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Edona Begu

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**Pre-university Educational System and
inequalities in Kosovo**

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Author: B.Sc. Edona Begu

Supervisor: Prof. PhDr. Arnošt Veselý, Ph. D.

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Abstract

The institutional structure of the education system is crucial for understanding the educational inequalities. Kosovo is a young country and its education system is undergoing major reforms. Hence, studies and research in the impact that the educational system arrangement has on inequalities barely exist. The main goal of this thesis was to understand the institutional setting of pre-university education system in Kosovo and its impact in inequalities, especially in terms of labour market outcomes, social status outcomes and educational outcomes. After evaluation of Kosovo's education system along standardization and stratification dimensions introduced by Allmendinger, in the widely known typology for educational inequalities, Kosovo's pre-university education resulted to be highly standardized and highly stratified. Thus, the quality of education provision is uniform for all the students, which is reflected in their similar educational outcomes in PISA test. However, the students are stratified in different tracks, which influence and restrict their future outcomes in labour market and their status in the society. These conclusions were backed up with secondary data analysis which states that there are no inequalities in educational outcomes in Kosovo. While there are differences in terms of opportunities for vocational school students which are reflected in their labour market outcomes. The vocational students result to face higher unemployment than gymnasium students and have lower occupational status jobs, which determine their status in the society.

Keywords

Kosovo, typology of education system, standardization, stratification, inequalities.

Range of thesis: 92 pages

Declaration of Authorship

1. The author hereby declares that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.
2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.
3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

Prague 2017



Edona Begu

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- A. Research problem definition:** Provide links to other research studies - the current level of knowledge (more detailed information should be provide in Part D. Theoretical background) and formulation and justification of research problem. At the end of this paragraph, try to formulate a research problem in one sentence.

In general many authors have touched the topic of the role that education can play in generation of inequalities in a society. The argument that the socio-economical background and the parents' education play a great role on a student's education attainment is well grounded and backed by many researches (Veselý 2012). Many authors have strived to understand the strong association between parents' and their children's educational attainment or simply the reproduction of education from one generation to the other. To explore such answers is important to look at the big picture and not just the causal relation between parents' and children's education. Hence, it crucial to understand the education provision and processes. In this regards, there has been substantial research in Western and Central and Eastern European countries that indicate that students coming from less privileged backgrounds are more likely to follow the vocational tracks that would lower unemployment risks but will grant a lower job statues (Shavit, Yaish, Bar-Haim. n.d.; 1998; Kogan, Gebel & Noelke 2011). Such studies and analysis of the education and reproduction of inequalities have not been conducted in Kosovo. Hence, in this diploma thesis, I want to analyze the Kosovo's education system with the aim of understanding the education inequalities in this country. So, the research problem that I will try to explore is to understand weather the educational system in Kosovo, specifically the differentiations in the upper secondary level of education have any implication on social inequality. More precisely, I will try to explore weather students from less privileged backgrounds are more likely to follow the vocational programs that limit their opportunities.

- B. Objectives (their direct link to the formulated research problem)**

The overall objective of this paper is to understand the role that the organization of the education system in Kosovo and specifically the differentiation in the upper - secondary education have in reproducing inequalities. A sub-goal is to explore whether the parental education has an influence in the chances of attaining a specific educational degree at the upper secondary level in Kosovo.

- C. Research questions**

The research questions that I will try to address in this project are:



Is Kosovo's education system reproducing education inequalities?
What is the level of socio-economic inequality in access to education in Kosovo?
Do vocational schools differ from general schools in terms opportunities for students (educational opportunities and educational outcomes, and labour market opportunities)?
Does parents' educational level affect the attainment of a specific degree?

D. Theoretical concept - You could also specify the conceptual framework, analytical models representing the main components of the research problem and its social, economic and political context.

The conceptual framework that I will use in this thesis is to firstly define the important concepts that provide context and explanation to the topic of education and inequalities. So the main theoretical concepts that I will be define are concepts of: selectivity, stratification, tracking and socio-economic reproduction in education. To provide context to the current education system in Kosovo, in the analysis, I will review historical and sociological literature that will provide relevant evidence. While in order to understand the current legal and political background of the education system in Kosovo I will review education inputs or the three main actions that governments have at their disposal: (a) formulation of goals and problems, (b) policy instruments, and (c) institutional setting by looking at the relevant documentation as expressed in the table below (Vesely 2012):

Main Type of actions	Sub-actions	Examples of documents
Problems and goals	Goal formulation	Goal formulation in strategic documents
	Problem formulation	Problem formulation in strategic documents
Instruments	Regulatory instruments	Laws, regulations, decisions
	Economic instruments	Grants, taxes, vouchers
	Information instruments	Campaigns, school rankings, training programs
	Monitoring and evaluation	Nation-wide tests
	Curriculum	Nation-wide standards, curriculum framework
Institutional setting	Educational system structure	System stratification, system standardization
	Educational system governance	Centralization or decentralization, autonomy

Author: (Vesely 2012)

E. Research plan

- 1.1.Introduction to the topic;
- 1.2.Methodology;
- 1.3.Conduct the literature review on the topic of educational systems and reproduction of inequalities;
- 1.4. Conduct the review of research studies on the field of intergenerational education attainment in Western, and Central and Eastern European countries;
- 1.5.Review the historical background of education system in Kosovo (the path dependency can explain the current education structure);



- 1.6. Gather and review the legal and empirical evidence regarding the educational system in Kosovo (the structure, certification, PISA results for education and social background, other data about the social status of the students-*if available*);
- 1.7. Contact and if necessary meet officials from Education Management System and/or Ministry of Education to see if they have any database or reports that can provide information regarding the social status of the students in the different schools.
- 1.8. Based on the information gathered analyze Kosovo education system and the reproduction of inequalities;
- 1.9. Conclusion and Recommendation.

Optional

- 1.10. Design the student questionnaire that will be sent to students in general and vocational school in upper secondary school in two municipalities in Kosovo (Pristina and Gjakova). The aim is to see whether the parental education has an impact the chances of attaining specific education degrees at the upper secondary level;
- 1.11. Reach the Municipal Education Directorate in two municipalities to get their approval and support;
- 1.12. Disseminate the questionnaire in the schools;
- 1.13. Analyse the results and report them;

F. Literature:

There is an extensive educational and sociological literature regarding the education and reproduction of inequalities. Also, there are extensive researches that tried to shed light on the topic of inequalities in education using different indicators and measure. Such researches that typify and rank countries, mainly western and central European countries, hold a special importance in the academic world but also they are crucial for an informed policy-making process. When it comes to the education inequality reproduction, two fundamental theoretical approaches pertain—socialization model and allocation model (Veselý 2012). The socialization model explains the education reproduction focusing at the individual level, stipulating that peoples' educational attainment and status relay on their abilities, ambitions and aspirations (Veselý 2012). While the allocation theory, brings to attention the role that the structures and social mechanisms have in controlling peoples' achievement independently from their abilities, ambitions and aspirations (Mateju & Pescar). Thus for example in education system people face different structural constrains and selective criteria in order to attain a particular education level. There is a vast literature that deals with typologies and comparison of education systems primarily focusing in education inequalities. According to Kerckhoff, who built upon the previous work Allmendinger, the differences among educational systems are explained through three dimensions: *stratification* (tracking), *standardization* and *vocational specification* (Kerckhoff 2001; Veselý 2012).

