Bosnian has been provided for 10 years in the Frang Bardhi Grammar school, but without any textbook. Teaching is provided in this school in a manner that teachers try to find their way around and dictate the texts to pupils.

(Z. K. Mitrovica/Mitrovice)

“The lack of textbooks is the most pressing problem for teaching in Bosnian (e.g.: there is no textbook for physical education at any grade); there is no textbook for the Albanian language for any of the grades. There are no workbooks for any of the grades and subjects. There is no textbook for the 9th grade according to the valid curriculum of the Republic of Kosovo, nor any other textbooks, which do exist in Albanian but have not been translated for teaching in Bosnian. We do not have the following textbooks:

for the first grade: First Reader, 3rd grade: Arts, 5th grade: History, Civil Education, Music, Arts, 6th grade: reader

7th grade: Music, Bosnian language (grammar) etc.

8th grade: Reader, Music....

(Draga Babačić-Marković, Headmaster of the 7. septembar PS)

RECOMMENDATIONS addressed to: MEST, Government, the Parliament of Kosovo, KSZ, the international community, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the civil society and the public:⁹²

1) The MEST should provide all textbooks and accompanying literature and documents for teaching in Bosnian at all levels of education for the 2010/2011 school year.

2) All textbooks, including those for secondary schools, which are missing in the education in Bosnian language in Kosovo, should be urgently imported from Bosnia and Herzegovina. A special problem is that, except for some readers and art textbooks for lower grades, there are, practically, no textbooks for subjects of key importance, like Bosnian language, history, music and art, although they make the backbone of teaching in Bosnian.

3) If all those textbooks, which are missing in primary and secondary school, are not imported, Bosnian children included in the Bosnian-language teaching will be discriminated, because the Government of Kosovo provides all primary school textbooks in Albanian for free!

4) Besides appropriating funds for textbook purchase by the MEST, literature-related issues can partly be resolved through regional cooperation and within the civil sector by linking non-governmental organisations from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. In this context, the first steps have already been made by an NGO, VKBI (the Council of the Bosnian Intellectuals' Congress in Kosovo), which is in contact with the Council of Kosovo Bosnian Intellectuals in Bosnia-Herzegovina. So, the first steps have been made, and such projects should be supported because of their importance for the education in Bosnian language and for the Bosnian community in Kosovo.

5) When publishing calls for employment for certain, community-specific teaching subjects (Bosnian language, history, music and arts), the MEST should make a thorough assessment of authorial capacities in Kosovo; and in case there is a lack of such capacities, should, in due time, take up measure to employ experts, or educational institutions from Bosnia and Herzegovina, who will, as (co)authors, participate in the development of textbooks for teaching in Bosnian in Kosovo.

The Community Consultative Council took the stand - not yet implemented – to import from Bosnia-Herzegovina all textbooks in Bosnian and Turkish of which there is a lack, including, first and foremost, textbooks for community-specific subjects. Because, the thing most irritating for any sensible Bosnian is, indeed, the fact that in Kosovo, except for some readers and art books for lower education, there are no textbooks for subjects of key importance: Bosnian language, history, music and art – especially history – although they make the backbone of teaching in Bosnian.

(Ćerim Bajrami, member of CCC)

In August last year, under the recommendation to import all textbooks which are missing in Kosovo, the Community Consultative Council of Kosovo changed the valid institutional decision for the import of lacking vocational textbooks from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Turkey for the secondary schools only. Will that decision be respected, primarily by the representatives of minorities in Kosovo, at least for the next school year? Wait and see. .

(Ćerim Bajrami, member of CCC)

6) The Government and the MEST respectively, should take certain institutional measures and support teaching in Bosnian in the primary and secondary schools in the Municipality of Dragaš/Dragash in the villages of the Gora region.

⁹² **Remark:** These recommendations are partly addressed to the members of the Consultative Council of the President of Kosovo's Cabinet.

According to the data provided by Dragaš/Dragash Municipality, 324 pupils attend teaching in Bosnian in four primary schools and 68 pupils in the grammar school in Dragaš/Dragash according to the curriculum of Kosovo. There are about 800 pupils in parallel primary schools providing teaching according to the Serbian curriculum, and about 120 pupils are attending parallel grammar school in line with the same curriculum.⁹³

These problems are to be solved in the institutions of Kosovo, although these are not recognized by the other party. The media should be used as much as possible, in order to inform parents about the real truth about the situation in education. Round-tables should be organised with intellectuals and meetings with parents about the importance of adequate and recognized education, which will provide survival in this region. Seminars and professional upgrading trainings are to be organised for the teaching staff, which will increase the quality of knowledge.

7) The current number of classes in primary and secondary schools should be kept in the teaching in Bosnian. The possibility of closing mixed classes should be reconsidered and the opportunity of working with one class only should be found.

As underlined by Kosovo Bosnian and Kosovo Turk pupils in Prizren, though the MEST made a curriculum for the Albanian language, as an optional subject, adequate textbooks have not been printed yet and cannot be found in stores. Teachers and pupils are provided textbooks for Albanian as a mother tongue instead, and these are too complicated and are not usable in practice. In the primary school in Dobruša/Dobrusha (Istok/Istog) the situation is even worse, because there are no textbooks whatsoever for the Albanian language for Kosovo Bosnian pupils of any age. According to the opinion of the Kosovo Bosnian pupils and parents in the Peć/Pejë region, Albanian-language classes are high-quality, but their number and frequency is not sufficient to provide a good command of Albanian. Bosnian secondary school graduates, who do not speak Albanian, cannot use the opportunity of internship, which the Kosovo Albanians have in private companies in the region. After completing their education, they will face difficulties if they want to work in companies where Albanian is used, even if the job fits their profile.

8) Albanian language should regularly be learned in addition to subjects in mother tongue in primary school.

9) The representation of Kosovo Bosnians in the management of the educational institutions should be appropriate.

10) Post-graduate studies should be further extended to languages, which are not in official use, in order to increase the number of qualified teachers and to foster the professional upgrading of these teachers.

11) The professional and scientific cooperation among the universities of the region should be continued and strengthened, especially the cooperation with the universities in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the university in Novi Pazar, since it would raise the level of higher education.

12) The Government of Kosovo should support providing scholarships to those Kosovo Bosnian students, who show good results, through the competent ministry.

⁹³ The Faculty of Education and the new opportunities to be provided by the University of Prizren, have a direct influence on the closing of parallel education system in Gora. This faculty, besides a range of positive characteristics, plays an integrative role in the community, and also influences the survival and affirmation of teaching in the Bosnian language in Kosovo.

Providing material and technical means for the higher education of Kosovo Bosnians, enabling professional trainings and further education at the highest levels (master's and Ph.D. studies) should be an imperative for educational institutions, in order to ensure the necessary teaching staff for strengthening capacities in the education of Bosnians in Kosovo.

