Empowering Non-Serb CSOs in Northern Kosovo

Report on the position of Non-Serb communities in Northern Kosovo

Working Towards a Stable Multi-Ethnic Kosovo
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ECMI Kosovo contributes to the developing, strengthening, and implementation of relevant legislation, supports the institutionalisation of communities-related governmental bodies, and enhances the capacity of civil society actors and the government to engage with one another in a constructive and sustainable way.

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# LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECMI</td>
<td>European Centre for Minority Issues</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECMI Kosovo</td>
<td>European Centre for Minority Issues Kosovo</td>
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<tr>
<td>ERRC</td>
<td>European Roma Rights Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MICS</td>
<td>Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSCE</td>
<td>Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMN</td>
<td>University of Mitrovica North</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
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</table>
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Under the European Union Brussels Dialogue Process, Kosovo and Serbia agreed to sign an Agreement normalizing relations and creating the necessary conditions to improve lives of citizens residing in Northern Kosovo. Thus, the agreement directed its focus towards integration of the Serb community in northern Kosovo within the Kosovo framework. However, non-Serb communities in this region are rarely mentioned in political dialogue and processes. As civil society organisations in the North continue to increase their capacities and lobby for the needs of the Serb community, non-Serb communities must not be left behind. Progress has to be made in order to improve the living conditions and political inclusion of non-Serb communities in Northern Kosovo.

The objective of this report is to spotlight issues encountered by non-Serb communities residing in North Kosovo in their daily lives, to voice their needs, concerns and aspirations. In assessing local perceptions about the quality of life, it aims to provide concrete data to support the advocacy efforts of CSOs and to gain recognition among other stakeholders about the needs of non-Serb communities in Northern Kosovo.

To achieve this, ECMI Kosovo conducted a large-scale survey in the four Serb-majority municipalities of Mitrovica/Mitrovicë North, Leposavid/Leposaviq, Zubin Potok and Zvečan/Zveqan. A team of ten (10) local correspondents from selected local CSOs were hired to reach a convenience sample of 224 respondents from diverse education level, employment status, ethnic background, gender and age. They also conducted 8 interviews with relevant participants, such as representatives of local governments (4), representatives of local CSOs (3) and representatives of international organizations (1) working with minority communities in the North. As a result, a quantitative and qualitative analysis was performed with the information collected in order to draft this report.
This report follows the structure of the questionnaire and interviews used in the study. It summarises key findings within the living conditions of non-Serb communities in northern municipalities. The key findings of the study are the following:

**Socioeconomic situation:**

- Overall the socioeconomic situation of non-Serb communities in northern municipalities is between average and bad.
- The biggest issues face by these communities are the high unemployment rate and the bad financial situation (small earnings or inability to earn).
- Roma and Ashkali are the most socially and economically excluded communities.

**Political participation:**

- Non-Serb communities feel that they are relegated in political participation and decision-making processes.
- Perceptions about political representation is negative, at both local and central level. In fact, there is a general sense of underrepresentation.
- These communities are not well-informed about their rights and important political developments in Kosovo.

**Education:**

- Particularly noteworthy is the fact that a great percentage of members of the Roma community do not attend (have not attended) educational institutions.
- For some of these communities education is not provided in their mother-tongue, making it difficult for them to attend educational institutions.
- Most of the children belonging to these communities have suffered different forms of discrimination, especially children belonging to the Roma community.

**Health:**

- Perceptions about the quality of healthcare are generally positive, but negative with regard to the provision and costs of medicine.
• For Albanian respondents residing in Zubin Potok healthcare institutions are not close and easily accessible.

Identity and Safety:
• Most of the communities argue that they are allow to enjoy and develop their culture (maintain their traditions, use their mother-tongue and practice their religion), only at the neighbours, villages or sectors within the municipalities where they reside.

Media and Freedom of expression:
• Serbian-speaking communities in North Kosovo claim that they do not count with many choices to follow media in Kosovo since most of it is not in Serbian. They argue that the only information they can access in their mother-tongue is via internet or Belgrade-seated media.

Based on these findings, recommendations have been formulated, addressing the main areas that need improvement in each pillar. The recommendations can help CSOs and stakeholders prioritize their efforts to improve non-Serb communities residing in northern Kosovo their living conditions, and benefit intelligibly from the findings of this study.
1 INTRODUCTION

Following a period of tense relations, marked by mutual mistrust and trade blockades, Kosovo and Serbia agreed to hold high-level talks on normalizing their relations. Held under the auspices of the European Union Brussels Dialogue Process, Prime Ministers of Kosovo and Serbia agreed to sign an Agreement normalizing relations, as a first steps towards a gradual relaxation of relations between the two sides. This Agreement—hailed as a “landmark deal” by the European Union—outlined concrete steps designed to not only normalize political and economic relations between the two, but also lead to a steady integration of the four Serb-majority municipalities in northern Kosovo. As part of the Agreement, Kosovo and Serbia agreed to create the necessary conditions for a free flow of goods and people, cooperation on customs and migration, mutual diploma recognition, and—perhaps more importantly for the purposes of this report—elections for the four northern municipalities (Zveçan/Zvečan, Zubin Potok, Leposaviq/Leposavić and Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North) with a prospect towards full political integration within Kosovo’s legal framework. Elections were held in 2013 and 2014, and municipal assemblies and mayors, representing citizens of those municipalities, were elected in line with Kosovo’s legal framework on local self-government.

