

QUALITY EDUCATION

FOR ALL

IN KOSOVO

For every child
Health, Education, Equality, Protection
ADVANCE HUMANITY



In 2005, UNICEF contracted the Institute of Education at the University of London to conduct an extensive review of the new curriculum that was designed by Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST). After their assignment, UNICEF along with representatives of MEST felt that as a result of their insights into the K-Albanian curriculum the Institute would be well-placed to prepare a discussion paper on ensuring that all children of Kosovo have access to a quality education. This paper was prepared for use in facilitating a dialogue amongst all right-holders and duty-bearers to begin the process of creating a multicultural education system in Kosovo

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Contents

Contents	Page 3
Executive Summary	Pages 4 - 6
Part 1 - Introduction	
Section 1. Introduction and Methodology	Pages 7– 10
Part 2 - Findings	
Section 2. Main Findings from secondary sources regarding the education of Kosovo’s communities	Pages 10-17
Section 3 Main Findings from primary sources regarding the education of Kosovo’s communities	Pages 17-36
Part 3- Recommendations for discussion by stakeholders	
Section 4. Main Recommendations	Pages 36-53
Section 5. Suggestions as to how to achieve recommendations attainable in the short, medium and long terms	Pages 53-57
Part 4– Further information	
Appendix I. Sources of Data	Pages 57-64
Appendix II. Argument underpinning the interpretation of the main findings and recommendations	Pages 64-92

Executive Summary of the discussion paper

Aim

- This discussion paper seeks to describe the provision of education for “minority communities” in Kosovo and to provide recommendations for its development to PISG for discussion among all stakeholders and communities at future roundtables.

Approach

- The paper argues that a focus on the education of “minorities” is not possible without an exploration of the context within which education takes place. The report also argues that education on its own can not solve society’s problems.
- The paper states that the approach to achieve excellence in education must incorporate and address all the society’s cultures (the intercultural approach).
- The report argues that equal access for all in a society to relevant education is essential for accession to the European Union and that education can lead to an intercultural approach in this society of many communities (a multi-cultural society).

Main Findings

- Most Kosovans, particularly those from the non-Albanian speaking communities, lack feelings of security which prevents freedom of movement for many and has led to displaced populations, living in enclaves, in and near Kosovo. This situation of instability and ethnic tensions has badly and negatively affected the education of all the communities in Kosovo, especially the non-Albanian speaking communities, and is the case even though UN resolution 1244 made freedom of movement one of its standards.
- There are many socio-economic challenges for all communities in Kosovo. The financing of Kosovo is distinctive. The diaspora of Kosovans in Europe and the expenditure in Kosovo by the international agencies and their personnel are very significant multipliers for the Kosovo economy in the current environment.
- This situation and the lack of facilities for the education of minorities in parts of Kosovo and the lack of co-operation between the political leaders in Prishtinë/Priština and Belgrade has made it difficult for some Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) to return to their previous homes in Kosovo.
- There are parallel structures for education, health and welfare systems in existence for the different communities in Kosovo. One system is centred on the Serbian speaking community in Kosovo and another is centred on the Albanian speaking community in Kosovo. These parallel structures lead to different social constructs and meanings, a very narrow conception of a multi-cultural school and a lack of a shared Kosovan identity. The existence of parallel structures, despite the economic and opportunity costs, is tolerated without much discussion.
- The Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian (RAE) communities are clearly the most disadvantaged and it is obvious these communities require systematic, targeted, long-lasting, structured and integrated social, economic and educational support programmes over the next generations. The Roma specifically have the added problem of having to learn another language to attend school since many of the Roma children speak Romani at home.
- The Gorani as well as the RAE communities would benefit from special measures and support to ensure their full incorporation into Kosovan society through the changes they themselves propose to their community’s pattern of education.
- There is a clear convergence in the principles underpinning the new developments in the new Kosovo National Curriculum and the new practices being introduced into the existing Serbian curriculum.
- There are indications that the infrastructure inside schools, the pedagogical practices and challenges in both systems in Kosovo are much the same.
- The gaps that have been found in the study for MEST on the first steps of the new National Curriculum in Kosovo (July 2005) between the rhetoric in the new Kosovo National Curriculum documents and the reality in

classrooms raises possible concerns about a similar gap between rhetoric and reality in areas of the curriculum relevant to the specific concerns of this study such as the subject Social Studies and Civic Education and the cross curricular theme Democracy and Human Rights Education.

- The language policies in Kosovo do not enable equal communication with one another in the territory. It is a situation requiring careful consideration and an imaginative solution.
- The ‘voice of youth’ across the communities is relatively homogeneous and positive, which may be an important source of optimism for the future. However, the fact that youth’s views are oftentimes manipulated to meet political agendas and that youth do not share a common language is concerning.

Main Recommendations

1. Continue and whenever possible extend current activities in support of civil society, social cohesion and development provided by the donor community, with particular emphasis on activities started by local communities.
2. Map the multifarious initiatives abounding in Kosovo and list those which have medium and long term impact; match them with the recommendations of this report and support as priorities
3. Consider extending current activities in support of social cohesion and the development of civil society with some or all of the following additional initiatives:
 - Co-operation in work/task groups from a mix of communities to restore the physical environment
 - Small scale school-focused project work in groups from a mix of youngsters from different communities
 - Increase the co-operation and joint activities of professionals from different communities
 - Increase the number and quality of creative arts, drama and sporting events for mixed youth of all communities
4. Review the content, practices and processes of the areas of the curriculum like Social Studies and Civic Education’ and of cross curricular objectives such as ‘education for democratic citizenship and human rights’ of both educational systems in Kosovo in relation to best European practice in intercultural education, Citizenship and Political education.
5. Review in 2006 the Serbian medium curriculum and educational system and its recent developments with the same rigour as the MEST’s new National Curriculum and its practice was reviewed in 2005.
6. Consider and document the important potential role of schools and their School Councils in the development of active citizenship. Positively discriminate in favour of RAE youth’s participation in these Councils.
7. Make security and freedom of movement the right for all and the responsibility of all, as freedom of movement is one of the standards. Start to include schools in the campaign. Anti-bullying initiatives in schools lend themselves to this goal.
8. Consider the social, economic, political and crucial educational measures that might be taken to re-conceptualise over time everyday concepts and ideas such as “Kosovar”, “majority”, “minority” that currently impinge on good inter-community relations. Measures in support of such re-conceptualisations would include strong, long-lasting school-based and public campaigns such as anti-sexist, anti-racist and anti-agist campaigns.
9. Systematically move away from the parallel system through an agreed timetable. In the beginning, however, it may be appropriate and effective for schools to temporarily retain the parallel structures.
10. Overtime and through an agreed timescale move to parity of pay for all teachers in Kosovo, although in the first instance it may be that the current differentials in pay between the two systems need to be retained to ensure sufficient staffing of all Serbian medium schools.
11. Re-define over time and through an agreed timetable “multi-cultural school” in an ambitious way.

12. Review the approach and policy on language and history in the new Kosovo National Curriculum and the Serb medium curriculum. Make social cohesion, rather than ethnic identity, a guiding principle in the selection of curriculum.
13. Seek to develop projects, through EU funding programmes such as Socrates and Leonardo, with other European countries. Issues such as the construction of history and language policy in diverse contexts and the development of quality in vocational education might be an appropriate starting point.
14. Develop strategies that allow all communities in the short and medium term to access Higher Education in any way possible. In the long term a unified inclusive European system will be helped to arise by the Bologna process and involvement in EU funding projects such as Tempus projects and the Framework research Programmes (for Higher Education and research institutions).
15. Seek out and build on opportunities to achieve economic development. Carefully consider how the education process can support this goal. Initiatives such as Young Enterprise in schools are appropriate in this context. Building prosperity means that prejudice and discrimination have fewer economic roots. The process can go on in schools.
16. Position Kosovo to avoid the threats of globalization and to take advantages of its opportunities. Create an educational response consistent with the initial economic and political response. Almost certainly it will be built on the excellent principles of the new Kosovo National Curriculum.
17. Continue to progress current activities in all social spheres, including the education of all communities, in pursuit of the full development of civil society and of full membership of the European Union.
18. Ensure schools introduce an analysis and discussion of membership of the European Union using the multifarious educational materials available to schools via the European Commission and the Council of Europe; maybe in the first instance within foreign language and history teaching and learning.
19. Seek to participate in the EU's Socrates programme (for schools) and Leonardo programme (vocational education institutions) and give education and vocational institutions and the professionals who staff them first-hand experience of co-operation with other parts of Europe.
20. Support the Gorani both to retain the vibrancy of their own language and through agreed transitional measures the short and medium term steps to achieve the expressed long term goal to participate in Kosovo's education system through the medium of the Albanian language rather than through the Serb language as at present.
21. Define the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities as the most disadvantaged. Tackle the causes of disadvantage of the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities with additional integrated social, economic and educational measures and even more positive discrimination.
22. Develop incentive systems to support RAE families to ensure their children attend school regularly and for a longer period of time. Make the incentive system cumulative and incremental and particularly rewarding in the latter years of schooling.
23. Facilitate roundtables for all the communities to come together and discuss the questions raised by this report and develop action plans to achieve the recommendations.

Part 1 Introduction

Section 1. The goal and purpose of the paper

The purpose of this discussion paper is to support PISG to encourage the development of the education of all the communities in Kosovo in the context of the first steps of the development and implementation process since 2002 of the new National Curriculum in Kosovo. In particular, this paper seeks to provide recommendations to UNICEF for discussion among all stakeholders and communities at future roundtables to be convened to take forward the search for excellence in the education of all in Kosovo.

1.1 The approach of the report

The paper is written cognisant that UNICEF, MEST and the rest of the Kosovo government are committed to shaping Kosovo as a modern part of Europe. The paper seeks to support this goal and its associated process in the context of the forthcoming talks about the future status of Kosovo.

In this context the authors seek to be ambitious in using the present as the moment to openly and overtly, seek to support the deep and significant changes recognised by all communities in Kosovo as required in a rapidly globalizing world. The authors seek to avoid the trap of a report full of well-constructed phrases that induce thoughtful nods but inaction. There are enough of these already available. The report argues for radical changes, many in attitude and perception.

1.2 Methodology of the study

UNICEF and the Institute of Education, University of London (IoE) agreed that the development of the paper would be carried out in the main through:

Desk research and other preparatory strategies in the UK in August and September 2005, in addition to those used by the IoE team that reviewed the National Curriculum in the March to July 2005 period.

Observation in October 2005 of primary and secondary school contexts in schools dedicated to the various communities in Kosovo as further and complementary evidence to the approach used by the IoE team that reviewed the National Curriculum earlier in 2005 and visited primary, secondary and vocational schools in Prishtina and in another more rural locality in Kosovo around Peja/Pec.

Semi-structured interviews during October 2005 visits with students, teachers, head-teachers of the various communities, as well as community leaders and national and regional UNICEF staff and those of other organizations active in the field such as Save the Children as well as a range of NGOs, UNMIK, OSCE and MEST national and regional staff in Kosovo and a sociologist from the University of Prishtinë/a.

Conversations with other key informants from South-East Europe and with those colleagues with an expertise in socio-linguistics also took place.

1.3 Sources of data

The secondary sources consulted, the schools visited, the NGOs, MEST government officials and community leaders met, and key informants interviewed in the visits of May and October are listed in Appendix I below.

1.4 Limitations of the study

Much of the new Kosovo National Curriculum followed by all Albanian medium schools and some of the other communities is not available in the languages spoken by the team from the IoE and neither is the Serbian National Curriculum being followed by the Serb, Croat, Gorani, Roma and in some places Bosniac speaking communities. So a limited range of such primary local sources could be consulted.

The visits to schools in October were limited in number, as was the time spent in them as only ten person days were available for these visits. They occurred during a teachers' strike in some of the communities visited and towards the beginning of the school year. Therefore, the visits consisted of conversations with

Directors and available teachers rather than observations of teaching and learning, which achieved impressions rather than in-depth knowledge of the learning processes in the non-Albanian schools. During the May visits to the schools following the new Kosovo National Curriculum developed by MEST twenty days were available so that more time could be spent on classroom observation and on conversations with students, staff and Directors.

There was great expectation in the air at the time of the visit in early October 2005 in Kosovo as the report by Kai Eide to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Koffi Annan, regarding Kosovo's status was made on the first day of the visit by the IoE team and induced at least some caution in some of those people who were met by the IoE team.

There were limited resources overall and therefore some of the more qualitative approaches to data collection, such as case studies, could not be used in the study nor were included in the original contract.

1.5 The structure of the report

The whole of the next part (Sections 2 and 3) describes the educational experience of the various communities in Kosovo. The main findings from secondary sources are documented in Section 2 and the main findings from observation and other primary sources in Section 3.

The evidence from both secondary and primary sources of data is supportive of each other. Section 3 also seeks to raise questions for the reader arising from these findings regarding the educational experience of the various communities in Kosovo. These questions are in the boxes at the end of each sub-section.

In raising some of these questions the authors have in mind their mid and long-term ambitions for Kosovo rather than what is necessarily always immediately practical now in South East Europe. A process is suggested for the use of this section and its questions at future roundtables of those interested in supporting the development of excellence in the education for all in Kosovo.

Section 1.6 briefly outlines the ambition of the report. It describes the international legal context, draws out the implications for Kosovo and outlines the broad political, economic, social and educational responses and developments required for Kosovo to implement the international legal context in the territory. Appendix 2, an integral part of this paper covers in substantial detail the outline contained in section 1.6.

Section 4, after a very brief analysis of recent academic work in the fields covered, lists the main recommendations of the paper for discussion by all stakeholders in Kosovo in suggested future roundtables.

Section 5 starts with suggestions for the roundtables to take the questions raised and the recommendations forward. It then offers worked examples of the recommended processes.

The appendices seek to offer relevant detailed material not included in the main text of the report.

1.6 The report's key terms and ambition

This study of the education of all the communities in Kosovo is conducted six years after the war and the efforts of the Provisional Institutions of Self Government (PISG) to restore security, rule of law and the full exercise of human rights for each and every person in Kosovo regardless of her/his ethnicity.

At the outset it is important to define two concepts, which are at the heart of the study, namely: "multi-cultural" and "intercultural". The term multi-cultural is used as a descriptive term that implies a society where a number of different cultures live together. Kosovo is a multi-cultural society. A society based on an intercultural approach is a society that recognizes and celebrates the existence of the different cultures within and approaches difference as positive and enriching and able to extend the life and understandings of all in that society. An ambition of the report is to contribute to encouraging this divided multi-cultural society to embrace an intercultural approach to living, learning and earning.

An argument that underpins this study is that a focus on "minority education" detracts from the wider issues and questions of inter-group relations. It is therefore being suggested that the focus start to shift to the issues

of intercultural education which can assist the binary and oppositional stances of “majority” and “minority”. A focus on the education of “minorities” is not possible without an exploration of the context within which it takes place.

It is suggested that MEST and PISG develop educational, social and public policy strategies in Kosovo which are inclusive of all groups who reside in Kosovo. It is suggested that an approach that explores a society’s education ‘of’, ‘through’ and ‘about’ its diverse cultures is always the most appropriate. Further, it is suggested that education on its own can not solve all of society’s problems in Kosovo nor elsewhere.

Given the legacies of the conflicts, not only political and economic measures are fundamental to the resolution of such conflicts but also, through them and out of them, there must be concomitant changes of mind set, including basic attitudes and concepts.

The processes of good governance and transparency in establishing state institutions by UNMIK are critical to peace, stability and security for all communities; but just as important are the changes in attitudes and values suggested as indispensable. The type of good governance which the government needs to provide is a political issue. It points to the need for political leadership which can create autonomous spaces for all professionals in the education system (and indeed all sectors of the society) from pre-school to university levels and beyond throughout life and through well resourced life-long learning programmes for all, to ensure that Kosovo can become a modern twenty-first century system in Europe.

To obviate marginalisation during the period of globalisation and to reap the benefits within the globalised context, the establishment of laws, rules, regulations and constitutional frameworks which establish conditions for effective political economic structures able to deliver justice and equity, and ensure that the citizens not only adhere to their responsibilities, but are able to do so because their human rights are guaranteed. An effective educational system is an essential aspect of this new and just Kosovo society. The ability of civil authority to govern and adequately educate the communities- adults, parents and young people – would minimize the potential of conflict.

Kosovo’s education system has an obligation to develop the critical faculties and analytical powers of its citizens and assist all its fellow citizens to be able to fulfill their potential. It also needs to develop symbols which do not legitimate identities of “us” and “them” or “belongers” and “strangers”, but invent symbols to develop shared futures to displace antagonistic pasts. This is obviously not an easy task because past histories are littered with fragmented identities and separate lives. This process provides MEST with challenges to develop strategies in the short, medium and long term to deal with cumulative societal divides. The challenges during processes of globalization in the new millennium are nevertheless enormous. UNMIK and PISG need to draw on the wider issues relevant to Kosovo society such as the prevalence of democracy, pluralism and human rights since these issues are part of not only the global reality but the norm at national, regional and local levels in Kosovo. MEST needs to consider measures at various levels which allow processes of interaction between the majority and other cultures to ensure that positive aspects of the cultures remain dynamic. Intercultural policies need to develop special measures to ensure that all cultures do not become frozen in time, or develop fears for their survival. Since autochthonous groups have long histories within Kosovo society, their fears of being dominated can lead to the development of “siege mentalities” which would become incompatible with the broader progressive values of a newly emergent civil society in Kosovo.

The challenges of globalisation may also have a differential impact on Kosovo society because these processes are not equitable. The poorer sections of all communities may not have access to adequate levels of understandings of their new media and technologies. They may also not have the knowledge and skills to participate and benefit from them and thus become victims of the digital divide. Since many of the globalisation processes rely on dominant international norms which may at one level be detrimental to these groups who are excluded from these processes, and may in many cases cause them to revert to asserting their

old customs and traditions which can become an impediment to processes of national integration and common shared values in Kosovo.

At another level, the “global society’s” dominant norms about human rights and democracy might be utilised to affect the attitudinal and mind-set changes suggested for a prosperous and peaceful Kosovo society. Positioning multi-cultural Kosovo to benefit from the forces of globalisation and avoid its possible vicissitudes will be a difficult and delicate calculation that can optimally be achieved by shifting from the present system of separate development via a state of multicultural structures/philosophy to an intercultural position and outlook as soon as possible in an agreed and structured time frame.

A first step for PISG and then MEST is to ensure Kosovan society supports the strengthening and build-up of the positive values and identities of all Kosovan people enabling the development of shared as well as distinct aspects of cultures of the different groups.

Part 2 – Main Findings about the education of all the communities in Kosovo and some questions about these findings

Introduction

This part drawing both from the secondary sources consulted (Section 2) and the observations and interviews undertaken (Section 3) attempts to point out some salient findings about the education of all communities in Kosovo and to raise some questions about these findings as a bridge to Part 4 which focuses on the paper’s recommendations.

Section 2- Main Findings from secondary sources regarding the education of Kosovo’s communities

2.1 The education of the various communities in Kosovo - an overview

This section looks exclusively at the evidence from secondary sources about the key educational indicators of the different communities in Kosovo available just before the visit by the authors in October 2005.

The communities of Kosovo are varied. They include the Serbian speaking community whose religion is Orthodox Christianity and whose educational law, 8-year compulsory curriculum, textbooks and the administration of the education, including the payment of teachers’ salaries, comes from Belgrade. Also currently following the Serb education system is the Gorani whose language is an ancient form of the Serb language and whose religion is Muslim. The Roma, who learn their own language in the home, on the whole and largely depending on where they live, also attend Serb-medium schools. They learn Serb in order to follow their studies. Roma are both Muslims and Orthodox Christians. The Turkish speaking community follow the new 9-year compulsory National Curriculum of Kosovo in Turkish and are Muslim. The Bosniac speaking community likewise largely follow the new 9 year compulsory National Curriculum of Kosovo in the Bosniac language and are Muslim. In some municipalities they appear to follow the Serb curriculum. The Croat speaking community follow the Serb system’s 8-year compulsory curriculum in Croat and are Roman Catholics. The Ashkali and Egyptians, though distantly related to the Roma are distinct communities learning their own separate languages at home, and depending on where they live, join the 9 year or 8-year systems, needing to learn for school either the Albanian or Serb languages. Both groups are Muslims.

Staff shortages, are sometimes acute in some areas of the curriculum taught in the mother-tongues of some of the communities, as are textbooks which have until now been imported from the “mother” countries: Turkey, Bosnia Herzegovina and Croatia.

The Roma community is the only one having to learn an additional language to attend school; the other communities have their mother-tongue as the language of instruction. This disadvantages the Roma community and undermines any argument for teaching to occur in mother-tongues.

The Serb speaking community stays longer in education and there is some evidence that it achieves higher standards than other communities. They continue to follow the curriculum of Serbia. Roma, Ashkali and

Egyptian (RAE) communities stay at school for the least amount of time, achieve less than other communities and are clearly the most disadvantaged, especially the female members of the RAE communities. The Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities are the least educated. More than 16% of RAE do not read or write. Illiteracy is more common among RAE women (25%) than men (8%) and is a function of the girls' attendance at school, finishing earlier than boys on the whole. Overall, one-quarter of all RAE children do not attend primary education. The situation is more serious in relation to secondary education where approximately 78% of females and 62% of males are out of classrooms and just 1.4% of RAE women and men attend or have finished high school. A small number of RAE have completed or attended university. (Source: UNMIK Internal Report on the Education of minorities May 2005) The RAE communities attend either schools following the Serb system of education or schools following the new Kosovo National Curriculum depending where they live and which language they have acquired for their education. The RAE suffers from the lowest scores on all education indicators. Particularly worrisome are low secondary education enrolment and high illiteracy rates for the RAE community. RAE people interviewed stressed that poverty rather than culture was the main reason for the poor attendance of the RAE communities. The UNDP point out that the lack of freedom of movement in Kosovo has affected the RAE community's attendance at school more than it has affected the attendance rates of other communities.

The Gorani people originating from the Gora mountain region, speak an ancient version of the Serb language and are seeking to achieve several distinct and at times juxtaposed goals, making their situation probably the most complex to understand. They seek to achieve prosperity and modernity in a new emerging socio-economic and political reality and to retain their way of life and traditions. They currently, follow the Serb education system's curriculum. Interestingly, they have declared themselves willing to shift over time their young people's language of instruction from Serb to Albanian. The Turkish and Bosniac speaking communities appear to have made a successful accommodation to "the new reality", in the words of a colleague met in Pejë/Peć and follow the new National Curriculum of Kosovo in their mother tongue. These two groups are very supportive and involved in the new Kosovo National Curriculum.

Access to education at present is difficult for some in the Serb speaking community for reasons of security. Lack of accessible schools and lack of good minority education, report UNDP and UNHCR, prevent the return of displaced populations or leads the children of those who have returned, to continue their education under the Serbian system and only live in Kosovo during the week-ends or to commute to school on a daily basis, which at times is dangerous and disturbing. Access to Higher Education in Slavic languages is restricted in Kosovo.

MEST is seeking to address these issues in several ways, such as the new National Curriculum and the Year 9 development and the area of Social Science and Civic Education. In addition, MEST is engaged in a drive for gender equality, in the recognition of RAE disadvantages and to specific measures, such as catch-up classes, to address the disadvantage; as well as some Higher Education provisions in Slavic languages. MEST reports their frustration at the difficulties they face in recruiting from the non-Albanian speaking communities.

2.2 Principal sources of information

The most recent picture of the education of communities in Kosovo was drawn up in May 2005 and produced in an internal UNMIK MEST report which points out the key challenges Kosovo is facing with regard to the education of all its communities. This is the most recent authoritative report on this key concern and therefore the source of all the statistics in this section of this paper. The report also contains statistical data that is available at PISG Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST) and some key indicators, which allow comparison with education for the Kosovo-Albanian community.

UNICEF's 'Education for Minority Children in Kosovo' (2004) is also a useful study. They update the detail offered in 2003 by the OSCE/UNHCR assessment of the various communities of Kosovo. The 2003 OSCE/UNHCR assessment reports "only incremental positive movement in the creation of an efficient

education system compliant with international human rights standards for “minority” education in the last year” and “limited and unsystematic improvements in access to education in mother-tongue”

2.3 The education of the different communities in Kosovo

Borrowing heavily from those reports, the following picture emerges:

Relevant Education Data for 2004-2005 School Year

2.3.1 Number of schools

Levels	Albanian	Bosni	Ashkali	Roma	Croat	Turk	Egypt	Gorani	Other	Tota	Serb
Prprim	31	0	0	0	0	4	-	0	1	32	-
Prim	901	11	0	1	1	11	-	16	16	957	63
Secon	96	0	0	0	0	5	-	1	7	109	35
Total	1028	11	0	1	1	20	-	17	24	1092	98

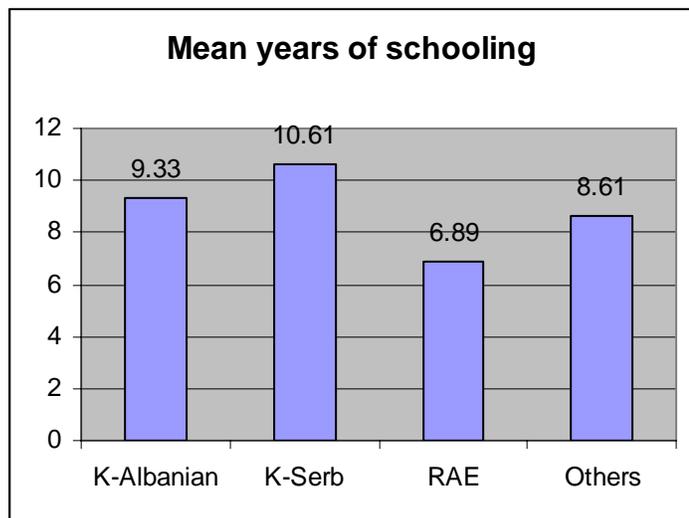
2.3.2 Number of students

Levels	Albanian	Bosnia	Ashka	Roma	Croat	Turk	Egypt.	Goran	Other	Total	Serb
Kinder	7002	19	29	2	2	16	0	2	4	7076	-
Prprim	17159	186	38	25	0	105	30	50	3	17596	2318
Prim	315699	4363	2231	1008	38	2365	859	642	2	327207	14368
Secon	68500	666	68	33	0	465	8	19	1	69760	6492
Total	408360	5234	2366	1068	40	2951	897	713	10	421639	23178

2.3.3 Number of teachers

Levels	Albanian	Bosnian	Ashkali	Roma	Croat	Turk	Egypt.	Gorani	Other	Total	Serb
Preprim	560	6	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	573	-
Prim	16502	311	14	4	0	111	4	62	1	17009	-
Second	4179	74	1	0	0	44	0	16	0	4314	-
Total	21241	391	15	4	0	162	4	78	1	21896	1960

2.4 Education Indicators by Ethnic Group



These figures indicate the average years of schooling for the ethnic communities in Kosovo.

2.4.1 Kosovo-Albanian speaking community

K-Albanians on average study for 9.33 years. Around 9.7% of K-Albanians attend or have finished high school or university. The average student-teacher ratio for Kosovo Albanian schools is approximately 1/20.

These figures show that approximately 80% of students completing compulsory basic education are continuing on to upper secondary school.

There is a difference between male and female participation in secondary education. Out of 68,096 pupils, 37,976 (56%) are males and 30,120 (44%) are females.

2.4.2 Kosovo-Serb speaking community

K-Serbs rank the highest on the education index. On average, this group spends 10.61 years in school. K-Serb men study one year more on average than women. Literacy rates are quite high in comparison to the rest of the population; just 1% of males and 4% of female K-Serbs lack these skills. The enrolment ratio in primary education is slightly lower than among the K-Albanian population, with approximately 5.5% of children not attending primary school.

However, the enrolment rate in secondary education is higher than for the rest of the population, approximately 15% of women and 12% of men do not attend this level. Only around 12.3% attend or have finished university or high school.

The average student-teacher ratio for Kosovo Serb schools is 1:10.

2.4.3 Bosniac, Turkish and Gorani speaking communities

Bosniacs, Turks, and Gorani fall just below K-Albanians in education by average years of schooling. On average, they study for 8.61 years, with men studying two years more than women. Although primary education is high, secondary education is an issue that deserves attention. Around 30% do not attend secondary school. However, only around 9% have finished university or high school.

