


KOSOVO'S
POST
2015
DEBATE



Contribution to the High Level Panel

March 2013





“So many times women gather to be trained in gender equality, but what about the men? What difference does it make if I know my rights if my husband does not know my rights?”

Member of the Network of RAE Women's Organizations

“I did my best, went to school, even went to university, now the only job I can find is in a café. What was the point?”

Young graduate, Pristina

Males, males, males, they have everything – all the rights, all the power.

16 year old Ashkali girl

All I want is to be able to go out for a coffee with my friends – but there's nowhere I can go.

Girl with special needs, 26

What do I want for the future? I want to be able to buy land on the moon!

18 year old rural boy in high school

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The views expressed in this report are those of Kosovans and the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the United Nations Kosovo Team.

A KOSOVAN DREAM

My name is Agnentina, and I know I am lucky despite everything. Our community is poor and I had to leave school in the ninth grade. It was a great sadness and regret to me, but I had no choice. For the past few years I've tried to get a job in the local supermarket, but I was turned away because I didn't have the right knowledge. At that time I thought I would never have any opportunities.

Now I am in a programme that's teaching me new skills, as well as how to speak English. It's organized locally, with some help from outside. I feel that new opportunities are in front of me, and maybe one day I will be able to do something good with my life. I heard that a factory is opening nearby, and if they take women as well as men maybe I'll have a chance.

To be honest I cannot really imagine the future, or what it will bring. Whatever our problems are, we have to look forward, not back. I will focus on my hopes – that I will pick up my schooling one day, get a decent job, provide for myself and my family.

Some of my dreams are even bigger than these. I want to live in a world where I can make my own choices and be treated as an equal, first at home but not only there. Just because I'm a girl it doesn't mean I don't also want to be free, to travel, to see the world and to feel that my family and my community support me. Right now it's not like that, but things can change.

Things can change. I know there is hope, if we all want change and work together more. If we could grow bigger hearts and respect each other more, then many things would be different. And the world would be more peaceful and happy.

In the end we are all humans together - we all have the same rights. There is no reason why one person should be told they are less important than another, or that my dreams are less important than yours. It doesn't matter how big or small you are. As a Kosovan I can say that while Kosovo is small, our dreams are big. We Kosovans are citizens of the world. We have a lot to say about the future, and we want to be heard. So wherever you are, please listen to us.

Agnentina
18 years old
Dragash Municipality

INTRODUCTION: AS GOES KOSOVO, SO GOES THE WORLD

What do we want the future to bring? For ourselves, for our families and for our planet?

Over the past four months, Kosovo's people have been asking themselves and each other these central human questions.

Thousands of men, women, boys and girls from every walk of life have shared their views, either face-to-face or in the digital sphere, supported and facilitated by the United Nations Kosovo Team (UNKT)¹.

Kosovans commend these ideas to the High Level Panel established by the Secretary General to make recommendations for the post-2015 era, in the hope that they help guide the global debate.

OUR PART IN THE POST-MILLENNIUM AGENDA DEBATE

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were the world's first real attempt to prioritize and quantify the greatest needs on the planet. They aimed to build stronger societies from the ground up – by eliminating the worst of poverty, cutting preventable deaths and illness with a focus on women and children, curbing global pandemics, boosting the number of children receiving quality education, mitigating the pernicious influence gender gaps and improving basic infrastructure for life essentials such as water and sanitation.

The MDGs also changed the way governments and societies approach development planning. By focusing the world on human life and dignity over exclusive economic growth, created a dramatic shift in our ability to problem-solve together. In this, the MDGs are one of the great inventions of the new millennium.

The deadline for achievement of the MDGs is almost upon us. In 2015, less than three years away, the world must review its progress and decide – what next?

To help all citizens engage in this time of global reflection, the United Nations Secretary General has launched a global debate on a post-2015 era, and established a High Level Panel to make recommendations on its outcome. The final report of the High Level Panel is due in June 2013. In addition, 57 governments and peoples have been asked to represent their fellow world citizens by

¹ UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA, UNHCR, OHCHR, WHO, FAO, ILO, UN-HABITAT, UNOPS, UN WOMEN (formerly UNIFEM), UNV, UNESCO, UNEP, UNCTAD, UNODC, UNIDO (IOM, is part of the UNKT, as are the WORLD BANK and the IMF but they are not UN agencies)

holding detailed national consultations on their own hopes and dreams for a post-2015 world. Kosovo is one of these privileged few.

Why is Kosovo's contribution so important to this global debate?

Kosovans have been passionately articulate on this question.

First, Kosovo is a perfect mirror for how the world has changed since 2000, providing a balanced picture of our new dilemmas and opportunities. The challenges facing Kosovo's leaders and its population are those most relevant to today's development debate: rebuilding after conflict, ingrained poverty sitting alongside explosions of wealth, a society transitioning towards modernization and regional integration and a young dynamic populace seeking to make their mark.



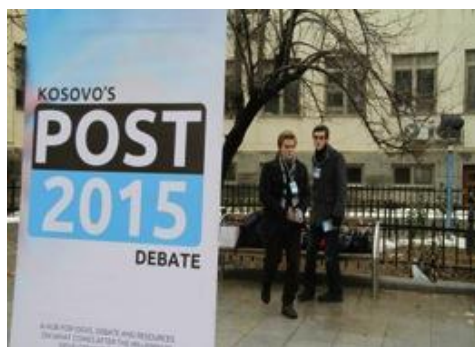
Kosovo's aspirations also represent those of the modern planet: security and opportunity at home, freedom of movement in the world and the chance to make their individual contribution to a changing society. Although this is the poorest corner of Europe, where one in three households still lack access to at least one basic service Kosovans still believe in the power of development and integration to lift their prospects.

For Kosovo, the timing of such a debate could not be better. Marking the fifth year since Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence, major governance strategies are being revised and new ones considered, including the possibility of Kosovo's first Development Strategy. Kosovo, like the rest of the world, is reflecting on lessons of the past, to shape a new and better future.

This report provides a snapshot of Kosovo's ongoing, vibrant dialogue on how such a future should look. It concentrates on five key areas. First, how were the consultations managed? Secondly, who has participated? Thirdly, what questions were most relevant to Kosovo's context? Fourthly, what common themes emerged, and where did opinions differ? Finally, how can we map a route forward based on the ideas, shared and entrusted to the global debate?

For Kosovo, unable to participate in the setting of the MDGs in 2000, this is a rare opportunity to make a global impact. Kosovo's leaders feel this responsibility keenly, at home and in the international arena. They believe Kosovo itself deserves the same its inhabitants – a chance to contribute and be heard, equitable treatment and consistent support. In the meantime, Kosovo's internal debate will continue, bringing Kosovans from all walks of life together to consider something common to all. No matter what our economic situation, our political views or our lifestyle choices – we are all united by a single hope: that tomorrow will be better than today.

I. THE FIRST STEP – CONSULTATION METHODOLOGY



Opening the public debate in Pristina

Kosovo's Post-2015 debate was dubbed *Shaping Tomorrow* by Kosovans. Kosovans themselves, with the support of Kosovo's administration and the UNKT, designed the process from the ground up.

The four-month consultations were organized through **four different strategies**:

1. Face-to-face consultations: A wide-ranging effort was made to canvas voices from around Kosovo in face-to-face consultations, proposed by Kosovans themselves with the engagement of Kosovo's administration. These meetings were tailored for the context. Those with officials were formally organized, while those with vulnerable groups were led by peers and given ample space for creative conceptualization.

The UNKT facilitated consultations with groups falling under their mandate. UNDP supported debates with Pristina's administration, municipalities, civil society and business leaders. UNICEF lead the process of consulting youth, including in the Mitrovicë/Mitrovica region, with additional support from UNFPA and UNV, UNWomen engaged Kosovo women's civil society groups, WHO its medical professionals and UNHCR its returnee population.