13) Representatives of education and indirect stakeholders in the teaching process in Bosnian should re-define the current status in the higher education of Bosnians in Kosovo with the aim to harmonise it with the contemporary educational processes in Europe. When introducing courses and departments within the higher education system in Kosovo, care should be taken of the needs of economy and society by taking into consideration the geographical specificities and economic resources.

The Law on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Communities and their Members in Kosovo, under Article 8.1 regulating, *inter alia*, public education, specifies the following:

“All persons belonging to communities shall have the right to receive public education at all levels in one of the official languages of Kosovo of their choice. Persons belonging to communities are entitled to preschool, primary, secondary public education in their own language, even if it is not an official language.”

This Law also foresees that persons belonging to minority communities are entitled to education in their respective mother tongues, from preschool to higher education. In this sense, the MEST developed a common curriculum, valid for all communities. However, in practice it turned out, that there are no instruments of protection for higher education, especially in the field of finance.

Kosovo Turks` Social Problems Related to Turkish Language Officiality

Independent Group of Turkish Researchers

Introduction

Kosovo, the youngest country in Europe and Balkans, started a new era in its history by declaring its independence on February 17, 2008. The population of the region, the history of which dates back to pre-middle age, consists of various ethnic groups: Albanians, Serbians, Bosnians, Turks, Romans, Ashkalies, Misiries, Gorans, and Monte Negrins. Since the end of the Ottoman rule Kosovo Turks have lived in Prizren, Mamusha, Gjiilan, Dobërçan, Nobirda, Prishtina, Gjakova, Vushtrri, Mitrovica and Peja. Besides this, there are some citizens living in other parts of Kosovo like Gjakova and Ferizaj who name their nationality as Turkish due to their kinship and marital relations.

Likewise other Kosovo nations Kosovo Turks, whose past dates back to before centuries in this geography, have always been loyal and hard working citizens of the country showing constructive effort and contributions as native populations on every Kosovo issue of political, social, economical, and cultural matters. They have established essential pieces of multi ethnic Kosovo structure by their historical masterpieces and socio-cultural values common to all Kosovo nations.

1. Kosovo Turkishness and Turkish Language Officiality

After the withdrawal of Ottoman rule from this region in 1912 the Turkish existence in Kosovo started to be recognized formally only after 1951. Education and culture movements have been followed by Turkish broadcast and press performance in a short time after the act of recognition. The Turks have gained the rights of being represented in local and central positions and also there were approved legislations assuring equal citizen rights for them. The law of 1974 and the legislations of 1977 regarding The Use of Official Languages have put forward the broadest rights officializing and assuring the equality of the Turks and their language with other communities and their languages. The related articles of "1974 Constitution of Kosovo Socialist Self-Governing Territory" which was in effect until 1990 have been as the following:

ARTICLE 5: *All of the members belonging to ethnic groups and communities in Kosovo Socialist Self-Governing Territory such as Albanians, Muslims, Serbians, Turks, Monte Negrins and the others are equal in all ranges and they have the same rights and obligations. It has been secured that they shall be free in their developments, expressing their national identities, and that they shall preserve their religious, cultural, historical and other values.*

ARTICLE 6: *It has been secured that Albanian, Serbo-Croatian, and Turkish languages and their scripts have equality in Kosovo Socialist Self-Governing Territory.*

ARTICLE 193 (Section II): *Turkish language and script have equal rights in use with other languages in the regions where the Turks live.*

ARTICLE 194 (Section I): *It has been secured that all the necessary conditions be provided for studying in mother tongues actually in Albanian, Serbo-Croatian, and Turkish languages in primary, secondary, and high education levels.*

ARTICLE 196 (Section I): *It should be emphasized in municipal guidelines that Albanian and Serbo-Croatian also Turkish language where the Turks live have equality in use and this equality should be put into practise.*⁹⁴

During this period of time the Turks have obtained chances within Kosovan population to develop their values and express themselves by having employment opportunities, political

⁹⁴ Kushtetuta e Krahinës Socialiste Autonome të Kosovës, Rilindja, Prishtinë, 1974.

representation and employment possibilities in local and central ranges, and by their culture, education, media, language, literature, and traditions. In 1989 (during the power of Milošević) self governing state of Kosovo has been cancelled and this ended up with the cease of Albanian and Turkish language officiality, which has been the biggest judiciary stroke on Turks in Kosovo. Serbian language and Cyril alphabet was the only official language in use. After this step (on September 7, 1990) Turkish language officiality in the new law of Republic of Kosovo, that was announced in Kaçanik, has been reformulated as below:

ARTICLE 11: “In the Republic of Kosovo Albanian language and script is official language in use. Serbian and Turkish languages and scripts are also equally official in use in the regions where these communities live.”⁹⁵

The economic crisis and civil wars in Yugoslavia in 1990`s have seriously affected the Turkish community, too. This led to their passification in both political and social matters around Yugoslavia. Becoming economically fatigue after the NATO intervention in 1999 the Turks in Kosovo have adopted the new Kosovo reality accompanied with their deficiencies in political, civil society, media, education, and culture areas due to hard times in 1990`s . After the war in Kosovo, they have continued their struggle by becoming organized both in political and civil society areas in order to make up for deficiencies and to gain acceptance in new Kosovo situation. They have also created new magazines, newspapers, and electronic media for existence.

In 1999 Kosovo has been put under the rule of UNMIK after the NATO intervention and by resolution 1244. It has been governed by the new UNMIK regulations based on 1974 constitution. The first UNMIK administrator Bernard Kouchner, the founder of Medicines sans Frontieres and present French Foreign Minister, abolished the Turkish language officiality by his first regulation “1999/1”. He replaced Turkish language by English language as an official language and stressed that all the legislative regulations should be issued in Albanian, Serbian, and English languages:

Part 5 (5.2.): “UNMIK regulations shall be issued in Albanian, Serbian, and English languages. In case of any discrepancy the English version shall be taken as the basic.”⁹⁶

Kosovo Turks` long lasting struggle and demand for restoration of aquired rights related to Turkish language officiality have always been attempted to be suppressed and replaced by the rights secured by municipal regulations.⁹⁷ Kosovo Turks have continued to strive for claiming their aquired rights on language use by rejecting to the reduction of Turkish language use from being legally equal according to language code and constitutional articles to municipal regulations.

In July and September 2006 Kosovo Assembly, that brought up the law of official languages, voted NO for using Turkish equally as Albanian and Serbian languages.⁹⁸ As a result of reactions coming from Turkish NGOs,⁹⁹ and statements by USA Kosovo Embassy, Contact Group,¹⁰⁰ and Turkish Foreign Ministry the officiality of Turkish language has been restored back, but with a reduction to municipal level. However, Prizren is the only city where there is

⁹⁵ http://sq.wikibooks.org/wiki/1.DISPOZITAT_E_PERGJITHSHME

⁹⁶ <http://www.unmikonline.org/regulations/1999/reg01-99.htm> (According to 1974 Constitution all of the legislative regulations in Kosovo used to be issued in official languages: Albanian, Serbian, and Turkish. This decision and the following policies have been concrete indicators proving that Turkish was abolished.)