2.4.4 Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian speaking communities

The Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian community is the least educated. More than 16% of RAE do not read or write. Illiteracy is more common among RAE women (25%) than men (8%). Overall, one-quarter of all RAE children do not attend primary education. The situation is more serious in relation to secondary education where approximately 78% of females and 62% of males are out of classrooms. A small number of RAE have completed or attended university and just 1.4% of RAE women and men attend or have finished high school.

Catch-up classes are appropriately offered to RAE communities. Catch-up classes are taught in mother-tongues and in the child's second language. They do have some limitations as the UNICEF study concludes as "not all children enter regular school after them... as some RAE parents discourage that step and some schools refuse to accept RAE children"

The RAE suffers from the lowest scores on all education indicators. Particularly worrisome are low secondary education enrolment and high illiteracy rates for the RAE community.

The K-Serbs top all indicator rankings, with the exception of the primary school enrolment rate, where both the K-Albanian and other communities place higher.

2.5 Access to education

While all Serb children complete primary school education, they have difficulty accessing higher education because of the small number of secondary schools available. For example, to attend secondary school Serb children from the enclaves in the southern part of Mitrovicë/a have to find accommodation close to the school, this puts added financial burdens on Serb households. It used to be the case that Serbian families would leave Kosovo because of the lack of access to higher education, as well as feelings of disparity towards integrating into Kosovo society.

Although the situation is reported by UNMIK as improved, most non-Albanian communities, especially RAE children are still deprived of full access to all basic services and few "minority" children receive the same standards of education as "majority" children.

While there are political sensitivities when considering education in Serb communities, Roma children face more social problems. Historically, Roma people have suffered discrimination throughout Europe. They have had little access to public services including education, so their literacy rate is very low. They have also had very limited access to economic activities and have remained extremely poor. The poor social situations combined with unimproved living conditions have impeded Roma children from attending school. Accessibility to education for Roma children depends on whether the issue is addressed. In the more fortunate cases, Roma children have had access to education through catch-up programmes, but sporadic school attendance and its concomitant underachievement is rooted in poverty and the norms, customs and attitudes of families to attending school as an alternative to attending to poverty.

2.6 Access to Higher Education

For the Albanian speaking community in Kosovo, higher education is offered by the University of Prishtinë/Priština (15 faculties) and by three year` Faculties located in the regions. The Higher Schools offer 2 or 3 years post-secondary education. Two schools specialize in economics, one in higher technical studies and four in Prishtinë/Priština, Prizren/Prizren, Gjakovë/Đakovica and Gjilan/Gnjilane offer pedagogical studies for training teachers. In 2003-2004, 3,500 students were studying to become teachers. In total, approximately 20,000 students were enrolled in higher education.

The University of Mitrovicë/a (UM) is providing higher education in the Serbian language. The UM was created in 1999 by the 14 Serb faculties that ran the University in Prishtinë/Priština during the Milošević period. As with other public institutions, Kosovo Albanians took control over the University of Prishtinë/Priština when KFOR arrived. When the UM was created it made use of one of the University of Prishtinë/Priština facilities (Mining faculty) in the northern part of Mitrovicë/a, but had to re-establish most of the campus structure for the remaining 13 faculties. The UM provides university-level education in Serbian language. In February 2002 the UM accepted to be under nominal authority of the PISG MEST and was given legal status via UNMIK Administrative Direction 2002/2. The University of Mitrovicë/a has gone through a comprehensive reform process since August 2001 with the objective of achieving European standards and becoming a member of the European University Association.

In September 2004 the former Rector of Prishtinë/Priština University was installed illegally as the Rector of the UM. Since then the relations with UM have been cut off by UNMIK, the community and European

institutions. The diplomas and documents issued by the UM after the 31 August 2004 are not recognized outside of Serbia. The University of Mitrovicë/a continues to function with currently 10 faculties with 8474 students enrolled in the 2004/2005 academic year. The UM has a total staff of 1329, out of this 539 are Professors, 406 are Assistants and 384 non-teaching personnel. The University of Mitrovicë/a is also offering study courses in other locations in Kosovo, for example in the village Ranillug/Ranilug in Kamenicë/Kamenica municipality with the Linguistics faculty.

The Bosniac and the Gorani community have limited access to higher education at the University of Prishtinë/Priština (UP), because courses are not offered in any Slavic language in Prishtinë/Priština and also in the University of Mitrovicë/a for reasons described above. The PISG/MEST therefore opened a Business faculty in Pejë/Peć and a faculty of Education in Prizren/Prizren providing lectures in the Bosnian language. The Gorani community especially is not satisfied with the variety of higher education opportunities offered for them in Kosovo and therefore they have, together with the Kosovo Bosniac representative, submitted further requests to MEST. The MEST has not yet agreed pointing out financial limitations and in their view lack of critical mass of students which would be needed to run satellite faculties in Prizren/Prizren. The MEST instead has offered scholarships to the Gorani and Bosniac students to study in countries of South-East Europe, which was not accepted.

2.7 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and education

The UNDP argues that the lack of minority education facilities for minorities returning to Kosovo has actually contributed to the destabilization of the sustainability of the returns process. It reports that families who were genuinely committed to going back to Kosovo for good find themselves living in Kosovo at the weekend and going back up to Serbia or other places of secondary displacement during the week so that their children would have access to minority education.

The UNDP claim that “freedom of movement and existence or not of roads where minorities feel safe enough to travel to a minority or multi-ethnic school is something that is a key consideration”. Sometimes UNDP claims “a multi-ethnic or minority ethnic school can be rehabilitated but there is no money to build an access road which is needed”. UNDP claim that the municipality will not spend money on this either and so facilities are difficult to provide. UNDP give the example of situations whereby, for example, “returnees in Obiliq/Obilić send their children to Mitrovicë/a north to school each day and in special prison like minority transport buses which are recently stoned! Not a very nice experience for children returning with their families to a Kosovo environment which is supposed to be conducive to returns!”

UNDP's view is that this situation will encourage returnees to stay in their place of displacement and continue to avail of whatever minority education they may find in that location. Returns cannot be sustainable for returnees with children of a child going age because in most cases minority education of a reasonable quality will not be made available to them either by the municipality or in terms of teachers by the Ministry of education.

Minority education is a KEY factor for those contemplating return to their places of origin in Kosovo and in need of sustained attention.

UNHCR adds that “inter-ethnic tension is indeed a real threat and a potential source of conflict with direct implications to the freedom of movement and equal access to educational services. Minority returnees and local minorities at risk are often in a vulnerable situation.”

UNHCR has the opinion that access to schools and education facilities is a major challenge for IDP's when having to make a decision to return. UNHCR claim that “information from our field monitoring visit has demonstrated that limited freedom of movement has forced ethnic minorities, especially the RAE minority to face serious obstacles in accessing education services”.

UNHCR further comments that “in the difficulties associated with education for K/Serb returnees children UNHCR has noted that the Serb returnees in Vidan/Vidanje in late August 2005 asked the local authorities to

arrange the educational facility for their children otherwise they will have no other option but to send their children back to Serbia. The local authorities were late in responding and most of the returnees' children left for Serbia. This situation is the same at other locations, according to UNHCR, such as Gorozhdec/Goraždevac in Pejë/Peć, Cerkoz/Črkolez, Osojan/e and Llukavc I thatë/Suvi Lukavac in Istog/k as well as Bingjë/Biča and Grap/Grabac in Klinë/a municipality.

2.8 Fair share financing in education

In accordance with the new decentralized system, the municipalities have the financial responsibility for supplies, maintenance, and personnel of pre-primary, primary and secondary schools. The UNMIK Regulation 2003/41 is the mechanism which guarantees the right to the ethnic communities that live in a municipality, to get their fair share for the schools.

The MEST is centrally responsible for school construction and rehabilitation, teacher training, curriculum and textbook developments and tertiary education. Unfortunately the fair share regulation does not apply to central level budget. The MEST still has no budget sub-lines for “minority” education. Expenditures for “minorities” are usually done ad-hoc and in response to pressure from the international community, for example the financial contribution of 150,000 EUR to the construction of a primary school for the Serb community in Lipjan/Lipljan. On the positive side PISG/MEST is providing the curriculum for the Turkish, Bosniac communities in their language. As the reform is progressing the PISG/MEST is also providing curriculum translations for general subjects in Serbian. However, the Kosovo-Serb community has stopped co-operation on curriculum development following the March 2004 riots and the Kosovo Serb schools persist in following the curriculum provided by Serbia.

	Total Municipal Spending		Minority Spending - REQUIRED		Minority Spending - ACTUAL	
	2004	2003	2004	2003	2004	2003
Municipal Admin + LCO	63,221,599	42,740,523	6,145,641	4,288,147	8,212,258	4,993,758
Education	75,803,613	54,653,591	7,300,440	5,570,608	6,429,436	5,979,885
Health	19,408,655	12,913,998	1,681,738	1,284,140	1,601,239	1,200,080
Totals	158,433,867	110,308,112	15,127,818	11,142,895	16,242,933	12,173,723
Movement		44%			33%	

Four of the six indicators above show that spending on all the communities on the key services of Municipal Administration, Education and Health exceeded targets, though both were in 2004, the more recent year that statistics were available for.

In accordance with Section 4 of UNMIK Regulation 2003/41 27 mixed municipalities, were monitored on their spending on all the different communities along three budget lines – Municipal Administration, Education and Health. End 2004 results were better than end 2003 with 20 municipalities achieving Fair Share Financing (FSF) in total “minority” spending as compared to only 16 in 2003.

Total municipal spending for the non-Albanian speaking communities rose by 23.5 % from EUR 12.2 million in 2003 to EUR 15.9 million in 2004 in spite of only a 21.6% increase reported in total municipal spending. The combined shortfall in FSF spending of all twenty-seven municipalities significantly decreased by 68% from EUR 843, 599 at the end of 2003 as compared to only EUR 269, 034 at the end of 2004.

The following 14 municipalities have failed to reach the set FSF percentage in the education sector: Prizren/Prizren, Dragash/Dragaš, Suharekë/Suva Reka, Pejë/Peć, Deçan/Deçani, Gjakovë/Djakovica, Klinë/a, Fushë Kosovë/Kosovo Polje, Sthime/Štimlje, Laposaviq/ć, Zubin Potok/Zubin Potok, Novobërdë/Novo Brdo, Ferizaj/Uroševac and Shtërpcë/Štrpce.

The Fair Share Financing Summary with the relevant figures for Education is attached.

The authors are aware of a significant difference of opinion between MEST and the UNDP on this issue. MEST state the minorities achieve the significant amount of 25% spending at municipality level while the UNDP state that the accountability of municipalities to the central level on success in implementing fair share financing for education is weak. There is no way the authors are able to take a fully informed view of this issue but note the differences of interpretation of this issue by these organizations, which ideally would be co-operating more closely to achieve a more collective view.

2.9 MEST activities

The report of the Minister Agim Veliu of 2nd of July 2005 celebrates the achievements of MEST in providing quality education “for all without distinction and mentions:

- The new National Curriculum and the inclusion in it of intercultural respect and new curricula such as Civic Education
- The increased length of schooling and the new Year 9 curriculum
- Special education, pre-school provision and provision of HE in Slavic language
- The drive to gender equality
- Teacher development
- The guarantee of quality education in the native language of all communities
- The inclusion of Bosniac, Turkish, Roma, Ashkali, Egyptians and the new curricula for and in those languages and the associated teacher development programmes.
- The acknowledgement of RAE underachievement and the measures adopted to address the underachievement.

The specific, though limited, experience of visiting classrooms and the schools of the various communities in October 2005 (apart from the visit to the school in the Gora, where the material conditions were unacceptable for a school) did not suggest that the processes of teaching and learning, the material conditions including classrooms, desks and exercise books, the abilities, pedagogies and styles and manner of the teachers were substantially different from the experience of the schools visited in May, which were principally of the Albanian speaking community. The only notable difference was the salience in Serb speaking schools of Orthodox Christian symbols. Other communities’ schools were largely devoid of religious symbols.

Longer visits to a greater number of schools and longer time spent in classrooms would bring greater certainty to the following comment, but impressionistically the broad picture and main recommendations of the Review in July would not be inappropriate to the schools of the various communities visited in October. While schools are under the different direction from different educational authorities, both systems have been engaged in review and development of curricula and indeed in teacher development, the principles of which are not dissimilar.

Section 3 - Main Findings from primary sources regarding the education of Kosovo’s communities

3.1 Introduction

The findings in this section are mainly drawn from field visits to Kosovo in May and October 2005 and in particular the visits to different schools and other educational institutions and the semi-structured interviews and observations conducted in each location.

The questions that follow each of the 22 sub-sections are not intended to be particularly probing, but are seen by the authors as the kinds of questions ordinary informed citizens of the European Union might have about the situations found and observed in Kosovo.

3.2 Community security

All communities interviewed stated their community lived in fear. In Graçanicë/Gračanica the Serb Educational Administrator, the Roma youth worker, and the youngsters from the youth club, all emphasized that they were afraid to move around. They all emphasized the events of March 2004 as being uppermost in

their minds. For the first time visitor, the significant army presence and the regular patrols of armoured carriers made the feelings expressed all the more poignant.

The killings in the summer 2005 of the students from the school visited in Gorazhdevc/Goraždevac were naturally more salient there, but the concomitant fear to access fields and forests and the decline in the student population and size of the community manifests as a general trend and fear in all the communities. Even in Janjevë/Janjevo where the previous 4000 Croat community is now 250 and even though there was “no problem here during the war” but rather the exodus had economic roots, there were reports from the community that they lived in the fear of uncertainty. The Gorani emphasized their fear of speaking in their own language in Albanian speaking areas. All emphasized that with population movements and changes in size of student numbers, it was naturally difficult to both organise and to offer education in these circumstances.

Indeed, members of all communities including some from the majority Albanian speaking community in Kosovo as well as international workers and officials from Kosovo Ministries, expressed fears for their security. Indeed, a member of the international community reported as widespread in the international community the view that an upsurge of violence directed at the international community was weeks away. At one level, whether these fears are real or imagined is irrelevant. The feeling/belief affects behaviour.

At the more appropriate and substantive level, it is essential to be able to distinguish real fears that have a substance from fabrications which cause fears. If one knows a fear has substance it can be tackled. This allows the distinction between real and fabricated to be made and therefore knowing a fear is fabricated means it can be dismissed. Some of the fears expressed seemed fabricated but believed, some less imagined and more real.

How can any sort of education take place to any standard without the feeling of security?

What practical steps can the communities, including the international community, separately and together take to eliminate these feelings of insecurity?

What are the costs of providing the security that exists at this time?

From where will the costs of security be met when the international community no longer covers them?

How could measures for greater integration of communities decrease fears and save money?

From which budget head will costs for security come from in the future? From the Education budget-head? From the Health budget-head? From both budgets? and also from the welfare budget-head?

From where will the costs of security be met when the international community no longer covers them?

How could measures for the greater integration of communities decrease fears and save money?

From which budget will the costs for security be found in the future? Will they come from the Education budget? Will it come from the Health budget? Will it be taken from both budget heads?

3.3 Freedom of movement

There appears to be a wide-ranging feeling in Kosovo that individuals irrespective of community or status lack complete freedom of movement.

Even members of international organisations of nationalities from further a-field than the region and moving around in marked international organisations' vehicles are circumscribed in their actions by the need to report their movement. Other workers of international agencies organize their work to ensure that the destination of the vehicle determines the ethnicity of the staff on that task.

Young and old, Serb speaking and Albanian speaking, Kosovan and international personnel carry mental maps with them as to where it is possible and not possible to go. The boundaries of these maps are caution and fear. This also exists in the mindset of other communities including RAE, Turkish, Croat, Bosniac and Gorani. Indeed, UNDP report that the RAE communities' attendance at school has been significantly disrupted by the lack of freedom of movement.

The young men and women, in particular of Graçanicë/Gračanica, who described their day to day life as constrained into a restricted relatively small area which forced them to miss opportunities to travel to basketball tournaments, dance practices and meetings with friends were particularly vivid. Especially, when describing their friendships with relatively local Albanian youth made in other countries, or through the internet and the frustrations at not being able to meet them.

Talented artists, performers and sportsmen and women of all communities unable to train in a competitive atmosphere and to the highest standards are inevitably decreasing their potential, their attainment and their performance. This could well lead to a decline of ambition in youth and a downwards spiral. Such an atmosphere could propel some youth towards accelerators of a downwards spiral like unemployment, boredom, alcohol and other drug abuse and the concomitant additional social problems.

How can Kosovo cultivate the talents of all its youth?

How can adequate stimulation for all youth be achieved without more interaction with a wider group of people in the locality, district, region and world?

How can current barriers to the free movement of all be first reduced and then eliminated?

What are the economic costs of the barriers to mobility?

Who benefits economically from the restrictions on mobility?

What are the short, medium and long term economic, social and political costs of preventing all Kosovan youth to develop to the full?

How can the European Union in common with its goals in other parts of Europe be encouraged to support the development of the Kosovo education and training system and life long learning infrastructure for all in pursuit of the Lisbon Agenda ?

(The Lisbon Agenda is an agreement in 2001 by the leaders of the European Union to create the circumstances for Europe to be able to make its way in the world through its competitiveness and knowledge, which the leaders viewed as the only way for Europe to retain its living standards in the Global Era)

3.4 Population displacement

In most areas of Kosovo, in addition to the long-standing residents there, are the expellees and refugees from other countries of the region alongside returnees to the area who had left because of the Kosovo conflicts in 1999 and/or March 2004. There are gaps left by economic migrants from the areas and new skills sets and other talents brought by expellees and refugees from the area. In Graçanicë/Gračanica it was reported that 35% of its current inhabitants originate from a wider area than the village.

Some of the areas where other communities are located face challenges such as in North Mitrovicë/a where four schools are relocated to the site of one building. In other places it is reported that whole communities are leaving an area, while in other areas pockets of "minority" students, as a result of thinking they are not getting

what they need from their education facilities, are leaving in order to improve their chances elsewhere. Gorazhdevc/Goraždevac's population of 3000 Serbs has been reduced to 150, mirroring the overall exodus of a considerable number of Serb speakers from Kosovo in recent years. Janjevë/ Janjevo's Croat population has declined from 4000 to 250, though principally for economic reasons. Roma groups have left for Germany and Italy. Gorani are reported both as leaving the area for a combination of reasons like lack of security, poverty, difficulty achieving progression in education and for similar reasons re-classifying themselves as Bosniacs and staying though not as Gorani. The students on the rolls of the schools serving many of these communities are declining and questions are being asked by these groups themselves as to what constitutes a sustainable community. The bulk of returnees are older people.

The UNDP argues that the lack of minority education facilities for minorities returning to Kosovo has actually contributed to the destabilization of the sustainability of the returns process. It reports that families who were genuinely committed to going back to Kosovo for good find themselves living in Kosovo at the weekend and going back up to Serbia or other places of secondary displacement during the week so that their children would have access to appropriate education

There are some 60,000 Roma refugees from Kosovo in Macedonia unable and unwilling to return to Kosovo. In this situation, the forthcoming UN facilitated talks about Kosovo's future status as well as the eventual outcome of the talks gives rise to further speculation about their impact on population movement.

Provision for all the communities must address the concerns raised in these recent statements on the issue by UNDP and UNHCR.

What needs to be done to encourage sustainable communities for all communities in Kosovo?

How might displaced populations be encouraged and supported to return to their homes?

What are the economic, social and political costs of maintaining populations away from their places of origin?

What are the skills sets missed in the areas of origin of displaced population?

What are the economic dis-benefits of displaced populations?

What is an economic argument that can be made to an international investor for investing in an unstable Kosovo of declining, insecure and shifting populations?

“Provision for all the communities must address the concerns raised in the recent statements on the issue by UNDP and UNHCR”. How?

3.5 Socio- economic challenges

There is a lot of construction in Kosovo. It mainly consists of blocks of flats to accommodate housing needs in cities, or big houses in the countryside usually close to the bigger cities and towns, often funded by the diaspora, intended to accommodate the large extended family. There are signs of a good life in some of the cities in Kosovo, particularly in the capital Prishtinë/Priština. There are some excellent restaurants which are prospering with the weight of international workers and the few elite Kosovan who frequent them. This contrasts with the range of deprivations witnessed in private and public buildings of all communities in all parts of Kosovo and the limited access to consumer goods.

It is important to stress that in the visits to Graçanicë/Gračanica, Gorë/a, Janjevë/Janjevo, Gorazhdevc/Goraždevac and Priluzhë/Priluzje a similar story of discrimination in employment opportunities was heard. Large local employers were reported as no longer offering employment to all the communities in their area. In addition, Serb speaking enclave communities emphasized there were very few opportunities in the enclave, and that their agricultural businesses no longer functioned beyond subsistence farming as access to many of their fields and forests was not possible because of concerns about safety. Mention was also made

that the Serb speaking community was unable to participate neither in the privatization process nor in the receipt of benefits to former employees of those state firms being privatized. Members of one community mentioned the lack of heating in the local school the previous winter as the electricity had been cut off. In another community mention was made of living without running water and a primary school visited in a rural location was not suitable for children. These various concerns were leading in many instances to the depopulation of many of these communities and to the perceived threat by some of the communities of a downwards spiral of their populations towards the extinction of the community in that area.

In Shtërpçë/Štrpce, a prosperous holiday location for all communities, Albanian speaking and Serb speaking communities live and work and also come to relax in good harmony, in good material conditions and in relative economic prosperity. Prosperity seems to help reduce prejudices in people.

In Gorazhdevc/Goraždevac, a Kosovo Albanian company is building the swimming pool in the Kosovo Serbian school because its price was the most competitive and its quality recognized. When asked to describe the kind of interactions that currently existed between enclaves and neighbouring communities, the reply was uniform – trade or barter.

Prosperity shared on an equal footing by all is an objective to unite all communities in Kosovo. Dividing the limited resources only within one group and excluding others is both a source of further social tension and not an economic policy that can engender prosperity for all, indeed maybe eventually for none.

- What do these pictures suggest as the most important priority for Government?
- What does a policy for economic growth for all Kosovo communities look like?
- What is the role of the European Union in supporting the development and implementation of the policy?
- How can such a policy bind the communities of Kosovo together in their economic self-interest?
- How can economic self-interest be collated for the greater good of all?
- How can economic self-interest be demonstrated to all communities as a centripetal force in society?
- What are the very different impacts on the education of the young in Kosovo of a prosperous economy and a stagnant economy?
- What is the role of education in shaping prosperity?

3.6 Financing of Kosovo

The current reality/belief that communities require separate development in order to be secure leads to a dramatic waste of resources and great opportunity costs by satisfying separately in separate systems the needs of individuals for transport, sport and entertainment etc.

The international community's spending power is significant in the Kosovo economy. It will not be there indefinitely.

Family members working abroad make a significant contribution to the overall economy as well as to their families' well being. The finances sent to relatives in Kosovo by their families working in other parts of Europe make significant contributions to the development of infrastructure such as housing and to daily needs. The teacher who reported that her salary was 175 euros and her rent 150 euros a month and that she could only afford the pleasures of teaching because of her brother's monthly contributions to her income, made the point poignantly and in the midst of a teachers' strike created injudiciously by an unappreciative politician of the reality of this hardship shared by other teachers/ workers in Kosovo.

All communities report that the little dialogue and co-operation that exists between the different communities, is through the mutual trade and exchange of ordinary people in neighbouring areas.

All communities see economic development, employment and prosperity as offering a great deal to all and being key elements of the development of a peaceful multi-ethnic Kosovo.

The report to MEST in July 2005 touched on ways in which educational developments might support economic development. In particular the following recommendations:

- To promote local partnerships between schools, parents, businesses and all community groups and an enterprising problem solving philosophy
- To make Vocational Education a higher priority in all of Kosovo
- To build up local capacity in preparation for the departure of the donor community.

These recommendations do not seem at all inappropriate to the situation and contexts of all schools of all communities in Kosovo.

How might the educational developments suggested above and in the July Review support economic development? How can they be further developed and promoted in schools of all communities?

Are there examples, in South-East Europe and in the rest of the world of ways in which societies have taken violence out of politics and the economy that merit further exploration and adaptation by Kosovo? What is the international community in support of Kosovo and South-East Europe in this process?

How might limited resources be more organized to maximize more effectively economic growth?

How is the economic transformation in Estonia and Slovakia transferable to Kosovo?

What role did Slovakia's push into enterprise education for all in the 1993-96 period have in the economic successes of Slovakia a decade later? Is such an approach transferable to Kosovo?

3.7 The impact of globalisation

Globalisation affects all societies. It has a range of characteristics including ease of communications and integration which support peaceful human interaction. Globalisation can threaten the poor and uneducated. Globalisation can bring the norms of democracy and human rights into a country.

What are the different aspects of globalization? Are cities and the countryside being affected differently? Are different communities being affected differently?

What aspects of globalization contribute to social integration and what aspects are a force for the separation of communities?

Which aspects of globalization provide opportunities in Kosovo for political economic and social developments? How might these opportunities be developed and strengthened?

Which aspects of globalization encourage barriers to developments?

How might these barriers be eliminated?

What is Kosovo's business plan for prospering in the future? Is everyone included?

What needs to be done in schools to support these developments and to prepare students to maximize their society's benefits from globalization and to reduce the risks from it?

What economic initiatives of candidate countries for European Union status and recent EU member states are worth emulating by Kosovo?

3.8 There is a lack of comprehensive plan for all communities in Kosovo

The particular educational needs of non-Albanian speaking communities in general, have not been addressed through a comprehensive plan shaped in dialogue between those communities and the other relevant stakeholders according to UNMIK.

MEST has mainly remained dependent upon initiatives of various education partners like UNICEF, in response to the difficulties in engaging other communities in dialogue. This contrasts with the comprehensive and laudable new National Curriculum developed in 2002 by MEST. The start of the “status talks” may well be an auspicious moment for the start of the development of a whole community plan.

What are the short-term priorities, medium-term priorities and long-term priorities of such a comprehensive plan for all communities in Kosovo?

How can social integration be at its heart?

How is the plan to be built up? By whom? When?

What are the painful economic, social and political consequences of the failure to shape together such an agreed plan?

How might talks for European Union status help to refine this plan?

3.9 Parallel structures and different communities.

Parallel structures in education continue to exist. The provisions of the Kosovo Education Law are still defied by the Serb speaking community’s school administration. Primarily, the community is politically influenced by appointed inspectors and the Coordination Centre for Kosovo (CCK) who receive and follow the instructions directly from the Serbian Ministry of Education and Sport, and would be under intolerable pressures if they did not follow such guidance.

Some believe the double salary paid to teachers is an economic incentive by the Serbian government to gain political influence, to the disadvantage of the teachers of the Albanian speaking community and other minority communities who only receive one salary. Others claim it is a necessary recruitment device given the dangerous situations that Serb speaking teachers face when they exercise their profession.

This extra payment certainly generates unequal status among the teachers and is a de-motivating influence on all non-Serb system teachers, and also an uncomfortable position for the MEST, as they are paying those who do not recognize their authority. Additionally, this situation continues to limit integration and cooperation between the two Ministries and territories.

At the same time, the Serb speaking community schools and those of other non-Albanian speaking community schools get their fair share of school facilities, utilities and supply from MEST, giving further concerns about equality of opportunity in the Albanian speaking community.

What are the costs of parallel structures and parallel development? Does this approach make economic sense in the medium and long terms?

What are the opportunity costs of this expenditure?

How can communities learn to communicate with each other through parallel structures?

How else might schools be organized to achieve co-operation between Prishtina and Belgrade and communications between different groups?

What could be the role of bilingual and/or multilingual schools in breaking down the parallel system?

What might be the medium and long term milestones of a plan to eliminate the parallel structures?

Should the first step of such a plan be the acceptance of the existence of parallel structures for a while because the structures in place can best ensure some education for most youngsters of all the communities as the first step to the overall goal of a unified education system in Kosovo?

3.10 Conceptions and social constructs such as ‘minority’ and ‘majority’

The Albanian speaking community in Kosovo is a “minority” in Serbia and Montenegro and is the “majority” in Kosovo. The Serb speaking community is the “majority” in Serbia and Montenegro and a “minority” in Kosovo. The Serb speaking community in Kosovo were the “leaders” and “power holders” up to 1999 and have been the less powerful since then. The Albanian speaking community in Kosovo are the “leaders” and “power holders” since 1999 in Kosovo but were the less powerful before then. The status/role and relative powers of the different groups has changed several times over time in this territory.