The stratification concept or dimension denotes the extent to which the education system in a country has differentiated types of schools with clear differences in curricula which are labelled as “higher” or “lower”(2001). A stratified education system usually referees to differences in secondary school that later impact the path that students will follow in their adulthood because different types of schools are associated with different access to opportunity. For instance, most of



the education systems, including Kosovo, differentiate schools in “general” and “vocational or technical” at the higher secondary level. When it comes to curriculum differentiations in high school there are two perspectives in the sociological and educational literature. One promotes the idea that the resources should be allocated where they would maximize the returns (Alexander et al. 1978). So in this perspective, the teaching or curriculum should be appropriate to the abilities and the potential of the students. Saying so students who have high performance achievement and aim to pursue a higher education should be provided with an academically oriented high school. While the second perspective argues that the curriculum differentiation, as it is commonly organized, allocates resources to the intellectually advantaged and neglects to provide help for those who need it - the deprived youth (1978). Usually, students in vocational or non-college tracks cannot have access to teacher, counsellors and information that would challenge their abilities and improve their performance and eventually increase their interest. With such obstacles, these students are not encouraged to compete with those that are initially doing better and are not required to strive for academic excellence.

The standardization concept denotes the extent to which the quality of education is uniform or the same throughout a country (Kerckhoff 2001). This concept primarily focuses in the degree of centralization and autonomy that exists within an education system in aspects related to “teachers’ training, school budgets, curricula, and the uniformity of school-leaving examinations are relevant” (Kerckhoff 2001). Usually countries where the education is controlled by central government, for example the teachers’ training is overseen by the central government or/and the curricula is set by the central government, have a high standardization.

On the other, the vocational specification concept denotes the extent to which an education system provides curricula which prepares students for specific vocations and awards vocationally specific credentials (Kerckhoff 2001). Usually, the highly stratified education systems provide more vocationally specific credentials. In highly stratified education systems such as Germany, the actual idea behind such stratification is to identify students who can “enter general divisions of the occupational hierarchy (Kerckhoff 2001).



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H. Signatures

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Student

.....
Supervisor

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Abbreviations

AI	Administrative Instruction
KAS	Kosovo Agency of Statistics
MED	Municipal Education Directorate
MEST	Ministry of Education Science and Technology
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo

Introduction

Regardless if they view the state “as a bearer of functional modernity, an agent of economic elites, or a mediator of class conflict,” most of the theorists recognize the central role that the state has in education (Buchmann & Hannum 2001). A state through its educational policies can determine and shape the structure of educational system and the provision of educational opportunities. In the past decades, was created a vast body of literature and empirical research, which has substantially expanded the understanding regarding the impact that the institutional setting of educational systems has on educational inequalities. Many landmark research studies have shown that the structure of the education system is crucial when trying to understand the educational inequalities because the institutional setting determines the prospects of the people (Allmendinger 1989; Kerckhoff 2001; Vesely 2012). Allmendinger’s seminal work in typologies of education has been widely used and holds a key importance in explaining educational inequalities. According to this typology the main characteristics which determine educational inequalities in an education system are standardization and stratification (tracking). Standardization refers to the extent to which the quality of education is uniform or the same throughout a country in issues like “teachers’ training, school budgets, curricula, and the uniformity of school-leaving examinations are relevant” (Allmendinger 1989; Kerckhoff 2001). Stratification refers to the external differentiation or formal selection of students into different tracks within the system (different schools).

Given the fact that Kosovo is a new country, as it might be expected, its education system is still under construction and is undergoing through major reforms. In the last years, there have been major policy actions, which will give rise to a system with unknown educational effects in inequalities. The effects of the education system are of crucial importance in Kosovo, because it has one of the youngest populations in the region with around 28% of the population younger than 15 years. Furthermore, around 65% of the population belongs to the working age population 15-64 and only 25.2% of this age group is employed (Kosovo Agency of Statistics 2016). Moreover, studies and research in the impact of the educational system arrangement and its impact on inequalities in Kosovo barely exist. Therefore, the overall goal of this thesis is to understand the institutional setting of pre-university education system in Kosovo and its impact in inequalities. A special, emphasis will be given to the impact that the Kosovo’s education system has in labour market outcomes, social status outcomes and

educational outcomes. Hence, some of the questions that, I will try to answer, are: *‘What type of education system Kosovo has (standardized/unstandardized, stratified/unstratified)? What type of inequalities does the education system in Kosovo generate (inequalities in education outcome, inequalities in labor market outcome and inequalities in social status)? Do vocational schools differ from general schools in terms opportunities for students (educational opportunities and educational outcomes, and labour market opportunities)?*

To achieve this aim, I will typify Kosovo's education system according to education inequalities relying on the widely used typology for educational inequalities introduced by Allmendinger. Firstly, using this typology I will evaluate Kosovo's education system along the criteria standardization (provision of equal quality of education nationwide) and stratification (the selection procedures within the systems) whereby I will introduce the analytical framework with variables for each dimension. Secondly, based on the available secondary data gathered from Kosovo Agency of Statistics, Ministry of Education Science and Technology and PISA test results, will be drawn conclusions regarding the educational inequalities in pre-university education in Kosovo. Finally, I will make general conclusions and provide recommendations. The methodology that will be used is a deductive approach using theoretical reasoning, as well as, secondary data analysis for making conclusions. The analytical framework that will be used to make this analysis will rely on typology introduced by Allmendinger.

1. Historical Perspective

Education is a highly “embedded” process, which means that education is not only embedded in the policies and formal laws of the country but also in its traditions and unique historic events (Gross, Meyer, & Hadjar 2016). Kosovo is one of the youngest countries on the map of the world but its existence does not begin in 2008 when it declared independence. Therefore, to provide a historical perspective on Kosovo and its education, I will summarize the most important events and its implication in education after World War II.

Year 1963 represents a point where changes in the political developments in Kosovo were accompanied with changes in education system. In this year, Kosovo was officially recognized as an “autonomous province” in the Yugoslav Federation, which was composed of six republics: Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Macedonians and Bosnians (Horváth & Tonk 2014). The Yugoslav state considered the Kosovo Albanians as a minority, treating them as outsiders within Yugoslavia, since they did not have a Slav origin and as such they were considered to belong to another mother land- Albania. Despite this, with enactment of 1974 Federal Constitution a very important development in respect to the minority rights occurred, in Yugoslavia. The Federal Constitution provided more political autonomy to Kosovo authorities in deciding on education matters, including curriculum (Georgescu 2002). Moreover, they granted the minorities with the right to education in their own language, which meant that Albanians would have an education system in Albanian language (Horváth & Tonk 2014). Kosovo Albanian children for the first time, apart from the period between the two world wars, could be educated in Albanian (Judah 2008). Kosovo Albanians and Serbs enrolled disaggregated schools which was a step towards better ethnic relations. These positive changes in education policy, from previous assimilation policy, which promoted the dominant culture, to separate development of cultures - were welcomed by the Kosovo Albanians. But despite that, they did not diminish the sense of repressiveness and unequal treatment that Kosovo Albanians had. On contrary, the Albanian university students started asking to be equal and have the status of a republic, since numerously they were far more than Macedonians or Montenegrins (Judah 2008). However, such requests were shut down with the response that they are “different” and just a minority within the Yugoslavia.

Another important development that affected the education system and the later violent conflict acceleration, between Kosovo Albanians and Serbs, were the political development in and after 1989. During this year the new leader of Serbian government, Slobodan Milosevic, decided to eradicate the autonomy of Kosovo province and to transfer the rule over the province, including the education system, to Belgrade (Davies 2004). After this, a series of laws aiming to reach assimilation through education were passed i.e. in 1990, was passed the law requiring a unified curriculum that would provide schooling only in Serbian language. Moreover, the Albanian school directors were replaced by Serbian ones and around 6000 teachers were dismissed with pretext of having been part of the demonstration against the government. While the rest of the teachers, around 12,000, lost their jobs because they rejected to comply with the new curriculum introduced by Serbia, since it did not include the Albanian literature and history (Davies 2004). Moreover, the previous desegregated schools were introduced with two different shifts for Serbian and Albanian students or physical segregation by brick walls or fences. However, what revolted and grew anger among the Albanians was the unequal treatment of students; because the Serbian students on average made up 10 percent of the students in Kosovo and still they occupied more than half of the education premises or time (Davies 2004)).