However, due to a relatively long period of minimal or inexistent contact with Kosovo’s central level institutions, and a general lack of trust between the northern municipalities and Kosovo’s government based on this lack of communication and misunderstandings, there were some animosity and disagreements over the role of municipalities, and competences granted to them by the Law on Local Self-Governance. With newly appointed powers and responsibilities, municipalities and assembly mayors were grappling with an unfamiliar legal framework and the desire to represent all of their constituencies in a fair and transparent manner. As a result, the rights and interests of non-Serb communities were often either overlooked or not given any attention. Municipalities found themselves dealing with a complex new situation, not only needing to comply with Kosovo’s legal framework in relation to local self-governments, but also still trying to ensure all those Kosovo Serbs working in
parallel institutions that the, now legal, institutions would respond to the needs of them and their families. As such, policies and decision-making were limited to a range of topics mostly dealing with issues dealing mostly with the Kosovo Serb community. As such, there was and still is a need to raise awareness of the needs and worries of the non-Serb communities living in the four northern municipalities, enhancing their capacities to participate in and influence policy and decision-making, as well as to increase their capacities to represent their communities and vocalize their concerns.

Over the course of the implementation of the project “Empowering Non-Serb CSOs in Northern Kosovo”, funded by the European Union Office in Kosovo, ECMI Kosovo conducted thorough research on the status of non-Serb communities. Through this research, awareness about the condition of non-Serb communities, namely Roma, Ashkali, Gorani, Bosniak and Albanian communities, residing in northern municipalities of Zveçan/Zvečan, Zubin Potok, Leposavić/Leposavić and Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North is aimed to increase. By conducting this research, not only with the intention of providing non-Serb CSOs with the background knowledge to advocate for their communities, but also to enhance awareness for relevant stakeholders of the situation of these frequently marginalised groups.

All four northern municipalities have a predominantly Serbian population, yet there are a significant number of non-majority communities, namely Bosniak, Albanian, Roma, Ashkali and Gorani. According to the 2015 OSCE Municipal Profiles, there are 6,970 Albanians, 1,350 Bosniaks, 580 Gorani, 241 Roma and 64 Ashkali (along with 300 persons belonging to Bosniak, Roma and Gorani communities in Zvečan/Zveçan) residing in the four northern municipalities.¹ See Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Albanian</th>
<th>Bosniak</th>
<th>Gorani</th>
<th>Roma</th>
<th>Ashkali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leposavić/Leposaviq</td>
<td>270/1.45%</td>
<td>350/1.88%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>41/0.22%</td>
<td>24/0.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitrovica/ë North</td>
<td>4,900/16.63%</td>
<td>1,000/3.39%</td>
<td>580/1.97%</td>
<td>200/0.68%</td>
<td>40/0.13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The problems and needs of these communities are frequently neglected and fail to be recognised and addressed. They are stuck between Kosovo institutions and Serbian community demands, and neglected by both. The voice of these communities in the North is not heard enough, and they are lacking competent representation to lobby for their rights. The situation is an accumulation of several factors, one of which is lack of capacities and low participation in already existing civil society organisations. Moreover, the lack of proper statistics and concrete information regarding non-Serb communities in northern municipalities indicates that not only is the research needed to raise awareness of these groups, but that a strong civil society is necessary to advocate for their needs.

Furthermore, the fact that these four municipalities are newly-established makes the situation particularly unique. They rely on existing parallel Serbian institutions, but these generally have limited contact with minority communities, particularly with the Albanian community. Also, it is important to note that following the formation of the Association of Serb-majority Municipalities, each of the four Northern Kosovo municipalities will be members.² Hence, non-majority communities in targeted municipalities need to have stronger voices in this Association and cooperation with municipalities in order to advocate for their rights and ensure a better position and living conditions for members of their communities.

Thus, as part of the activities established for this project, interviews and surveys were directly administered to municipal and central level officials, CSOs, and members of non-Serb communities settled in the municipalities of Zveçan/Zvečan, Zubin Potok, Leposaviq/Leposavić and Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, who were identified by selected representatives of participants CSOs. Consequently, interviews were designed and applied to municipal and central level officials and CSOs who have previously worked with these communities. Whereas questionnaires were completed and disseminated by members of Non-Serb majority communities. Both interviews and questionnaires were written and researched focused on issues related to the living conditions of non-Serb communities at Northern Kosovo. They were also published in both Serbian and Albanian languages and were conducted throughout the municipalities by selected professionals.

Through the research gained by interviews and questionnaires, ECMI Kosovo presents this report, which will briefly outline the findings of the research, as well as recommendations or future actions and conclusions that can be drawn.

2 METHODOLOGY

In order to understand the situation of minority communities in Serb-majority municipalities located in Northern Kosovo, ECMI Kosovo conducted and disseminated questionnaires and interviews accordingly. To distribute them, ten (10) local correspondents from targeted local CSOs were selected. These include: Asocijacija Ujedinjenih Goranaca, Diversity of Mitrovica, Equal to Equal, Gjuvljano Mangipe, NGO Emina, Shukarno Talenti and Urban Green from Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, and Qendra Rinore Çaber from Zubin Potok.

The research was conducted during April and May 2016. It was foreseen that 75 questionnaires were going to be completed by each community in the North, namely Albanian, Roma, Bosniak and Gorani, resulting in a total of 300 questionnaires. However, due to various reasons including the lack of representatives from each community, the inability of
finding most of them, or the celebration of the National holiday of the Gorani Community in May, it was not possible to collect the total of 300 questionnaires. To have a bigger sample of respondents, Roma and Ashkali community members living in the Roma Mahala of South Mitrovicë/Mitrovica were included in the research. These communities resided in North Mitrovicë/Mitrovica during and after the war, but have been repatriated in the Roma Mahala.

Thus, the questionnaires were applied to 224 individuals located in the four northern municipalities: North Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North (192 respondents), Zubin Potok (25 respondents), Zveçan/Zvečan (5 interviewed) and Leposaviq/Leposavić (2 respondents). From the 224 respondents, 39 percent were female (87 women), and 61 percent were male (137 men). The number of respondents distributed by gender and municipalities is shown in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Gender Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>Male: 137, Female: 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zubin Potok</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Male: 12, Female: 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zveçan/Zvečan</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Male: 3, Female: 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leposaviq/Leposavić</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Male: 1, Female: 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, as seen in Table 2, the number of respondents coming from minority communities is larger in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North than in the other municipalities, representing 86 percent of the total respondents. Zubin Potok are 11 per cent, while respondents in Zveçan/Zvečan and Leposaviq/Leposavić make up only 2 and 1 percent respectively. The great percentage of respondents located in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, corresponds to the fact that this municipality hosts an important number of Kosovo’s minority
Hence, respondents from Mitrovica/Mitrovica North come from different communities, namely Bosniak, Gorani, Roma, Albanian, and Ashkali. Whereas, respondents from Zubin Potok, are predominantly from the Albanian community; respondents from Zveçan/Zvečan are from Bosniak and Gorani communities, and respondents from Leposaviq/Leposavić are only from the Gorani community. See Table 3.