On October 4th 2005 the long awaited report by Kai Eide on the status of Kosovo was delivered to Kofi Annan, the UN Secretary General. The Economist 8/10/05 projects that the report will “excoriate Albanian leaders for failing to protect Serbs and other communities and Serb politicians for refusing to act constructively in Kosovo’s politics” By mid-January 2006, these UN sponsored talks are expected to start.

The Economist continues by suggesting that the Eide report will recommend that the talks about Kosovo’s status begin soon and tips Martti Ahtisaari, the former Finnish President to undertake a round of shuttle diplomacy and then to put a document about Kosovo’s future to the leaders of the various communities.

The status talks about the future of Kosovo will define and redefine meanings about social constructs and will differ from some of the current meanings of those constructs held by some or indeed all the communities in Kosovo.

In the short term, status talks are a barrier to change and development. Few argue in advance of the status talks that ‘a new reality’ exists and that it should govern current activity ahead of the completion of the status talks, though some do. In the main, however, the communities are frozen in their past positions by the status talks and all agree that it is ‘too soon to seek closer relationship’

‘we fear we will be lost if we get too close to the Albanians.....we are still part of Serbia’

‘don’t say that..... we do not want anything to get in the way of the status talks ushering in the Kosovo nation’

One dissenting voice argued that “once people accept the new reality then they will come together and go along with majority rule”

Heard from all communities about each other: ‘we are willing to compromise they are not’

The talks about Kosovo’s status and their outcomes are likely to stir up concerns about new definitions of social constructs for at least some in Kosovo, with a concomitant impact on the return and settlement process. This is more likely to be the case if limits and conditions are put on the status of Kosovo over a transitional period. The conception of “enclaves” and “decentralization plan” are likely to become key foci of the status talks and will lead to either the continuation of separate and parallel feudal like development of the communities of Kosovo or to a more modern European arrangement.

Can a majority community ever feel secure if other communities are not secure?

What else can be done to construct a sense of common reality?

Does allowing or supporting separate realities to coexist supportive of peace and reconciliation?

What process is recommended to the UN to ensure the status talks are turned into an opportunity to build up joint perceptions of social constructs and a shared community?

Can membership of the European Union be achieved or even sought while parallel structures exist?

What lessons can be learnt from the current centralizing developments in Bosnia Herzegovina?

3.11 A Kosovan identity?

Even though all communities living in Kosovo remember, at least from today's rose coloured spectacles, their shared and generally positive reported experiences of Yugoslavia, few describe themselves as "Kosovars" or "Kosovans". Most groups and individuals describe themselves as being Albanian or Serb or Bosniak or Croat or Gorani or Roma or Ashkali or Egyptian or Turkish.

"We have been a Croat village for 700 years" begs the question how many generations have to pass before the community in that location views itself as Kosovan? Or does language continue to define identity, as socio-linguists argue, even after 700 years?"

When asked what is a Kosovan identity one answer was quite revealing "we had to fight for it. We had to fight to get our education in our own language".

When pressed about what were the shared experiences and stories shared by all in the region and what unites the communities of Kosovo, agreement was swift: "Yugoslavia" united them. This meant a common curriculum, multi-cultural schools, a culture of learning, knowing each other and interacting with each other, opportunities to visit each others' countries, attend Higher Education together in other cities of other nations of Yugoslavia. In these times, relations were described by some of those met during the October visit from the Albanian speaking community as very good with Slovenes and Croats, as good with Macedonians, and easier with Montenegrins than Serbs. Others, however, have pointed out that this view of Yugoslavia is too romanticized.

Is a Kosovan identity, independent of origin desirable? Why? If not, why not?

What elements are there in the past for promoting integration and integrating identity in the future?

What elements are there for shaping a Kosovan history inclusive of "their history" and "our history" but sensitive to specificities are possible? How can it be developed in the short, medium and long term irrespective of the outcomes of the status talks?

How can a new multicultural identity in Kosovo be created respectful and celebratory of all mother tongues and their heritage as well as of the multi-lingualism of Kosovo? How can this process be lead to an intercultural celebration of the multicultural reality of Kosovo? What is the role of schools and curricula in that process?

3.12 A competition for 'principal victim status'?

All the members of the different communities met during the May and October visits seemed to want, early on in any conversation, to define their group as the biggest victim of all in Kosovo. Rehearsing the arguments offered is entirely inappropriate but pointing out the destructiveness of this approach is not. As Davies reports "I have found young people in Kosovo and Bosnia arguing about who suffered the most – a sort of hierarchy of suffering".

Why do Kosovo's communities seek to portray themselves as the main victims in a hierarchy of suffering?

Where does this mentality come from?

How can this mentality be changed?

3.13 The Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities.

The Roma community, who learn their own language in the home, on the whole but to some extent depending on where they live, attend Serb medium schools. They learn Serbian in order to follow their studies. Roma are both Muslims and Orthodox Christians.

The Ashkali and Egyptians, though distantly related to the Roma are distinct communities learning their own separate languages at home and again depending on where they live, need to learn for school either the Albanian or Serb languages. Both groups are Muslims.

The Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian (RAE) communities and the Gorani community are the only ones having to learn an additional language to attend school; the other communities have their mother-tongue as the language of instruction. This disadvantages the RAE communities.

The Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities are the least educated, according to UNMIK's report of May 2005. More than 16% of RAE do not read or write. Illiteracy is more common among RAE women (25%) than men (8%) and is a function of the girls' attendance at school finishing earlier than boys on the whole. Overall, one-quarter of all RAE children do not attend primary education. The situation is more serious in relation to secondary education where approximately 78% of females and 62% of males are out of classrooms and just 1.4% of RAE women and men attend or have finished high school. A small number of RAE have completed or attended university.

The RAE suffers from the lowest scores on all education indicators. Particularly worrisome are low secondary education enrolment and high illiteracy rates for the RAE community.

RAE people interviewed stressed that poverty rather than culture was the main reason for the poor attendance of the RAE communities. On the whole, it was the RAE communities who were observed scavenging dustbins in the towns and cities of Kosovo.

The RAE communities follow "catch-up lessons" which help to improve standards but are obviously only available to those at school, and also are of limited value without family support.

All communities speak with all the politically correct terminologies about the RAE communities but their situation in society continues to be as it has been over the centuries.

Is there really any question about who are the principal "victims" in Kosovo?

How can these perceptions and this situation be changed?

Should RAE communities really be asked to pay for education? Should families be offered small bursaries to send their children to school?

What is the cost of ignorance now and in the future?

Has the European Union experiences of supporting Roma communities that are worth emulating in Kosovo?

Should the RAE communities receive additional bursaries to support them to enable RAE children to attend school?

Should the value of these bursaries be cumulatively and incrementally beneficial to RAE families as their children stay on at school for additional years of uninterrupted education?

3.14 The Gorani community.

The Gorani community's language is distinctive and has similarities with Serbian, Turkish and Macedonian languages. It is not easy to interpret from it to other languages. The Gorani community attend schools in the Serb curriculum offer. The community, naturally, appears anxious to retain the possibility of those youngsters

who will be graduating from school in the next few years, of going to university. At present, this is easiest done in Serb language universities.

The Gorani community, appeared clearly to acknowledge both that they live in a community with Albanian as the dominant language and that with modern communications their Gora mountain environment is now no longer isolated from other societies and can and should be integrated to that wider society, including through language. The Gorani community clearly and unequivocally argued that they wanted to become fluent in Albanian, eventually learning through Albanian at school. The Gorani community expressed the desire and need for support in that process and for a negotiated timescale to that end goal.

These representations, heard clearly and unequivocally by the authors of this report were not viewed in the same way by others met from MEST and UNMIK who shared the opinion that the views heard from the Gorani by the authors of the report were not always made by the Gorani when representing their views of the future to MEST and UNMIK.

What is an appropriate short and medium term plan to support the Gorani community to achieve what they proclaim to aim for in the long term?

How can the lessons to be learnt through the process of incorporating the Gorani through the Albanian medium into the Kosovo education system be applied to support the incorporation of other Slavic language speaking communities into Kosovo's education system?

In this process how can all languages and cultures be maintained and respected alongside the Albanian language and culture?

How can the principles and practices of intercultural education support this process?

3.15 The new Kosovo National Curriculum Framework and the education of all communities.

The review of the National Curriculum conducted by the IoE for MEST in the Spring and Summer 2005 complimented the overall National Curriculum Framework in Kosovo and stated:

“The curriculum framework in Kosovo is an extremely thorough high-quality document. This clear, coherent overall curriculum and the subject-based work that has accompanied it has been achieved to high standards in a remarkably short period of time given local circumstances and given the starting point. Its aspirations are appropriate for a modern society both in terms of the objectives it seeks as well as the pedagogy it suggests and the assessment approaches it implies. It is a significant achievement and a solid base for the future.”

Much the same can be said about the Framework's emphasis on the principles of education and the respect for and inclusion of all communities. The introduction to the New Kosovo Curriculum Framework talks about:

“The curriculum is one of the most important means for the assurance of quality education for all citizens and for equitable education provisions for every member of society, regardless of gender, ethnicity, skin colour, social position or other differences.....the democratic changes in Kosovo society and its pluralistic character have to be reflected through the new curriculum”.

It goes on to emphasize key principles as: “Children's rights, human rights, pluralism, diversity and democratic citizenship” The document emphasizes cross curriculum objectives. One of the seven cross curriculum objectives is defined as education for democratic citizenship and human rights which includes education for peace and tolerance.

In addition, there are seven core areas of the curriculum one of which is Social studies and civic education which is described as “an integrated approach which relates Human Rights Education, peace education, global education, life-skills education, intercultural education and education for democratic citizenship”.

These statements may well be found in the Serbian system too, though the authors were not able to establish this as a fact. It would obviously be very worthwhile if a study similar to the one conducted for MEST in 2005 was carried out to review with equal rigour the curriculum, assessment and pedagogy in the Serb language schools of Kosovo as well as the aspirations and reality of Social Studies and civic education.

From the perspective of the MEST National Curriculum framework all appropriate objectives, approaches and content areas to achieve intercultural competence for all communities appear covered by the document.

However, there can be gaps between rhetoric and reality. Quoting from the IoE Review of the National Curriculum for MEST:

“Appropriately, the new curriculum has sought to introduce more active participatory methodologies of teaching and learning in both primary and secondary education with many teachers acutely aware of this new emphasis. In both primary and secondary schools teachers’ understanding of participatory teaching and learning is limited and seems to focus almost exclusively on adapting a teacher-led didactic methodology that asks students many questions or puts students into groups. Teachers’ understanding of participatory learning pedagogies in all sectors lacks sophistication. There was only extremely limited evidence of, for example, the use of other participatory techniques; such as simulations, case studies, drama, problem solving group work or ‘design and make’ activities. Indeed, at times putting students into groups was an end in itself without a fit between the content and learning objectives of the lesson and its pedagogy. In one case, students were put into groups at the outset of the lesson but the groups were not used for any pedagogic purpose at all during the lesson.”

A closer examination of the content and processes of teaching and learning is required to document whether there is a gap between rhetoric and reality in these areas of the curriculum relevant to Social Studies and Civic Education. The same process in the equivalent areas of the Serbian curriculum is also required. However, the question remains, given the findings above about teachers’ skills in group work and the importance of these activity based methods in the ambition of Social Sciences and Civic Education in the new National curriculum of Kosovo.

It is important also to stress that the excellent training programme in North Mitrovica observed in October, strongly suggested that the overarching philosophies of education being promoted in such training are much the same as those being promoted in the training programmes for the teachers working in Kosovo under the new National Curriculum.

So while there is no sufficient first hand evidence that the needs of teachers and learners, in particular around the new learner-centred activity-based pedagogies, are being met in the same way by both systems, it is strongly felt that this is very likely and a good working hypothesis to start a more systematic investigation.

Is there a need to review the area of Social Sciences Civic Education curriculum in all communities and to assess how well the practice in classrooms is actually promoting tolerance and intercultural development?

Is there a gap between rhetoric and reality with regard to the cross-curricular objective of education for democratic citizenship and human rights, explicitly stated in the new National Curriculum in Kosovo and probably also there in the Serb curricular framework in Kosovo?

How do the various curriculum frameworks include education for peace, tolerance and intercultural development? Are there differences and similarities?

What are the professional development opportunities in discussing these in a cross-community working group?

Could these aspects of the curriculum become the same for all Kosovan children in the future?

What specific classroom activities and other measures need to be taken to turn the entirely appropriate ambitions expressed explicitly in the new Kosovo National Curriculum Framework document, and probably there too in the Serb framework, in terms of children’s rights, human rights, pluralism, diversity and

democratic citizenship, into the living reality of effective classrooms and positive inter-group relationships of all communities?

3.16 Access to Higher Education.

Opportunities for pupils from non-Albanian speaking communities to enter Higher Education in Kosovo are poor and drive many from the Slavic languages speaking communities to access Higher Education in Mitrovicë/a north or other parts of the former Yugoslavia and beyond. This adds to the dispersal of the population and may lead to the dilution of the human resource base in Kosovo.

How can these graduates, a highly developed human resource, be attracted back into Kosovo after completing Higher Education elsewhere?

What could be done to provide HE to all communities in Kosovo?

Can the needs for Higher Education of these groups be resourced in Kosovo in their mother-tongue?

Can non-Albanian speaking populations build up their competence in the Albanian language to take advantage of Albanian language Higher Education in Kosovo? How can this process be encouraged? How long will it take?

What are the costs of providing Higher Education in different languages in one territory? Can a poor country afford to pay for such a system?

What are the alternatives for spending this money to make Kosovo a more prosperous society?

Can a multi-lingual HE continue to be built up, as appears in embryo to be the case now in 2005, as resources allow?

What opportunities does the Bologna process in European Higher Education offer Kosovo?

The 'Bologna Process' is a current development in European Higher Education to allow students to be mobile from one university to another and for the credits achieved in each university to be accumulated into a degree.

3.17 Education staff in municipalities

Due to the restricted freedom of movement for at least some in all communities, and principally for non-Albanian speaking communities a greater number of education facilities are needed to provide access to education for non-Albanian speaking children. This necessitates more individual schools, than for the majority community, who are able to enjoy a more centralized structure.

The UNMIK report of 2005 suggests "ongoing downsizing of education staff in municipalities decreases the already unsatisfactory staff ratio of the communities in many municipalities". Consequently, "this impacts negatively on the fulfilment of Standards and particularly Standards 1 and 4, that deal with proportional representation of all communities and Standard 4 that deals with Fair Share Funding (FSF)" according to UNDP.

According to UNMIK, special care should be given in the process of rightsizing to the municipalities that have failed to reach even the FSF percentage, which roughly corresponds to the percentage of the communities' population in a given municipality.

It needs to be pointed out that these last two statements are disputed by MEST colleagues.

The authors are unable to adjudicate on this issue for many reasons, and in particular a lack of the full information but believe the issue misses a simpler and a more significant economic point which is that separate development is infinitely more expensive than collaborative development and this is relevant in a poor country.

What are the social, economic and political costs of “separate development”? How much additional costs are incurred by the approach?

What are the opportunity costs of this spending?

How could this spending be used to support prosperity in Kosovo?

How is the process of right-sizing as described by UNMIK to be monitored in the future? Who by? When? How often?

What are the economic benefits of right sizing staffing in municipalities? - the social ones are obvious.

Are the municipalities creating integrated structures or reinforcing parallel structures? Is there a uniform pattern in all municipalities? Why does this matter?

3.18 Mother-tongue teaching and learning and the language policy in schools

The approach, policies and practices of mother-tongue teaching and learning are worth considering in great detail as getting this policy and its practices right in the view of the different communities will undoubtedly be helpful to the whole community and for the future peace and prosperity of the area.

The new Kosovo Curriculum framework talks about “mother-tongue as an important element of developing identity” and “mother-tongue as compulsory in every primary and secondary grade”. Mother-tongue is defined as “Mother-tongue refers to Albanian language for Albanian students, as well as to the mother-tongues of other communities living in Kosovo (i.e. Slavic languages, Turkish, Romani)”. Albanian language “for other communities living in Kosovo is optional starting in Grade 3” English is the first foreign language and compulsory from Year 3 and optional earlier in years 1 and 2.

In those schools attended by the Albanian speaking community there are a variety of other languages taught such as English, French and/or German. No teaching of Serb or another Kosovo community’s language appeared to be on the curriculum. This has not always been the case.

Similarly, in those schools attended by the Serb speaking community there are a variety of other languages taught such as English, French and/or German. No teaching of Albanian or another Kosovo language appeared to be on the curriculum. This has not always been the case.

It was argued very cogently by some that it should be mandatory for both the Serb speaking and Albanian speaking communities to learn the other community’s language, as well as English.

In a UNICEF Child Friendly School visited in Southern Mitrovicë/a, the Head-teacher who had in the past taught Albanian to Serb children described the preparations for a Peace Day celebration that was to take place with Albanian and Bosniac speaking children and Serb speaking school children from another Child Friendly School in Northern Mitrovicë/a. It was agreed that the communications would have to occur through mime not through words as none of these residents of Kosovo spoke the same language. Mime, is a very creative form of communication and an appropriate strategy for the teachers in this context at this time in that it encourages communication across language barriers in a way that suits everyone because mime is language neutral.

However, to also achieve greater social cohesion in the future there should be a more direct form of communications than mime available to all children from the same city in Kosovo as they seek to build up understanding and trust in one another within the place they live in. The experiences of Africa and India demonstrate that this is possible though it takes at least a generation.

If there is no one common language, then there should be other mechanisms for linguistic communication between all the people of the society. An exploration of and experiment with a bilingual and/or a multilingual

approach to language policy, inclusive of mother tongues, may provide mechanisms to avoid the potential dangers of an approach based exclusively on mother tongue teaching and learning.

Can a National Curriculum be delivered in the context of several mother-tongues?

If a National Curriculum can be delivered in several languages, then why is it that it can not be delivered to the most disadvantaged communities, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian through their own languages?

What are the costs in textbooks alone of an approach to the transmission of the National Curriculum in several mother-tongues?

How can learning in the mother-tongues of communities be implemented to make mother-tongue learning both liberating and cohesive for all?

What is understood as ‘bilingualism’?, ‘multilingualism’?. What benefits might they offer Kosovo?

Is bilingualism or multilingualism the framework for mother-tongue learning rather than mother tongue alone being the framework?

What learning is offered by the experiences of other European countries such as Belgium, Switzerland, Slovakia and Slovenia?

What are the dis-benefits to the economy of the current approach to mother tongue learning?

Shouldn’t there be consideration and some local pilots, in the first instance, in schools that choose to do so of the suggestion that non-Albanian speaking youngsters also learn Albanian and that Albanian speaking youngsters also learn one of the Slavic languages of their fellow Kosovans and indeed of most of their neighbours in South- East Europe?

Should this principle be applied to all communities, with the requirement that all communities in addition to learning their mother-tongue at home and in the school have as their principal “foreign” language throughout primary school another frequently used language of Kosovo, maybe alongside English in the curriculum of all?

Should this approach be set within a context of language policy that celebrates Kosovo’s multilingualism and this characteristic as a distinctive pillar of Kosovo’s unique selling proposition in the global market?

What are the experiences in the European Union of bilingual and multilingual education? What do they suggest for Kosovo?

Should everyone simply learn English and communicate, like UNMIK, across communities in English?

Can there be a long-term aspiration that one language be a common language for all in Kosovo? If so, can there be a case for this being one other than the one of the majority community? If there can not be such an aspiration then what mechanisms are required to enable all to have the ability to communicate with all fellow citizens?

Can a joint approach over time be developed by all communities together in this important and sensitive area that builds up over time a more cohesive set of acquired languages for all in Kosovo?

3.19 Textbooks and languages.

The textbooks for the curriculum followed by the Serbian, Roma and Gorani speaking communities are produced in Serbia.

Some of the textbooks used in the first instance after the National Curriculum reform in Albanian medium schools in Kosovo were produced in Albania.

Some of the textbooks for the curriculum followed by Croat, Turkish and Bosniac speaking communities have been brought from and produced in Croatia, Turkey and Bosnia Herzegovina respectively because they were unavailable in Kosovo. The textbooks were used for the following school subjects: mother-tongue, history, geography, arts and music.

The model for the future history textbook for the Bosniac and other communities to be produced in Kosovo in the future is 30-40% of “own country “i.e. Bosnian History and 70-60% from Kosovo.

Choice about curricula and textbooks, reports UNMIK, are not necessarily made with the benefits of the pupil in mind but for their symbolic value with respect to the status of Kosovo from the different perspectives of the different communities. This is a concern for UNMIK, though it needs to be pointed out that choices are made about the curriculum and about the transmission of culture in all education systems across Europe and the rest of the world.

New textbooks developed in light of reform in Kosovo are being offered to Albanian medium schools in neighbouring countries.

The Economist (17/12/05) reports the Kosovo authorities as interested in a set of ‘objective’ history manuals. The texts so far developed by the Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in South-East Europe are on the Ottoman era, the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and the Second World War.

Is the appropriate history for Bosniac speaking children living in Kosovo, whose ancestors at some stage originated in Bosnia, the history of Bosnia Herzegovina or the history of Kosovo and the place of the Bosniac community within Kosovo?

Is this the optimal model for integrating identity and creating an inclusive History of Kosovo?

Is an inclusive History of Kosovo desirable? If not, why not?

What else could be done for, through and about the curriculum to develop social cohesion?

What is the cost in textbook development and production alone of this approach to education through separate development? What are the opportunity costs of this spending?

How might the Council of Europe’s recent work in support of France, Germany and more recently Cyprus to agree a basic national history be used and applied in Kosovo?

How can the work of the Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in South-East Europe become an integral part of all Kosovan children’s history curriculum?

3.20 Conceptions of a multi-cultural school.

A multi-cultural school is viewed as one building where two or more sets of youngsters with separate mother-tongues co-exist in the physical setting of the school building and who share and use together the play areas. They are taught by separate teachers, in separate classrooms and indeed in some places at different times of the day and in most cases have a different curriculum. This is a very narrow conception. The multi-cultural schools which were visited in October were a primary school in Janjevë/Janjevo where the Croat, Bosniak and Roma groups were in one part of the school following the eight year curriculum of Serbia under one school Director/Headteacher, and the Albanian speaking community, following the new nine year National Curriculum of Kosovo in the other part of the primary school under another school Director/Head teacher.

In Pejë/Peć, the Bosniak and Albanian speaking communities shared the facilities in the primary school, described by many as the leading-edge in multi-cultural schooling in Kosovo. Both groups followed the new National Curriculum of Kosovo, one group in Bosniak and one group in Albanian. The school had a more integrated leadership than the previously mentioned school, with a Bosniak speaking Head teacher and an Albanian speaking deputy Head-teacher. An art teacher in this school spoke both Albanian and Bosniak but

taught in the separate language to the different students, when from a linguistic point of view the teacher could have taught a mixed class twice using both languages. Is an opportunity being missed?

In all these schools the RAE communities, learned either Albanian or another language depending on where they lived in order to participate in the learning process in school.

How can this narrow view of a multi-cultural school be expanded to the one that exists in most of Europe where all races, cultures and ethnicities follow the same curriculum, in the same classroom with the same teachers and use in the main a common language with some students of different mother-tongues receiving targeted language support to participate in the learning?

Can this approach lead more easily to a multi-cultural curriculum in the first instance and an intercultural approach in the longer term than an approach based on separate development?

Does the current approach enhance the chances of success in learning for the RAE communities or partly explain their relative lack of success in education?

How does this approach help youngsters to be effective in the local, regional and global market?

How should multi-culturalism be celebrated?

How does the approach support a process of community understanding, communications and the building of a shared understanding and a shared social identity?

3.21 Convergence

The ambition to put the child at the centre of the learning process, the aim to make learning child-oriented and participatory with an emphasis on group working, to stress the learning process rather than the matter learnt and many other modern features of the new curriculum of Kosovo introduced by MEST in 2002 are seen in the reform process that is also under way in the Serb community's schools in Kosovo and beyond.

Sharing of practice with Montenegrin educators and Kosovans is taking place. The piloting of a year 9 curriculum in the mode of the one in the new National Curriculum in Kosovo is taking place in Montenegro.

Changes in the curriculum described in the Serbian medium school visited in Prilluzh/Priluzhje, such as more IT work in the curriculum, more modern foreign languages in the curriculum, connecting school to work were all consistent with the ambitions of the new National Curriculum in Kosovo.

The teacher-led pedagogies used in the lessons visited in Serb medium schools in Graçanicë/Grančanica and Gorozhdec/Goraždevac were not dissimilar to those seen in May, in the Albanian medium schools visited. Maybe the material conditions inside the classrooms were marginally better than the norm of the Albanian medium schools visited in May and infinitely better than the appalling conditions seen in the primary school visited in the Gora. (It should be noted though, that a school with 3 children would have been closed a long time ago in most countries in Europe as uneconomic)

The excellent facilitators of the training programme visited in North Mitrovicë/Mitrovica appeared clearly to be employing the same processes and principles as the MEST training programme going on alongside the introduction of the new National Curriculum in Kosovo. There was not a great sense of difference in most of the pedagogic/educational processes observed. Indeed, maybe the reform processes per se are bringing convergence with the greater modernity that is being embraced by all communities.

How can the different systems be supported to converge further?

How can Directors, teachers and trainers share their professional experiences of their current work and of the change process to support the shaping of the future of the territory?

What is the role of European Union programmes such as Tempus, Leonardo and Socrates * in supporting the convergence of these two systems?

What are the financial savings and intellectual developments that could be achieved by joint activity and the creation of a united system?

(* Socrates is one of several EU funded programmes. It has eight separate strands and is relevant to the development of all aspects of general education in schools. The Leonardo da Vinci programme is the EU funded programme that supports all aspects of vocational education. It has five separate strands. Tempus is the EU funded programme supportive of the development of Higher Education institutions. It has three separate strands. The Research Framework programme is supportive of collaborative research between universities, research institutions and business.)

3.22 Transition from UNMIK to the future- The role of education.

The status talks provide the launching pad of many hopes and fears. The processes of facilitation of the talks and of the implementation of the outcomes require a special sensitivity to ensure that the fears of all are reduced and then eliminated and the hopes of all are increased incrementally. Education has a crucial role to play in peacefully achieving the hopes of all and the commitment to the future Kosovo.

What processes of facilitation are appropriate for the international community to adopt in the next months in follow up to the status talks and its outcomes?

Who should decide the approach? Who should be consulted about the approach?

How can education be taken into the heart of the status talk discussions?

How can the outcomes of the status talks and the next steps be supported by a reinvigorated teaching profession across the whole of Kosovo speaking with one voice for the future of Kosovo?

From where is the investment going to be achieved to underpin the crucial role of education in supporting the implementation of the agreements arising from the status talks in this territory of Europe?

3.23 There is a plethora of international and local initiatives in Kosovo

There are a huge number of very worthwhile projects, schemes and initiatives from multifarious organizations, nations, charities and individuals. These seem to have appropriately grown up under a “let a thousand flowers bloom” philosophy and rightly so given the scale of need.

Some of the excellent initiatives of the larger organisations like UNICEF’s Child Friendly schools exist in all communities.

More excellent initiatives from locals of all communities in the grassroots of Kosovo are very wise and worthwhile such as the Bla Bla café.

Other excellent initiatives learnt about and in no particular order are:

- CSD Youth Centre in Graçanicë/Gračanica’s Youth Education Centre for Roma and their language and culture.
- School for Peace in Montenegro with Serb and Albanian speaking youngsters from Kosovo with Italian and Germans enjoying each others company and developing relationships in camps in another more neutral area away from Kosovo.
- World Vision Organisation – its own programme to make friendships across the communities in Kosovo and build peace and trust.
- Save the Children’s social protection, children’s rights, health, and education projects.
- Catholic Relief Services’ Peace building programmes

- Youth Initiative in North Mitrovicë/a - peer mentoring, civic education and Creative Centre initiatives

There is little mixing in Kosovo, in the context of any of these initiatives between the communities, particularly between the Albanian speaking community and the Serb speaking community. There are numerous examples of mixing in third countries and indeed of cross-community friendships made during such meetings stultified on return to Kosovo. There are some plans to have Kosovo based inter-community initiatives from those described above and others.

