Social Identities, Citizenship, and State-building

A case study of Kosovo
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Tomas Sandström
30 maj 2012
# List of Acronyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CPT</td>
<td>Center for Peace and Tolerance</td>
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<td>ECMI</td>
<td>European Centre for Minority Issues</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>EULEX</td>
<td>European Union Rule of Law Mission</td>
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<td>EUSR</td>
<td>European Union Special Representative</td>
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<td>FRY</td>
<td>Federal Republic of Yugoslavia</td>
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<td>ICJ</td>
<td>International Court of Justice</td>
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<td>ICR</td>
<td>International Civilian Representative for Kosovo</td>
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<td>ICO</td>
<td>International Civilian Office</td>
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<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Person</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Foundation</td>
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<td>ISG</td>
<td>International Steering Group for Kosovo</td>
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<td>KFOR</td>
<td>Kosovo Force</td>
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<td>KLA</td>
<td>Kosovo Liberation Army</td>
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<td>LDK</td>
<td>Democratic League of Kosovo</td>
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<tr>
<td>LMT</td>
<td>Liaison Monitoring Team</td>
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<td>MUP</td>
<td>Ministry of Internal Affairs (Ministarstvo Unutrasnih Poslova)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>The North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>OSCE</td>
<td>Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe</td>
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<td>PISG</td>
<td>Provisional Institutions of Self-Government</td>
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<td>PO</td>
<td>Participation Observation</td>
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<td>SRSG</td>
<td>Special Representative of the Secretary General</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNMIK</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Kosovo</td>
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<td>UNOSEK</td>
<td>UN Office of the Special Envoy to Kosovo</td>
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<td>UNSCR</td>
<td>United Nations Security Council Resolution</td>
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Abstract

This paper studies the importance of acknowledging social identities in a state-building process. Kosovo is a disputed area in which several ethnic groups reside. These groups obtain extensive rights within the legal framework of the Republic of Kosovo. Although these rights are extensive and, according to some, the best laws regarding minorities in Europe there are those who do not feel an attachment to the state. Historically states have been based on single-groups in so called nation-states in which the mainstream identity of the population were synonymous with that of the state. Today the view on the state has evolved into that of a multi-cultural society in which everyone are accepted regardless of their identity (i.e. sex, ethnicity, gender and so on).

The conflict of Kosovo has its base in the Albanian population within Kosovo and their struggle for recognition as a people. Their struggle throughout the 20th century culminated with the complete removal of rights by Slobodan Milošević in 1989 and the formation of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) in 1993. By the end of the 20th century NATO intervened in the conflict resulting in the adaptation of UN Security Council Resolution 1244 in which the future of Kosovo where determined. After being administrated by the international UN mission (UNMIK) for almost 9 years Kosovo declared its independence. Kosovo were to be a multi-ethnic state constituted of its many communities (ethnic-groups). Today there are few people who uses the term 'Kosovar', instead people still identify themselves by their ethnic-identity.

This paper studies the importance of social identities and if the citizenship of Kosovo can fill the position as an overlapping identity bringing the ethnic-groups of Kosovo together. Although the conclusion is that the citizenship cannot fill this position today the study identifies several issues that, when resolved, severely increases the possibility for the Kosovo citizenship to fulfill this position.

Key Words: Acculturation, Citizenship, Ethnicity, Intergroup Relations, Kosovo, Kosovar, Social Identity, State-building.
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1. Introduction


“[...] the Serbs and Albanians are linguistically quite separate. Together with the differentiation in language gouse a range of division between Serb and Albanian roughly coincides with the division between Easter Orthodox and Muslim. [...] With both language and religion setting people apart, all the conditions seem to be present for a primary conflict of peoples. [sic]”

This book was written prior to the war in Kosovo in 1999 and a chronicle dating back as far as 14th century. As the war progressed in Kosovo the international community, with a fresh memory of Bosnia Herzegovina, choose to react. NATO carried out an air-campaign and in the summer of 1999 the United Nation Security Council adopt resolution 1244. This resolution, still active today, set the ground for the future or Kosovo with the creation of UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). In 2008 Kosovo declared its independence and the UN mission has since then loosened its grip of the institutions in Kosovo. The creation of a new state followed with the creation of a state flag and a constitution. A constitution that declares the Republic of Kosovo as a “multi-ethnic society consisting of Albanian and other Communities”. While working within the Kosovo context in 2010 I noticed the abundant usage of the Albanian national flag in relation to the Kosovo-flag. Noone seemed to regard themselves as Kosovar. This phenomenon puzzled me and after looking into it further Gëzim Krasniqi (2010) explained it as:

“The paradox resides in the fact that many Kosovar Albanians do not consider Kosovo [...] to reflect its overwhelming Albanian majority whereas most of the Serbs consider it to be 'an Albanian state'.”

The issue of identity is one of the key ones in a post-conflict situation with several ethnical groups, like Kosovo today. As Will Kymlicka writes in *The Citizenship Debates* (1998):

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"The fact that two national groups share the same values or principles of justice does not necessarily give them any strong reason to join (or remain) together, rather then remaining (or spitting into) two separate countries. What more, what else, is required for social unity? The missing ingredient seems to be the idea of a shared identity."

In Quebec, Canada, the primary identification (of the francophones) are with Quebec instead of Canada, the Quebec’s still (to a large degree) regard themselves as Canadians through their identification with Quebec. Social-psychology theories and cross-cultural research has been more and more used within the field of political science explaining situations worldwide. There is a need to further look into the issues of social identities, citizenship, and state-building through a 'bottom-up' perspective where the perception of the ordinary people are studied, the ordinary people are the ones that constitutes a state as its citizens.

1.1. Research Problem

The cultural context of Kosovo is rather particular. Due to the change of the mainstream culture one of the several groups found themselves as an outgroup of society. Over four years has passed since the 17 February 2008 on which Kosovo declared its independence and 13 years since the war in 1999. Studies has been made of the legal framework and how the citizenship is designed as a tool of integration of the ethnical groups rather than 'ethnic-engineering' as was the case of other Yugoslavian successor states. There are studies mentioning the phenomenon of identities in Kosovo. Most prominent is Gëzim Krasniqi and his paper (2010) titled “Citizenship as a tool of state-building in Kosovo: status, rights, and identity in the new state.” Although Krasniqi regards the issues of identities, he looks into the citizenship through a 'top-down' scope. The coverage is accurate and the conclusions he makes are still accurate today. There is however a lack of research through a bottom-up perspective where the perception of grassroots within society is studied.

Furthermore, the usage of social psychology theories are not commonly used together with those of political science resulting in a study covering an area in which little studies has been conducted through a scope commonly not used within a particular context.

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1.2. Aim and Research Question

This paper is based on the assumption that an idea of a shared identity is needed for sustainable state-building process; the citizenship as a shared identity that everyone attaches to via their primary group identity, i.e. an individual attaches to her/his group and by their group attachment to the citizenship who in turn provides equal rights for everyone. This idea of a shared identity can be either an assumed identity or an actual existing one. The main part is that groups, through the belief of a shared identity, connect. The main aim is to contribute to a comprehensive picture of a complex phenomenon by explore the situation in Kosovo and why social identities can be of importance to the state-building process thus creating additional understanding of post-conflict situations. The aim is also to complement Krasniqi’s paper with a bottom-up perspective further contributing to additional understanding of the situation in Kosovo and how social identities can be of importance in post-conflict situations. The final aim is to connect the fields of Social Psychology with that of Political Science. With this in mind, the study looks into the citizenship and its relation to social identities and acculturation through a bottom-up perspective. In order to create an additional understanding of this phenomenon a research question is drafted:

Can the citizenship of Kosovo fill the position as an overlapping social identity bringing the different groups within Kosovo together?

To answer this, the following questions needs to be addressed. These questions will together help to provide an analytical conclusions and the answer to the research questions.

1. What is the official perspective on social groups, the citizenship, and their possibilities? I.e. How does the legal framework look, what is the perceived view of officials attitude towards the citizenship and social groups.

2. To what degree does the social groups match in regard to acculturating variables, are they similar or not?

3. How are the groups looking at each other and themselves regarding acculturation and the choice of strategy; from the groups perspective, what kind of strategies are chosen?

4. What is the bottom-up perspective on citizenship; how is the citizenship viewed? Is it viewed as a possibility for bringing the groups together or another artificially constructed project?
1.3. Disambiguation

Kosovo is an internationally disputed area in regard of status. Kosovo’s unilateral declaration of independence on February 17th 2008 has received recognition from several states but lacks recognition from international institutions such as the European Union, The UN Assembly and The UN Security Council. However this paper, for all purposes, considers the Republic of Kosovo as a de facto sovereign state. Names and places are to the largest degree written with consideration. When available the English name is used. Otherwise either the Serbian or the Albanian name is used with regard to the context.

As with all studies there is a need for acknowledging potential biases. This study first came to mind while working within the contextual area in 2010. By then as part of a Liaison Monitoring Team (LMT) within KFOR (the NATO lead peacekeeping mission). The team tasks are, as former KFOR Commander General Bühler said: "LMT’s men and women work very closely with the population, creating and maintaining a direct, permanent and trusted link between KFOR and local authorities, leaders and international organizations at municipality level. Mayors and people of each municipality are able to talk with KFOR representatives through the LMT’s. [...] the aim of the LMT’s is to feel the pulse of people, to encourage them to feel free to speak with the soldiers about their concerns." As a part of the team responsible for Pristina an understanding of the cultural context were created that has been used as the base of this study. Other papers by the same author such as Governance in the Balkans - Yugoslavia and the Albanian people (2011) and The Case of Kosovo - Key Challenges for a prospering future (2010) has helped to increase this contextual knowledge.

1.4. Delimitation

The context of Kosovo and the Balkans are quite intervening. The history of the situation in Kosovo involves several events outside of what is today’s Kosovo. In the same way the territorial area of Kosovo has changed during the years. With this in regard this paper focus on the latter history of Kosovo and on some occasions relevant events outside of Kosovo skipping historical events prior to the independence of Albania.

Today the most problematic situation in Kosovo is the northern parts. In the north there are
groups which does not recognize Kosovo. These people whom, to a high degree, can keep from cooperating with the institutions of Kosovo due to their numbers and proximity with Serbia. As the north can be assumed sustainable by themselves and are not cooperating (by free will or by necessity) they are not of interest to this study.

Other subordinate groups, like Bosniaks, Egyptians, and Croats are excluded from the sampling. By the same base intragroup pressure due to their connection with their own group outside of Kosovo is disregarded. This does indeed result in a not-complete bottom up coverage from the subordinate groups. The sampling can however assume to cover the majority of the phenomenon minorities in Kosovo. In a similar manner this study does not look into how the groups actually interact. Only if they do and if so examples on situations are shown to give the reader a better understanding on these interactions.

Groups based on religion, gender, or education etc. are disregarded as the main issue in Kosovo is groups based on ethnicity. Looking into these groups would present interesting perspective on the same phenomenon. The design and sample chosen presumes to cover the main issues.

1.5. Outline

The outline of this paper is based on the above presented assumption that an idea of a shared identity is required for a sustainable state-building process. With the base on this idea of a shared identity three theories are presented. These theories set the theoretical framework later used in the analysis. The chapter on method presents the design of the study and looks into why and how the research is done using topics acquired from the theoretical framework. The selection of two parallel forms of interviews aims towards a complementing approach. As all papers, there are other theories and methods that might work. The design of this paper is based on the assumption that with the previous knowledge of the researcher there is sufficient experience to manage the largest risks, that the interpreters and participants by some reason choose to show a modified view. Additionally, this knowledge needs to be regard as potentially bias, an issue that is regarded with among other methods the presentation within 1.3 Disambiguation.

Due to the fact of Kosovo being an area of conflict for the last century a historical and contextual presentation and analysis are required in order to create a contextual knowledge and understanding of the studied phenomenon.

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9 There are groups in other parts of Kosovo that does not recognize the Republic of Kosovo that are more or less are 'forced' to accept Kosovo as a reality.
2. Theory

This paper uses several theoretical discussions that together form a theoretical framework. The basis is Social Identity Theory formulated by Henri Tajfel, which looks into individual and group’s views on themselves, others, and how they interact. To further understand how groups interact theories on Acculturation are used. Theories on Acculturation dates back to 1936 and within this paper the theory elaborated by John W. Berry is used. These social psychology theories show in a structured way how and why groups choose to act as they do and it explains why intergroup relations can be as complicated as they sometime are. The last theories used are on Citizenship by Christian Joppke, the same political science theories used by Krasniqi in his paper. Joppke’s theories regard the post-nation-state citizenship, a citizenship that goes further than the state connected true a singular cultural-group.

2.1. Social Identity

Social Identity Theory, first defined by Henri Tajfel (1972) and can be understood as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership”10

A society is composed of individuals and they are in turn patterned into relatively distinct social groups from which they in turn acquire opinions, views, and practices. These groups are based on different attributes; some are national groups while others are religious, tribal, political, and so on. What is important is whether the groups which people belong to are by choice or by assignment. Groups have a profound impact on your individual identity. This identity constitutes who you are, what sort of people you are, and how you relate to others depend on the concept of who you are and whether you are members of the same group (ingroup) or different groups (outgroup). Belonging to a group is a matter of psychology, knowledge about a group, its attributes, and assignment to a social category is not enough.11

2.1.1. Social Categories

The viewpoint of social identity is based on the assumption regarding the nature of society, its people, and their interrelationship. It maintains "society comprises social categories which stand in

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power and status relations to one another". Division of people according to, for example, nationality, race, occupation, and religion are social categorization. These categories do not exist in isolation and within a society some social categories attribute greater power, prestige, and so on in relation to others. An occupational category as academics are meaningless unless it serves to differentiate between those who are academics or not. You belong to variety of social categories at the same time, for example a male Protestant British professor. Although members of several groups, some groups are incompatible for example the Protestant and the Catholic group. Social categories are to a degree pre-existing as individuals are born into a society but as the social structure within a society changes over time they are not a static entry, new categories emerge while others diminish.

2.1.2. Social Categorization

Categorization is a central part of our daily life. As we see objects, people and phenomenon’s we sort them into categories in order to simplify our perception. By accentuate similarities between objects within the same category and differences between objects in different categories a sharp focus is created in an unclear world. Several experiments have been conducted showing this accentuation effect. Tajfel (1988) showed that when judging the length of individual lines there were a significant exaggeration when the lines where labelled into two groups rather than being presented unlabelled. The daily categorization is rarely conducted in an objective manner. This meaning that the accentuation effect is more distinct when the categorization is among other things important or of personal value to the individual and abundantly in reference to yourself. The reference to self is made to classify whether another individual belongs to the same category (ingroup) or as members of different category (outgroup). This leads to the categorization of self. In the same way as categorization of others the self-categorization is affected by the accentuation effect, e.g. there are an accentuation of similarities with other members of the ingroup as well as with differences with outgroups which in turn are self-stereotyping. Self-categorization entails you to perceive yourself as 'identical' to other members of the category generating a stereotypical behaviour corresponding with that of the category.

2.1.3. Social Comparison

Ones strength or flaws are relative. When making daily comparisons we use a subjective

13 Ibid., p. 14, 15.
14 Ibid., p. 19 – 21.
frame of reference to compare people. The frame of reference varies and can in some cases involve the entire society it is more likely that a certain degree of control is used to limit this frame. One particular instance when this is likely to occur is when comparing oneself with others: social comparison. When making comparison between oneself as an ingroup member and others as outgroup members, there is a tendency to for exaggeration of differences in as many ways as possible. This differences are in turn sorted into a positive and negative differences where the positive ones are ascribe to the ingroup while the outgroup acquire the negative ones thus creating a relatively positive social identity in relation to the outgroup. A positive self-evaluation is accomplished which fuels a sense of well-being, self-esteem, and confidence.

Social Categorization and Social Comparison cooperate generating group behaviour. This behaviour involves ingroup favouritism, intergroup discrimination, perceptions of the ingroup’s superiority over outgroups, and so on. Social Comparison is accountable for what degree the exaggeration of intergroup differences, intragroup similarities, and the selectivity of accentuation. Social Categorization leads to stereotypical conceptions of self, the ingroup, and outgroups.  

