

Multiculturalism and Positive Discrimination in Kosovo

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Abstract

This paper deals with the confrontation between multiculturalism as a new element which appeared after the end of the war in Kosovo and the phenomenon of positive discrimination as an element from which only a part of minorities benefit from. Ahtisaari Plan has established some criteria which often seem unachievable, even though they are established even in Kosovo Constitution. The manuscript tries to argue and analyze the differences between the Milet system in the Ottoman Empire, Brotherhood-Unity system in Yugoslavia and multiculturalism. Both Milet and Fraternity – Unity system have failed to fulfill the standards, but also multiculturalism is not showing a sign that Kosovo citizens can finally feel free as foreseen by liberal democracy. International community has imposed some rules and from these rules a paradox of democracy is created because of the growth of non-state actors, decentralization of decision making with defects, and other forms, as well as the strengthening of supranational element which came from the international and sub national community who have an unbalanced decision making of Kosovo institutions. The manuscript is based on an empiric research made in 2016, where 1007 respondents were questioned from all municipalities in Kosovo.

Keywords: multiculturalism, Brotherhood-Unity, Milet system, minority, positive discrimination, Ahtisaari Plan, decentralization of decision making.

Introduction

The attempt of all citizens to be free and equal within the range (area) of a state has been the major preoccupation of discussions by philosophers and social science researchers. Dilemmas stem from the fact that equality can be transformed into inequality, and by being helped by nationalism may become a problem in the functioning of the state itself. The problems of minorities and their rights, within the range (area) of the state, are problems that come from the past state regulation and state-building processes, but are regulated by constitutional laws and international conventions. However, apparently they are not enough, and researchers, led by the need for better ways of coexistence between different cultures, open discussions to find the best opportunity.

The creation of the new state of Kosovo on February 17, 2008, was followed by controversy over the right of forming a new state in Europe. The dissolution of Yugoslavia created the possibility for Kosovo to gain its independence, because the Article 5 of the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 1974 (Ustav SFRJ, 1974 Clan 5) had guaranteed the autonomy with its borders and the changes that could occur in Kosovo should be done only with the consent of the authorities in Pristina. The new state was created by the comprehensive proposal that came from the Ahtisaari package, which was actually a quick solution that had many

defects. The Albanian (Kosovo) side was forced to accept the proposal that arose from the Ahtisaari package by implementing laws in a package because the international community required so. In fact, in the beginning, it was considered that defects, that emerged from the Ahtisaari package and which favored the Serb minority, were more of an aberration that could be improved.

The international community urged Kosovo institutions to incorporate the multicultural element as well, by demanding for Kosovo to become a state with multicultural identity, which in fact is presented in the flag of the Republic of Kosovo. It was decided for the blue color to symbolize the Kosovo intention for EU integration, then for the state map of Kosovo and six stars that were the symbol of multiculturalism; however, that does not give substantial meaning as provided by the science of heraldry on what should the state emblem and flag contain. This form of influence of the international community has not given any results, because although the minorities are constitutional category, they are still hindering the state building of the Kosovo Republic.

Multiculturalism in Kosovo

Kosovo is a place where the cultural, religious, linguistic fragmentation is present to the extent that it is difficult to find a model that would succeed through multiculturalism, without being hampered by ideological, religious, and linguistic elements. Kosovo is a state composed of many ethnicities, but the Albanian population, dominates it with a majority of 92%, while the remaining 8% is composed of minorities, where the Serb minority dominates with a share of 4%.