However, none of these initiatives gives the impression that individually or as a whole they will offer anything appropriate to the big issues facing Kosovo. While all offer some relief or support to one situation or another, something much more ambitious is required to make these initiatives significant.

Is it time to map, prioritise and focus these initiatives so as to concentrate on pushing ahead reforms and developments in the short, medium and long term around those priorities that support the deep and long lasting changes required by Kosovo and all its communities?

What are these priorities?

Do they include building prosperity, the re-conceptualisation of key concepts of the mind sets of all communities like “majority” and “minority”, the creation of a Kosovan identity and effective national campaigns and anti-racist training programmes for equality, human rights and democracy? Or not? If not, why not?

Which specific initiatives support the priorities cost-effectively? Which do not?

3.24 The voice of youth

Heard in Kosovo in October 2005:

“...fear is in the head to a large extent...”

“...we are planning a website together ...we will meet soon...”

“...need to turn negative energy into positive energy...”

“...extremists perpetuate chaos...”

“...have contacts through internet, it is a pity we can not meet...”

“...I would like things to change...”

”...the prejudices of both communities are the problem...”

”...both communities should communicate regularly...”

“...we have the same problems in both communities...”

“...adults are responsible....”

“...I believe in a better future...”

“...Albanians I know, help me get the medicines I need...otherwise I could not get it”

“...yes, we are all for peace...”

”...forget everything turn to the future...”

“...it is doable if we concentrate on the everyday problems...”

“...combine our traditions with each others...”

“...celebrate our diversity and so retain our identities...”

“...say no to ethnic fanaticism...”

“...communicate not discriminate...”

The under 20 year olds are the majority of the population and future economic prosperity and social stability will be shaped or not by this group.

The voice of youth is optimistic and relatively homogeneous across communities. This is a positive opportunity considering the last years. This should be built on. A language policy allowing all youth to communicate freely is essential.

How does the voice of youth get taken into politics?

Why are there few and weak youth wings to political parties? How might they be developed fully and for democracy rather than for tribe?

How does the philosophy of putting the child at the centre of the curriculum fit with the current organization of the territory's politics?

Can Kosovo afford to ignore the voice of youth? How is Kosovo to hear this voice more effectively?

How are Schools Councils working? Could they be improved? Could student participation levels in them be improved?

How is Kosovo to use the voice of youth to promote a more integrated and peaceful society?

Are Social Studies and Civic Education, and Human Rights education actually engaging youth in politics? Do the practices of these curricula achieve their objectives? Is this achieved in one, some, or all communities?

How can the United Nations simulation or ones about the institutions of the European Union be utilized in the curriculum to help encourage the engagement of youth in politics?

Part 3 – Recommendations for discussion by stakeholders

Section 4 - Main Recommendations

4.1 Introduction

The recommendations flow out of a process of dialogue between the authors, UNICEF and other European and International key informants. The dialogue followed a critical analysis of the situation through the secondary sources consulted and through the process of participant observation and semi-structured interviews with key informants in Kosovo.

This section on Main Recommendations, as well as, the previous section on Main Findings were deliberately written to act as a catalytic input for Kosovan and other readers to discuss and respond to, and so through this discussion and agreements take forward the development of the kind of Kosovo in Europe and in the rest of the world that Kosovans believe appropriate.

Some of the recommendations are ones that can be carried out relatively easily and in the short term. Indeed, some build on existing activities. Other recommendations will be able to be implemented more slowly and in the medium term. Some are long term recommendations which will need to be accompanied by appropriate building blocks and sophisticated facilitation.

There are four broad sets of recommendations discussed in turn in each of the sub-sections below. They are:

(i) Maintain developments in pursuit of a healthy Civil Society (4.2)

(ii) Education, education, education (4.3)

(iii) Seek out and build on opportunities to achieve economic development (4.4)

(iv) Offer targeted support including positive discrimination to different communities in response to specific circumstances and needs (4.5).

Each of the main recommendations is approached in the same way. Each starts with a synopsis of the most recent and relevant findings from the literature and then drawing from this and from the evidence gathered for the paper goes on to make specific and practical recommendations for the education system about how to achieve them.

4.2 Maintain developments in pursuit of a healthy Civil Society

A strong civil society is seen as key to democracy. Civil society has a number of definitions and most centre on the civic associations operating between state and family. However, an obvious problem is of value judgements about whether an association is benign. Schmitter (1995) offers four characteristics which qualify a self-organising group as 'civil'. They are:

- (i) Relatively independent of both private and public units of production and reproduction (firms and families)
- (ii) Capable of deliberating about taking collective actions in defence/promotion of their interests and passions
- (iii) Do not seek to replace either state agents or private (re) producers or to accept responsibility for governing the polity as a whole; and
- (iv) Do agree to act within pre-established rules of 'civil' or legal nature.

Whitehead (2002) comments that "new democracies will only tend to work well if they can restrain exclusionary tendencies and induce those with the most "social capital" to adopt a broader and longer term view"

Davies (2004) quotes a leading journalist in Prishtinë/Priština as telling her that "Kosovo without an enemy does not know how to function" with a highly active shadow system developed by the Albanian speaking community, it was not and will not be easy to turn the oppositional politics into pluralist or even routine ones. It was disconcerting to talk to people, she recounted, who said they were desperate to pay taxes again, so that roads could be mended or electricity more guaranteed.

It is a commonplace that social cohesion can come from a shared enemy; to remove the enemy and other sorts of fragmentations and interests will emerge- not all conducive to the new rebuilding. Whitehead explains the disintegration of social solidarity by arguing that "competing with activists for influence in post-transition public life would be many other formations schooled in less civil norms: pragmatic defectors from the authoritarian power structure; revanchistes, chauvinists and fundamentalists from other sectors of the opposition; the new rich, often engaged in 'primitive accumulation'; carpet bagging foreign advisers with no durable commitment to local society"

Civil society post-conflict is very fragile and may require certain forms of constitutional engineering. Whithead argues for constitutional engineering, such as a well crafted bill of rights.

Davies adds an additional criterion to the typology of characteristics of civil associations detailed above and argues that

- (v) Groups are not exclusionary nor exist to suppress or disadvantage other groups.

Bardham (1997) points out that "ethnic groups are easier to organize and consolidate by political leaders than are interests groups, since the norms restricting entry and exit are more powerful, the boundaries less fluid and the defining characteristics more easily identifiable in the former"

Davies is particularly interested in organizations or groups who work across the divide of a polity and has studied these groups in Palestine, Kosovo, Sri Lanka and Northern Ireland. Such initiatives have established

or supported integrated education, or brought together young people to talk across divides and breakdown stereotypes and ancient enmities.

Davies quoting Begum (2003) defines types of social capital as bonding or exclusive or bridging or outward looking or linking which is generated from ties across different groups, class and political lines where different groups access power and resources across the social strata.. She concludes that it would seem advisable to work towards ‘linking’ social capital rather than to support exclusionary or ‘bonding’ groups and goes on to suggest that restoring a culture of learning post-conflict is not only about building schools and curricula but also libraries, museums, and cultural resources. Sport is viewed as another potential area of inclusion or bridging. Preparation for civil society should revolve around two aspects: membership of non-exclusionary groups and strong links with the political and cultural life of the community. This includes not just ‘volunteering’ but also practice in advocacy, protest and listening- components of active citizenship.

The main findings above and these analyses lead to the following more specific suggestions:

(1) Continue and whenever possible extend current activities in support of civil society and social cohesion and development provided by the donor community and especially support those started by local communities.

- Appropriate developments would include:
- Make more/all schools Child Friendly Schools
- Disseminate the philosophy and activities of The Youth Club in Graçanicë/Gračanica
- Disseminate the philosophy and activities of The Bla Bla Café
- Publicise and extend the Montenegro School of Peace
- Publicise and extend the Network of Youth Journalists
- Dramatically extend in time, quality and impact, RAE Catch-up classes and all other measures agreed in consultation with RAE representatives to empower RAE communities to contribute further to Kosovo society
- Extend the philosophy and activity of the Youth Initiatives of North Mitrovicë/a across the territory
- Strengthen and extend Pupil Councils in all schools

(2) Map the multifarious initiatives abounding in Kosovo and list those which have medium and long term impact, match these with the recommendations of this report and support these as priorities.

- Develop as full a list of initiatives of donors in Kosovo.
- Classify them as focusing on the short, medium and long term needs and priorities.
- Identify those supportive of these recommendations
- Continue to support/encourage these activities.

(3) Consider extending current activities in support of social cohesion and the development of civil society with some or all of the following additional initiatives:

(a) Small scale project work in mixed groups of youngsters

- Start with web based projects for a mix of the community’s groups.
- Extend the projects by continuing to work together face to face on the project in third countries

- Extend it further by continuing to work together on the project at project meetings in the Kosovo territory
- Publicize the project and its work in Kosovo.

(b) *Introduce the Young Enterprise approach to entrepreneurial education which models/simulates business start-up to Kosovo*

- Involve several groups of youngsters in the learning experience
- Bring them all together to trade and share their experience
- Repeat a second year in businesses made up of mixed communities teams

(c) *Introduce the simulation of the UN into all schools in Kosovo through initially a pilot project and appropriate teacher support programmes.*

(d) *Co-operation in work/task groups to restore the environment including the physical environment.*

- Assemble groups of youngsters in all communities concerned with aspects of environmental damage.
- Allow them to choose projects from the many environmental action projects possible in Kosovo.
- Bring the groups together to share their experiences and forward plans.
- Ask for volunteers to work together, for example, on the restoration of say a mosque, or house or a church.
- Aim to develop in the second or third year groups from a mix of the communities to apply the technical skills acquired to re-build together a house or something else.

(e) *Increase the co-operation and joint activities of professionals from different language communities*

The teacher trainers in Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo were trained by the same or similar trainers/training programmes.

- Network these trainers for their professional development and offer all of them additional common sessions for additional skill-building around the techniques of active learning in particular the organization of the debriefing phase of an activity (which appears, from limited evidence, weak).
- Network these trainers to work on a new manual for experiential learning in South East Europe.
- Task the trainers to jointly organize a conference for their trainees from the areas where they carried out the training programmes. The objective of the conference would be to develop further the active learning facilitation skills of the attendees.
- Select attendees from neighbourhoods close to other communities.
- Facilitate the conference
- Publish the conference programme and its learning outcomes as expressed by the evaluations of the participants.
- Facilitate the continued work and sharing of neighbours across divides

(f) *Consider how to orchestrate collaboration through the interests of other professionals such as the teachers in all communities in Child Friendly Schools.*

- Consider how to bring together a group from all the communities of primary school teachers and of secondary school teachers to review the approaches to those areas of the curriculum suggested below in the recommendations below about curriculum.
- Publicise their reflections of these groups.
- Reflect on the learning achieved by the facilitators of this process.

(g) *Apply the learning in similar such processes for other professionals such as social workers.*

(h) *Increase the number and quality of Creative Arts, Drama and sporting events for youth*

- Facilitate more sporting activity like drama, exhibitions and sports such as soccer, basketball, dance and gymnastics
- Encourage dramatic, artistic and sporting excellence for all the communities in mixed community events
- Hold celebrations of art and drama and select a team to represent the territory for each sport.

(i) *Explore the recent experiences of compromise between the communities in Macedonia and Bosnia Herzegovina and the role of the potential accession to the European Union.*

Macedonia achieved “candidate status in late December 2005.

Note that according to the “UN Refugee Agency just over one million people have returned home to Bosnia Hezegovina, of whom 450,000 are so called ‘minority returns’ (The Economist 26/11/05) What can be learnt for application in Kosovo from the experiences of its neighbours in South-East Europe?

4.3 Education, education and education

Schweke (2005) reflecting on prosperity of the USA, states that strong economies compete on the basis of high value, not solely low cost. The most forward-thinking approach to solving these problems and increasing competitiveness is to equip today's and tomorrow's citizens with the skills and attitudes for economic and civic success in an increasingly knowledge-based economy. Yet education funding needs to increase as the knowledge-based economy demands an increasingly higher set of skills and a growing numbers of students across the system

Schweke goes on to note that there is compelling body of research links primary and secondary education to economic development and growth. This research recognizes people as a type of economic asset – “human capital” – and shows that increased investment in health, skills, and knowledge provides future returns to the economy through increases in labour productivity. Education increases workers' average earnings and productivity, and it also reduces the incidence of social problems such as drug abuse, crime, welfare dependency, and lack of access to medical care, all of which can weigh heavily on the economy.

Research confirms the value of investing in educational programmes, curricula, technologies, skills, and infrastructure, particularly in the areas of:

Longitudinal studies calculate a significant return on investment for preschool education as well as net public-dollar savings due to the decreased likelihood for preschool participants to repeat grades, require remedial education, be incarcerated for crimes, and become dependent on welfare. Many states are moving toward offering subsidized preschool, particularly for at-risk children, but funding these programmes remains a challenge.

Research shows that a high-quality education increases the earnings of individuals and the economic health of their communities. Some believe, however, that increased public investment will not necessarily improve the quality of education offered. But recent studies show that education spending can have a direct, positive impact on the business climate and can improve the success of at-risk students, whose contributions to the economy are critical for achieving a high-value/high-wage economy in the 21st century. Such spending will have a greater chance of success if coupled with specific reforms, such as smaller class sizes, greater access to technology for at-risk students, support for teacher training and innovation, improved accountability structures and targeted focused curriculum development.

In a forward to the 1996 annual report of the World Bank's Economic Development Institute, President James Wolfenson makes the point that the ability of nations and people to learn, to adapt the lessons to their own context quickly, and to translate learning into action, are the critical components of successful development in a global economy that increasingly relies on knowledge and information (World Bank, 1996).

The point is of obvious importance in a world characterized by rapid growth in trade and investment; a dizzying rate of technological change; increased economic integration among nations; an uncoupling of natural resources from development as a result of new materials and knowledge-based substitutes; globalization of industries; and more open competition. It takes on a particular urgency for developing countries, given the reality that the countries that are benefiting most from the global knowledge economy are concentrated in the northern hemisphere.

Not to diminish the current critical nature of the linkage between learning and development, Dr Glenn Farrell argued at his address to the 1997 Commonwealth Education Ministers Conference "learning has, in fact, always been at the core of economic change".

Technology, as we all know, has several facets, all of which are powerful drivers of change. New materials, biotechnology innovations, and robotics are but a few of them. The most profound is probably telematics given the explosive growth and development of the information and communication technologies.

However, huge differences exist in terms of access to information and communication technologies among the different regions of the world. Resolving these differences is important. A failure to do so will mean further marginalization of these economies from the mainstream of global development.

Governments will need to play a central role in bringing this about because so much of the world simply cannot afford the supply-driven approach to the development of information and communication technology infrastructure that has marked the emergence of these technologies in the developed world.

The utilization of information and communication technologies for learning faces a number of development challenges and the severity of these challenges is dependent upon circumstances in a given region:

Clearly, creating access to the technologies for learning is necessary but not sufficient. Those who must use them need opportunities to develop the requisite skills. Indeed, the ability to develop these skills has become another facet of the definition of literacy and an important part of a foundation for development strategies that are sustainable.

What is learned must be relevant to the needs of people in an economy. Educational providers need to be in touch with labour market requirements. And the spokespeople for those requirements need to be included in the decision-making process through which educational offerings are defined.

Governments know that what will make the most difference to their development objectives will be the general education level of the population at large and the skills and knowledge of their labour force (Porter, 1991). Educational systems that are unable to change to meet these requirements will leave their governments with no alternative but to find new ways to make the learning available. The global knowledge economy, and the information and communication technologies that pervade it, provide the context for global learning strategies and partnership models that were unimaginable even a decade ago. The challenge will be to do that in ways that are sustainable and culturally sensitive.

Education, including a very specific form of citizenship and political education is the way of enabling and supporting the social, political and economic changes demanded for stability and accession talks for inclusion to the European Union. With Davies the report argues for an approach to citizenship and political education involving anti-hate education, human rights education, media education, the understanding of nationalism, the understanding of democracy and the understanding of accountability.

The World Bank economist Walter McMahon (2003) has overviewed research on the link between education and development and concludes from a range of sources that education contributes to strengthening civic institutions and the rule of law through democratization (as authoritarian regimes accompany illiteracy); human rights (a function of democratisation and education); political stability (aided by better civic institutions); and lower crime rates (accompanied by less policing and incarceration). Preparation for civil society; for Davies, as observed above; should revolve around two aspects: membership of non-exclusionary groups and strong links with the political and cultural life of the community. This includes not just 'volunteering' but also practice in advocacy, protest and listening- components of active citizenship.

Waters (2005) argues that international actors have focused too much on the role of legal education in reconstruction and not enough on the role it might play in reconciliation. This is particularly true following ethno-political conflicts. Teaching public international law has a potential to be a positive force but should be taught in a process orientated way- stressing the importance of the peaceful resolution of disputes and not as a vehicle only to reinforce an intransigent opinion such as territorial integrity or self determination.

This leads to the importance of international human rights education and international humanitarian law education- which can be taught at school level as well as at Higher Education level. Benarth et al (1999) argue strongly that human rights education (HRE) is not only an essential component of just societies, but a necessary element of re-establishing stable and post-war societies. Their research claims strong empirical evidence that HRE reduces violence in situations of conflict. Three fields are needed in order to tackle factors of violence and social trauma: these are cognitive (the knowledge needed to promote the human rights); attitudinal (self-help, trust, commitment to fairness); and behavioural (mobilizing, organizing, documenting violations). The challenges start with the planning of HRE for incorporation in the activities of local institutions such as schools, community groups and religious organizations.

In educational terms there are two areas of focus in establishing or maintaining a culture of peace: educating the providers of information (government, media) and the receivers or interpreters of information (the public). As Chomsky (1997) says "a democratic society is one in which the public has the means to participate in some meaningful way in the management of their own affairs and the means of information are open and free".

Peace media has a vital role in rebuilding civil society; by making available space or airtime for expression of grievances, it is argued that the media can encourage an essential healing process (Gardner 2001). It can empower groups that had previously been voiceless or disenfranchised, as in the development of Radio 21 in Kosovo run by women. In Macedonia the inter-ethnic journalist team project allowed newspapers to collaborate in producing news which avoided stereotypes.

The links between citizenship and nationhood are problematic, with a tension between 'inclusionary' and 'exclusionary' nature of citizenship. How to teach identity becomes crucial. Pinson (2004) quotes Mouffe's argument that we should aspire to the notion of citizenship that encompasses different identities but at the same time promotes a common political identity, a 'we' of radical democratic citizens. Davies argues the importance of acknowledging all our 'hybridity' – the recognition that none of us is 'pure' but we have unique combinations to forge our identity. Identification of 'we the citizens' should not consciously or unconsciously act to exclude or marginalize those who should be part of the polity. In conflict societies, the question of refugees and their status becomes crucial. In much the same way, the IoE's McLoughlin and Juceviciene (1997) distinguish between 'civic nationalism' and 'ethnic nationalism' when they argue that "civic nationalism can be rational, flexible, pluralistic and morally rich, ethnic nationalism is tempted by

irrationality, fanaticism and authoritarianism”. The IoE’s Unterhalter (1999) argues for taking account of difference in democracy and citizenship and Werbner and Yuval-Davis (1999) approach to democratic citizenship is more about ambiguity than bland commonalities and say “...democratic citizenshiporders conflicts, channels and tames it.....determines how where and when difference may be legitimately represented and who counts as different in the political arena, itself a social construct” The big challenge being to translate this into a curriculum.

Carothers (1999) observed that formal instruction on democracy that presents the subject as a set of principles and processes generally has little effect on participants. Mustagrydic (2000) reflecting on the experience in Bosnia suggests that even a very ethnocentric US curriculum for Civic education meant teachers reconnecting and developing a network and an achievement in itself. Arnhold (1998) reflects on the need to “show deference to local conditions and traditions. Without such sensitivity and local knowledge, huge mistakes can be made.

The development of a reflective experiential pedagogy is seen by many as the approach most likely to develop not only the knowledge and understandings but also skills and competences for action in society as well as the attitudes and values to enable the actions to be ones to continue to promote a democratic and participatory process. In these ways citizenship education can play a key role in enabling citizens to demand accountability from governments and other agencies in power. Here a strong civil society has a healthy degree of mistrust for the government and a willingness and ability to question policy and practice.

As Davies concludes; “All this puts a heavy burden on education- first of all not to reproduce the elements which contributed to conflict in the first place (such as inequality, militarism, frustration and segregation) and then to prepare for a new normality of co-operation across groups, critical literacy and active challenge to injustice”

The Main Findings in Part 2 above and these analyses lead to the following more specific suggestions:

(1) Review the content and processes of the area of the National Curriculum ‘Social Studies and Civic Education’ and the cross curricular objective ‘education for democratic citizenship and human rights’ in relation to best practice in intercultural education and Citizenship and Political education

Assess the extent to which the classroom practices both education systems in areas such as democratic citizenship and human rights and Social Studies and Civic Education and their curricula, philosophy, content and processes, meet best practice suggestions for Intercultural Education and Citizenship and Political Education in Appendix 2.

Develop, if required, an action plan including teacher development for the further improvement of the practice in classrooms in the cross curricular objective of education for democratic citizenship and human rights and the area of the curriculum ‘Social Studies and Civic Education’ in response to the review made of it.

(2) Review in 2006 the curriculum, pedagogy and assessment system of the Serbian curriculum in Kosovo in a systematic and thorough way like the work done in 2005 for the new National Curriculum created by MEST

Much is known by the international community of the new MEST driven National Curriculum. Little is documented about the recent changes in the curriculum and its implementation in the Serb system in Kosovo. It is appropriate that a review of the curriculum in Kosovo’s Serb medium schools be carried out. It would be helpful if it had the same remit as the one suggested by MEST for the review of the first steps of the new National Curriculum in Kosovo which examined the fit between curriculum, pedagogy and assessment in Science education, mother-tongue teaching and vocational education as well as the suggestion above.

(3) Make democracy more sophisticated and build up civil society and political parties through their expression of values, beliefs and policies not personalities and their histories and backgrounds.

How can communities collaborate to take conflict and violence out of politics and together assure the peace that is everyone's basic right and deepest desire?

An effective way to do this is to establish political parties that are built around ideas and values across communities. Ethnically based parties should be discouraged. Parties should be stimulated to form around ideas and values across communities.

Parties should be encouraged to have sister relationships with likeminded parties in the European Union and should be supported to achieve these relationships through a range of twinning arrangements, including at city and town levels across the European Union. Such a mentoring process is highly desirable and in keeping with existing arrangements in Europe.

A very well known simulation of the United Nations exists and has been in use for over a decade to support young people to learn about our world and also to get to know about democracy and its values and indeed the work of the United Nations, something which all Kosovo citizens would benefit from knowing more about. Individuals are in the role of nations receive a briefing card and decide how to represent their nation in a given scenario such as:

“You are the new members of the Security Council, and you will meet with other members to discuss a very serious situation that requires your attention, and if you choose, your intervention. The situation is that 10 days ago, Syria invaded Lebanon. They have taken over the government, closed all roads into the country, and blocked all planes and boats from leaving or arriving. They have declared that the state of Lebanon no longer exists. The reason they give is that most of the people in Lebanon belong to one ethnic and religious group - which is the same as the current ruling party in Syria. They say that the people of Lebanon are tired of poverty and struggle, and that they want to be a part of Syria. The people of Lebanon, however, have resisted the take-over. Many civilians died as the Syrian army moved through the country. Many are now starving as food supplies are cut off and there are very few medical supplies available, and many people in need of them. Any foreign journalists in Lebanon have been detained, and there has been no word as to their whereabouts. Electricity is cut in many parts of the country. The nights are very cold, and the situation is worsening every day. There are unconfirmed reports of an outbreak of tuberculosis. The Security Council must decide what to do: How to deal with Syria? What about the people of Lebanon - do they really want to be a part of Syria? What international treaties have Lebanon violated? What about the humanitarian side of the issue, with food and medical supplies in very short supply. The Security Council can issue recommendations, send in peacekeeping troops, a multilateral force, issue sanctions against Syria and order humanitarian supplies are shipped to Lebanon. What do you want to do? How do you want to use your power? Remember that every country has a different official position on this situation - some are allies with Syria, some are not. Some favour no intervention and some want to use the maximum force available”.

Over a series of sessions or in a long session the students act out their role briefing in their own way and seek solutions to the given scenario. The learning crucially comes from the debriefing sessions that follow the activity.

The simulation of the United Nations should be made widely available to schools and districts across Kosovo. Teams from the territory should participate in the wider European fora for this simulation.

The activity based learning strategy within this simulation is firmly within the recommended approach of the new National Curriculum in Kosovo and the pedagogies used in the in-service training sessions of Serb medium teachers observed.

Additional such activities, like Young Enterprise Europe should also be trialed in Kosovo secondary and vocational schools. This process might be studied. EU or business sponsorship might well sponsor such a study.

(4) Get youth into political understanding and active citizenship more quickly while at the same time redefining the value and legitimacy accorded to paternalism.

Note the suggestions of The Economist (26/11/05) “Kosovo, where the population is rising fast and underemployed, there is a huge unspent energy which will find malign outlets unless a healthy, outward-looking economy can put idle hands to work.”

Youth are the majority in Kosovo. Youth voices and actions are the sources of hope in Kosovo. Paternalism was a value of feudal society. Modern post-enlightenment societies are not becalmed by paternalism. Information and experience are available through the touch of a button. Appropriate respect for elders need not include acceptance of the ways of the past in socio-economic and political spheres.

Parties and their twinning arrangements with mentors in Europe should be encouraged to seek to develop even more well-developed Youth Sections and young people encouraged into them.

Sister relationships with youth wings of like-minded parties in the European Union should be supported.

The School Councils are a start of this process in schools. A survey of their work and its effective might be undertaken.

(5) Make security and freedom of movement the right for all and the responsibility of all.

The Observer (30-10-05) points out that as UNMIK withdraws, security will either come from somewhere else or the situation will get worse. The facilitation of the transition from UNMIK requires careful thought and a process of involving all in delivering the benefit of security, a need for all but the gangster and trafficker elements in the region.

There is no security for the majority community with insecure communities alongside them. Communities need to be helped to collaborate to take the gun, violence and conflict out of politics and together assure the peace that is everyone’s basic right and deepest desire. An effective way to do this is to build political parties that are built around ideas and values across communities.

Make security and freedom of movement the right for all and the responsibility of all in every school and reinforce this through anti-bullying, anti-racist, anti-sexist and other such programmes in all schools.

Seek to apply the approach to neighbourhoods and villages, maybe through campaigns organized and led by students.

(6) Consideration should be given to the social, economic and political measures that might be taken to re-conceptualise over time across Kosovo society everyday concepts and ideas.

The concept of “minority education” is a distraction from inter-group relations. The oppositional nature of “minority” and “majority” can be taken out of the social sphere with a focus on intercultural education. Intercultural education explores what different groups can learn from each other about each other and through each other.

Stressing shared identity, while encouraging the retention of the positive values of the communities of origin, is an important approach to the future. This process should start soon in schools with a stronger profile for intercultural education in multi-cultural schools. It should continue through life long learning programmes that continue to have a significant profile for intercultural learning and occur over a long time frame and through an agreed process for all.

(7) Measures in support of the re-conceptualisations outlined above would include strong, long-lasting public campaigns

These campaigns would include anti-racist, anti-sexist and anti-ageist training programmes in all walks of life, for young and old, professionals and the unemployed of all communities alongside media campaigns led by leaders of all communities. A strong anti-sexist campaign, given the relatively lower achievement of females

across the whole society and its social groups and their known lower participation rates in the educational process and the existence already of such campaigns might be the appropriate starting point.

Key professionals, like teachers and civil servants, ideally would also benefit from additional training in issues such as quality assurance, team building and the management of change alongside the national anti-racist, anti-sexist and anti-agist training programmes.

(8) Move away from the parallel system as soon as possible and re-define multi-cultural school in an ambitious way.

Across Europe there are a wide range of meanings of “Multi-cultural school”, one is that used in Kosovo of a shared building but different classrooms as a result of different mother-tongues and different teachers. Multi-cultural schools could also come to mean all the communities in one area attending the same school, together in the same classrooms, with common languages and the same teachers and curriculum.