⁹⁷ See. UNMIK/REG/2000/45 (Section 9 LANGUAGES / 9.2 Meetings of the Municipal Assembly and its committees and public meetings shall be conducted in both the Albanian and Serbian languages. In municipalities where a community lives whose language is neither Albanian nor Serbian, the proceedings shall also be translated, when necessary, into the language of that community.)

⁹⁸ “Kosovo Assembly voted no for Turkish language use”, newspaper “Yeni Dönem” dated 02.08.2006

⁹⁹ “We are getting ready for asking our rights” newspaper “Yeni Dönem” dated 04.09.2006 Nr.341

¹⁰⁰ “Contact Group is dissapointed with the objection to Turkish language motion” Kosovahaber ,September 15,2006 21:09:23 www.kosovahaber.com

no percentage barrage for official use of Turkish in municipal level, while in the other municipalities where Turks live there has been a population barrage of 5% and 3% laid down as a condition in order that Turkish be used officially acknowledging it as a traditional language:

ARTICLE 1 (Section 1.2.): Like Turkish, Bosnian, and Roman languages all the languages of other communities shall be officially in use in municipal level based on the conditions laid down by this law.

ARTICLE 2 (Section 2.1.): Albanian and Serbian languages and their scripts are official languages in Kosovo and they have equal status in Kosovo institutions.

Section 2.2. Each person has equal rights regarding the use of official languages in Kosovan institutions.

Section 2.3. In the municipalities where the community whose language is not official live, but constitute 5% of total population there, their language shall gain the status of being official in that municipality and shall be used equally as other official languages. Without considering the conditions listed above Turkish language is in official language status in Prizren Municipality with exception.

Section 2.4. In the municipalities where a community live whose language is not one of the official languages of Kosovo in case they represent more than 3% of total population there their language shall gain the status of being officially in use in that municipality and it shall have equality in use in accordance with the provisions specified in Article 8 of this law. Nevertheless, a language that has been traditionally used in a municipality can have the status of official language in that municipality. Regarding this matter municipalities should prepare detailed guidelines in accordance with Article 35 within 6 months after the law enters into force.¹⁰¹

So that Turkish language has been accepted official in Mitrovica, Vushtrri, Prishtina, and Gjiilan municipal assemblies in municipal level six months after the law entered into force. However, the present official status of Turkish language approved by Kosovo Assembly that is based on the language code in force has not pleased Turkish community and Turkish NGOs because of its dependance on municipal regulations, its practical use, the lack of responsive attitude by some of the local governments, and because of some municipalities' neglect on using Turkish language in practice notwithstanding its being an official language.¹⁰²

On the other hand, Turkish NGO's struggle for equality among Kosovan communities and consequently having Turkish community take place as one of founding elements of Kosovo state and having this verbalised (taking into consideration that it has been an acquired right in 1974 constitution)¹⁰³ during the preparatory period of Kosovo Constitution has been blocked for different reasons. As a result of it Turkish language status and its use remained as official only in municipal level. The new Constitution of Republic of Kosovo secured Albanian and Serbian as official languages in the state:

ARTICLE 5 (Section 1): Albanian and Serbian languages are official languages in the Republic of Kosovo.

(Section 2): Turkish, Bosnian, and Roman languages have officiality in municipality level or they can be used in any level in accordance with the law.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ See. <http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/> LANGUAGE CODE OF LAW NO. 02/L-37

¹⁰² Turkish associations: "Barrages should be cancelled, Turkish should not remain official only in Prizren", newspaper "Yeni Dönem" dated August 9, 2006

- "Turkish recognized as official language in Prizren", Samanyolu Haber, September 21, 2006

¹⁰³ "Prof. Dr. Mümtaz Soysal was in Kosovo- Soysal: "You should struggle for Turkish language officiality, constructive elements of new Kosovo and community rights", newspaper Yeni Dönem Nr. 372, Prizren

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.kushtetutakosoves.info/repository/docs/Kosova.Cumhuriyeti.Anayasasi.pdf>

The new official status of Turkish language and its use in practice have also caused many problems. After our field work in Prishtina, Mitrovica, Peja, Vushtrri, Janjev, Gjilan, Nabrda, Dobërçan, and Prizren we as Free Turkish Researchers' Group have reached a result as below:

It has been identified that Turkish language was not accepted official in municipalities and settling units in Kosovo such as Peja, Nabrda, Gjakova, and Dobërçan. Moreover, Turkish is not used together with other official languages in any official document in public buildings and official institutions in these places. Although it was accepted by Vushtrri Municipality Assembly that Turkish can be official there has been no venture about using Turkish language officially. So that, there is still not any Turkish used among the other languages on the boards of local institutions, on the documents, or on traffic signs in Vushtrri, and there is no Turkish translators working in local institutions. There is a similar situation in the Municipality of Mitrovica, too. It has been found that especially the municipality in southern part does not use Turkish language and its script in practice. However, it has been identified that in Gjilan Municipality Turkish language is not used officially anywhere else but only on tax invoices and municipality seal. There is no document issued in Turkish language in this municipality. Previously used Turkish writings were also removed after the proclamation of the Republic. Gjilan is the only municipality that used all four languages including Turkish on the outdoor sign of the City Hall in Gjilan.

In Prishtina case it has been identified that although the Municipality of Prishtina has accepted the officiality of Turkish language there has been no Turkish language and script used with other official languages in Municipal directorates, municipal institutions, on municipal documents, logo and seals, on public signs, street signs, and on other places.

Turkish language use in practice in Prizren, where it is an official language by Kosovo Constitution and language code of law, displayed variations between municipal governments. The use of Turkish language in City Hall, in directorates, on seals, in the court, police stations, hospital, outpatient clinics, on other institutional signs, road signs, and on official documents that started before the proclamation of the Republic has not been continued after the proclamation. Writings in Turkish have been abolished from the municipality and other local institutions likewise from the documents such as birth certificates, marriage certificates, and identity cards. The crisis on the Logo of Prizren Municipality after the decision of the Constitutional Court that accepted Turkish language to be used on the logo is the best concrete instance showing the range of Turkish language official use that has been on the hook of municipal government. Mamusha, which has a Turkish local government, is the only municipality in Kosovo where Turkish language and script are used in accordance with the laws.

The research named "*The Practice of the Language Code of Law in Kosovan Institutions*" by Human Rights Fund, dealing with the usage of Turkish language with other languages, displays the violations and negligence in this matter.¹⁰⁵

Not using Turkish officially equal to other languages in local and central levels public institutions showed unsatisfactory arrangements on language use and passive policies, so that this have had bad influence on problems and solutions regarding Turkish education, Turkish media, Turkish cultural activities-NGO works, and employment issues. Official use of Turkish script on the signboards in Prizren is nothing more than a show.

¹⁰⁵ For more information see: <http://www.hlc-rdc.org/uploads/editor/Alb%20Kosovo.pdf>

Kosovo Turks are under the influence of being excluded from and unwanted nationality existence by the country where they are essential elements because they can not see their language and script among other official languages and in use; so that this cause them to be sosio-psychologically affected and under pressure.