Where appropriate, consultations were live-streamed online, linking viewers to other opportunities for participation. In an effort to reduce the burden on Kosovo's packed consultation calendar, Post-2015 visioning was integrated into ongoing processes, including the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender Based Violence, the Age, Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming Process, International Volunteer Day and others.

2. Multimedia youth-driven "street" campaign: Kosovo's young people set out to reach their peers across Kosovo using new technologies – linking thousands into the Post-2015 debate in a campaign organized by the Innovations Lab Kosovo (established and supported by UNICEF Kosovo).



The Innovations Lab interviewing on Mother Teresa Boulevard

The Lab's young people took to the streets with cameras, gathering vox-pops to post on a specially-designed YouTube channel, setting up an online poll Facebook page and Twitter account, creating flyers and Prezis in Kosovo's two official languages

and hosting all these ideas and opinions on a website that continues even now to generate comments and feedback.

Individuals and policy makers are also being brought together in three Google Hangout Sessions convened on emerging issues of “Youth and Education”, “Sustainable Employment and Poverty” and “Freedom of Movement.”

Kosovo’s consultations were also connected to the broader digital world, through blogs and links to the global Post-2015 online sites. As the consultations finalize, the findings will be transformed into graphics and images to be fed back to contributors. They will also be integrated into local and national planning processes for months and even years to come.

3. A university & high school flash poll: hundreds of Kosovo’s university students and high schools were given the opportunity to join in debates and fill in questionnaires.



Polls involved thousands of students.

4. Feedback of results: A public relations and feedback plan was developed alongside the campaign, to allow people to comment on the presentation of their ideas and give Kosovo’s administration a platform to lift ideas into Kosovo’s evolving strategies. Post-reporting debates are scheduled across Kosovo TV. The “street videos” of young people will be aired in public spaces. Ideas for innovative “accountability” systems will be discussed at municipal level, to leverage the interest in monitoring sparked during the consultations. And through the support of the Ministry of European Integration and the Inter-Ministerial Steering Committee on Strategic Planning in the Office of the Prime Minister, the UNKT will facilitate a High Level Event to discuss the report’s implications with Kosovo’s highest authorities and its international partners.

So many people gave their time and energy to the debate. The compilers of this paper would particularly like to thank the following groups: The Office of the Prime Minister, the Heads of the Parliamentary Groups, Kosovo’s Parliamentary Women’s Caucus and participating Ministries, municipal authorities, education and health professionals of Dragash/Dragaš, Gjakovë/Djakovica, Gjiilan/Gnilane, Rahovec/Orahovac, Peje/Peç and Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, the Network of RAE Women’s Organizations, Civikos, the Kosovo Chamber of Commerce, the University of Pristina, PEN, the Kosovo Women’s Network, shelters for survivors of gender-based violence (GBV), staff members from the UN Kosovo Team including UNDP, UNICEF and the Innovations Lab Kosovo, UNWOMEN, UNHCR, WHO, UNFPA and UNV – as well as the thousands of Kosovans within the administration, schools, universities and homes who made this paper possible.

II. KOSOVAN VOICES – WHO AND FROM WHERE?

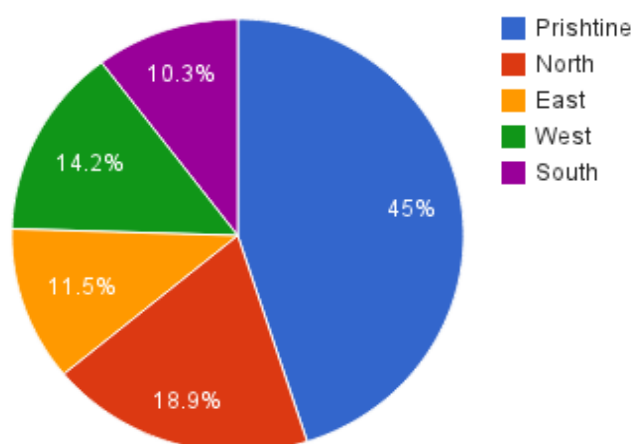
The Kosovo Post-2015 consultations have sampled approximately 6,000 voices out of estimated 1.8 million inhabitants. These discussions have been primarily qualitative in nature – to ensure richness of debate. Some participants declined to submit demographic information. However, allowing for a margin of error, the demographic breakdown of participants is:



- Of all those sampled, approximately 600 joined focus groups; 100 provided vox-pop interviews, over 3,000 engaged in university and high school debates and the remainder joined through online polling, Facebook, Twitter and Google hangouts.
- Women** represented over 52% of the total voices recorded with demographic details (2900) and men 48% (2700). Women were particularly highly represented in the face-to-face interviews, through consultations with youth, excluded families, women's NGOs and the Women's Parliamentary Caucus.
- Young people** under 26 largely drove the participation process. Their enthusiastic engagement in online post-2015 fora and the broad participation of universities meant that over 80% of all those represented are young voices. Around 68% (3813) of participants had completed a bachelor's degree or above, 15% (825) had a high-school education only and 17% (962) declined to give their educational status. The high level of educational attainment reflected here is not necessarily representative of Kosovo more generally.
- People joined from a broad range of Kosovo's **municipalities**, with urban participation at 56% (mostly from Pristina – where approximately a quarter of Kosovo's inhabitants live or work) and rural participation at 44% (2455). Municipal-specific focus groups were held in priority municipalities already identified for development support: Dragash/Dragaš, Gjakovë/Djakovica, Gjilan/Gnilane, Rahovec/Orahovac, Peje/Peç and Mitrovicë/Mitrovica. Participants ranged from local authorities to families on the fringes of marginalization.
- Private sector** enterprise – so critical a part of Kosovo's recovery prospects – were sampled in through business leaders, entrepreneurs from industries large and small and Kosovo's Chamber of Commerce.

- 🌍 **Civil society** representatives were included in every focus group meeting; in addition, a major open meeting of civil society representatives from every walk of life was streamed live online from the centre of Pristina.
- 🌍 **Media leaders**, from political journalists to entertainment specialists, were approached to make space for the findings of this debate on national television programmes. Voices recorded in Kosovo's streets and villages are being transformed into Public Service Announcements, and media partnerships will continue to be a major aspect of the rollout of this campaign.
- 🌍 **Kosovo's administration** has participated at every level. Municipal authorities joined in focus groups around Kosovo, and Kosovo's Ministers and Parliamentarians are still joining the debate in Pristina, through the Kosovo Parliamentary Women Caucus groups, the Heads of the Parliamentary Parties and the inter-Ministerial Steering Committee on Strategic Planning in the Office of the Prime Minister.
- 🌍 Representatives of Kosovo's **returnee** groups (95 Kosovo-Serbs and 105 Kosovo-Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian (RAE) community members) were interviewed as part of an ongoing process to secure their integration, legal status and basic rights.
- 🌍 Since social exclusion continues to haunt the majority of Kosovans in varying forms, great care was taken to ensure that this consultation brought different social groups together as equals. Consultations included **recovering drug addicts, lesbian, gay and transgender young people, members of Kosovo's RAE ethnic minority, domestic violence survivors and those living with disabilities**. The **elderly** were also represented, for healthy debate from contrasting perspectives.
- 🌍 The legacy of conflict challenged a truly inclusive participation in the process **Kosovo's Serbian ethnic minority**. It remains complex to engage Serbian participation in Albanian-language events – even for those living outside enclaves in multi-ethnic areas. These consultations sought to encourage a full and free discussion on issues beyond the history that these two groups share, and a special outreach effort was made in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica. It is our intention to use this platform as ongoing leverage in the effort to bring Kosovo-Serb and Kosovo-Albanian people into a dialogue with each other on a common future that all can aspire to.

KOSOVO PARTICIPATION BY REGION.



III. SETTING THE AGENDA – WHAT QUESTIONS WERE ASKED?

The process of distilling a complex global problem into clear and provoking debate was a collaborative process supported by Kosovo's young people and development leaders.