Kosovo should seek to move its definition from the former to the latter as it is more in keeping with European definitions and more in keeping with the practices and needs of the globalizing economy and certainly in the long-term in keeping with goals of stability and peace in the region.

However, it may be necessary, like some argue, to move to the abandonment of the parallel system in stages and in the first instance allowing it to stabilise for a while so that education does not completely break down for some and rather remains satisfactory for all before in the second stage systematically and indefatigably progressing the abandonment of the parallel system and shaping for all one high quality system.

(9) Review the approach and policy on language in the National Curriculum.

The exclusive use of mother tongues as a medium of instruction and learning for A National Curriculum should be reconsidered. An alternative view of language education, which would include mother –tongue as a central component, but would also incorporate a second regional language and foreign language in a coherent system of learning for all students should be considered, piloted and then developed in the interest of promoting diversity, mutual understanding, free-expression and inter-culturalism.

There is much previous experience and research to reflect on. For example the work by The Institute of Ethnic Studies in Ljubljana “The Italian and Hungarian Nationalities in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia” (1983) which documents how bilingualism operated for on the one hand the Slovene and Italian communities and on the other for the Hungarian and Slovene communities with both communities learning in both languages in pre-school Day Centres, primary schools and secondary schools and “whereby these languages are equal both as mother-tongue and the language of instruction”.

The role of parents and community in these developments is well documented in “The participation of parents, schools and the social surroundings in the realization of the concept of bilingual education and instruction” by Silvo Devetak, Renata Mejak and Sonja Lukanovic whose principal finding is that “ the association and participation of the parents and social surroundings with the school contributes to the improvement of instructional and educational results and towards the affirmation of the concept of bilingual schools”.

As the IoE’s, Euan Reid reports in his paper to the Soviet- English Symposium on National Curriculum (Moscow 1991) “linguistic and cultural diversity have become the norm in the cities of Western Europe ...and it should be clear these are not transient populations who will go back to their old countries when the economy takes a downturn. It is reformed mainstream curricula and assessment and school organization that are needed for newly-defined multinational entities in a post-nationalist era, not marginal programmes for minority groups” and referring to the OECD/CERI study “Dimensions of Cultural Pluralism” Reid states: “That is to say a) incorporation into core curricula of the linguistic and cultural knowledge and experience of all pupils in school systems, rather than just that of dominant national elites; b) participation in educational decision making by minority as well as majority parents and communities; c) the use of interactional as well as transmissional pedagogies, and of participatory and formative assessment processes: all of these were more

likely than continuation of the existing conservative patterns to lead to the educational success for the mixed populations of school systems” across the world. Reid concludes that throughout the world when renewing national curricula “drawing on many different linguistic, religious and/or cultural traditions, it is becoming ever clearer that they need to break out of the narrowly nationalistic ways of thinking. Intercultural education, bilingual education and anti-racist education all need to be developed further if the needs and desires of pupils everywhere are to be met”

The Council of Europe’s ‘The Nationalities question- from Versailles to the present day’ by Jacqueline Delrot (1991) concludes that ‘The more or less perceptible outbreaks of nationalistic fervour in Central and Eastern Europe since 1988 are the direct outcome of the choice of frontiers made by the victors in 1918’.

In the future, education of mother-tongue could come to be viewed as something for the family to transmit with strong support from the primary school but with the primary school to some extent and with the secondary school’s main role to develop language policies and practices that increase the potential for all in society to be able to communicate with one another in the territory and with others in the world.

This approach is in line with the latest research from UNESCO “Girls, Educational Equity and Mother Tongue-based Teaching” (2005) which argues that language, specifically the language used in schools, is one of the principal mechanisms through which inequality in education is reproduced. It shows how the learner’s mother tongue holds the key to making schooling more inclusive for all disadvantaged groups, especially for girls and women. It specifically demonstrates that bilingual education starts with the learner’s knowledge and experiences by developing reading, writing and thinking skills in mother-tongue (Language 1) while teaching the second or foreign language (language 2) as a subject. If time is taken to build second language skills based on a solid foundation in the first language, the results can be high-level bilingualism and biliteracy, as wide-scale longitudinal research in Northern European countries has shown. A strong bilingual model such as this provides long-term benefits like higher self-esteem, greater self-confidence and higher aspirations for schooling and life.

A policy that offers mother-tongue teaching and learning support for all in school alongside the learning of another language of the territory and of the English language would enable the preservation of linguistic identity, communication with all in the society where one lives and the language of the global world.

This language policy could be further enlivened in a second phase of development by allowing schools to teach one of the subjects in the languages being learnt and have a curriculum offer in the school; to include for example in a non-Albanian language community school, for example one subject Geography in English and another Music in Albanian. For an Albanian speaking community’s school it might include for example Art in Serb language and Music in English.

In a third phase of development in some schools, and coinciding with these schools’ adoption of an ambitiously defined multi-ethnic school, an even more multilingual curriculum could be on offer to those parents who sought that education for their children.

The pedagogy of group work could be used for the students of different mother-tongues to support the learning of each other when their mother-tongue was being used as the language of instruction. In this way the school over time would become the central mechanism for continuing social integration, for the celebration of diversity and for the continued preparation for success in the global economy through diverse linguistic competences.

In the long term and in the light of the Gorani community’s experiences an increasingly cohesive language policy and practice might be achievable.

The development of projects, through EU funding programmes such as Socrates, with other European countries such as Poland, Belgium, Hungary, and Italy should be explored around the issues of constructing mother-tongue teaching and learning within a bilingual and multilingual school context.

(10) Review the approach and policy on history in the National Curriculum

The Declaration on Rights of Persons belonging to National and Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic minorities (1992) provides details of the content of education in situations where there are many different ethnic communities. Thus the state encourages the knowledge of the history, traditions, language and culture of all the communities within their territory. Likewise all the communities should gain knowledge of society as a whole (Article 4, paragraph 4). This again involves the necessity for intercultural education among the Kosovo population.

However, it is important to stress here that issues of equality of educational provision does not mean the sacrifice of quality of education and training. This issue is addressed by the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) in Article 5.

Teaching history as a 'story' has various pitfalls and one way of ensuring that young people acquire a critical understanding of the past is to allow them skills to interpret, analyse historical evidence, narratives or documents. At this level there is a need for an intervention of historians and social scientists to provide taxonomy of what constitutes a multicultural society. If societies are considered to have become multicultural because of the presence of 'the other' (an internal enemy) then parliamentarians and policy-makers confront a totally different set of questions and issues than if societies are seen as historically diverse or multicultural.

For instance, the teaching of history can and should include the contributions that all groups and nationalities have made to Kosovo, its culture, civilisation. This can include issues of antipathy, conflicts or co-operation. This appears the approach being developed by the Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in South-East Europe which involving scholars from across the region is producing 'objective history manuals' and translating the work into ten languages of South East Europe. It is gratifying that the Kosovo authorities are reported as "keenly interested" in this work. Also encouraging is the statement by the Serbia and Montenegro Education Minister, Slobodan Vuksanovic saying "they are the first teaching materials he is not ashamed to show his teenage daughter" (The Economist 17/12/05). Building on these developments seems entirely appropriate.

The reported model for the future history textbook for the Bosniac and other communities to be produced in Kosovo in the future as 30-40% of "own country" i.e. Bosnian History and 70-60% from Kosovo, seems less appropriate and gives rise to the question of whether it is the appropriate for Bosniac speaking children living in Kosovo, whose ancestors at some stage originated in Bosnia, to study specifically the history of Bosnia Herzegovina or the history of Kosovo and the place of Kosovo in the wider Europe and of the Bosniac community within Kosovo and indeed the wider Europe.

A focus on elements that exist for shaping a Kosovan history inclusive of "their history" and "our history" but as sensitive to specificities are possible is a suggested starting point. This is the process suggested by the Council of Europe and implemented in Germany and France for example.

In this globalizing highly mobile world, a history curriculum stressing World and European history alongside the positives of the past for all Kosovans is more appropriate than a series of different histories using textbooks originating in other countries written in other languages by authors from another country about the history of another country which an ancestor of the child in the school was once associated with.

The development of projects, again through EU funding programmes such as Socrates, with other European countries such as Finland, Slovenia, Slovakia and Germany around the issues of constructing history in a diverse context might be an appropriate starting point.

(11) Develop strategies that allow all communities in the short and medium term to access Higher Education in any way possible. In the long term a unified inclusive European system will be helped to arise by the Bologna process and involvement in Tempus projects.

The Bologna process is making the experience of Erasmus (a period of study in another University in another country in Europe) more and more common. The model of European education is changing, increasingly and appropriately for this globalizing world. Learning in Higher Education institutions is going to take place in different institutions in different countries. The mobile student will be more the norm and less the exception.

Currently in Kosovo there are limited Higher Education provisions for all students who seek it. Provisions are particularly limited for those with a Slavic mother-tongue. It is in Kosovo's interest to ensure that there are as many graduates, irrespective of age, gender or mother-tongue, in its economy as quickly as possible and therefore to have as few barriers as possible for individuals to access Higher Education. Indeed, the frameworks of the Bologna process and of Tempus may well be an appropriate overarching framework for collaboration between the various parts of the former Yugoslavia and the South East of Europe as a whole.

Building on the Bologna process with neighbouring territories will help to ensure in the short term more opportunities for Higher Education for more of Kosovo's workforce and a cost-effective model of Higher Education for all these neighbours. In the long term a unified system of Higher Education in Europe will make the process of development in Kosovo much easier and its ambition shaped in the context of Europe's overall strategy.

Involvement in Tempus projects will give further insights and momentum to the overall Bologna process.

4.4 Seek out and build on opportunities to achieve economic development

The European Union to survive and be prosperous determined it must become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion (European Council, Lisbon, March 2000).

To achieve this ambitious goal, Heads of States and Government asked for "not only a radical transformation of the European economy, but also a challenging programme for the modernisation of social welfare and education systems". In 2002, they went on to say that by 2010, Europe should be the world leader in terms of the quality of its education and training systems.

Making this happen will mean a fundamental transformation of education and training throughout Europe. This process of change will be carried out in each country according to national contexts and traditions and will be driven forward by cooperation between Member States at European level, through the sharing of experiences, working towards common goals and learning from what works best elsewhere. To ensure their contribution to the Lisbon strategy, Ministers of Education adopted in 2001 a report of the future objectives of education and training systems agreeing for the first time on shared objectives to be achieved by 2010. A year later, the Education Council and the Commission endorsed a 10 year work programme to be implemented through the open method of coordination. Approved by the European Council, these agreements constitute the new and coherent Community strategic framework of co-operation in the fields of education and training.

Ministers of education agreed on three major goals to be achieved by 2010 for the benefit of the citizens and the EU as a whole:

- (i) Improve the quality and effectiveness of EU education and training systems;
- (ii) Ensure that they are accessible to all;
- (iii) Open up education and training to the wider world.

To achieve these ambitious but realistic goals, they agreed on thirteen specific objectives covering the various types and levels of education and training (formal, non-formal and informal) aimed at making a reality of lifelong learning. Systems have to improve on all fronts: teacher training; basic skills; integration of Information and Communication Technologies; efficiency of investments; language learning; lifelong guidance; flexibility of the systems to make learning accessible to all, mobility, and citizenship education.

Working Groups have been working over the course of the last two years on one or more objectives of the work programme. Gathering experts from 31 European countries as well as stakeholders and interested EU and international organisations, their role is to support the implementation of the objectives for education and training systems at national level through exchanges of "good practices", study visits, peer reviews.

"Education and Training 2010" integrates all actions in the fields of education and training at European level, including vocational education and training (The Copenhagen process). The Bologna process initiated in 1999 is crucial in the development of the European Higher Education Area. Both contribute actively to the achievement of the Lisbon objectives and are therefore closely linked to the "Education and Training 2010" work programme.

This is the context that Kosovo policy makers need to focus on to shape the business plan for Kosovo's economic development and consider these recommendations, which flow out Section 2 and the analyses above:

(1) Build prosperity so that prejudice and discrimination have fewer economic roots.

All communities in Kosovo insist that economic development will make inter-group tensions fewer and less intense. This is the experience of history across the world. All measures that can be taken to build prosperity need to be taken and distributed for the benefit of all the communities in Kosovo not one community.

In common with many countries of Europe, South-East Asia and beyond, an educated and young population is a key element for the prosperity of a polity. It is appropriate to invest in the development of the education system and to consider the recommendations about the educational system impact on economic development in the report by the IoE to MEST which reviewed the first steps in the implementation of the National Curriculum in Kosovo.

It is also important for the economy to have a clear business plan for the next decade and to tie it as closely as possible to the overarching schemata of the Lisbon agenda. It is also essential for the education system to take the necessary steps to provide experiences supportive to the overall Kosovo business plan. For example, in Slovakia in 1992 the political leadership concluded there was a need to develop enterprising people in schools to encourage entrepreneurship in the future. The Enterprise Education in Slovakia programme (1992- 96) introduced enterprise education as a compulsory optional subject to the curriculum of all Vocational Schools in Slovakia by 1996.

One measure that should be taken alongside economic measures is to legislate further against discrimination in employment and ensure these laws are policed strongly.

Another step would be to explore the range of European Union funded projects to ensure current possible benefits and involvements in those projects are maximized. The EU's PHARE programme, for example, offered funding for the second phase of the Enterprise Education in Slovakia programme.

(2) Position Kosovo to avoid the threats of globalization and to take advantages of its opportunities.

The threats of globalization are that competition for scarce resources and prosperity is everywhere and is becoming more intense and more difficult to cope with by many and especially the uneducated and the weak. So it is a potential economic danger to Kosovo which is relatively weak.

The advantages of globalization are broadly political at this stage in the development of the polity in that the norms of behaviour of the leaders of globalization over all include an understanding and participation in democracy, issues of human rights, protection of all communities and the environment. These emphasizes are an opportunity for Kosovo and create the potential for additional economic incentives to modernize and reform the political process in Kosovo.

The responses in Kosovo to globalization should include supporting the education of all Kosovo's youth to the highest standards in line with the Lisbon Agenda's goals for education and training systems and to use the

legitimacy from the world's dominant norms to bring those further into Kosovo's norms and customs and thus continue to build social cohesion in Kosovo.

In the short term it is imperative to explore how the relationship with the European Union in the short, medium and long term would increase the political and economic benefits to all of Kosovo of globalization.

At the micro level of the institutions in Kosovo it is appropriate to explore ways, especially through schemes that foster entrepreneurship across the whole of society. In schools, schemes such as Junior Achievement or its European sister, Young Enterprise, will support the increase the economic and industrial understanding of all school students and indeed all the population.

4.5 Offer targeted support including positive discrimination to different communities in response to specific circumstances and needs

The signing of the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 granted the European Union powers to take action against discrimination across a number of grounds including race (as set out in Article 13). In 2000, there followed directives on racial equality and on equality in employment, which Member States were required to incorporate into their domestic law by 2003. All Member States are required under the directives to have a specialised body covering race - although many, as in UK, are choosing to also create bodies covering other equality grounds as well such as The Equal Opportunities Commission for gender and the Disability Council for disabilities. To assist in the effective and consistent implementation of the directives, the EU also agreed an action programme to run from 2001 to 2006. This programme has involved raising awareness, research, and funding specific projects.

The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) and its information network (RAXEN) exist to provide data on race and racism, comparable between Member States, and to identify best practice throughout the EU. The aim is that such information provides the essential baseline to enable informed debate and co-ordinated and effective action to be taken at EU level. It also provides a valuable source of information to those working within Member States as it facilitates comparisons, links and sharing of good practice between member states. The standard of the information collated has generally been good, but the impact has been limited by a lack of dissemination. It is worth noting here that a central feature of the UK approach to an evidence base for tackling racial discrimination is ethnic monitoring, which results in statistical data that can show where disparities exist between ethnic groups. By contrast, ethnic monitoring is not widely accepted across other EU Member States and is even unlawful in some.

EU activity to support integration

There is now an EU annual report on integration, and each Member State is required to contribute to it via their national contact point. A good practice guide/handbook is also being produced, due to be available by November 2004, following a series of conferences looking at different aspects of integration. The last of these conferences looking at indicators of integration has yet to take place and will be hosted by the UK. There are two EU funding programmes that are directly relevant to integration: INTI (integration of third country nationals), administered by the European Commission, and ERF (European Refugee Fund), administered via the designated 'responsible authority' in each Member State (Immigration and Nationality Directorate for the UK). There was a new INTI call for proposals at the end of April 2004.

Employment and social inclusion

There are EU level strategies for employment and for social inclusion, each of which require Member States to have national level action plans and indicators. There is now a much higher profile for integration issues in these strategies at the EU level. The European Commission launched a campaign in 2003 called 'For Diversity, Against Discrimination' to raise awareness and provide information about anti-discrimination across all grounds covered by the directives. The first year of the campaign focuses on employment. The EQUAL programme, funded under the European Social Fund (ESF), aims to increase employability through

encouraging and supporting innovation and sharing of solutions between Member States. It operates across a number of themes including race, which is led by the UK.

Framework decision on combating racism and xenophobia

This was a proposal by the European Commission in 2001 which aimed to harmonise criminal law against racism in Member States and facilitate judicial co-operation. The last discussion at the Council of Ministers was in February 2003, although recently there has been renewed attention to it in EU discussion on anti-terrorism measures, and in the EUMC's recent report on anti-Semitism.

Positive Discrimination

Positive discrimination is a policy or a programme providing access to systems for people of a minority community, who have traditionally been discriminated against, with the aim of creating a more egalitarian society. This consists of access to education, employment, health care and social welfare.

Positive discrimination began as corrective for past governmental and social injustices against demographic groups that have been subjected to prejudice. Such groups are characterized most commonly by race, sex, gender or ethnicity. Positive discrimination seeks to increase the representation of these demographic groups in schools, in work place, and in society in general.

A certain minority group or gender may be less proportionately represented in an area, often employment or education, due predominantly, in the view of proponents, to past or ongoing discrimination against members of the group. The theory is that a simple adoption of meritocratic principles along the lines of race-blindness or gender blindness would not suffice to change the situation for several reasons:

From its outset, positive discrimination was seen as a transitional strategy, with the intent that over some period of time—variously estimated from a generation to a century—the effects of past discrimination would be sufficiently countered that such a strategy would no longer be necessary: the power elite would reflect the demographics of society at large.

Though positive discrimination in, for example the U.S.A, is primarily associated with racial issues, the American civil rights movement originally gave as its purpose the correction of a history of oppression against all working-class and low-income people, and women have figured as prominently as ethnic minorities among its beneficiaries. Martin Luther King actually suggested it might be necessary to have something akin to "discrimination in reverse" as a form of national "atonement" for the legacy of slavery and Jim Crow segregation."

The European context and its emphases on equal opportunities, positive discrimination and anti-racism for all in addition to the main findings in Section 2 above point to the following specific suggestions in the context of Kosovo:

(1) Seek and achieve membership of the European Union

Seek and achieve membership of the European Union to receive support and infrastructure to maintain momentum in achieving the specific recommendations below.

Explore European Union programmes such EQUAL and lobby for inclusion in all of them. Explore with other European partners projects within these frameworks.

(2) Agree with the Gorani the short and medium term steps to achieve their expressed long term goal to participate in Kosovo society and education through the medium of the Albanian/Slavic language.

The Gorani have expressed a desire to be involved in a significant re-conceptualisation of the key issue of the language to be used for their community's future education.

A success in this negotiation with the Gorani community will help the attainment in the longer term of other more difficult recommendations for the benefit of their children. .

Invest effort and be flexible to achieve agreement with the Gorani about the required action plan and ensure transparent and equal dialogue between Gorani community and MEST.

(3) Prishtina and Belgrade should continue to be encouraged by UN institutions to ensure equal and quality education for all, aiming to solve the small scale human tragedies being lived by human beings now.

In the spirit of the “neighbourliness” which will be a given for all time and a requirement at some stage in the future in pursuit of membership of the European Union, whatever the outcome of the status talks Prishtina and Belgrade should begin to discuss how they can co-operate to bring a better life to those members of all communities, who are suffering at present by the lack of dialogue.

UN organisations might try to stimulate this taking place even more vigorously; howsoever it is possible, including facilitating the discussion of practical issues at local level between neighbours, between neighbouring communities, between enclaves and their local municipalities.

(4) Tackle the causes of disadvantage of the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities with additional measures and more positive discrimination.

In determining the approach it is necessary to consult with the communities before starting programmes of support.

Explore the significant range of activities the European Union has funded in support of disadvantaged Roma communities across Europe and trial those that are deemed appropriate by key inform the RAE communities.

Careful consideration should be given to incentives schemes to RAE families to encourage through incremental rewards for their children’s uninterrupted attendance at school. Rewarding disproportionately the last few years should be considered.

The final recommendation seeks to take forward the processes suggested in the report and is explored in detail in the next section. It is that:

(5) Roundtables of all communities in Kosovo should be brought to discuss the recommendations in this report through the processes suggested in Section 5 below.

Section 5 – Suggestions as to how to achieve recommendations attainable in the short, medium and long terms

5.1 Introduction

This section seeks to make some concrete suggestions about the next steps to achieve the final recommendation of Section 4.

It is suggested that UNICEF in a partnership of the international and local agencies and authorities should facilitate bringing together in a spirit of equality the representatives of all the stakeholders and communities in Kosovo to a series of roundtables to first discuss in turn each of the 22 sets of questions in the Main Findings above in Section 3 and second each of the main recommendations in Section 4 above.

5.2 The first set of tasks at the roundtables

The first task starts with exploring a topic of the Main Findings through the questions suggested around that topic without also offering the authors’ interpretations of the findings, as they might be disputed and this is neither wanted nor sought.

So, for example the task would be:

The first step. The facilitator puts participants of the roundtable into groups of 3 or 4 from different communities/stakeholders, asks them to first discuss for example the following questions, drawn from 3.2.6 above, and then to produce an agreed group answer to these questions after 30 minutes of discussion

The impact of globalization

What are the different aspects of globalization? Are cities and the countryside being affected differently? Are different communities being affected differently?

What aspects of globalization contribute to social integration and what aspects are a force for the separation of communities?

Which aspects of globalization provide opportunities in Kosovo for political economic and social developments? How might these opportunities be developed and strengthened?

Which aspects of globalization encourage barriers to developments?

How might these barriers be eliminated?

What is Kosovo’s business plan for prospering in the future?

What needs to be done in schools to support these developments and to prepare students to maximize their society’s benefits from globalization and to reduce the risks from it?

What economic initiatives of candidate countries for European Union status and recent EU member states are worth emulating by Kosovo?

The second step - each group would make a presentation and the facilitator would point out the similarities and differences between the presentations.

The exercise could be left there or additional steps taken.

The third step would be to form new groups of 3 or 4 different people who would be given the task to address and solve in 30 minutes any disagreements expressed in the earlier group answers and identified as such by the facilitator.

The fourth step would be to hear the suggestions of the different groups as to how to solve the disagreements.

The fifth step would be a plenary discussion to achieve a whole group consensus about the original questions.

5.3 The second set of tasks at the roundtables

The second set of tasks would start by first exploring all the recommendations in Section 4 above, then adding any additional suggested recommendations agreed by all.

Then all recommendations would be classified in terms of the level of difficulty.

Secondly, cognisant of the impact of the “status talks” on the recommendation, to analyse each recommendation, ***starting with the easiest***, through the following format:

To achieve the recommendation we must :			
	In the Short term	In the Medium term	In the Long term
At the Global level			

At the European Level			
At the level of South-East Europe			
At territorial level			
At Regional level			
At Local level			
At Institutional level			

5.4 A worked example

Recommendation : Agree with the Gorani the short and medium term milestones to their agreed long term goal of incorporation into the education system of Kosovo through the medium of the Albanian language			
	Short term	Medium term	Long term
Global level	Encourage the	Encourage the	Celebrate the

	process	process	achievement
European Level	Encourage the process. Promise to fund the process and outcomes	Encourage the process. Fund the process	Celebrate the achievement. Fund the first steps of the outcomes.
South-East Europe	Encourage the process	Encourage the process	Record and publicise the achievement in the SEE ECN and elsewhere
National	MEST and Gorani community leaders engage in dialogue and agree objectives and timescales. Facilitated by UNICEF.	Implement objectives and timescales with the progress chasing of the agreements by UNICEF facilitators.	All Gorani start to learn in all schools through the Albanian medium
Regional	Offer support and suggestions to the dialogue and objectives and timescales	Support the implementation of the agreements in agreed timescale	MEST regional offices support the process
Local	Offer support to the dialogue and to the agreement of objectives and timescales	Implement agreements in agreed timescale including Albanian language support for the whole Gorani community.	Gorani schools close as “Gorani schools” and become whole community MEST schools. Gorani teachers are redeployed in these and other MEST schools

Institutional	Observe dialogue and offer suggestions to it	Implement agreements in agreed timescale including Albanian language lessons for the whole Gorani community.	MEST schools have Gorani students learning in Albanian and the requisite support measures for that end.

When the roundtables of the communities have analysed all the recommendations and developed action plans these would be offered to the dialogues and processes of the status talks. Therefore, the pace of at the roundtables is likely to need to be brisk.

Part 4- Further Information

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KEC Didactic Centres- case studies (2002)

EUA – University of Mitrovicë/a - Report of an EUA site visit (2002)

ESI – The Lausanne Principle – June 2004

OEK Kosovo Chamber of Commerce- a proposal

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Technology, Education and Economic Development- Glenn Farrell – 13th Commonwealth Conference of Education Ministers 1997 Botswana.

II. School visits undertaken by the team from the Institute of Education, University of London during May 2005

Name of the group	DATE	Time		School	Place
		AM	PM		
Primary Schools	19.5.2005	7.30		Hasan Prishtina	Prishtinë
			13.30	Ismail Qemali	Prishtinë
	20.5.2005	8.00		Nënë Tereza	Vranidoll
			13:30	“Shkendija”	Hajvali
	23.5.2005	8:30		“ 7 Shtatori”	Vitimiricë
			14:00	“Xhemail Kada	Pejë

	24.5.2005	8:30		“Bajram Curri”	Strelle
Gymnasium schools	19.5.2005	7.30		Sami Frashëri	Prishtinë
			13.30	Eqrem Çabej	Prishtinë
	20.5.2005	All day		“Aleksander Xhuvani”	Podujevë
	23.5.2005	8 :30		Gymnasium “Bedri Pejani”	Pejë
	23.5.2005		14:00	Gymnasium	Istog
	24.5.2005	8:30		Gymnasium	Klinë
Vocational secondary schools	19.5.2005	7.30		28 Nëntori	Prishtinë
			13.30	Gjin Gazulli	Prishtinë
	20.5.2005	8.00		Shtjefën Gjeqovi	Prishtinë
	23.5.2005	8:30		Technical sch.	Pejë
			14:00	Technical sch.	Istog
24.5.2005	8:30		Vocational school	Klinë	

On the 25th of May additional visits were made to the Vocational secondary medical school “Dr.Ali Sokoli” and the Xhevdet Doda” gymnasium in Prishtina.

In all these schools semi-structured interviews took place with the Director, staff and students. Observations of 3-4 lessons were made and an informal tour of some of the school buildings was made and the facilities available noted.

IIIa. Other meetings during the visits in May and in October

On the first day of the visit **May** 18th, the team were met and briefed by the Permanent Secretary of MEST Isuf Zenelli and his officials and Ms Aferdita Spahiu of UNICEF.

On Friday 20th of May, Axel Sachs- GTZ’s Project Manager met a member of the team

On Saturday 21st of May MEST officers had a plenary session with the Institute of Education team. This plenary meeting was followed by group meetings with specific MEST colleagues with remits for Science, Mother-tongue teaching and Vocational Education and finally there were some one to one interviews with a few officers of the MEST.

Also on Saturday May 21st the team met with Dr Edmond Hajrizi, President of the University for Business and Technology.

On the last day May 25th, the team visited MEST’s officer for Higher Education, Xhavit Rexhaj, UNICEF’s Robert Fuderich, the Minister of Education Agmin Velju, his Chef de Cabinet Bekim Tocani and his Adviser Dr Esad Dauti.

