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# **INTEGRATION OF MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN THE POST STATUS KOSOVO**

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## 1. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

After seven years of life in a legal limbo Kosovars are approaching the time of decision over the status of the territory. Many of the grievances are related to the unresolved status and no community in Kosovo has benefited from such legal and political uncertainty. In spite of considerable improvements in the last seven years human rights are still poorly protected. Resolution of the status will certainly not bring an automatic improvement in this field. It will take concerted legislative efforts and carefully tailored policies to upgrade the state of human rights protection.

This paper aims to identify some of the main challenges in the integration of minority communities after the status resolution. As such it starts from the current situation of community/minority rights at the legal and practical level. Further on, it dwells upon the future challenges, particularly in terms of protection and development of group identity, within Kosovo's new identity.

The paper concludes that considerable progress has been made in integrating minority communities. However, this progress is primarily limited to their representation and integration in public institutions. In addition, legitimacy of these institutions remains problematic, as it goes along ethnic lines. In most other areas of life separation of communities is to be found far more frequently than social integration. In dealing with these challenges, the paper suggests few recommendations related, among others, to the new constitution, applicability of relevant international conventions, improvements in the judiciary, dismantling parallel structures, enhancing education and culture and adoption of new symbols.

## 2. LEGAL OVERVIEW OF COMMUNITY RIGHTS IN KOSOVO

### *Overall legal situation*

The existence and operation of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) is based on the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1244. Among other obligations, the Resolution mandates UNMIK to protect and promote human rights in Kosovo (UN 1999, Resolution 1244). The Resolution recognizes specific rights such as the right of all refugees to return and the freedom of movement and refers to the protection and promotion of human rights as one of the duties of the international civilian mission. As such, the Resolution lays the groundwork for subsequent legislation related to protection of human rights in Kosovo.

The Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government in Kosovo (hereinafter: Constitutional Framework), enacted through the UNMIK Regulation 2001/09 (UNMIK 2001. Regulation 2001/9) aims at bridging the gap between the declaratory commitments outlined in Resolution 1244 and their implementation. The Constitutional Framework outlines a comprehensive catalogue of human rights and prohibits discrimination, whereas the Anti-Discrimination Law (Kosovo Assembly 2004, Anti-Discrimination Law), further specifies the prohibition of discrimination, makes available remedies and provides for sanctions for violators.

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<sup>1</sup> KIPRED is thankful to all those who contributed to this report with their inputs and comments.

More importantly, the Constitutional Framework outlines the following relevant international documents to be observed and ensured by the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government (PISG) as domestically applicable legislation (UNMIK 2001, Constitutional Framework):

- *The Universal Declaration on Human Rights;*
- *The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and its Protocols;*
- *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Protocols thereto;*
- *The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination;*
- *The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women;*
- *The Convention on the Rights of the Child;*
- *The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages; and*
- *The Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.*

This abovementioned list of the documents that are directly applicable is not exhaustive. The Constitutional Framework assigns the PISG with the duty to observe any “other relevant principles reflected in internationally recognized legal instruments”, which are not directly applicable in Kosovo.<sup>2</sup> Thus, Kosovo’s questionable legal capacity to sign and ratify international treaties as other states has been compensated by direct domestic applicability of international instruments on human rights.

Whatever the legal and practical motivations behind the formula employed by the Constitutional Framework, the enumeration of international instruments directly applicable in Kosovo represents a substantial improvement. Prior to the adoption of the Constitutional Framework, public authorities were only obliged to observe international instruments pertaining to human rights protection, less likely to be enforced effectively. While enlisting relevant international human rights documents, Regulation 1999/24 goes on to specify that “in exercising their function, all persons undertaking public duties or holding public office in Kosovo shall observe internationally recognized human rights standards...” as reflected in the documents in question (UNMIK 1999, Regulation on the Law Applicable in Kosovo). This duty is limited in the scope of its application since “KFOR as well as UNMIK, their associated property, funds and assets are immune from any legal proceedings” (Brand 2001: 478). Considerable progress has been made in clarifying applicable international standards, however, protection from legal proceedings of KFOR and UNMIK officials sets a bad example in the eyes of Kosovo’s authorities and citizens at large.

### ***Rights of Communities and their members***

This section outlines specific rights of communities and their members guaranteed by the legal framework. The Constitutional Framework uses the term “people”<sup>3</sup> driven by the intention to avoid association with the state. By the same token, the Constitutional Framework does not refer to minorities, which is the commonly accepted terminology in international documents.<sup>4</sup> Instead, it uses the term “community” as reference to members of the same ethnic, religious or linguistic group. It is worth pointing out that the use of the term “community” instead of “minority” does not have any impact on obligations of the PISG to observe and ensure internationally recognized documents pertaining to “minorities”.

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<sup>2</sup> Direct application means that the PISG, and in particular the court, can apply them in daily practice without the enactment of any further legislation.

<sup>3</sup> In Albanian translation of the Constitutional Framework used “popull” and in Serbian “stanovništvo”.

<sup>4</sup> See for e.g. Council of Europe’s Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

Avoiding referring to any groups as majorities or minorities is a direct consequence of Kosovo's vague status under Resolution 1244 and the symbolically important divisions of the past between "constitutive and/or non-constitutive nations". Resolution 1244 preserves the sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), implying that Kosovo Serbs see themselves as members of the majority community in the overall context of FRY. On the other hand, Kosovo Albanians deny any legal connection with FRY and consequently see themselves as a majority within Kosovo.

As no credible census has been organized since 1981 there are no reliable statistical data on any of the communities living in Kosovo (Albanians, Serbs, Bosnians, Turks, Roma, Ashkali, Gorani and Croats). Further, the recent independence of Montenegro raises the issues of Kosovo Montenegrins and their status as a community, since before 2006, Montenegrins were seen by the international administration as part of the Kosovo Serb community.