Kosovans preferred NOT to frame the debate in terms of the performance of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Instead, they recommended a more forward-looking approach. In addition, questions that work well to stimulate debate in a closed focus-group session are less effective when sampling opinions during street-level vox-pops. And those questions easily answered by municipal officials might not be so frankly faced by vulnerable young people from the LGBT community, many of whom are used to hiding their true identities.

The guidance developed for all those leading consultations was therefore mapped into three key question areas of **“Wish Fulfillment** (medium term aspirations personally, locally and globally), **“Barriers to Change** (identifying the roadblocks and underlying causes) and **“Agents of Change”** (tackling people's views on participation and representation). The manner in which facilitators explored these thematic areas was adapted to the circumstances.

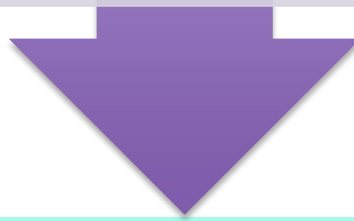
For example, during focus group discussions, these issues were explored in depth over several hours through plenary discussion, working groups and individual visualizations. During vox-pops, questions were framed more as word associations, to elicit instinctive responses. In other fora, such as Google Hangouts, sectoral issues were separated for a more focused look.

Even though there was no focused discussion on the MDGs, one fascinating element that emerged during the course of the discussions. Knowledge of the MDGs at community level was minimal – but once people understood more specifically how the MDGs might connect to their own lives, they were surprised and even annoyed at the lack of information available on them. And there was even some outrage that, having made such commitments, the global community was ready to move on “before the job was done.” The message received during consultations was very clear: “Such behaviour would never be countenanced in a family or community.” This fact speaks to the profound disconnect between people's lives and the integrity of governance processes.

There was outrage that that, having made such commitments, the global community was ready to move on “before the job was done.”

1. WISH FULFILLMENT

Facilitators developed open ended questions around aspirations: the most important hopes people have for their own lives, for their families' and for our shared future. Questions ranged from "What would it take for you to live a full life in your community? " to "What is your biggest dream for the next decade?" depending on the context. Many groups discussed the definition of "full lives", shifting away from pure socio-economic concerns



2. BARRIERS TO CHANGE

This element focused energies on the roadmap for change - where to start, who to tackle, what the root and underlying causes of problems they can clearly see in their own lives - as well as some they had not considered. It also allowed people to start to identify where progress had been made and could be built on. "What is wrong with the world today that you most want to put right?" and "What's stopping you from living the life you want?" are two examples of questions used to explore these ideas.



3. AGENTS OF CHANGE

This element focused people on personal and collective responsibility, asking them to consider why they had not themselves made more progress to address needs that were so clear. It explored core motivational factors driving participation, and fundamental issues of representation. "How would you like to get more involved?" and "What happens when you make a stand and make your voice heard?" are examples of questions asked in these sessions.

IV. PAINTING THE PICTURE – WHAT COMMON PRIORITIES EMERGED?

These discussions have yielded a very clear picture of a shared vision. The degree of commonality



across dividing lines of ethnicity, socio-economic status and gender was profound, given the significant diversity of Kosovan society. Although perspectives naturally differed according to people's position in life, their comments suggest that while we may disagree on how we feel the world should be shaped, what we want it to deliver for us is – essentially – the same. Analysis of their feedback suggests **two cornerstones of any future development agenda:**

- 1. OPPORTUNITY.** This was by far the most passionately and frequently voiced unmet need and unrealized right. It was raised repeatedly in its various aspects – economic (job opportunities, entrepreneurial opportunities), human capacity (quality of and access to education) and social (respect and social positioning, the ability to play a meaningful role in decision-making starting at home).

Young people in particular felt the heavy consequences of their society's "opportunity gap". At least 80% of young respondents completing questionnaires on their future dreams put education as the top of the list, and the economic structure of the country second. They articulated the linkages that current development programmes often forget; how can you build quality and relevance into an education system when there is no "education-worthy" work to hope for? And what is the point of good grades when your life path has already been decided by cultural norms and discriminations?

The relevance of linkages to opportunity was repeatedly stressed, most strongly by groups focusing on marginalized demographics – civil society organizations addressing the poor, gender specialists and youth. It was apparent to them, from their own lives and work, that opportunity is a cumulative experience, not a single life event. A member of Kosovo's Parliamentary Women's Caucus captured the voice of many when she said, **"My driver has an MA, and he's sitting in the car all day. What was the point of all that study, just to achieve this?"**

The same group stressed that Kosovo needs more investment in education to create a competitive society. This acknowledges that opportunity starts at school - but if schools are poor quality, if they don't teach skills relevant to the modern world, then why should parents push themselves to economic extremes to send their children? Healthcare also emerged as a major factor in opportunity. "Healthy families" was one of the primary priorities identified by young people asked for the key determinants of a "full life" for them. When human and

financial capital is drained out of families by sickness, it pushes them down into survival strategies rather than lifting them up to seize opportunities.

Those on the fringes of society saw their access to opportunity curtailed by attitudes as much as by infrastructure and investment. For a rural woman in Kosovo, “opportunity” does not necessarily mean a job; rather, these women talked about the ability to make their own life choices - to continue their education, to go out to meet friends, to decide their own timing for marriage and children. Likewise disabled people, when asked, said they could not think of “big ideas” about travel, education and jobs when it wasn’t even possible to go to the local café with friends.

Even those who had, in their opinion, fulfilled their own personal dreams – civil society leaders, local and national authorities and some of Pristina’s wealthier businesspeople - were deeply troubled by the lack of opportunity in the world around them. It influenced their morale, their trust in the governance system and their willingness to believe in a social contract.

2. EQUITY. Kosovans did not use “development jargon” such as equity. But the call for “fairness” drove almost every cry for change that emerged from the focus group discussions.

Equity for Kosovans is not a lofty theoretical concept. Nor is it merely associated with wealth and poverty. The basic concern with fairness is implicated in deep anxieties around peace and justice mechanisms, gender discrimination, individual freedom of choice and the structure of the marketplace.



The team visited an Askhali settlement in Gjakovë/Djakovica.

Equity and opportunity were perceived as indelibly linked; through the belief that effort and merit should bring its own reward regardless of gender, ethnic group, social status, sexual orientation or physical ability.

Kosovans talked about equity and fairness as a qualitative rather than just a quantitative issue. For example, how is it “fair” if you study hard at university and then can only get a job in a mechanics shop – because the doors to skilled work are narrow and closed? One young woman interviewed laughed when asked about her dreams for the future. She said: **“If you’re a man you can dream of being an engineer or anything, but for a woman such dreams are not realistic.”** A man in the same group acknowledged that the older generation is suspicious of a woman at school – because, he said, they might get “evil” ideas.

Civil society leaders and authorities shared a deep concern at the politicization of processes that should be open to all. **“Young people can only get certain jobs if they’re affiliated with a political party,”** a senior political leader noted. The paradoxical reality of newly-emerged democracies is often a decline in the perception of equity - and Kosovo is no exception. Political bias is perceived to dominate in areas does not belong, such as employment and investment, creating impossible pressures.



A focus group with young Kosovo-RAE in Gjakovë/Djakovica paints a picture of insecurity and discrimination, but also a keen hunger to learn.

Marginalized groups and those supporting them were the first to look for evidence of equity in the way Kosovo’s funds are allocated to tackle unspoken social problems – such as domestic violence or disabled rights – because these are not the usual concerns of the powerful majority.

Kosovans articulated a major disconnect between talk about fairness and action to secure it. How hypocritical of some politicians to talk about unemployment, young people said, when they are ones ensuring you need connections to get a job? How can a woman go to work if there’s no childcare, or the banks don’t approve her loans? How can there be peace when different ethnic groups are treated in different ways?

These views emphasize that Kosovans see equity as a continuum of attitudes rather than just implementation of a set of laws. Fair treatment starts in the mind, said Kosovo’s women, rural poor, ethnic minorities, disabled, LGBT community, civil society leaders and socially-conscious authorities. And unless it is enshrined there, it will never be achieved through Kosovo’s legislative processes.