Kosovo has tried several models of multicultural identity. In the Ottoman Empire, the Milet system is known, where all non-Muslim cultures had their rights (Ágoston, Gábor, Masters, Bruce, 2009: 383-4). In addition, the Yugoslav communist effort for brotherhood and unity is also known, and finally the attempt of Western liberal democracy with multiculturalism. In the Ottoman Empire, Kosovo as a Vilayet has passed the Miletus system. Then as part of SFRY (Yugoslavia) until 1991, has passed through the concept of brotherhood and unity, a concept that was created during the World War II (WWII), but became part of the program of the Yugoslav Communist League after the end of WWII (Program Saveza Komunist Jugoslavije, 1958:190-3). The concept of brotherhood and unity aimed to bring people and cultures closer, and aimed to fight ethno-nationalism that was present between Serbs, Croats, Muslims, and Albanians. Urs Altermatt (2002) describes the ethno-nationalism and its tendency to devour everything that comes in its path. Regarding, ethno-nationalism Altermatt explains that ethno-nationalists usually do not argue in a racist or biologist manner, they are followers of cultural differences, from which derives inequality and the validity of changes in people. In order to avoid mixture of cultures and ethnic groups, they require separation and limitation. The concepts of nation and ethnicity serve to push forward the internal integration. In this context, features such as language, religion, and ethnicity are immune to any kind of questions that can be raised against them; they mobilize politically for their own purposes. Social conflicts ethnicize, thus taking a seemingly immutable character (Altermatt, Urs, 2002:13). These deep cultural divisions are not accidental, but are the consequence of invaders strong

impacts in the Balkan area, part of which is Kosovo, and these invaders repeatedly tried to impose their rules.

Brotherhood and unity was an effort to approximate cultures that kept Yugoslavia until 1991. After the dissolution of SFRY, new states such as Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, and finally the Republic of Kosovo were created. The abolition of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989 from Serbia was the end of brotherhood and unity, after which Kosovo went into totalitarian politics of the dictator Slobodan Milosevic. The SFRY Constitution, of 1974, in its preamble states:

The nations of Yugoslavia have the right to self-determination and parting from the federation of Yugoslavia, but should be careful because a great struggle has been done for the creation of statehood, and only through brotherhood and unity can overcome all (Ustav SFRJ, 1974).

The concept of brotherhood and unity has to do with the possibility of comparison with the multicultural concept, to see if this form can move forward the Kosovo's state-building process. In June 1999, the international community, aiming to calm the situation, began to apply the idea of multiculturalism as a necessity of integration of cultures and ethnicities in Kosovo. The Kosovo's post-war period has fuelled the debate regarding the nation and Kosovo's identity, thus posing the question whether this identity exists or should be created.

Heater (2004) argues that the challenge to the assumption that the state alone can provide and determine the nature of the citizenship has been the most recent one. It stems from the dispute between the state and the nation. According to Heater, the assertion that the political state should be synonymous with the cultural nation is impossible in practice, cultural minorities have become increasingly dissatisfied with the implication that the citizenship should be shaped from this lie (Heater, Derek 2004: 194-5).

Kymlicka (1995) explains the problems that arise with minority groups, seeking recognition of their identity and which present the challenge of multiculturalism. However, according to Kymlicka the multicultural term covers various forms of cultural pluralism, where each raises its own challenges (Kymlicka, Will, 1995: 10). At first sight, concepts of brotherhood and unity and multiculturalism seem similar because they both raise the minority cause of the problem and their solution as well. Yet, their differences should be looked ideologically because brotherhood and unity concept is a product of the Yugoslav self-management socialism, while the multicultural concept is a product of Western liberal democracy. Speaking in the Constituent Assembly debate on the labor right, on September 12, 1848, Alexis de Tocqueville said:

Democracy and Socialism are united by only one word, equality; but the change should be noted: democracy requires equality in liberty, and socialism seeks equality in difficulty and slavery (Raico, 1981).

Self-governing socialism was manifested during the functioning of the SFRY state, which according to Edvard Kardelj (1977) represented the possibility to create conditions for the citizen to be free in its personal expressions, to work and create its own happiness. Unlike other countries in the USSR bloc, the Yugoslav self-management socialism was much more liberal, but not as much as might be the liberal democracy. In

SFRY there was a tendency to establish the Yugoslav multicultural identity by mixed marriages between Albanians on one side and the Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, Slovenes, Montenegrins on the other side, especially in the late '70s and early '80s (Flere, Sergej, 1988:439-53), but this initiative failed in Kosovo after the demonstrations of 1981. In this context emerged the ideas of creating a multicultural identity in Kosovo, an idea that was very difficult to be realized because the cultural disruptions had reached the maximum level. The dilemma of functioning of the multicultural identity came from Albanians who were resident in Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, because they refused to mix cultures by protecting the Albanian identity and they were discriminated in SFRY in any field including education. Serbs and other minorities had surpassed this because these minorities enjoyed privileges due to the connection with the Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, Montenegrins, or Macedonians. There are hundreds of cases of multicultural identity in SFRY in an attempt to establish the Yugoslav identity from marriages between Serbs and Croats, Serbs and Bosnians, Serbs and Macedonians, and so forth, while the number of marriages between Albanians and Serbs, Albanians and Croats or Albanians and Bosnians was limited and numbered few cases.