The Constitutional Framework takes into consideration international standards on the preservation and development of identity. Communities and inhabitants belonging to the same ethnic, religious or linguistic group are entitled to the rights "in order to preserve, protect and express their ethnic, cultural, religious, and linguistic identities (UNMIK. 2001. Constitutional Framework, Section 4.1.) Further, the right to declare or not to declare affiliation to a certain community is guaranteed. In the spirit of Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, the Constitutional Framework prohibits any disadvantage incurred from an individual's choice "to declare or not to declare" himself or herself a member of a community (UNMIK. 2001. Constitutional Framework, Section 4.2.).<sup>5</sup> In general, at the level of constitutional principles, there are no significant shortcomings with the rights of community members to declare or withhold their affiliation.

A serious deviation from progressive guarantees of the Constitutional Framework is the use of the "RAE" formula denoting the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities as a single political grouping. In spite of probable noble motives aiming to amplify their voice by the creation of a larger grouping, the perceived attempt for the creation of a new identity has created serious identity and political troubles for these communities. As such, it goes against the basic right of members of the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities to preserve and promote their individual identity and to declare themselves as members of the same. Hence the use of "RAE formula" may be seen as being in collision with the constitutional right of every person to declare or not to declare to "which Community he belongs, or to declare himself a member of any Community" (UNMIK. 2001. Constitutional Framework, Section 4.2).

More specifically, the Constitutional Framework outlines the right of communities and their members to:

- *Use their language;*
- *Receive education in their own language;*
- *Enjoy access to information in their own language;*
- *Enjoy equal opportunity with respect to employment in public bodies at all levels and in respect to access to public services at all levels;*
- *Enjoy unhindered contacts among themselves, with members of their respective communities in and outside Kosovo;*
- *Use and display community symbols, subject to conditions established by law;*

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<sup>5</sup> See also: Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, Section 3.1.

- *Establish associations to promote the interests of their community;*
- *Enjoy unhindered contacts with, and participate in local, regional and international non-governmental organization, in accordance with rules and procedures of such organizations;*
- *Provide information in the language and alphabet of their community, including by establishing and maintaining their own media;*
- *Provide for education and establish educational institutions, in particular for schooling in their own language and alphabet and in community culture and history. For that purpose financial assistance may be provided, including from public funds. That can be done in accordance with applicable law) and provided that the curricula reflects the applicable law and reflects a spirit of tolerance among communities, respect of human rights and the cultural traditions of all communities;*
- *Promote respect for community traditions;*
- *Preserve sites of religious, historical, or cultural importance to the Community, in cooperation with relevant public authorities;*
- *Receive and provide public health and social services, on a non-discriminatory basis, in accordance with applicable standards;*
- *Operate religious institutions;*
- *Be guaranteed access to, and representation in, public broadcast media, as well as programming in relevant languages;*
- *Finance their activities by collecting voluntary contributions from their members or from organizations outside Kosovo, or be receiving such funding as may be provided by the PISG or by local public authorities, as long as such financing is conducted in a fully transparent manner.*

### ***Institutional responsibility***

The objective of this section is to depict specific responsibilities of the PISG in the area of human and community rights protection. First of all, the Constitutional Framework places an active duty on the hands of the PISG to ensure that all communities and their members may exercise the rights enumerated in therein (UNMIK. 2001. Constitutional Framework, Section 4.5.). When actions of the PISG are not in harmony with their duty, the SRSG as the highest authority in Kosovo retains the authority to intervene. The SRSG has the “full authority to ensure that the rights and interests of Communities are fully protected” (UNMIK. 2001. Constitutional Framework, Section 8.1.a.) PISG are given clear responsibilities about protection of human and community rights, whereas the SRSG retains the right to correct actions of local institutions.

Community interests are also served by a limitation put upon elected institutions that the policy and practice of the PISG should be guided by the need to promote coexistence and support reconciliation between communities, and to create appropriate conditions enabling communities to preserve, protect and develop their identities (UNMIK. 2001. Constitutional Framework, Section 4.3.). This generally gives the PISG the duty to encourage social transformation with peaceful coexistence and reconciliation as objectives. The PISG are also obliged to promote and preserve Kosovo’s cultural heritage of all communities without discrimination (UNMIK. 2001. Constitutional Framework, Section 4.3.). These guarantees faithfully reflect international standards on the protection and development of minorities’

identity. Existing constitutional guarantees also imply that institutions may not design policies and carry out practices aimed at assimilating community members.

### ***Community Representation***

Ethnic key is used to guarantee representation of communities in a number of institutions. In elected bodies representation of minority communities is guaranteed by the Constitutional Framework. Apart of the seats that political entities of each community win in the proportional system, out of 120 seats, the Kosovo Assembly allocates 20 additional seats for members of minority Communities, according to the following distribution: 10 Serbs, 4 RAE, 3 Bosniaks, 2 Turks, 1 Gorani (UNMIK 2001. Constitutional Framework, Section 9.1.3b). These are proportionally distributed to political entities with the highest number of votes. Minority communities are also entitled to a guaranteed representation in the Presidency of the Assembly. One member of the Presidency must be from parties representing the Serb community and one from parties representing non-Serb (and non-Albanian) communities (UNMIK 2001. Constitutional Framework, Section 9.1.7 and amended through UNMIK Regulation No. 2002/09). The aim of “reserved seats” to substantially improve representation of minority communities in elected institutions has succeeded with other communities, but failed with regard to the Serbs primarily due to the boycott of Serb political parties.

In most instances, the decision-making formula was designed in such a way to enable minority communities to have serious input. As the main decision-making institutions, the Presidency of the Assembly and the Government in principle make decisions by consensus, which in the case of the former is seen as “limited degree of veto power” (Bieber 2004: 124).

Ethnic key is also used for the allotment of senior posts at other levels, such as for Assembly Committees. According to the Constitutional Framework each of the Assembly Committees must have one vice-chairman from a community other than that of the chairman (UNMIK 2001. Constitutional Framework, Section 9.1.22.). For the purpose of protecting the interests of minority communities within the Assembly, a Committee on the Rights and Interests of Communities was established. This Committee is composed of two members from each community represented at the Assembly, whereas recommendations (presented to the entire Assembly) are adopted by majority vote of its members. The Committee on Rights and Interests of Communities reviews any proposed law submitted upon the initiative of any member of the Presidency.