### 2.1.4. Social Mobility and Social Change

Within Social Identity Theory there are two distinctions about groups and how people view them. One is Social Mobility, which it is possible to move between groups. A player in a soccer-team can change from one team to another and an individual can change workplace. This strategy changes the value of the person’s group affiliation but leaves the original groups position unchanged. A change like this is easier said than done and includes, to varying degree, disidentification with the former group. It might be easy in theory to change groups but in practice, there might be pressure from the former group in order to discourage change. The basis of the group is another subject. Group membership by attributes such as haircolor is easier to change then an individual’s sex or age. However in addition to leaving one group is the acceptance of the new group leading to sense of marginalization. A male changing sex may experience intolerance towards a membership in the female group. Historically there are cases were Social Mobility was encourage as it strengthen high-status groups. This meaning that if it is possible for an individual to change to a group with higher status it lowers the incitement to strengthen the lower-status group.

Social Change on the other hand is the contrast to Social Mobility. Within Social Change there are two distinctions: Social Creativity and Social Competition. Social Creativity occurs when groups feel legitimate and stable. They can then either find new dimensions to compare themselves with other groups. They can redefine the value attached to themselves, i.e. increasing the

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importance of a central value which the group is based on. They can also select new outgroups to compare to. By comparing your group with an even lower group the perceived value of your own group is increased. This can also be encourage by higher status group as it is a form of divide and rule, i.e. by making some of the lower-status groups compare themselves with other groups, with even lower-status, instead of the high-status thus making some of the lower-status groups feel a relatively higher status.

Social Competition on the other hand occurs when some of the groups feel insecure, i.e. their stability and legitimacy of their status is called into question. Two or more groups that continue to seek power in an unstable situation while perceiving their own claims as legit will often disagree over the legitimacy of the other groups. An example is a class in school where the children no longer regard the teacher as being in command. The teacher on the other hand has to reconfirm who is in charge. Both groups question the other group’s claims as illegitimate. When Social Competition occurs the group with the higher-status usually reacts by closing its ranks to defend its position.  

All of these strategies provoke reactions from the dominant group (later referred to as the mainstream group). When conducted in a small-scale it is usually tolerated but when the magnitude grows the status of the mainstream group is challenged and hence a tactical response to maintain its position is conducted. The different strategies, tactics and outcomes are illustrated in Appendix 1.

2.1.5. Ethnic Identity

While there is no definition on ethnic identity that is widely agreed on there are however in almost every definition some kind of link between culture and origin, and ethnicity. Karmela Liebkind (2006) list ethnicity as “primarily a sense of belonging to a particular (assumed) ancestry and origin. [...] An ethnic group is thought to exist whenever the belief in common descent is used to bind people together to some degree. This sense of origin is often accomplished by defining ethnicity in terms of metaphors of kinship: ethnicity is family writ large.”

Leibkind (2006) states that it is important not to exaggerate the rate of which ethnical identity is amendable to change, i.e. being transcendent, flexible, and voluntary. The membership of ethnic identity is bifacial. It is ascribe due to the fact that one cannot choose the group that you are born into. The other side of the coin is that there is a choice to what degree of meaning it is to one’s social identity. This said, most members usually identifies themselves with the ethnical group.

16 Hogg and Abrams, Social identifications., p. 54 – 59.
18 Ibid., p. 78 – 80.
2.1.6. Language and Ethnicity

Wilhem Wundt, whom created the first psychological laboratory in 1879 and regarded to be the 'founder of experimental psychology', considered a long time ago that “language is above all a vehicle of culture, a symbol of identity”\(^{19}\). Language usage has dual meanings, one is the message transferred while the other is the social markers accompanying the message. These social markers are speech styles and language varieties that add information regarding the person's mood, social group membership, and so on. The varieties alter in regard of addressee’s, context, or mood. Differences like formal/informal situations, age of recipient, or linguistic knowledge all changes this varieties. This leads to the important point, this variety transfers information about the person speaking, the listener and the context. I.e. it contains information about social categories (in particular social class, sex, and ethnicity).

With regard that practically all contemporary nations are multicultural, i.e. containing more than two social groups, there is one language considered to be the lingual franca, the language then that of the mainstream group. Subordinate ethnolinguistic groups are disadvantaged if unable to use it as a lack of knowledge in it can lead to social and economical difficulties. Additionally, the language of the subordinate group is often considered to be of lower value than the mainstream group. It has been shown that information in language of the ingroup is considered to be upgraded in a solidarity dimension as more reliable and trustworthy while the language of the outgroup considered to be either, if the mainstream language, upgraded in a status dimension (more competent and intelligent) or downgraded, if it is an ethnical, regional or lower-class variety.\(^{20}\)

A central issue is whether a subordinate group loses its language or if they are able to maintain it, or even promote it, and the reaction of the mainstream group. With this issue in mind, the term ethnolinguistic vitality where coined. Ethnolinguistic vitality is “the degree to which an ethnolinguistic group acts as a collective entity and thrives as a distinct social group, and it is dependent the specific socio-structural complexion of the intergroup context”\(^{21}\). There are three socio-structural influences of major importance. These are status, demography, and institutional support. A high-status group are one who has economic control over its destiny, mutually high self-esteem, pride in its past and an internationally respected language. Demography that is more distinct refers to the number of people within the group, their distribution, birth rates, and low frequency of intragroup marriages. Finally institutional support, which refers to in what degree,

\(^{19}\) Hogg and Abrams, Social identifications., p. 191.
\(^{20}\) Ibid., 194 – 195.
\(^{21}\) Ibid., p. 197.
within the territory, that the language has representation within institution like government, parliament, schools, media, and so on.\textsuperscript{22}

Ethno linguistic groups, like other social groups, strive for a positive social identity and like other social groups; they too have different belief on how to accomplish this, i.e. social mobility or social change. Social mobility can, in which individuals pass on from the subordinate group to the mainstream group, possibility resulting in its extinction. This is, however, if ethnicity is of importance for the individuals own identity something that can result in low self-esteem and anomie as it can be perceived as a betrayal to speak the mainstream groups language. A social change strategy on the other hand (social creativity and social competition) does not create these problems. Social creativity enhances a positive social identity with its strategies in a peaceful manner while social competition politicizes the language in a, sometimes, revolutionary phenomenon. The language of the subordinate group becomes attached with ethnic pride and it is a seed of conflict, which in turn can result in a social change.\textsuperscript{23}

\section*{2.2. Acculturation}

Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits presented the classical definition of acculturation in 1936: "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups."\textsuperscript{24}

Within the acculturating group there may be profound changes but among the individuals there may be a great variation to what degree they participate in these changes.\textsuperscript{25}

\subsection*{2.2.1. Plural Societies and Acculturating Groups}

Societies can in various ways become multicultural, either through migrations or by other ways. Cultural groups come into existence, often with an unequal distribution of power. Cultural groups include, but are not limited to, ethnic groups. Within a multicultural, society there can be a variety of different cultural groups primarily due to three factors: permanence, mobility, and voluntariness. These three factors results in a various types of groups. There are groups that encounter with each other because they moved to new locations (immigrants and refugees), others

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{22} Hogg and Abrams, Social identifications, p. 196 – 199.
  \item \textsuperscript{23} Ibid., p. 199 – 200.
  \item \textsuperscript{24} Redfield, Linton and Herskovits, "Memorandum on the study of acculturation” (American Anthropologist, vol 38. 1936), p., 149.
\end{itemize}
have had new cultures brought to them (indigenous peoples). Some have entered voluntarily (immigrants) while others have not (refugees, indigenous people). Finally there are among those who have migrated varying kinds of permanence, for some (exchange students and guest workers) the situation is temporary while for others it is more permanent (immigrants). Although there are varying kinds of preconditions the psychological processes are essentially the same, hence there is a universalist perspective on acculturation. The idea of an unicultural society are alive in different degrees, an idea of one culture and one people whom have one religion and one language leading to one single identify.

Plural societies on the other hand contrast to this idea. There are two distinct models: melting pot and cultural pluralism. While the Melting pot consists of one mainstream society and at least one minority group that is more or less connected the cultural pluralism contains a larger society with several groups within it (shown in Illustration 1). These plural societies contain several dimensions. Among these there are according to John W. Berry (2006) six that are of more importance. These dimensions are Diversity, Equality, Conformity, Wealth, Space, and Time. (Table 1) Berry stress that these six dimensions “in addition to variations in language and religion, differences between cultural groups on these dimensions are likely to have an important influence on how individuals interact during acculturation.”

2.2.2. Six Dimensions of Acculturation

To elaborate the six dimensions of acculturation: Diversity regards to what degree the cultures are homogeneous, i.e. how do people think of themselves and do they share a common identity, and how are the societal roles? Do people carry out the same limited set of roles as in a hunting-based or peasant society, or is there a trend for specialization just like an industrial society? Equality regards the shape of a culture, if it is a hierarchical one with a clear structure or are there groups without permanent authority where decisions are made by consensus or even temporary

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leaders. The third dimension, *Conformity*, regards whether or not people are free to do their own thing, e.g. if there tightly attached to social obligations of the ingroup or not. Fourthly the dimension of *Wealth*. This dimension are possibly the most visible one as physical wealth like money and possessions are easy to spot while other aspects like possibility to education, access to communications, or distribution of resources are harder to see. The last two dimensions, *Space* and *Time*, are closely connected. How do the group’s use their space (e.g. housing and public space) and interpersonal distance (e.g. do people hold their distance or are they more close to each other). *Time*, as the last one, regards how it is viewed. Is it of importance to be on time and keep to schedules, or not. These six dimensions (with the addition of *Language* and *Religion*) form the degree of similarities between the different groups, i.e. the more similar the groups are the easier it is for them to acculturate to each other, creating a 'fit'.

The first three dimensions are empirically connected even if they are conceptually distinct. A society where there is little diversity there is also little opportunity for inequality and within a diverse society together with strict hierarchy and differential treatment those in the lower parts will experience greater pressure to conform.\(^{28}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Brief Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diversity</td>
<td>How many different positions, roles and institutions are there?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equality</td>
<td>Are these differences arranged in horizontal or vertical social structures?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformity</td>
<td>How tightly structured are the various parts?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td>What is the average level of wealth available to support the necessities of life?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space</td>
<td>How do individuals use space during interpersonal relationships?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Are people concerned about promptness and schedules?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1: Important Dimensions of Cultural Variation. Adapted from Barry (2006)*

2.2.3. Acculturation Strategies

Within every plural society there is a need for both individuals and cultural groups to deal with the issue of how to acculturate. Groups and individuals work out strategies for their daily encounters with regard to two major issues: *cultural maintenance* (are the cultural identity and characteristics regarded as important) and *contact and participation* (do individuals involve themselves with other cultural groups). Considering these two issues at the same time generates four acculturation strategies (*Table 2*). If an individual has an interest to both keep their cultural identity while seeking out participation with other groups *Integration* is defined. When an individual choose to seek daily interaction with other cultural groups without regard to maintain his/her cultural identity the *Assimilation* strategy is defined and in contrast *Separation* is defined if there is a strong regard to keep their cultural identity while avoiding contact with other groups. Finally *Marginalization* is defined when an individual is without interest to maintain a cultural

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identity and having relations with other groups. The strategy chosen depends on the attitude towards them and actual behaviour exhibiting them. Additionally the strategy chosen may change with regard to context. In a private sphere there might be a greater regard for cultural maintenance while less in public spheres such as a workspace. During once life the chosen strategy might change as individuals explore various strategies and eventually settling for one. Lastly, the preferred strategy may or may not be permitted by the mainstream group. Within a society that strongly promotes assimilation, choosing Integration may be opposed due to a national ideology promoting a single identity and culture within the nation state.

2.2.4. Acculturation strategies of the mainstream group

As with the acculturation group the mainstream group within a society has an array of strategies to choose from. These strategies affect the choice of strategy for the subordinate group. Two of these are briefly presented in Illustration 1 and they, as with the four different acculturation strategies, base themselves on the same two issues: cultural maintenance and contact and participation. This results in a similar table Table 3 and creates a relation between the strategies chosen by the different groups, e.g. the subordinate group cannot easily choose Integration if the mainstream group does not appreciate cultural differences and cross-cultural contacts.

2.2.5. Adaption

After a period of time, to most individuals, some adaption to the new cultural context takes place. These adaptions depend on a variety of factors and can take different forms. While there sometimes is an increased 'fit' between the new context and the acculturating individual as Assimilation or Integration are pursued, and when the mainstream society are accepting the acculturating individual and group there are however times when a “fit” isn’t achieved (Separation / Marginalization) and the groups settle into state of conflict. Adaptions made can be the learning of new a behavioural repertoire that are appropriate for the new cultural context and in some cases even a need to relinquish some aspects of one’s repertoire that are no longer appropriate. While it

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td></td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation</td>
<td></td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginalization</td>
<td></td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Acculturation strategies (Subordinate group)
Source: Barry (1997)

might work for some individuals, others might experience different degrees of “acculturative stress”. This stress is rooted in the inability to easily change their repertoire and in most cases, only moderate difficulties are experienced. In cases where major difficulties are experienced the changes in cultural context exceed the individual’s capacity to cope leading to psychological disturbances such as depression.31

### 2.2.6. Ethnicity and Acculturation

Ethnic identity is a distinct part of the acculturation process holding two main perspectives. The first of these two perspectives stress cultural plurality while the other emphasizes a linear process of assimilation. While the latter aims for a mainstream society where the ethnical group will cease to exist, the former recognizes that members of ethnic groups preserve their heritage while adapting to the mainstream society. What is conclusive with ethnicity and acculturation is that ethnic identity is fairly resistant to change and that it should be viewed separated from social identity as one might want to change the social identity while keeping the ethnical identity. Ethnic identity and acculturation is dependent on the contextual situation and especially the mainstream society as multiple group memberships might be a viable option. Finally, there are threats towards ethnical identity, in addition to social identity and perceptions of low-status there are other more direct threats like discrimination, prejudice, etc. The response to these threats is highly contextual.32

### Table 3: Acculturation strategies
(Mainstream group)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Is it considered to be of value to support other cultural identity and characteristics?</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maintain relationships with the subordinate group?</td>
<td>Multiculturalism</td>
<td>Melting Pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segregation</td>
<td>Exclusion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Barry (1997)

### 2.3. Citizenship

Citizenship, previously connected to the nation-state, today holds a larger dimension with three aspects: status, right, and identity. Christian Joppke (2007) argues that the status dimension, in the last 50 or so years, holds the most significant development as the liberalization of access to it changed, removing barriers of sexual and racial identities, and more importantly holding territory over descent when acquiring citizenship by birth. This, however, creates differentiation within the citizenship between different social groups (primarily ethnic and religious). With this in mind the rights dimension has had some implications where, previously, the most important right within the

citizenship where the welfare state and its social rights. As the basis of citizenship evolved the need for rights followed and consequently other types of rights moved forward; primarily rights of anti-discrimination and multicultural recognition.\textsuperscript{33}

In the same way as \textit{status} has implications on \textit{rights}, so do \textit{rights} on \textit{identity}. As citizenship become available without regard to social group identification (again, primarily ethnical, religious, and cultural) making it disconnected to a specific identity. This separation between the citizenship and specific identification however sparks worries about unity and integration in diverse societies. A worry that may result in re-tightening access to citizenship as well as by other means symbolically increasing its status. However, by global norms of equality and non-discrimination the possibility for re-nationalization is limited resulting in a universalistic answer to identity.\textsuperscript{34}

Identity as the third dimension of a new citizenship is dual. There is an official view by the state and the view held by ordinary people.\textsuperscript{35} This dimensions, a belief of identity, ties the individual to a political community that’s classically been the nation.\textsuperscript{36}

2.3.1. Multicultural Citizenship

Joppke (1999) argues that multiculturalism in its strongest form tend to threaten citizenship while it is enhanced by an inclusive multiculturalism. Although he states that there is a third and different derivation that emanate from the strong multiculturalism but does not harm citizenship. The inclusive multiculturalism strives towards the fact that everyone are equal in a non-discrimination fashion, i.e. that everyone are treated equal in most state institutions, in public, and that no-one harm one and another. This applies to citizens and in most cases non-citizens as well. In addition to this level, there are moral demands on citizens. These moral demands are opposed to legal demands encourage by the state rather than enforced by law. These encouragements work on the supposition that if citizens are able to talk to each other, make compromises, and not only look after their own best interest (private) they rather look after the best public good. Even thou it is highly unlikely that anyone (solely) looks after the best public interest exclusively the opposite to always look out for your own personal best interest leads to politics that would simply be a game where the strongest win and a society of injustice. I.e. a middle way is the viable option. Joppke (1999) calls this the virtues of good liberal citizens. Citizens that understand the importance of democratic discussions, are able to cooperate with others, think, make compromises, keep an eye on