In the beginning of 1990s and until 1999, were witnessed the reaction, of Albanian majority in Kosovo, towards the assimilation and repressive policies and the end outcome of such policies that resulted in war. The reaction of Albanians towards the repressive policies was the withdrawal of Albanians from Yugoslavia's institutional system and establishment of parallel system, which among others included education system. Indeed the parallel education system was used as political resistance, as well as cultural identification by the Albanians. During this time, education was used for purposes which surpassed the education sphere rather it was used for political power (Dimou 2009). The Albanian language parallel education system was established by Albanian teachers and professors in private houses, garages, and cellars and it was organized through self-organized finance in form of "informal tax revenues collected and managed at the municipality level" (Sommers & Buckland 2004). More importantly the parallel system enjoyed a great support because it revealed that the Albanians were willing to bear the burden of paying taxes for both the Serbian and the Albanian "authorities" although the Albanian parallel taxes were voluntary. Moreover, the support was shown with the extensive number of Albanian students that attended the

parallel education system i.e. it was estimated that by 1995 approximately 375,000 school students and 12,000 university students were enrolled in the parallel education (Davies 2004). The policy of passive nonviolence, which was demonstrated by installment of the Albanian parallel education, started to impose challenges since it strengthened the national identity of Albanians and the differences between the two ethnic groups. In addition, the Albanian-Serbian battle over education represented a battle for dominance and Kosovo in general (Drezov, Gokay & Waller 2013).

However, such pacifistic or non-violent policy, used by Albanian leaders, did not produce any outcomes or changes that enhance the life of the Albanians. Thus, in 1997, the Albanian university students demonstrated opposing the Serbian repressive policy chanting “liberate the occupied building” (Dimou 2009). However, they were also opposing the Albanian non-violent or pacifist policy, giving signals for changes in Albanian tactics, which later led to the creation of Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) (Dimou 2009). Unfortunately, the battles for dominance escalated in violence because the Serbian forces reacted brutally to the challenges that KLA represented. Tragically, Serbian force actions resulted in ethnic cleansing of Albanians; it has been estimated that around 13,500 people were killed, 1800 are still missing (Kosovo Memory Book 1998-2000) and around 1,5 million people or 90% of Kosovo population were expelled from their homes (Drezov, Gokay & Waller 2013). Despite the international attempts to diplomatically or non-violently resolve the war. The war ended, only after the NATO’s air offensives against Yugoslavia that lasted 79 days until NATO’s takeover with 45,000 troops which resulted in the withdrawal of Serbian policemen, and paramilitaries (Sommers & Buckland 2004).

After the 1999 war, Kosovo became a province administered by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) officials, who were mandated by Security of Council with executive power in every area including education (United Nation’s Security Council 1999). After the elections, in 2002, the international administration was replaced by the local representatives of the new government (Georgescu 2002). Students of Albanian majority, followed curriculum designed by the Kosovo Ministry of Education, while Serbian students followed a curriculum designed by Serbian Education Ministry (Weinstein & Hughson 2007). Acceptance of two parallel education systems in the immediate post-conflict period was seen as preventive of violence bursting. UNMIK protested to Serbs following the Belgrade education system, which continued to pay the teachers, supply Serbian

curriculum and materials. UNMIK tried to integrate the education of Kosovo Serbs under Kosovo-UNMIK authority by providing salaries to Serbian teachers (Kasai 2004). However, the end result was double salary for Serbian teachers, which is one of the reasons that keeps the Serbian parallel system still running in Kosovo. Moreover, they (UNMIK) attempted to unify the schools under the same education system but all the attempts led to failure (Sommers & Buckland 2004).

In 2006, started the United Nations (UN) sponsored negotiations for Kosovo's status settlement between Kosovo and Serbia. Although no agreement was reached between the two parties, the UN Special Envoy Martti Ahtisaari, in 2007 presented the "Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement" to UN which made it clear that the only viable option was the independence of Kosovo (Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement 2007). These proposals were endorsed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and were proposed to United Nation Security Council (2007). This event was followed by the unilateral declaration of independence, in 2008, and the adoption of Kosovo's Constitution. Further, in 2010 the International Court of Justice ruled that the declaration did not violate any international laws and argued that it represented the broad will of the people of Kosovo (International Court of Justice 2010). In the adoption of the Constitution, Kosovo made sure that the rights of minorities were embedded, as suggested by the Status Settlement proposal. Through Kosovo Constitution every minority is granted with the right of receiving a public education in their own language (Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo (2008). In addition Kosovo government made efforts to address the issues of Serbian parallel system, by trying to integrate teaching in Serbian under its system of education, stipulating that "schools that teach in Serbian language may apply curricula or textbooks developed by Ministry of Education of Serbia upon notification to the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology" (Law on Rights of Communities 2008 Art 8.5). With this purpose was established an independent commission, which reviewed the curriculum and textbooks and provided recommendation to Serbian schools. However, no Serbian school until now reached Kosovo's Ministry of Education to follow up the recommendations.

Thus it can be seen that despite these legal attempts to provide extensive rights to minorities, the antagonism between Albanians and Serbians is still prevalent. Separate systems of education are not providing the premises for interaction and

reconciliation between the people of the two ethnic groups but rather they are leading to separate development.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Explanation of inequalities in education in individual level

Although there are a number of different theories that try to explain the role of education in perpetuating social inequalities, Bourdieu's "The forms of Capital" and "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction" seem to provide one of the most thorough and deepest explanation and it holds a special importance in explaining socioeconomic inequalities in education. Bourdieu argues that to understand the functioning of social world and social structure, with all its inequalities, it is crucial to understand all the forms of capital and not only the economic capital recognized by economic theory (Bourdieu 1986). Capital is central to understanding the position and the chances of success, which different individuals or agents, have in any field including the education. Bourdieu defines capital as accumulated labour which, when taken on a private exclusive basis by agents, allows them to take social energy in the form of reified or living labour (1986). He distinguishes three forms of capital: (1) economic capital (2) cultural capital and (3) social (1986). The main conclusion from reviewing Bourdieu's capital is that all forms of capital can be transformed to economic capital and they enable the retention of status quo for the social classes - hence leading to reproduction of inequalities.

According to Bourdieu the possession of economic, social and cultural capital varies among different social class which then enables their future success or failure. Economic capital that is "immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights (Bourdieu 1986). To make it more relatable, for our case, the economic capital would be the monetary investment that for example upper families invest in the education of their child which gives them better chances for success in both labour market and academic path. More importantly, this enables them to uphold their social status in the society. In the case of Kosovo this is would represent the education of students in prestigious private university which only upper class families can offer to their offspring.) Cultural capital that is "convertible, on

certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications” (Bourdieu 1986). According to Bourdieu, cultural capital is what should be given a special attention when trying to explain the reproduction of inequalities through education system, because the culture that is transmitted through education system is closer to the dominant culture. The cultural capital is mainly related to the linguistic and cultural competences that can be obtained mainly by the family upbringing (Bourdieu 1973). Social capital that is “made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility” (Bourdieu 1986). Bourdieu, says that students coming from upper social class families have higher cultural capital thus this makes it easier for them to succeed in the academic path and enables them to have higher education credentials. On the other hand, the social capital that an individual or group possesses has been regarded as very important in explaining the education inequalities. According to Bourdieu, the social capital is the possession of durable relation and networks that one has and the ability to effectively use such connections for personal or group gains (Bourdieu 1986). According to him individuals coming from upper social class families are considered to be possessors of inherited social capital which enables them to have high quality education and high status job positions. This would mean that upper class children through their connections, have better chances to get in the best quality schools and get the jobs that will uphold their social status.