Minority communities enjoy guaranteed representation in the Government too. According to the formula established by the Constitutional Framework, the Kosovo Government should have at least one minister representing the Serb community and one representing other communities. “In the event that there are more than 12 ministers, a third minister will be from non-majority communities” (UNMIK 2001. Constitutional Framework, Section 9.3.5b.). Appointment of a minister from the ranks of the community and who is not a member of the Assembly requires the formal endorsement of the members of the Assembly from the community concerned. While guaranteed (instead of reserved) seats at the Assembly are generally seen among politicians of the majority as an acceptable solution, the same raise concerns about negative effects of guaranteed ministerial seats. This is considered to go against the interests of minority communities since it militates against cross-ethnic coalitions and reduces participation of minority communities to a symbolic value.

An additional tool enables community MPs to raise a motion on the grounds that an adopted law or any of its provisions discriminate against a community by affecting the rights guaranteed,

or “seriously interfere with the ability of the Community to preserve, protect or express its ethnic, cultural, religious or linguistic identity” (UNMIK 2001. Constitutional Framework, Section 9.1.39.). Once this motion is invoked and if the Presidency cannot consensually decide on a proposal to the Assembly, a special panel is established. The panel consists of a representative of the institution that sponsored the law, a representative of motion invokers and a third party, appointed by the SRSG a chairperson of the panel. The decision of the panel is presented to the Assembly which may accept or reject it and thus leave the law unchanged. This mechanism has been invoked a number of times and in one form or another will most likely continue to exist.

At the municipal level minority communities also enjoy a number of mechanisms to protect their interests. In the spirit of the Constitutional Framework, Regulation 2000/45 does not differentiate between majorities and minorities. Instead it uses the concept of “communities” and provides a number of mechanisms aimed at protecting their rights. “In order to protect community interests, each municipality with a ‘sizable minority population’ is to establish a Communities Committee, a Mediation Committee and one or more Communities Offices” (Gjurgjeala and Malazogu 2004: 12-13). Communities Committee has to fairly represent the number of communities in the municipality and its role is, among others, to ensure that “all persons enjoy, on an equal basis, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, and fair and equal employment opportunities in municipality service at all levels” (UNMIK 2000. Regulation No. 2000/45 on Self-Government of Municipalities in Kosovo, Art. 23.4b.). Following complaints raised by Communities Committee, the Mediation Committee submits recommendations on how the matter should be dealt. These recommendations have to be considered by the municipal assembly (UNMIK 2000. Regulation No. 2000/45 on Self-Government of Municipalities in Kosovo, Art. 23.8.). Mediation Committee is made of equal numbers of members of the municipal assembly who are not members of the Communities Committee, and a fair representation of communities who do not belong to the community which is in the majority in the municipality.

In terms of outreach services in particular geographic areas, Regulation 2000/45 obliges every municipality with substantial presence of minority communities to establish Community Office/s. Responsibilities of these offices include “enhancing the protection of community rights and ensuring equal access for communities to public services at the municipal level (UNMIK. 2000. Regulation No. 2000/45 on Self-Government of Municipalities in Kosovo, Art. 23.12.). Above all, each municipality with significant minority population is also obliged to elect a second Deputy President of the Municipal Assembly of an ethnic community. Other mechanisms include “fair-share financing”, according to which every municipality with minority communities is obliged to allocate those communities a proportion of its budget, equal to their size of the community.

### ***Monitoring Mechanisms***

This section provides a brief description of mechanism that are in place to adjudicate on human rights violations or monitor observance of guaranteed human and community rights. The courts in general represent the main bodies for administering justice. As such they are the primary institution in charge of adjudicating cases of human rights’ violations.

The judiciary in Kosovo is organized along the same lines as it was in the former Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo: municipal courts, five district courts and the Supreme Court. Unlike in the past, there is no Constitutional Court, the functions of which were partly assigned

to the Legal Office of the SRSG and partly entrusted to the dysfunctional Special Chamber within the Supreme Court. Mistrust in the judiciary, huge backlog of unresolved cases, allegations of corruption and politicization are just some of the difficulties that accompany courts in Kosovo.

The Ombudsperson is another highly important body for the protection of human rights. It was established in 2000 (UNMIK. 2000. Regulation No. 2000/38 on the Establishment of the Ombudsperson Institution in Kosovo) and in 2001 its duties were also enshrined in the Constitutional Framework. Responsibilities of the Ombudsperson include receiving and investigating complaints for human rights violations or abuse of authority (UNMIK. 2001. Constitutional Framework, Section 10.1.) as well as taking preventive steps, making recommendation and advising on any such matters (UNMIK. 2001. Constitutional Framework, Section 10.2.).

In five years of its existence, led by a Polish human rights campaigner, the Ombudsperson has managed to establish itself into a respectable promoter of human rights. In fact, the Institution of the Ombudsperson in Kosovo “is probably the most prominent... in particular since it formally enjoys ‘independence’ within UNMIK and the interim administration.” (Brand 2001: 479). However, UNMIK has generally been reluctant to accept the jurisdiction of the Office of the Ombudsperson, a damaging precedent for the Kosovars. In addition, KFOR falls entirely beyond the scope of Ombudsperson’s jurisdiction. With these shortcomings and waiting for the appointment of a local Ombudsperson, it remains to be seen how effective this institution will be in the future.

A number of additional monitoring mechanisms are in place. OSCE, though one of the administration pillars of UNMIK, is charged with regular monitoring of human rights. Since 2004, when UNMIK and the Council of Europe signed an agreement related to the Framework Convention on National Minorities<sup>6</sup>, an Advisory Committee monitors observance of the provisions of the Convention. In addition, the UN Commission on Human Rights, the

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Committee on Human Rights also monitor observance of human rights in Kosovo.