Accordingly, the new legal status of Turkish language in the Republic of Kosovo started to have reflections on their strive for national identity survival and expression as well as their education, sosio-cultural and economy lives. This is because of the fact that the most essential elements of Turkish national existence in Kosovo consists of Turkish education, Turkish culture, Turkish communication, and socio-economic welfare by employing them in local and central official public institutions within the framework of contingency consigned to Turkish community.

The results we got at the end of our research displays that there are serious straits in the use of Turkish language, the official status of which has been reduced to municipal regulations today.¹⁰⁶ The most striking examples of the reflection of dissatisfaction front us with erosion in the field of education, culture, communication, and employment.

This erosion results from delayed concrete actions and deficiencies in resource provision by the local and central governments on solving the problems related to Turkish language, Turkish community, and their life matters in relation to Turkish language.

2. Turkish Education in Kosovo

The history of Turkish education in Kosovo dates back to Ottoman period depending on information and documents at hand. Since the end of the Ottoman rule in Balkans, and with the start of the monarchy regime in 1912 the Turks in Kosovo were not allowed to get education in their native language. During this period Turkish primary school age children had to study in Serbian and Albanian languages.¹⁰⁷ During the Second World War the Turks have also participated together with other communities in the People's Movement for the Liberation of Yugoslavia believing in the promise for *'Future with equal rights for every nation'*; however, they were discriminated after the war. That promises in that time were applicable only for some of the Turks in Macedonia. That time government obliged the Turks in Kosovo as well as in western Macedonia to study in Albanian language. The existence of Turks in Kosovo and their education rights were merely recognized in 1951 with a retardation.¹⁰⁸

Upon the decision taken by Yugoslavian Communist Party Central Committee it has been resolved in the 3rd session of Kosovo Self-Governing Territory National Agency held on March 20 1951 that Turkish community should start instruction in their native language and education endouever in Turkish language.¹⁰⁹ The schools giving instruction in Turkish language have attracted a great attention after this resolution. The Turks in Kosovo had facilities to study in Turkish language in pre-school, primary school, high school and university level until 1999. They trained teachers and published coursebooks by the supports from and opportunities of the government in that time. The events that occurred in parallel with political and social dynamics in Kosovo from 1951 to 1999 have continually had a bad influence on Turkish education and the number of students studying in Turkish language.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ "Kosovo Turks complain about the Article 5 in Constitution", newspaper "Yeni Dönem" March 6. 2008, Nr 417

¹⁰⁷ Only some of the religious schools were allowed to work.

¹⁰⁸ GÜÇLÜTÜRK, M-r. Taner, "The history of Turkish education and media in Kosovo", Bal-Tam Türklük Bilgisi Dergisi, Nr. 12, p.229-247

¹⁰⁹ The resolution was put into practice on April 1 in the same year in the municipalities of Pej, Mitroviça, Vushtrri, Prihtina, Gjilan and Prizren .

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 234

All of the communities including Turks in Kosovo, which entered under the control of United Nations Interim Administration since the NATO intervention in 1999, were given rights for studying in their native languages from pre-school to university level depending on the new legal regulations in education. However, current official status of Turkish language in Kosovo, and the long lasting problems in Turkish education have had bad influence on Turkish education. Most of the problems in Turkish education awaiting institutional solutions have not been solved exactly in spite of a time range of ten years. This kind of problems rather affected the quality of Turkish education in Kosovo. These present problems accompanied with the new status of Turkish language officiality have vexed the Turkish community, and the number of families registering their kids to schools in Turkish language has declined seriously. As a consequence, most of the Turkish families started to register their kids to Albanian education or to the colleges giving instruction in English.¹¹¹

It has been elicited by the help of our research findings that book supply has consisted problems in all educational institutions in Prizren, Mamusha, Gjilan, Dobërçan, and Prishtina. So that insufficiency of the books has become one of the most important problems affecting Turkish education in Kosovo. Ministry of Education in Kosovo has started to publish Turkish coursebooks since 2006 and only a part of the coursebooks could have been published up to now. Only primary school coursebooks (for grades 1-9) have been published until now.¹¹² Some of the 7th, 8th, and 9th grade coursebooks and most of the lycee and vocational school coursebooks are awaiting to be published by the Ministry of Education.

Ministry authorities have stated that this blank was going to be covered temporarily in 2010/2011 school year by the coursebooks for lycee and vocational schools sent by Turkish Republic Ministry of Education and that books for lycee are going to be prepared in the future. Nazan Safçı, who is in charge of Turkish education in the Ministry of Education, noted that 4 coursebooks are on the way to publication, too. Our question asking about the reason for ten years retard on publishing Turkish books has been left unanswered during the research. The one in charge of Turkish education in Kosovo Ministry of Education settled this by saying she did not have authority to give explanations on this matter but that 'she could only share lists of books published so far with us and that the publishing process is going on.'

According to the top news and published articles so far, Kosovo Ministry of Education put forward that the reason for not being able to publish Turkish coursebooks has been "budget shortcomings". Second reason put forward by ministry authorities has been related to reluctance of private printing houses on tenders for Turkish books because of small circulation of the books.¹¹³

Today, there is no Turkish education in Pej, Mitrovica, Vushtrri, Gjakova, and Nabrda due to increasing number of problems since pre war time in Kosovo. Last year in 2009/2010 there was a drop to 1 pupil registered for Turkish education in Gjilan, and 5 pupil registered in Dobërçan, so that Turkish education is about to cease in this residential areas.¹¹⁴ This year (2010/2011) there are 4 pupils registered in Turkish education in Gjilan but all of them belong to businessmen who are citizens of Turkey. Also there was a generation vacancy in the same municipality after the war of Kosovo. It is worrying that Turkish education might cease in this residential area as well, in case there is no registration to Turkish education next year. This

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 236-239

¹¹² According to the information got from the Ministry of Education the number of coursebooks published up to 2010/2011 is 73 in total.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p. 238

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 237

year there are 75 primary school pupils registered in Mamusha, 97 in Prizren, 3 in Dobërçan, 18 in Prishtina. On the other hand, there are 50 secondary school pupils registered in Mamusha, 168 in Prizren, 10 in Prishtina and Gjilan.

Registrations to Prishtina University Faculty of Philology department of Turkish Language and Literature are 22 students in academic year 2010/2011. Besides that there are 41 students registered to the department of Pre-School Teaching, and there were 70 students registered to the department of Mathematics and Informatics last year. Thus, there exist 216 Turkish students studying in all the departments of higher education in Kosovo in the academic year of 2010/2011. However, despite the promises by the Minister of Education that there would be two departments opening for Turkish students in the University of Prizren starting education in the academic year 2010/2011 there have been no concrete developments on this matter until now.¹¹⁵

On the other hand there was a good will agreement signed among the Minister of Education Science and Technology Enver Hoxhaj, Rector of Prishtina University Mujë Rugova, and Rector of Prizren University Ronald Munch on October 07 2010 related to the fact that Faculty of Education in Prizren, which was administered by the University of Prishtina, is to be a part of the University of Prizren.¹¹⁶ Consequently, the promise of a new department for Turkish students at the University of Prizren will be covered up this way. On October 2010 after the meeting with Prizren Mayor Ramadan Muja, Rector of Prizren University Ronald Moench has declared that no department in Turkish or Bosnian languages was going to open at the University of Prizren due to the lack of permanent staff at the University of Prizren.