The group of MEST officers most closely involved in the May visit were:

Agim Bërdyna, Head of Department
Enesa Kadiq-Head of Division
Ramush Lekaj- Head of Division
Remzi Salihu-Head of Unit
Mustafë Kadriu- Head of Unit
Ryve Prekoragja-Officer for vocational education
Nehar Shishko- Officer for vocational education

These MEST colleagues provided an immense amount of additional information and comment during the days in which in a largely unobtrusive way they supported with care and patience the IoE team visits to schools.

Above all with respect to the May visit we would like to thank Miranda Kasneci - Deputy Head of Education Department who not only co-ordinated the work of the MEST team involved in the study so effectively but who honestly, openly, energetically and wisely responded to the IoE team's all too many questions and requests and whose intelligence, hospitality and warmth is remarked on by all members of the IoE team whenever her name comes up in conversation.

IIIb Meetings during the visit in October:

The following are the majority of the individuals met:

Robert Fuderich UNICEF

Aferdita Spahiu UNICEF

Ben Perks UNICEF

Momčilo Arlov UNICEF

Gordana Perović UNICEF

Miranda Kasneci MEST Deputy Head of Education Section

Syleman Thaqi MEST Officer In-service training Unit

Enesa Kadić MEST Community and Gender Officer

Gligorije Stojanović Director K-S Education system, Graçanicë/Gračanica

Staff and students of PS Kralj Milutin, Graçanicë/Gračanica

CSD staff and youngsters, Graçanicë/Gračanica

Olga Gucic her staff and students of school, Janjevë/Janjevo

Illir Kasneci and staff Regional Education Office, Pejë/Peć

Igor Ivančić UNHCR, Pejë/Peć

Director and staff Primary School Vitromice, Pejë/Peć

Mr Bumirovic, staff and students in PS Janko Jovičević, Gorazhdëvc/Goraždevac

Jagoda Trajkovic and staff at PS Vuk Karadžić, Priluzhë/Priluzje

Director of PS Meto Barajktari, Mitrovicë/a (south)

Predag Stojcetovic Co-ordinator K-S Education Authority, Mitrovicë/a (north)

Dragan Radovanovic Programme Officer Save the Children, Mitrovicë/a (north)

Maria Agnese Giordano OSCE, Mitrovicë/a (north)

Gorani Community Representatives, Dragash/Dragaš, Gora

Johan Schrupf, PIO Office, Prishtinë/Priština

Pierre Weber, PIO Office, Prishtinë/Priština

* The trainers training team and trainees Zubin Potok/Zubin Potok, Mitrovicë/a (north)

* The Sociology Professor of the University of Prishtinë/Priština

(* names obtainable from Momčilo Arlov and / or Aferdita Spahiu)

In a social context only:

Mirushe Dalipi and her husband and Halil Bashota and his flat mate.

Many thanks to Halil Bashota and Mirushe Dalipi for the help at a distance that they offered with the place names in the different official languages of the different places visited.

With respect to the October visit we would like to thank all the staff of UNICEF in their Mitrovicë/a and Prishtinë/Priština offices for facilitating so efficiently the visits.

IV Key informants consulted– located away from Kosovo

Professor Mitja Zagar, Dr Jasmina Zugic, Tom Wachtel, Euan Reid and Dr Fani Stylianidou

Appendix II - Argument underpinning the interpretation of the main findings and the recommendations

2.1 Introduction

This Appendix builds on the ambitions of the report stated in section 1.7 above and describes the international legal context, draws out the implications for Kosovo of that international context and outlines the broad political, economic social and educational responses and developments required for Kosovo to implement the international legal context in the territory.

2.2 International legal context

There are various conventions, Declarations and Recommendations which are relevant to the implementation of intercultural educational measures.

The post-World War II period and the growth of the United Nation system provide the fundamental international standard-setting instruments. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) is one of the earliest instruments; even though it is non-binding, it is essential to the concept of intercultural education. It stipulates that “education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality” and would promote tolerance, understanding and friendship among nations, racial and religious groups (Article 26, para 2)

These two principles have been the basis of subsequent instruments on education and reproduced in the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) and the UNESCO recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1974)

These principles are also elaborated in many instruments such as:

The International Convention on the elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (1965)

The Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989)

Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination based on Religion or Belief (1981)

Treaties, Conventions and Covenants are part of the landscape of international legal framework. They are binding for the contracting parties and produce legal obligations. In addition to the two basic principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which state that education plays a role in the full development of an individual and the promotion of understanding and peace, they also establish other concepts which are relevant to intercultural education. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights (1966) stresses in Article 13 that education enables individuals to participate in a free society. The Convention on Technical and Vocational Education (1989) stresses in Article 3 that technical vocational education should take cognisance of the educational, cultural and social background of the population with regard to their vocational aspirations. In planning to compete in the globalised economic market Kosovo society's diversity can be an asset if the different cultural and social backgrounds can be used to harness the human resource of a largely young population.

Such human potential and resource can be largely enhanced if educational and vocational education provision takes seriously the provision in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) Article 29, to take cultural identity, language and values of a child as part of their educational experience.

There are also Recommendations and Declarations which are non-binding in character but are relevant for issues of intercultural education. The UNESCO Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding and Co-operation and Peace and Education for Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1974) stresses the importance of the study of different cultures (Article 17), a respect for all peoples, their cultures, values and civilizations; skills which include the linguistic diversity which can enhance abilities to communicate and the global perspective in education (Article 4)

The same principle is present in the UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice (1978) and stresses the necessity to combat racism (article 5.2)

The UNESCO recommendation on Development of Adult Education (1976) has several provisions relevant to the concept of intercultural education. In the context of Kosovo it may be particularly relevant that education of adults helps create an understanding and respect for the diversity of customs and cultures (paragraph II 2) The provision of an active role to a learner so that the vehicle of a culture can enable an adult to be both a learner and a teacher (paragraph II 3) There is also the need to meet the educational needs of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) so that they can successfully re-establish, adapt and contribute to life in Kosovo after their return.

The Declaration on Rights of Persons belonging to National and Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic minorities (1992) also provides details of the content of education in situations where there are many communities. Thus the state encourages the knowledge of the history, traditions, language and culture of all the communities within their territory. Likewise, all the communities should gain knowledge of society as a whole (Article 4, paragraph 4). This again involves the necessity for intercultural education among the Kosovo population.

It is important to stress that issues of equality of educational provisions does not mean the sacrifice of quality of education and training. This issue is addressed by the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) in Article 5.

The above international instruments have been cited using only relevant clauses to enable MEST to structure the provision for intercultural education and to build on the range of sentiments and clauses in the new National Curriculum that hint at this approach.

2.3 Human Rights are fundamental

This is necessitated by the presence of diversity of groups who need to get along with each other, live in peace and amity to enable a healthy, stable and prosperous Kosovan society to emerge this century.

2.4 From Protectorate to a new modern entity

It is to be expected that the presence of UNMIK and KFOR will help in the development of a complete set of integrated institutions. This constitutional architecture should enable the Kosovan government to function with a modern set of institutions based on a constitutional framework which acts as enabling instruments and structures. Hence, the move from the current transnational position, to becoming a state which meets both national and international standards, can help ensure that Kosovo does not become a ghetto of Europe.

The UNMIK/PISG's role in educational reforms is particularly relevant for this Paper in as far as the reforms relate to educational provision, human resource development and employment. These measures can help enabling and enlarging the emergence of democratic civil society in which there are good intercultural relations. These would be particularly in the interests of the majority Albanian speaking population and avoid the processing of considering non-Albanian speaking communities as "the other". Such integrated and integrative policies would ensure that inter-group relations are based on building partnerships based on the principles highlighted above by the international instruments cited.

At certain levels MEST will have to play a very delicate role in establishing the structuring which enabled different social and cultural groups and interests through mediation to establish situations where conceptual partnership situations can develop. Before the educational professionals can undertake this task, the political elite must provide leadership by creating autonomous spaces where partnership structures can be put in place by proposals. These integrative processes are extremely complex, following as they do after situations of conflict. The following sections of the paper will consider the problems, possibilities and practical suggestions of what the various barriers might be and to suggest where possible a staged intervention to achieve an optimum education system for all Kosovan people.

2.5 The political context of intercultural education in Kosovo

The basic assumption of this section of the paper is that education on its own cannot solve all societal problems. Multi-dimensional action is needed to solve ethnic conflicts; political action and economic measures are fundamental to the resolution of such conflicts. What is being suggested is not the politicisation of education, but the recognition of the broader political context in which education takes place.

The political context of where and how societal inclusions or exclusions in Kosovo take place is important. Education as a process does not occur in absence of the political system and the decisions taken within it. This has become an all the more critical issue because even in the twenty first century many of the gains of the modern state in the nineteenth century are being reversed: the abolition of slavery and serfdom, the establishment of democracies and the enfranchisement of people, and the establishment of the laws, rules, regulations and constitutional frameworks which guarantee people's human rights. How, one might ask, have these hard won rights and developments been over-ridden by the recent rise of narrow ethnicism and nationalism in Kosovo and south-east Europe generally? In many other parts of the world also, seemingly normal national political forces have unleashed violence at various levels neighbourhoods, communities, localities, regions and nations. Civilised and educated polities have turned into jungles. The rise of ethnicised violence in its wake raises a question about why such violence has arisen from within what were considered stable national, educated and civilised states. Conflict and violence in the past few decades has not been between states, but within nation states and herein lies a much more urgent challenge and a delicate task for all citizens and governmental systems in Kosovo. Education systems have a role in inhibiting or exacerbating inter-ethnic conflict within a state like Kosovo.

The loss of capacity by a political state to cope because groups or populations have become superfluous to its needs, or to provide for them, has led to extreme situations. While state systems have tended to impose

controls, populations, have either resisted, migrated or been reduced to refugees through civil strife and/or economic reasons. Hence, all sections of young people, especially during this period of globalisation whether wealthy or poor are subject to uncertainty and change. For different reasons young people can act in irrational, erratic and violent ways. There are numerous examples of wealthy communities and young people being involved for instance in ethnic or football violence. As Hans Enzensberger writes about young people in Western Europe, youth is the vanguard of civil war. The reasons for this lie not only in the normal pent-up physical and emotional energies of adolescence, but in the incomprehensible legacy young people inherit: the irreconcilable problem of wealth that brings no joy. But everything they get up to has its origins, albeit in latent form, in their parents, a destructive mania that dares not express itself in socially tolerated forms - an obsession with cars, with work and with gluttony, alcoholism, greed, litigiousness, racism and violence at home. If this is the situation in richer communities then the problems in poorer communities where there is despondency and despair can lead to even greater problems for governmental systems and the educational process to develop hope rather than resistance.

This is not the case in Kosovo, but the danger needs to be pointed out here. The ability of any civil authority to govern, and to adequately educate the communities -adults, parents and young people – helps to avoid conflict situations.

At one level the education systems have failed to develop critical faculties as well as analytical powers which can assist the slide into ethnic strife and chaos. Nations use symbols legitimated by education systems of their invented identities which construct ‘us’ and ‘them, ‘belongers’ and ‘strangers’. In Kosovo the education system has a major challenge within the education system to play a role in exacerbating or resolving these dilemmas.

The greatest paradox is that national authorities can continue with impunity to violate their own citizens and international interventions in them do little to stop these violations.

Action to alleviate problems of ethnic conflict can be initiated at supra-national local, national, regional and local levels. In Kosovo there are overwhelming UNMIK and KFOR presences and these should be used by the Kosovan society to stabilise the issues in relation to the ethnic tensions and conflicts.

2.6 Parliamentary action

Issues of xenophobia and racism in Kosovo, other European countries and in other parts of the world have relevance for public and social policy and it is for parliamentarians to consider these matters judiciously, refine them and to develop agendas in which inclusion, stability and peace have high priorities. A second major concern of parliamentarians within Kosovo ought to be to establish a South East European wide parliamentary group which cuts across all political parties. The assumption here is that intercultural relations are not the prerogative of any particular political perspective or any one political party, since issues of racism and xenophobia are deep in their intensity. For Kosovo this can be a historic moment and at a time when political and governmental structures are being created and developed to build a state apparatus which will address the futuristic needs of all Kosovan people in an increasingly globalizing world. This obviously would require parliamentarians across party political divides to work together to enhance notions of a multicultural Kosovo deep into this millennium. The emerging government can draw upon various initiatives into fields of interculturalism, democratic and human rights undertaken by the Council of Europe, including the 1997 European Year against Racism which initiated a process to deal with these issues and to establish a more systematic institutional framework to counter racism and xenophobia. These initiatives on their own have been sufficient for Europe and neither will they be for Kosovo because longer term strategies are required. In this respect the work of the European Centre for the Monitoring of Racism and Xenophobia in Vienna would be a useful and supportive organisation. The urgent need for this arises because hard line reactionary, xenophobic, racist and fascistic groups provide a backdrop to the current situation in the whole region. Unless there is a serious consideration to develop prophylactic intercultural policies, the threat to Kosovo

multicultural democratic polity could undermine stability not just in Kosovo but also the South East region as a whole.

The need to form coherent political principles to legitimise societal diversity arises because the abominable phenomenon of ‘ethnic cleansing’ has reared its ugly head in South East Europe only fifty years after it was defeated.

Parliamentarians, state authorities, regional and local agencies ought to develop instruments to deal with intercultural issues at local (rural and urban), national level and to effectively monitor and deal with incidents of racism. Further, the negotiations at the intergovernmental level should continually ensure that racism, interculturalism and issues of equity are effectively dealt with. Of the 130,000 Serbs in Kosovo about 75,000 live in rural areas as subsistence farmers in small communities and have never left their homes. On the other hand the urban Serb communities, apart from those in North Mitovica, have left. Of the 63 Serb primary schools in Kosovo, 47 are located in villages with fewer than 5,000 residents. The inclusion of these communities based on principles of equity and justice would enhance the stability of Kosovo as a unified multicultural society in which Serbs are full citizens. The Albanian-Serb interaction in Gnjilane/Gjilan, which has been genuinely facilitated by the Albanian mayor, between the separate schools and health clinics and interactions at the level of trade and business is an important example.

Terms like multiculturalism and social diversity are used as descriptive terms, in contemporary discourse, to highlight the presence of the ‘non-tribal other’. By “non-tribal other” is referred the presentation of self in Kosovo as “Gorani or Roma or Croat or Bosniak or Serb or Albanian rather than as Gorani speaking Kosovan or just Kosovan. If issues of intercultural relations and an equitable intercultural public and social policy are to become a reality, then these groups have to be treated as being central rather than marginal to the Kosovo society. Part of the problem which needs to be addressed is the institutionalised exclusion, xenophobia and racism within the education system.

The first issue is how to define culturally diverse or multicultural Kosovo. A taxonomic framework of states which include: linguistic, religious, social class, nationalities and ethnic groups means that the Kosovan society has been historically as well as contemporaneously diverse. It therefore needs to develop inclusive policies to ensure that in legal and legislative terms all groups who reside in a polity have citizenship rights.

It is however exceedingly important that such instruments will negate what Balibar refers to as ‘the internal decomposition of the community, created by racism’ Development of intercultural measures have to start from negating racism, xenophobia, narrow nationalisms and ethnicisms. Such intercultural learning can only be meaningful if it can help resolve the practice of ‘exclusionary power and powers of exclusionary institutions’. Hence, it needs to develop a critical interculturalism which is based on sound intellectual foundations and is firmly grounded in the core functioning of institutions of the emergent Kosovo. More importantly it needs to be part of the mental maps of those who work in these institutions.

2.7 Definitions and terminology

The notion of analysing multicultural democratic societies also requires a critical academic engagement. At one level a question can be raised whether societies have become multicultural or if they have historically been multicultural. Historical facts are subject to distortion whether by dominant nationality, or by racial, linguistic or religious dominance. Teaching history as a ‘story’ has various pitfalls and one way of ensuring that young people acquire a critical understanding of the past is to allow them skills to interpret, analyse historical evidence, narratives or documents. At this level there is a need for an intervention of historians and social scientists to provide taxonomy of what constitutes a multicultural society. If societies are considered to have become multicultural because of the presence of ‘the other’ then parliamentarians and policy-makers confront a totally different set of questions and issues than if societies are seen as historically diverse or multicultural. Kosovo needs to avoid the situation in other contexts so that as “borders go down, walls go up” A contemporary discourse has become structured by creating a relationship between crime, drugs, and terrorism, and the returnees may be seen in this context. Settlement processes involve the structuring of viable

legitimate means of earning a livelihood otherwise the perceptions of a chain of equivalence can not become a reality. If social diversity and migration are subjected to historical analysis then returnees (IDP's) can be seen as merely highlighting the underlying and existing features of diversities based on linguistic, religious, territorial and social class diversity. Hence, terms like 'ethnic' 'national minorities' or 'ethnic majorities' necessitate further analysis. Who defines these groups? How are these terms used and by whom? Social diversity is complex and its recognition ought not to start and end with immigrant groups and refugees, normally referred to as 'ethnic groups' especially as dominant groups are seldom recognised as having an 'ethnicity' or ethnic identity. A historical and contemporaneous analytical framework may make it less likely that such issues can be marginalised in a society.

There is however another complexity. Even if a society can be seen as being multicultural, would Kosovo consider itself as being multicultural or socially diverse and what actions might this necessitate at the level of national governments to formulate inclusive (not assimilation) policies? Part of the solution might lie in creating a fair, just, but integrated set of services, including the police services which can protect and safeguard all communities.

The terminological issues also revolve around the nature of the polity, which may have 'ethnic' features as well as constructions based on modern constitutions. The latter should ensure equality, liberty and fraternity in legal terms and relate to questions of citizenship.

Young people need to learn that the polity and a society are complex entities and do not and are not subject to singular or simplistic readings. The failure of many schools to do this is a major cause of ethnically-based exclusions and violence.

2.8 Public policies

Exclusions in socially and culturally diverse societies and nations can in turn breed mentalities of exclusivity. These have led to ethnic conflicts in many parts of South East Europe. Kosovo therefore, ought to safeguard citizenship rights of all groups to ensure not only an equitable resolution of conflicts but to establish prophylactic public and social policies which strengthen democratic ideas. Such public policies ought to bridge ethnic, religious, linguistic and racial differences and negate the rise of narrow nationalism and xenophobia. In the new millennium, civil and political rights need to be validated in all culturally diverse environments to ensure that the civil state is strengthened. In the socially diverse local and national contexts the increased tensions can lead to tribalisation and fragmentation of communities particularly if particular groups are not re-skilled for new jobs. This as Castell has written would lead to the "globalisation of power flows and the tribalisation of local communities".

The limited notions of ideas of a capitalist market require further discussion in terms of social democracies to minimise inequalities and the growth of a large underclass, in society. The development of intercultural public and social policies ought to ensure that no group loses jobs due to the rapid technological changes in society and the rising levels of de-skilling and unemployment which have accompanied these changes. The clear and present danger of certain groups of communities being made increasingly vulnerable is exceedingly high. The rise of inter-group tensions in this context is likely to be very serious for the whole polity as demonstrated by the events of 17 and 18 March 2004. Integrative policies can obviate a focus on the issue of territorially-based separatism.

Intercultural democratic processes are far from being actualised in most polities. There are a number of problematic and unresolved issues about ensuring equity and quality in most social democracies for all citizens. Provision of equal access, equal opportunity and equality of outcomes is still not an actualised feature of European societies. The harshness and inequalities in the market economy are more manifest than equality and quality of social and educational provision. These features acquire even greater force in an emergent and democratic Kosovo.

It is also important that in the new Kosovo democracy all groups have a “voice” because without powerfully secular and inclusive demos, the reverting back to narrow identities and fragmentation of the polity becomes a more real issue. Education systems have generally so far, not been effective in providing this ‘voice’ to young people and marginalised communities from which they come. This issue poses a particular challenge to the Kosvan society.

2.9 Belongingness

The other issue which should be raised is that of belongingness of all groups in Kosovo society. This however does present problems because the dominant nationality can construe this society as “theirs” and as encroached upon by “others” who are not seen to belong. There are obvious specificities of different localities, communities, families and groups which provide a different colour, texture and hue to different parts of Kosovo. There are also differences of local politics, economies, and histories as well as how these intersect and interact with other local, regional, national, European and global contexts which constitute differences in different areas.

The sharing of spaces by the “dominant” and the “subordinate”, the “minority” and “the majority”, the rich and poor comes together in polities so as to make the functioning of modern democratic Kosovo more complex. This complexity includes the way in which material and social goods are produced and distributed. This production includes: political, economic, literary, and cultural as well as the media output. The ‘other’ is no longer out there, but here, and as Chambers’ states: there is an intersection of “histories, memories and experiences”. It is important to develop an agenda for public and social policy and to create spaces where the complexity of Kosovo can be negotiated, both in rural areas and cities. Such an analysis should be inclusive of all groups who live in them. In establishing such a context past and current exclusions would be put to right. This, therefore, makes it possible to initiate a dialogue between the various groups of those who live in Kosovo. The possibility of interaction and intersection of the histories, the cultures and languages enables the construction of a more realistic understanding of the pasts of Kosovo and better inform what may be their present, which may in turn have implications for constructing a less biased and a more meaningful future. For instance, the teaching of history can and should include the contributions that all groups and nationalities have made to Kosovo, its culture, civilisation. This can include issues of antipathy, conflicts or co-operation.

Communities which constitute populations in many societies are not only situated within their localities but have other identities both at national and supra-national levels, for instance through the displacement and diaspora which lends an enormous range of heterogeneity to the society and its life. The complexity of all this defies a simplistic definition by either a dominant or a subordinate culture. MEST needs to come to terms with the educational implications of this reality.

Kosovo like other societies as such embodies notions of belongingness as well as of alienation. They have both features of a universalistic nature as well as particularisms and local differences. Yet, non-confederal localisms can become parochial, racist, insular, stagnant and authoritarian. There are thick and textured layers of political, social and economic contexts which intersect with histories.

Kosovo society therefore provides possibilities and prospects of a stable future, and yet, the lives of minority communities are lonely and confining. This is obviously the case for the Serbian enclave communities. The confederal nature of groups and communities requires that integrative thinking and structures should link individual groups and localities. The challenge for the political and educational system is to develop a shared and common value system, in which inclusive rights and responsibilities will be developed as an outcome of the work of schools, social and political institutions.

The challenges which are posed to parliamentarians at local, regional and national levels are of critical importance in addressing these questions. Such a political initiative needs to establish broadly based educational policies, measures, strategies, actions and institutional changes. Without the development of these strategies and analysis of the negative aspects of education systems which do not de-limit ethnic conflicts these issues would continue to simmer. If positive policies and actions to counter ethnic conflicts and

genuinely promote them are present, the development of good intercultural understandings and relations in Kosovo society would be postponed.

There is an urgent need for the formation of a network of institutions and structures to initiate further work: development of Internet and other informational networks, disseminating findings, and establishing educational and political strategies for different contexts. The International Association for Intercultural Education and their journal "Intercultural Education" can provide MEST and other educational institutions in Kosovo with a network of educators working on these issues in other countries.

2.10 Political and citizenship education and human nature

Politically under-educated or ill-educated members of societies are dangerous because they can misrepresent the complexity of humanity and opt for simplistic solutions based on populist politics which encourage authoritarian and undemocratic solutions to complex societal issues. Therefore, political and citizenship education is necessary to promote intercultural learning. The skills, knowledge and understandings of the political nature of societies are very little understood, by large numbers of people. The purpose of this type of education is not to be political propaganda or to be politically partisan or party political but to enhance an understanding of the complexity of the polities in which we live.

The rationale for not engaging in political education is that ordinary people are not capable of understanding issues and are susceptible to propaganda. Leaders, elites and politicians sometimes suggest that because human nature is largely negative it is better not to inculcate interest in political issues amongst the masses.

The assumptions being made in this paper are twofold. Firstly, that political awareness, knowledge and understanding is necessary for all people in Kosovo to grasp the inherent complexity of society and their rights and responsibilities within it. Secondly, the assumptions about the negativity of human nature also require scrutiny and comment. Intractable views held by different groups in Kosovo about themselves and 'the others' and their relationships with them are problematic. Hence the importance of exploring Civic Education in the National Curriculum and the processes through which it is communicated.

One issue is that if human nature is considered to be negative then selfishness, conflict and violence are deeply embedded in human consciousness and educational and other socialising influences have no role to play in changing patterns of behaviours and social relations. It was commonly argued that human nature is basically selfish and to expect human beings to be social is an uphill task and that the problem of conflict and violence on ethnic lines is evidence of this.

The contention of this paper is that there is insufficient evidence to suggest that 'human nature' has been extensively investigated or that definitive statements about human nature can be made. Previous political structures and socialization processes may have been responsible for the perceptions about human nature being negative. It is therefore necessary to suggest that in the absence of firm evidence that no firm views about human nature can be made. In other words, human nature may be seen to be neither good nor bad, and human capacity to be social or selfish is an open issue, and capacity and potential for both exists amongst people. Human nature as such may neither be Hobbesian nor Rousseauesque but have the potential, the proclivity and the capacity to be both.

Individuals may hold not only selfish but also social instincts, and nature and nurture can result in social contracts based on equality at individual and group terms. This, however, is not a simple matter because minds are not tabula rasa (empty) and the separate stories of inter-group violence are deeply ingrained in the psyches of all groups in Kosovo. They encode both personal and larger historical legacies which make the issue of equitable socialisation very complex.

The role of political and citizenship education is to enable the establishment of a healthier balance between the selfish and the social, the personal and the public, conflict and peace, by accepting the sanctity and autonomy of the learner. The development of such autonomous learners would enable them to negotiate some of the complexities of societies. The education system with an appropriate citizenship and political education

syllabus would enable the emergence of thinking citizens who would be less likely to seek solutions to conflicts through violence. The education of the young also ought to involve the unpacking of the underpinnings of evil in society. However, this is also a broader task of public and social policy and requires an inter-agency approach. This complex approach is necessary because, in as much as truth and veracity are inherently human values, so are lying and deception. Broader social and public policy measures are necessary to deny the root to evil, lying and deception, and such policies include the curbing of cruel treatment of children.

In educational terms, there is much evidence across the world to show that children's ill treatment and violence against them leads to a lowering of their academic performance, higher levels of truancy, and a drift into criminal and violent behaviour.

The differences between boys and girls and men and women ought to receive the consideration of educators by encouraging higher levels of education of girls. The role of the women's movement in Northern Ireland to develop coalition politics can provide a very important example for developing similar solutions in Kosovo. This would optimize not only the life chances of girls and women, but also allow them to contribute fully as a human resource to Kosovan society. Girls and women can also play a powerful role in establishing mutual and intercultural understandings.

Such general educational and political educational issues raise problems about the levels of academic autonomy which will be allowed by Kosovo to its education system. If it is insecure it will tend to directly control the education system for narrow nationalistic purposes. Regional and international organisations have been playing an important role in ensuring that they can contribute to curbing these tendencies, and that Kosovo is held responsible for the international instruments it is a signatory. These have been referred to earlier in this paper.

The Kosovo education system also has a responsibility to determine the ways and directions in which technology will be developed and used. If technology is rationalised and institutionalised to perpetuate violence, then technology will reinforce the inherent forces of violence and conflict in society. This need not be the case. The role of education and public policies to channel technological developments into peaceful and positive directions is essential to obviating conflict and violence. This is more necessary in Kosovo than in a number of other societies especially if the global media is to be used positively rather than being used as a vehicle for cheap commercialism and the development of a mindless consumer culture.

2.11 Racism, xenophobia and education

The need for intercultural education is made powerful at the present time because most education systems in South East Europe have failed to deal with the issues of societal diversity. Even when they have undertaken to do something they have often misconstrued these issues. In this section of the paper a brief interpretation in some of the western countries of what has been called interchangeably as 'multicultural education'. 'multi-ethnic education' and 'multiracial education' are discussed. In the 1980 the discourse among educationalists was also fragmented along the lines of those who advocated 'multicultural' policies and those who called themselves 'anti-racist'. While some educationalists maintain that the issue of 'race' tends to be blurred by the term multiculturalism, others hold that it is not a relevant category. This paper assumes that racism and xenophobia are important variables in many societies, and that there is sufficient evidence of the pervasiveness of xenophobia and racism, and that the term 'multicultural' is better used as a descriptive term.