A number of mechanisms outlined above share different responsibilities for monitoring human rights. However, two major shortcomings are easily discernable. First, courts as the most important body for protection of human rights are still mistrusted and inefficient. Secondly, lack of access to international human rights bodies by Kosovars is extremely unfavorable for

**Table 3. Serb Political Entities in Kosovo**

Serb political entities					
		2000	2001	2002	2004
<b>KP (Koalicija Povratak) - SLKM (Sprska Lista za KiM)</b>	As total nr		31,362	14,220	1,019
	As total %		3.98%	2.03%	0.15%
		2000	2001	2002	2004
<b>KOS (Kosovska Objektivna Stranka)</b>	As total nr			1,268	
	As total %			0.18%	
		2000	2001	2002	2004
<b>SNV (Sprsko Nacionalno Vece Severnog Kosmeta)</b>	As total nr			1,887	
	As total %			0.27%	
		2000	2001	2002	2004
<b>PKM (Pokret za Kosovu i Metohiju)</b>	As total nr			1,933	
	As total %			0.28%	
		2000	2001	2002	2004
<b>Cumulative Kosovo Serb Parties</b>	As total nr		31,362	19,308	1,019
	As total %		3.98%	2.76%	0.15%
		2000	2001	2002	2004

<sup>6</sup> Technical Arrangements related to the Framework Convention for the Protection of national Minorities, 23 August 2004.

adequate protection of human rights. Obviously, a number of issues remain open in enhancing legal standards for human and community rights.

### 3. KEY ISSUES OF COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

**Table 1. Belgrade Parties**

Belgrade Parties		
DSS	2002	
	As total nr	8,984
	As total %	1.28%
SD	2002	
	As total nr	730
	As total %	0.10%
SPO	2002	
	As total nr	1,089
	As total %	0.16%
Cumulative votes to Belgrade Serb parties	2002	
	As total nr	10,803
	As total %	1.54%

This section aims to analyze participation of minority communities in local and general elections, their integration and satisfaction with the performance of key public institutions of Kosovo, issues of ethnic security and human rights as well as community identity development opportunities. All these segments are examined in order to explore major challenges that Kosovo communities might face in the years to come.

#### *Public Participation*

There are no significant problems related to the freedom of association neither in terms of the letter of the law or actual practice. Minority communities are represented through a plethora of political parties and civic initiatives registered in Kosovo. In 2000, UNMIK took a controversial decision allowing participation in Kosovo's local and general elections to political

parties based and registered in Serbia. This decision was justified by the provisions of the UNSCR 1244 that recognizes Belgrade's nominal sovereignty over Kosovo and was seen as pragmatic in order to elicit voting by the Serbs in greater numbers.

Despite this and other similar decisions, the participation of Serbs in elections was very low, and by corollary, the legitimacy of the PISG today is limited to non-Serb communities.<sup>7</sup> Non-Serb minority communities have fully participated in all elections held so far in Kosovo. As a result, non-Serb communities enjoy legitimate representation in elected institutions, be it at the central or local level.

**Table 2. Turk and Bosnian Parties**

Turk and Bosnian Parties					
BSDAK (Bosniak)		2000	2001	2002	2004
	Total nr	4,068	2,906	1,322	1,452
	As total %	0.59%	0.37%	0.19%	0.21%
Koalicija VAKAT (Bosnian)		2000	2001	2002	2004
	As total nr				4,972
	As total %				0.72%
VATAN/SDA for 2000 only (Bosniak)		2000	2001	2002	2004
	Total nr	3,653	9,030	6,972	2,520
	As total %	0.53%	1.08%	1.00%	0.36%
KDTP (Turk) KTHP for 2000 only		2000	2001	2002	2004
	Total nr	567	7,879	7,760	8,353
	As total %	0.08%	0.98%	1.11%	1.21%

**Table 3: Ashkali and Roma Parties**

Ashkali and Romas Parties					
PDA(SH)K (Ashkali)		2000	2001	2002	2004
	As total nr	1,552	3,411	2,760	361
	As total %	0.23%	0.43%	0.39%	0.05%
PDAK (Ashkali)		2000	2001	2002	2004
	Total nr			2,760	2,555
	As total %			0.39%	0.37%
PREBK (Roma)		2000	2001	2002	2004
	Total nr		2,717	924	1,049
	As total %		0.34%	0.13%	0.15%

<sup>7</sup> See Annex 1: Participation of community political parties in elections.

The international community has made serious efforts to help organize democratic institutions and to guarantee free and fair elections. Nonetheless, the legitimacy of governing institutions (PISG/UNMIK) only to a low extent cuts across ethnic lines and goes beyond predominant Kosovo Albanian and other non-Serb constituencies. Either explicitly or implicitly the Kosovo Serb population did not grant legitimacy to the PISG/UNMIK and feels unable, and some sections of it unwilling, to represent themselves within Kosovo Institutions.

### ***Integration in Public Institutions***

Regardless of the limited participation of the Serb community in elections, their representation and that of other communities, in Parliament<sup>8</sup> and in the Government<sup>9</sup> fully reflects requirements of the Constitutional Framework. Apart of the seats they win with regular voting, the Serb community gets 10 additional seats in the Assembly. Despite such overrepresentation, Serbs have been boycotting plenary sessions after the March 2004 events, but they nonetheless participated in the work of the Assembly Committees. Non-Serb minority communities have 12 seats and make full use of them. At the Government level, the Serb community has two ministerial positions, one of which was filled by Slaviša Petković as Minister of Returns and Communities. The other, Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, remained vacant, exercised by the Deputy Minister, an ethnic Albanian. A third position, Minister of Health was given to non-Serb minority communities exercised by Sadik Idriz (Bosnian Coalition Vakaf).

Despite improving trends in the civil service, representation of minority communities is not adequate yet. Serbs are represented with 8.17% whereas other minority communities constitute 3.98% of all civil servants. General reasons for this level of representation seem to be related with perceived security, freedom of movement and relatively low level of qualified candidates who apply. There are also worrisome allegations by members of minority communities for false identification of some members of the Albanian community. High level of unemployment coupled with reserved positions for minority communities translate into tempting incentives for some Albanians to apply as Turks or Bosniaks.<sup>10</sup>

**Table 4. Central Administration Employment Data**

Nationality	Central Administration	
	No	%
Albanian	61,086	87.85%
Serbian	5,678	8.17%
Other Communities	2,769	3.98%
<b>Total</b>	<b>69533</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

**Table 5. Local Administration Employment Data**

Nationality	Local Administration	
	No	%
Albanian	35554	87.35%
Serbian	3778	9.28%
Other Communities	1360	3.37%
<b>Total</b>	<b>69533</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

<sup>8</sup> For further details see: <http://www.assembly-kosova.org/?krye=grup&lang=en>

<sup>9</sup> For further details see: <http://www.ks-gov.net/mkk/>

<sup>10</sup> KIPRED. 2006. Input from the KIPRED organized closed round table “ Integration of Communities in Post Status Kosovo”, September 6th, Prishtina.

