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When education does not help the peacebuilding process: the discussion over curriculum and textbooks' content in post-conflict Kosovo

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Table of Contents

Abstract

Education and education systems are commonly seen to have a positive impact on countries or regions they serve. But in fact education systems may contribute to create or intensify societal tensions and conflicts, and in particular animosities related to some aspects of communities´ identity, such as ethnicity. Tensions in society may often be mirrored in the education system, and at the same time tensions in the education system may often reflect tensions in societies. Such circumstances are usually the result of gradual and prolonged processes of transformation that need to be investigated in order to understand the complexity of the processes involved in social change. It is also crucial to relate them at the level of discourse and text, both for the dialogical relationship between the discourse and the society and for the fundamental role of discourse in processes of transformation. The present paper will tackle especially the case of post-conflict and post-independence Kosovo, and shall focus specifically on the ongoing debate related to curricula and textbooks´ content, in the context of long-lasting parallel systems of education. I will argue how such a debate transcends mere education in its intentions and results, and locates itself in the broader political controversy over the final status of Kosovo, and at the same time that such educational issue may in fact exacerbate ethnic and societal tensions. A sample of material showing the debate over this topic will be analysed drawing upon Discourse Historical Analysis (DHA).

Keywords

Kosovo, education, curriculum, school textbooks, Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse Historical Approach

Introduction: Education curriculum and textbooks in postconflict societies

It is rather commonly assumed that education and education systems have always a positive impact on countries or regions they serve. But it has been proved that it does not necessarily function in this way. In fact education systems may contribute to create or intensify societal tensions and conflicts, and in particular animosities related to some aspects of communities´ identity, such as ethnicity[1]. Bush and Saltarelli[2] state that education in post-conflict countries can have either a constructive or destructive impact – 'the two faces of education', and that an accurate evaluation of the context is crucial when planning and implementing 'peacebuilding' interventions. They focus their work on ethnic conflict settings, and argue that tensions in society may often be mirrored in the education system, and at the same time tensions in the education system may often reflect tensions in societies with the result that simply providing education does not secure nor suffice for peace[3]. Education should therefore be more deeply analysed and integrated into all forms of conflict analysis and response[4]. However, the role of schooling in identity-based conflicts has been overlooked and considered a rather side issue and, despite the fact that considerable means have been allotted to education reconstruction and reforms, it seems there is little coherence to the process in the long term as well as uncritical attention to specific contexts[5]. Arnhold et al.[6] divide the

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1   Seitz 2004; Bloomfield et. al. 2005

2   Bush and Saltarelli 2000, p. 6

3   Smith and Vaux 2003, p. 10

4   Smith and Vaux, op. cit.

5   Weinstein *et al.* 2007, p. 43

6   Arnhold et al. 1996

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reconstruction in four areas: curricular, physical, ideological and psychological and recognise overlapping between the building of the curriculum and ideological and psychological reconstruction.

Therefore the curriculum in particular, which is one of the core elements of an education system, causes the highest level of unrest and concern[7], for being the place where ideology and diversity are dealt with, in education and in the wider society. Curricula in fact encompass knowledge that is considered significant for the teaching activity, as well as, more subtly, to promote the inculcation of values and attitudes of new citizens[8]. Changes in the curriculum are often linked to broader social, economical and political shifts[9] and do show the vision of education that civil authorities do see as representative of the broad national consensus[10]. Interestingly Davies points out[11] that commonly there are problematic elements in the curricula of both stable and conflictual societies that need to be address; yet even in postconflict contexts, curriculum reforms receive cursory attention from scholars and other experts. Even when this happens, it is usually started off from outside the local context and often is not very sensitive to local necessities[12].

Furthermore textbooks play an important role, for they have the strongest influence on classroom practice[13] and they display orientation towards the state, nation and other states and nations[14]. Revision of textbooks is usually done coincidentally with curriculum changes, especially when their content is seen to reflect bias or prejudice, above all in 'national subjects', such as history, geography, literature and social sciences. These subjects are in fact the most

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7   WB 2005, p. 52

8   Beyer and Liston 1996, p. xv

9   Beyer and Liston, *op. cit.*

10   Davies 2004, p. 5

11   Davies 2004, p. 5

12   Weinstein et al., op. cit., p. 44

13   WB 2005

14   Davies 2004, p. 118

in danger to be used – or to be considered so – as tools of nation-building[15] and may have the political purpose of shaping the present and turning into a more or less explicit instrument of propaganda[16].