In the context of the Kosovan multicultural society this necessitates not only a definition of the taxonomic elements of the society but also the nature of the complex set challenges these present for devising social and public policies in Kosovo. There is a need to work out short, medium and long term strategies of how separate levels of institutions for the majority and the minority groups on racial, linguistic or religious grounds may lead to desirable levels of integrative processes to be set in motion – without in anyway threatening the group identities of any particular communities through either ill thought out policies or practices.

In many other societal contexts, while dominant groups might support assimilation, those from minority communities typically favour the cause of autonomy and diversity. This perspective on the part of the latter, allows for the affirmation of values which are other than majority-centric. One justification for this perspective in many other contexts is that the minority communities are often bicultural and bilingual and possess traits of the dominant groups as well as a culture distinctive to themselves. In the Kosovan case this is also evident in different ways amongst the Bosniac, Ashkali, Egyptian, Roma and the Gorani communities. A school which accepts diversity on inter-group terms presupposes that pupils, parents and teachers have an equal status based on equal power. However, this is not always the case because in institutional and structural terms the dominant groups (Serbs and Albanian at different times) do not allow power to slip from their hands. Schools, for reasons of different social class or different languages, confront complex pedagogic issues. This may be truer of schools controlled by local communities or by religious groups. In Kosovo the issues are complicated because different agencies at the national level (Serbian and Kosovan) through the examination systems legitimize different kinds of knowledge. Many of these communities may also not have access to political power to be independent of another group. Such separate schools therefore do not necessarily further intercultural understandings or relations between students, teachers, and the local communities located around these neighbourhoods. A major theory of cultural pluralism views integration as racial assimilation, i.e. the socialisation of minority children with children from the dominant or majority community. If and when some elements of majority or minority communities accept this postulation, they might do so on the grounds that if their culture resembles that of the dominant group they may become more acceptable. Conversely, such groups may fear that failure to accept the dominant value system would leave them open to oppression and persecution in the future. It involves no changes in the social structure and the content of education, nor does it reflect the presence of diverse cultural groupings. A major proportion of minority communities consequently rejects this form of assimilation or integration.

While the dominant group might support assimilation, those from racial minority communities typically favour the cause of diversity. This perspective on the part of the latter, allows for the affirmation of values which are other than those that conform to dominant norms or values which are only centred on dominant groups. One justification for this perspective amongst minorities and long-settled immigrants might be that they are often bicultural and bilingual and possess traits of the dominant group as well as a culture distinctive to themselves. A school which accepts diversity in racial terms presupposes that pupils, parents and teachers have equal status based on equal power. However, this is not always the case in schools, because in institutional and structural terms the dominant group does not allow power to slip from its hands. Separate schools as such do not necessarily further intercultural understandings or links between students, teachers, school communities or the communities in neighbouring areas.

2.12 Deprivation and disadvantage models

The reality of social classes means the existence of assimilation on a class basis and raises issues for those who are poor or 'disadvantaged'. In many social contexts those who are from the lower social classes are considered to be 'culturally deprived' or 'culturally disadvantaged'. The conservatives in this debate tended to argue that inferiority was based on genetic factors. The liberals in the debate tend to stress that the disadvantage is really a result of the past discrimination based on sex, race, class and ethnic or territorial grounds which has resulted in the existence of a disadvantaged section of the community. A combination of these forms of discrimination, so runs the argument, may contribute to family breakdown, which may have led to the inadequate socialization of individuals, accumulated intellectual deficit and a resistance to schooling. Educational researchers and teacher-training courses have used such theories to explain poor performances of students in schools: such explanations have formed the basis of various remedial or compensatory school programmes like the Head Start in the U.S.A and catch-up classes for RAE communities in Kosovo. What are the lessons from these in Kosovo?

2.13 Psychological deficit

This issue also raises a further complication so that psychological difference can become construed as psychological deficit. In the United States, Jensen wrote an article from the University of California in 1969. He argued that intelligence was largely (about eighty per cent) determined by genetics and that differences in IQ reflected genetic differences. In this argument he reversed the post-war psychological theory in addressing the problem of compensatory education. He asserted that since intelligence was largely determined by genetics, the efforts to raise the intelligence of people with low IQ scores by compensatory education programmes were bound to fail. Intelligence, as such, was not defined except by reference to intelligence tests.

The Kosovo education system needs to critically evaluate the negative aspects of the racially based psychological theories and testing which may inhibit educational outcomes of many students by focusing on the negative aspects of single factor analysis.

Jensen focused on the racial differences in IQ scores and gave a genetic explanation: blacks on average do not possess the same innate intellectual qualities as the whites. Such American research was swiftly supported by Eysenck, who till his recent death, was an influential member of the Institute of Psychiatry in London.' The arguments found favour with right-wing politicians and those who favoured cuts in educational budgets. This was illustrated by the Black Papers episode in Britain, which brought together practising teachers under the same umbrella. Their conservative stance under the guise of demanding higher standards resulted in a negative appraisal of the liberal curriculum content and urged the withdrawal of financial support.

The whole position is however, suspect, because any psychological analysis which deals with individual differences and ignores ideology as a problem does not provide a fair analysis but compounds issues of disadvantage. Criticisms of Jensen and Eysenck were also made because of the data on which they based their hypothesis. It has been shown that the data of Sir Cyril Burt, on which both Jensen and Eysenck relied had actually been fabricated.' Sir Peter Medawar, a biologist and Nobel Prize winner has suggested that 'intelligence' cannot be summarized by a single IQ score. He stated that human capabilities and potentialities are far too diverse for this type of simplification.

The important issue to remember is that Jensen's and Eysenck's work has been picked up without using the details of their arguments. Fascist groups saw these two psychologists as vindicating their racist ideologies. Eysenck's books form part of the reading list of fascist groups like the National Front in Britain and have been widely used in the training of psychologists in many countries. This research has received further impetus from the work done by Murray and Herrnstein which advances these arguments with even greater force.

In fact, the hypothesis of IQ test scores needs to be rejected, as does the so-called rigorous testing and measurements which support this thesis. The groups who are labelled because of the genetic inferiority thesis face disaster in educational and social terms.

As Kamin has argued, the research involving IQ testing is inherently political:

With respect to IQ testing, psychology long ago surrendered its political virginity. The interpretation of IQ data has always taken place, as it must, in a social and political context, and the validity of the data cannot be fully assessed without reference to the context.

Kosovan academics have to critically analyse these theories and after critical reflection reject them since they revive race-science in a milieu which is susceptible to fascist ideology. Psychologists in this sphere are neither detached nor can they claim to seek dispassionate truth because psychologists in the Eysenck/Jensen mould are involved in creating a culture of racism.

The educational implications of such analysis have involved the worsening of ethnic relations with groups because they seem to justify the way poorer groups continue to be marginalised in education systems.

2.14 The social deficit

The social dimensions of the deficit debate have even wider implications than the individual-oriented psychological theories. It can be postulated that both the liberal and conservative positions in this issue are incorrect and that people are disadvantaged because of present forms of racism, present forms of structural inequalities and present barriers to choice. While older forms of inequality might be removed, new forms of inequality are continually being instituted. Until institutional forms of inequality are removed, the education of those who are considered disadvantaged in many contexts will not improve. Potential for inter-ethnic conflict and demands for separate institutions would therefore continue to persist.

Within other disciplines the anthropological and sociological models of 'cultural deprivation' and the 'poverty of culture' have taken as their evidence the low-level social organizations of minority communities, and an intellectual and cultural resistance to the norms of the dominant group. This emphasis on client behaviour and the need for its modification for entry to middle-class culture is similarly not valid, because basic or causal issues such as elimination of poverty itself are not tackled.

One version of these approaches is that of the environmental deficit model. This stated that lower-class children failed in schools because of lack of literacy and social skills, where the family provided no intellectual or social stimulation. Restricted language codes, lack of books at home, and non-intellectual life-styles had supposedly contributed to stimulus deprivation. It was alleged that in terms of performance at school this led to an inability to delay gratification and sustain attention, resulting in the failure to develop perceptual discrimination skills.

Aspects of special education (including units for 'disruptive children') and remedial education serve to replicate existing racial and class differences and ensure that the above groups have unequal schooling with no paper qualifications to improve their economic status.

In some contexts psychology as a profession has also contributed to this debate by formulating the issue as one of inadequate socialization. Disruptive family patterns, single-parent families and the lack of adequate adult models are held responsible for the supposedly interrupted social growth.

The marketisation of education has further polarised minority groups and the poorer sections of the dominant groups whose educational chances have not improved in many capitalist economies.

2.15 The Eugenic Issue

The role of deficit, disadvantage and psychological deficits has its apparently scientific basis in the doctrines of eugenics articulated by Francis Galton which received impetus from authors like Comte de Gobineau. These ideas have survived and been revived for over a century and in educational terms provide a voice which counters the anti-racist statements and work of UNESCO. These eugenicist views were powerfully countered by scientists like the late Stephen Gould.

Groups like the Roma in many European countries have suffered from racist eugenic science. As Marek Kohin states, Travellers in Western Europe certainly suffer discrimination but nothing like the scale experienced by Roma in Central, Eastern and Southern Europe. The problem for minorities is compounded because many are consigned to special schools by labelling them incorrectly as disabled, using the science of defectology.

The educational implications of such discrimination are compounded by assuming the linearity and singularity of intelligence. In fact, totally different conclusions can be drawn by focussing on multiple intelligences which are favoured by Stephen Gould and used by Howard Gardner in devising complex educational programmes. Focus on both the rational and emotional aspects of education need to be considered.

2.16 Different approaches

The negative psychological focus on notions of the person and the eugenic continue to deflect attention away from the larger social system as a determinant of social inequality. In other words, the concentration is on individuals and families in powerless positions which do not address issue of powerlessness itself. Because of this, cause and effect are not clearly demarcated. "It can be argued that in the pursuit of 'equal' opportunities for education through compensatory and remedial programmes, the more we do, the worse the students get!" This only compounds and further entrenches the powerless of subordinate groups.

For instance, one could argue that the various deficit theorists on whose theories, educational policies have been based, have deflected their analysis from the real issues and, as a result, resources have been misdirected. Rather than schooling a population to accept a lower status in social terms, the real issue is how to educate a society that no longer requires a disadvantaged class of people, especially if economies like Kosovo are to compete in the global and competitive market. The structures of the school and the institutional practices should minimise some of the inequalities between different groups of children. The curriculum could be used to analyse the reasons for disadvantage and offer proposals to redress the present forms of inequality. In some cases the schools have a measure of autonomy which would allow educators who recognise diversity to alter the curriculum. On the critical issue of racism in education, it is important to look at it in terms of dynamics between dominant and subordinate groups, and racism as such would then be seen to be a problem for the different groups, at different moments in time and in different societal contexts. Hence, the changing inter-group relations between the diverse communities in Kosovo and the changing relationships between them in the last decade are a powerful case in point. Obviously educators as well as teachers in Kosovo society have to expect conflict in these heterogeneous contexts. Teachers have to expect that racist feelings are derived out of direct experiences, for example, the limited opportunities for employment result in stress in areas which are already under pressure. Similarly, housing problems and cultural or racial conflict as a result of geographical proximity in the inner city worsen opportunities and prospects of education. This in fact means the acknowledgement of class diversity in a society without a unified value system, and the affirmation of the values of the local communities and their cultures.

Schools are not very good at validating the cultures of the oppressed and subordinated groups, even from the poorer elements of the dominant groups. The implicit denigration of these cultures leads to reactions by children who may be irrational, exclusive and violent. How can schools in Kosovo avoid these situations since they are inimical to good education? The education of young women in many Kosovo communities may be better than boys, yet because of poverty in these communities they may still end up doing low paid jobs and be consigned to a life of prostitution.

Social tensions between these men and those from poorer groups, among dominant communities, leads to communities living in fear. Only holistic solutions to correct these imbalances and inequalities can change the situation in these disunited poor Albanian, Serb and other minority communities.

2.17 The community and the school

In many contexts of the school and community links have been undermined much to the detriment of the weak, the marginalised and isolated families, particularly if they or their children are traumatised. The dominant groups in many contexts argue that individual behaviours, and personal values are part of the problem and that severe law and order policies are required to deal with these problems. A more appropriate argument is that many current problems arise from multiply disadvantaged communities and that these need sound social policy initiatives and not only policing. If anything, impoverished communities themselves need protection against crime: communities caught by twin dangers of poverty and violent crime. In Kosovo the government cannot ignore effective programmes for urban and rural areas and let the raised expectations remain unfulfilled and dominant values ignore subcultural and oppositional groups. These are places where the poorest and the most disadvantaged gain a sense of belonging by bullying and victimising those below them. This raises serious issues of community safety and security.

Community participation in urban and rural areas is part and parcel of community involvement in schools. Impoverished communities face multi-faceted problems which require a multi-agency approach to deal with their regeneration. However, measures need to be targeted to ensure desired educational outcomes.

2.18 The school and its community

Moving from these larger societal issues to the focus on the school and ‘the community’, there is a certain problem in usage of the term ‘ethnic minorities’. Those who use it assume that these groups have some cohesive and consistent characteristics. Yet, schools need to make policies which engage all parents, in fact - whole communities in which schools are located and this can include the education of adults along with the children.

There should be a consistency about parental and community involvement across cultural lines which need to be soundly based within the community. At one level issues were highlighted by the violence perpetrated by young males in poor rural and urban areas. But we need to ask, what are the dynamics of girls increasingly participating in gangs and taking part in bullying and violence?

Kosovo schools should develop a common strategy to link schools and communities. This is particularly the case because peer group culture based on exclusivity is not healthy. If adolescents are marked off as a separate group, the influence of adults on the behaviours of the younger generations is reduced. Kosovo youth are vulnerable to the negative aspects of globalization: for instance, autonomous youth cultures which become increasingly addicted to mindless consumerism, the video and computer games which detract from learning cultures, and the international music cultures which bear no relevance to the realities of life in Kosovo society. While this issue raises complex responses in educational terms the importance of situating the youth within a community cannot be underestimated. Parents and adults especially need to be educated, if they themselves are in a position to undermine the good intercultural education in schools.

An African expression states “it takes a whole village to educate a child”. Hence, education should not only be considered as a concern of parents and their own children. Parents as such do not own their children although they are obviously responsible for them and their welfare. To educate adults and children in the widest sense is potentially a concern of the whole community. Children also have rights through the UN Convention of Children’s Rights, a fact which acquired significance during this 50th Anniversary of the United Nations and UNESCO’s “Year of Tolerance”. The way in which adults deny these rights is a complex issue necessitating parent and adult education.

The school has a basic task of getting to know the community around the school. In an earlier period schools were familiar to parents and they could understand how schools functioned, but those parents who have been educated in schools in different cultural contexts cannot understand contemporary schooling because schools have changed dramatically.

Also if a parent comes from a village, or a single teacher school, or a school in a different cultural context in Kosovo or an IDP, they now observe their children attend a different or complex institution and this raises difficulties for parental participation. Different as well as complex modern schools are also unrecognisable with so many changes that even many teaching and support staff may have difficulty to understand them. This may especially be the case if there have been dramatic changes within the school and education system because of conflicts in Kosovo society.

Many small and major initiatives can ensure the involvement of communities and parents in the lives of the school. It is obviously much easier to involve parents of children attending school, than the wider community. Yet, even from amongst the parents the ones in greater need and those who are less literate may remain excluded from the life of the school, the learning and educational process in the school and the community as a whole:

In some contexts in Kosovo, action can lead communities to feel:

- (a) That they are needed and that they can play a positive role in the educational and learning processes of the children;
- (b) That adults can make their views, aspirations and feelings known to the school and staff and these will be taken seriously.
- (c) That in multicultural rural or urban communities their linguistic, religious and cultural backgrounds are valued and seen as being of positive value;
- (d) That schools and communities are organically linked. This however is easier in the early years of a child's education and more difficult in secondary school as peer group culture becomes powerful, and for the young people the school becomes more distanced from the home and community.

Adults in poorer areas may themselves not be confident of their own ability to help in the process of education of their own children. In the aftermath of conflict and feeling of lack of security women and mothers particularly may feel more isolated. Their isolation can be reduced by themselves being involved in learning within the school with other women, especially in rural and/or patriarchal communities. RAE families may have a totally different set of unmet needs and concerns which can be developed within the common schools or on sites where they live.

2.19 School and community partnerships

Partnership with a school requires that communities do not feel alienated from it. For cultural reasons many RAE or Albanian adults may think that education is the job of teachers and children in the formal school. It is seen not to concern them as lay adults. There is the additional issue of cultural differences because adults may not understand the differences between continuing education, informal pre-school and formal education in which schools are engaged. In multilingual communities such links are further exacerbated if languages other than dominant ones are not in common usage.

Professionals generally (doctors, lawyers as well as teachers), find it difficult to share skills, decision-making or accountability. This position normally detracts from mutual understanding and a partnership between schools and communities, adults and schools. Given this complex situation and the gaps between schools and complex and diverse communities, links may be enhanced by:

- Regular and effective communication
- Sharing of information
- Consultation on curriculum as well as assessment issues of children and adult education
- Ensuring that adults and teachers have similar or shared goals
- Visible manifest respect of adults by the school as well as readiness to explain and listen to adults
- Approachability and ability to negotiate, as well as sharing responsibility while child and adult learners at the centre of the educational process. At the wider level, nevertheless general community involvement is important
- Equal opportunity policies/intercultural policies should be made clear to all elements in the community

These dimensions ought to particularly emerge at the school level within:

- (a) Community school associations
- (b) Governing Bodies of educational institutions

Adults who either speak another language or are partly literate find it difficult to follow communications through the written word. Therefore, other ways of communicating messages maybe necessitated.

Therefore, personal links between adults and staff are important, because through informality meaningful links can be made. This is not a substitute for “social events” or formal meetings - which some adults from marginalised communities may find difficult to understand or follow, or empowered enough to contribute to. Schools need to explore ways of enhancing the adult community ‘voices’ in the social events, formal meetings and in learning contexts for adults.

The formal meetings for educational institutions particularly the governing bodies are intimidating and many adult learners have neither the skills, confidence nor the information to take part. Ways of structuring meetings to allow adult learners to discuss their needs should be found, as well as the elimination of the use of jargon which normally inhibits their participation. Also, where the agenda is determined by a professional clique, lay members or adult learners, who may be members, are inhibited from participating because they feel disenfranchised. The openness of agendas and meetings can help to bridge the home-school and community-school links.

2.20 Community involvement and resistance to multiculturalism

In multicultural school settings there is a need to avoid the dangers of bullying particularly since adults themselves may be “living in terror” and unable to be involved in their own education and that of their children. The schools therefore, need to understand the complexities and the delicacies of the situation to ensure that both the children, adults and isolated members of the community feel safe within the school. This issue yet again highlights the role of school - community links and one which is not restricted to links with parents. The school also needs to deal with exclusionary mechanisms and incidents sensitively, so that no learners are left feeling insecure and vulnerable. RAE and their children in particular incur exclusions from others and need strategies to integrate them into the educational culture. Positive strategies for teaching of languages, and curriculum to children and adults can be developed to meet complex learning needs especially in disenfranchised rural areas. In one village the payment of high bills for electricity was a cause for a great deal of anxiety.

So a “collective school ethic” which includes all the school staff to develop whole school practices is important. If it is a ‘safe school’ with a positive ethos it will spill over into the community. This is a difficult issue if the staff is part of a complex institution. Such developments may be easier within primary schools, and more difficult at secondary school level because they are more difficult to manage. Communication within schools is essential because, for instance, good work in classrooms can be undone by school support or welfare staff if, there is no coordination between two different parts of the school. Adults who remain unconnected to the educational process can also disrupt the positive advantages of education.

Given the changes in the nature of Kosovan society and role of families within it, as well as work patterns, adult and parental involvement in children’s education is important. This might entail parental and adult education to contribute to their own and the continuing educational process within the community and to ensure learning across age groups.

Modern schools have to accept not only the diversity of cultures but also different parental and family life styles. The conventional privileging of the two parent nuclear family tends to pathologise the rest particularly as female headed families may have increased in all communities. In the aftermath of conflict and violence many male heads of families may not be around and this necessitates the school to give legitimate recognition to the single parent family as a norm.

Issues of cultural diversity and their impact on schools go beyond issues of political correctness. Hence, schools have a complex role which is not only a cosmetic one.

2.21 Young people and school culture.

As children grow older there is a natural desire to keep their parents away from school, particularly in teenage years as school culture can be different from family culture. Youth and peer group cultures assume a more powerful role whether in social relations or in terms of language use, styles, musical tastes and consumer tastes. The critical role of the media cannot be underestimated in marginalising local and family values. Rituals of inclusion and exclusion in the playground are part of developing more insular and autonomous peer group cultures. These rituals include ways in which both physical and verbal harassment exacerbates other levels of marginalisation. Children use images, jokes and commonsense prejudices, and exclusions based on these are passed from older to younger children. Is the growth of autonomous young peoples cultures partly the result of failure of education to successfully socialise children and resulting from the ‘dumbing down’ of young people through a consumerist global culture? If so, what can the school do to educate the child about these issues?

Teachers and schools therefore face greater problems of dealing with youth who have other pre-occupations, such as consumer goods, games, style, music, sex and perhaps a pressure to become anti-academic. This is further enhanced by mobile telephones and the power exercised by the rapidly changing electronic media. The school exclusion of youth from certain minority communities because of the greater cultural gap presents major problems for some schools. The tripartite relationship of parents, school and community are important to ensure that disproportionate exclusions rates from certain groups are kept at a minimum level especially amongst the children from the RAE communities. Excessive rates of exclusion particularly from specific groups are an indication of bad relations between schools and disadvantaged groups. Issues of teacher perceptions of behaviours (for instance, bad pupil behaviours and disruption) require institutional policies, because teachers’ perceptions may not be well informed. This is especially the case if the teachers are from dominant communities and either do not understand the cultural norms of those from the minority communities or would like children from minority communities to accept dominant values and norms.

Even after the ending of the conflict there is an increasing problem in schools of the rise of extreme politics. Rights and responsibilities not only of children but of all citizens require urgent consideration. The rise of extreme right politics has raised a reaction in terms of “Politics of Recognition” and of separatist demands by subordinated or marginalised groups. If the mainstream society and dominant groups ignore minorities there felt need to by such groups to be recognised in their own right. In religious terms the rise of narrow nationalism and fundamentalism is an example of this. It is therefore even more imperative at the present time that the schools create spaces for dialogue with parents and communities to have an actual ‘voice’ in education. This can help in avoiding the polarisation in our communities particularly if parents and disenfranchised communities feel that reaction and further separation from other groups are the only solution. The rise of narrow identities and reactions (whether nationalistic, ‘ethnic’, religious or racial) obviously requires commitment on the part of the education system as a whole. The role of the school in strengthening civic culture as well as public values, is something that may have been weakened during the conflict and require strengthening, especially since there are high levels of unemployment and erosion of social policy provision can further lead to higher levels of cynicism amongst ordinary people.

2.22 Community links, imaginations and belongingness

There are no clear and demarcated borders between the school and the community and good and bad messages travel in both directions because school walls are permeable. This must be one of the more powerful lessons of the conflicts in Kosovo. Violence in the community can affect life in the school. The school gate is therefore not the end of schools’ role or policies. Schools can obviously control children’s

behaviour through school policy. However, children's positive and negative imaginations are something that the schools need to be cognizant about.

The negative phenomenon of racism and narrow nationalism as an issue requires action by the media, teachers, youth workers and community. In other words unless there is a multi-agency approach to deal with issue of negative imaginations the behaviours of young people are likely to stay very negative.

The confederal nature of communities in villages, towns and cities requires integrative thinking and structures which link individual groups and localities. This is probably equally true in rural areas, as rural economies change and social structures and communities are fragmented.

The differences between any one neighbourhood and other parts of the city or the rural areas after the return of IDP's mask the myriads of ways in which there are criss-crossings which make the distinctions between localities quite bewildering. For some, this maybe the opening of new futures and new vistas, while for others it may represent closures. For some new identities are formed, and syncretism is the order of the day, for others there is an activation of 'siege mentalities' within siege communities. The latter kinds of development can reinforce patriarchies and allow racism, narrow nationalism and fundamentalisms to take root. Unless schools take cognisance of these issues, and positive policies, practices and measures are implemented ethnic conflicts will simmer and break out into the open.

One of the main concerns of this paper is about educating adults and children, within the framework of community education. While identities of adults are already formed those of children are in the process of being formed. Hence, the issue of belongingness as well as that of exclusion should be part of this educational concern and process. Such an educational process should enable students to transcend narrow definitions of identity.

Children are able to construct a broader understanding of life based on their own personal concerns and experiences. Therefore schools need to take account of these and strengthen choices young peoples' identities.

Continuing education of adults could ensure that they do not undo the good work of the school.

There is the issue of belongingness for all groups in localities in our respective countries. This however does present problems because certain dominant nationalities see these localities as "theirs" which are encroached upon by "others" who are aliens and not seen to belong. There are obviously specificities of different localities, communities, families and groups which provide a different colour, texture and hue to different parts of many localities. There are also differences of local politics, economies, and histories as well as how these interact with national, regions and global contexts which constitute differences in urban areas. Hence, for instance an urban school in one country may have more in common with an urban school in another country than with schools in smaller towns or rural areas in the country in which it is located. It is worth considering how to develop projects which incorporate good practices from a school in one national context to another.

2.23 Playgrounds, games and styles

Organised games can provide discipline and rules can help intercultural relations. However, informal interactions in the playgrounds may reinforce racist practices. This is especially the case where play is beyond the influence of stabilising adult cultures. Much of young peoples and peer cultures revolve around oral cultures, music as well as styles.

Clothing and fashion are also complex issues which carry deeper meanings than is ascribed to them. These meanings may have political messages. Education of undisciplined child soldiers carrying out savage crimes with powerful weapons are not lost on children in other contexts. Camouflage clothing may work as a symbol of political rebellion as well as of reactionary stability. The role of organised military or oppositional clothing becomes style for young people. In diverse polities the meaning of battledress jackets,

combat trousers may reflect notions of an “urban guerrilla” or the “commando chic”. Dr Klaus Martens boots developed in post-war Germany have become a craze in Britain as Doc. Martens in 1960 and were manufactured by R. Griggs and Co. These have become an international symbol of fascistic young people as the rebellious skinhead’s red “bovver boots”. Would these styles become respectable as the ‘hoodies’ produced for the mass markets and are becoming a sign of resistance, rebellion or ignoring authority in other European countries.

The masculine underpinnings of this fashion and its implications for racist, fascistic and intercultural relations amongst young people is an un-researched question and may also increasingly apply to girls. It is also something which many schools disregard and therefore exacerbate ethnic relations in poorer schools in poorest areas.

The role of education in teaching games and sports as a way of ensuring fair play and rules of play is of critical importance. This has become very apparent as part of most European communities especially as it relates to football. Football and the game itself are used as symbols of war and play has become secondary to nationalistic considerations. Young people’s violence largely on an ethnicised or nationalistic basis subverted the positive and intercultural dimensions of the game. The role of educators in turning to the rationale for games and sports and to use them for intercultural relations is extremely important.

Schools are also obvious sites where the stereotyping of certain groups with certain kinds of sports also needs to be dealt with. The focus on bodies and the labelling by young people constrains the development of inter-cultural sports.

Connected with games and sport are the hidden meanings represented by local or national teams. The development of molecular violence in the context of civil society away from the especially by young men requires urgent attention. This is especially the case where powerful weapons used by disciplined professional soldiers may have been used by irregular resistance groups. These may now have left a legacy of nurturing negative and violent imaginations of young people who do not have any disciplines, rules or constraints of those who are in formal armies. Inter-ethnic and random violence unleashed in many localities represent failure of successful socialisation by parents, families, communities and other state institutions including education. The authoritarian aspects of social institutions which lend themselves to hatreds of “others” require attention at an early age so that children’s experiences and behaviours are nurtured in positive directions. The role of sports, games and supervised play can have an effective role in forming intercultural bonds. However, re-socialisation and education of child soldiers is an extremely complex matter also requiring urgent attention.

2.24 Children and Human Rights

This is an extremely important area for schools and for education systems. Yet, from a survey conducted in Northern Ireland, India, Botswana and Zimbabwe for The Commonwealth Ministers of Education Meeting in Botswana (July 1997), the researchers were able to establish the weak understandings most students have of these issues. If human rights education is treated in a marginalised manner or is not seen as being genuine universalistic then it loses its meanings to young people from different sections of the population. In many cases a human rights education is perceived and constructed in purely “western” terms, it is liable to be rejected by “others” who assert oppositional Islamic or non-western values. In the south east European region western values may themselves be based on falsely constructed notions of an ethnically purer past which their advocates seek to activate in educational contexts. The overwhelming diversities within the states which are members of the United Nations system present their educators with an opportunity. How can they make use of the constitutional, democratic and modernizing principles which are now being put in place in Kosovo?