**Table 6. Community representation in the Kosovo Courts**

Judges	No	%	No	%	No	%
Albanian	273	90.40%	79	91.86%	352	90.72%
Serbian	13	4.30%	2	2.33%	15	3.87%
Bosnian	9	2.98%	4	4.65%	13	3.35%
Turkish	4	1.32%	1	1.16%	5	1.29%
R/E/A/G	3	0.99%	0	0.00%	3	0.77%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>302</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>388</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Just under half of Albanians and non-Serb communities are satisfied with the work of the Parliament and the Government,<sup>11</sup> compared to under 3% of Serbs.<sup>12</sup> Interestingly, the trend in question

has not been affected by the abstention of Serbs from the last elections. Similar trends exist for institutions of local self-government, too.

In general, a considerable number of community members feel that in the integration efforts conducted by the international community and PISG they are treated as décor not as partners.<sup>13</sup> In order to change this, members of communities are waiting credible signals from PISG leadership. More importantly, they would like to see the PISG strengthen mechanisms that sanction the violation of the rights guaranteed by the legal framework of Kosovo.<sup>14</sup>

Communities are not duly represented in the justice sector of Kosovo. All minority communities are represented with 9.6% of judges and 9.28% of prosecutors. Serbs are significantly underrepresented, with 4.3% of judges and 3.87% of prosecutors. The underrepresentation of this particular profile is a direct consequence of existence and operation of Serbia's parallel courts in Kosovo. Even though communities have different levels of representation, all of them (including Albanians) share an overall dissatisfaction with the justice sector<sup>15</sup> that leads to the conclusion that there is very low public trust in the justice system across all communities.

**Table 7. KPS Employment Data**

Community	KPS	
	No	%
Albanian	6071	83.93%
Serbian	744	10.29%
Bosnian / M	232	3.21%
Turkish	86	1.19%
REA	62	0.86%
Goran	38	0.53%
<b>Total</b>	<b>7233</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Often praised as the “jewel in the crown” of international efforts in Kosovo, the Kosovo Police Service (KPS) is distinguished for the best level of community integration. Communities occupy 20% of leading positions within the service. As with the civil service in general, there are complaints by members of non-Serb minority communities that in some cases members of Albanian community declare themselves as Turkish or Bosniak in order to get employed within the Police Service.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Data compiled from the survey of Kosovo Early Warning Report. January- June 2006. No.13, [http://www.kosovo.undp.org/publications/ews13/ewr13\\_eng.pdf](http://www.kosovo.undp.org/publications/ews13/ewr13_eng.pdf)

<sup>12</sup> Data compiled from the survey of Kosovo Early Warning Report, No.13, January- June 2006, [http://www.kosovo.undp.org/publications/ews13/ewr13\\_eng.pdf](http://www.kosovo.undp.org/publications/ews13/ewr13_eng.pdf)

<sup>13</sup> KIPRED. 2006. Input from the KIPRED organized closed round table “ Integration of Communities in Post Status Kosovo”, September 6th, Prishtina.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Data compiled from the survey of Kosovo Early Warning Report. January- June 2006. No.13, [http://www.kosovo.undp.org/publications/ews13/ewr13\\_eng.pdf](http://www.kosovo.undp.org/publications/ews13/ewr13_eng.pdf)

<sup>16</sup> KIPRED. 2006. Input from the KIPRED organized closed round table “ Integration of Communities in Post Status Kosovo”, September 6th, Prishtina.

The high level of representation of the Serb community within the Kosovo Police Service did not affect the relatively low level of satisfaction among Serbs with the performance of the police.<sup>17</sup> Only 15% of Serbs are satisfied or highly satisfied with the performance of the KPS, an indicator of politicized responses by interviewees when evaluating an institution associated with Prishtina.

The Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC) has recently made significant efforts to integrating minority communities. Nowadays, 8.84% of KPS are members of minority communities. Nonetheless, the KPC still suffers from under-representation of Serb community members with just 2.14% (Dugolli 2006). In spite of significant outreach and recruitment efforts among minority communities, the KPC remains highly distrusted among the Serbian population for it is considered that bears direct recognition of the KLA. Other communities have almost identical levels of satisfaction with the majority community with regards to the KPC performance.<sup>18</sup>

**Table 8. KPC Employment Data**

KPC	No	%
Albanian	2218	91.16%
Serbian	52	2.14%
Bosnian	53	2.18%
Turkish	38	1.56%
REA	71	2.92%
Goran	1	0.04%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2433</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

### ***Education and Health***

Education and health services represent two highly controversial areas of governance in Kosovo. Members of the Serb community as well as a considerable number of Gorani are affiliated with education and health services carried out by Belgrade's parallel structures. Other

**Table 9. Employment Data in Education and Health System**

	Education		Health	
	No	%	No	%
Albanian	20523	83.02%	66433	87.97%
Serbian	3516	14.22%	6065	8.03%
Bosnian	334	1.35%	117	0.15%
Turkish	176	0.71%	785	1.04%
REA /Gorani	171	0.69%	2114	2.80%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>24720</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>75514</b>	<b>100%</b>

communities rely on services provided by the PISG. All communities enjoy a substantial level of confidence. All communities express greater satisfaction with education than with any other public services. Contrary to their mood vis-à-vis the educational system, satisfaction with health services in Kosovo is very low across all communities.

<sup>17</sup> Data compiled from the survey of Kosovo Early Warning Report, No.13, January- June 2006, [http://www.kosovo.undp.org/publications/ews13/ewr13\\_eng.pdf](http://www.kosovo.undp.org/publications/ews13/ewr13_eng.pdf)

<sup>18</sup> Data compiled from the survey of Kosovo Early Warning Report. January- June 2006. No.13, [http://www.kosovo.undp.org/publications/ews13/ewr13\\_eng.pdf](http://www.kosovo.undp.org/publications/ews13/ewr13_eng.pdf)

## *Media*

There is a high number of electronic and printed media in Kosovo. Communities own 37.2% out of 121 electronic and 26% out of 19 printed media.<sup>19</sup> The public television (Radio Television of Kosovo) broadcasts a number of hours per day or week in four other languages besides Albanian (Serbian, Bosniak, Turkish and Roma).