![Distribution of respondents by community and municipality](chart.png)

**Table 3 Number of respondents for each community**

Consequently, respondents are mainly from Bosniak, Gorani, Roma, and Albanian communities, while a small number are from the Ashkali community. In addition, one of the

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4 It is important to remark that given the small number of participants of minority communities in Zveçan/Zvečan and Leposaviq/Leposavić the follow analysis does not represent the whole of each community in the municipalities.
respondents did not give details of his ethnic or community background, thus making it difficult to determine which community he represented. Thus, this particular case is counted as unidentified throughout the report. See Table 3.

It is important to highlight the presence of Gorani community members in Leposaviq/Leposavić. As seen above, according to the figures given by the 2015 OSCE Municipal Profiles there were no members of the Gorani community in Leposaviq/Leposavić, still, these are estimations given by the municipal administration and by community representatives.5 This confirms the lack of proper statistics and concrete information regarding non-Serb communities in northern municipalities.

On the other hand, the ranks of ages of the respondents fluctuate between 18 and 75 years old, in accordance to the years of birth given by them. Similarly, respondents born between 1981 and 1990 represent the plurality in the research. See Figure 1.

Finally, 8 interviews were conducted with relevant participants, such as representatives of local governments (4), representatives of local CSOs (3) and representatives of international organizations (1) working with minority communities in the North. These interviews were designed to provide an in depth analysis of the current situation of minority communities

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from the perspective of interviewees, as well as to decide what can be done to better incorporate the needs of minority communities in their work.

This report follows the structure of the questionnaires and the interviews used in the study. The third section (Questionnaires findings) summarises key findings within six pillars of the general living conditions of the targeted communities, which are: socioeconomic situation, political participation, education, health, identity and safety, and media and freedom of expression. For each one of them, the report considers issues specific to targeted non-Serb communities in northern Kosovo and offers relevant analysis based on a comprehensive review of existing literature, thorough research, and field observation. The fourth section recapitulates the perspectives and analysis given by the relevant stakeholders of the current situation of non-Serb communities in northern Kosovo.

3 QUESTIONNAIRES FINDINGS

3.1 Socioeconomic situation

For most of the interviewers (85 per cent) belonging to minority communities in northern municipalities the socioeconomic status of their communities falls between average and bad. Thus, respondents from Bosniak, Gorani and Roma communities residing in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, argue that the socioeconomic status of their communities is mainly bad. In fact, a significant number of Bosniak and Roma respondents find their socioeconomic status in a very bad situation. Other respondents belonging to Albanian and Ashkali communities find their situation mostly average. For the interviewer, who does not provide information of his/her background, the conditions are very bad. See Error! Reference source not found..
Overall, 37 per cent of the respondents in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North live in a bad socioeconomic condition; 28 per cent in an average/undecided situation; 20 per cent in a very bad situation; and, only 15 per cent said to enjoy a good and very good socioeconomic status.

Regarding the situation from the Albanian community in Zubin Potok, over half of respondents said to live in bad socioeconomic conditions. And almost one third consider to have an average socioeconomic status. On the other hand, the situation for the Gorani community in Zveçan/Zvečan is mixed between an average/undecided and good socioeconomic status. While for respondents from the Bosniak community the situation is considered bad. For both Gorani respondents residing in Leposaviq/Leposavić, the socioeconomic status of their community is average/undecided.

The general opinion is that the biggest problems these communities face regarding their economic situation is the high unemployment rate and the bad financial situation (small earnings or inability to earn) according to respondents from the four northern municipalities.

Unemployment is a reality for most of the respondents and their families. In Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North almost half of the respondents alleged that most of their family
members are unemployed. While, 32 per cent of Roma respondents, said that their family members are employed in the non-governmental sector.

For Albanian respondents in Zubin Potok, 76 per cent of their family members are employed in Private (60 per cent) and Public (16 per cent) sectors, and 4 per cent are employed in other sectors. See Figure 3.

![Figure 3 Employment sectors in Zubin Potok](image)

Respondents from the Gorani community in Zveçan/Zvečan and Leposaviq/Leposavić said their family members are mainly employed in the private sector. And family members of the two Bosniak respondents in Zveçan/Zvečan are unemployed.

Some of the causes of the high unemployment situation identified by non-Serb communities are discrimination, insufficient qualifications or inadequate education and difficulties in obtaining information about job vacancies, specially in their mother-tongue.

As for the bad financial situation caused by small earnings or inability to earn, over two thirds of the respondents from all municipalities said they did not have the sufficient means to support their families. Thus, in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, significant cases of Bosniak, Roma, and Ashkali communities said to not have sufficient earnings to support their families. Still, respondents from the Gorani community are more divided into having and not having
sufficient means. While, all respondents from the Albanian community in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North claimed to earn enough to support their families.

In contrast, the situation for respondents belonging to the Albanian community in Zubin Potok is completely different, since only a 12 per cent of them said to have the capacity to support their families, while the rest claim to not earn enough. In addition, Gorani respondents residing in Zveçan/Zvečan and Leposaviq/Leposavić state to have sufficient earnings to support their families.

Alternatively, respondents do not only have to deal with unemployment and bad financial situation, but they also have to face the bad provision of public services like water and electricity. Around half of Bosniak, Albanian, and Gorani respondents in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, Zveçan/Zvečan and Leposaviq/Leposavić face problems with shortages of water in the places where they live. Of particular concern is the situation of almost all respondents of Roma and Ashkali communities in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, who not only face shortages of water, but also electricity. The water shortages occur more often during summer and clearly have negative effects on everyday life of the community. Contrariwise, mostly all Albanian respondents from Zubin Potok do not have to struggle with these issues.