Mirrored in textbooks are questions of power, differing interests and perspectives[17]. Moreover, as Cockburn[18] states, conflicts, such as in the Balkans or in Northern Ireland, are portrayed by media and public authorities to be based on old-age, primordial ties – wars are thus seen as inescapable and will never end; and this is reflected in curricula and textbooks, and consequently become an issue in postconflict and reform settings. In particular, it is stated that all the countries in the Western Balkans attach to education an 'ethnocentric nation-building project', and that in countries where a constitutive majority is recognizable the process is embedded in policy-design and making[19].

Such circumstances are usually the result of gradual and prolonged processes of transformation[20], that need to be investigated in order to understand the complexity of the processes and factors involved in social change[21]. It is also crucial to relate them at the level of discourse and text, not only guided by the belief that 'discourse constitutes society and culture as well as being constituted by them'[22], but also that an in-depth 'mediation

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15   Grever 2007

16   Osler 2009, p. 98. Bloomfield (op. cit., p. 30) states furthermore that 'Most Albanian and Serbs in Kosovo, or Muslims and Serbs in Bosnia, for example, have developed completely different recollection of their common past', and that may be mirrored in history textbooks and become steady generation after generation.

17   Osler op. cit. p. 97

18   Cockburn 1998

19   Pantić 2012. In the case of Kosovo, it could be argued that both Albanian and Serbian communities perceive themselves as majority in their country (Kosovo for the first, Serbia for the latter), and therefore until now are carrying out their process of nation-building separately through their education systems.

20   Galasińka and Krzyżanowski 2009, p. 3

21   Galasińka and Krzyżanowski 2009, p.19

22   Wodak 1996, p. 18

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between discourse and society'[23] is inherently presupposed in the processes of transformation.

Discourse Historical Analysis (DHA)

DHA is one of the core schools developed within the tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis[24]. Within CDA in fact different approaches have been developed, different for theoretical background and methodology, as they have been generated to respond to research foci they were meant to tackle. DHA therefore shares with CDA some main characteristics, but is also embodies some specific features[25].

Main theoretical background for DHA is the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School and particularly Habermas and Wittgenstein´s 'language games concept', albeit it also draws upon Foucault's discourse theory[26]. The focus of the analysis is on the ways in which language and semiotic practices reproduce ideology[27]. Language is not powerful per se, but it is rather empowered through the use of specific categories of social actor[28], that through their positioning or belonging in the society create and maintain asymmetrical relationship, i.e. 'power', in relations to other groups. 'Discourse' is in DHA seen as a 'linguistic action'[29], a semiotic practice in dialectical relation with other social practices and constituting 'society and culture as well as being constituted by them. [...] every instance of language use makes its own contribution to reproducing or

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23   Wodak 2006

24   Wodak and Meyer op. cit.; Kendall 2007; Wodak 1996

25   For more detailed description of DHA and for key-terms´ definitions see Krzyżanowski 2010; Wodak and Meyer op. cit.; Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2008; Wodak 2008, Reisigl and Wodak 2001 and related bibliographies.

26   Krzyżanowski 2010

27   Krzyżanowski 2010, pp. 72-73; see also Reisigl and Wodak 2001, pp. 32-35 for further discussion

28   Reisigl and Wodak 2009, p. 88

29   Reisigl and Wodak 2009

transforming culture and society'[30]; compared to other CDA schools actually the 'discourse' is more context-dependent, as well as related to 'a macro-topic'. Discourse is also considered to be 'linked to the argumentation about validity claims such as truth and normative validity involving several social actors who have different points of view'[31].

DHA includes a specific 'third dimension' to its analysis, which is the 'historicity of the discourse': a given discourse is therefore closely connected to discourses that were produced earlier, to those that are synchronic and to those that are going to be produced afterwards[32]. Discourses are concretely realized through texts that can be written, oral or visual. Accordingly, great attention is paid to investigate intertextual and interdiscursive relations among different genres and fields of actions, in order to find out diachronic and synchronic recontextualization of discourse, discourse topics and genres and texts. This analysis is based on a multi-level concept of context, which embraces four levels, recursively taken into account during the analysis[33]:

1. intra-textual and intra-discursive

2. inter-textual, inter-discursive and inter-genre

3. specific situational context (extra-linguistic I)