Unlike most other communities, Ashkalia and Egyptians suffer from the lack of media. They practically have no media outlets in Kosovo and this is a serious challenge for the enjoyment of their basic right to identity preservation and promotion. A mitigating factor for the exercise of the right to information for members of Ashkali and Egyptian communities lies in the fact that their mother tongue is Albanian and thus they can get information from the majority community's media.

**Table 10. Electronic and Printed Media in Kosovo**

Media	Electronic		Printed	
	No	%	No	%
Albanian	76	62.81%	14	73.68%
Serbian	37	30.58%	3	15.79%
Bosnian	3	2.48%	1	5.26%
Turkish	3	2.48%	1	5.26%
REA	1	0.83%		
Goran	1	0.83%		
<b>Total</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

## *Ethnic security and the human rights situation*

There are still populations at risk within Kosovo. According to UNHCR, this is the case with Serbs, Roma and Albanians in a minority situation and in isolated enclaves. Albanians, Bosnians, Turks, Ashkalia and Egyptians are considered as populations out of risk (UNHCR 2006: 1-2).

The violence and massive displacement of persons that took place during the war of 1999 and its immediate aftermath as well as during the riots in March 2004 and the potential for such problems remain a fundamental problem of protection of community rights. These displacements have brought de-urbanization of Serbs and Roma, with the exception of the northern part of Kosovo. The same has also caused the overpopulation of mainly rural mono-ethnic enclaves.

Since the war of 1999 a certain level of impunity for committed war crimes and ethnic motivated violence is still prevalent in Kosovo (Amnesty International 2006: 10). The ethnically motivated violence in the immediate aftermath of war has been gradually replaced by better trends.<sup>20</sup> Still, low scale ethnically motivated violence mainly goes unreported. Police and justice institutions so far have been largely inefficient in addressing these crimes (Amnesty International 2006: 9). However, recent reports indicate that the level of inter-ethnic incidents is low and that criminal rather than ethnic motives are behind these acts (Secretary General of the UN 2006: 5).

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<sup>19</sup> See Table 10. Data provided by Ms. Nora Behluli, Office of Kosovo Press Council, KIPRED e-mail correspondence, August 24, 2006.

<sup>20</sup> 72 incidents were recorded during January – March 2005, while during January – March 2006 there were 19 such incidents reported. 12 of these were Kosovo Serb victims, 6 Kosovo Albanians and 1 Kosovo Croat, UNMIK Press Release, UNMIK/PR/1554, May 24th, 2006.

Despite the achieved progress in security, the level of freedom of movement (Amnesty International 2006: 39) and access to services, judiciary, jobs and agricultural land remains unsatisfactory, especially for Serbs and the Roma (Council of Europe 2006: 3). This situation deprives members of these communities from basic human rights. In addition, failure by UNMIK to implement basic rule of law in the northern part of Kosovo, has resulted with a deplorable protection of human rights (Amnesty International 2006: 5). As Council of Europe concludes, the gap between proclaimed norms on human and community rights and their conversion into reality remains wide (Council of Europe 2006: 18).

Enjoyment of freedom of movement varies between different regions of Kosovo. While the region of Gjilan/Gnjilane has achieved remarkable progress, other areas still lag behind.<sup>21</sup> Real or perceived insecurity and unsatisfactory level of freedom of movement notably affect members of Serbian and Roma communities in their daily access to public services (UNHCR 2006: 6). As far as this situation persists in Kosovo there is a risk that many who feel threatened will be more uncertain in exercising their different rights and freedoms (such as the freedom of movement).

Members of the Roma face severe social and economic problems related to housing, education and employment, these being consequences of long-term underdevelopment and poverty. This situation exacerbates opportunities of this community and its members to exercise basic human rights, including property reclaim.

With respect to IDPs and refugees there has been little progress in the return of members of minority communities who were displaced during and after the war of 1999 war and the riots of March 2004. So far, 12,400 have returned to their place of origin: 5,782 Serbs, 1,318 Roma, 3,133 Ashkali and Egyptians, 1,056 Bosniaks, 355 Gorani and 574 Albanians (Amnesty International 2006: 42). During the time period March 2005 – May 2006, 2,816 individuals returned to 25 municipalities (Amnesty International 2006: 42). UN Administration, KFOR and PISG have failed in “assuring the safe and unimpeded return of all refugees and displaced persons to their homes in Kosovo” (UNSC Resolution 1244).

After the independence of Montenegro, the issue of the previously “invisible” Montenegrins is appearing into the surface as well. This issue will have few effects. First of all, it will pose the question of recognizing Montenegrins as an official community in Kosovo, secondly disentangling them from the Serb community in terms of guarantees for set-aside seats. Lastly, the former IDPs from Kosovo in Montenegro overnight will turn into refugees.

Exercise of property rights by members of displaced communities remains questionable. A considerable number of returnees or attempted returnees have been unable to exercise their property rights. Low access to judicial remedies and overall poor performance of the judiciary negatively affects the returns process and leads to overcrowded homogeneous enclaves. Despite the credible record of the Housing and Property Directorate (that has adjudicated 99.95% of the 29,155 claims received, out of which 26,351 implemented and 2,804 pending implementation) repossession of property remains very low amounting to only 10.34% of all cases (Secretary General of the UN 2006: 20). Thus, the data indicates that most of those displaced have no ambitions to return but are choosing to sell their property instead.

Prishtina as the capital of Kosovo is particularly important to be examined as the main administrative center and for the symbolic importance it represents. Around 30,000 thousand Serbs used to live in Prishtina before 1999 only to fall to 600 at the end of the same year

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<sup>21</sup> KIPRED. 2006. Input from the KIPRED organized closed round table “Integration of Communities in Post Status Kosovo”, September 6th, Prishtina.

(Baldwin 2006: 14). Today there is not a single primary or secondary school with teaching in Serbian within the city. The remaining members of the Serb community in Prishtina seek health treatment and send their children to get education in Gračanica/Gračanica or elsewhere in isolated enclaves close to Prishtina. Prishtina will hardly gain the authority of Kosovo's capital respected by all communities if the situation continues to be the same in the coming period.