Judith N. Martin and Thomas K. Nakayma (2010:134-5) give explanations about multicultural identity which is created within the area of a state, but that comes from the blending of multiracial or mono-racial identity. If we analyze Kosovo from the aspect of Martin and Kanayama, ethnic identity can be seen as a set of ideas set by the ideas of members of one ethnic group, including several dimensions such as self-identification, knowledge about ethnic culture, such as traditions, customs, values, and behaviors, and feelings about belonging to a particular ethnic group (Martin, Judith, Nakayma, Thomas, 2010:185). According to Max Weber (2004) the group of people, who educates a subjective belief in the existence of its common origin, due to the similarities of customs, traditions or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration, is known as the ethnic group. Preservation of the Albanian cultural identity created its advantages because it preserved the Albanian language, culture and tradition, as well as the Kosovo Albanian people escaped from the constant effort to be assimilated, ranging from the Ottoman Empire to continue with the Yugoslav and Serbian state. On the other hand, the Serb entity maintained its ethnic identity, as did the Turkish entity, Montenegrin, Bosnian, Roma, Ashkali, Egyptians, Gorani. The efforts of nationalism were visible by influencing in terms of identity, by acting in various forms, regardless of the consequences that were reflected especially in the countries that emerged from the breakup of SFRY. Ernest Gellner (1983.1997) further explains that human societies are not characterized by the possession of culture but they have a set-up. A group of humans is never simply a sum of individuals, where the relationship of individuals play no role, but is always a union where members have a position of expected social behavior, have certain rights and duties, certain privileges and obligations (Gellner, Ernest, 1997: 3). Further, regarding the citizen and the state, Gellner says that education creates a man that is complete, and that education should be in some language environments. This explains why nationalism can and makes the movement of humanity (Gellner, Ernest, 1983:48).

Balkan has inherited its culture from the Illyrian, Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman,

and Austro-Hungarian Empire. Multiculturalism in the Balkans is part of life, but is not an imposition from outside. If we would try to create a “melting pot” in the Balkans, an artificial fusion of cultures, we would then fail: First, we would never achieve to create an Albanian-Balkan, Serbian-Balkan or a Croat-Balkan, as it can be an Albanian-American, a Serbian-American; secondly, because the Albanians and Serbs have been subject to other empires and long invasions, they have benefited from their cultures as can be the Byzantine and Ottoman cultures; Thirdly, the project of Yugoslavia failed very much so because the cultures failed to merge in Yugoslav identity; Finally, because Kosovo is a small country to test the multiculturalism as a model of coexistence without compromising cultural identity.

In his book “Democracy in America”, Alexis de Tocqueville says that those who intend to emulate the Anglo-American law in all democratic societies will make a big mistake. Laws and customs in particular, can allow a democratic people to remain free. It should be noted here that the tools that have been used by American democracy to achieve this goal. We should well know what effect the nature of a country and its political past exercises on his political organization, and it will be a great misfortune for mankind, if the freedom would exist in the world in the same way (de Tocqueville Alexis, 2002: 117).

Multiculturalism in the Kosovo area should be seen in the function of the rule of law. If Kosovo’s constitution guarantees freedom of expression, movement, communication, guarantees the religious freedom, freedom of education in the mother tongue, then the “fragile peace” established in Kosovo should not be burdened even more with hardly feasible elements. Risk of multiculturalism does not derive from the Government, which constitutes 92% of the population in Kosovo, but it comes from the pressure of minorities to imbalance the Kosovo society by playing the role of the victim.