4. broader socio-historical context (extra-linguistic II)

The following empirical analysis will start with the selection of the materials and their historical contextualisation within the Kosovan education debate, disclosing the role that education and schooling had in fuelling the conflict, and spreading ethnic unrests and conflict[34]. It will follow a pre-analytical classification

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30   Wodak 1996, p. 17

31   Reisigl and Wodak 2009, p. 89

32   Wodak 1996

33   Wodak and Meyer 2009

34   Davies 2004, p. 109; Bush and Saltarelli op. cit.

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and characterisation of genres and will continue with the proper analysis, divided in entry-level analysis (discourse topics) and in-depth analysis that includes analysis of social actors, argumentation strategies and analysis of arguments' topoi and fallacies.

Historical context - Overview of education in Kosovo

For a long time education has been a controversial issue in Kosovo and one of the main fields where ethic unrests and autonomy claims have been played. Every time the power balance changed in favour of one or the other ethnic group, education has suffered massive changes, both in structure and infrastructure[35].

In fact from both sides the approach to education has been ethnically exclusivist, to the extent that 'the Serbian-Albanian battle over education has been battle for Kosovo in miniature. [...] There is a close historical linkage between politics and education in Kosovo, to the extent that political control of one group has implied a denial of education to other ethnic group'[36]. This has happened repeatedly in the last centuries, with the only partial exception of the Socialist period[37] when, under the slogan 'Brotherhood and Unity', universal access to education was constitutionally guaranteed; schooling at every level was provided both in Albanian and in Serbian language and the province of Kosovo received substantial educational autonomy with the constitutional reform in 1974[38].

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35   Kostovicova 2005

36   Kostovicova 1999, p. 12

37   Nevertheless it is suggested (see Kostovicova 2005 and related bibliography) that also during Socialism the nationhood was informally reinforced, on one side through the structural system of Yugoslavia, on the other side due to the weakness of civil society and the consequent recourse to ethnic-oriented networking and identification.

38   According to the Constitutions of 1974 Albanian students, like the other students of Yugoslavia, were still expected to receive an education Marxist in its orientation and to serve Yugoslav socio-economic objectives. Education had to be 'instrumental in training young people to work and self management and educating them in the spirit of the achievement of the Socialist revolution ... the equality of nations and nationalities and socialist internationalism' (initial provision n.5).

Since student protests in 1981, education in Albanian language started to be perceived as 'pillar of resistance against what Albanian perceived as a Serbian policy in a Communist guise'[39]. But the same feeling was somewhat shared by Serbs, who felt their presence in Kosovo endangered: the protests were therefore handled as ethnic unrests, and Communist authorities took the chance to tighten up on Albanian education: the 'national content' was cut off from textbooks or highly disputed, and the curriculum was uniformed to the Serbian one.

The topic of Serbian insecurity was strongly pushed, and since 1990 ethnic shifts were introduced in schools and with the school year 1991/1992 the so called 'Albanian parallel system' of education started[40]. It was a direct consequence of the abolition of Kosovo autonomy carried out by Slobodan Milošević and the dismissal of Albanian school personnel and students, and it brought to an absolute ethnic division within the Kosovo´s education. It was actually included in a broader system of parallel institutions, way the most efficient part of it, becoming therefore the strongest 'political expression of Albanian nationhood'[41], where, for the first time after the Second World War, Albanians were enabled to determine their curriculum, rejecting the Serbian nationalized one that was now conditional to teach (and to attend) Serbian controlled official education. The curriculum inevitably became a mean to support Albanian nationalism, and textbooks were imported from Albania[42]. The system adopted different solutions according to the local context[43], and was funded through a rudimental tax system in

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39   Kostovicova 1999, p. 14

40   Kostovicova 1992; 2005; 2009

41   Kostovicova 2009, p. 2

42   Davies 1999, p. 106. As a consequence 'young Kosovo Albanians grew up immersed in a nationalist culture quite divorced from Brotherhood and Unity of the Yugoslavian days. [...] Albanians no longer learned Serbian either (Judah 2008, p. 73). Curricula were actually changed on both sides, as a reaction to the exacerbating dispute, and social sciences such as literature, history or geography were 'nationalized' (Kostovicova 2009).

43   Sometimes schooling took places in regular schools split in two parts through internal walls; this was the case especially for primary school, due that was compulsory up to eight grade by law; otherwise private buildings were converted into classrooms, (secondary schools and especially university, that were looked at as 'more dangerous') (Kostovicova 1999, pp. 15ff).