Bosniak respondents from Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North and Zveçan/Zvečan identify other problems that impact their living conditions like the lack and cost of medicine. Gorani respondents in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, Zveçan/Zvečan and Leposaviq/Leposavić, on the other hand, are more affected by the lack of infrastructure in the city: lack of residences, parks, cultural, and social places. Some Albanian respondents in Zubin Potok argue they do not count with cultural places and a good healthcare system. For many Albanian respondents in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North a great problem is the lack of residencies, forcing them to share the places they live with other people or live in other people’s places. Moreover, Roma and Ashkali respondents in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North greatly perceive the scantiness of basic needs like food, clothing, and footwear.
For all respondents in the four municipalities the socioeconomic situation is unbearable, and they argue that many members of their communities who have the means do not hesitate to emigrate outside of Kosovo. In particular, the Gorani respondents in Leposaviq/Leposavić state that mostly younger generations are the ones who are emigrating.

Finally, regarding discrimination within the employment sector, it is important to mark that almost all Roma and Ashkali respondents in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North have been victims of discrimination regardless the situation whether in employment or not.

### 3.2 Political Participation

In addition to the socioeconomic detriment, non-Serb communities in northern Kosovo are also isolated from the political scene. When asked if they felt as citizens sufficiently involved in the decision-making processes at the local level, the vast majority of the respondents stated they did not. The sense of exclusion in decision-making processes is widespread in communities from Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North and Zubin Potok. Only 12 percent of respondents from each municipality, feel they are involve in decision-making processes at the local level. See Table 4.

![Involvement in decision-making processes](image)
The same sense of exclusion is extended to all respondents from the Gorani and Bosniak communities in Zveçan/Zvečan and Leposaviq/Leposavić.

A cause of this sense of exclusion is the low level of importance given to their opinions. Accordingly, almost two thirds of the Gorani respondents in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North do not feel that the opinion of their community is sufficiently heard or considered important. The vast majority of Bosniak, Albanian, Roma, and Ashkali respondents in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North considered themselves excluded and their opinion not represented. The same perception was extended for Bosniak respondents in Zveçan/Zvečan. While Albanian respondents in Zubin Potok, and Gorani and Bosniak respondents in Leposaviq/Leposavić had mix thoughts between feeling that their opinion was important or not.

There is a general consensus that these communities do not have enough representation at the local or national level, and if they do, satisfaction with the performance of the representatives is very low. An example of this is seen among Bosniak respondents who are heavily dissatisfied with the quality of the work of their representatives. Albanian respondents in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North are also not satisfied with the number and quality of their representatives. For Albanian respondents from Zubin Potok and Gorani respondents from Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, Zveçan/Zvečan, and Leposaviq/Leposavić perceptions were mixed between those who recognise some representatives at the local level, those who recognise them but say they are not doing enough, those who recognise them and accept
that at least they are trying, and those who say there are not enough representatives or do not recognise any. Roma respondents do not follow much whether they are represented or not, although they believe they are not represented. This situation replicates among Ashkali respondents.

Overall, respondents from each community expressed they do not think the current representatives of their communities are advocating sufficiently for their rights and interests. They also do not trust the political representatives and for some they do not even know who they are.

Furthermore, the vast majority of the respondents from the four municipalities are not familiar with the rights they are eligible to enjoy as members of minority communities. As a matter of fact a great portion of the respondents do not follow political developments in Kosovo. For example, in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, respondents rarely follow political developments. However, for all communities perceptions were diverse: Roma respondents are more reluctant, whereas Bosniak and Gorani respondents are slightly more likely to follow political developments. See Figure 4.

![Figure 4 Political developments in Kosovo in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North](image)
Unlike Albanian respondents from Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, Albanian respondents from Zubin Potok, as Gorani respondents from Zveçan/Zvečan and Leposaviq/Leposavić, follow political developments in Kosovo more often. Bosniak respondents from Zveçan/Zvečan, on the other hand, rarely follow political developments.

For a great number of Bosniak and Gorani respondents from Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, Zveçan/Zvečan, and Leposaviq/Leposavić, as well as for Albanian respondents from Zubin Potok, the Brussels agreement does not equally protect rights of all communities in Kosovo. Bosniak and Gorani respondents believe it is only an agreement between Kosovar Serbians and Kosovar Albanians, while their communities are excluded. Meanwhile, Roma and Ashkali respondents do not know what the Brussels agreement is and they have never heard about it. Something similar happens to the Albanian respondents in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, who do not only know what the agreement is, but are also politically apathetic, as seen above.

Likewise, there is a common perception among respondents from all communities and all municipalities that the rights of minority communities in northern Kosovo and Kosovo in general are endangered. Nevertheless, most respondents highlight the work of local NGOs in the protection of their rights.

The political exclusion among non-Serb communities in northern Kosovo is the result of multiple challenges that create serious impediments for their involvement and participation in Kosovo’s political processes. According to an ECMI study that analyses the minority participation in Kosovo elections, the main challenges that cause a political exclusion of minority communities in election processes in Kosovo, are:

- **Administrative challenges**: Two examples of the administrative challenges are when communities do not exercise their right to vote because they fail to register at the civil

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registry office, due to the lack of information provided regarding vote processes.\(^7\) And, the location of polling stations, which are situated in distant places from where minority communities reside.