David Brown (2000) argues for two forms of nationalism, which play an important role in the civic interaction between minority and majority within a state and which are civic nationalism and ethno cultural nationalism. According to Brown, ethno-cultural nationalism refers to a sense of community, which focuses on the belief in myths and common origin; and in the perception that these myths are attested by contemporary similarities; while civic nationalism refers to a community that is centered on the belief that staying in a common territorial homeland and by being committed to its state institutions and civil society, produces a distinctive national character and civic culture, so all citizens, regardless of their different origins, they constitute an ongoing community with a common destiny (Brown, David, 2000: 50-1). Since independence of Kosovo on 17th of February 2008, Kosovo institutions which in this case are presented as part of civic nationalism, tried to find a way of approximation with Serb minority who is a part of cultural ethno nationalism who through myths created Kosovo a cradle of Serb culture and tries always to appropriate it from international community by always playing a role of a victim. Martin Berishaj (2010) has augmented that republican model of statehood can act openly, in a non exclusionary way and in a right way only in case when collective identity of demos is understood only as a political category and not ethnic or cultural category. Cohen (1999) regarding the cosmopolitan variant of statehood and legal universal position of the individual emphasizes that the citizen is not a political player, but a “legal

person" who behaves according the laws and can expect legal protection of the state (Berishaj, Martin, 2010:194). Citizen of Republic of Kosovo must be careful not to slip in deculturalism as a consequence of universal approach as claimed to be multiculturalism. Kosovo Parliament has passed several laws by adapting to EU laws, but not applicable ones and can be called multicultural laws, but not laws that Kosovo citizen is given hope for a functional state.

In statistical analysis for measurement of variables of *nationality* (Albanian, Serbian, Turkish, Bosnian, Ashkali and Rojma) and variables of *barriers of intercultural communication and consociational democracy*, respondents (n=1007) are presented with questions: "Which of these barriers in intercultural communication impede the development of Kosovo statehood?", with categories of answers: 1) Ethnocentrism, 2) Stereotype, 3) Prejudice 4) Discrimination; as well as the question: "Consociational democracy is a coordinating and negotiating democracy. Do you agree that this form of democracy is the best form to change the constitution by getting even the minority approval? With category of answers 1) Agree, 2) Disagree, 3) I don't have a stand. By using gained calculations from analysis of independent and dependent variables we tried to prove the hypothesis based on statistical differences of significant value through limits 0.01 and 0.05.

Based on statistical analysis gained we note that there are no differences between Albanians and Serbs based on positive discrimination as an element that favors Serb minority, despite a large number of factors that are influential. In Table 1 for barrier of intercultural communication we have received distinctive values, from 922 Albanian respondents we have received the arithmetic average in the amount of 3.22, standard deviation .959 and error in measurement in the amount of .032, while for 58 Serbian respondents we have received the arithmetic average of 3.03, standard deviation of 1.123 and error in measurement of .148. While for consociational democracy we have received distinctive values, from 922 Albanian respondents we have received the arithmetic average in the amount of 1.76, standard deviation .768 and error in measurement in the amount of .026, while for 58 Serbian respondents we have received a arithmetic average of 1.67, standard deviation of .866 and error in measurement of .114. From values received from statistical calculations we can see that the differences are irrelevant from measurement of independent variable of nationality and dependent variable that serve to analyze if the consociational democracy toward multiculturalism regulate better the position of minorities in Kosovo society by eliminating positive discrimination

Group Statistics						
	Nationality	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Mean
Barriers of intercultural communication	Albanian	922	3.22	.959		.032
	Serbian	58	3.03	1.123		.148
Consociational democracy	Albanian	922	1.76	.786		.026
	Serbian	58	1.67	.866		.114

Table 1. Analysis of variables (nationality, barriers of intercultural communication and consociational democracy)

Source: Research by Author

From calculations of T test for reciprocal connections between *nationality* variable

and variables of *intercultural communication barriers* we have received the value Sig. (2-tailed) from .153 and .218 for Albanian and Serb grouping and for reciprocal connections between variable of nationality and consociational democracy we have received Sig. (2-tailed) from .418 and .460 also from grouping Albanians and Serbs (table 2), which in fact shows that the differences between Albanians and Serbs is not important from statistical measurements although there are a lot of elements which argument the report of ethnicities within Kosovo political system.