2.2 The Socialization Model and Allocation Model

There is an extensive educational and sociological literature regarding the education and reproduction of inequalities. Also, there are extensive researches that tried to shed light on the topic of inequalities in education using different indicators and measure. Such researches that typify and rank countries, mainly western and central European countries, hold a special importance in the academic world but also they are crucial for an informed policy-making process. There is a vast body of literature on education inequality and the theories developed by different authors on education inequality reproduction vary. However, some authors tried to systemize these theories and came to the conclusion that two fundamental theoretical approaches pertain to education inequality reproduction – socialization model and allocation model (Kerckhoff 1976; Veselý 2012). The socialization model has been the theoretical

perspective that has prevailed until the mid-1970s, but nowadays both socialization and allocation perspectives are considered equally legitimate.

The socialization model explains the education reproduction focusing at the individual level, stipulating that peoples' educational attainment and status relay on their abilities, ambitions and aspirations (Vesely 2012). The socialization model, gives a great attention to factors such as family, friends and peer groups, which during an individual's socialization affect his or her education aspiration (2012). It is important to point out that according to socialization perspective, the individual is perceived as relatively free to move within the social system, hence her/his attainment is considered to be a result of what she/he decided to do and how well she/he does it (1978). As Kerckhoff, claimed the socialization model can be used to explain just one side of the coin when talking about the reproduction of educational inequalities. Thus, it is very important to give the same attention to the other side of the coin, which can be explained through the allocation model.

While the allocation theory, brings to attention the role that the structures and social mechanisms have in controlling peoples' achievement independently from their abilities, ambitions and aspirations (Vesely 2012). According to the allocation approach, a person's education attainment and status are strongly influenced and even determined by the social institutions. Allocation model seeks to explain the attainment though the inspection of mechanisms and criteria of control of the individual by social agencies (Kerckhoff 1976). In allocation theory, education is seen more of a sorter, selector, and allocator than a socializer. So education in allocation theory is perceived as a set of institutional rules that legitimately classify and allocate individuals to societal positions (Meyer 1977). Hence the allocation perspective to status attainment differs from socialization model because it emphasizes the role of the structure or forces that do not depend on a person's drive i.e. societal forces that impose criteria which are used to identify, select, process, classify and assign people on their education path. So, in contrast with socialization model, the allocation model perceives the individual as relatively constrained by the social structure, hence it considers that the individuals attainment is determined by what she/he is permitted to do (Kerckhoff 1976).

2.3 Literature on Typologies of Education Systems Based in Education Inequalities

As the focus of this thesis is to typify and analyze the role that the overall educational system has in reproducing inequalities in Kosovo, in this section, I will try to expand on the existing literature and empirical evidence that will lay the foundation for the further analysis that I will carry in this thesis. Fortunately, there is an extensive work on comparative analysis of education systems, as well as typologies of education systems based in education inequalities. However, the most famous and predominant typology used for education inequalities is Allmendinger's typology who identified two dimension through which can be analyzed the differenced among the educational systems: stratification (tracking), standardization; but Kerckhoff adds a third dimension called the vocational specification (Kerckhoff 2001; Veselý 2012). To understand better these dimensions, I will use Allmendinger's and Kerckhoff's evaluation of education system of US, West Germany and Norway as an illustration. These dimensions, sometimes altered, have been used in different research studies and cross country analysis to understand the effects that the education system has in educational inequalities in general.

2.3.1 Stratification

The stratification is extensively used in exploring the educational inequalities resulting from the structure of an education system. In general, when referring to the stratification of the education system it is meant the system's selectivity character i.e. if and when are students sorted in different tracks and the effect that this tracking has in their future prospects (Veselý 2012). In here seminal work, Allmendinger, claims that stratification of the education system can be analyzed looking at the (1) degree of differentiation within an educational system (tracking) and (2) the proportion of a given age cohort that attained the maximum number of school years provided by the system (Allmendinger 1989). When looking at the degree of differentiation within an educational system (tracking) it is important to distinguish the extent to which the education system in that country has differentiated types of schools with clear differences in curricula which are labeled as "higher" or "lower" (Kerckhoff 2001) and the later impact that this tracking has in the student's adulthood. While when looking at the proportion of a given age cohort that attained the maximum number of school years

provided by an education system, it is claimed that if the proportion is high then the education system is less stratified and if the proportion is very low it is more stratified. Therefore, understanding the classification of selection procedures is crucial when trying to typify the education system. Hence, a special attention should be given to the timing of selection, the finality of selection and the consequences of selection (Allmendinger 1989).

It is generally accepted that education inequalities are more likely to happen in highly stratified education systems and they are less likely to occur in unstratified (Van de Werfhorst & Mijs 2010; Kerckhoff 2001; Allmendinger 1989; Veselý 2012). Tracking of students, which occurs in stratified education systems, is tightly linked with student's future education, occupation and social status because particular secondary tracks are associated with specific academic paths and career status. So, it is generally claimed that in stratified education system, the occupational status that an individual has is closely determined by their educational attainment and in turn their occupational status is the main determinant of their social status (Allmendinger 1987; Kerckhoff 2001). Another reason why stratified education systems, where ability and merit selection occurs, are considered to produce educational inequalities is the fact that many empirical studies and cross country results show that the socio-economical background education play a great role on a student's education attainment and education tracking (Horn 2009; Veselý 2012).

According to both Allmendinger and Kerckhoff, Germany represents an example of a country with a highly stratified educational system. In Germany the compulsory school education starts at the age of six. Immediately after four years of mixed classes, the students are divided into three different tracks: Gymnasium, The Main School and the Real School (Veselý 2012). The Gymnasium can be considered the academic track that furthers the academic path of an individual. Only about 30% of the students manage to get to Gymnasium where they get an education for nine years, which prepares them for college (2012). The Main School is a track for students of the grades 5 to 9 and its main orientation is towards future vocational education. While the Real School is considered to be a track that lies somewhere between the Gymnasium and the Main School track. Since, Kerckhoff meant the formal stratification of education system, he classified US education system with low level of stratification. Many may oppose such classification claiming that there are great distinctions between public, private and church schools especially in the quality of the education provided; usually the private

schools provide better quality of education than public schools. In this case the type of school differentiates and stratifies the people, and as such the family's economic status plays a determinant role whether a person goes to a private or public school.

2.3.2 Standardization

The standardization concept denotes the extent to which the quality of education is uniform or the same throughout a country (Kerckhoff 2001; Allmendinger 1989). So the main idea behind this dimension is to provide knowledge about homogeneity and uniformity of an education system. Standardization is a single dimension however it can cover many aspects of the education system such as: teachers' training, school budgets, curricula, and the uniformity of school-leaving examinations (Kerckhoff 2001; Allmendinger 1989). When trying to understand the standardization of an education system it is considered to be crucial understanding the degree of centralization and autonomy within an education system regarding the aforementioned aspects of education system (Kerckhoff 2001). It is generally claimed that there is a higher degree of standardization in education systems where there is greater centralization or where the education is controlled by central government. While, there is a lower degree of standardization in countries where there is a high degree of autonomy.

In respect to the education inequalities, it is claimed that in the standardized education system there are lower educational inequalities, because the teacher training, financing of school budget and curriculum will be uniform and equitable across the country. Hence, the students will receive a minimum quality of education within that system. The logical deduction, behind such claim is that in centralized education systems the interest groups are less likely to influence the budget of the school, the curriculum, admissions and so on. While in more autonomous educational system there is more freedom for innovation, in the expense of greater differentiation of educational achievement (Vesely 2012). Furthermore, studies conducted using PISA and TIMSS results show that indicators of standardization, such as uniformity of teachers' training, standardized school budgets, standardized curricula, and the uniformity of school-leaving examinations diminish the influence of students social status on student performance, while the school autonomy rises that influence (Horn 2009; Van de Werfhorst & Mijs 2010).