In fact the issues raised in such a diverse society are relevant to most other societies, whether they consider themselves secular or theocratic, and neither effective human rights teaching, nor educational use of the international human rights instruments, are yet common in most schools.

Many Kosovo children still learn in separate schools, although they will have to live later on as adults in a complex Kosovo society, Balkan region and Europe. There is a need for more inter-group and interfaith contacts between young people, and this was repeatedly asserted by a number of young people to the authors. Educational institutions need to promote the intercultural values of respect, equality, and acceptance and toleration of different groups, based on genuine inter-group and public values.

Some respondents also stated that there was greater need for political stability and economic development and that issues of human rights were a west European luxury that Kosovo could not afford. From their point of view these issues would be an impediment to the political unity of Kosovo. Policy makers in Kosovo cannot ignore the important issues raised by the sceptics of human rights or the rationale and the need for the general strategies which enhance ideas of human rights while strengthening processes of democratisation, political stability and economic development. At the level of educational institutions it is the task of educators to explore how best to enhance universal rights by drawing the underlying basis of such values from different cultural traditions, and demonstrating that universal rights are often locally rooted. Such work must also take account of the rights and needs of the marginalised, oppressed students from both the majority and minority backgrounds in the Kosovan society.

Hence the context for human rights education is an intercultural one, affecting the experiences of youngsters at school. There are also issues of access: because access to education itself is a human right for all children in both rural and urban areas in Kosovo.

The absence of safety and security to attend school, bullying, indiscipline and gender discrimination present further barriers to the actualisation of this right.

Work undertaken in Northern Ireland, under the aegis of Education for Mutual Understanding is an important development. Paradoxically many children there are not aware of their rights as compared to children in India who understand these rights. Better understandings of rights by Indian children are partly explicable because there is a wider understanding of the Indian constitution and the rights which accrue to Indian children as future citizens of India. It however, remains to be said that even in the Indian context it is the media and not the school which provides information about the Rights of the Child. There are perhaps ways in which the new and emerging constitutional tools in Kosovo can be used to inculcate similar values amongst Kosovo children and which both the school and the media can help to deepen within the institutional context.

Finally, ethnic conflicts and children and human rights cannot be seen as abstract concepts about which schools can teach through didactic instruction. The process of education, teaching and learning as well as the way in which schools function as institutions, in children's eyes and their experiences within them carry their own powerful messages. Democratic, participative and inclusive schools are an important part of the process of the education of children as well their experiences within a democratic school.

2.25 Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE)

The development of bilingual education which has facets of being intercultural need to be considered for academic reasons in Kosovo. Intercultural bilingual education (IBE) may also help to obviate some of the tensions between linguistic communities.

IBE has relevance for most societies for both majority and minority linguistic communities. It can play the role, firstly to equip all groups to participate as citizens of the Kosovo society, and secondly to support them in their right to practice and empower their own communities. IBE presents them with the knowledge and means to defend their interests against the wider encroaching forces like monolingual globalisation, as well

as revitalising and strengthening the vibrancy of various linguistic communities. IBE paradoxically is not about destroying but about developing and enhancing linguistic diversity and repertoires of the various linguistic communities.

If IBE is made to constitute the basic structure and content of formal education process it gradually brings in thematic areas from the dominant culture in non-conflictual and non-substitutive way this can assist the process of intercultural understanding. More importantly in the context of majority/minority, dominant/subordinate relations: all the groups would benefit from intercultural bilingual education. The need for a serious consideration of this issue in Kosovo cannot be underestimated because the roles of all the communities have either been changed or reversed.

The societal response in teaching the national language to the exclusion of minority or subordinate languages on the grounds that to do otherwise would lead to less political unity, or separation does require examination. The enormous resources or skills required to teach other languages may also constitute an impediment. The following rationale is therefore worth considering:

(a) avoidance of language loss as mentioned above; (b) first language provides the child with the best medium to learn at early stages: hence literacy in first language precedes literacy in the second; (c) acquisition and development of first language, assists in successful acquisition of second (dominant, national, minority or majority language). Hence, first language enhances and does not detract from learning second language; (d) IBE enhances the sense of belongingness of a group, its knowledge and values in a school. The use of first language is useful in developing an inclusive ethos. It is less likely to produce a marginalisation of children with other languages, cultures, histories than those from the school and its curriculum, if its languages and cultures are used in the school.

In general, linguistic dominance prevails and is a major cause of ethnic tensions amongst groups whose languages are being excluded from the educational process. An international collation and replication of good IBE practices can be drawn upon by educators in Kosovo to obviate conflicts between linguistic communities while enhancing good educational outcomes for all the linguistic communities.

2.26 Historical distortion and disarming history

All children have a right to know and understand their own personal 'story'. This is an important enough issue, because when children do not have access to their parents, family or community history they become obsessed by it. Young people not only need access to these stories but to be able to read them critically. This entails young people being able to critically analyse historical information facts and documents. These historiographic skills would be invaluable to young people in evaluating stories and histories.

Members of societies generally think that their understanding of history of their own and other societies corresponds to the reality of events which have taken place. Yet, the norm is that we generally have notions based on falsified histories. Part of the problem lies in the way in which descriptions of events even by participants is by definition partial. As historians become more removed from historical events or periods their narrative becomes more removed from historical realities. It is however, possible to devise certain narratives that are more accurate than others and to remove the excessive levels of ethnocentrism. Since Kosovo society is located in time and place the experiences of those who are part of this society have socially centred views of themselves, the 'others' and of the world. At one level they have notions of 'centrism' based on their ethnic community, or as a group which is narrowly defined by its culture. At a supra-national or regional level such cultural entities may traverse over a number of states (for example, Pan-Kosovo and Pan-Slavism). At a macro international level such ethno-centrism can include notions of Albanian, Serbian, RAE or Gorani identities as diasporic groups. Individuals and groups may therefore have access to competing versions of history from personal, familial, community and national and even supra-national levels.

While ethno-centrism may focus on culture it can be distinguished from racism, which is largely dependent on the attribution to biological heredity of the cultural peculiarities of a group which has highly distinctive physical features. Ethnocentrism as a phenomenon may have an older history and have preceded racism, because racism became more pronounced in the eighteenth century. The subsequent rise of nationalism has complicated matters further. Political organisation and the use of force have provided the ultimate sanction, especially if the political entity has been able to define its territory and those who belong to it or are excluded from it.

The political system and educational institutions can help to normalise internal group relations. This process of normalisation is capable of being used very narrowly as the Nazi German state was able to demonstrate. Ordinary Germans and those who worked in state institutions internalised rules of exclusion of groups like Jews and the Roma. Education systems legitimised the most appalling events as normal and ordinary people accepted these authoritarian rules. The role of the educational processes to legitimise these actions and to accept gossip as fact cannot be under-estimated. Authoritarian systems can generally bypass the critical functions of education. The best defence for an educational process with a critical edge is within democratic schools and systems, where people do not have to obey rules without questioning them.

Omissions and distortions of history play a major role in allowing gossip or stereotypes to become crystallised. The presentation of various histories by its absence, especially if there is a dominant and subordinate past is an important element in the construction of exclusions: a people without a history or a past. The use of the similar exclusion by dominant group can exacerbate the problems of mutual recognition as has been the experience of groups in various other societies and Kosovo needs to learn lessons from these. Additionally, heroes in history are largely warriors and victors of dominant groups. The heroes of peace and their histories are far rarer; this needs to be recorded so that history can be used to disarm history and not to re-arm it. Hence, the contributions of Mother Theresa are recognized but it only seems to receive a nod while the martyrs of history of Kosovo society seem to have a more central and higher profile.

To develop more universalised understandings of history the underlying hypotheses and implicit theories of writers need to be unpicked. An epistemological and methodological break could lead to developing more widely acceptable histories which not only include written sources but also the oral understandings of certain groups. Since school level understandings of history vary so vastly not only between the countries in the Balkan region but also within each society but abstract solutions cannot be suggested here. Nevertheless, in general the notions of civilisations, the evolutionist schema, the impact of stereotypes, re-voicing and re-imagining invisible and subordinated groups do merit attention. The development of critical understandings of teachers, development of appropriate teaching materials and textbooks based on new research and developmental work deserve immediate attention.

Preiwerk and Perrot have carried out a critical analysis of 30 textbooks and this has formed a basis for their own analysis. They conclude:

In short, it is not enough to recognise in ethnocentrism a factor which distorts images on the level of social knowledge, but to see on the level of the specialists' knowledge the fundamental epistemological problems of plausibility of the epistemic subject.

Their work can be used as a basis to develop other initiatives which critically analyse historical texts.

The usage of terms like 'tradition' or 'modernisation' as applied to study of history has their own parochialism and linearity. Cultures and histories of groups which either become minorities or powerless get constructed as traditional while the dominant and the powerful perceive themselves as the acme of modernity. Such notions detract from the development of a more universalised or global approach to understanding history. Liberating the notion of the modern from the 'centric' straitjacket can help in notions of modernity being universalised. Many studies provide grounds for reappraising the writing of newer historical texts and to tackle other historical 'centrism'.

The complex and conflictual encounters of the local and the global in economic and cultural terms provides further clues to notions of development of markets, as well as the resistance, retrenchment and development of siege communities. The undemocratic features of the globalised and global economies in many contexts have led to the erosion of good local values, stable and sustainable communities as well as local skills and economies. The consequent ethnic conflicts and tensions present complex problems. At cultural levels other complex issues are presented.

There are also cultural syncretisms which have taken place as a result of interactions which are cooperative as well as conflictual within the Balkan and the Mediterranean region. As Raymond Grew writes the development of a global history can be a product of our own time which offers some historical insight into contemporary concerns and therefore into the past as well. And it will do so while substituting multicultural, global analysis for the heroic, national narratives on which our discipline was founded. Teachers and schools need to explore the viabilities of syncretic understandings and histories which may exist at local levels to help bring about intercultural learnings and understandings.

2.27 Inter-state and group relations

Inter-state conflicts within the Balkan region have the potential to de-stabilise not only the states in questions, but also the Mediterranean region as a whole. The over-arching historical links based on shared histories of the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman Empire need to replace the negative views of the neighbouring states.

The role of education systems within Kosovo in constructing notions of an imagined and glorious history which excludes its' neighbours disregards the foundation of these notions in curricular fictions which reinvent the past. There is a need to avoid a curricular narcissism which fuels inter-ethnic conflict.

2.28 Textbooks, maps and monuments

The historical misrepresentations in textbooks are very difficult to correct because of vested political interests and the complication of the financial arrangements which involve publishers. The problem is increased especially if the governments or the dominant groups want to stress singular identities because this is seen as legitimizing loyalty to that society. In general people do have more than one identity and this does not in general detract from their loyalty to a particular society. What role can the Kosovo education system play in legitimizing notions of multiple identities as being normal and not necessarily a reflection of an aberration of a proof of disloyalty? Educators may need to explore ways of giving force to these heterogeneous identities because these are a norm for many people. Both individuals and groups may have levels of identities which maybe based on religion, ethnicity, territorial location, gender and nationality. The textbooks are one aspect of this issue because the curriculum for which they are written is another related matter which requires consideration. Hence, while literacy is an asset, it can also be misused because of the way it can enhance propaganda which a government needs to put across rather than educating people.

In addition to the representation of histories which are supported by textbooks, subjects like geography and the way in which maps are used can also exacerbate ethnic and racial conflicts. Military conquests and political conflicts can lead to the change of names of places by the conquerors and the whole of the Balkan region has numerous examples of this because of 'ethnic cleansing'. Likewise heroes in conflicts and those who excel in sports which can lead to intercultural understandings can be used for opposite purposes. Hence, the ways in which heroes within public spaces and squares really represent triumphs of on group over another requires reconsideration. Victory columns are largely about the victors in conflicts rather those who are vanquished. Routes of conquest and war are also routes of trade and art and these dimensions have a greater mileage for exploration in education systems. The latter issues can become routes of peace and messages of peace rather than war can be disseminated. In complex society like Kosovo where there are conflicting meanings given to different sites, ways need to be found on how to find meaning which bring groups together rather than highlight conflict. This is important because they can have disintegrative

potential and agencies like UNICEF in Kosovo can play a role in alerting MEST to the dangers of this issue within the education system. To build a new Kosovo there is a need to view the enemy as an ally. The Balkan Colleges Foundation in Sofia has done some work in this field and the authors would like to recommend that similar initiatives are undertaken in Kosovo.

Some of the educational basis of the previous conflicts in Kosovo need to be addressed by educational institutions because subordinated and excluded groups in the post-conflict period are not likely to accept inequalities in the new and changing Kosovo. They not only expect equality but also would use their democratic powers to gain equality. It is no longer the case that groups would 'know their place in society.' They are more than likely to question this and take measures to bring about equality.

The conflict and violence in Kosovo was not a result of ignorance and parochialism but of deeply entrenched views about 'the other', their past, their history and their position in society. To a certain extent equitable political solutions which are seen to be transparent would also educators to develop peaceful educational provision.

The above measures about teaching history, textbooks, maps and monuments need to be seen a part of a strategy of disarming history and the de-mystification of fictive pasts. The American writer Barabara Ehrenreich states that the very passions which lead to war can be used to struggle against war and that there is a place for courage and solidarity which can help in reversing the role of bloody institutions of conflict, violence and war. Educators however, cannot do this alone. They are only part of the solution.

2.29 Teachers and Pedagogies

One of the problems which occurs within education systems is the increasing gap and distance between teachers and students. The cultural gaps between teachers and students can have various features and issues of different social class, language, religious, age difference as well as different views about education. In Kosovo the situation perhaps has many local manifestations and therefore the solutions to these gaps need to be locally resolved. Hence, urban teachers working in rural areas need to be able to understand not only the rural or village culture but the aspirations and dreams and the realities that students confront to actualize these aspirations and dreams.

Teachers from dominant communities need to ensure that they do not reinforce the existing discriminatory attitudes and behaviours against those from minority communities. The RAE and Gorani communities are particularly at risk from being marginalized by teacher attitudes and behaviours as well as low expectations Of teachers of these students. In this respect schools need to develop policies and action plans which enhance teachers' professionalism by enhancing their competencies.

The issues for teachers in general and the intercultural dimensions are twofold: one is what teachers need to know, which has knowledge dimension; and secondly, what teachers are able to do, which has a skills dimension. If teacher education is of high quality then the teachers understanding of knowledge issues and skills is necessarily going to be of a higher order. This is obviously and primarily a role for teacher education institutions.

Those who join the profession ought to bring from their earlier education a sound academic background.. This would especially be possible if those who join the teaching profession have an undergraduate degree and that teacher education is a postgraduate qualification where teachers can become good professionals through a systematic study of teaching and learning. These studies and especially their intercultural dimensions need to be closely supervised and monitored. Many so called teacher training courses in fact,

fail to educate teachers to function effectively as professional teachers in complex school environments. These processes entail not only a command of the subjects taught but also a sound grasp of techniques in teaching these subjects. They also need to have information on research into teaching and an understanding of children's growth and development. In complex classrooms which Kosovo will increasingly have to deal with children will have different learning needs and learning styles. If teachers are also their own researchers they will be able to deal with these issues systematically.

The status of teacher education institutions and their structure is critical for the role of teacher education itself. If teacher educators are seen as previous school teachers with no higher order skills and knowledge which includes understandings as well as the educational sciences and their research skills which are not of a higher order, then teacher education institutions and the profession will be perceived as having a low status.

Teacher education should essentially be an integral part of the university system and have good established links with schools in the same way as medical schools have good links with hospitals. This situation would create the possibility of cross-fertilisation of ideas from other knowledge systems, and developments within the educational sciences which are firmly located in school practice. The intercultural dimensions of such teacher education would be also help in the nurturing of the continuing educational provision of education and help to raise the educational standards amongst all children. One of the criticisms of intercultural education in some western countries is that it 'waters down' educational outcomes and process. In other words, equality compromises quality. Here, the paper would like to highlight that equality and quality go hand in hand.

2.30 The structuring of teacher education

Teacher education in many contexts at the present time is poorly placed to implement effective intercultural policies and measures. Part of the problem in most contexts, including Kosovo is that teacher education institutions which offer postgraduate courses, which are research oriented and have close links with other faculties in the university and schools are far in between. In terms of dealing with intercultural issues in a substantive way teacher educators themselves need to be re-educated to deal with the new challenges in this field.

In higher education institutions where teacher education has a lower profile within the system then teacher educators would not have access to academic disciplines to raise the status of intercultural issues. If such issues are only dealt by a few members of staff who are interested in such issues without making any structural changes to implement for a more integrated approach within teacher education institutions, such issues would remain marginalized. Each subject area has to acquire and develop its own expertise and this can then lead to inter-disciplinary and cross institutional frameworks to implement such changes. These measures therefore require not only a few interested educators but institutional mechanisms and structures to ensure that the required changes will take place.

Changes within teacher education institutions are necessary because they have customs, procedures and practices which either directly or indirectly discriminate. Such discriminatory practices may not be evident on the surface and can only be eliminated if institutional structures are examined to bring about greater levels of openness to their operationalisation. These discriminatory practices may not only have relevance to intercultural education, but for educational equality, including inter-group and gender equality.

Any policies for intercultural teacher education cannot be effective unless they have support of all staff, and involve measures on (a) student admissions; (b) staff recruitment and promotions; (c) and an initiation of research and curriculum development.

Such changes require an evaluation of their effectiveness, and cannot be of a tokenistic nature. Hence, the implementation of any strategies needs to be properly monitored. While teacher educators can themselves initiate changes these need to be supported by the institutions themselves. This institutional commitment

includes the systematic organisation of staff development, so that teacher educators can update their knowledge, skills and understandings in the field of intercultural education.

2.31 Education of interculturally competent teachers

Teacher education institutions ought to ensure that the intercultural competencies of teachers include both their personal and professional development. Such competencies should include academic expertise in their subject as well as competencies and skills to teach these. The different learning capabilities in diverse classrooms and the necessity to organize classrooms to meet these complex needs form an integral part of teacher education.

Teacher education therefore has theoretical as well as practical dimensions and this ought to be viewed as an issue of creative tension in educating interculturally competent teachers. This can enhance teachers' professional competence and narrow the cultural gap between the teachers and students in the classroom. Both in complex classrooms and complex schools teachers can become their own researchers, who have a greater understanding of differences between teaching and learning.

2.32 Knowledge and the curriculum

Knowledge and curricular issues are critical to the way in which a society constructs notions of itself. Inclusions and exclusions of knowledge have implications for ethnic conflict, peace and stability in a society. For this reason it would be useful to consider ways in which formal and informal curriculum can be modified or changed to meet the current needs of the complex Kosovar society. For instance, if history is studied from one or another nationalist perspective, rather than from an inclusive paradigm of historiography, the curriculum and the values of those studying it will remain trapped in the tramlines of a narrow nationalist tautology. This type of perspective would raise the incidence of racism, xenophobia and of narrow ethnicisms. Curriculum and the educational process in general will have propaganda but not educative value. Hence, educators within MEST, the higher education institutions, teacher education institutions as well as curriculum and textbook planners in general would need to consider alternative definitions of knowledge before planning courses, research or other interventions. The curricular question therefore is how to liberate the curriculum from a narrow focus to a more inclusive and intercultural one.

In teaching and devising of the curriculum therefore educationalists should consider several alternative definitions of knowledge before planning courses, research or other interventions.

The dominant-marginal perspective in educational discourses needs to be constantly challenged and often redrawn. The issues being presented here are historically significant and of the gravest importance for the future of education as well as the political and social structures of most nations. They require a combination of pedagogical patience and persistence. There has to be a constant and fundamental reappraisal of the histories and narrowly defined national identities into which we have all been inducted with such care.

To reinstate 'this voice' of the disenfranchised would require a great deal of delicacy, diplomacy and sophistication, particularly if the desired changes are not to be relegated to the margins of academic life. Reactive, rhetorical and rebellious responses in curricular terms are not only inadequate but counter-productive.

2.33 Positive discrimination or affirmative action?

The polarisation in Kosovo society in the recent period poses an extremely dangerous threat in developing democratic agendas within a liberal society and its conciliatory and reconciliatory gestures between the different groups. These new polarities cannot be resolved by an uncritical liberal response, but requires rigorously argued and sustained position(s), which is (are) able to make a difference to greater equalities not only of opportunity but also of educational outcomes in education and employment for all groups, however this is defined. Advantaged children (or those from dominant communities) and their education needs to advance in tandem with the improvements and advances in the education of the disadvantaged (or from the

minorities). Yet, the disparities of differential cultural capital that children bring to the school continue to lead to differential outcomes, unless schools take effective measures in schools to improve life chances of all children. Here the paper will try to draw upon experiences in other countries, especially the United States and India – where some of the above measures have been implemented.

The continued emphasis on market principles based on mythical level playing fields can only exacerbate ethnic and racial tensions. There has recently been violence in many French cities by youth from largely North African background. In Britain and the U.S. Watts, Detroit, Brixton, Birmingham and Liverpool riots are examples of the ways in which young people who have limited or no education and have few chances of getting jobs have burnt cars and cities. However, at the present time does the argument of the uprising of the oppressed and the ‘burning of the cities’ have any social basis? Educationally disadvantaged and unemployed groups experience high levels of tension and alienation within society and they can turn on other groups in their midst. Many governments have strengthened their police forces, armies and other paramilitary forces which deal with disorder.

Violence directed against oneself or ones’ own community may not be seen a major security threat to the dominant group or the society. Yet, what about inter-ethnic violence amongst different subordinated groups? Communal violence has a way of escalating into inter-communal and spilling into society in general. It therefore may not be containable and ought not to be considered as such by the dominant groups.

In attempting to implement the affirmative action agenda, or positive discrimination, issues of social justice and individual rights need to be balanced. This is particularly important at the present time because of the previous failures and critiques of affirmative action. One of the options is to institute preparatory or access courses for affirmative action students to ensure that they acquire the required qualifications and that their formal entry is based on academic credentials. This would obviate the high drop-out rates of such students at the present time. Secondly, institutions cannot implement affirmative action programmes without reappraising what goes on inside them. The customs, practices structures, pedagogies and curricula ought to be critically reviewed to ensure their relevance for all students. This should be done to ensure a more effective and rigorous but also universally relevant curriculum, so that there can be a genuine possibility of learning across cultures. Such measures can help counteract the criticism that the quality of education would be lowered. These measures would also ensure that larger numbers of students learn effectively and acquire competencies and matriculate.

An effective affirmative action ought to ensure that members of disadvantaged groups can function in all professions, no matter how rigorous or demanding these maybe. Hence, access courses are essential to ensure that cognitively demanding jobs are within the competence of all sections of society. Many minorities complain that only ‘soft option’ careers are open to them and that ‘glass ceilings’ operate in good academic institutions, high status professions as well as in places of work.

Another criticism of positive discrimination in India and affirmative action in the US is that the dominant liberal and bourgeois blacks and Schedule Castes benefit from it and assimilate within the existing social structures. In both contexts there are accusations that there are vested interests within such groups to perpetuate affirmative action. These accusations further state that gaps between the few who benefit and the large numbers of underclass who remain marginalised have widened. Despite criticisms of other programmes like Head Start these may bring social gains which are, acknowledged even by the parents. In the US life chances of children have improved and nearly a million children and parents have acquired a better quality of life. Hence the role of projects to improve numeracy, literacy and general education of children and adults is important. The policy announced by the Government of India to make primary education for all children is an important development although whether these will meet the criteria of the

2.34 UN education for all targets remains to be seen.

How can such policies be made to work effectively and lead to greater levels of race and caste equality and ultimately lead to the dismantlement of these affirmative action systems? This is a complicated question because in the U.S. the Hispanic, Blacks and Schedule Castes groups are not homogeneous categories. These groups do not constitute a single undifferentiated stratum of society and only a coordinated effort in all areas of economic and social policy would lead towards greater levels of equality. Targeted action which is well constructed to deal with specific disadvantage is important. However, action in one area, say education, may not be effective if other disadvantages are not alleviated through a long-term strategy and a multi-agency approach. This is therefore, not just a matter of politics but also one of public policy and which has implications for the public domain. An effective affirmative action would therefore is not only be a matter for private institutions which rely on private funds but would call for public funds which are used in an atmosphere of political consensus.

The paper would like to suggest that the educational authorities carefully re-appraise the policies of affirmative action and positive discrimination in other countries and try to learn how they have either succeeded or failed.

In the prevailing climate of liberalisation in a global context internationally, it is necessary not to preach to the converted but to formulate an agenda which will lend weight with those who are critical and sceptical. How can affirmative action programmes be realised in the current climate on the basis of collective obligations, compensations and redress? On what grounds can one reinstate the idea of 'society' and negate the role of the market place in the educational discourse and advocate that such policies have a relevance when the liberal globalisers rejects notion of 'society' and asserts that notions of an egalitarian and pluralistic society do not exist? This negates the role of the government in solving social problems. The denial of the existence of 'society' can deal a further blow to issues of social justice in societies like Kosovo, which need to develop educational systems and provision which can bring greater levels of equalities. The acceptance of the context of 'society', within which social justice is important, can ensure that the legacy of unequal treatment in the past and at the present time can form a basis for providing positive and equal treatment to disadvantaged, which would lead to greater equality.

The position of women who constitute virtually half the population in most societies in being enabled to acquire competencies in a whole range of areas is of paramount importance in most societies. This is where the market philosophy fails. If such groups have to rely on the operations of the market, those who are poor will never acquire even the simplest of freedoms or access to social goods or education on their own. The acquisition of skills, knowledge and competences and academic and professional credentials are required to create equality in the life chances and careers of disadvantaged groups. Evidence in the United States suggests that women, black and Hispanics who were enabled to be educated and obtain jobs by affirmative action policies did not lead to lower productivity. Although most of these studies were for clerical and blue collar jobs, the numbers of women as managers doubled between 1966 to 1978 because of affirmative action. The Equal Opportunity Commission in the US estimated that in 500 corporations between there was no lowering of profit margins because of those appointed through affirmative action.

These gains obviously mean that the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960's did benefit some people from disadvantaged communities and the corporations they worked in but it did not bring about a greater cohesiveness or consensus in American society. Instead it has led to greater divisions and differences in society, some of which can be attributed to economic decline. The need for political and educational institutions to build a consensus on this issue becomes more evident, because affirmative action programmes as a corrective of past inequalities are not enough on their own. These measures on their own are not able to deal with economic and cumulative disadvantages in society. Given that there are group divides within Kosovo how can measures be developed which are able to learn from the mistakes made in other contexts?

The value of the public domain and the strengths of a civil society require a renewal. This is particularly necessary because of rapid advances in technologies which increase competition and unemployment. The rationale for new technologies and their potential connections with the 'common good' requires consideration. This ought to involve a more imaginative perspective on education, training and employment for all groups in society especially since it is now being suggested that while 20% will benefit from new technologies and be employed, 80% of the population will become surplus to the needs of the economy. Obviously the potential for inter-ethnic conflict given that the 80% (are likely to include vast numbers of ethnic group) unemployed are enormous. This in turn can lead to higher levels of civil strife, violence and even the dismantling of the institutions within society as has been experienced in the old Yugoslavia thus undermining social stability and order within the south east European region. The whole issue deserves action at the broadest public and social policy to provide critical interventions and targeted action (to ensure critical interventions and targeted action) to ensure greater levels of equity in society.

This paper has briefly discussed the complexities involved in the way in which education may exacerbate or contribute to ethnic conflict and violence. Paradoxically education also has the potential to help in the resolution of conflicts.

The rise of tensions and violence between ethnic groups may partly be embedded in inequalities in societies in which education systems operate. In as much as education systems reproduce these inequalities they exacerbate and help to perpetuate conflicts.

The role of education in minimising the notions of 'otherness' within communities and societies is essential to maintain peace. Its role in ensuring the belongingness of all groups to a society presents great challenges for schools. These challenges about educating for inclusion in a democratic context, which ensures citizenship rights to all cannot be ignored.