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{34} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{35} Ibid., p. 44.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Christian Joppke, \textit{Citizenship and Immigration} (Cambridge: Polity. 2010), p. 30,
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
the political world, and finally when they do contact their elected politicians, they do it insisting on better policy-making.\textsuperscript{37}

Inclusive Multiculturalism and a cosmopolitan view is all about including those usually excluded by social norms. These people want to be included in the democratic discussions as equals with any other citizens. Fair treatment regarding political and social life, and they want their history to be included in the country’s history. This inclusion takes various forms aiming at retaining something of a distinct identity keeping both cultural fellows as well as fellow citizens. This might cause some kind of conflict but there are usually little problem combing both identities.\textsuperscript{38}

While the above regards inclusive multiculturalism, the other side is cultural pluralism and partial citizenship. While the inclusive multiculturalism makes it harder to keep a distinct cultural identity, the route to cultural preservation lies in separation. Separation from, and ignorance, of the state makes these groups partial citizens. The separation from mainstream culture and state is not absolute, but almost, thus making it difficult to avoid many institutions. The threat comes when groups like the partial citizens want to retain their identity with the help of the state. As Joppke (1999) writes, “Some groups are not particularly interested in inclusion or citizenship. They simply want some of the benefits of citizenship without acting like citizens.”\textsuperscript{39} This bring the view on citizenship up: a static view on citizenship is not viable as shown in history. Citizenship changes with time and the perceived image of citizenship should as well in order to support inclusive multiculturalism.\textsuperscript{40}

2.4. Framework

The above presented theories are the basis of the theoretical framework used within this study. Tajfel’s theories on Social Identity are used to the fact that they are the original ones and present the basis of Social Identity. Berry’s theories on Acculturation were originally not chosen for this study but as it progressed Berry’s importance in cross-cultural research were impossible to neglect, hence his involvement. Other theories do fit within this framework, one of them are the previously mentioned theory of multiculturalism by Kymlicka who looks into the multicultural society through a different scope than Jopkke. The choice to use Jopkke instead of Kymlika is due to Krasniqi’s choice to use Jopkke as the base for his paper. This choice is unlikely to change the result of the paper although it would make this study harder to carry out.

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., p. 68 – 69.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., p. 78.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p. 71 – 72, 82.
3. Method

This paper is designed to examine and explore the cultural context in Kosovo and how it affects the situation and especially the state-building processes creating additional understanding of a phenomenon. While the strength of qualitative research lies in the understanding of differences rather than measuring them, the differences *per se* can help to explain a contextual situation.\(^{41}\) Qualitative research is more than just 'not quantitative researcher', it is something more. Quantitative research approaches the world 'out there' as it leaves the controlled research settings. By analysing groups or individual’s experiences, interactions and communications while they take place or different kind of documents qualitative research are able to describe, understand, and sometimes even explain social phenomena.\(^{42}\)

This paper looks into an continuously on-going process instead of a quite normative approach looking into an event already passed. It will contribute to the literature on the subject and thus contributing to a comprehensive picture of a complex phenomenon. An alternative method for this study is longitudinal research, but as it would require more than one episode of data collection the time-span of this study limits this method.\(^{43}\)

With the use of a dual collection a material within this paper through an initially comprehensive study of literature knowledge about the subject, the topics, and the historical context are gathered. This is done in order to acquire a sound knowledge prior to the interviews. As the interviewees are all living and/or working within the context, thus experts in their areas, a sound knowledge is required to outweigh the respondent’s relative power.\(^{44}\)

Another method could have been a comparable study in which Kosovo and the former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia were compared on the same grounds of being multicultural societies through involvement of the international community or by comparing Kosovo with a state in which the bi-lingual society is assumed to work (with some conflict) like Canada or Finland. The result of a comparable study might have shown other results and especially examples of challenges not discovered within this study. As this study aims to complement Krasniqi a comparable study would not be the ideal choice over a single-case study.

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3.1. Selection of Cases

Robert K. Yin (2009) defines a case study as:

“A case study is an empirical inquiry that (a) investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when (b) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.”

This meaning that a case study is used to understand a real-life phenomenon in depth where the context is of special relevance. Although there are several choices within case studies to choose from they each have their own specialties. There is both single- and multiple-case studies, and they can include quantitative and/or qualitative data. There are however four different applications of importance within case studies. These are Explanatory, Descriptive, Illustrative, and Enlightening.

Single- and multiple-case studies can both be divided into two subcategories: the holistic and the embedded. The holistic design focus on a single-unit of analysis within each context while the embedded design focus on multiple units of analysis with each context. These four designs have different potentials. Single-case designs breaks down into five different principles. These five are the critical case, the unique case, the typical case, revelatory case, and the longitudinal case. All of these principles have different strength and weaknesses. This paper uses an explanatory embedded single-case design with a unique case.

The choice of Kosovo as the case of this study is grounded in several reasons. Kosovo is today in a post-conflict situation in which several factors makes it an unique case. The largest EU mission (EULEX) as of today is deployed in Kosovo which employs 1359 international staff. It is the home of both a UN mission (UNMIK), a NATO mission (KFOR), and an OSCE mission whom in turn deploys 189 respectively 6.226 and 180 persons. In addition to the large international presence and commitment by the international community Kosovo is with its changed mainstream group an intriguing context. A context where some might say that the Serbian group today are

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47 Ibid., p. 46 – 49.
treated more or less in the same manner as the Albanian group were prior to the war in 1999. Together with a strong international oversight (which did run Kosovo up until the declaration of independence in 2008) in the form of UNMIK and today the International Civilian Office (ICO), an international advisory institution formed by the International Steering Group (ISG), a group of states with the purpose of supporting the implementation of the Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement or as it called, the Ahtisaari plan). Together with the strong international presence the aim of Kosovo is a viable multiethnic society where everyone’s welcomed regardless of their ethnicity, nationality, or identity. Another case that could have provided with a contextual situation similar that of Kosovo is the former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia whom has similarities. Kosovo is however with its exemplary legal framework a context where the bottom-up perspective is even more interesting, and this would neglect the fact that there is a need to complement Krasniqi’s paper.

3.2. Methodology of Interviews

Interviews are one of the processes within social science where knowledge is produced. It is a process where the interviewer and the interviewee together work together towards this goal: knowledge. Although interviews are a relatively new practice (last few centuries) it is today one of the characteristic practices. Steinar Kvale (2009) uses two metaphors to explain interviews. These two contrasts in an intriguing way, Kvale call them the Travel and the Miner metaphors. While the miner collects data for future use the traveler uses the interview and analysis together creating knowledge.53

In-depth interviews and focus groups serve different roles and between them differences in three key factors: the subject area, the nature of the study group and the type of data sought. In-depth interviews are, as the name states, for generating in-depth personal accounts and understanding the personal context while looking into complex issues and processes, sensitive or private issues. Focus groups display a social context, creative thinking and solutions and for discussing differences within the group. Focus groups tackle conceptual and abstract subjects. Both methods aim toward different populations. Where in-depth interviews are for participants who are geographically dispersed and where there are issues of power or status, focus groups are for populations whom are geographically clustered or where there is some shared background to the

52 Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Slovenia, Switzerland, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom and, the United States of America.

53 Kvale and Brinkmann, InterViews, p. 17 – 18, 48 – 49.
topic. The usage of both in-depth interviews and focus-group combines these two metaphors creating a flexible method for gathering a complete coverage of empirical data possibly looking into topics that might not be previously known. The focus-group are to be done prior to in-depth interview in order to ensure that the possibility of unknown topics is not missed and to further create a contextual knowledge for the researcher in order to improve the outcome of the later interviews.

3.2.1. In-depth interviews

As one of the main methods of data collection in-depth interviews holds a central role within social research. Often described as a form of conversation in-depth interviews reproduces a process in which knowledge is constructed. Although there are similarities between normal conversations and in-depth interviews the roles of the participants and the objective is quite different. There are several key features of the in-depth interview. The first is a combination of flexibility and structure making the interview into a process where there is a sense on what themes to approach (usually by using a topic-guide constructed prior to the interviews) while maintaining flexibility by approaching the topics in an undecided order. The second feature is the dynamic of the interview making it into an interactive process where the answer to the first question guides the next one. Thirdly the researcher aims to achieve depth in the answers acquired. This is done by the usage of follow-up questions and other probing techniques. The fourth and last feature is that the interview is generative, i.e. exploring new topics previously unknown. With the emphasis on depth in the interviews entailed the data to be captured in its natural form making usage of different filters undesirable. These key features results in in-depth interviews being done face to face. The in-depth interviews within this study will be done with key actors with contextual knowledge of the phenomenon. Due to the limited numbers of key actors and their own relation to different ethnical groups focus-group are not possible as the risk of relations between them might restrain some to freely express their opinions. One of the risks with a limited number is that they might only present a fraction of the phenomenon, this is especially true as the interviewees originates from two NGO’s whom might have own agendas or a specific view on the phenomenon. By using probing questions, presenting a substantial contextual knowledge prior to the interviews, and showing intent to show the actual situation the aim is to create incentive for the interviewees to answer truthfully without a hidden agenda.

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54 Ritchie and Lewis. *Qualitative Research Practice*, p. 57, Box 3.1
55 Ibid., p. 138 – 142.
3.2.2. Focus groups

Academic interviews are generally done face to face. Focus group on the other hand involves several participants who, led by a moderator (the researcher), looks into a variety of viewpoints. Usually the moderator presents topics which in turn are discussed in an open manner. The aim of it is not to reach a consensus or solutions but instead to explore the different viewpoints. One advantage with focus groups is that they can ease to express viewpoints of sensitive topics usually inaccessible.\(^{56}\) With this in mind focus-group are the primary choice for looking into more sensitive issues where the participants can feel less exposed to the researcher due to the support of the group.

Another advantage is that the participants hear each other thus improving the discussion, working together. Focus group usually meet for one to two hours and consist of six to eight people. The structures, as with in-depth interviews, varies but there are, according to Helen Finch and Jane Lewis (2003), five distinct stages. These five stages (scene setting and ground rules, individual introduction, opening topic, discussion, and ending the discussion) are used in order to structure the interviews and topic-guides.\(^{57}\)

While the typical group is six to eight participants there are times when the optimal size changes. It is a balance between the aim of the focus groups and what is viable in regard of the context. The involvement of interpretation and linguistic barriers between the researcher and the group is one issue that affects this. Another is the sensitivity of the topic and the accessibility. This results in an aim of four participants in this study. However to improve redundancy for participant being unable to attend due to last minute issues five participants is the final choice.\(^{58}\) As with all groups there is a process within that need to be acknowledged. This process induces risks such as an informal leader whom might influences the others or the simple fact that the researcher, as moderator, influence the group in some unpredictable way. Another risk is the necessity of interpreters due to the design. By discussions with the interpreters these risks can be diminished.

3.2.3. Sampling

When studying two or more cultural groups one of the key obstacles is sampling and how to create equivalent samples. The biggest reasons for good sampling lie within the fact that without it the study may very well be misleading. Within all research a sample that is representative to the larger population is sought. This can be done in two ways, Random or Non-random sampling.

As stated by its name Random sampling work on the assumption that by choosing randomly

\(^{56}\) Kvale and Brinkmann, *Interviews*, p. 150.


\(^{58}\) Ibid., p. 192 – 193.
each member of the population has equal chance of being chosen for the study. This in turn results
in a selection representable for the larger population. One issue within cross-cultural research and
field research in general is the lack of framework usable for this selection resulting in sources of
error and in the long run misleading results. Hence Random sampling is not the primary choice for
cross-cultural research. Non-random sampling on the other hand is not without issues. Within Non-
random sampling there are numerous alternatives such as Sample of Convenience, Grab Samples,
Judgemental Sampling, Expert Choice Samples, and so on. The key idea is that with different
methods choose a selection of the larger population. Sample of Convenience for example are taken
from a convenient collectivity such as a workplace. Grab Samples on the other hand choose the
selection by simply finding a smaller already existing group. While all of the above sampling
methods have their place cross-cultural research has two different starting points. The first is
collection of data in order to cover all cultures and individuals to be able to generalize. For a study
like this Random sampling is chosen. The other starting point is research aiming to study the
“systematic co-variation (or cause) between cultural and behavioural variables”69. Culture in itself
is not of most importance but rather the independent variable in order to be able to make statements
about causality. With all non-random selections it is important to describe the procedures of
selection in order to improve the reliability of the study. Typically two groups are chosen as they
each represent a different kind of treatment in regard to the foreseen phenomenon in question.
These groups chosen might not be the ones ideal on paper but in regard to prior knowledge of the
researcher, financial, political, or any other reason those whom are ideal are unreachable.60

The choice of sampling method is of importance and is to be chosen with great concern. This
study uses a non-random sampling where two cultural groups in Kosovo are chosen for further
study. The choice of cultural-groups instead of ethnic groups is to further view the importance of
language within the contextual situation. One might argue that the choice should be the ethnical
groups of Serbs and Albanians. This might only present the usual bi-polar view of the situation and
neglect the fact that there are other groups and those groups rarely are homogeneous. The choice to
broaden the spectrum by (the possibility of) including other ethnical groups to the focus groups is
done to ensure that a complete coverage of the phenomenon is made. Additionally, the choice to
conduct only two focus-group and not more is done with regard to the fact that the phenomenon of
interest are done to primarily compare the two groups to each other. Further fragmentation of the
groups into, for example one female and one male group on both 'sides' would create a larger
material that would possibly cover more issues but not necessarily the ones of interest of this study.

60 Ibid., p. 85 – 89, 91 – 92.
As groups never are entirely homogeneous there is always a possibility to fragment them even further down to a complete coverage of the entire population making the breaking point for this study at two groups which, with the help of interpreters, are designed to cover the phenomenon.

The Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo states that it is “a multi-ethnic society consisting of Albanian and other Communities” and that the Albanian, Bosnian, Serbian, Roman, and Turkish language are the official ones although only Albanian and Serbian are official on a national level (the others up to municipal level). With this in regard the Albanian and Serbian speaking communities within Kosovo are chosen as the population to study.

Among the two groups additional sampling is made. Judgemental Sampling in combination with Expert Choice Samples is used, i.e. the researcher chooses individuals together with an 'Expert'. For the focus groups four different attributes are used for matching: Age, Sex, Mother Tongue, and Society level. While Mother Tongue is only used to separate the groups Sex and Age are used to create the groups (see Table 4). Age is then used to fragment the groups. Within each group a mix of age is perused where the ideal choice is one participant from each of the age-groups: 20 to 30, 30 to 40, 40 to 50, and 50 to 60 years. It is then up to the interpreter in liaison with the researcher to construct these groups from people within what John P. Lederach (1997) defines as the Grassroot-leadership level.

The in-depth interviews are in contrast to the focus groups done at the middle-range leadership with an estimated higher linguistic knowledge; see Table 5 for a layout of method and participants. The Top-Level is discounted due to it being highly politicized and that research on the top-down perspective is already made.

While the members of the focus groups all are respondents, i.e. their part of the phenomenon in study the interviewees in the in-depth interviews are a mix of respondents and informants, i.e. they have knowledge of the subject and take on the role of a teacher to the researcher but in contrast

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top</td>
<td>Elite In-Depth Interviews</td>
<td>Military / Political / Religious leaders with high visibility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-Range</td>
<td>In-Depth Interviews</td>
<td>Religious leaders Academics / Intellectuals Humanitarian leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>Focus Groups</td>
<td>Ordinary people.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Method and Participants in regard to Lederach's model.