As a conclusion our findings about the problems of Turkish higher education in Kosovo show that they consist of inadequacy of specialized staff, of books/coursebooks, of the library and background problems.

Besides Kosovo, there are Turkish secondary school graduates that continue their study with scholarship at university level, graduate, and post graduate level at the universities in Turkey.¹¹⁷ However, a big number of these students in Turkey try their chances to stay there by getting married or finding a job. This is a situation of brain drain which has an important effect on socio-cultural structure of Turkish community.

The specialized staff graduated in Turkey and Kosovo started to take their places in Turkish education in last two years, but still the problems of book deficiency, and specialized staff deficiency keep on being prominent in all the municipalities. The efforts of local and central governments fall short in overcoming the deficiencies on staff and books in Turkish education.

The fact that Turkish is not used as an official language and the deficiency in qualified staff and coursebooks during the last years have resulted in downgrade on Turkish education quality. It has been found upon the data gathered from the statistics on internet site of the Ministry of Education that there is a decrease of 11,12% in number of children registered to Turkish education within the last 6 years.

THE OFFICIAL STATISTICAL DATA FROM KOSOVO EDUCATION MINISTRY

¹¹⁵ See. www.kosovahaber.com

¹¹⁶ See. <http://www.kosovahaber.net/?page=2,9,3170>

¹¹⁷ Above 1000 Kosovan students not only Turks but also students belonging to other ethnic groups like Albanians, Bosnians, and Romans, benefit from the higher education with scholarship in the Republic of Turkey.

*Overall number of Turkish pupils in Turkish primary education in Kosovo within the last 6 years:*¹¹⁸

Year	Number of pupils	Percentage of Turkish pupils in total
2004/2005	2365	%0,75
2005/2006	2328	%0,72
2006/2007	2263	%0,70
2007/2008	2247	%0,69
2008/2009	2173	%0,67
2009/2010	2102	%0,64

Our research findings have come out to be similar to the data and suggestions in the conclusive declaration of the “IV. Kosovo Turkish Education Convention” organized by Turkish Teachers’ Association in 2006, the association that is closely concerned with Turkish education and its problems in Kosovo:

- The coursebook problem;
- The teaching staff problem;
- To abolish the student number barrage for opening classes in primary and secondary compulsory schools because of the fact that the widespread settlement in different parts constitutes a disadvantage for opening Turkish classes ;
- The problems of administrative works and their staff related to Turkish education in the local and central educational decision mechanisms;
- To sign an agreement for developing coordination between the Education Ministries of Kosovo and Turkish Republic;
- The problem of not using Turkish in formal writings at schools giving Turkish education;
- To open new departments other than Turkish Language and Literature and Elementary Teaching in Turkish language within the frame of Prishtina University;
- To found a Turkish University in Kosovo;
- To take various stimulating measures for increasing the number of students;
- The lack of short term, medium term, and long term strategies for bettering the quality of Turkish Education in Kosovo and for solving problems in a planned way;
- The economic and financial problems of Turkish Teachers’ Association, which is really concerned about Turkish education, Turkish educators, and retired teachers...¹¹⁹

We came up with the following prominent problems at the end of our research in 21 primary and secondary schools giving Turkish education throughout Kosovo: coursebook problems, specialized staff inadequacy, background problems, lack of representation in administrative positions, excluding Turkish writings from usage at educational institutions, and the lack of lateral pedagogic tools.

A priority should be given to publishing books, and the necessary specialized staff and budget should be supplied for book preparation. In parallel to this, the specialized teaching staff problem should be overcome. It should be encouraged that classes be reopened in places of Turkish residents and the number of students have to be increased. There should be boards founded by the Ministry in these areas, and there should be Turkish Reps posted in them. Turkish executives should be given post at school administrations; Turkish should be included

¹¹⁸ For more information see the page of the ministry of education: <http://www.masht-gov.net>

¹¹⁹ VIRMİÇA, Raif, “General Assembly of Kosovo Turkish Education-55th Anniversary of Kosovo Turkish Education”, Kosovo Turkish Teachers Association Publishing, Prizren, 2007, p. 18-20

in school performances and in official ceremonies at schools giving Turkish education. Turkish should be used together with other languages in writings of door plates and inside the schools. An agreement should be signed for developing coordination between the Education Ministries of Kosovo and Turkish Republic. Short term, medium term, and long term strategies should be prepared for bettering the quality of Turkish education in Kosovo, and for solving problems in a planned way.

Turkish education in Kosovo is face to face with the danger of ceasing not only in Pej, Mitrovica, Vushtrri, Nabrda, Gjakova, but also in other residential areas if these problems are not solved in a short time. A swift assimilation of the Turkish community that lost its education in native language seems to be unavoidable. Next year it will be the 60th anniversary of Turkish education in Kosovo since its continuation after the Second World War. The specialized, spiritual and material support for Turkish education in the restructuring state of Kosovo, will be very effective in the existence of Turkish community, who are building structures of Kosovo, which is based on multi-ethnic, and multi-culture values.

3. Turkish Press/Media in Kosovo

The history of Turkish press in Kosovo dates back to 1871.¹²⁰ There was no information found if there had been an existence of Turkish press during the monarchy regime in Yugoslavia. After the Second World War the Turks in Kosovo had to benefit from press and media facilities given for Turks in Macedonia in 1944 in order to supply their needs related to press and media.

In 1950's the radio broadcast in Turkish language started in Radio Prishtina. The Turkish Orchestra of Radio Prishtina was founded in the same year and there was 7 hours Turkish program in a day. Then on May 1st 1969 the newspaper "Tan" started to be issued. On the other hand an art and culture journal "Doğru Yol" (named as "Esin" after 1977) started to be issued for the first time. On Prishtina Television founded in 1974-75 Turkish broadcast started with Turkish news but later on it prolonged to a broadcast of 50 minutes. Under the roof of a publishing house "TAN" there were several periodicals on children, youth, culture, art, society, and philosophy that started to be issued like "Çevren" in 1973, "Boncuk" in 1975, "Kuş" in 1979, "Çığ" in 1990, and "Yarın".

The state of political and social instability in Yugoslavia after 1990's have had great influence on Kosovo Turkish media. As a consequence page number of the weekly newspaper "Tan" has been reduced to half of it. "Çevren" and the other children and youth periodicals stopped publication. In comparison to the past book publications entered the recession period. Freedom of thought started to be restricted on Turkish radio and television broadcast, and political issues were censored. In parallel to this problems and with purpose of making their voice heard and filling the gap in literature new magazines started publication like "Bay" in 1994, a culture-art-literature journal "SOFRA" in 1999 in Mamusha, "Türkçem" children's magazine in Prizren. After the harsh conflicts in Kosovo and NATO intervention in 1999 with the cancelation of using Turkish as an official language the newspaper "Tan" has closed down in its 30th anniversary of publication life due to the fact that it was not sustained by local and international administrations of the time.