		Independent Samples Test									
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances				t-test for Equality of Means				95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper	
Barriers of intercultural communication	Equal variances assumed	1.103	.294	1.431	978	.153	.188	.131	-.070	.445	
	Equal variances not assumed			1.245	62.341	.218	.188	.151	-.114	.489	
Consociational democracy	Equal variances assumed	3.580	.059	.811	978	.418	.087	.107	-.123	.297	
	Equal variances not assumed			.744	63.041	.460	.087	.117	-.146	.320	

Table 2. Independent variable of nationality and the dependent variable of institutional decision-making Source: Research by Author

Positive discrimination and legal instruments for protection of minorities

The difficulty of determination of the term national minority has face different political debates because of double meaning of the definition from the state were minorities are placed and the state who protects those minorities as national minority. According to the definition of Francesco Capotorti (1977), special rapportuer of subcommittee of United Nations for prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities, minorities are thought as communities, spread in the territory of one country, who in a small number depend from population of one country, members of which are citizens of that country, who have different customs, language, culture from the people of the country, members of which are lead to protect these values, (United Nations, 2010:2). Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe (PACE) in its recommendation 1201 (1993) in a additional protocol over the rights of national minorities of European Convention for Human Rights in article 1 describes the same

form of definition of Caportotit of 1977. Determination of minorities in Kosovo is slightly different, because in the comprehensive proposal of Marti Ahtisaari in article 3.1 the term minority is replaced with the term community (Ahtisaari Plan, Article 3.1). To avoid problems coming directly from Serbs even Kosovo Constitution article 3.1 emphasizes that Republic of Kosovo is multiethnic society, composed of Albanians and other communities who are governed in a democratic way, with full respect for the rule of law, through its legislative, executive and judicial institutions.

To solve problems related to communities or minorities a large number of conventions is drafted which are ratified by a large number of states and these treaties or agreements have obligatory character, which means that countries are obliged to adhere criteria carried by conventions, treaties or agreements, depending from presented form.

In "Declaration for rights of persons with national, ethnic, religious and linguistic affiliation" in article 1.1 and 1.2 it says: 1) Countries must protect the national, cultural, religious and linguistic identity existence of minorities within respective territory and must encourage circumstances of that identity; 2) Countries must approve suitable legislation and with all forces to achieve implementation of this at the end. As seen by this declaration which was approved by General Assembly with resolution 47/135 on 18th of December 1992, countries are obliged to take obligations for protection of minorities and all their rights which they are entitled.

Republic of Kosovo has incorporated even in framework Convention for protection national minorities and explanatory report (KKMPK) where the right of minorities and their protection is explained. Also, European Convention (European Treaty Series - No. 157, 1995) in article 14, paragraph 1, 2, 3 says: 1) All undertaken parts for recognition of a person that belongs to national minority has the right to learn the language of his/her minority; 2) In small areas inhabited with persons who belong to a small traditional or numerical minority, in this sufficient request, members must try to secure, as much as possible and with all supporting structures of their educational systems, these persons belonging to these minorities must have sufficient chances to be educated in their own minority language or for receiving instructions for their own language; 2) Paragraph 2 of this article must be implemented without violating learning of official language or learning in this language (Article 14, 1995:6). In article 24, paragraph 1 and 2 of this convention it says that: 1) Committee of Ministers of Council of Europe must monitor implementation of the structure of the convention by members who have made the agreement; 2) Members who are not members of Council of Europe must participate in implementation of mechanisms according to respective methods (Article 14, 1995:7).

In international convention for elimination of all forms of racial discrimination in article 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3, it says: 1) In this convention the term "racial discrimination" means any distinction, exclusion, inhibition based on race, color, origin, or ethnic or national origin which has for its purpose the effect of invalidity or impairment of recognition, or exercising of satisfaction in equal stand of human rights as well as fundamental political, economic, social cultural freedom or any sphere of public life; 2) This Convention must not make specific differences with limiting preferences by participating countries of this convention between citizens and non citizens; 3)

Nothing from this convention must not be interpreted with compassion from any legal way as a condition of participating countries regarding nationality, citizenship, naturalization if such conditions do not discriminate again any nationality (ICEAFRD, 1969, Article 1-1,2,3).

All Conventions, Declarations or Agreements show clearly the commitment of international community to fight negative occurrences which appear in a country, either by treating badly their minorities or in their discrimination. Council of Europe has taken measures in countries that have not fulfilled presented criteria regarding human and minority rights. In Kosovo case, international community especially EU wishes to strongly support the minorities, by giving them more rights than any other country in the world. American approach here is that minorities have all the rights that are in accordance with liberal democracy.