To understand better the classification of education systems in standardization dimension is important to look at the original work from Allmendinger and Kerckhoff.

Both Allmendinger and Kerckhoff evaluated that United States (US) has the lowest level of standardization because the education system is highly decentralized and number of important competencies are held by the different states and regions. For example in US there are great differences, not only between states but also between schools within the same district, in the way that the school is organized, the academic criteria that they use and the curricula they employ. In addition, the standardization of educational provision is undermined because of the great differences in per student expenditure among and within the same district (Allmendinger 1989; Kerckhoff 2001). Furthermore, in US there is no school leaving examination which is standardized in content and level of difficulty. Hence, because of the great decentralization in educational administration, the US education system was evaluated as unstandardized.

2.3.3 Vocational Specify

The vocational specification concept denotes the extent to which an education system provides curricula which prepares students for specific jobs and awards vocational specific credentials (Kerckhoff 2001). In simpler terms the vocational specificity looks at the connection between the educational institutions and the professional sphere. The way that the vocational education is arranged in a country can reveal a lot about the school to work transition of students. So, when analyzing the vocational specificity of an educational system, it is important to look at the vocational programs offered and the level of specificity of skills learned in those programs (Van de Werfhorst & Mijs 2010). In systems where there is a high level of vocational specificity, the students attain skills and knowledge that correspond to specific jobs and hence they are prepared for particular job fields. Whereas in countries with low level of vocational specificity, the students attain general skills and knowledge at school, while attain the job specific skills “on the job” (Allmendinger 1989; Kerckhoff 2001; Van de Werfhorst & Mijs 2010). The general assumption is that in the education systems with high level of vocational specificity there is in place a ‘dual system’ which combines for students both learning in schools and working in firms. While the education systems with low level of vocational specificity offer programs that offer broad knowledge for the field (Van de Werfhorst & Mijs 2010). The general assumption is that the stratified education systems have a high level of vocational specify and unstratified education system have a low level of vocational specificity. In a stratified education system, the occupational status is closely determined by the educational attainment and in an unstratified

educational system the occupational status is less determined by educational attainment (Allmendinger 1987; Kerckhoff 2001); while, the occupational status is considered to be the main determinant of the social status (2001).

There are two contradicting arguments regarding the vocational education. The first argument considers vocational education as an effective way to allocate students in the labor market. The second argument claims that vocational education affects negatively the educational equality. It should be said that both arguments hold some truth because many studies and empirical evidence provide enough prove for such arguments (Vesely 2012; Bol & Van de Werfhorst 2013). Cross-national studies such as the one conducted by Bol and Van de Werfhorst, empirically prove that in countries with high level of vocational specificity, the transition of students from school to work is easier and youth unemployment is lower (Bol & Van de Werfhorst 2013). However, it is also proved that in countries with vocational education the equality of educational opportunity is undermined and that in countries with vocational education or tracking there is a greater relationship between the occupational status and social origin (Bol & Van de Werfhorst 2013). So, this means that governments have to consider these two trade-offs when deciding regarding the educational system structure. In one hand, is the students' allocation while in the other hand is the equality of education opportunity. In highly stratified education systems such as Germany, the actual idea behind such stratification is to identify students who can "enter general divisions of the occupational hierarchy" (Kerckhoff 2001). The German education system is one of the most extreme vocational specific systems because they put the majority of students, during their mid-teenage years, into "the dual system." Students who finish this program are awarded with credentials that certify their capability to perform the responsibilities of that occupation. While the French education system, according the Kerckhoff, is one of the less vocational specific systems. In the French system, there is a division between the general and technical tracks but the curricula in technical track is not occupation specific and has less direct application to the responsibilities of the occupation (2001). The French workers, learn the most occupation specific skills on the job, and the training that the French student follow often does not lead to nationally recognized credentials.

2.4 Centralization and Autonomy in Education System

Important concept in understanding the standardization of education system in aspects such as “teachers’ training, school budgets, curricula, and the uniformity of school-leaving examinations” are the concepts of centralization and autonomy (Kerckhoff 2001). I consider to be very important to understand the concept and process of decentralization. Autonomy in education systems is introduced via decentralization process. The decentralization in general promotes the transfer of authority for decision making, finance and management to local governments. There are many proponents and opponents of the idea of decentralization of education system and autonomy of local authorities. However, it should be kept in mind that decentralization of education system is part of a bigger process or a greater political strategy that is associated with the neoliberal ideas in public policy that promote less state intervention, privatization and localization (Hill & Kumar 2009). Decentralization in education is more of a political process, which in some countries is considered as a transition from autocratic or communist forms of government to democratic forms of government that want to ensure the citizens participation (Bjork 2006). So, ultimately decentralization is an ideological principle, “associated with objectives of self-reliance, democratic decision making, popular participation in government, and accountability of public officials to citizens. As such, it has been pursued as a desirable political objective in itself ” (Rondinelli, Nellis, Cheema 1983). As the decentralization of education can tell a lot about the standardization of an education system in terms of autonomy and centralization, I see it very important to discuss the main arguments and findings related to it. So, bellow will be presented the main arguments and empirical evidence regarding the decentralization of education system

Decentralization of education system became a global trend in the recent years, with the logic that devolving powers to local authorities would increase the effectiveness, accountability, transparency and responsiveness of the education provision (Bjork 2006). Many of the countries have been caught in decentralization discourse and started this process without deep analysis, especially the developing countries. Proponents of education decentralization, claim that the decentralization of education will improve the education output, and have a positive impact on the student achievement, quality of learning and teaching (Heredia-Ortiz 2007). The idea behind such a claim is that decision-makers are located closer to the people and can be more

attentive to their needs (Heredia-Ortiz 2007). However, the empirical studies do not support such a general claim. A cross country study on effects of decentralization conducted by Hanushek, Link and Woessmann with panel data set from four waves of the international PISA test for the period 2000-2009 shows that general claims such as ‘decentralization will improve student achievement’ cannot be made. The main finding of this study was that autonomy reforms positively impact students’ achievement in developed countries but they undermine it in developing countries. Moreover, it appears that in low levels of economic development the increased autonomy actually hurts the student outcome (Hanushek, Link and Woessmann 2013). On the other hand, the opponents of decentralization have pointed out that with the increase of autonomy are also increased the differentiations in educational achievement (Vesely 2012). The idea behind such claim is that when the local authorities have more autonomy in deciding about the curricula, the teacher training and the mechanism they will use to allocate money, there is a high possibility that they will use different strategies which will have different effects (Heredia-Ortiz 2007; Vesely 2012). So, it is argued that a centralized education system is more standardized and thus it provides a more equal education for everyone (Vesely 2012).

3. Analytical Framework

In this thesis will be adopted Allmendinger’s framework (1989) that enables to typify and analyze the effects that the education system design has in educational inequalities. Allmendinger’s framework was built upon two dimensions: (1) *standardization* of educational provision and (2) *stratification* of educational opportunities. When referring to stratification, I will refer to the external differentiation or formal selection of students into different tracks within the system. These two dimensions will help to better understand the educational inequalities in Kosovo. More precisely, this analysis will help me to see the road that young people in Kosovo have to go through from: going through education institutions, getting education credentials and joining the adult life. As claimed by many authors the educational credentials play a very significant role in the adult life of the young people, because the educational attainment has a great impact on the occupational attainment, and occupational attainment is the main dimension of social stratification (Kerckhoff 2001).