Kosovo-wide authorities projected similar same concerns onto their engagement with the international community – where equity and fairness are also powerful and all-consuming concerns in a context of unresolved conflict and barriers imposed by Kosovo’s sui generis status. It feels deeply galling to be lectured on human rights and equity by international actors when the perpetuation of such issues in the global arena still unbalance Kosovo’s progress in very real and tangible ways.

Kosovans see equity as a continuum of attitudes not just a set of laws. Fair treatment starts in the mind and unless enshrined there will never be achieved through a legislative process

So, what other factors could create a good growing climate for an equitable, opportunity-rich society? **There were five other areas where Kosovan opinion converged**, albeit from significantly disparate backgrounds and perspectives.

3. Integrity of governance processes. Administrative integrity emerged as a priority for change in every conversation. Perceptions of unresponsive and untrustworthy governance has weakened individual motivation and caused unseen damage to social cohesion. Kosovans imagined a world where public officials spend money justly and wisely, where bureaucratic processes don't depend on kickbacks and friendships, where enforcement is reliable and even-handed, where budgets are allocated for the real needs as they see them, and – most critically of all - where consultations actually result in change. It should be noted that perceptions of untrustworthiness are not always valid in individual cases; however the bridge between Kosovo's administration and its people, always a critical part of the architecture of human rights and development, is in need of urgent repair.

Civil society leaders were particularly vocal in seeing the MDGs as a job half done, even in Kosovo. **"How can we talk about global process if we are still facing the same development challenges in Kosovo today as five years ago?"** said one. "There are so many plans and documents," said a member of the Women's Caucus, "But no implementation." The need for far more robust accountability systems – monitoring, enforcement and accurate data – was repeatedly raised.

4. Security and rule of Law. The natural human urge to be safe in your own home and community is particularly close to the surface in post-conflict societies where poverty is endemic. Kosovo is no exception. Focus groups with ethnic minorities, particularly Serbian and RAE returnees and other communities living in temporary housing, said they did not feel protected by society or by law. Their lives felt temporary and unsure, their properties not their

Conflict does not have to be active to damage prospects, and youth are the first to suffer in frozen conflicts when political resolution has failed to follow ceasefires.

own. This insecurity kept such vulnerable groups focused on survival rather than change. Returnees, for example, cited jobs, social support and housing as their primary needs today, leaving "cooperation with receiving communities" and "political participation" as more distant goals dreams for the future. It is hard to think about long-term change without a legal status, job or secure roof over your head.

Insecurity is perpetuated in Kosovo by the lack of clear status resolution both politically and for returnees, leaving some groups still fighting battles that other parts of Kosovo have left behind. Young Kosovo-Serbs and Kosovo-Albanians in the north of Kosovo said barricades and checkpoints still hamper freedom of movement; they talked about feeling unsafe to travel outside once darkness starts to fall in the late afternoon. A persistent feeling of being isolated and left behind has soured community relations, and those interviewed expressed resentment and a deep longing for justice and resolution. Interviews in Kosovo's northern region where Serbs are a majority ethnic group powerfully endorsed the notion that conflict does not have to be active to damage prospects, and that youth are the first to suffer in frozen conflicts when political resolution has failed to follow ceasefires.

Kosovans living outside of Pristina felt their lives were particularly exposed in a context of weak rule of law. They said that rule of law is desperately needed but flimsy – overwhelmed by demand, institutionally weak and undermined by corruption and political interest. They imagined a context in which authorities were equipped to deal with violent crime, fraud, drugs and fractious property disputes. However, In lieu of legal enforcement many claimed to rely on social or even tribal enforcement, widening social fractures instead of healing them.

On a broader level, women and girls called for urgent change to patterns of domestic abuse they suffer as perceived “lesser citizens”, still vulnerable despite the fact that “everybody knows what’s happening” in houses across every municipality. A 16 year-old Roma girl in rural Gjakovë/Djakovica, when asked her greatest dream for the future, could only wish for her father to stop drinking and beating her.

The worldwide shadow of war and terrorism has also affected people here, particularly the young. They feel that the wider world is unsafe, and that violence remains a present threat to the fulfillment of global hopes.

Information emerged as a major new currency of human potential. A lack of knowledge was seen to stymie the work of addressing social ills.

5. Knowledge and Empowerment. Throughout these debates, Kosovans expressed an overwhelming hunger for knowledge. The right to learn, to acquire important, life-enhancing information, the damage done when such information is denied, the consequences of ignorance, of falling behind – these issues emerged in every session and in every poll.

Of all human rights, the right to education was the most passionately debated. The quality and availability of schooling was a priority concern for children, youth and adults alike, from every walk of life. School drop out rates were mentioned at every level – in one woman's words, “getting children into school is not as hard as keeping them there.” And for the least powerful

members of society, it was equally important for them to acquire knowledge and life-skills outside the classroom as inside, and to educate power-brokers about such issues as human rights.

A frustration repeatedly expressed around the MDGs was – **“how can we do what’s right if we don’t have the information to do it?”** Information emerged as a major new currency of human potential. A lack of knowledge was seen to stymie the work of civil society in addressing social ills.

In general Kosovans emphasized the need to take a smarter approach to knowledge and empowerment. It isn’t enough, they said, to confine outreach and education to victims of discrimination. Even marginalized groups have their leaders and power-brokers – and unless you convince them first, nothing will change for those they lead. There was a general sense that civil society has some of the answers to bring long-term socio-cultural change, but not enough capacity to make a real impact. Again and again the complaint came up – we always talk about rights and empowerment, but nothing changes. What does it take to move from talk to action?

6. Standard of Living. Kosovans associated poor living standards with powerful social decline. Access to healthcare, water and sewage systems and decent infrastructure emerged as priorities from the discussions, particularly outside the major cities. The disconnect between perceived international assistance for better social service and actual progress made to improve services was a source of ongoing bitterness, particularly for the older generation in rural areas.

The burden of a deficient healthcare system was painfully apparent in many discussions. An unconscionable proportion of Kosovan families are touched by illness in one form or another; hardly a household exists, many people said, that has not had to outlay enormous sums on illnesses treatable elsewhere. Cancer and other manageable conditions are, here, often a death sentence.

The pain and outrage caused by Kosovo’s expensive and unreliable health system was palpable in every focus group discussion, no matter how wealthy the participants. This demonstrates the unique place health systems hold within the context of broader social health. It was also a surprisingly high priority for the young. Nearly half (49%) would make it one of their top three priorities for change, and many said they had grown up in households decimated by illness, watching family resources and savings drain away.

The environment was also a concern to many, from a local perspective rather than a global one. Protecting nature was a concern for ethical as well as practical reasons – why destroy a

resource that could provide sustainable incomes? This fact was far clearer to adults living in rural areas than those living in urban municipalities. Kosovo's extreme pollution and heavy metal contamination (the worst in recorded history) is seen as just "the way it is". Its link to poor health and broader environmental issues is a perception connection still waiting to be made.

7. Freedom of Movement. Kosovans spoke often and movingly about how much the world around them has changed. Even the young – from all socio-economic quintiles – perceive themselves to be living in a fast-flowing world. Kosovo has transformed – into a plugged-in culture speaking to others in a new and universal digital language. Many Kosovans lived abroad during the conflict; many others have friends and family abroad sending remittances home. Migration has become a feature of life as villages empty and towns fill up with those seeking opportunities.