Adapt: Lederach (1997): Building Peace

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62 Ibid., Art 5:1, 5:2.
63 Walter and Berry. (Ed.), Field Methods in Cross-cultural Research, p. 87, 90.
to the respondents not participants within inquiries.\textsuperscript{65}

The in-depth interviewees are chosen primarily with Judgemental sampling and secondarily by Chain sampling to identify additional interviewees. Chain sampling is quite simple, after an interview is conducted the interviewee is asked to identify other people who might fit the selection criteria. Although this has its advantages there are danger that it will compromise the diversity sought.\textsuperscript{66} With these two sampling methods interdependency is achieved and the full spectrum of the phenomenon is studied.

3.2.4. Topic Guides

A topic guide is used to provide flexibility to field-work processes and helps to improve reliability and validity. As the study evolves and topics are identified the topic guide allows for documentation of subjects, and offers a tool to further enhance the consistency in the data collection. By structuring the focus group or interview in a flexibility way the topic guide ensures that the relevant issues are covered. The topic guides used within this study are found in \textit{Appendix 4} and \textit{Appendix 5}.

3.3. Observations

Within the anthropological field of research the method of participation observation (PO) requires that the researcher lives within the area of study in order to first-hand observe the phenomenon of interest. As PO requires a long-time commitment from the researcher there are possibilities to combine PO with other methods, such as interviews. Within this research a sound knowledge of the cultural context is achieved due to the researcher’s visits and experiences within the area. There are risks with these observations as they might be examples of individual cases and as with all research methods PO are subjected to bias and to avoid any 'self-fabrication' of data, triangulation is used by combining previous knowledge of the researcher the observed phenomenon and verification with the interpreters used and well informed persons. The PO within this study are primarily done by visually observing contextual objects such as flags, housing, and signs.\textsuperscript{67} Within this paper PO are added to different section in the form of square brackets.

\textsuperscript{66} Ritchie and Lewis. \textit{Qualitative Research Practice}, p. 94.
\textsuperscript{67} Arch G. Woodside, \textit{Case Study Research : Theory, Methods and Practice} (Bingley: Emerald, 2010), p. 9, 129, 321.
3.4. Analytical Method

Even though this study is a consistent process it does contain individual chapters on analytical method and conclusions. The presentation of empirical material and its analytical process is characterized by two steps where the first is to collect the material and the second sensemaking.\(^{68}\)

As the raw material is likely to be well-detailed and hard to manage there is a need for orderly management. The analysis is viewed as a discontinuing process where focus is put on the researcher’s role and skills. By interpreting what is said and the content expressed attributes meaning to the material. This is, within this paper, done with the basis of the theoretical framework.\(^{69}\)

The first of the two steps done is to make the material manageable. This is done in similar ways but with different approaches in the two different types of interviews. With both types of interviews transcription is required. As this study does not regard discuses and how sentences are formulated there is no need for detailed transcription noting pauses, hesitations, or other linguistic uses. This does in turn results in the importance of capturing the meaning of the interview and its content. While some might argue that there is a risk of deprivation of important data that could be of cultural importance this is done with the consent of the interpreters used within this study, whom have sound knowledge of the cultural context. The transcripts from the focus groups are entirely done by the interpreters present during these interviews. They are, after discussing the aim of this study, given instructions on how to transcribe the material. Transcripts from in-depth interviews are done in the same manner by the researcher giving a transcript on what was said during both types of interviews.\(^{70}\)

The second step is to create and apply a conceptual framework. This framework is then used to organize and classify data in accordance to topics and concepts. In order to achieve this, four sub-steps are taken where the first is to sort the data using labels and reoccurring themes. As these themes have been noted they are together with the topic-guide used to create the conceptual framework of labels. The second sub-step involves looking into the material sentence by sentence in order to identify topics touched upon. As sentences can involve several topics they can be attributed several labels. During this process the conceptual framework is constantly reviewed as new themes and topics are discovered. With the third sub-step the data is ordered with the help of the labels into different categories with similar data. This system allows for focusing on the different parts of the research separately. By using cross-sectional coding and retrieving the data creating a systematic

\(^{68}\) Ritchie and Lewis. *Qualitative Research Practice*, p. 199, 219.
\(^{69}\) Ibid., p. 210, 220 – 221, 237.
\(^{70}\) Ibid., p. 202, 209, 210, 214.
overview. However, a cross-sectional methods involves the risk of a systematic problem. This problem is handled by constantly returning to the original transcript which ensures that the analytical process is based on the empirical material, the topic-guides, and the theoretical framework. As one of the issues with intergroup relation is the power-relations between them and peoples vulnerability, reference codes has been used with the participants of the focus-group. With the in-depth interviews this is however not possible due to the limitation of actors working within the phenomenal context. The steps taken with the inclusion of reference codes with focus groups and seclusion with in-depth interviews ensure conformity for each participant.  

With the fourth and final sub-step the analysis is completed with summarization and assembling of the final material. By keeping key terms, phrases, and expressions as original as possible (with regard to translations) material is not dismissed due to the fact that it is not immediately made clear. The final assembling is made after the conceptual frameworks applied in order to enable the possibility of capturing every eventual input.

3.5. Generalization

Generalization is defined as “whether the findings from a study based on one sample can be said to be of relevance beyond the sample and context of the research itself” 73. However there is a debate regarding whether generalization is applicable to qualitative research, some prefer the term ‘transferability' or 'external validity' instead (more on external validity in 3.7 Validity). This distinction can be called empirical generalization and deviates from theoretical generalization. While the empirical description deal with transferability the theoretical approach argue that its theoretical concepts are of wider application. 74

Within this study Representational generalization will be used, i.e. “the extent to which findings can be inferred to the parent population that was sampled” 75. Within qualitative research the samples selected are not necessarily representable (statistically) for its population. This is due to the fact that samples are relative small and without that ambition. In contrast to quantitative research where probability samples and measurements are key concepts in qualitative research representational generalization there are two broad issues. The first is the accuracy of the phenomenon in question, i.e. the quality of fieldwork, interpretation, and analysis. The second is to what degree the sample is representative of the population sampled, whether it provides a symbolic

71 Ritchie and Lewis. *Qualitative Research Practice*, p. 203 – 204, 210, 221 – 225, 229.
72 Ibid., p. 213, 229, 233.
73 Ibid., p. 263.
74 Ibid., p. 263 – 265.
75 Ibid., p. 268.
representation or not.\textsuperscript{76}

For this study, generalization doesn’t lie within the populations and whether or not their experience, their situation, or their behaviour is transferable to other contexts. Nevertheless both reliability and validity are of importance as they provide this study with transparency and replicability. Finally there is a need to acknowledge that both reliability and validity are concepts developed within the natural sciences and not within social sciences.\textsuperscript{77}

3.6. Reliability

Reliability, or the replicability of the study, concerns how and if the study where to be conducted again is it possible to reproduce its findings (i.e. the trustworthiness of the findings). This is the positive approach while another approach, the constructive one argue that within qualitative research replication is just an artificial goal.\textsuperscript{78} Interviews and qualitative studies are continuous processes where knowledge is gained as the project goes on there are limitations to reproduce the same exact same findings. However, if a similar study is conducted within the same context the findings should ideally be the same. To achieve reliability the author can show as much as possible of the procedures leading up to the conclusions. By showing this readers can visualize the processes and hence ‘replicate’ the study. In addition this helps to ensure that there is adequate evidence to support any claims.\textsuperscript{79}

Quotation can effectively be used within qualitative studies to increase reliability. Correctly used a quote can amplify and/or illustrate something of importance. In some cases quotes can be used demonstrative. In order to ensure reliability there is a need to keep quotations from repeating comments already made and they should never be used without interpretative commentaries. There is, in addition to rules about when to use quotations, an importance on how to use them. While some believe that quotes should be written as exactly as possible, others suggest that they there is a desirability for some edition. A compromise is to use some editing to aid comprehension while staying as close to the original material as possible.\textsuperscript{80}

This usage of quotations is problematic within this study. As there is a linguistic barrier with interviews it is, for the sake of readers, impractical to show quotations in either the Albanian or the Serbian language. As with all cross-cultural research there is a possibility that interpreters or translators are needed. Thus two questions arises, how should interviews with interpretation be

\textsuperscript{76} Ritchie and Lewis. \textit{Qualitative Research Practice}, p. 268 – 270.
\textsuperscript{77} Ibid., p. 270.
\textsuperscript{79} Ritchie and Lewis. \textit{Qualitative Research Practice}, p. 270 – 271.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., p. 312 – 313.
conducted and how do one ensure the trustworthiness of the interview.

The first question is that the interview requires a certain amount of structure. Richard W. Brislin (1986) suggest twelve guidelines and principles (e.g. simple and clear sentences) which basically help to eliminate several obstacles commonly occurring when working with translators and interpreters. The second question, how to ensure trustworthiness of the interview is of key importance. Brislin summarizes additional guidelines for obtaining good translations. This requires some modifications of existing instruments. Throughout the study the intent of an interview needs to be maintained and not the content. Thus there is a need for translators to know not only the linguistic and literal referents but also its connotation, its subordinate sense. To ensure this several meetings between researcher and interpreters where conducted.

When an interview is transcribed and ready for translation or in beforehand when questions are being prepared there are several possible methods. One is to use back-translations where several translators work independently translating the data back and forth from the original language to the target language. In this case a translator could translate a finished transcription from Albanian to English handing it over to another translator who in turn translate it back to Albanian subsequently handing it to another translator whom translates it to English again. The researcher can then compare the two English versions and identifying possible errors within the data. This study will however use a form of broken back-translation where the transcript is translated to English by the independent interpreter and then reviewed by both the researcher and a bilingual person.

3.7. Validity

Validity is in its classical definition described as the 'correctness' or 'precision' of the study. It holds two dimensions, one internal and one external. The internal dimension concerns whether you are “investigating what you claim to be investigating” while the external concerns if the findings are “applicable to other groups within the population or to other context or settings”.

For external validation triangulation is used, that is checking through different sources to confirm and improve the clarity of findings. This is primarily done with the theoretical framework and methodological approach. Triangulation will also be used with the focus groups as they will, to a degree, be comparable. Another method used is Validation. This enables the participant’s to review the research in order to confirm it. This study will, instead of using the participant’s the interpreters will be used as they have the linguistic knowledge required to comprehend the research.

82 Ibid. p. 150 – 153, 159 – 163.
83 Ritchie and Lewis. *Qualitative Research Practice*, p. 273.
84 Ibid.
and where present at the interviews.\textsuperscript{85}

Internal validation on the other hand is harder to ensure. Methods like Constant comparative method or Deviant Case analysis simply does not fit this study. Instead continued systematic questioning of the methods used is required. To increase the internal validation five bullet points listed by Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis (2008) are used. These five points are used throughout the study and contains subjects like 'any known bias?' and are findings portrayed in a 'true' manner.\textsuperscript{86}

One of the greatest risk within this study is the fact that ethnical conflicts tend to create bias information where (as Social Identity Theory states) the groups accentuate themselves by condone their own bad deeds while highlight those of the other group. By constant triangulation accurate sources are acquired and used while several unconfirmed sources have been disregarded. With this in mind it is evident that Reliability, Validity (Internal and External), and Generalization goes hand in hand building a solid structure for this paper.

\textbf{3.8. Operationalization of Theory}

Within the previous chapter there are three theories presented. The three theories are broken down into three main concepts: culture, contact, and citizenship. These concepts are then used in the creation of the topic-guides, structuring of material, and analysis. The concept of culture is fragmented into the variables used within the acculturation theory regarding match in order to investigate if there is a 'fit'. The concept of contact is broken down into if there is intergroup contact and how this contact looks like. The final concept of citizenship is broken down to the three variables of status, rights, and identity.

For the in-depth interviews the same procedure is done with three similarly concepts: contact, maintenance, and citizenship. These concepts are then fragmented in the same manner with contact and citizenship. Maintenance is fragmented into the support the different groups receive. All of these variables are then used within the analysis in a measurable manner, e.g. is there intergroup contact or not, does the participants identify themselves as Kosovars or not.

In order to answer the different subquestions and later the research question these variables are looked into and assessed in order to provide ground for the final conclusion. As for acculturation match the variables are compared between the groups in order to assess the 'fit'. As for strategies contact and support is assessed, and as for the view on citizenship the variables of status, rights, and identity are reviewed in order to answer the research question by putting the answer of all these questions together. If there is an assessed positive outcome then can the citizenship fill its position?

\textsuperscript{85} Ritchie and Lewis. \textit{Qualitative Research Practice}, p. 275 – 276.

\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., p. 274.
4. Kosovo

Kosovo has, since the beginning of the twentieth century, been an explosive conflict zone within Europe. While primarily two sides, Albanians and Serbs, claimed historical and ethnical reasons to justify their right to the region, tension has continued to rise erupting into the war at the end of the twentieth century. Kosovo is according to the latest estimation populated by around 1.837,000 people with a majority being Albanian (90%), other ethnical groups include Serbs, Bosniaks, Roma, Turks, and others. The country is located in between Albania and Serbia bordering to Montenegro and the former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia. Source: “Kosovo background” Boston.com

Illustration 2: The location of Kosovo in the Balkans. Source: “Kosovo background” Boston.com

(See Illustration 2). As stated in chapter 1.3 Disambiguation the status of Kosovo is disputed thus absent from rankings such as UN HDI. Available demographic and economical statistics from CIA World Factbook (2011 EST) are shown in Table 6. Within Kosovo the Serbian groups are primarily located in three municipalities to the north, one to the south, and then one just south-east of Pristina (Gračanica).

### 4.1. History

The Battle of Kosovo in 1389 is often referred to by both Albanians and Serbs. The battle, or the myth of the battle, is used by both sides. It was during this battle that both the Serbian prince

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Lazar and the Ottoman Sultan Murat where killed. Although the two leaders with their armies represented fought against each other the populations probably fought as allies on both sides. What is known is that over centuries the ethnic divisions never entirely were clear-cut. The outcome of the battle however was the death of both Lazar and Murat, and the Turkish army controlling the field after intense fighting. Everything else is historically unclear, even the outcome. In a Serbian perspective the Turkish army stopped and made no further attempts to conquer Serbia, in a Turkish perspective the Serbian army broke and ran, leaving the Turkish in possessions of the field. In addition, the death of the other army’s leader enhances the idea of both sides seeing themselves as victorious.\(^90\)

This battle is of importance today. During the nineteenth century the cult of the medieval battle was formed within Serbian ideology as some kind of historical and spiritual event. Today’s importance of this battle lies within this idea.\(^91\)

4.1.1. Current history

Although the history of Kosovo and the different populations living there dates back to the battle of 1389 the relevant current history starts with the time period of 1878 to 1908. This period is by Albanians called the 'national renaissance' or 'national rebirth'. During this time many of the events leading to Albania’s independence occurred, events that did not occur in Albania but in Kosovo. The Berlin treaty, agreed on in July 1878, shaped the western Balkans until the final destruction of the Ottoman rule. Serbia received its formal independence, the territory of Kosovo, however was not included in Serbia at this time and it was not until 1912, after years of uprisings, that the Balkan War ended. Territorial changes where discussed by the Great Powers\(^92\) at a conference in London. It was decided that Serbia would not expand to the Adriatic Sea and that an autonomous Albania would be created. Kosovo in turn ended up being divided with the Patriarchate in Peć to Montenegro and the rest of Kosovo to Serbia. The following years of the First World War included war with Austria, Germany, and later Bulgaria. Kosovo where occupied by Austria and Bulgaria in 1915 lasting up until 1918 when, French, Italian, and Serbian forces together pushed the occupiers away, once more returning Kosovo (de facto) to Serbia. After the war the new Yugoslav state was proclaimed, 'The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovens'. Serbia being the mainstream element due to several factors with Crown Prince Aleksandaar Karadjordjević as king.\(^93\)

The kingdom of Yugoslavia lasted up until the second world war when Yugoslavia where


\(^{91}\) Ibid., p. XXX.