3.1 Standardization

The standardization concept denotes the extent to which the quality of education is uniform or the same throughout a country (Allmendinger 1989; Kerckhoff 2001). This concept primarily focuses in the degree of centralization and autonomy that exists within an education system in aspects related to “teachers’ training, school budgets, curricula, and the uniformity of school-leaving examinations are relevant” (Kerckhoff 2001). So in order to evaluate the standardization of Kosovo’s education system, I will look at the degree of centralization and/or autonomy of the variables proposed by Allmendinger:

- 1) **Teacher training** – uniformity of teacher training (which might result in uniformity or differences in teaching quality);
- 2) **School budget** – autonomy/centrality in deciding about the school budget (which might result in uniformity or differences in school resources);
- 3) **Curricula** – existence of standardized curricula and centrality/autonomy in deciding about the curricula;
- 4) **External examination** – existence of external examination (which reveals more about the standardization of education output within a system).

Based on the analysis of these variables, I will then classify Kosovo’s education system with high or low standardization.

The logical reasoning that I will use to typify the education system in Kosovo, in the standardization dimension, and based on that to try and forecast its impact on educational inequalities will rely on the assumptions bellow.

- **First assumption is:** countries where the education is controlled by central government have a higher standardization and countries that have a high degree of autonomy have less standardization (Van de Werfhorst & Mijs 2010).
- **Second assumption is:** that the inequalities in education are less likely to occur in highly standardized education systems and more likely to occur in unstandardized education systems. The logic behind is that, in centralized education systems the interest groups are less likely to influence the school budget, curriculum, admissions and so on. Hence, it can be claimed that a standardized education system ensures a similar education level for all the students and a minimum quality for all (Vesely 2012).

3.2 Stratification

The stratification dimension denotes the degree of tracking or differentiation within an education system and the proportion of a given age cohort that attained the maximum number of school years provided by the educational system (Allmendinger 1989; Kerckhoff 2001). To measure the degree of differentiation within an educational system (tracking) it is important to analyze the extent to which the education system in a country has differentiated types of schools with clear differences in curricula (Kerckhoff 2001). Hence, in order to understand *the degree of differentiation in Kosovo's education system*, I will use the variable: (1) *Tracking* – to look at the existence of different tracks and the number of school types that exist once the tracking starts. Further, as suggested by Allmendinger, stratification of an education system can be measured by examining the organizational structure of educational systems by looking at: the timing of selection, the academic selection, and the finality of selection (Allmendinger 1989). While, in order to understand *the proportion of a given age cohort that attained the maximum number of school years provided by Kosovo's education system*, as suggested by Allmendinger, I will look at data (where the available data exists) that show the proportion of a cohort that exits or leaves at each level. Hence, variables that I will adopt to evaluate the stratification of Kosovo's education system are:

- 1) **Tracking and timing of selection** – the existence of different tracks and the number of school types that exist once the tracking starts and the age when tracking of students starts in the system;
- 2) **Academic selection** – do schools take into consideration the previous academic record or the results of an entrance exam as a prerequisite for attendance;
- 3) **The finality of selection** – can students move easily from one track to the other;
- 4) **The proportion of students that attained the maximum number of school years** – the proportion of a given age cohort that attained the maximum number of school years provided by Kosovo's education system.

Based on the analysis of these variables, I will then classify Kosovo's education system with high or low stratification.

The logical reasoning that I will use to typify the education system in Kosovo, in stratification dimension, and based on that to try and forecast its impact on educational inequalities will rely on the assumptions below.

- **The first assumption:** education inequalities are more likely to occur in a stratified education system and they are less likely to occur in unstratified (Van de Werfhorst & Mijs 2010). The logic behind this reasoning is that in a stratified education system, the occupational status is closely determined by the educational attainment and in an unstratified educational system the occupational status is less determined by educational attainment (Allmendinger 1987; Kerckhoff 2001) while, the occupational status is considered to be the main determinant of the social status (2001).
- **The Second assumption:** if the proportion of age cohort that attained the highest level of education available is high then the education system is less stratified and if the proportion is very low than the education system is considered to be more stratified (Allmendinger 1987).

4. Data and Methodology

To evaluate Kosovo's education system in standardization and stratification dimensions, and their variables, will be analyzed the main government actions: (a) formulation of goals and problems – as stated in strategic documents (b) policy instruments – regulatory instruments and curriculum. The other policy instruments such as economic instruments, information instruments and monitoring instruments will be reviewed in the context of the regulatory instruments (Vesely 2012).

Main Type of actions	Sub-actions	Examples of documents
Problems and goals	Goal formulation	Goal formulation in strategic documents
	Problem formulation	Problem formulation in strategic documents
Policy Instruments	Regulatory instruments	Laws, regulations, decisions
	Economic instruments	Grants, taxes, vouchers
	Curriculum	Nation-wide standards, curriculum framework

Table 1: Basic types of possible government actions (Adopted from Vesely 2012).

I will start the analysis of the documents from year 2008 up to this date. The year 2008 was purposefully chosen because it collides with two very important events for Kosovo. Following the war, 2007, represents one of the most important events for Kosovo state because it marks the status settlement. The “Report of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on Kosovo’s Future Status” and the “Comprehensive Proposal

for the Kosovo Status Settlement” made clear that the only viable option was the independence of Kosovo (Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement 2007). This event was followed by the declaration of independence, in 2008, and the adoption of Kosovo’s Constitution, which was based on principles that were proposed in the “Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement” such as local self-government and decentralization. Immediately, after that the government and MEST initiated the development and implementation of a new curriculum that would meet the needs of the new republic and started decentralization reforms.

The formulation of goals and problems is considered as the primary way through which a government can influence the education because the way that the government frames the goals and problems can reveal a great deal about the trajectory that the educational policy is following and it will take (Vesely 2012). The best way to find the formulation of goals and problems is by looking at strategic documents, public speeches and reports (Vesely 2012). Hence, in order to understand the formulation of educational goals and problems by Kosovo’s government, in this thesis I will review 7 relevant strategic documents summarized in the table below.

Year	Problems and Goals
Jan-11	Kosovo Education Strategic Plan 2011-2016
Dec-11	National Qualification Framework
Jan-14	Strategy for improvement of professional practice in Kosovo 2013 – 2020
Jan-16	National Development Strategy 2016-2021
Feb-16	Strategy on Local Self-Government 2016-2026
Jul-16	Kosovo Education Strategic Plan 2017-2021
Apr-17	Strategic Framework for Teacher Professional Development

Table 2: Main strategic documents reviewed in this thesis.

While, the policy instruments are considered as the tools that the government's use to achieve the formulated goals and find a solution to formulated problems (Vesely 2012). The policy instruments that I will review in this thesis are regulatory instruments and curriculum. I will review the economic instruments and monitoring instruments in the context of the regulatory instruments. The regulatory instruments that I reviewed and will be important for my analysis are: 8 laws and 17 administrative instructions. Since Kosovo is currently introducing a new curriculum framework, it is very important to look at both the old and new curriculum in Kosovo in order to understand changes and the system better. The new Kosovo Curriculum Framework will provide more information on what is currently occurring and what will happen in the future. While the old, 2001, curriculum will provide an understanding of the changes and challenges that the new curriculum might bring for the education system. The table below summarizes the main policy instruments that will be used in this thesis. In the table are summarized the decision date for each policy instrument, which gives a perspective of the events and the actions taken by the government in the education in Kosovo.