Kosovo and in the diaspora set up by the newly created party LDK (Democratic League of Kosovo), headed by Ibrahim Rugova. This also meant that schools tended to be run by party directives[44], but at the same time they became an important symbol of liberation and competence; the historian Noel Malcolm states that they relied on the strategy of political 'as if'[45], which would have eventually turned into a real system in the long run.

The system ended officially with the UN Council Resolution 1244; this did not mean a straightforward return to the previous situation, since the legacy left by the parallel system was deep and multi-faceted, casting 'long shadow on Kosovo after NATO intervention, the removal of Serbian domination and the establishment of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)'[46]. It is in fact visible how the (spatial) ethnic division has been perpetuated, also but not exclusively in schools, and how the plan of creating an integrated multicultural society is not really taking off[47]. Local communities are focused on the need to separate and separation by ethnicity is assimilated with security, and 'the international community has pushed reintegration as an ideal outcome but daily reality is far different'[48]. According to a report from OSCE 'there has not been any sign of genuine tolerance or attempt to find a common ground between Kosovo Albanian and Kosovo Serbs communities regarding the consolidation of the educational system'[49]. Both communities basically kept shaping their national education according to their vision of Kosovo final status; moreover, also within the Kosovo Albanian community competition over the control of new structure started between the former government in exile and KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army)-backed provisional government.

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44   Davies 2004, p. 107

45   Malcolm 1998, p. 348

46   Kostovicova 2005, p. 4

47   Pupovci and Hyseni 2001

48   Weinstein *et. al.*, op. cit., p. 58

49   OSCE 2003, p. 31

The structural reconstruction (material, legal and scientific) of the education system after the conflict was organized and carried out under of UNMIK (Pillar II, Civil Administration) with the support of the so-called lead agencies[50]. They first set up a Joint Civil Commission of Education (JCCE) under UNMIK´s Education Department, with consultative function, and then established a Department of Education and Science in 2000 (UNMIK/REG/2000/11), in which UNMIK authorities and locally nominated officials shared power and responsibilities, at least nominally. Education was one of the first sectors to be handed over to locals, in March 2002 after the installation of the locally elected government. If before the NATO intervention the conflict over education was handled mainly between Serbs and Albanians, after 1999 the power of the two disputants decreased in favour of third parties – mainly international – mediation and arbitration[51].

UNMIK deployed in a highly conflictive and volatile context where the parties still disagreed about fundamental questions of what the political community is, whether and where the physical boundaries of the territory should be drawn, and what kind of institutions are required for its administration. The lack of consensus over the future status of Kosovo made each step towards toward political reconstruction fundamentally contentious[52].

At the same time the Serbian parallel system supported by Belgrade kept functioning at every level, from primary to higher education, since parents felt that mixed schools were unsafe and unsuitable for their children[53]. Teachers have continued to apply the curriculum issued by the Minister of Education of Serbia, which is considered a matter of loyalty and thus a highly political act, a way to show not be under the control of the enemy[54]. Classes are organized in school buildings available in enclaves, but also in private

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50   Gradari and Zefi 2009; Stevens 2001, pp. 110ff

51   Poerwawidadgo 2002

52   Den Boer and Van der Borgh 2011, p. 71)

53   UNICEF 2004; OSCE 2003)

54   Sommers and Buckland 2004

houses, since ethnic shifts have been very rare after the conflict[55]. Organizing education in Serbian is for Kosovo Serbs a main pillar for the survival of the nationhood as well as a proof of the effectiveness of the UN Security Council Resolution 1244[56].

UNMIK made a number of attempts to dismantle the parallel system of education at every level. There is record that in 2002 UNMIK officials negotiated an agreement with the Serbian Ministry of Education, but it seems that at the last moment the Serbian delegation could not hold together and the action failed[57]. The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology of Kosovo (MEST) is nominally on the same path of having a single curriculum for all Kosovan communities translated in different languages. But in fact curriculum in Serbian language has been drafted but not issued yet, and neither it is available a specific strategy for the integration of Serb pupils, nor figures about Serb schools and students are available on statistical papers produced by MEST or governmental institutions[58]. Interestingly the three existing strategies for pre-University education issued by MEST show a different stance towards the existence of the Serbian parallel system. The strategy of 2003 has a first goal the 'unification of the Education system'[59], the strategy of 2006 defines the Serbian parallel system as a 'challenge to be dealt with'[60] and finally the last strategy drafted in 2011 accepts the use of the Republic of Serbia curriculum and textbooks, as stated by the Law Municipal Education[61]. Seemingly, differences are not due to a change of opinion of Kosovo authorities regarding the existence of the Serbian parallel system in Kosovo, but rather a more or less a covert acceptance of the sheer circumstances on one