\(^{92}\) Britain, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Italy.

invaded, splitting Kosovo, the northern parts occupied by Germany and the rest by Italy. With the end of the war in 1945 Josip Broz Tito was in power of the new Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia. There are disputes on how things occurred at this time. What happened was that Kosovo once again, de facto, became a part of Serbia, indirectly supported by Soviet who supported whatever Tito wanted.94

In 1963 the Yugoslavian constitution reduced the 'autonomous' status of Kosovo to its lowest point. Although promoted to the title Autonomous 'Province' leaving the matters of forming autonomous provinces to the republics, thus making Kosovo an internal arrangement for the Republic of Serbia. This changed with Amendment VII of the federal constitution in 1968. It stated that the autonomous provinces had the same definition as the republics and could carry out the tasks of a republic besides matters which was of concern to the republic as a whole. Finally established as a legal entity the next step seemed to be Kosovo as a republic. With the invasion of Czechoslovakia the same year Tito looked for anti-Soviet allies and the next year, 1969, Albanians in Kosovo where permitted to use their own 'national' emblem, the Albanian flag. Things moved forward and the University of Pristina where created with teachings in Albanian as well as in Serbo-Croat making 1974 the peak of the status of Kosovo within Yugoslavia to that of the republics. The only hindrance towards the status of republic was the fear of Kosovo seceding (a right only republics had) and joining Albania.95

During the beginning of the 1980’s there were protest and demonstration in Pristina as Albanian students showed their discontent with the situation chanting things like 'Conditions!' and 'Food!'. A disconsent that were violently put down by police. The protests evolved as more and more people joined in. This time the chanting included 'Kosovo – Republic!', 'We are Albanians – not Yugoslavs!', and 'Unification with Albania!'. An escalation that followed with police using more force to disperse the crowds. During the weeks in which this took place the situation became more and more political, spreading throughout Kosovo. Authorities brought in special police units from other parts of Yugoslavia, imposing curfews, and declaring a state of emergency. Even though hard to confirm there are estimations who claim the number of dead to be more than 1000 and more than 2000 arrested. The protests unleashed accusations and counter accusations about Albanian and Serbian nationalism with a 'culture war' with writers on both sides attacked on grounds of 'nationalist' tendencies in their works.96

95 Ibid., p. 323 – 328,
96 Ibid., p. 334 – 335, 337 – 338,
4.1.2. The rise of Milošević

It was in the wake of this that a member of the Serbian Central Committee began his journey into the political sphere, Slobodan Milošević. Milošević, as the deputy Serbian party president, visited the town of Kosovo Polje as the party president (Ivan Stambolić) was reluctant to make travel himself. This visit changed Milošević’s view and public position. He had previously never shown any interest in Kosovo and while listening to local representatives fighting broke out between police and crowds of Serbs outside. Milošević discontinued the meeting, went outside, and spoke to the crowd. This fuelled Milošević and from that day he changed his nature as a politician. Milošević used Kosovo to turn himself into a 'national' leader and later taking over the Communist Party machine. By the end of 1987, Milošević had outmanoeuvred Stambolić making him the president of the Serbian League of Communists. Milošević used the following years to solidify his power in Serbia as well as in Montenegro removing his opponents one by one. When the turn came to Kosovo, Milošević started with replacing the two leading Albanians with some more compliant in the dismantling of Kosovo’s autonomy. This sparked spontaneous protest gathering around 100,000 participants. In the following year (1989) the Serbian assembly started to prepare amendments to the constitution that would severely restrict Kosovo’s powers giving Serbia control over police, courts, civil defence, and so on. An amendment like this had to be accepted by the Kosovo assembly that sparked additional protests. On March 23rd 1989 the provincial assembly of Kosovo met. Outside where tanks, inside members of security police units and Communist Party functionaries from Serbia. Kosovo’s autonomy substantially reduced as the amendment passed and in July the Serbian authorities dissolved both the government and assembly in Kosovo.97

4.1.3. The War

With the loss of the government the dismantling of the Albanian part of Kosovo begun. The curriculum for the educational system was purged of Albanian history, the language, and culture. The police (MUP), on Belgrade’s command, dismissed the majority of the Albanians and in the University several 'suspected separatist' professors were also dismissed.98

As a response to the dissolution the Albanian population within Kosovo started to create a system of their own. This parallel system consisted of a government and constitution independent of Belgrade. In 1992 Ibrahim Rugova were elected as President of Kosovo together with a parliament. Serbia, tied up with the ongoing war in Bosnia Herzegovina chose to leave the matter of Kosovo for some time. At this time Albania was the only state who recognized Kosovo as a sovereign state.

With the support from Albanian expatriates the new parliament where able to institute a *de facto* system which covered both health care and education. Throughout the time Rugova and his party, Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), withheld to non-violence strategies even though receiving critique that, if chosen a more aggressive manner the independence could have been achieved while Belgrade where occupied elsewhere. This critique eventually led to the formation of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) in 1993.99

High hopes were placed in the negotiations regarding the war in Bosnia Herzegovina and the eventually signed Dayton agreement in 1995. The question of Kosovo was, however, never raised and as such, many Albanians supporting Rugova lost faith in the non-violent strategy further improving the support for the KLA which in 1997 where fully engage in guerilla warfare against Serbs in Kosovo. As a response, forces from MUP replied with operations against KLA in the beginning of 1998 without any success other than increasing the support for KLA (and in turn less for Rugova). The operations carried out were usually conducted in the same way, the FRY forces limited the accessibility to and from a village, shelled it for some days, and finally moving in gathering the ones who have not escaped for questioning, torture, rape, and murder leaving the village burned and looted with a contingent behind that could intimidate and harass anyone left and anyone who returned. This eventually led to a great number of refugees (and IDP:s) and by the end of 1998 peace-talks were being conducted. In February 1999 a conference where held in France with representatives from both FYR and Kosovo. The conference where unsuccessful and on the 24th of March NATO launched its air-campaign carrying out sorties in both Serbia and Kosovo escalating the number of refugees. The campaign lasts for 78 days ending with the military technical agreement between NATO and FYR on the 9th of June and an official termination on 20th of June with the UNSCR 1244.100

4.1.4. Independence

After UN SCR 1244 multiple international organization deployed in Kosovo. The formation of UNMIK, who would administer Kosovo with the help of the NATO lead Kosovo Force (KFOR), by then 50.000101 men strong. In 2001 UNMIK created the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government (PISG) who would be the President, Assembly, and Courts. This constructed ‘state’ and all of its instances where however all below the SRGS who in all matters would have the last say

100 Ibid., p. 338 – 342.
This situation would be for the coming years in which one major incident occurred, the riots in 2004. During these nation-wide riots in which Albanians and other ethnic groups clashed. Several orthodox churches burned, some dating back to the 12th century and estimations saying around 1,000 Serbs leaving their homes. Slobodan Milošević, now being held in at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, dies in captivity on the 11th March 2006.

The UN Office of the Special Envoy to Kosovo (UNOSEK) presented in 2007 the plan on 'The Comprehensive proposal for Kosovo Status Settlement'. The plan, more widely known as the Ahtisaari plan (after the UN Special Envoy Martti Ahtisaari), which would shape the future of Kosovo with the final aim of independence where rejected by Serbia. One of the parts was the creation of the International Civilian Office (ICO) by the International Steering Group (ISG), whom Russia and Serbia views as an illegitimate organization as it is not created through the UNSC. The ISG appointed Mr. Pieter Feith as the International Civilian Representative (ICR). The ICR with its office (ICO) is tasked with the aims of ensuring implementation of Kosovo's status settlement and support the European integration. In addition the ICR, as the ultimate supervisory authorized with the power to “[…] ensure successful implementation of the Settlement. Among his/her powers is the ability to annul decisions or laws adopted by Kosovo authorities and sanction and remove public officials whose actions he/she determines to be inconsistent with the Settlement.” On the 17th of February 2008 Kosovo proclaimed its independence which sparked tensions primarily in the north of Kosovo. The independence did however follow the guidelines of the Ahtisaari plan with regulations such as Kosovo cannot join any other country. The power of the ICR where confirmed within the Constitution.

As a response to Kosovo’s proclaimed independence Serbia filed a request at the International

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106 Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Slovenia, Switzerland, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.
108 The ICR has by all regards taken over the responsibility and position of the SRSG.
Court of Justice (ICJ). On the 22nd of July 2010 ICJ published their ruling. The ruling stated that Kosovo’s declaration of independence did not violate international law or UNSRC 1244. However, the ruling includes a saving clause where the ICJ stated that they answer the question whether or not the ‘declaration of independence is according to international law’ and not about the legal consequences and whether or not the statehood of Kosovo is achieved or not, thus resigning from the question of Kosovo’s status112. As of May 2012 Kosovo is recognized by 90 UN member states113 and members of both the World Bank and International Monetary Foundation (IMF)114. Kosovo is however still a disputed area and the ICO, KFOR, and the EULEX are still present with authority superseding any authority in Kosovo115 116 117.

4.2. Legal framework

The Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo (2008) is, as within other countries, the backbone of the state. Kosovo is " [...] a state of its citizens."118 The citizens are further stated in Article 13 to be regulated by law. The Assembly has 120 seats where 20 of these are reserved for representatives from the Serbian, Turkish, Roma, Egypt, Bosnian, Gorani, and Ashkali communities.119

The citizenship law regulates the different possibilities to acquire a Kosovo citizenship. These five possibilities is by: birth, adoption, naturalization, and based on international treaties.120 The fifth possibility regulates citizenship for “All persons who on 1 January 1998 were citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and on that day were habitually residing in Republic of Kosova shall be citizens [...]”121 and “Every person who is registered as a habitual resident of Republic of Kosova pursuant to UNMIK Regulation No. 2000/13 [...]”122. Although the law was amended in 2011 these criteria remain. The law further regulates the possibilities for a citizen to renounce one’s citizenship as well as the states possibilities to deprive it. There are within these articles safeguards

112 International Court of Justice, Advisory Opinion on the question of the Accordance with international law of the unilateral declaration of independence in respect of Kosovo. (2010), §51, §122
118 Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Art. 2.
119 Ibid., Art. 62.2.
120 The Law on Citizenship of Kosova 2008,03/L-034, Art. 5.
121 Ibid., Art. 29.1.
122 Ibid., Art. 28.1.
that ensures that no-one is left 'stateless' even if renunciation is voluntarily.\textsuperscript{123}

In addition to the citizenship and who matches its criteria there are articles within the constitution that further ensures the rights and freedoms of cultural groups within the state. The constitution “[…] ensures appropriate conditions enabling communities, and their members to preserve, protect and develop their identities.”\textsuperscript{124} This support is further defined by stating whomever considers themselves to be part of a cultural group (on the basis of language, ethnicity, or religion) has the specific rights and privileges. The constitution further repeats the aim of Kosovo as the multicultural state where no-one should be the victim of discrimination, violence, or hostility due to their cultural attachment. The constitutional rights is additionally detailed with rights such as to speak your language with and within institutions such municipal offices, schools (on all levels in one of the official languages, up to secondary public school in the other official languages), and the right to translators / interpreter.\textsuperscript{125} The language law confirms Article 5 of the Constitution that both Albanian and Serbian as the official languages with equal rights. The law further regulates the rights to maintain and promote cultural identities based on language and that especially consideration should be used towards the Bosnian, Roma, and Turkish language within municipalities where at least three percent of the population has another mother tongue than the official ones. For example inhabitants in these municipalities has the right to present either written or oral questions and receive replies in the same language.\textsuperscript{126} Another law which strengthen the rights of the different groups in Kosovo is the Rights of Communities. This law regulates Identity, Equality, Language, Culture, Religion, Education, etc. The law, with its articles, clearly expresses the support for a multicultural society in which: “Communities and their members shall have the right to freely maintain, express and develop their culture and identity, and to preserve and enhance the essential elements of their identity, namely their religion, language, traditions and cultural heritage.”\textsuperscript{127} Support in this way is within the law supported with the usage of language in which the law regulates that individuals has the right to, when interacting with for example police, use their own language (when counted as a language within the municipalities in accordance with the Law of Language) and a language that the individual understands. This includes the right to assistance in the form of interpretation and translation when needed.

Regarding education the law regulates that the communities within Kosovo has the right to receive public education in one of the official languages at all levels. The law then proceeds to how

\textsuperscript{123} The Law on Citizenship of Kosova, Art. 16, 17, 21.
\textsuperscript{124} Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Art. 58.1.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid., Art. 59.
\textsuperscript{126} Law on the use of language 2006, 02/L-037, Art 2, 8.
\textsuperscript{127} Law on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Communities and their Members in Kosovo 2008, 033/L-047, Art. 2.1
this is practically implemented with regard to numbers of pupils in classes and in which situations transportation (subsidized by the Government of Kosovo) to areas where such schools exist.128

4.3. Mainstream Perspective

The mainstream focus group (Albanian group) consisted of five participants (see Table 7). These participants answered the topic-guide attached in Appendix 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>21 yr</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A22M</td>
<td>Albanian</td>
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<td>Albanian</td>
<td>32 yr</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A60M</td>
<td>Albanian</td>
<td>60 yr</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Mainstream Group

4.3.1. Identity

Among the participants in the Albanian group neither one described themselves as 'Kosovar' but instead Albanians, Kosovo Albanians, and citizen of Kosovo. For example, as one participant said (A32M): “I consider myself as an Albanian, citizen of Kosovo so I call myself as Kosovo Albanian rather then Kosovar.”

One of the participant (A22M) added religion to his identity and one participant (A21F) the occupation as a student. One participant (A27F) later added that each group [ethnical] prefers to add the prefix 'Kosovo-' before their own group-attachment. The only time one would describe oneself as Kosovar is, according to A32M, when visiting Albania to better be identified there. The group however does not agree as others (A22M and A21F) prefer to say either Albanian or Kosovo Albanian.

4.3.2. Six Dimensions of Acculturation

The six dimension of acculturation explained within chapter 2.2.2 stated six different topics that are the most prominent to influence acculturation. When asked questions regarding these topics the Albanian group responded in varying ways. The first one, Diversity, displayed a commonality as Albanians or Kosovo-Albanians with no mention of either religion or other group attachment. The second one, Equality, showed that decision making being made through consensus within families but the annunciation of decision rest on the head of the family [male] in order to show respect for the elderly. The group told about a change within this dimension to a more democratic way where everyone had a say in discussions and even an example where voting was used as a way to decide.

Within the third dimension, Conformity, the group agreed that the economical means where the foremost influential one on this issue. A60M told about the Yugoslavian time when there [post

128 Law on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Communities and their Members in Kosovo, Art. 2, 4, 8.
1989] where no public [Albanian] schools and people were forced to attend private schools. Nowadays the group agreed on the fact that everyone has the ability to choose their own way of life and that the only obstacles where financial ones. Regarding the *Time* dimension the group displayed a dual view. The first viewpoint where from a formal perspective where there is a will to be one time and not disrespect the one you are about to meet. However, two of the participants (A32M and A21F) told about issues with the institutional counterpart not respecting time schedules, as A21F said: “I usually leave my home one hour before the lectures start so I always try to be on time but despite this when I got there I have to wait for the professor for at least one hour because they are never on time.”. The informal situations are a bit more flexible. Regarding *Space* and especially inter-personal space there are a commonality that the groups are quite used to getting close to one another. Open spaces like homes however show a bit more privacy with walls around homes\textsuperscript{129}. The final of the six dimensions, *Wealth* show that the access to schools and university are good within the group. Although there are economic factors influencing these possibilities as there are private alternatives which are better. One participant (A32M) told about professors being late for lectures at the public university due to simultaneous teaching at the private ones and giving them priority. Access to jobs is quite low in Kosovo and salaries as well. Within the private sector there is low job security and you could lose your job quite quickly.

The additional two dimensions, *language* and *religion*, have influence on the acculturation. Within the Albanian group *religion* are consider to be of little importance. There are religious groups within the society but overall the view on religion is a moderate one. Regarding the Islam one international made the comparison “They are as Muslim as Swedes are Christian.” The group talked about tolerance to different religious groups [within the Albanian population] and that marriages between Muslim and Catholic Albanians are common. When asked between marriage with an Albanian Catholic girl or a non-Albanian Muslim girl A32M said he would choose the Albanian girl. This view on religion are quite general, the group added the presences of Muslim groups with close attachments to Saudi-Arabia and their view on Islam that has caused a bit diversity within the Islamic community within Kosovo.

*Language* on the other hand is another issue. The group showed varying opinions towards the Serbian language. Out of the five participants only two said that they know the language (A60M and A27F). These two had acquired the knowledge in two different but similar ways. One (A60M) by the mandatory classes in school during the Yugoslavian time and the other one (A27F) through movies and music as there were only 30 minutes of programs in Albanian. The group agreed that it is good to know several languages but had different opinions on which languages to learn first. One

\textsuperscript{129} Participant Observations throughout April and May 2012.
participant (A21F) stated that the Serbian language was the last one on the list to learn while another participant (A22M) said that he would like to learn it even though “[...] we consider Serbia still as our enemy”. The Albanian language is central for the Albanian population as it doesn’t relate to any other language on earth.