Year	Policy Instruments	Type of instruments
Sep-01	The New Kosovo Curriculum Framework Preschool, Primary and Secondary Education	Curriculum
Feb-08	Law Nr. 03/L-040 on Local Self Government	Regulatory Instrument/ Law
Mar-08	Law No. 03/L-048 on Public Financial Management and Accountability	Regulatory Instrument/ Law
May-08	Law No. 03/L-068 on Education in the Municipalities of the Republic of Kosovo	Regulatory Instrument/ Law
Jun-08	Law No. 03/ L- 049 on Local Government Finance	Regulatory Instrument/ Law
Nov-08	Law no. 03/L-060 Law on National Qualifications	Regulatory Instrument/ Law
Aug-11	Curriculum Framework for Pre-University Education in the Republic of Kosovo	Curriculum
Aug-11	LAW No.04/L –032 on Pre-University Education in the Republic of Kosovo	Regulatory Instrument/ Law
Dec-11	Administrative Instruction No. 16/2011 on The transition of student of higher secondary school from one educational profile to another or from a school in the other school (Albanian only)	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction

Feb-13	Law No. 04/L-138 for Vocational Education and Training	Regulatory Instrument/ Law
May-13	Administrative Instruction No. 15/2013 for Funding of Teacher Professional Development	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction
May-13	Administrative Instruction: No. 16:2013 Implementation of Teacher Professional Development	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction
Aug-13	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 30/2013 Piloting of the Curriculum Framework and Core Curriculum	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction
Dec-13	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 32/2013 Organization of Curricula with Election at All Levels of Pre-university Education	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction
Dec-13	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 33/2013 Implementation of a Municipal Formula for Determining the Allocation of School Budgets for Schools that are Administered by Municipalities	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction
Jan-14	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 01/2014 Organization and Planning of the Educational Process in Vocational Education and Training	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction
Feb-14	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 08/2014 Procedures and Selection Criteria of School Director and Deputy Director of the Instructive-Educational and Training Institution	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction
Feb-14	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 09/2014 for Normative over Professional Staff of the General Education	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction
May-14	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 14/2014 Agency of Vocational Education and Training of Adults' Education (AVETAE) Kosovo	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction
Jul-14	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 23/2014 Curriculum Framework of Pre-University Education of the Republic of Kosovo and Core Curriculum 2014/2015	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction
Jul-14	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 25/2014 Licensing of teachers	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction
Oct-15	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 13/2015 Piloting of the Curriculum Framework of Pre-University Education of the Republic of Kosovo and Core Curriculum 2015/2016	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction
Dec-15	Law No. 05/L-018 on State Matura Exam	Regulatory Instrument/ Law
Jan-16	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 03/2016 Steering School Council	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction
May-16	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No.08/2016 On Pupils Assessment Under the New Curriculum Framework for Pre-University Education of the Republic of Kosovo	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction
Sep-16	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 23/2016 on School Development Plan and Municipal Education Development Plan	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction
Apr-17	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 3/2017 for the State Council on Teachers Licensing	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction

Table 3: Policy instruments reviewed in this thesis.

To draw conclusions regarding the educational inequalities in Kosovo I will use secondary data gathered from Kosovo Agency of Statistics, PISA test results and Ministry of Education, Science and Technology. I summarize and analyzed data from MEST reports and Kosovo Agency of Statistics for 5 academic years. While, for the data downloaded from ASKDATA platform (drawing from 2011 census in Kosovo), I calculated the proportion of education attained by students for the only cohort that this calculation was feasible (students born 1987-1991). In the table below are summarized the main sources of secondary data.

	Type of document
Ministry of Education, Science and Technology	Statistical Reports with educational indicators for academic years: 2012/13, 2013/14, 2014/15 and 2015/16.
Ministry of Education, Science and Technology	Statistical Notes. Report with data in pre-university education in Kosovo for academic years: 2012/13, 2013/14, 2014/15, 2015/16 and 2016/17
Kosovo Agency of Statistics	Reports of Labour Force Survey for years 2013, 2014 and 2015
Kosovo Agency of Statistics - ASKDATA platform	To retrieve data on educational attainment from 2011 census
OECD	PISA 2015 Results (Volume I): Excellence and Equity in Education

Table 4: Main data sources.

4.1 Limitations of this thesis

Limitation of this thesis is that it disregards the Serbian community which is estimated to compose 1.4% of the total population in Kosovo (Kosovo Agency of Statistics Census Data 2011). For the reasons that were explained in the historical perspective chapter, the Serbian community is not participating and is not integrated in Kosovo's education system. Moreover, most of the secondary data that I could access from Kosovo's institution do not have information regarding this community. Therefore, the thesis will focus on the institutions and communities that work under Kosovo's government's authority: Albanians (composing 92.9 % of the population), Bosniaks (composing 1.6% of the population), Turks (composing 1.1%), Ashkali (composing 0.9% of the population), Egyptian (composing 0.7% of the population), Gorani (composing 0.6% of the population), Roma 0.5%(composing of the population)

and unspecified (0.2% of population) (Kosovo Agency of Statistics, Census Data 2011). In addition in this thesis the data, which are used to indicate inequalities e.g. in labour market outcomes are not analyzed for each community or gender.

In this thesis I do not report separately for private schools which can be pointed out as a weakness for this thesis. Firstly the number of students in private schools in pre-university education is not that significant: 1% of total number of students in primary and lower secondary schools and 3% of upper secondary school students are enrolled in private schools. Furthermore, same as the public schools they have to go through the standardized rules that the central government has imposed e.g. students from these schools have to also take standardized external exams. However, the most important part is that there are no data that reports only for private school students e.g. their outcomes in the labour market. Hence, it would be impossible for me to draw any conclusions. This can be an area that government and its institutions should collect data on and make it available for future analysis.

In this thesis I could not make an analysis and draw conclusions on the effect that parents education and socio-economic background plays on attainment of specific degree of a child (as proposed in the original proposal) because such data do not exist in Kosovo. To do such analysis it would be important to have life history data set that shows the exact timing and chronological order of events for each individual, such as their childhood, their families of origin and socio-economic background, and their educational and occupational activities. So, this might be an area for future large scale study or information that Kosovo government should make available for these kinds of studies and their-own analysis.

5. Standardization of Kosovo's Education System

To typify and evaluate the degree of standardization of Kosovo's education system especially when looking at the teacher training, school Budget and curricula variable, I consider to be of a crucial importance the regulatory government instruments i.e. laws, administrative instruction and regulations that determine the centrality and/or the autonomy in decision-making. Saying so, processes such as decentralization, or transfer of powers from central government to local government, are considered vital in getting a better understanding on where the decision-making power relays. As aforementioned, decentralization policy in Kosovo was fueled following the

Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement, Ahtisaari Package, and the entry into force of the Kosovo Constitution (Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement 2007; Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo 2008). The transferring of decision-making competencies from central government to local government took place in a broad range of service sectors such as health care, local economic development social services and education. Among the most important laws for decentralization of the education system are: the Law on Education in the municipalities of the Republic of Kosovo, Law on Local Government Finance, Law on Local Self Government and the Law on Pre-University Education.

5.1 Teacher Training

To typify and evaluate the degree of standardization of Kosovo's education system in respect to *the uniformity of teacher training*, I will review and analyze the regulatory instruments, i.e. laws, administrative instruction, regulations and decisions, as well as the formulation of goals and specifics on phases of teacher professional development provided in Strategic Framework for Teacher Professional Development and Kosovo Education Strategic Frameworks 20011-2016 and 2017-2021. When analyzing the uniformity of teacher training, it is important to distinguish between two levels of teacher training pre-service training and in-service training of teachers because they can reveal more about standardization of teachers' quality across the country.