Minorities or Communities

A dilemma that appears in Kosovo Constitution which comes from Ahtisaari proposal is that instead of the term "minority" the term "community" is used. By not clearly defining the term minority in Kosovo Constitution and involvement of all minorities in community as well as using the term "positive discrimination" which in Kosovo case responds only to Serbs, creates confusion, since other minorities as Bosnians, Turks, Roma, Gorani, Ashkali have no requests for substantial autonomy as Serbs do and this is the paradox of Kosovo democracy called positive discrimination. According to Cohen (1985) word's use would seem to imply two related suggestions: that the members of a group of people (a) have something in common with each other, which (b) distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups. 'Community' thus seems to imply simultaneously both similarity and difference. The word thus expresses a relational idea: the opposition of one community to others or to other social entities. Indeed, it will be argued that the use of the word is only occasioned by the desire or need to express such a distinction. It seems appropriate, therefore, to focus our examination of the nature of community on the element which embodies this sense of discrimination, namely, the boundary (P.Cohen, Anthony, 1985:12).

If we analyze the treatment of Albanians in Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia then we understand that they are called minorities and community term does not exist in Constitution of Serbia, Montenegro or Macedonia. But, even in Albania all national minorities are called minorities, like Greeks, Montenegrins, Serbs, Macedonians, etc. If we analyze the meaning of community term where it's synonymous can be a community or neighborhood then we can suspect that community term can be established with an aim even in Kumanova Agreement on 9th of June 1999. Problem which appears in building institutions in Kosovo, where Serbs request substantial autonomy or Association of Municipalities with Serb majority shows clearly that community lead by Serb minority has other aims toward Kosovo state building, but which is achievable through "positive discrimination".

The democratic paradox appearing in Kosovo comes from the fact that international

community rules do not comply with reality from the field where two forms of democratic regulation within the space of Kosovo and which challenge one another, as it might be the Westminster model that responds to Kosovo reality and Consociational one which suits more the minorities and especially the Serb minority – community with the right of a veto and participation with 2/3 of Serb members of parliament in changing the constitution.

International community tries to create a Kosovo political system that responds to European heterogenous political culture, but Kosovo reality shows that homogenous political culture is more acceptable in Kosovo case where a tendency is seen to move forward in development of political system, but which from time to time is hampered, because citizens will to be inside political system and eventually to control the system through interest groups is large. Trust, stand as well as search for national character in Kosovo society present a big challenge toward political system.

The level of credibility toward political institutions is greatly diminished, as a consequence of negative reflecting toward requests for a political system based on the law and not privileges. Etem Aziri (2002, 2010) explains that one of the reasons that societies have problems as in Kosovo case can be even the social stratification in which citizens are subject to a hierarchical change between themselves according to possession criteria or non possession of social, material or non material recourses.

In table 3 we have shown the variable of nationality and variable of barrier of intercultural communication calculated in percentages where it is seen clearly that Albanians feel themselves more discriminated then the minorities. As seen in the table all participants in the research result with the most discriminated ones are Albanians, then Serbs, Turks, Bosnians, Ashkali and at the end Roma minority. This table itself raises few dilemmas, because from one side it raises the discussion which is the reason of discrimination of Albanians, while such thing was suppose to be overcome after the declaration of independence of Kosovo and from the other side is the reason of “positive discrimination” of minorities if all laws, political system and democratic regulation of the form of consociational democracy with proportional election system is in their favor.

Table in fact doesn't give a clear explanation that the phenomena of “positive discrimination” is a hasty calculation of international community, because it is about the 50% of discriminated of Albanian population, without the possibility of a benefit like in the case with minorities. Although with the laws and Kosovo Constitution minorities have benefited mostly and are privileged more than in any other country of European Union. Serb minority continues to obstruct the building of Kosovo state by being orchestrated from Serbia and by benefiting from the right of veto because of decision making with 2/3 of minorities which presents a continuous obstacle in achieving objectives in Euro-Atlantic integrations by impeding the creation of Kosovo army as a guarantee of territorial security.