4.3.3. Cultural support and Interaction

The group agree on the fact that the minorities within Kosovo obtain a strong support through the Constitution and laws, they do not fully agree that this is the right way. One participant (A32M) expressed opinions that the minority groups have too many rights and especially rights that the Serbian Orthodox Church has. The respect for minorities [Serbs] among the group is quite general as that they all have some contacts with the other groups. These contacts are however brief or professional. One of the participants (A21M) doesn’t have any close contact with other minorities but express that there should be more communication between the groups in order to improve the lives of everyone. All but one (A27F) has some kind of contact with other groups. One (A60M) has a Serbian neighbours while one (A32M) work with several Serbs, and one (A21F) has some Ashkali\textsuperscript{130} and even one Serb (non-Kosovo Serbian) studying in the same faculty. When talking about the 20 seats reserved in the Assembly the group express concern regarding these seats. One participant (A32M) express that everyone should [ideally] have the same representation regardless of ethnicity and another participant (A21F) express her concern that these seats are being misused as “From those ten Serbs who have seats in the Kosovo Parliament, not more than two of them have agreed to the new reality in Kosovo.” An issue raised by the group is the exclusion of Croats and Montenegrins in the Constitution. These groups, even though present in Kosovo, do not have any seats reserved. Montenegrins especially has traditionally been identified as Serbs and according to one participant (A32M) they [Montenegrins] have always supported Serbs.

4.3.4. Citizenship

When referring to inhabitants in Kosovo the group uses the term citizens of Kosovo. This term includes all the nationalities previously mentioned (i.e. Albanians, Serbs, Turks, Romas, Egyptians, etc.). One participant (A32M) explains that even if they are Kosovo citizens the nationality is Albanian, in the same way as you “can say that I am a Swedish citizen but my nationality is from Turkey or depends where your origin is from, as far as you have the Kosovar passport in your pocket, you are automatically a citizen of Kosovo.”

\textsuperscript{130} Albanian speaking Romas
4.4. Subordinate group perspective

The subordinate focus group (Minority group) consisted of five participants (see Table 8). These participants answered the topic-guide attached in Appendix 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R27M</td>
<td>Roma</td>
<td>27 yr</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R30M</td>
<td>Roma</td>
<td>30 yr</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S26F</td>
<td>Serb</td>
<td>26 yr</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S26M</td>
<td>Serb</td>
<td>26 yr</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S40F</td>
<td>Serb</td>
<td>40 yr</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Minority group

4.4.1. Identity

Within the minority group each participant presented themselves as either Roma or Serb. Other identities presented are activist (R30M), musician (R27M), teacher and nurse (S40F), and student (S26M). Neither one attached religion to their presented identity and two (R30M and S40F) as parents (mother/family man).

4.4.2. Six Dimensions of Acculturation

The first of the six dimensions of Acculturation, Diversity, is hard for the group to describe. The question of commonality in identity shows when talking about a more general 'Balkan mentality' and that it is in certain ways different from western people. According to the participant everyday issues that people (Serbs and Romas) experience posts them in the same situation. Issues like dual ID cards, license plates, and dual costs.\(^{131}\) Regarding conformity the group reaffirms that there are limited possibilities to follow your own dreams. This is however due to lack of access to schools (to which children are bussed back and forth) and other limitations to everyday things like theaters. Issues like family pressure or social obligations were not mentioned by the group. The above mentioned limitations with access to schools, theaters, and other things are confirmed when asked about the dimension of wealth. Higher education is limited to the university in Kosovska Mitrovica (the university in Pristina is mainly Albanian speaking). Access to health care follows the same way. According to one participant (S26M) there are possibilities to get better health care and other institutional support (like access to the University in Belgrade). This issue is additionally supported with statements that, if visiting, Pristina’s health care treats them [the minorities] as second class citizens and that they are often met with questions about why they still are here [in Kosovo]. The alternative are instead (according to S40F) to visit private [Albanian] clinics as they help you as long as you can pay. The issues of time and space follow the same manner. The groups show a will to make plans and structure their time but are due to external issues not able to.

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\(^{131}\) As Serbia doesn’t recognize Kosovo people travelling to 'non-Kosovo Serbia' requires Serbian license plates on their cars and other acknowledged paper within Serbia. Within Kosovo these papers are regarded as foreign and thus not accepted.
Checkpoints by police and being stopped by police officers with limited/no skill in Serbian makes long term planning hard. One participant (S26M) told about a trip to Niš in Serbia. “Last year I planned to go and see my friend in town of Niš. I came to administrative crossing and I was sent back by Kosovo Police. Allegedly, my driving license was not valid. Then I crossed the same place without any problems the next day.” Regarding space the group shows that interpersonal space is not an issue. The group talked about how they are forced to take smaller buses in which they crowd as many as possible. One participant however (S26M) told about how, when taking a bus to Belgrade, that if possible he chooses an empty seat due to the extra space and not to stay away from others. Open spaces like homes are in contrast to the Albanian houses with walls usually only separated with hedges or a small fence.

The Serbian language holds a central position. The group shows a uniformed view on the Albanian language. Out of the five participants only two of them know it (S40F and R30M) and they all see the benefits of knowing it due to it being the majority language. Regarding the Serbian language one participant (S40F) told about how she starts speaking Albanian at shops and “if I would come across a normal people and they would see that I am a Serb, they say, neighbour you may freely talk in Serbian.” Another participant (S26F) tells about how she was stopped by police and addressed in Albanian. After handing over her drivers license and telling the police that she only can speak Serbian the police officer continue to speak Albanian and in the end finally saying (in Serbian) “that I must learn the language because if I want to live in Kosovo I must speak the Albanian language.” The group continues to talk about 'abuse on the Serbian language'. One participant (S26M) tells about when receiving his ID card from the Kosovo Ministry of Internal Affairs he notice that instead of 'ć' they have written 'q' which is how the Albanians read it. When complaining about the issue, it were fixed, but not without first insisting that it is not possible to print an ID card with that letter. The same problem is according to the group experienced with road signs [which are printed in both Albanian and Serbian]. Regarding religion the group displays little concern. The issue is briefly mentioned when one participant (S26M) tells about people [Serbs] having problem deciding if they will join the Catholic or Muslim group. According to one participant (S40F) there are Serbian women who are Muslims and visit mosques asking Imams for help.

**4.4.3. Cultural support and Interaction**

The participants of the subordinate group have several connections with the Albanian group of varying degree. When asked about non-police contact with Albanians they tell about how some
people they phone ignore their calls just to return the call later talking in Serbian but with a low whispering voice, just as if they are afraid of others hearing them speaking Serbian. One participant (S26M) told about an Albanian guy he met playing soccer. When bumping into each other in Pristina “he passed next to me behaving like not seeing me ever in his life” although they had talked a bit during their previous encounter. Afterwards he did apologize saying that “he did not dare to say hey to me in front of his friends.”. Another participant (S40F) told about a conversation with a Serbian doctor. The doctor, which worked at a clinic up until the war in 1999, where told by a former colleague told that, if in need, he could ask for whatever as long as he did not address him while in a group. Stories about how they are treated differently by persons within different context keeps on showing. One story regarded this different treatment at a local NGO. This NGO had both international personnel and local personnel from different cultural groups making it into a divers multicultural workspace. S26M told about how “when the international is not there, she [an Albanian girl] does not even want to talk to me. But when the international women was there, in order to flatter her, she was talking to me and smiling all the time.” R30M told another story “[...] my father who was born in that village and grew up in that village, they where eating together at the same table, they were not saying hi to him. Not only him but also many others. [...] one of his Albanian friends met him somewhere where there was no other Albanians, he approached him and apologized to him, and told him that they are not allowed to talk to and communicate with their former neighbours because they will be punished.”

Regarding the view on their own cultural identities the group talked about how they feel that they are viewed. The consensus is that they are more or less accepted while the international community is present. One participant (S40F) explained that “This way of respect and friendship [cross-cultural] does not exist now. There might be on the surface, only so somebody flatters the international community [...]. Not because somebody respects me for who I am.”

When talking about the assembly and the 20 seats reserved for minority groups the opinions the group concludes that this is discrimination; primarily due to the distribution being inconclusive as some groups are missing (Croats and Montenegrins) and secondly due to the fact that, for example, the Roma representative only had 100 or 120\textsuperscript{133} people voting for him. One participant (R30M) argues that the construction of the assembly is made by the 'west' in order to give legitimacy to the system but did in turn trivialize it as one person cannot represent a community with only so few votes.

\textsuperscript{133} According to the Kosovo Central Election Commission the representative of United Roma Party of Kosovo (PREBK) received 690 votes.
4.4.4. Citizenship

When asked about the state of Kosovo and who it is for the group replied with disconsent. One participant (S40F) asks "what state?" while another (S26M) answers "I do not understand, who are Kosovo people? It is not for the Serbs.". In response to the term 'Kosovar' the group replies that this term is artificially constructed by the international community. One participant (S26M) explains that when visiting Serbia he is regarded as a Kosovac as he is a Serb from Kosovo. Another participant (R30M) disagrees with the term Kosovac as he regards this term as just another artificial construction, just as Yugoslav during those days.

4.5. Middle-leadership perspective

Within the Middle-leadership perspective two Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO), the Center for Peace and Tolerance (CPT), and the European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), and employees in these two organizations were interviewed. The employees covered several ethnic groups, not only limited to Albanians and Serbs. Both organizations work with a broad span of issues such as equality, capacity building, and more within the wide field of interethnic relations.134

134 In addition the employees at these NGO’s, several informants working, or previously working, within the Kosovo context has been present throughout the study. These informants include key actors at both local and international NGO’s and institutions.

4.5.1. Legislation and Implementation

There is a consensus among the interviewees that the legal framework within Kosovo is sufficient, that it strongly supports the different communities in Kosovo and that it is clear on what responsibility the institutions have. This consensus also applies to the implementation of this framework. All interviewees expressed disappointment of the implementation and the responsibility of, especially, the Government of Kosovo. This disappointment includes lack of accountability among administrative officials as well as lack of human resources. The most prevalent is the lack of linguistic knowledge among municipalities. One example is a research made by one of these NGO’s whom through email requested official documents from several municipalities. This request where done in Cyrillic Serbian. Only four out of 24 replied. Another issue presented is the lack of representation within the institutions for the minorities. This representation should be par with the

demographic of the society. According to one interviewee this number is 0.56% for the Serbian population in Kosovo.

Another expressed concern is the wide lack of will throughout the entire spectrum of institutions. According to the interviewees this lack of will within the institutions is of major concern. This is not only among the administrative officials but also within the Assembly, who should go out and look into the implementation of the laws they approve.

4.5.2. The Mainstream view and Intergroup interactions

Among the interviewees there are a wide array of experiences with the mainstream group in Kosovo (Albanians), both from an outgroup but also from an ingroup perspective. There is a view that interaction is unnecessary or not worthwhile. One interviewee said, when talking about her learning the Serbian language: “My mum said ‘Do not say to anyone that you are learning Serbian, because people will ask, why do you need Serbian language?’.” One expressed concern is as another interviewee told: “[…] people here do not like to talk about discrimination it is tabu to talk about discrimination they [Albanians] are not ready to talk about this subject because they think that they are superior to and that everything is perfect.” When talking about the fact that there are several minority groups within Kosovo one concern raised was that the different groups fight for themselves when they should cooperate. As one interviewee explained “Romas have the same problems as Ashkali, not 100% but similar. If I have a problem I have to fight as a Roma also I need to fight for Ashkali problem.” Among the interviewees there are several whom expressed concerns that there is no honest believe in a multiethnic or multicultural society, both among the general population as well as within the higher institutions. Among the Serbian interviewees the situation is a hypocritical approach that in the end structurally cleanses Kosovo by making it into a hostile and unfriendly place [for Serbs].

4.5.3. Language and identity

One of the key issues within each interview conducted is the language. The issue with language shows itself within almost every daily situation. One major issue raised is the lack of concern to Kosovo as a bilingual state. Road signs in Kosovo are written in these dual languages. They are however commonly subject to vandalism where either the Serbian or Albanian names on the sign are crossed out. An additional issue with these signs and the Serbian language generally,

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137 Albanian and Serbian as the official language on all levels with additional languages on municipal levels where so regulated by law.
is the choice of alphabet. The Serbian language usually uses the Cyrillic alphabet which, in Serbia is the choice for official use. Within Kosovo the Serbian names on street signs are written with the Latin alphabet. The choice to use the Latin alphabet is not however the biggest issue although it is of importance. The biggest issue is the spelling of these signs. According to interviewees the spelling is poorly done and 'Albanized'. The usage of language continues throughout the system and even within international institutions this is shown. One pamphlet produced by EULEX uses the Latin alphabet. This usage is often explained as “[…] the Bosniaks and Croats do not read Cyrillic so it’s for them, all the Serbian speaking people to understand it.”. A choice that is responded to by the statement that “[…] when the Bosnian becomes an official language in Kosovo, fine. As long as it’s Serbian so write in fucking Cyrillic.”. The simplification of language is also putting the different groups in special positions. According to another interviewee this issue with grouping is unwelcome; “It’s not Serbian it’s Bosnian, it’s not Serbian it’s Gorani.”.

Another issue with language is the usage of terms. As with street signs the usage in official documents is of importance to people. One interviewee explained the usage of the term 'Kosovar' and how it is an 'Albanized' version. A preferred one would be Kosovan which is the English-Serbian term.

4.5.4. Trust, Support and a Friendly society

Today around 40,000 persons receive financial support from Serbia. Among them 17,000 are pensions or other subsidize. In addition to these numbers one participant explained the situation of several Serbs in Kosovo today. While Serbia has pressure on it to terminate this support there is also the fact that the Government of Kosovo in some way or another has to step in and fulfill its commitments in accordance with the constitution and the legal framework. A common explanation among the interviewees is that people do not trust the government and that, if they want to complain, as one interviewee said “And if I have a problem I feel that it’s better to go and complain to the US embassy then go to your own government.”. In addition to distrust for the institutions there is a feeling among the interviewees that the institutions themselves do not trust the idea of a multiethnic society. This distrust is present throughout, especially but not limited to the mainstream, society. One interviewee explained this due to the fact that people need visas to travel to the rest of Europe has limited the ones who have viewed a multi-cultural society other than their own. “We cannot go to Europe, we still hear 'imagination' stories about multi-cultural and multi-ethnic

139 Citizens of Kosovo can (as of May 2012) travel VISA free to 37 countries world wide placing Kosovo between China and Pakistan.
Among the interviewees there is a view that the support [when existing] from the institutions are bias. Gračanica, a neighboring municipality to Pristina is with a Serbian majority. Gračanica where formed as new municipality in 2008 by splitting the municipality of Pristina. The new municipality is according to several interviewees the 'good example' that is being made. To show the world that Serbs and Albanians can live side by side. Critique among the interviewees to this is plenty and one prominent one is the financial support given. This support is not representable to the population and the result is diminishing as only two percent of the population is feeling positive about their future according to research done by the CPT. The consensus is that there are some kind of 'need to compensate' Serbs. Interviewees working with other minorities express that there is an imbalanced towards support for the Serbian communities and that: “if you are a Serb and want to return from Serbia they immediately build a house. Because they are most popular to deal with.” while those who work with Serbs see this usage to create a 'role model' or 'good example' of the multi-ethnic Kosovo.

While Gračanica is being made the good example another municipality to the west of Pristina experienced an event. Serb returnees within the municipality of Klina received flyers “in which troops of the Albanian People's Army call on Serbs to move out from Kosovo because they are 'criminals, either directly or indirectly,'” while those who work with Serbs see this usage to create a 'role model' or 'good example' of the multi-ethnic Kosovo.