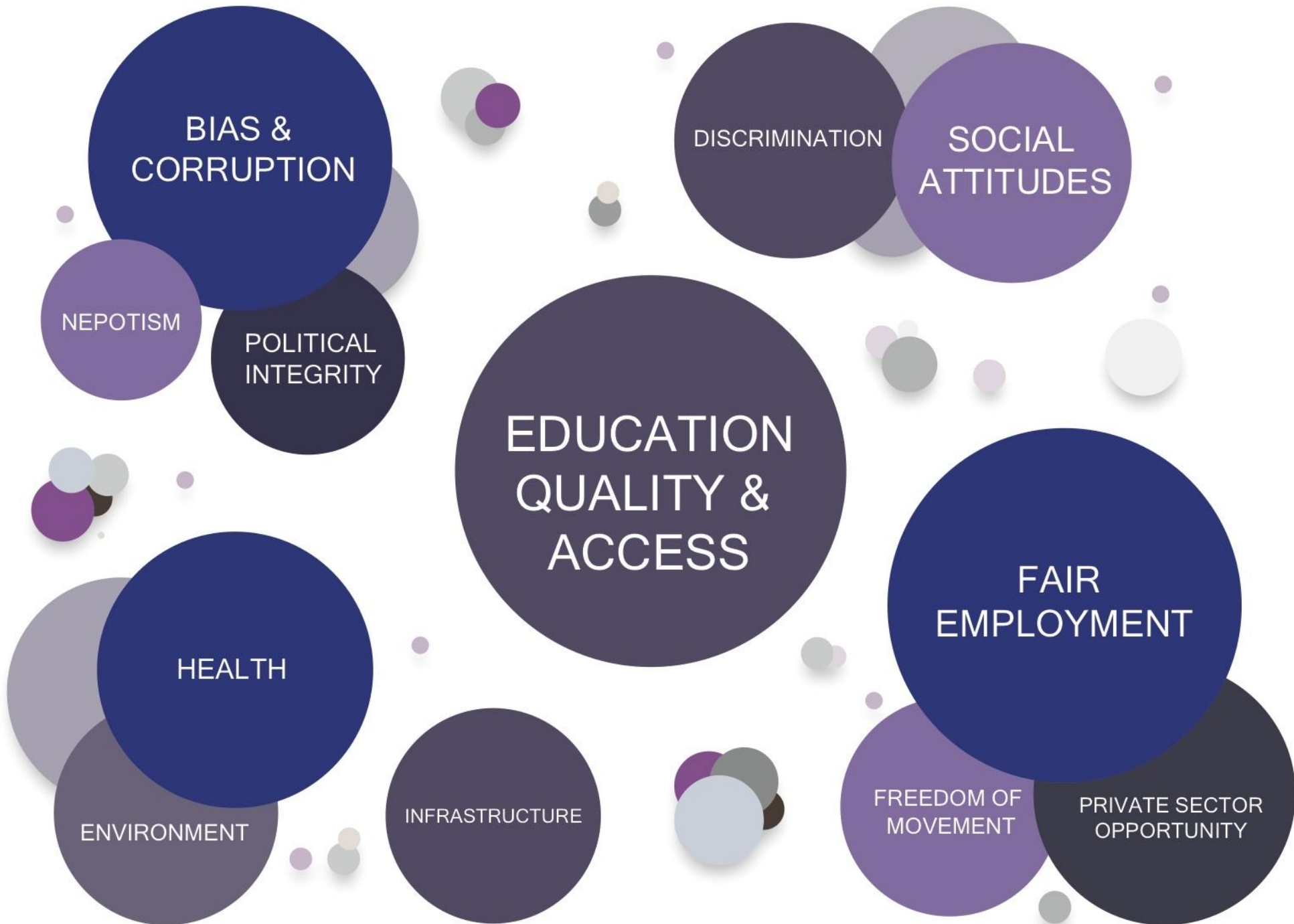


The word "migration" was, in Albanian, only used by those viewing the phenomenon as a problem – for stability, and the continuity of communities. Others – the young, urban dwellers and authorities used the word "freedom". To them, "freedom" is what the mobility of communities is all about – the freedom to experience other ways of living, trade ideas and bring back new thinking. A member of the Kosovo Women's Parliamentary Caucus said. **"Partnerships for development depend on social networks, and social networks depend on freedom of movement."**

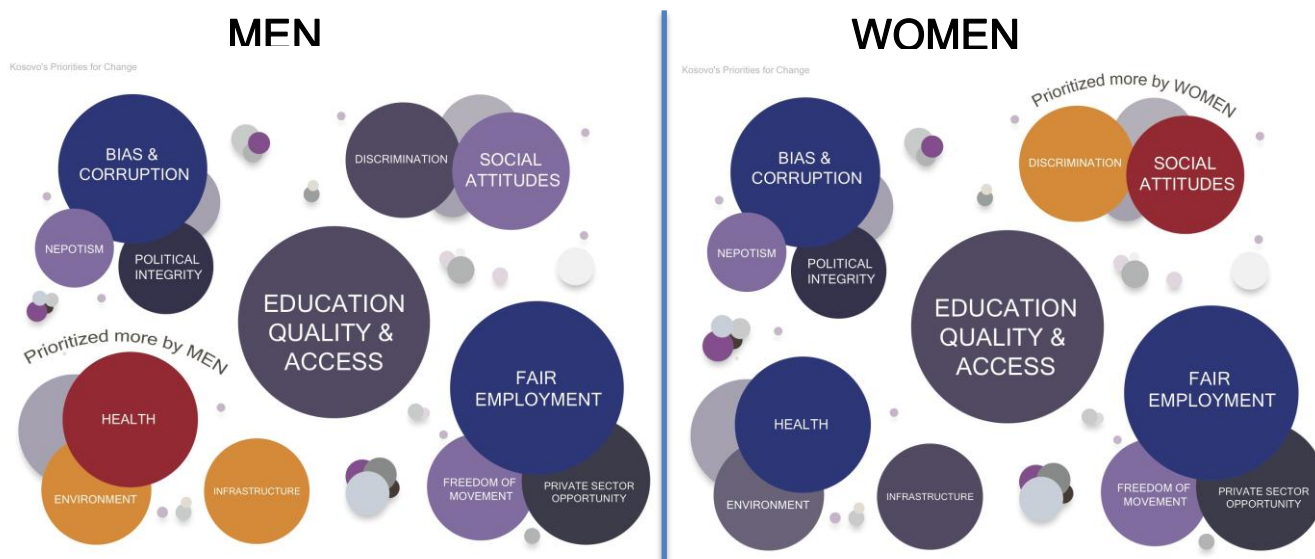
And yet Kosovans see themselves as constrained. The world is within reach, European integration and status resolution are talked about ever more confidently, but it is still almost impossible for a young Kosovan to get a travel visa for education, business or tourism.

They raised the view that the world's "prejudicial" old habits around migration seem out of step with the new realities. As social barriers dissolve in the digital world, geographical and diplomatic barriers remain persistently and frustratingly impassable, Kosovans believe we are missing a key opportunity transform the way our global society cross-pollinates with new ideas.

Kosovo Priorities for Change



DIFFERENT COLOURS



Although these ideas represent a common vision between all Kosovans, there were dramatically different shadings in the manner of their articulation across different groups. Such differences of opinion are natural and even positive. They underline the dynamism of Kosovan society, as well as the potential gains to be made from reducing inequities bringing people into unhealthy opposition. They reinforce the view that transitioning societies hold the key to a more promising future, if their potential can be unlocked:

Women and Men: Women and men's highest priorities were essentially the same - to get a fair shot at the

Poor men did not frame their hopes in terms of rights. Women, however, were constantly reaching for the language of rights-based approached – fairness and respect.

job market, to enjoy freedom of movement, to lower corruption in Kosovo's administration, to be able to put their education to work. However, they differed on questions of barriers and means. In every consultation women repeated the same message. Their problems start at home - and are then perpetuated in society. Women gave more emphasis to "soft" issues: attitudes, information, knowledge and advocacy to change their limiting cultural status quo. Women and girls also felt less protected by a dismissive society, less respected and listened to, less important when those holding the reins of power were spending money and setting goals. Again and again they said, **"Unless men change their views on our role in the world, nothing will change for us."** Men's priorities were more simply expressed by comparison. They were more likely to focus on "hard" barriers to their dreams – health, infrastructure and economy, and to talk policy, of enforcement and investment rather than home-grounded beliefs.