¹²⁰ The first Turkish official gazette "Prizren" and yearbooks of two provinces were issued in 1871. After the set up of Kosovo province in 1877 newspapers like "Kosova"; "Enva-i Hürriyet", "Şar" ve "Yıldız", "Yeni Mektep" "Hak", "Mücadele", "Hak Yolu", "Top", "Sosyalist Fecri" were published in Prizren and Skopje printing houses.

Turkish media life restarted first in July in 1999 with Turkish broadcast on Prizren Radio. The first Turkish independent private newspaper “YENİ DÖNEM”, established in November in 1999, tried to supply the communication needs by weekly issues. The newspaper “DEMOKRASİ UFUĞU” started publication on February 28, in 2000. It gave 9 issues in every two weeks but then it closed down. “YENİ DÖNEM” has become a house of Turkish media in Kosovo accompanied with its radio opened in 2001, a television opened in 2005, and book publications.

“Balkan Turkology Research Center –BALTAM”, founded in March 2000 in Prizren, has maintained the works on book publishing apart from scientific magazine business up to now. The scientific journal “BALTAM Türklük Bilgisi” has had 13 issues until now. Although they had a rich publication life full of children’s and literary journals after 2002, Yeni Dönem, Demokrasi Ufugu, BALTAM Türklük Bilgisi, magazines like “Bay”, “Sofra”, “Derya”, “Medeniyet”, “Türkçem”, “İlke”, “Aydabir”, “Zübeyde Hanım”, “Bahar” had to close down because of inadequate sustain.

Today, Turks in Kosovo do not have any daily/weekly newspapers reflecting daily events of Turkish community and Kosovo society. “Yeni Dönem” had to stop the broadcast after nine years of its life in July 2008 because of the same reasons. Supervised by Ali Çankaya since 2008 “Yeni Dönem” radio, founded in 2001, and “Yeni Dönem” television, founded in 2005, have been passed to control of another company. A scientific magazine ‘BALTAM Türklük Bilgisi’ and a children’s magazine “Türkçem” can not have a steady life due to financial reasons. The same situation is valid for magazine “Bay” as well, which shows that Kosovo Turks are left without any written publications.

The 2 hour-broadcast on Prizren Radio is about to cease because of the financial problems of the radio. For now, there is only one radio giving 24 hours Turkish broadcast in Prishtina since 2003 “Kent FM”, 70 minutes news and magazine broadcast in a week on Radio Television of Kosovo, which is a public broadcast enterprise, and 2 hours Turkish broadcast on Radio Kosovo and Radio Blu Sky. The broadcast and the staff number has also been lessened in these media companies when compared to the past.

The new official status of Turkish language has relatively affected public and private press/media and led to downturn in broadcast time limit and quality. The Turkish broadcast in the radios of Gjilan, Vushtrri, Mitrovica and Pej has been the projects funded by the foreign resources so that they had to quit the broadcast as the financial resources diminished by time. Today it is impossible to talk about any communicative tools in Turkish language like audio or visual means in Pej, Mitrovica, Vushtrri, Gjilan, Dobërçan, Nabrda, Gjakova, Mamusha except for Prizren and Prishtina. The newspaper “Kosovahaber” first published in Prizren in 2006 could survive only for 10 issues. It was another newspaper closed down because of no sustain by the local and international administrations. But later on it became an electronic newspaper on cyber environment having an internet address (www.kosovahaber.net) which is the only media unit on internet in Turkish language. However, this kind of reporting system is limited to small number of people with internet access.

In comparison to the past the literary publishing started a demur phase after the war in Kosovo. The literary publishing and literary works of Kosovo Turks in new Kosovo reality have not been supported or encouraged steadily as previously.

Unfortunately, today Turkish media is not in a quality of pleasing its own audience because of its inadequate staff and financial problems. These media and publication enterprises have been undergoing a struggle for overcoming staff and financial problems. Kosovo Turks often feel the deprivation of following daily developments regularly and adequately. The desperate state of Turkish media in Kosovo has been put forward in “*International Day of Press Freedom Manifesto on May 3*” issued by Kosovo Turkish Journalists’ Organization in 2009, as well:

“It is a fact that inadequate financial resources and economic conditions constrain the true, fair and trusty journalism. In this case Turkish community is left deprived of their right of true news which is one of the elementary human rights according to the 19th article in Universal Human Rights Declaration... It is especially necessary to support and sustain media of ethnic communities, like Turkish media, in a multi-ethnic Kosovo in order to assist them survive and get them contribute to social harmony and development. As a conclusion, Turkish readers have been left without a newspaper after the closure of “Kosova Haber” and after the closure of “Yeni Dönem” at the end of 10 years publication last year because of financial reasons. Turkish broadcast on Radio Prizren is also close to an end after 30 years of broadcast due to the lack of money...”

It has been concluded that an urgent support should be given to a media platform which has freedom, independence, and enough financial resources so that each Turkish social class can make their voice heard. Kosovo Turks are deprived from following daily actualities and social developments in a communication era just because they do not have written, audio, and visual media. Today, the developed and healthy societies have the opportunities of accessing information faster than anyone else and expressing opinions freely so that they can integrate with the environment and grow healthy populations.

4. Turkish Culture in Kosovo

In Kosovo everywhere you can see a tradition of Turkish art-culture heritage that dates back to centuries ago and that is still vivid. Turkish art and culture is not a prominent character only for Turkish community in Kosovo but also it has essential traces from these values in socio-cultural lifestyle of other communities such as Kosovan Albanians, Serbians, Bosnians, Romans, Ashkalies, Misiries, and Gorans. As a consequence it can be said that Turkish art and culture has always been a common heritage and wealth of all Kosovan communities. Today there are some Turkish non-governmental organisations that work hard for continuing Turkish culture, art, and traditions in cities like Mitrovica, Prishtina, Vushtrri, Gjilan, Dobërçan, Mamusha, and Prizren.¹²¹ This non governmental organisations are not based only on culture but they are also defenders and strugglers for vital benefits of Kosovo Turkish community. This kind of art and culture organisations that do voluntary works, are not able to maintain a steady activity program because of financial difficulties they face depended on changing cultural policies of local and central administrations after the new official status of Turkish language. According to our researches we can say that Turkish art and culture organisations have had a drop in the number of cultural activities. On the other hand Prizren Culture House Turkish Theater Group,¹²² working professionally in amateur conditions, has successfully continued for years to introduce Kosovo and theatre culture in Kosovo at home and abroad by its successful performances that won national and international awards. The struggles of Kosovo Turks for overcoming longstanding problems and professionalization of the theatre could not reach the aim. There was a resolution carried by Kosovo Assembly in 2005 and 2010 in accordance with