4.5.5. Time

Whenever talking about Kosovo, intergroup relations, and the citizenship the issue of Time is raised. Four years has passed since the independence and among all interviewees the view of the future is inquire into. While this view different among the interviewees there is a consensus that intergroup relations, prejudice, and stereotypes take time to resolve. The dissent is on how the situation will be in the future. While some describe the future in a positive manner where the describe Kosovo as a small child which has just learn to take its first step. A child that need time to learn how to walk and run, a time which in turn requires it to handle the problems on its own. One issue of concern expressed is the current administration and the need for change within it, something that might take time, and something that should be done one step at a time and not everything in the same time. As one interviewee stated: “Kosovo is a traditional society it would be difficult to do drastic changes but step by step move forward.” or as another interviewee stated: “I know, 20 years, Kosovo will be without Serbs.”

4.6. Symbols of identity

One thing noticed throughout Kosovo is the usage of symbols and especially flags. Travelling between different municipalities brings forth different flag. The flag of the Republic of Kosovo is used primarily at official buildings such as the Assembly, the office of the Prime Minister, by Kosovo Police, and by the Kosovo Security Force. The Albanian flag is widely used by the Albanian population within Kosovo and on several official buildings at lower levels such as Town Halls in municipalities with an Albanian majority. The Serbian flag are in turn used in a similar manner to the Albanian flag within municipalities with Serbian majorities. The Serbian flag is however not present at City Halls representing the institutions of Kosovo. License plates on cars are another issue. This issue was mentioned by the Minority Group and are showing itself when entering Serbian majority municipalities and leaving the main roads. License plates from the Republic of Serbia and older Kosovo ones (issued by UNMIK) are showing themselves.

Gëzim Krasniqi (2010) explains the uses of symbols: “The paradox resides in the fact that many Kosovar Albanians do not consider Kosovo (including its legal framework and state iconography) to reflect its overwhelming Albanian majority whereas most of the Serbs consider it to be ‘an Albanian state’. This is why both Albanians and Serbs continue to prefer their respective national symbols [...] over the new Kosovar ones.”

The issue of identity is further carried with the dual languages of Kosovo. The Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo as it is named in English uses 'Kosovo'. In Albanian the daily term used is Kosova and respectively Kosovo in Serbian. Although this statement where the name of the republic is quite clear there are inconsistencies in its uses. Documents like Law Nr. 03/L-034, uses “The Assembly of Republic of Kosova”. This usage change from time to time and the non-government web-page “www.kosovothanksyou.com” uses 'Kosovo' in its domain name and 'Kosova' on the headline of the site. Even with the Serbian language there are inconsistencies. On the driver’s license of Kosovo the Serbian Cyrillic alphabet is used while on road signs the Latin alphabet is used when writing the Serbian names of towns and villages.

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141 Krasniqi, Citizenship as a tool of state-building in Kosovo, p. 21.
5. Analysis

During the gathering of material one new aspect has been acknowledged. The improper grouping of Serbian speaking groups like Croats and Bosniaks, although speaking languages that are closely related to Serbian, and does not prefer to be included in a 'Serbian' speaking group. Romas however speak either Roma or Serbian which preserves viability within this study.

5.1. Historical analysis

The history of Kosovo and the people living there are quite intense. During the last century several foreign states has been meddling with the area of the Balkans. The 'national rebirth' in Albania and its independence in 1912 is where the current history starts. The conference in London in which the Great Powers decided that Kosovo would belong to Serbia started a movement, which eventually would lead to the situation today. The creation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the unacknowledgement of the Albanian population created a situation where the Albanians where struggling to obtain a positive social identity, an identity been the center of struggle for the coming years. By the time of the end of the Second World War and the creation of Tito’s Yugoslavia the struggle started to expand. During a time the Albanian population within Kosovo (and the rest of Yugoslavia), where practically a subordinate group and the Serbs the mainstream group. According to Tajfel’s theories on intergroup relation we see that among the choices available the choice between Social Mobility and Social Change was quite clear. It was to a degree possible to change one’s identity by Individual Mobility, a method that however did not help the Albanian group in whole, hence the struggle for acceptance throughout the 20th century. The choice was, at first, to redefine (Social Creativity) the values of the groups by fighting for their rights within the political system, getting acceptance. This lead to the situation in 1974 when Kosovo was at its peak within Yugoslavia, a situation that lasted up until 1981 when the situation once more where questioned by the Albanians. This time the response from the mainstream group was not as forthcoming (as too much Social Creativity is not tolerated) and a setback to the original dimension started, a setback with the help of violence.

When this setback had gone to its bottom and with the introduction of Milošević to the political sphere the strategy of the Albanians elaborated into a full Social Competition in which the entire system where questioned. Although there had been parts of Social Competition before in which the social order where challenged it was now moving into revolution and war. By the end of the 20th century the entire system had, with the help of the international community, changed. The
Albanians now were the new mainstream group pushing down Serbs to a status of subordinate; a new social order.

5.2. Official view

The official view of the state, through the legal framework, is that Kosovo is and aims to be a multiethnic state in which everyone are welcome regardless of identity, whether or not it is based on ethnicity, religion, sexuality, or any other aspect; a place where everyone has the right, and possibility, to express and develop their cultural identity. In short a place where \textit{diversity is appreciated}. With the help of a bilingual society where there are two official languages on state level and the possibility for even more languages on municipality level there are a solid ground for intergroup contacts within the institutions. A place were \textit{intergroup contacts is encouraged}. When connecting the legal framework with the theoretical one looking in to the strategies for the mainstream community we see that the choice of the state is \textit{Multiculturalism}.

5.3. Acculturation match

The six dimensions of acculturation shows a high degree of similarities between the two investigated groups. While there are differences, mainly within the two additional dimensions \textit{(Language and Religion)} there are differences within \textit{Wealth, Space, Time, and Conformity}. The dimension of \textit{Diversity} is similar while the dimension of \textit{Equality} isn’t possible to fully evaluate due to this topic not covered during the \textit{Minority Group}.

Starting with the dimension of \textit{Diversity}. Both groups show throughout the study a strong similarity of their identity. Albanians regard themselves as either Albanians or Kosovo-Albanians while the Serbian speaking group regard themselves as Serbs, Kosovo-Serb, Romas, or in some cases Kosovat/Kosovan. The mismatching dimensions are a bit different. For the Serbian speaking group it more or less boils down to the fact that long-term planning is not perceived as possible while lack of, especially, \textit{Wealth} highly influence the possibility of \textit{Conformity}. People are, in both groups, hypothetical able to follow their own way through life but due to external factors this is not possible. The dimension of \textit{Time} has a similar view where both groups show a tendency to be more flexible. The Albanian group has a choice where they, when they chose to, can reschedule and be more flexible with for example appointments. For the Serbian group this is more or less by force, they cannot chose when to do certain tasks and has to keep a flexible approach in order to manage their situations. With \textit{Space} there are differences, especially with public space and housing. While the Albanians show a tendency to isolate themselves behind walls Serbs are more visible with
hedges and fences. Both groups are to the personal space quite close.

The two additional dimensions are the most influential ones according to theory. Within this study *Language* is the one of most importance. *Language* is a key factor for both groups and their identities are highly connected to it as well as reluctance to use the other groups languages (mainly for Albanians to not use the *lingual franca* as it is perceived of lower value). As they are not related and use different alphabet (when using the Cyrillic one) it separates the groups to a high degree. As for the last dimension of *Religion* there are differences between the groups, and among the groups, making the issue of religion one of the least important looking into Serbian – Albanian acculturation (summarized in Table 9). With regard to the six dimensions there are similarities between the two groups. However, when factoring in the additional two dimensions (who according to Berry are the two most important) the result differ, making the two groups Different.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
<th>Comment</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diversity</td>
<td>High similarities</td>
<td>Strong group identities that are not supporting fusion or assimilation into one identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equality</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformity</td>
<td>Similarities</td>
<td>Hypothetical similarities but practical differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td>High Differences</td>
<td>High differences with access to employment, education, and financial-wise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Similarities</td>
<td>Similarities but practically different</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space</td>
<td>Same but different</td>
<td>Differences with housing but similarities with personal space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>High differences</td>
<td>High differences with unrelated language and reluctance to use the other groups language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Similarities</td>
<td>Similarities vis-a-vis the view towards religion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 9: Outcome - Dimensions of acculturation*

5.4. **View on groups and choice of strategies**

The two groups have among themselves chosen several strategies. Although the subordinate groups are highly dependent on which strategies the mainstream group chooses there is within both groups a spectrum of strategies chosen. Both groups are highly keen of their own identities and the view in intergroup contact is highly contextual.

5.4.1. **Mainstream strategies**

While the officially chosen strategy is *Multiculturalism*, the strategy of choice for the grassroots is different. The group appreciate the idea of diversity within the society but are to some degree reluctant to intergroup contact. Contact between the groups are however possible when the situations require but the group do not actively seek out contact while in the same time they are not discouraging attempt to contact. With the addition of perspectives through the outgroups
experiences, which gave an account of their experiences there are several situations where neither diversity nor contact are appreciated. These situations where individuals are told to learn the language [Albanian] or better of just leave show that choice of strategy within the mainstream group vary. With this in regard the choice of the mainstream group is pending between Multiculturalism, Melting pot, and Exclusion.

5.4.2. Subordinate group strategies

The outgroups are well aware of the officially chosen strategy and its implications. The groups however see contact with the mainstream groups as a necessity for survival. A contact that is hard to maintain and due to this fact only chosen when required. The view on their own identity is strong and especially with the influence of a strong rivaling group who are keen to show themselves. Issues with the daily interactions with authorities, which does not show a honest support for their identity (road signs, spelling in papers, respect for laws), distances these groups while indirectly encourage them to maintain their identities by their own means. This results in two different choices of strategy where the first one is Separation and, when a necessity Integration.

5.5. View on citizenship

Everyone within the study refrain from the usage of the term Kosovar. While the mainstream group prefer either Albanian or Kosovo-Albanian the outgroups prefer Serbian, Roma, or in some cases Kosovac. It is clear that everyone is keen to their own identity and are reluctant to being attributed a new social category. The case with a 'new state' is more or less accepted by the participants throughout the study, sometimes they reluctantly agree but to some extent accept it as a reality. There are however weak bonds between the participants and the state. This might be explained by the same way as Gëzim Krasniqi explained the usage of flags. The Albanians does not feel that it is their state, due to international supervision (US embassy, ICO, EULEX, etc.) or due to an untrustworthy assembly with members who only look into their own best interest. This would mean that the subordinate group view the state as an Albanian one in which they are not really welcomed. There is distrust to their elected due to questionable representation. Other issues are the international supervision and the display of dishonest belief in the multiethnic state. One commonality among the groups is the lack of possibility to travel due to the vast requirements of visas diminishing the rights even further. This result in a society where the citizenship provides a status that is not fully appreciated, lack of rights, and an imposed identity; a citizenship which does not satisfy the will of its population.
6. Conclusions

The aim of this study is to explore the situation in Kosovo, to show why social identities can be of importance in a state-building process, and answer the question if the citizenship can fill the position as an overlapping social identity bringing the different groups together, and by doing this contribute with knowledge to a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon. To conclude this, the four subquestions need to be addressed one by one. The first one, the view from official perspective on social groups, the citizenship, and their possibilities is quite clear. The official view is that Kosovo is a multiethnic state in which anyone is welcome. The laws are more or less flawless as one might anticipate due to the large international presence throughout the entire government machine, although everyone agrees on the failing implementation. As for the second question, to what degree does the social groups match in regard to acculturating variables the summary (Table 9) provides great incite to this answer. While dimensions like Time, Space, and Religion are of less importance in this analysis the dimensions of Diversity and Language are of most importance. Together with the rest of the dimensions there is a possibility for mutual understanding of each other’s group as they are quite similar.

The main hindrance is Language and this is an issue Kosovo needs to deal with. While the Serbian language, up until the war, where the lingua franca today it is one of the subordinate ones which, as Hogg and Abrams (1988) wrote, lowering its value and resulting in social and economic disadvantages as the knowledge of the new lingua franca is rather low. The third question, the choices of strategy is quite diverse. As no group is entirely homogeneous there is no surprise that the choice of strategy vary within the mainstream group. The Albanian groups strive for a continued positive social identity and as the subordinate groups do the same turning the clock back to a similar but different situation to the one before Milošević. The fact that exclusion is the only choice not present shows of some hope for the future (although there are tendencies for this choice below the surface of society). As for the subordinate group the choice of primarily separation and when necessarily integration is no surprise when viewing the small, but many, signs of unwelcome and latent hostility. The fourth and final subquestion, the view on the citizenship shows, with regard to the three aspects drafted by Joppke that no-one attaches themselves strongly to the citizenship as it does not provide rights, status, or identity (elaborated below).

142 The fact that Equality was not covered with the Minority Group does not affect the analytic outcome. A hypothetical assumption that the two groups match or does not match is not influential enough as the outcome is dependant on the Language variable.
6.1. Bringing Kosovo together?

With all of this in regard we can answer the research question: Can the citizenship of Kosovo fill the position as an overlapping social identity bringing the different groups within Kosovo together? The answer is No.

Today there are no possibilities for the citizenship to fill this position due to the lack of attachment to it, the linguistic barrier, and the choice of strategy from the mainstream group. This would be possible if the groups regarded the citizenship as one of value due to its status and the rights it provides. This breaks down to the four subquestions of the paper. The official view on the social groups within the legal framework is good. As the implementations of those laws are not achieved, there is no possibility to say that rights are provided. The second question looks into the match between the two groups. There is no 'fit' today between the groups and the issue of language being the most prominent one thus the groups prefer to keep to themselves. This carries on to the third question regarding the strategies of choice. When there is a preferred strategy to not interact there is little room for a status building up. As the mainstream group does not fully heartedly want to involve the subordinate groups, and they in turn does not want to interact if they are not forced (due to the hostile and unfriendly reception), the status of the multiethnic citizenship is quite low answering the forth question of the bottom-up view on the citizenship.

One could argue that linguistic barriers are an overcoming problem by referring to countries like Finland or, as previously mentioned, Canada. Looking into the linguistic problem there are today several bilinguals within Kosovo, primarily older people within the Albanian group whom speak Serbian. The will to learn each other’s languages exist in the minds of the people but not in reality due to intragroup pressure upon people not to adapt to much as it might be perceived as renouncing once identity and the struggle made during the last years. The issue with lack of attachment to the citizenship lies in the distrust to the elected, the political system, and the low value it contributes. Together with the view that those elected are in office for their own benefit and the lack of a real political arena is a big issue. And with the strong international presence that, in the peoples view, run Kosovo gives even less trust to the elected. With an official strategy that is not perceived as honest and a society that is perceived as unwelcoming there are little room for the outgroup’s to change into an inclusive strategy like multiculturalism that in the long run might lead to Inclusive Multiculturalism.
6.2. Final remarks

The situation with state-building and the case of Kosovo is to a large extent the consequence of neglecting the importance of social identities among people and especially the ethnic-identity. During the last century, the struggle for recognition has caused conflict in several places around the world. One of the key elements among humans is to achieve a positive emotional value to oneself and the groups which whom you direct or indirectly attaches yourself with. While some groups are possible to change ethnic groups are among the hardest and as such they are the ones who strive hardest to achieve a positive social identity.

In state-building processes there are issues that need to be resolved. One of these issues is to make everyone feel welcome and satisfied with the state and its institutions. Today the subordinate groups, to different degrees, feel that they are not welcomed and as such, they have limited incentive to participate in the state. Among the three issues listed in the conclusions, the official choice of strategy is the most important. Those elected to the General Assembly and the members of the Government need to follow up the implementation of the laws they approved. Although they themselves might not have approved these laws per se does not neglect the fact that they, as the legislative institution, have a responsibility to ensure the proper implementation that the law abides by being the good example and visiting the subordinate groups, and perhaps even the ones not voting for them. The last step would be diminishing the international presence in order to let people take responsibility of their own situation. This diminishing is not possible as long as the outgroups do not feel secure enough to trust the state and its institutions, a trust that, mainly the mainstream group, lack due to the fact of international oversight. If this is followed up with a step-by-step removal of all these issues (e.g. road signs, treatment by administrative officials, usage of flags) that makes the subordinate groups feel unwelcome the choice of strategy by the outgroups can change into integration as the preferred strategy and not the choice only when necessarily.