- **Security challenges**: The sense that the relevant authorities do not provide the minimum security requirements to these communities in order to fulfil their right to vote.\(^8\)

- **Political challenges**: There are multiple political factors that affect the proper participation of minority communities in Kosovo election processes: dissatisfaction of current representation from both political parties and representatives, who fail in advocating minority communities’ rights and interests. Likewise, most minority communities feel under-represented in the Kosovo political system. Both at the central or the municipal levels these communities are proportionally under-represented in Kosovo.\(^9\) Furthermore, high levels of political apathy and lack of knowledge are registered among the minority voters. This factor has to do with the lack of awareness of minority communities on democratic rules and procedures. Another challenge is the manipulation of votes and election irregularities, which change the votes of the constituents and decreased confidence in the democratic processes. This problem extends due to the failure to report the issue.\(^10\) Lastly, participation of women is still a problem not only as voters, but as candidates and candidates.

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\(^7\) “In many localities throughout Kosovo Roma voters cannot register to participate in elections, partly due to failure of Roma to register their residence with the authorities and hence lack identity documents. In Mitrovicë/Mitrovica region for example 56% of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian eligible voters were not register in the Voter list” (Popova, 2013, ps.15-16).

\(^8\) The 2013 ECMI Kosovo report showed that Bosniak representatives in a public information meeting in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica openly showed their dissatisfaction with local and international institutions for the non-fulfilment of minimum security requirements in order to allow them to vote and be voted in the northern municipalities of Kosovo (Popova, 2013, p.16).

\(^9\) A 2013 OSCE report on representation of communities in the civil service in Kosovo found also that at the central level Ashkali, Gorani, and Roma are proportionally under-represented, while Bosniaks are proportionally over-represented. Whereas at the municipal level Albanians and Bosniaks are generally represented proportionally or over-represented in those municipalities where they constitute a numerical minority, while Gorani, Roma and Ashkali are under-represented. Furthermore, the OSCE manifests “particular concern” over “the persistent and disproportionate under-representation of Kosovo Roma, Kosovo Ashkali and Kosovo Egyptian communities at all levels of the civil service.” (p.4).

\(^10\) “The lack of awareness and information about how and whom to notify about detected election irregularities the polling stations eventually results in not reporting those to the respective authorities” (Popova, 2013, p.17).
political leaders. There is a need to break down negative stereotypes of women in politics and promote their full participation in the electoral process.

- **Information/education challenges**: Member of minority communities do not know which institutions are responsible for administration of elections (e.g. the Election Panel for Complaints and Appeals). Thus, “the lack of proper pre-election education campaign result in a high number of non-valid ballots (about 40 000 in 2010)” (Popova, 2013, p.17).

- **Social challenges**: Finally, living conditions of people affect democratic processes since people are more concern on their well-being than with exercising their constitutional and civil democratic rights.

### 3.3 Education

It is well known that under the Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement (CSP), provision of public and formal education is the responsibility of the municipality.\(^{11}\) Still, following legal provisions, northern municipalities are entitle to receive significant support and direction from Serbian institutions, especially in terms of education in Serbian, which remains fully under Belgrade’s jurisdiction.\(^{12}\) This explains why mostly all Serbian-speaking respondents in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, Zveçan/Zvečan and Leposaviq/Leposavić (from Bosniak, Gorani, Roma and Ashkali communities) said that they and/or their children attend(ed) educational institutions under the Serbian education system.

On the contrary, respondents belonging to Albanian communities in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North and Zubin Potok said they and/or their children attend(ed) educational institutions under Kosovo’s system. Of particular concern is the fact that a great percentage of


respondents belonging to the Roma community in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North said that they and/or their children do not attend (have not attended) educational institutions. See Figure 5.

It is important to mention that most of the respondents for whom the educational institutions are far, rely on a regular transport that takes them on a daily basis to these institutions.

The situation of children from the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities throughout Kosovo regarding the education area is characterised, inter alia, by low attendance in compulsory education, high drop-out rates, and low participation in higher education and university, especially among girls. These characteristics are coupled with discrimination, lack of teachers and staff from these communities, and deficiencies of quality mother-tongue materials and education.\textsuperscript{13} According to the findings of the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) 2013-2014, conducted by the Kosovo Agency of Statistics, these communities still show the lowest improvements in education and literacy matters in Kosovo.\textsuperscript{14}


\textsuperscript{14} For instance, taking into account that almost half of the Roma respondents correspond to the 1981-1990 and 1991-1998 year-of-birth groups, key findings from the MICS show that “only three fourths (73 percent) of young women from the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities are literate and only half (54 percent) of those who stated that primary school was their highest level of education. The literacy rate among men was higher at 87 percent with half (52 percent) of men who similarly stated that primary school was their highest level of education were actually able to read” (The Kosovo Agency of Statistics, 2014, xxviii).
Additionally, in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North and Zveçan/Zvečan, over one third of the respondents said they or their children do not/have not study(ied) in their mother-tongue. While all respondents from Zubin Potok and Leposaviq/Leposavić are said to have received education in their mother-tongue.

Even though, Gorani respondents argue they know the Serbian language, education is not provided in the Gorani language, which has to be taught to children at home. Some of these respondents perceive this as a way of discrimination, limiting their rights to their language and culture.

Despite the provisions that protect language rights under Kosovo’s Law on the Use of Languages, the official languages for minority communities at the municipal level remains problematic. The Law obliges all public institutions and service providers – including educational institutions – to ensure the provision of official languages. Still, due to insufficient resources, lack of awareness, and lack of political will, the Law has been partially implemented.

Roma and Ashkali respondents living in the Roma Mahala in South Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, say they and their children fear to cross the bridge that connects the north with the south of the city. Therefore, they have to cross a park where – according to most of them – Albanian drug users roam threatening Roma and Ashkaly children. Furthermore, according to a great number of respondents from the Roma and Ashkali communities, their children are victims of discriminatory acts at schools based on their ethnicity.