### ***Community Identity Development***

Communities of Kosovo have been living along each-other for centuries. Nevertheless, post-war Kosovo has not yet managed to develop a political and social identity that unites separate community identities. Reconciling of national/ethnic identity with the new political identity of Kosovo is proving difficult and is accompanied with the lack of Kosovo leadership and hesitations of the Serb community to be associated with the "new state". The lack of institutional debate over the flag and anthem of Kosovo is a telling example of the deep crisis that Kosovo faces in building its new political identity and the difficulties it faces in persuading all communities of a tolerant vision for all in the future.

The segregation and conflict in Kosovo that started almost two decades ago have disconnected the fragile and artificial lines of communications between communities that have been built under the doctrine of "brotherhood and unity" of the Socialist Yugoslavia. Even during that period, the curricula were largely ideologically burdened and students from different communities learned little about each-other.<sup>22</sup> After 1989 Albanian and Serbian communities in Kosovo have lived parallel lives in separate societies.<sup>23</sup>

Translated into numbers, it means that the majority of Kosovo Albanian and Serb youngsters have hardly had any contact or knowledge about each other. Instead, prejudice has coloured the images about each other.<sup>24</sup> A reflection of such mindset is the perception of religious sites by communities as national symbols than religious ones with a certain cultural heritage value. Frequently, the destruction of religious sites was used as a tool in ethnic wars in former Yugoslavia. Kosovo was not an exception in the conflict 1998/99 and during the riots of March 2004.

The development of community/ethnic identities that involve national, cultural, behavioral, linguistic, or religious practices is little deliberated in Kosovo. Until now, no efforts have been undertaken by the PISG or UNMIK in designing policies to address this issue. The current policies are mainly limited to "technical" integration in PISG and providing public broadcast for a number of minority communities.

All communities in Kosovo have the right to education in their own language. However, the problem arises with the lack of proper education premises and the lack of textbooks and education staff especially for non-Serb minority communities. Serbs receive education services through a parallel education system organized in enclaves where classes are taught according to curriculum from Serbia. Isolation and insecure transportation and general security concerns perpetuate the parallel education system in many Kosovo Serb areas (OSCE and UNHCR 2003). The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST) has not seriously tackled integration of communities in the mainstream education system, and particularly not that of the

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<sup>22</sup> KIPRED. 2006. Input from the KIPRED organized closed round table "Integration of Communities in Post Status Kosovo", September 6th, 2006, Prishtina.

<sup>23</sup> For deeper exploration of the social life in Kosovo during the 90's see: Shkëlzen Maliqi, *Separate Worlds*.

<sup>24</sup> KIPRED. 2006. Input from the KIPRED organized closed round table "Integration of Communities in Post Status Kosovo", September 6th, Prishtina.

Serbs. Kosovo Serb parents are concerned that their children will be forced to learn what is in their view, a slanted versions of history and geography in the mixed schools run by the MEST (KIPRED 2006: 46).

In essence, students of all communities exercise their right to learn their mother tongue, to be educated in certain subjects in their mother tongue, and to study the history and culture of their ethnic group with different curricula designed in Prishtina, Belgrade, Sarajevo or Ankara. The shortage of the multi-cultural content of education perpetuates further ethnic divisions and lack of mutual understanding as well as ethnic segregation in Kosovo.

For non-Serb minority communities, the shortage of education staff and textbooks in their mother tongue is widespread in Kosovo. In order to fill this gap, there is cooperation in importing books from Turkey and Bosnia, but these books do not reflect the distinct identity of Bosnian and Turkish communities in Kosovo (Council of Europe 2006: 30).

The situation of Roma, Ashkalia and Egyptians is the most critical with regards to education, due to the fact that there is no “mother country” that can assist them with carrying out education in Kosovo. Ashkalia and Egyptians communities speak and attend education in Albanian language, but the curricula does not address their identity development needs, since it contains almost nothing about the culture and the history of these communities. The Roma are in the worst position as many do not speak Albanian, hence they attend Serb-speaking schools. Attendance by girls of these communities is especially low.

The developing of distinct community cultural identities is proving to be difficult, due to the lack of funds and inappropriate bodies for addressing these needs. The Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports (MCYS) has supported a number of minority community projects, but majority of them were not aimed to preserve and promote community cultures and the support is decreasing over years (Council of Europe 2006: 30).

Kosovo is not an exception of post conflict societies when it comes to interpretation of history and expressing of traditions by certain communities. In many instances design and use of symbols can be directed at annoying other communities rather than truly enjoying the symbols for themselves (Sundy 2006).

As mentioned above, there is a relatively high number of private electronic and printed media of the Serbian Community in Kosovo. However, as few, if any, of these media have news production, they are only presenting a picture of Kosovo that is far from reality, according to independent Serb sources. Serbian community media in Kosovo mainly broadcast news from Belgrade state controlled media, which has not changed reporting patterns on Kosovo since the rule of Milošević was established in Serbia 20 years ago (RTV B92, 2006). On the other side, public TV of Kosovo provides little genuine program in Serbian and did not make a serious efforts to meet these needs by creating a partnership with moderate broadcasters in Serbia, e.g. Radio Television B92. This atmosphere in the local media provides little hope for changing the perceptions and integration of Serbian Community within Kosovo.

Further, street names, public signs and other symbols were seen as suitable tools of political fight. The most notorious period Kosovo has faced during the Milosevic regime, when Albanian names of the majority of streets and boulevards were replaced with Serb ones. Albanian language had been removed fully from the use in public institutions.

After the war, the Provisional Government of Kosovo and later the PISG have almost entirely changed Serb names into the old or new Albanian ones. Moreover, the Provisional Government has changed almost in an arbitrary way the names of several towns and villages,

without making any consultation with the local population. The most controversial change of names was that of localities purely inhabited by Serbs, as was seen in the case of Leposavic where there was an attempt in changing it into Albanik. Despite the fact that UNMIK has not recognized these changes, these new names are widely used in public life and media among Albanians.