¹²¹ The other NGOs of educators, craftsmen, businessmen, journalists, women, intellectuals, researchers, youth, and graduates in Turkey organize activities for specific audiences

¹²² They won awards in Europe, Turkey, and Yugoslavia before 1999, were awarded the first prize consecutively in festivals in Turkey and in Ferizovik-Kosovo after 2000. They represented Kosovo and its theatre in the best way.

the law of theatres stating that a professional city theatre was going to be opened in Prizren. However, the budget and the status of Prizren Culture House Turkish Theater likewise the theatres of other communities have been left in blur. The Professional Turkish Orchestra within the Radio Prishtina has closed down in 90's during the crisis in Kosovo, and there was no venture by the new government about reviving it after the war. Although there was a suggestion by Turkish deputies for opening an Assembly of Turkish Professional Folk Dances within the framework of regulatory preparation on Kosovo Professional Folk Dances Assembly there was not any concrete step forward by the authorities regarding this matter. In parallel to this the budget and works of Institution of Albanology have been made official by legal regulations, whereas, the status of Turcology works and researches in Kosovo and their budget have not been settled by law yet. However, in Prizren there is BALTAM- Turcology Research Center of Balkans, and in Prishtina there is a Faculty of Philology in Prishtina University that raises the necessary staff for Turcology.

It is urgently needed in this phase to train new generations professionally in assistance of specialized teaching staff for Turkish organizations in Kosovo in order to transfer the rich culture and art tradition to the future. Another important need is related to building a Turkish Cultural Center for running this kind of works in a professional platform. Besides that the professionalisation of Prizren Municipality Culture House Turkish Theatre and the revitalization of Professional Turkish Orchestra within the Radio Prishtina have the same significance. Establishing the Turkish Professional Folk Dances Assembly and institutionalization of Turcology researches should be secured by legislative regulations. The activities of these organizations that strive for the survival of Turkish culture in Kosovo have to be supported and the values that constitute the essential parts of multi-ethnic, and multi-culture heritage of Kosovo should be taken under protection with institutional cultural programs and policies developed by local and central administrations and Kosovo Ministry of Culture.

5. Socio-economic Status and Employment Problems of Kosovo Turks

Throughout the Yugoslavian time period Turkish people in Kosovo have had opportunities to take places in administration as bureaucrats, managers, prosecutors, judges, educators, journalists, policemen, translators, art-culture veterans, and civil servants in public institutions due to their great number of high-educated people. The Turks in Mamusha were especially dealing with agriculture and livestock, which was their ancestral tradition, because of their convenient geographic conditions. The economic status of Kosovo because of changing governments and restructuring after the war and annulation of Turkish language officiality have had great influence on socio-economic structure of Kosovo Turks. The educational, cultural, media, civil society, political, and social lives of Kosovo Turks under the stress during the phase of institutionalization of Kosovo have relatively been under the influence because of low income and high rate of unemployment. As for the results of our researches unemployment rate is rather high among the Turks in Mitrovica, the city that is divided into two. There is no local or foreign organisations concerned with unemployment problems of Turks in this city. Especially the families in the north part have rather hard conditions.¹²³ There are only 5 on duty in the city hall of Mitrovica who belong to Turkish community. On the other hand the unemployment rate of Turkish people in the Municipality of Vushtrri is more than 80%. Left behind are workers in private sector. There are only 3 people on duty in official public places

¹²³ After the war in Kosovo the Turks left on the north part of Mitrovica where most of the population is consisted of Serbians had to leave their homes because of chauvinist acts, security, education, cultural problems, and unemployment reasons; some of the families were obliged to leave their homes and emigrate during these conflicts.

like in the city hall of Vushtrri.¹²⁴ The number of unemployed and job seekers is also high among the Turks in Dobërçan. The number of job seekers among the youth in Dobërçan is especially high. The employment situation in the Municipality of Gjiilan is a bit better thanks to 40-50 work places given to Turks in the institutions like Health services, Kosovo Police, and Security Forces. The rate of unemployed Turks working in private sector is a bit lower in Gjiilan than in other places. 80% of Mamusha Turkish population is engaged in agriculture. Bearing in mind that the work of agriculture is a seasonal work most of the agriculturists are left without jobs after 3-4 months of work. The rest of the population (20%) are running their own business or they are employed in education, or municipal services. A high rate of Mamusha youth is also made up of the youth seeking jobs. The similar situation of unemployment is seen among the Turks living in Nabrda, Gjakova, and Pej as in the other places. Employment rates of Turks in Prizren and Prishtina have been limited to a small number of symbolic duties given to them in local and central official places just because of representative needs and coalition agreements between (Kosovo Turkish Democratic Party) KDTP and its local and central administration partners. The rate of unemployment among the Turks in Prizren and Prishtina who are seeking jobs in public and private sectors reaches nearly 60% .

According to the researches done by “ESNAF” Organisation of Craftsmen and Businessmen, “the number of unemployed Turks is much higher than official rates in general of Kosovo.”¹²⁵ The Shadow Report of UN (2005) regards unemployment as a problem affecting especially the small groups of minorities improporionally. The report says that one of the problems of minorities and of Turks among them results from the incompetency in language that employers require in particular regions.

The researches¹²⁶ showing that 66,3% of the problems on finding jobs are related to the ethnic identities of Turks emphasize that representation rate of Turkish community in Kosovo Police, and Kosovo Army of Safety is not satisfactory at all. There is a deficiency of employees working in the courts, official work places, municipalities, ministries, institutions, driving schools, and of Turkish translators, Turkish lawyers, Turkish civil servants, Reps of Turkish community because of the fact that business advertisements, entrance exams and job interviews are not done in Turkish language. The same situation is valid for Human Rights institutions and the other international organizations. The insufficient number of Turkish staff might result in the case of not representing the true states of these minorities by the reports prepared about the Turks. (Shadow Report 2005). According to the Advisory Board of Framework Contract of Protecting National Minorities, (2005,12-14), the number of Turkish personnel working in justice system including the municipal personnel and prosecutors, is much lower than the average. However, according to the Kosovo Constitution there should be positions given to ethnic communities thus to Turkish specilized staff in Kosovo High Court, Kosovo Prosecuting Council, Kosovo National Intelligence Agency, and Ombudsman Office. Another important problem is that other ethnic communities introduce themselves as Turkish and they are being appointed to the quota reserved for the Turks. Research findings have put forward that 81.7% of the Turks live without getting any aid from social security offices, 56% have at least one unemployed in their family, 66.3% of Kosovo Turks experience a problem based on their national identities during job applications. As for Tacoğlu says, “Turks still undergo problems due to their national identities in the phase of being employed; moreover they are sending their children to schools in Albanian language in order that they find a job in the future.” When

¹²⁴ Enver Dubovca is the manager of culture house, Ergin Sungur is an assemblyman, and Hadika Abdurrahman is a civil servant in city hall.