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55   Murseli 2002; OSCE 2009

56   UN Council Resolution 1244 preserves in fact territorial integrity of Serbia. Kostovicova 2005; Sommers and Buckland, op. cit.

57   Sommers and Buckland *op. cit.*, p. 127

58   OSCE 2003; 2006; 2009

59   MEST 2003, p. 8

60   MEST 2006, p. 18

61   MEST 2011, p. 70

side and international pressure on the other[62].

OSCE´s reports point out basically three reasons for the maintenance of the parallel system: the perceived lack of security of the Serbian community, the difficulties in finding a common ground from both sides and the double salaries offered to the Kosovo Serb teachers.

Situational context - Review of Serbian teaching materials in 2009

There was an early attempt of drafting a new curricular framework in Kosovo in 2000-2001. UNICEF was identified as Lead Agency for the curriculum development, in close cooperation with UNESCO-International Bureau of Education (IBE). A team of local experts was appointed[63], together with a curriculum specialist in the Department of Education and Science. The Curriculum Framework Document was published[64], but never officially adopted, due to a number of reasons, including but, not limited to, the lack and fluctuation of structures; nor were subject-specific curricula further developed. Also arrangements and massive resources had been activated for the printing of textbooks, with the support of a group of agencies led by Kosovo Foundation for Open Society (KFOS). UNMIK insisted so that books were reviewed by a Kosovar panel of educators and ultimately approved by UNMIK itself before the definitive printing. But it became soon apparent that books were also shipped from other countries, such as Serbia, Albania, Macedonia and Bosnia, somehow bypassing the screening process.

In 2009 a process of revision of the Curriculum Framework was initiated, in line with the more recent strategy for pre-University Education, issued in 2007. But at the same time, an

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62   This specific topic needs to be further investigated, and it is currently part of my doctoral dissertation.

63   Sommers and Buckland, *op. cit.*

64   MEST 2001

Independent Commission was established for reviewing Serbian curriculum and textbooks, and consequently formulating a report containing measures and actions to be taken to ensure their conformity with the Kosovo constitution and the Ahtisaari plan. This was probably done in direct response to the last report prepared by OSCE (2009), which stated that Kosovan local authorities did not seem to be very much engaged neither to foster the inclusion of Serbian community nor to integrate the Serbian parallel system. The commission was constituted by three Kosovan MPs from Serb community, one representative of the International Civilian Office (ICO) and three representatives from MEST. The operation was justified with the right for the members of communities to receive public education in their mother tongue, including Serbian, which is one of the official languages of Kosovo. Interestingly, the Report states that, due to the lack of curriculum and textbooks in Serbian language by Kosovan authorities, the use of Serbian curriculum and textbook produced by the Republic of Serbia 'will continue to be necessary'[65]. The result of the revision is a list of contentious issues and contents present in Serbian curriculum and textbooks, followed by a proposal of 'measures and actions to be taken by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology in order to ensure reasonable conformity of the Serbian language curriculum and textbooks with the Constitution of Kosovo and relevant legislation'[66]. The report highlights three main issues to be addressed to ensure harmonisation between the Serbian language teaching materials with the Constitution of Kosovo. Two are related to the curriculum, namely the difference of structure of the education system between Kosovo (5+4+3 model) and Serbia (4+4+4 model), and the religious education, that is compulsory in Serbia and not at all part of the curriculum in secular Kosovo, whereas the third one regards content in Serbian teaching materials not considered compatible with the Constitutional Framework of Kosovo. Especially history curriculum is considered to be problematic, since it does not present history of Kosovo, but rather of the Serbian nation as a whole and do not

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65   MEST 2010, p. 2

66   MEST 2010, p. 4

cover events post-1998[67].