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15 According to a study of the OSCE, “all municipalities have taken positive steps resulting in the adoption of municipal regulations on the use of languages, but Romani language is still not recognized or protected” (2014, p.4).
16 “Pursuant to the legal framework, Albanian and Serbian and their alphabets are recognized as the official languages of Kosovo. Other languages can also gain recognition as official languages at the municipal level – with the same status as Albanian and Serbian – if the linguistic community represents at least five per cent of the total municipal population” (OSCE, 2014, p.6).
Following this issue, discrimination among children from minority communities is a persistent and widespread problem in educational institutions in Kosovo.\textsuperscript{17} In Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, for example, 35 per cent of respondents argue that they or their children have suffered from any form discrimination within educational institutions. This problem is more evident in the Roma and Ashkali community. But also, a high number of respondents from Bosniak and Gorani communities argue that their children are victims of discrimination. Despite few respondents from the Albanian community in Zubin Potok answering this question, those who did argued that they or their children have not suffered from any form of discrimination in educational institutions. The same reply was given by respondents from minority communities in Zveçan/Zvečan and Leposaviq/Leposavić.

Finally, a big portion of Serbian-speaking respondents agreed on saying that the non-recognition of diplomas from UMN hinders their possibility to find jobs.\textsuperscript{18} Over 35 per cent of Roma and Ashkali respondents on the other hand, do/did not attend educational institutions at all.

### 3.4 Healthcare

As with the educational institutions, respondents from Serbian-speaking communities tend to attend mainly Serbian healthcare institutions and respondents from Albanian-speaking

\textsuperscript{17} For example, according to a study from the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC), “Romani, Ashkali and Egyptian children face discrimination and violence at school in Kosovo. Respondents noted that Romani, Ashkali, and Egyptian children are bullied at school and are beaten up going to and coming from school” (2011, p.90). This situation extends not only to children, but also to teachers and parents from majority communities who relapse in discriminatory attitudes.

\textsuperscript{18} The University in Mitrovica North (UMN) is the only Serbian language university in Kosovo, serving all Serbian speaking communities (Serbs, Gorani, Bosniaks and Roma). The University operates under the legal framework of the Republic of Serbia as part of the Serbian higher education system, run and financed directly by the Serbian Ministry of Education. The UMN is therefore neither licensed by the Kosovo Ministry of Education nor accredited by the Kosovo Accreditation Agency, and the diplomas issued by it are not recognized by Kosovo Authorities. Consequently, UMN graduates are facing persistent obstacles in accessing employment opportunities in the public sector, despite the national and international provisions and agreements. See: \url{http://www.ecmikosovo.org/en/Current-Projects/Category/Current-Projects/Improving-Minorities-Communities%E2%80%99-Access-to-Higher-Education-in-Serbian-Language-and-Public-Employment} [accessed 12 July 2016].
communities tend to attend mainly Kosovo healthcare institutions. In this sense, Bosniak, Gorani, Roma, and Ashkali communities in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, Zveçan/Zvečan, and Leposaviq/Leposavić mainly attend Serbian healthcare institutions, and Albanian communities in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North and Zubin Potok use predominantly the healthcare services of Kosovo’s institutions. Still, a high number of respondents from Bosniak communities use Kosovo healthcare institutions. See Table 5.

![Healthcare systems in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North and Zubin Potok](chart)

**Table 5 Healthcare systems in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North and Zubin Potok**

For respondents using Serbian healthcare institutions the main reasons for use are the accessibility, the quality of the services, and the fact that they are free. While for Albanian communities, the main reason is the proximity of the facilities. In practice, healthcare in northern Kosovo is sponsored and remains under Serbian regulation” (ECMI Kosovo, 2013, p.15).
respondents who use Kosovo’s healthcare institutions in Zubin Potok and Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, the fact that these institutions are from Kosovo and not Serbia creates a sense of safety.

When asked if the healthcare institutions are close to them, respondents from Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North (including Albanian respondents), Zveçan/Zvečan, and Leposaviq/Leposavić said they are. But, for the vast majority of the respondents from the Albanian community in Zubin Potok claim healthcare institutions are not close in proximity nor easily accessible for them.

In spite of some few cases, the vast majority (95 per cent) of the respondents have not felt discriminated within Serbia or Kosovo’s healthcare institutions.

3.5 Identity and Safety

When it comes to identity, in spite of isolated cases of discrimination experienced by some respondents, most of them do not feel that their own identity or the identity of their communities are jeopardized in the place they live. For instance, Albanian respondents in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North do not feel free and safe to use their mother-tongue in some parts of the city. While Albanian respondents in Zubin Potok, on the other hand, feel free and not discriminated only in Çabër/Čabra, which is the village where they reside. Nonetheless, Roma and Ashkali respondents face all kinds of discrimination and believe their identity is endangered.

Additionally, as some respondents from all communities in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, Leposaviq/Leposavić and from Zubin Potok, feel free and safe to maintain their traditions and practice their religion, others feel they can only do it at home. However, Bosniak respondents in Zveçan/Zvečan do not feel free or safe at all to practice their religion.
Most Serb-speaking respondents from Bosniak, Gorani, Roma, and Ashkali communities retain Serbian and Kosovar identification documents. Still, a good number of Gorani respondents in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North only have Serbian documents. See Figure 6. Likewise, the two Bosniak respondents in Zveçan/Zvečan only have Serbian identification documents.

![Identification documents in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North](image)

**Figure 6 Identification documents in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North**

Meanwhile, Albanian respondents from Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North and from Zubin Potok possess mainly Kosovo identification documents. In addition, respondents belonging to the Gorani community from Leposaviq/Leposavić only have Serbian identification documents.

The complex situation in northern Kosovo permeates the lives of residing minority communities at different levels. In this sense, even paperwork matters like diplomas, cadastre, civil registry, and identification documents, are also affected by this situation. The lack of a clear integration on these matters explains why Bosniak, Gorani, Roma, and Ashkali possess both Kosovo and Serbian identification documents. However, according to a great percentage of respondents there are no problems to get the corresponded identification documents when needed.

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3.6 Media and Freedom of Expression

The vast majority of the respondents from the four northern municipalities watch TV as a way to follow media. Still, Gorani and Bosniak respondents watch mainly Serbian channels; Roma and Ashkali follow media in the Serbian and Albanian; and, Albanian respondents watch mainly Kosovo channels and follow media (mostly internet) in Albanian language.