The poorer and more marginalized groups sampled outside of Pristina (mostly in the rural south) showed striking differences in the use of language between men and women. Poor men did not frame their hopes or barriers in terms of rights. They were far more likely to use words like "nature" and "natural" to describe their aspirations as men, within very firmly fixed gender roles. **"It is natural for men to inherit,"** several young men

argued across various focus groups. Others said, “Men need to work, it’s natural.” Women, however, were constantly reaching for the language of rights-based approaches – using words like “fairness”, “respect” and “rights”. Knowledge as a currency was more valuable to women than men on the whole; women were much more likely to want to travel for study, and men more likely to want to travel for work.

Youth and Age: Kosovo’s older generation was shaped in a very different era to its young people. They experienced Kosovo’s pre-conflict socialist system, as well as years of ethnic oppression and civic neglect. They carried the burden of the civil conflict of 1999, and now their own offspring are bringing children into a new and uncertain world. Their concerns were naturally more local, focused on the performance of local services, the behaviour of local officials, the future for their community and the quality of “hard” local infrastructure – water, sewage, electricity and hospitals. They felt that local problems should have local solutions and are more invested in (therefore, reliant on) governance structures.

Kosovo’s young people, however, took a much more conceptual approach. They asked how the shape of society and broad-scale governance processes can be reformed to bring them opportunities – including leaving the community of their birth, and exploring the wider world. Their language was more concerned with rights, fairness and broad social connectivity. **They more than any other group articulated the linkages between “soft” and “hard” social issues:** between gender attitudes at home and ability to go to school, between the quality and relevance of school curricula and ability to get a job, between nepotism and stifled livelihoods, between political intolerance and inability to travel safely in their communities (particularly in the north). They were more restless about the lack of opportunities to expand their circumstances, and felt let down by the perceived gap between effort and reward. Their anxiety about an unstable world, about conflict and terrorism, was also far more palpable.

Migration to urban dwellers and the young represents the shifting face of opportunity. Many feel a deep connection to their roots but believe that the forging of a successful adult life – career and family – should take place elsewhere.

Rural and Urban: Kosovo’s villages are emptying and the towns are being overwhelmed. To the people living in rural areas, this is a grave problem. Migration, in their eyes, was expressed as a pernicious threat. If only local living conditions and opportunities could be improved, they believed, young people would stay. But those living in urban areas showed a more nuanced view of migration. To most, it represented the shifting face of opportunity. Many of those interviewed in Pristina, for example, were themselves migrants from other towns or villages. They expressed a deep connection to their roots but believed that the forging of a successful adult life – career and family – should rightly take place elsewhere.

Different concerns prevailed in different geographic settings. Remote and rural dwellers were more concerned with access to and quality of basic services in their area – water, sanitation and schools. Those in the cities looked to the economic drivers (electricity, fair commercial laws) and felt the most burdened by corruption and bureaucracy.

Environmental concerns were also much more prevalent in rural areas among a wider demographic than merely concerned youth. In rural areas, environmental degradation has a much more immediate and tangible impact on livelihoods, whereas in urban areas it is an inconvenience secondary to the drive for economic progress.

Individuals felt categorizations of inclusion were too narrow – they were excluded in some areas and included in others.

Excluded and included: Kosovans suggested that the categorization of “excluded” and “included” was too narrow to be useful in making development judgments. Individuals often felt “included” in some areas but “excluded” in others, and hesitated to categorize themselves. Among the wealthier urbanites, generally liberal and tolerant attitudes prevailed towards other social and ethnic groups; however, discrimination was also widespread. Heated debates arose over whether homosexuality is a sickness or a natural state, whether ethnic minorities are given too much attention, whether women have or have not achieved equal rights. Even illness was seen to be a shameful thing by some, to be hidden from other families, while some proudly broadcast their struggles with cancer and other diseases.

However, one broad line did emerge between those in the mainstream and those on the outskirts. Kosovo is divided into modern families connected to the modern digital universe and those living in extreme poverty where subsistence living is the primary concern.

These individuals – **mostly from rural families, ethnic minorities and the peri-urban poor** – felt trapped in **negative local cycles**. They wanted to understand and care about global issues, but their access to information, to communication and engagement, is necessarily far more limited. **Never mind travelling outside Kosovo – I can’t even travel inside it,**” said one young girl with disabilities living in a rural area. **“All I want is to be able to go out for a coffee with my friends – but there’s nowhere I can go.”**

Where people felt trapped by circumstances and protection failures, they were far more likely to resort to survival strategies rather than engage in long-term initiatives for change. However, where opportunity for information and debate is provided – for example – in Kosovo’s surging public and private university halls – this consultation found lively global mindsets, culturally liberal views and passionate engagement on issues affecting us all.

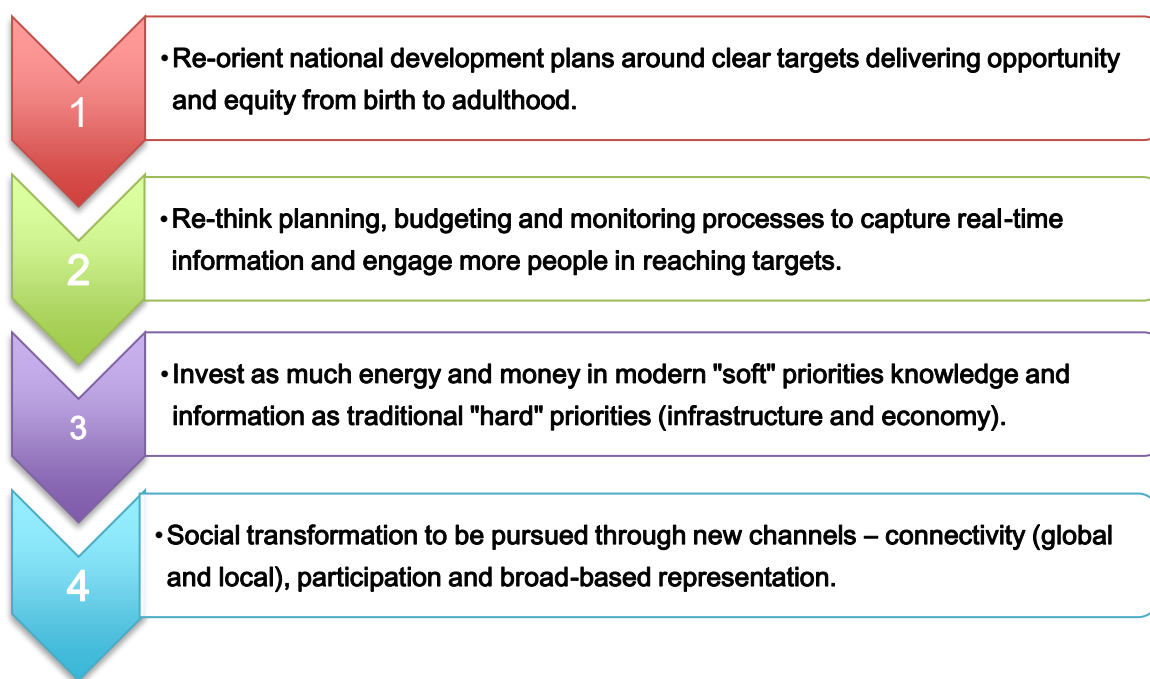


V. MAPPING THE ROUTE

SETTING A COURSE

It is far easier to agree on what is wrong than decide how to fix it. The below provides a snapshot of a general direction for change emerging from Kosovo's ongoing debate.

Mapping a route towards change that factors everyone's views is never easy. But the views of Kosovans on how to reach a fairer society can be synthesized into the following four broad ideas:



Who stands on the front line of the struggle for change? Kosovans answering this question offered opinions informed by their social position. In Kosovo as elsewhere, it is easier for individuals and institutions to place themselves in under the umbrella of "rights holders" than to assume the burden of "duty bearers".