Regarding the linguistic problem people will always find ways to communicate with one and another as long as they want to. It might not be possible to enforce a variety of the Finnish system with a mandatory to learn the "Other official language"143, i.e. if you speak Finnish as your first language you are obliged to take lessons in the Swedish language, and the other way around. Although this would increase the possibilities of intergroup communication there are risks that it might consolidate the groups as they in a way are forced upon something they might not desire. One way could be the middle way where English (or other languages such as French, Italian, or German) is used as a binding language contributing to cross-cultural interaction. The issue with language will

143 Statutes of Finland, Lag om grundläggande utbildning 11§, 628/1998.
however linger, as it is one of the main part of people’s identities.

The citizenship has a low value attached to it due to lack of trust in the elected as well as it does not provide either rights or status. By properly implementing the rights that people and groups are entitled to this issue will be solved as time moves on and people start to trust the state. This cannot be done without a change of perception within the elected (as stated above). People need to trust their elected to do what is the public good, not just what is best for themselves. Regarding the citizenship’s low value one way could be the several times suggested visa liberalization project (in which citizens of Kosovo would be able to travel to EU just as Serbian citizens)\textsuperscript{144}. This would give the citizenship a value and indirectly an emotional attachment to it. In combination with implemented rights and in the long run an encouragement of citizens to fight for the public good. The final part of citizenship, identity, is not something that can be imposed. People need to make the last step themselves and this will come as the previous parts fall into place.

6.3. Social Identities

As already stated, the multi-cultural society requires one identity in which the different groups can gather under. If this identity, the citizenship, is missing the groups will (in accordance to Social Identity Theories) try to achieve a relative positive self-value, most likely by having another group with lower value next to them. If this is not possible they will tend to increase their own value while possibly maintaining a relatively lower value of other groups. As the groups interact they will chose strategies in accordance to the acculturation theories. With regard to the six dimensions, the greater the ‘fix’ is the more likely are the mainstream group to prefer an inclusive strategy (melting pot or cultural pluralism), the outgroup can then approach the mainstream group and will do so as long as they can preserve their own identity or somewhat mix the two. This means that if there is a bad ‘fit’ and a non-inclusive strategy by the mainstream group they different groups will try to avoid each other and if the adaptation required for the subordinate groups are too big they will either challenge the situation and social order or individually leave the context.

When building a new society and a state there are no possibilities to achieve the inclusive multi-cultural state sought by the international community by overlooking the importance of people’s identity.

\textsuperscript{144} Serbian citizens living in Kosovo require visa to travel to the EU while the rest does not have this requirement.
7. Summary

The case of Kosovo is a unique case in several ways, one of the most prominent factors are the change of mainstream society as of the war in 1999. Prior to the war the Albanians within Kosovo struggled as a subordinate group and in today’s post-conflict situation the Serbian population find themselves as a subordinate group within the new state, a state that is disputed and without a full statehood.

There is a lack of knowledge regarding Social Identities and State-building through the citizenship in Kosovo. Previous research has concluded that the legal framework is up to par with the best standards of the worlds. Krasniqi’s (2010) paper on this issue covers a top-down perspective leaving the bottom-up perspective uncovered. Krasniqi uses Jopkke’s Political Science theories on Citizenship touching upon the issue of identity. This paper aim to contribute to a comprehensive picture of a complex phenomenon that Social Identities significate by exploring the situation in Kosovo and show why social identities are of importance in a state-building process.

Through the research question “Can the citizenship of Kosovo fill the position as an overlapping social identity bringing the different groups within Kosovo together?” and through the four subquestions regarding the official perspective, cultural match, intergroup and intragroup views regarding acculturation and choice of strategy, and the bottom-up perspective on citizenship.

Three theories are used: Tejfel’s Social Identity Theory, Berry’s Acculturation theory, and Jopkke’s Citizenship theory. This usage of Social Psychology together with Political Science creates a theoretical framework that will help to explore the situation in Kosovo and phenomenon of identities within a state-building process.

The methodology is an explanatory embedded single-case design with a unique case. By conducting two focus-groups and interviewing five key actors working within the phenomenon a bottom-up perspective is acquired. The participants are chosen through non-random sampling in which judgemental sampling is used together with expert choice. I.e. a set of criteria design turn over to the interpreters which then selected five Serbian speaking and five Albanian speaking participants. These focus-groups has then provided with their view on the issues of intergroup relations, citizenship, and their cultural traits. The key actors have, through in-depth interviews, provided with a complementing professional knowledge of the phenomenon.

Kosovo, as the unique case of this study, is a particular context. As of the war in 1999 the mainstream culture changed creating a new societal order. Throughout the 20th century the Albanian population within Kosovo has struggled for recognition only to be turned down and neglected. A struggle that ultimately lead to a violent conflict with the involvement of the international
community. Within this study the official perspective, the view of the mainstream and subordinate groups, together with additional observations constituted a material analysed with the help of the theoretical framework.

7.1. Results

The final conclusion is that today there is no possibility for the citizenship to fill the position as an overlapping social identity bringing the groups together. This is due to the fact that the groups choices of strategy; the mainstream group’s varying choice do not encourage the subordinate groups to interaction unless it is necessarily for survival. The lack of wholehearted support for a multicultural society by the elected together with the lacking implementation of the legal framework creates an unfriendly environment for the subordinate groups. The final issue is the linguistic one and how the different languages result in the lack of a 'fit' between the two major cultural groups.

This result in the lack of rights and status for the citizenship which means no-one will identity with the citizenship and the state.
8. References

8.1. List of Respondents

Representatives from European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI)
- Albanian
- Roma
- Turkish

Representatives from Center for Peace and Tolerance (CPT)
- Serbian
- Serbian

Focus-groups
- Albanian, 21 yr., Female
- Albanian, 22 yr., Male
- Albanian, 27 yr., Female
- Albanian, 32 yr., Male
- Albanian, 60 yr., Male
- Serbian, 26 yr., Female
- Serbian, 26 yr., Male
- Serbian, 40 yr., Female
- Roma, 27 yr., Male
- Roma, 30 yr., Male

8.2. Literature

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**8.3. Appendix**

Appendix 1: Outline of social identity model of large scale intergroup relations: how members of subordinate groups may try to improve their self-image.

Appendix 2: Kosovo – A Timeline

Appendix 3: Structure of the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government (PISG)

Appendix 4: Topic Guide – Focus groups

Appendix 5: Topic Guide – In-depth interviews
Appendix 1: Outline of social identity model of large scale intergroup relations: how members of *subordinate* groups may try to improve their self-image.

*Source: Hogg and Abrams, Social Identifications, p. 55.*
Appendix 2: Kosovo – A Timeline

1389 Ottoman Turks defeat the Serbs at Kosovo Polje.

Ca 1389 – 1912 Ottoman Turks rule Kosovo until Serbs retake Kosovo amid the wreckage of the Ottoman Empire.

1912 Albania achieves independence

1945 Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) is established as a Communist state under Marshal Josip Broz Tito. Kosovo province is established as an integral part of the Serb Republic of the FRY.

1974 Kosovo receives the same rights as the Yugoslavian Republics but the right to secession.

1981 Uprisings start in response to lacking conditions at Pristina University

1987 Slobodan Milošević visits Kosovo and start his journey into the political sphere.

1989 Following widespread unrest and disaffection of the Albanians in Kosovo, Slobodan Milošević, chief of the Serbian Communist Party, rallies the Serbs to his support. Kosovo’s autonomous status within the FRY is abrogated.

1990 Kosovar Albanians defy Belgrade by establishing a shadow, separatist government.

1991 – 1995 Four of the six republics of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia secede; three of the secessions—Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia are accompanied by war.

1992 Pacifist Albanian Ibrahim Rugova is elected president of a Kosovo shadow government.

1993 The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) is organized.

1995 NATO bombs positions above Sarajevo, leading to the Dayton Peace Accords, which bring the war in Bosnia to a close.

1997 KLA guerilla operations against FRY police (MUP) and army become a factor. Albania implodes, leading to a period of anarchy making weapons available to the KLA.

1998 The MUP mounts attacks against the KLA and conducts an ethnic cleansing of Albanian Kosovars from the province. The UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates nearly 300,000 Kosovar refugees have been created. The United States, United Kingdom, Germany, Russia, and France join in a Contact Group on Kosovo to resolve the crisis.

1998 March The United States delivers terms to the FRY that must be accepted to avoid allied intervention.

May 28 NATO announces its Kosovo objectives.

October A meeting of representatives of major allied powers is held at London’s Heathrow airport to seek a solution to the Kosovo crisis.

1999 January 28 NATO notifies Milošević that it is prepared to commit military forces to halt the FRY’s ethnic cleansing in Kosovo.

145 Summary of chapter 4.1 History
1999 February An unsuccessful conference of Western allies with representatives of the FRY and Albanian Kosovars is held at Rambouillet, France, to resolve the Kosovo crisis.

March 24 NATO launches Operation Allied Force, a 78-day air offensive against the FRY and its military and police forces. The number of Kosovo refugees soars.

March 25 The European Union expresses support for the NATO air operations.

March 26 Russia, India, Belarus, and Namibia float an UN resolution calling for a halt to the air strikes.

April 3 President Clinton writes to Russian President Boris Yeltsin reaffirming NATO’s terms for an end to the air offensive.

April 10 Clinton states for the first time that a ground attack in the FRY would be considered.

May 27 Milošević and four Serbian leaders are indicted by the UN War Crimes Tribunal. U.S.

June 9 A military technical agreement to cease hostilities is signed by NATO and Belgrade representatives.

June 20 Operation Allied Force is officially terminated. UN Security Council Resolution 1244 authorizes the creation and deployment of a Kosovo Stabilization Force (KFOR) and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).

2000 October Municipal elections held in Kosovo select Rugova’s moderate Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) party.

2000 - 2001 The security of Serbian minorities from attacks by Albanian Kosovars and widespread criminal activity in Kosovo are major concerns. Kosovar Albanian guerrillas attack Macedonia in the name of Albanian minority rights in the one part of the FRY that had previously achieved independence peacefully.

2002 July Noting Kosovo’s steady progress toward reducing ethnic conflict and developing stable democratic institutions, the United States announces that it will reduce its forces in Kosovo by 20 percentages in November 2002.

2004 April Nationwide riots in Kosovo

2006 January 21 Death of Rugova

March 11 Death of Slobodan Milošević

2007 February 2 UN Special Envoy Martii Ahtisaari presents the status settlement proposal (the Ahtisaari plan) which Serbia turns down.

2008 February 16 The European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo is launched.

February 17 Kosovo declares independence.

2010 July 22 The International Court of Justice publishes their ruling on Kosovos declaration of independence ruling the declaration in line with international law. The ruling however not say anything about the statehood of Kosovo.
Appendix 3: Structure of the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government (PISG)

Appendix 4: Topic Guide – Focus groups

Introduction

- Tomas, Master student in Crisis-management and Peace-building at Umeå University (former Swedish Armed Forces and KFOR)
- Purpose is to look into cultural groups in Kosovo and the citizenship of a new state.
- Data used in a master thesis at Umeå University. Confidentiality in conformity with research ethics (will be presented as example: "Male Albanian Age 25").
- Interview covers topics such as Citizenship in Kosovo, ethnic and cultural identities.
- The interview is recorded.
- Important that everyone speak their mind and personal view.
- Any Questions?

Culture

- How would you describe your cultural attachment?
  Cultural attachment refers to how you identify yourself. That is, taking myself as an example I see myself as a Swede, male, academic, ex-military, protestant, and traveller. It is all up to the persons how they view themselves.

- Within your cultural group, how do you view:
  Diversity: Within your cultural group, do people have more or less of the same cultural identity?
  Diversity: Peoples work tasks, are they specialized or are they more all-round.? Do men and women work with different things?
  Equality: How is your cultured structured, are there any permanent leaders?
  Equality: How are decisions made within your cultural group? Discussions or one who decides?
  Conformity: Are people free to follow their dreams and ways? Are there differences for men and women? Jobs
  Conformity: Does everyone have the same opportunity in life? Are there differences for men and women?
  Wealth: What does an average person make?
  Wealth: Do everyone has the same access to schools and university? Private schools? Fees for education?
  Time: How do you view time? Is it important to be on time and keep schedules? Structured or flexible?
  Space: When you greet a fellow on the street, how do you do? Close / Distanced
  Space: Do you prefer to meet others at home or in a public space? Is it important with fences/walls?

- What is your view on support to other cultural identity and characteristics? (Minorities, other religions)
  In various ways there is different support to different cultural groups. It could be financial, legal, moral, or just social support.

- The [other groups language i.e. Albanian/Serbian] language, do you know it? Do you want to know it? Is it good to know?
  Cross-cultural communication linguistically barriers exist. Knowledge of the other groups language is eases this communication.

- In your view, how do you look on cultural diversity in Kosovo?
  Within Kosovo there are several groups, the most talked about is Albanians, Serbs, Bosniaks, Turks, Roma, Ashkali, Egyptian, and Gorani (Those who have seats in parliament). There is however other groups making Kosovo very divers. How does the group view this, is it good or bad? Would they prefer anything else?
**Contact**

- How would you describe your contacts with other cultural-groups?
- Does the participants have contact (daily, weekly, monthly, et.c. with other groups).
- In your view, is it considered important to maintain and keep relations with other cultural-groups (Minorities)?
  Contacts with other groups, it could be with Catholic-Albanians, Serbs, Bosniaks, Romans etc. How does the group view these contacts, are there good to have and is there any value in contacts with other groups than your own?
- In your experience, do the other groups (excluding north of Kosovo) try to keep contact with your group?
  That is, do other groups try to maintain contact with their groups or try to stay away keeping to themselves as much as possible. If they have any friends in other groups, do they keep in touch often and who is it that initiates contact?

**Citizenship**

- Who is a citizen in Kosovo?
- What does it mean to be a citizen?
  *Are there any obligations, privileges, rights, et.c. that comes with the citizenship.*

- Why should you be a citizen?
  *What are the main reasons, according to the group, to be a citizen of Kosovo. As a person living in Kosovo, why should I apply for citizenship if I have the legal right to do so?*

- Does a citizen have any obligations other than the following the law?
  *Every citizen (and others living in Kosovo) has written laws to follow. Sometimes there are unwritten laws, called moral laws or obligations. Can the group present some examples that they think apply to Kosovo?*

**End**

- Anything not covered that should be discussed?
- The group has the opportunity to briefly say anything that I should know about regarding the three topics (Cultural-groups, Contact between groups, and the Citizenship).

- Reaffirm conformity.
  Once more, just confirm that they if they want to are anonymous and presented only as (Male Albanian 25 yrs, or Female Serbian 45 yrs.)

- Copy of the report will be available through interpreters.
  The entire report, when finished and approved by the University Faculty will be emailed to the interpreters. The report is in English.
Appendix 5: Topic Guide – In-depth interviews

Intro

• Tomas, Master student in Crisis-management and Peace-building at Umeå University (former Swedish Armed Forces and KFOR)
• Purpose is to look into cultural identities in Kosovo and the citizenship of a new state.
• Data used in a master thesis at Umeå University. Confidentiality in conformity with research ethics.
• Interview covers topics such as Citizenship in Kosovo, ethnic and cultural identities.
• The interview is recorded.
• Any Questions?

Questions - EASY

• Tell me a bit about yourself, your work, etc. How would you describe yourself?
• It has been four years since the declaration of independence, what is your view on these four years?

Questions - CORE

• Cit. Main. Cont. The constitution states that “[...] Kosovo is a multi-ethnic society consisting of Albanian and other Communities.”, Who is Kosovo for?
• Main. In your profession, do you feel that Kosovo with its levels of institutions promotes cultural disparity or cultural conformity? In what ways?
• Cit. Some international organizations uses the term Kosovar but I rarely hear anyone on the street use it, do you have any idea on why that is?
• Cit. What does a Kosovo citizenship mean?
• Main. Do you, as a person, feel that your cultural identity is appreciated in Kosovo?
• Cont. Do you have personal or professional contacts with other cultural-groups? If so, can you give some examples?
• Cont. Different groups in Kosovo uses different languages, do you view this as an obstacle for contacts between the different cultural-groups.

Questions - END

• Cit. Main. Cont. In your view, how should the future Kosovo look like in, say 20 years?
• Is there anything you would like to add before we end?
• Do you know of any other person that I should contact for an interview?

Final

• How this participation contributes to the research.
• Reaffirm conformity, if sought.
• Further contact in this matter? Copy of the report. E-mail?