			Barriers of intercultural communication * Nationality Crosstabulation						Total
			Nationality						
			Albanian	Serbian	Turkish	Bosnian	Rom	Ashkali	
Barriers of intercultural communication	Ethnocentrism	Count	83	11	0	0	0	0	94
		% within Barriers of intercultural communication	88.3%	11.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Nationality	9.0%	19.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	9.3%
		% of Total	8.2%	1.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	9.3%
	Stereotype	Count	95	2	0	0	0	0	97
		% within Barriers of intercultural communication	97.9%	2.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Nationality	10.3%	3.4%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	9.6%
		% of Total	9.4%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	9.6%
	Prejudice	Count	278	19	3	2	1	0	303
		% within Barriers of intercultural communication	91.7%	6.3%	1.0%	.7%	.3%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Nationality	30.2%	32.8%	30.0%	22.2%	25.0%	.0%	30.1%
		% of Total	27.6%	1.9%	.3%	.2%	.1%	.0%	30.1%
Discrimination	Count	466	26	7	7	3	4	513	
	% within Barriers of intercultural communication	90.8%	5.1%	1.4%	1.4%	.6%	.8%	100.0%	
	% within Nationality	50.5%	44.8%	70.0%	77.8%	75.0%	100.0%	50.9%	
	% of Total	46.3%	2.6%	.7%	.7%	.3%	.4%	50.9%	
Total	Count	922	58	10	9	4	4	1007	
	% within Barriers of intercultural communication	91.6%	5.8%	1.0%	.9%	.4%	.4%	100.0%	
	% within Nationality	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	91.6%	5.8%	1.0%	.9%	.4%	.4%	100.0%	

Table 3. Variables of barriers of intercultural communication and nationality - Crosstabulation

Source: Research by Author

In this case the only possibility to overcome problems in Kosovo remains the economy and foreign investments. Now in XXI century all occurrences are requested to be solved with peaceful methods, therefore by analyzing all these we understand that, interdependence of countries from one another has made, that all these are attributed to economy and solving problems by using only economic means and power, as well as solving conflicts that have ended with wars, which has proven to be the worst way chosen by mankind. When the wellbeing of a country is depending from another country then it is compulsory that the first country depends from the second one. And if seen by this perspective, Kosovo has no other option to solve the problems except economic development, because economy is the only form that determines the level of democracy.

Conclusions

In concluding this manuscript we can say that multiculturalism as an idea remains a form of raising the awareness of Kosovo citizens. If we look at it as the only possibility that comes through coexistence and overcoming the century old ethnic Albanian and Serb hatred, then we can say that it is not a perfect form. Republic of Kosovo who as

an aim has integration and membership in EU must be careful not to be drawn in big projects which the bigger countries like Germany has not achieve to overcome. This is proven even by Chancellor Angela Merkel who in 2010 has stated that "German multiculturalism has failed completely" (Weaver, Matthew, 2010).

Republic of Kosovo must not allow itself to take more obligations than other countries in Western Balkans, because it is powerless to establish rules which are going to be ignored by neighboring countries. There are some proofs and possibilities to argument that even in Balkans multiculturalism but even positive discrimination has failed. If we take and analyze Balkan countries separately then we have a clearer overview of our analysis. First, in Kosovo problems between Albanians and Serbs; Second, in Serbia problems between Serbs, Albanian, Hungarians, and Bosnians; Third in Bosnia, problem between Bosnians, Croats and Serbs; Four, in Montenegro, problems between Montenegrins, Albanians and Serbs; Five, in Macedonia, problems between Macedonians, Albanians, Serbs and Bulgarians; finally, in Albania, problems between Albanians and Greeks. These breakings between nations in Balkans can be overcome only in economy, foreign investments and employment of citizens, because by regulating the wellbeing the nationalism is reduced.

By analyzing the past we try to find ways of interaction for the future. But, our future cannot be build without our will as well as by creating models which do not respond with the reality and are hard to be implemented. Multiculturalism in Kosovo has not yet crossed the threshold of emancipation but still acts in emotional line. And this has an answer because for 2000 years Balkans was subject of violence by not bypassing the last wars in the former Yugoslavia, and any action in Balkans is looked through the possibility of use of force to reach final objective. Therefore, only when the citizen will not have problems to secure food they will accept all the rules from anybody. Otherwise everything remains open without excluding even the possibility of conflicts.

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