In regard to having the possibility to follow media in their own mother-tongue, answers were mixed. For instance, most Albanian and Ashkali respondents from Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North enjoy the possibility of following media in their own language. The biggest portion of Bosniak respondents also follow media in their mother-tongue, but still a large number do not have the possibility. Percentages are more even for Roma and Ashkali respondents who have the possibility to follow media in their mother-tongue and those who do not have it. See Figure 7.

![Figure 7 Possibility to follow media in mother-tongue in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North](image)

While all Gorani respondents from Leposaviq/Leposavić and almost 70 per cent of Albanian respondents in Zubin Potok have the possibility to follow media in their own language, Gorani and Bosniak respondents from Zvečan/Zvečan do not have this possibility.
For minority communities (for whom Albanian is not their mother-tongue) it is difficult to follow media in their own language. According to Freedom House, the only Serbian-language channel is available only via cable and is alleged to be controlled by the interests of Kosovo’s ethnic Albanian majority. In addition, “most print media outlets neglect coverage of news relevant to Kosovo’s minority populations”. Therefore, leading Serbian-speaking communities in North Kosovo said to find themselves in disadvantage since (according to them) information about activities of Kosovo institutions and major developments in Kosovo are not in Serbian, and the only information they can access in their mother-tongue is via internet or Belgrade-seated media.

For those respondents who do not think they can freely express their opinion in public, one of the main reasons is fear. In this order, Bosniak, Roma, Albanian, and Ashkali respondents from Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, as for Albanian respondents from Zubin Potok and Bosniak respondents from Zveçan/Zvečan, expressed that fear prevents them to express their opinions. For Gorani respondents in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, Zveçan/Zvečan, and Leposaviq/Leposavić the sense of inferiority in comparison to the majority community prevents them to participate freely. Meanwhile, according to a great percentage of respondents distrust and sense of helplessness, are also reasons for not expressing their opinions freely in public.

Finally, respondents were asked whether they have suggestions or recommendations on the ways how the position of their communities can be improved in the place they live. Almost all respondents argued more representatives from each community should be included in the public sphere. Albanian respondents from Zubin Potok call for the government to take better care of their community. Bosniak, Gorani, Roma, and Ashkali respondents demanded more employment opportunities. Albanian respondents from Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, claimed more freedom, employment, and opportunities for young people.

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4 INTERVIEWS FINDINGS

4.1 Representatives of local self-goverment

When asked which minority communities inhabit their municipalities, aside from Roma, Ashkali, Albanian, Bosniak, and Gorani communities, interviewees identified Turkish community as well. According to them, these minorities live mostly in Bosnian Mahala (neighbourhoods) such as Mali Zvečan, Suvi Do, among others. They also argue, that these communities tend to establish contact and interact with the majority community, while Roma community find it more difficult to integrate with other communities.

When asked if they consider that members of these communities enjoy the same rights as members of majority communities in their municipalities, for only one of them they do, for the others either they do not or they partially do. Moreover, only one of the interviewees did not receive requests or complaints from members of minority communities. The others receive requests for financial help, employment opportunities, humanitarian help, and home reconstruction. Interethnic conflict is not frequent in these representatives’ municipalities.

Additionally, interviewees agree on saying that the Roma community is in the worst situation, given its living conditions and that it is also the least integrated. Still, all minority communities face similar problems like the lack of employment, lack of education, etc. Likewise, these representatives do not think that local and central authorizes advocate enough on behalf of the minority communities. Therefore, they acknowledge there is a sense of dissatisfaction among these communities towards the work of local governments.

Some of the recommendations given by interviewees for the improvement of the situation of minority communities in these region are better employment conditions, education in these communities’ mother-tongue, better integration processes, and enhancement of the local government’s work.
4.2 Representative of international organisations

For the representative of the international organisation the biggest problem face by minority communities not only in the North but also in all Kosovo is incomplete integration. This person claims that problems do not differ for each community in each municipality, but they are mainly the same in northern Kosovo, except for the Albanian community.

When asked if he considers that local governments are working enough to tackle the concerns of the minority communities, he says that by empowering the municipality of North Mitrovica things started to go in a better direction and various projects are being implemented. The interviewee also argues that minorities are mostly integrated, but they need to be included in every aspect of the municipalities where they live: politics, culture etc.

The representative’s organisation works in various programs in order to improve the living conditions of minority communities. According to this person’s experience, he believes that no matter the religion or nationality every community should have the same rights.

When asked if he is satisfied with the participation of members of minority and the achieved results, the interviewee claims minority communities have a great role in the achieved results, but they need to use the projects’ resources in order to improve their lives. The interviewee only views educated people from every community as relevant partners to work on the minority issues and not the so called representatives who are imposing themselves.

The interviewee recommended more dialogues, multiethnic projects, and making a better living environment for every community, in order to improve the situation of minority communities in Northern Kosovo.

4.3 Representatives of local CSOs
When asked in which way do representatives of local CSOs advocate the rights of minority communities in the North, interviewees said they do it basically through lobbying the local governments and the representatives of the EU.

So far, these representatives of local CSOs have implemented programmes related to economic empowerment of minority women and active involvement of these communities in every decision-making process. Results from these programmes have achieved independent women owning their own businesses and communities engaged in different political levels. In order to develop these programmes they have to rely on the support of the international community and other actors involved in minority communities’ issues, who they consider their biggest partners. The trust of the communities is an important asset for the implementation of the programmes and their work in general.

Nonetheless, when asked if they were satisfied with the participation of members of minority communities, interviewees claimed they were not, since first, these communities are not involved in most of the decision-making processes; and second, they have a passive attitude towards the desire of solving the problems that they face. According to these representatives, the biggest problems these communities face are lack of employment opportunities, discrimination in employment, and low representation in all institutions.

Finally, the main recommendations the interviewees gave for the improvement of the situation of minority communities in Northern Kosovo are a proper integration process, increasing the financial investment on these communities, and accountability and transparency from local governments.