¹²⁵ See: LUMA, Cemil, “Kosovo Turks and their Future”, Siprint printhouse, Prizren, 2009, p.11

¹²⁶ TACOĞLU, Tunca Poyraz, Socio-economic status, and economic problems of Kosovo Turks, and their expectations from Turkey , Turkish Studies, Volume 4/3 Spring 2009, p. 2081-2111

considering the effect of education language on ethnic identity in Kosovo, it can be said that this state will result in assimilation in the long run. ”¹²⁷

CONCLUSION:

The fact that local and international governments approached the Kosovo matters by focusing on Albanians and Serbians only, and tried to find solutions for these matters focusing on them only during the process of independence after the annulation of self-governance throughout twenty years caused the negligence of problems belonging to Turks, Bosnians or other communities. The most concrete indicators for this are the policies followed up to now and the problems confronted as a result of these policies. It is worrying that these kind of problems might cause the Turks to feel anxious about expressing their national identity in the coming population census in 2011 and that might end up in a substantial drop in the number of Turkish population. The likelihood of becoming assimilated might be an inevitable fate for Kosovo Turks after the rapid national identity erosion and social disappointment that might be felt due to the decrease in number.

Kosovo Tuks have always contributed to each kind of development of Kosovo and worked hard for its existance during the important processes by their constructive policies and works, and they work hard for behaving with the same sensibility and responsility today. They participated in the restruction of multi-ethnic and multi-culture Kosovo by striving for Turkish language, Turksih culture, and Turkish national identity maintenance. The present status of Turksih language officiality and its unimplemmentation have been reflected on education, media, culture, and employment problems of Kosovo Turks, who aim the development of their country. The status of Tukish community might be bettered by approaching these problems more sensitively and reasonably and by rearranging the official status of Turkish language that is both a key point and a starting point of problems. Why is it so important to restore the Turkish language to its previous status that was an aquired right and to use it equally with other languages and to secure it with the law and the language code of law by the support from the Republic of Kosovo and international union? Neither can we protect socio-cultural and socio-economic values of Turkish community nor can we maintain Turkish national existance in long run or in institutional level with the Turkish officiality reduced to municipal level. The present status of Turkish language officiality has had influence on multi dimensional problems of Kosovo Turkish community today.

The existance of Turkish community with their sosio-cultural and socio-economic values among the other communities constitute the wealth of Kosovo. Kosovo can become a country integrated to the European Union only if it can contribute to its multi-culture structure together with a healthy Turkish community.

LITERATURE:

- AGİT, Kosova Misyonu, Demokratikleşme Bölümü, Azınlıkların Sesi, Kosova, 2002.
BAĞIMSIZ TÜRK ARAŞTIRMACILAR GURUBU’nun İpek, Mitroviça, Vıçitrın, Priştine, Yanova, Nobırda, Gilan, Dobruçan, Prizren ve Mamuşa’da gerçekleştirdiği araştırma verileri, 27.10-15.10.2010
BAL-TAM Türklük Bilgisi, Dergisi Arşivi, Prizren, 2004-2010
BÜTÜÇ, Arif, “Osmanlı döneminde ve eski Yugoslavya’da Türkçe Basın-Yayın”, <http://www.balkangunlugu.com>, 04 Mayıs 2009
HAFİZ, Prof. Dr. Nimetullah, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminde Kosova’da eğitim” – Yeni Dönem gazetesi sayı 108, 110.

¹²⁷ ibid, s. 2081-2111

- HAFİZ, Prof. Dr. Nimetullah, “Kosova’da Türkçe Öğretim” – Yeni Dönem gazetesi sayı 111-114.
- HAFİZ, Prof. Dr. Nimetullah, “Eski Yugoslavya Bölgelerinde Türkçenin Öğretimi”, BALTAM Türklük Bilgisi, Prizren, sayı 4, s. 182
- KORO, Bedrettin, (1999–2000) Kosova’da Türkçe eğitimin gelişimi (1). Sofra Kültür ve Sanat Dergisi, 1, 4, Mamuşa. 22–23.
- LİKA, Salih, “Kosova’da İlkokul ve Ortaokul Düzeyinde Türkçe Eğitim”, Medeniyet Araştırma Bilim Dergisi, Prizren, sayı 2, s. 38
- LUMA, Cemil “Kosova Türkleri ve Geleceği”, Siprint Basımevi, Prizren, 2009.
- MUZBEG, Esin, “Kosova’da Basın Yayın”, “YEL” Dergisi, İzmir, sayı 3, s. 34, 2006
- RECEPOĞLU, Altay Suroy, “Kosova Türk Toplumunun ve Üyelerinin Hakları” Özel yayın, Prizren, 2005
- RECEPOĞLU, Altay Suroy, “Kosova’da Türkçe Veya Kimlik Mücadelesi”, Türk Yazarlar Derneği Yayınları, Prizren, 2004
- SİPAHİOĞLU, Bahtiyar, “Tarihi ve Siyasi Yönüyle Kosova”, Bay Yayınları, Prizren, 2009
- TOPSAKAL, Dr. Cem, “Kosova’da Türk Eğitim Kurultayları”, BALTAM Türklük Bilgisi Dergisi, Prizren, Mart-2007, sayı 6, s. 89
- TACOĞLU, Tunca Poyraz, Kosovalı Türklerin Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumları, Ekonomik Sorunları ve Türkiye’den Beklentileri (Socio-Economic Status, Economic Problems And Expectations From Turkey Of Kosovian Turkish People), Turkish Studies International Periodical For the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic Volume 4/3 Spring 2009, s. 2081-2111
- TÜRBEDAR, Mr. Erhan, “Tarihte Değişen Siyasi ve Sosyal Dengeler İçinde Kosova Türkleri”, Hikmet İlmi Araştırma Dergisi, Gostivar, Sayı 11, Mayıs, 2008/1, s. 62-64
- UNMIK, Milli Azınlıkların Korunması İçin Çerçeve Sözleşmenin Danışma Kurulu, ACFC/OP/I(2005)004, Strassburg, 2005.
- UNMIK, United Nation Shadow Report, Kosovo: Pristine, 2005.
- UNMIK, Municipality of Prizren, Development Agenda, Municipality Public Information Office, April 2002.
- UNMIK, Kosova Geçici Öz-Yönetiminin Anayasal Çerçevesi, 2001/9 Sayılı Yönetmelik, Priştine, 15 Mayıs 2001.
- VİRMİÇA, Raif, “Kosova’da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri I”, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 1999
- VİRMİÇA, Raif, “Kosova Türk Eğitiminin 55. Yıldönümü-Kosova Türk Eğitim Kurultayı”, Kosova Türk Öğretmenler Derneği Kitap Yayınları, Prizren, 2007
- YENİ DÖNEM Gazetesi Arşivi, 1999-2008, Prizren.
- www.kosovahaber.com Arşivi
- www.kosovamamusa.com
- www.masht-gov.net
- www.president-ks.gov.net
- www.ks-gov.net
- www.assembly-kosova.org