The whole process is therefore very politically-driven, and members of the commission itself are mostly not technicians, but rather political appointed personalities, even those coming from the Ministry of Education[68]. The revision is considered to be an interim solution pending the approval and the implementation of the new Kosovo Curriculum Framework, that will be available in each of the recognised languages of instruction, included Serbian; at the same time it tries to assimilate and legitimise to the Serbian parallel system. It is apparent in fact that changes are proposed only in the so-called 'national subjects' – literature, history-geography-religion studies, to harmonize them to the constitutional framework of Kosovo, which is of course the main point of controversy with Serbia.

Selection of Material and classification of genres

The choice of material intends to provide a small selection of the written production concerning the debate over curricula and textbook´s within the Kosovan education systems. The first document is an on-line article from a Serbian news website (B92); the second is a press release issued by the Kosovan Ministry of Education, Science and Technology of Kosovo (MEST) (see Annex 1 for further details). They have been written in a period of two weeks, more than two years after the self-declaration of independence of Kosovo, and they are both informing about the Comprehensive Report elaborated by an Independent Commission for the review of Serbian language teaching materials and issued by MEST itself[69].

The first text, 'Serbian Textbooks revised in Kosovo' (B92) comes from B92, a Serbian broadcaster with national coverage headquartered in Belgrade. It targets chiefly urban and young

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67   MEST 2010, p. 6

68   Two of the three representatives of MEST were in fact a Minister's advisor and the deputy Minister.

69   MEST 2010

audience and cover topics with pretty liberal political attitude. Main sources for the article are possibly unofficial news from Pristina, since the publication precedes the official launch of the Report. The name of the author is not given. As it is common to the genre, it addresses general audience and has informative intent, yet aiming at getting across a specific view on the topic. The text has been analysed in official translation in English language available on the Website. The second, entitled 'Prezantohet Raporti për rishikimin e kurrikulumit dhe materialeve mësimore në gjuhën serbe' (Presentation of the Report for revision of curriculum and teaching materials in Serbian language) (MEST1) is actually the press release following the official presentation on the Comprehensive Report. There is no author, but the text has been produced within the Information Office of the Ministry of Education, Sciences and Technology of Kosovo. Usually MEST press releases cover some specific events to which the Minister of Education (mostly) or some high officials of MEST took part to. Such texts are produced by a specific office within Ministry, addressing general audience but also other media and aiming at providing the official line of the Ministry on a certain topic.

Analysis of selected materials

The analysis of the texts is divided in two part: the entry level of analysis, or thematic analysis, (Table 1) aims at mapping the content, in order to gain a systematic overview of the two selected texts, and to single out 'discourse topics', the 'most 'important' or 'summarising' idea[s] that underlie the meanings of a sequence of sentences'[70]. After that, the in-depth analysis (Table 2) intends to establish the actual characteristics and features of the identified discourses, and other means of linguistic realisation.

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70   van Dijk 1984, p. 56

Table 1- entry-level of analysis:

B92:	MEST1
Discourse Topics • Certain content of Serbian curriculum allegedly do not promote principles of freedom and democracy • Removed content non compatible with interest of Kosovo authorities • Serbian teachers will stick to Serbian curriculum • Changes in the curriculum according to the report: ◦ Literature to be removed ◦ History and geography to present Kosovo as part of Serbia ◦ Music teachers should teach national anthem of Kosovo ◦ Albanian language to be taught to Serb pupils • Concept of multiethnic Kosovo is gone • The revision want to be rational but leave out real facts • Uncertainty of Albanian nationalism • Presentation of the report: ◦ postponed ◦ No comment of the commission before the presentation • Composition of the Commission: ◦ The Serb chairperson of the commission was allegedly sued by several people and is under investigation	Discourse Topics *(Minister of Education, Science and technology of Kosovo):* • Special day for education in Kosovo • (Special day for) implementation of Ahtisaari plan and Kosovo Constitution • Aim of single education system • Work and composition of commission • Support of ICO • Report approved by all members of commission • Integrative learning material offered to Serbian schools *(ICO representative):* • Positive step for education in native language • Congratulation to the Minister of Education • Beneficial for Serbian community • Starting point for Integrated curriculum for all Kosovo • ICO support its implementation *(Chairperson of the committee):* • Subjects revised ◦ History is the most problematic subject ◦ Kosovan communities to be represented in peace in view of the European integration

Table 2 - in-depth analysis:

B92		
Nomination Social actors:	**Predication – Discursive qualification:**	**Argumentation - Topoi**
• Change	• Made under a pretext	• Topos of pretext of change ◦ Certain content fails to promote freedom and democracy ◦ Removed content against the interest of Kosovo authorities • Topos of definition of 'problematic' and 'objectionable' content ◦ Content that fails to promote freedom and democracy ◦ Content that presents Kosovo as part of Serbia • Topos of removal of content • Topos of failure of Kosovo as multi-ethnic country • Topos of unscientific revision • Topos of expected results of the review • Topos of construction of loyal and disloyal (Serbian) actors
• Kosovo Government committee	• Reviewed textbooks; • Found history and geography objectionable; • Found problematic content in poems; • They did not want to make a statement before the official presentation;	
• Kosovo authorities	• Decided that Serbian pupils shall learn Albanian; • Formed by Radivoje Mančić, Bratislav Zrzević, Ljubiša Sipić, three Albanian and one representative of the international community.	
• Serbian Ministry of Education	• Stated the revision is an attempt to remove content incompatible with interest of Kosovo authorities;	
• Serbian teachers	• They will stick to present curriculum; • They are asked to prepare lessons about Kosovo anthem;	
• Poems	• Have been removed from Serbian textbook in Kosovo; • Have a problematic content • Fail to promote the principles of freedom and democracy	
• Kosovo Ministry of Education	• Formed the Committee;	
• Čedomir Antić (historian)	• He said the procedure shows the concept of multiethnic Kosovo is gone; • Said that Albanian nationalism is uncertain;	
• Radivoje Mančić	• He is the Chairperson of the Commettee; • Allegedly founder of Ekoman Univesity • Allegedly sued for fraud by students;	
• Beograd media	• Reported Mančić as founder of Ekoman University; • They claim Mančić to be under investigation by police in Niš;	

MEST1		
Social actors:	**Predications:**	**Topoi – argumentation**
• Minister of Education of Kosovo (Enver Hoxhaj)	• He says this is a special day for Kosovo system of education and implementation of Ahtisaari Plan;	• Topos of general relevance of the action ○ implementation of Ahtisaari plan and Constitution of Kosovo ○ First step for single curriculum
• We	• 'in possess' of system of education; • Starting an important phase in the implementation of Ahtisaari plan; • (as MEST) initiating the general curriculum reform;	• Topos of full agreement over the report ○ Within the commission ○ ICO/ MEST • Topos of advantages for Serbian schools
• Chief of ICO (Peter Feith)	• Supported the work of commission; • Evaluated the report as positive step; • Congratulating the Minister of Education and the Committee; • Supporting the implementation of the Report	○ Integrative materials offered to Serbian schools ○ Right to education in mother tongue • Topos of purpose of textbooks ○ Peace, tolerance and cohabitation between communities ○ Not showing Serbs and Albanians as executors and victims ○ European future
• Committee for Revision	• Composed by 3 representatives of Serb community, 1 representative of ICO and 3 of MEST; • Producing a detailed report; • All agreed on the report;	
• Kosovo Ministry of Education	• Advised to publish some material to distribute in Serbian school; • Advised to give to Serbian schools Kosovo maps; • Advised to give to Serbian school Kosovo anthem;	
• Serbian Community in Kosovo	• Supposed to benefit from the Report;	
• Chief of the Committee (Radivoje Mančić)	• Authorized to prepare solution on the issue;	
• Albanians	• Not present in Serbian history textbooks; • Depicted as victims in Serbian history textbooks;	
• Serbians	• Depicted as aggressor in Serbian history textbooks;	

Results

It is possible to observe that B92 leaves out, or takes for granted, the macro-context of the process of integration of the Serbian parallel system. Only very general statements are made, such as the 'promotion of principles of freedom and democracy', or the 'interest of Kosovo authorities', which are the alleged motivations of the reviewing process. On the contrary MEST1 highlights the synergies and the support granted by ICO to the initiative, both from Kosovan and international side. It is also clearly stated that the outcome of the revision supports both the implementation of the Ahtisaari plan and the Constitution of Kosovo, and it is an interim solution before the unique Kosovo Curriculum Framework. The press release smoothes out problematic points and conflicts intrinsically connected with such operation. Also in their argumentations, they follow a similar but opposite strategies; B92 tries to list arguments that would invalidate the Report and discredit the whole operation from different points of view. It firstly questions Kosovan authorities´ intention, which it is called "pretext" or "interest", then doubts if the problematic content could be actually considered as such. After that it is argued that the report destroys the concept of multi-ethnicity in Kosovo, and that it promotes rather unscientific and antirational changes. Finally it calls into question even the Serbian chairperson, claiming he would be under investigation for fraud. Similarly, MEST1 recalls more closely the report itself and is built in such a way to accumulate good reasons to validate the action. The Minister of Education in fact highlights how crucial this is for Kosovo Republic and its present and future education system, and that the report is backed by the whole commission and ICO. Peter Feith, representative of ICO, remarks the same concept, and argues that it conforms to the rights of instruction in pupils' mother tongue, and that Serbian schools will benefit from final recommendations and