5 CONCLUSIONS

Based on aforementioned findings, it is evident that there are several problems that have to be tackle in order to improve the living conditions of non-Serb communities in the
municipalities of Mitrovica/Mitrovicë North, Leposavid/Leposaviq, Zubin Potok, and Zvečan/Zveqan. The deficiency of actual and accurate information regarding non-Serb communities in the four northern municipalities, makes it difficult to integrate and implement changes for the living conditions of these communities. Key findings also show that the living conditions of every community differ according to the municipality wherein they reside. Such is the case of Albanian respondents in Mitrovica/Mitrovicë North and in Zubin Potok. Moreover, as mentioned above, given the small number of participants of minority communities in Zveçan/Zvečan and Leposaviq/Leposavić, findings regarding their living conditions represent their particular cases and not the whole of each community in the municipalities.

Perceptions about the socioeconomic situation tend to be negative overall. One of the greatest causes for concern in the region is problems related to employment. According to the findings, the bad financial situation of the region along with the lack of employment opportunities and the marginalisation are the main reasons of the high unemployment rate among these communities. This situation affects all groups in general, especially young people. It also permeates the provision of public services and infrastructure. Furthermore, Roma and Ashkali community members in Mitrovica/Mitrovicë North face the most difficult socioeconomic situation among other non-Serb communities, since it is exacerbated by the fact of being (along with Egyptians) the most vulnerable and marginalised communities in Kosovo.

The political participation is mainly underestimated. Not only the existence of political apathy towards the political processes that affect the living conditions of the communities, but also the sense of underrepresentation at the local and central levels. It is evident that non-Serb communities in northern Kosovo, do not count with enough knowledge and information to make use of and advocate for their rights. As seen above, one of the causes of this problem has to do with the absence of media and public information in Serbian language.
Regarding the education sector, it is important to remark the particular situation of Roma and Ashkali communities, who seem excluded and marginalised from the education system. Respondents from these communities admit common characteristics of this worrier situation like low attendance and low participation in educational institutions, and discrimination against children. In addition, the non-recognition of UMN diplomas in Kosovo, hinders the possibility of many members of these communities to find jobs outside the region.

Overall, there are positive perceptions about the quality of local healthcare, especially for respondents who use Serbian healthcare institutions. Nevertheless, for a good number of respondents the lack and costs of medicine are big problems that affect their living conditions.

Freedom of movement, freedom of belief, and language rights are still limited in the northern region of Kosovo. In this sense, this communities are restricted to fully enjoy their traditions and culture as they are victims of some sort of discrimination.

Finally, besides of online information, Serbian speaking community members claim that they are almost restricted to follow media and information in their mother-tongue. According to most of them, the only media they can have access in their mother-tongue comes from Belgrade, restraining them to follow information about important political events or major developments in Kosovo.

6 RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the research collected during the project “Empowering Non-Serb CSOs in Northern Kosovo”, funded by the European Union Office in Kosovo, ECMI Kosovo recommend the following actions to deal with the issues surrounding living conditions of non-Serb communities in the northern municipalities of Zvečan/Zvečan, Zubin Potok, Leposaviq/Leposavić and Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North.
First, local governments from the four northern municipalities, should take the lead on addressing the high levels of unemployment amongst non-Serb communities. For instance, findings show that few members of these communities are employed in the public sector. Local governments should increase the employment of members of these communities in proportion to the size of their population. The unsatisfactory levels of representation in and employment by local governments is one of the causes of the low levels of political participation among members of these communities. Hence, municipalities should address this issue, in order to improve not only their involvement in decision-making processes, but also their socioeconomic conditions.

In addition, aside from the exclusion from the public sphere and the sense of a general bad economic situation, another cause for the high unemployment rate among respondents was the difficulties they have in obtaining information about job vacancies. Municipalities would aid this issue by increasing the number of job advertisements that are translated into communities’ mother-tongue. Thus, local governments guarantee the implementation of the Law on the Use of Languages, and ensure that its job advertisements are published in all languages used in the locally. An example of ensuring the Law on the Use of Languages is being applied, central and local authorities are promoting the use of information in other official languages in the media.

Overall, local governments should acknowledge that by decreasing the levels of unemployment they are increasing these communities’ economic potential and enhancing the general economic situation.

It is also important to address perceptions of marginalisation and discrimination, by increasing the general awareness on minority rights, and encouraging the participation of these communities to advocate for the promotion and protection of their own rights.

Furthermore, since Roma and Ashkali are the most segregated and vulnerable communities in northern Kosovo, improving their education is the primary vehicle for their empowerment.
towards increased economic and social development. In order to do this, local authorities and relevant stakeholders should increase their cooperation with an ultimate goal of providing more opportunities and creating an inclusive education system available to Roma and Ashkali children.

Likewise, in order to fight widespread discriminatory acts towards children belonging to these communities, local authorities, along with educational institutions and relevant backers should ensure that school and pedagogic personnel receive training aimed to fight discrimination and promote inter-ethnic and inter-cultural tolerance. Promoting the inclusion of minority communities’ tradition, culture, and history in education and extra-curricular activities is of key importance as well. The image of the educational system should be conceived as a bridge that provides professional opportunities for all without discrimination.

While local authorities should be more inclusive and committed with the issues of minority communities, international organisations and CSOs should continue working on helping to improve these communities’ situations. Acknowledging the recognisable gap between the work of local authorities and the representation and protection of minority communities in Northern Kosovo, CSOs should take a more proactive role in monitoring municipal activities and holding local governments accountable to their performances.

According to recommendations given by the different representatives in order to improve the living conditions of minority communities in northern Kosovo it is important to coordinate and develop a serious integration process. This process must be conducted with relevant partners like local authorities, international organisations, and CSOs. The ultimate goal of this integration should be for all communities residing in the region to be included in all processes and not marginalised.


• UN Security Council (2007). *Letter dated 26 March 2007 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, addendum, Comprehensive
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