Different social structures expressed their own take on these ideas, each looking to a different primary agent to take the lead:

Administration officials looked at least partly towards international partners as key agents of change. They asked for more structured and organized financial support, dignified resolution of Kosovo's sui generis status issues and lifting of crippling trade barriers. Pushing for change without these issues resolved, they argued, is like trying to run a race with your legs tied together. Hard data reflecting macro-economic and employment progress remained for this group the primary route



The Kosovo Parliamentary Women's Caucus invited Ms. Osnat Lubrani, Development Coordinator, to hear their views.

to measure wellbeing. The MDGs, while important, were not seen as ideally designed for transitioning nations such as Kosovo, where poverty and exclusion take on very subtle

We need to change our focus from quantity to quality. It is easy to deceive ourselves that everything is fine, when we drive to work and see our coffee shops full every day. But I ask you - why are they full? It's because people have nothing else worthwhile to do.

Head of a Parliamentary Group

dimensions. Chiefs of the Parliamentary Groups acknowledged that this approach tended to miss critical elements of development – unhelpfully emphasizing quantity over quality. Government officials also found the current international monitoring system to be de-motivational combination of gloom and castigation. “**Why can't we share good news as well all the news about crime and corruption?**” asked one Parliamentarian. Of all Kosovo's leaders, women tended to reflect more on their ownership of change. Kosovo's Parliamentary Women's Caucus was emphatic that Kosovo must and could achieve its adopted goal of 50% gender equity in the public sector by 2050. “**We could be an**

example to the world,” a member said.



Members of Kosovo's active civil society debate priorities.

Civil society leaders called for **profound change in administrative habits at the top**. This group believed that administration officials hold the primary key to change. They criticized institutions for focusing too much on legislation and not enough on action. Budgets are not allocated, in their opinion, towards issues that matter. Corruption and excessive bureaucracy stifle the ability of communities to help themselves by building stronger local networks. They saw officials generally “shy” of tackling tough issues electoral process. Kosovo's packed electoral calendar, while the sign of a healthy democracy, was also described as a major distraction,

hindering the ability of Kosovo's administration to come up with coherent policies and give due attention to civil society voices. In various ways, they expressed concern that elected officials are

too busy pleasing their voters to care about human rights issues. Civil society groups also recognized the important role of advocacy in creating the social space for change. But they took a practical approach. Advocacy campaigns need not be costly, they said, but they cannot run on air. They have to be funded sustainably, not just by external donors, but also from socially sensitive internal budgets shaped around the inputs of civil society.

Private sector participants also looked to Kosovo's administration to change what they saw as a **highly unequal playing field for economic growth.**

Can this new agenda please focus on things that aren't so depressing, that are at least achievable so that we can feel like we've achieved something!

Kosovo Chamber of Commerce

Problems generated in this sector by over-legislation and under-enforcement are manifold. Business leaders were very selective on priorities for enforcement, however. Few complained about enforcement of employment laws – such as mothers who need childcare and flexi-time, women without property collateral asking for bank loans, unskilled workers unaware of labour laws. They were more concerned with fair and open administration of

Kosovo's emerging marketplace, as well as visa-liberalization to allow business to prosper and jobs to grow. In the current fragile economic climate it was harder for them to consider any sacrifice of profitability in the interest of inclusive growth.

Household and individual voices placed the greatest **emphasis on personal and local responsibility for change.**

Women in particular stressed the need for change to start in the mind and home before it ripples out through society. Sensitive administrative policy can, in people's opinion, unlock the door to opportunity – but people need the support of their communities and families before they can walk through it.

Kosovans also expressed a deep suspicion of the way development processes currently work. Marginalized groups saw a major disconnect between consultation and action. Their views are frequently canvassed, but then nothing changes. Other groups felt resentful that donors and governments are “obsessed” with minority issues and give relatively less time to the problems of the average person. Perhaps it's time for a shift in the way development works and is communicated at the local level. This was their message for the High Level Panel.



A focus group in the troubled northern municipality of Mitrovicë/Mitrovica called on individuals to contribute to peace and security.

MILESTONES & METRICS

Kosovans were, for the most part, critical of the MDGs for not providing metrics relevant to their own priorities. Some were, of course, more relevant than others (for example, no-one quibbled with measuring girl's access to education). But how can such metrics become equipped to monitor values more relevant to the modern world – to a modernizing, transitioning society such as Kosovo?

There are three central challenges to goal metrics as currently designed:

Complexity: MDG metrics are mono-dimensional. They have measured end result change in percentage terms. This makes it relatively easy to judge progress but far less easy to ascertain why progress does or does not happen, or how it ultimately impacts on the way people want to live.

The challenge present by Kosovans, in selecting a multi-faceted kind of life goal, is one of capturing complexity: how to measure qualitative perceptions of life. Even existing equity measures, such as Gini co-efficients, are slow and hard to communicate in a motivational and simple way. **Can we challenge ourselves to think of more rounded indicators that capture human concern with more conceptual aspirations and take into account the process of achieving them?**

Currency: Too many of our metrics lag behind current reality, sometimes by a matter of years. And yet **real-time measurements are now possible and necessary to make monitoring a more responsive and relevant process.** Kosovans themselves raised options available to speed up the measurement process, using mobile technologies. They said: what's the point, in this day and age, of finding out how things were two years ago?

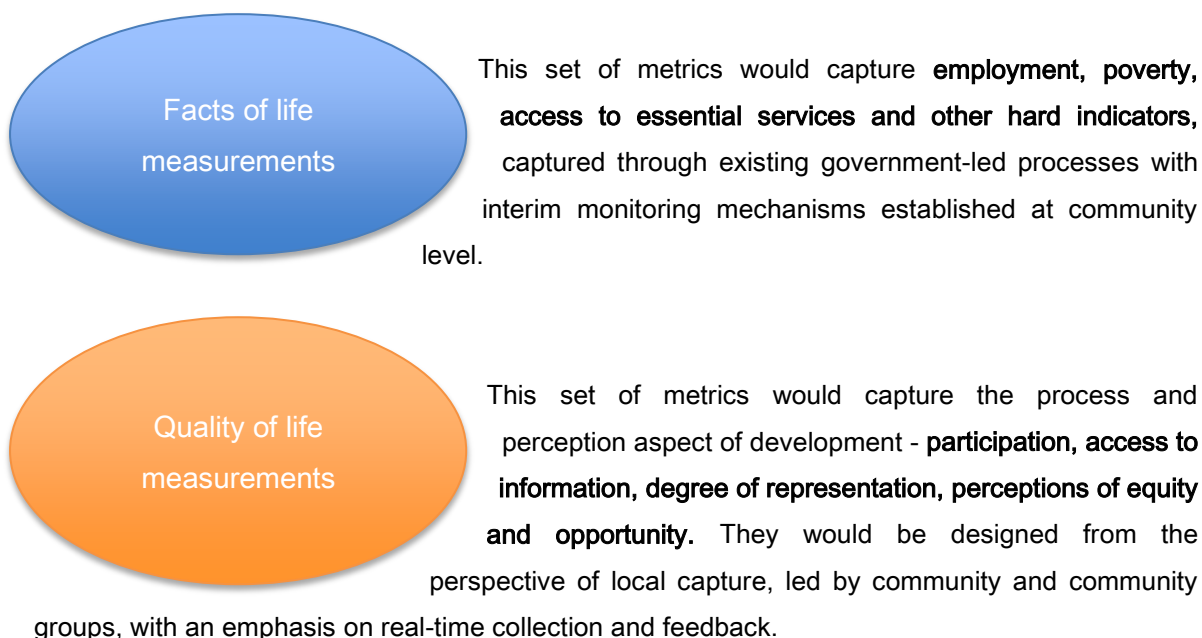
Existing equity metrics, such as Gini coefficients, are slow and hard to communicate in a simple and motivational way. What's the point, in this day and age, of finding out how things were two years ago?

Kosovo's people are far less interested in the past, than they are in understanding the world as it is now, and considering how it could be tomorrow. There is much to be learned from the way that financial markets operate in the private sphere, where there are years of experience and technologies developed to enable immediate and responsive data capture.