In response to these circumstances, neither UNMIK, PISG or municipal authorities have vocalized a comprehensive plan which would provide for the cultural and educational integration communities in general and Kosovo Serb community in particular. The continuing situation of segregation and parallelism in education system, culture, media and the lack of inclusive cross-cultural community development and directly hinder efforts to build a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society.

#### **4. CHALLENGES FOR COMMUNITY INTEGRATION**

The finalization of Kosovo's status will be accompanied by a new constitution. The process of its drafting and the perception whether there is substantial involvement of minority communities and quality of provisions on protection of human rights and the rights of communities will be some of the most important tests in respect to the highest law. The Constitution will certainly be the most important document in trying to eliminate numerous concerns that communities have. But as such, it will be only the starting point for measures that have to be introduced through laws, other legislation and policies.

One particular challenge that lies ahead in terms of the future constitution is the mechanism used to translate international conventions into applicable laws. Though highly advanced, the formula of direct applicability employed by the existing Constitutional Framework has not produced desired results. As certain international organizations have rightly noted, various rights recognized by international conventions applicable in Kosovo are still not raised in the courts.

Another important challenge is the civic vs. ethnic identity as a defining feature of the future constitution. There are different implications, depending on options preferred in this respect, such as majority vs. minorities, majority and principal minority vs. other minorities etc. Further, Kosovo's symbols, official languages, ethnic communities, all present a potential to affect, in one way or another, relations between communities and enjoyment of their rights.

Design of institutional mechanisms in charge of protecting and promoting human and community rights is another important factor. Institutions in charge of individual and community rights may be designed in a number of ways. With numerous ongoing efforts we may easily end up with too many institutions containing confusing procedures.

The choice between reserved and guaranteed seats is another painful dilemma. Empowering communities with set-aside seats may leave the majority with a deep sense of dissatisfaction. As a corollary of that, guaranteed representation within the Government may prevent any cross-ethnic pre-electoral coalitions and make participation of minority communities (particularly Serbs) automatic and nominal. Instead of reserved seats, adequate balance has to be struck between the fears, needs and interests various communities, which could most likely take form through a guaranteed quota of seats, at the level of proportion that each minority community takes up in the society.

Even the best legal solutions fail when there is poor capacity for implementation. From the day they were established, the fledgling institutions have naturally been flawed with allegations of

poor implementing capacity. With additional responsibilities to be gained once the status is resolved their burden will only be heavier and expectations higher.

So far, parallel structures have been viewed with differing sentiments. While they present a major challenge for the local and international administration, Kosovar Serbs rely on them for a number of services, including health and education. The challenge now is how to dismantle or transform such institutions while at the same time guaranteeing continuous access to adequate public services for all citizens of Kosovo.

Policies chosen towards justice and reconciliation will certainly be of high importance. All communities share disappointment with performance of judicial institutions and lack of decisiveness to address war crimes. One cannot expect stability and community integration without indiscriminate prosecution of criminals, particularly in cases that involve members of different communities.

A considerable improvement was made in recent years in involving minority communities in public institutions. Nonetheless, improved representation in public institutions does not fully translate into substantial interaction and integration of communities on the ground. De facto segregation in the fields of education, media and culture has sustained the divisions between the communities and the common use of negative stereotypes remains common perpetuating ever-widening ethnic distances.

Division between communities in Kosovo has taken a structural form. De-urbanization of Serbs and Roma from major towns has socially isolated and deprived them from receiving qualitative services. It will take carefully tailored policies to reduce these divisions and foster mutual understanding through, among others, inclusive cultural instruments.

In this regard, Ashkalia and Egyptian communities are in a particularly difficult position as far as their specific community development needs are concerned. Since they speak Albanian, their needs for information, education and culture so far have been undermined, and long-term assimilation remains a threat.

Kosovars have proven unable so far to thoroughly discuss and decide about symbols of the future state. Even within the majority community, these discussions have proved extremely difficult. Concerns of minority communities will need to be added to such deliberation, which will raise the challenge considerably higher. An appropriate process in deciding on such matters and opting for symbols that are inclusive would directly contribute to the development of a sense of identification of all communities with Kosovo's future symbols. The same applies for names of places and street names.

## **5. RECOMMENDATIONS**

The new Constitution of Kosovo should not be imposed either by the international community or by the current legislature. There is a need for wide public discussion prior to any decisions in order for the new constitution to address the needs of communities and help their integration and transition to the new Kosovo. Discussions should include issues of the state symbols.

Kosovo's state identity should be reflected in the new constitution. A well-staged public debate should lead to Kosovo's new constitution and state identity reflected in the same. That process is equally important to the final end-result.

A well-equipped special team should be appointed by the Kosovo Government and future international presence in Kosovo to draft a legislation that will translate international conventions for human and minority rights applicable in Kosovo into implementable laws.

It may be necessary to establish an effective judicial body tasked to deal with human rights violations. Such a body could improve confidence in the judiciary and through its decisions provide guidance for much needed inter-ethnic reconciliation. The Kosovo Government and the future presence of international community should jointly design legal framework and financial support for this new institution, as well as consider possibilities of assigning one or two prominent international judges for that purpose.

Disbanding Belgrade's parallel structures and introduction of PISG services in the field of education, health and culture to the Serbian Community should take place in a coordinated manner and with full agreement of the communities so that they face no vacuum in service delivery.

The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology in cooperation with community representatives should create integrated curricula for primary and secondary education for all communities. History, arts, and other culturally-specific subjects should reflect the diverse identities to as high degree as possible while working at doing away with prejudices about each other and fill a wide gap in mutual understanding. In this respect, special attention should be given to the Goranis, Egyptians and Ashkali that lack capacities for their community development.

The Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, in cooperation with community representatives and financial support of international community, should design and implement long term policies in addressing cultural development needs of all communities of Kosovo as well as for promoting an inclusive culture of Kosovo. Such policies can serve as a tool for enhancing the cultural diversity as well as for building new cultural and social identity of Kosovo.

The Kosovo Government in partnership with the international community should design policies aimed at overcoming current segregation and de-urbanization of the Serb community. A starting point in this regard might be a comprehensive review of names of places and streets so that new ones reflect the local identity and history along with the multi-ethnic character of Kosovo.

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