measures. The commission's chairperson finally shows the guiding principles of the revision, and what purposes should curriculum and textbooks aspire to, namely pacific cohabitation and European integration.

Some fallacies[71] are visible in both lines of reasoning: the texts lean extensively on argumenta ad verecundiam, which is the extensive reference to authorities considered to be or passed off as being competent to beck different standpoint. For instance, in B92 the historian states the scientific and rational nature of present Serbian curriculum, with no further support of evidences or arguments, and likewise acts the commission's chairperson in MEST1. Compatibly they also resort to argumenta ad populum, drawing upon prejudices emotions and opinions of specific social groups, for example by mentioning – in B92 - some example of contents that are considered to be problematic in the report, but that at same time could result rather shocking, at least in the intentions – to the recipient. Subtly, B92 describes the news as change that has been decided and made, and not like a report containing a list of suggestions and measures (fallacy of ambiguity), furthermore it attacks the committee chairperson in order to discredit him (argumentum ad hominem). On the other side, MEST justifies the action, as it is said above, as a measure that will guarantee to Serbs the right of instruction in their mother tongue. Indeed, given the lack curriculum and textbooks in Serbian language issued by the Kosovo authorities, it is exactly the permanence of the Serbia-run system that somehow does it (argumentum ad ignorantiam).

In B92 international actors, yet crucial in the process, are virtually overlooked, whereas much of attention is given to Serb persons involved, such as teachers or Serbian MPs included in the Commission. They are the only one to be mentioned with their full names, and their position is firmly defined: teachers will continue to use the curriculum supported by Belgrade, whereas Serbian deputies joined the commission. On the other side, MEST1 legitimise its actions also through the international support, both

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71   In rhetoric and argumentation theory, a fallacy is defined as a violation of rules for rational disputes and construction arguments. See Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Eemeren and Grootendorst 1992)

the Ahtisaari Plan and the ICO; the Serbian authorities are not constructed at all as part of the dialogue, and also the Kosovo Serbs are mentioned only as recipient of the revision; rather, the direct dialogue is internal between MEST and ICO.

Conclusions

It is a political action in its intention and results, and there is no explicit concern about didactic or curriculum or textbooks improvement whatsoever. There is no mention to competencies, efficacy of teaching materials or similar. Instead, it is stated that the report is an interim solution before the completion and the implementation of the new Kosovo Curriculum Framework, to be viewed in the perspective of the dismantling of Serbian parallel structures. Both report and connected debate belong, in their topics and arguments, to the more general political discourse, and as such, given the two parts' firm positions, could very hardly start off a constructive debate. Pupils, teachers or school personnel are not mentioned among the social actors, who are mainly political personalities. Further investigation will be needed to outline a status in which seemingly the dialogue between Kosovo Albanian and Kosovo Serbs (and even less with Serbian authorities) does not happen directly, but it is rather mediated through international actors: the Kosovan authorities talks about (more than to) 'Serbian' issues with international stakeholders.

Annex 1 - Tables of texts used for the analysis

MEST Press Release - Title	Translation	Available at	Released on	Affiliation	abbreviation
Prezantohet Raporti për rishikimin e kurrikulumit dhe materialeve mësimore në gjuhën serbe	Presentation of the report on the revision of curriculum and teaching material in Serbian language.	http://www.masht-gov.net/advCms/?id=20,931,82,9,2010&lng=Alb [Accessed August 2011]	30.09.2010	MEST	MEST1

B92 article - Title	Translation	Available at	Released on	Affiliation	abbreviation
Serbian Textbooks revised in Kosovo	--	http://www.b92.net/eng/news/politics-article.php?yyyy=2010&mm=09&dd=17&nav_id=69739 [Accessed August 2011]	17.09.2010	B92	B92

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