Engagement: Governments and international organizations currently monitor global development performance. This may yield dividends in terms of efficiency and quality (although even this is arguable), but it reaps little reward in terms of engagement, support and participation. If knowledge

is an invaluable motivational currency, as Kosovans here state, and people want to be engaged in issues concerning them, what do we miss by excluding them from the monitoring process? And what benefits could be reaped for accountability by making monitoring and evaluation inclusive?

Kosovans suggested the need for a new type of thinking, to create two broad divisions of metrics.



Kosovan families know that monitoring is not easy, and many noted that it is much easier to complain than to participate. However, they sent a clear message: profound changes in the way development progress is captured and communicated, as the sine qua non of their relevance and, ultimately, their success.

Interviews with young people also suggested an instinct towards **engagement and volunteerism**, if only the “language” of volunteerism can be changed. Only 29% said they had actively volunteered on development projects, but all of them said asked if they’d helped out in their communities or at home.

Such “freelance” community work was viewed as a private matter, not something to label or boast of. But young people were ready to keep going with their existing efforts and even expand them – whether helping out poorer school students, organizing street actions, collecting rubbish or donating to families in need.

If this energy can be connected to new technologies and government accountability projects, the world of development engagement could be well on its way to transformation.

CONCLUSION

During this debate the people of Kosovo have challenged the structure and focus of the MDGs. They ask their relevance to a context of transition, to people on the doorstep of Europe and integration into a modern world. They further call for development goals to reflect the more nuanced and quantitative concerns that shape their own lives and priorities.

Kosovans have spoken clearly: they know what they want the future to hold for them. They frame their lives in terms of opportunity and fairness, provided within a governance context of honesty, responsibility and open participation.

Dialogue from the remote mountains of Dragash/Dragaš to the farmlands of Peja/Peç and the cafés of Pristina, from open sessions with municipal powerbrokers to small groups of recovering addicts, paints a clear picture in different colours of two fundamental human goals – opportunity and equity. To Kosovans, **opportunity is more than merely a job**: it is a continuum of linked experiences, from the quality of their prospects in their community and at school to the chance once they reach adulthood to live out their potential. Likewise, **equity is not measured by demanding the same amount of money in everyone's pocket**, but in the treatment they receive in their homes, from their leaders, in their ability to reach out and join in the shaping of Kosovo's future.



A disadvantaged young woman participating in a focus group considers her hopes and dreams.

Other powerfully expressed needs, such as **governance integrity, security and rule of law, services and living standards, knowledge and empowerment and freedom of movement**, are viewed not just as end-goal rights but as routes; their perceived value is diminished unless they are seen to lead somewhere meaningful.

Kosovan thought also reflects global anxieties – around the violence infecting countries as the post-9/11 ideological rift widens, around global warming and the destruction of a fragile planet, around corruption leaching the benefits out of political reforms and investments in services, and around a breakneck and unaccountable financial system that almost derailed the world economy and continues to undermine governments that once seemed secure and aspirational. Those handing the reins to the younger generation do so worrying that the Kosovo of today is barely more secure than the one they were born into, despite all the sacrifices they made.

While everyone agreed on *what* comprises human dignity, not everyone agrees on *how* to go about securing it. Deep differences in thinking emerged between young and old, wealthy and poor, rural and urban and male and female population groups. Dividing lines also appeared when groups were asked to allocate a primary agent for leading development. Only the very poor and young were ready to look to themselves first as duty-bearers. **More work is needed to find common ground for development approaches, before transforming agendas can really take root.**

Ultimately Kosovans challenged the thinking of yesterday to catch up with the world of today. Their priorities call for a different approach from governments the world over.

Ultimately, Kosovans challenged the thinking of yesterday to catch up with the world of today. Their priorities call for a different type of approach from governments the world over. They are inter-sectoral and inter-dependent. They cannot necessarily be quantified in all their aspects and – more critically – in their inter-linkages. According to Kosovans, perception of fairness is in itself a measure of the degree of equity within a society, perhaps even more so than hard data on economic disparities. They want and need to be involved in a dynamic, open process of achieving goals and assessing their own progress.

Kosovan ideas coalesced into four fundamental principles to propose as a starting point to consider the post-2015 environment:

1. Make opportunity and equity the new measures for social wellbeing and progress, focusing on the linkages that can operationalize them from childhood;
2. Change planning processes and metrics to be faster, smarter and more open;
3. Build human capital through knowledge as well as wealth and infrastructure;
4. Catch up with the digital age to transform participation and interaction.

Goals of this nature will call for **a different type of metrics and monitoring system focused on qualitative as well as quantitative changes, honoring the growing importance of people's perceptions and based on real-time data.** A wealth of potential exists to change the old and laboring development methodologies through partnerships with the private sector and with populations themselves. Their lives and hopes are at stake; the world has a responsibility to enable their drive to engage in and understand their own development progress.

This paper compiles the views of thousands of Kosovans in a process that remains fully active.

Those who participated rightly ask – what comes next?

What should come next is a commitment from leaders - local and global - to act as well as to consider. As Kosovo's Strategic Vision and its MTEF are being finalized, as Kosovo's young people approach the moment of planning for exams and future enrollment, as all Kosovans face the many and complex decisions of life in a transitioning society, this Kosovo's Post-2015 debate should continue to spark new ideas, explore new avenues and push for common ground.

The debate will not end here. Over the months to come we will continue to feed back these findings across the spectrum of Kosovan society – through the press, online, in Kosovo's Parliament and in its most marginalized communities. Among the planned activities are:

- A high-level discussion with government and donors, co-hosted by Kosovo's government;
- Integrating ideas raised here into Kosovo's MTEF and Economic Vision Paper;
- A press launch and roundtable;
- Media debates on the findings through Kosovo's current affairs programmes;
- A billboard campaign using infographics;
- A PSA to run on Kosovo television; and
- Youth outreach through schools, universities and among Kosovo's most marginalized groups.

Is this too great a challenge for us to undertake? Here's a story to help us reflect on why it is so necessary.

Besa is 21, from one of Kosovo's poorest and most polluted municipalities just outside Pristina. She was a refugee during the conflict, but thanks to forward-thinking parents is one of the few girls in her area to attend university, studying psychology. Besa believes every girl should go to school. Every day after school she walks around her municipality knocking on doors, offering free catch-up learning to women who never finished primary school.



But it's much harder than she imagines. Women who are thrilled to see her at the door and ask her where the classes are – but they fade in the background when their husbands come to the door. "What are you doing here? Everyone in this house is well educated!"

When she finally builds a list of willing participants, she visits the municipality to ask if she can borrow a classroom to teach these women. The municipality refuses to help. “Who are you? You are no-one important.”

Now Besa is becoming discouraged to the point of giving up. She wonders what is the point of her efforts and her studying if she cannot even help the people in her area. Perhaps the only real opportunities for her lie outside Kosovo. But there is no way to get a visa. And so the energy and passion that might have been invested in one of Kosovo’s most pressing social problems is now focused on a very different goal – how to leave.

Imagine a world where women did not need to feel shame because of the discrimination they suffered. Where their families would support them in their fundamental right to learn and grow. **Imagine** a world where a young person dedicating her time and energy to help her community would be welcomed by her elected officials, and supported to makes her contribution. **Imagine** a world where young people can have faith that there is a reward for hard work and study – locally and not just in some other country – and where adults can be confident that the next generation will enjoy more opportunities than they did. **This is the future that Besa believes in, and that this paper looks towards.**

Whatever unfolds next, we make this commitment:

The ideas here will not lie unconsidered on the page. We will continue to raise them, to advocate them and translate them into action as we move into the next critical period for Kosovo’s future.

For Kosovo, as for the world, the debate on shaping tomorrow is only just beginning.

Please contact Nora Sahatciu at nora.sahatciu@oneun.org for more information on the ongoing Kosovo Post-2015 process.

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