5.1.1 Pre-service training of teachers in Kosovo

In Kosovo the pre-service training of teachers is undergoing through major changes in the recent years. The pre-service teacher training which leads to qualification of teachers, is provided only by public higher education university. In Kosovo Education Strategic Framework 2011-2016, the pre-service training of teachers was formulated as having problems because it was fragmented in six faculties. Actually, the pre-service training of teachers was provided only in public university. For example, University of Prishtina and its branches offered teacher education programmes which prepared only the primary school teachers, while the other academic faculties prepare the subject teachers for lower and upper secondary schools i.e. the Faculty of Philosophy prepared the students for the fields of sociology, history, political sciences etc. So, the students who complete these fields could become teachers of the respective

subjects mainly in upper secondary schools (Anastoska-Jankulovska 2013). Another problem that was formulated in the Strategic Framework was the non-standardized provision of pre-service teacher training as stipulated in the document different faculties were applying different standards of education (Kosovo Education Strategic Plan 2011-2016). Hence, as formulated in Kosovo Education Strategic Framework 2011-2016, the main goal regarding pre-service training was to unify the standards for pre-service qualification. Thus, with a MEST decision, Administrative Instruction: No.09/2014 for Normative over Professional Staff of the General Education, was proposed to restructure the pre-service teacher training. With this decision, it was overseen that all educational programs for pre-service teacher training should be offered from academic units within Faculty of Education in Prishtina University and no longer be a part of different faculties. Further with Administrative Instruction No. 25/2014 it was established the licensing system for pre-service and in-service teachers. In this instruction it was specified that MEST is responsible to determine the criteria and preparation of professional qualification that should be met in order to be licensed as a teacher and exercise this profession. After reviewing the information coming from policy formulation and the regulatory instruments that the government has used in structuring the pre-service training of teachers in Kosovo, I conclude that Kosovo's pre-service training is quite standardized or at least is trying to achieve uniformity in provision of pre-service teacher training. Hence, in the variable *the uniformity of teacher training* as indicator of standardization of the education system, I evaluate Kosovo's education as standardized.

5.1.2 In Service training of teachers in Kosovo

When trying to evaluate the standardization of in-service teacher training it is important to look at all the levels of authority and their power in deciding in the teacher training or, as I will refer in the following paragraphs, teacher professional development. Above all, it is important to also point out the teacher professional development is linked with teacher licensing because as specified in the Administrative Instruction No. 25/2014, teachers license should be reviewed every five years, in case of positive performance and if they completed 100 hours of training during the period of licensing. So the teaching career depends on the in-service professional development.

According to Administrative Instruction for Implementation of Teacher Professional Development (No. 16:2013), the school's role in teacher professional development is to conduct annual assessment of teachers' needs and create a plan for teacher professional development within the school. Furthermore, in the AI schools are considered to be responsible in supporting and organizing the school-based teacher professional development. Thus, in such cases when the teacher professional development is not organized by external providers but by schools themselves, the school is considered to be responsible for following the procedures and preparing the documentation that are needed to certify the teachers and recognize their work by the states licensing system. In addition, every year the school should prepare a report regarding the teacher professional development which should be delivered to Municipal Education Directorate.

According to the Law on Local Self Government municipalities, among other aspects of pre-university education, are claimed to have exclusive power and responsibility on training of education instructors and administrators (Law Nr. 03/L-040). Local authorities, municipalities, are considered to be obligated to ensure access to teacher professional development for all teachers in their municipality (Administrative Instruction: No. 15/2013). The exact responsibilities of the municipality and the other authorities of education are specified on the Administrative Instruction for Implementation of Teacher Professional Development (Administrative Instruction No. 16:2013). In the Article 7 of this AI is specified that the municipality can request from a school to make an annual assessment of teachers' needs for their professional development and in cases that similar needs are identified within the municipality, the Municipal Education Directorate (MED), has the authority to request development of new teacher professional development programmes. Further, it is considered as responsibility of MEDs to evaluate and monitor the teacher professional development within their municipality. The responsibilities of municipalities regarding the funding of teacher professional development are specified in the Administrative Instruction for Funding of Teacher Professional Development (Administrative Instruction: No. 15/2013). In this AI is specified that in accordance with the demands that come from schools regarding the teacher professional development, the Municipalities, are responsible for drafting a project-proposal with budget details and activities for professional development during a calendar year. This project proposal is sent to MEST for funding.

In Administrative Instruction No. 15:2013, the Ministry of Education Science and Technology (MEST) is considered responsible for defining the nation's general orientation in provision of professional development in accordance with the goals set in Strategic Professional Development Framework. Further, MEST is the main authority for accreditation of teacher professional development programmes as well as the main authority in setting the standards of quality that should be met for accrediting these programmes. MEST is also considered to be responsible for monitoring implementation of teacher professional development in the municipality. When looking at the responsibilities of MEST regarding the funding of teachers according to the Administrative Instruction for Funding of Teacher Professional Development (Administrative Instruction: No. 15/2013) the central authorities, hold a significant role in teacher training since it has the power to provide founding for teacher professional development for municipalities. According to this AI, MEST announces requests for offers that should be coming from MEDs for teacher professional development for one academic year. Further, in the AI, it is said that MEST decided in the proposals that they will found in basis of "5.1 Relevance of the offer for needs of the Municipality, 5.2 relevance to educational policies and educational developments in the country, 5.3.Viable funding offer" (Article 8, Administrative Instruction: No. 15/2013). The point 5.1. of this AI : No. 15/2013, first of all seems to be in conflict with what is claimed in the law and other administrative instruction which specify the Municipality as the authority that is responsible for teacher professional needs. However, this shows that the central authorities have high power in deciding about teacher training.

So, given the fact that the central authority, MEST, has a significant power in deciding about the funding of teacher professional development in each municipality; plus, it is the main authority in determining the standards that should be met for accreditation of teacher professional development programmes and is the sole authority for their accreditation. I consider that the in-service teacher training is quite standardized. Hence, in the variable *the uniformity of teacher training* as indicator of standardization of the education system, I evaluate Kosovo's education as standardized.

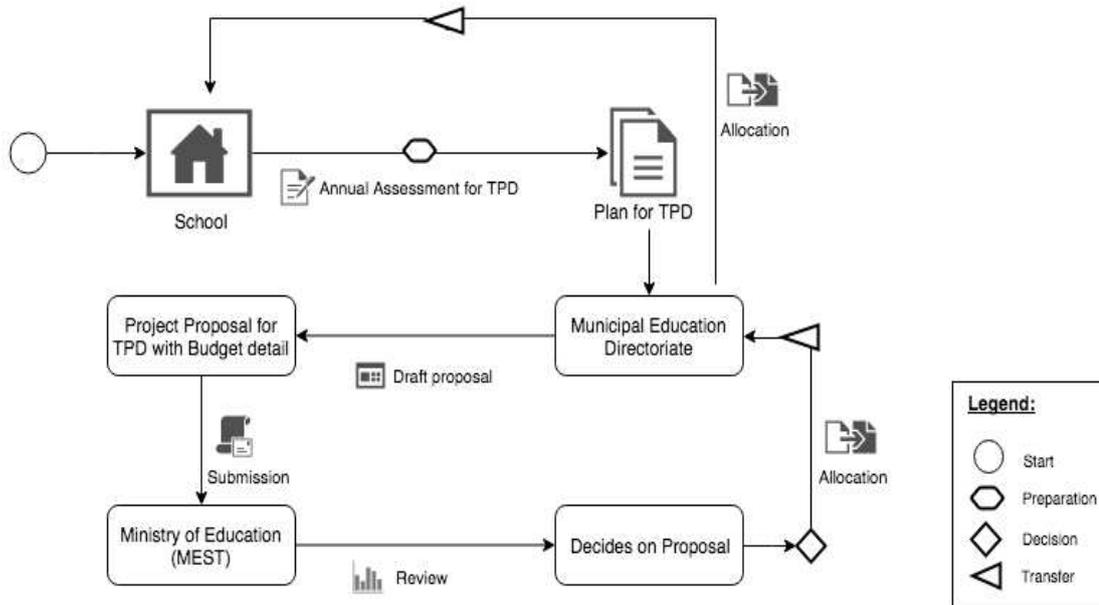


Figure 1: Chart flow for Teacher Professional Development (TPD) in Kosovo (*Authors visualization*)

5.1.3 Evaluation for Standardization of Teacher Training

After the careful analysis of Kosovo government's main actions 1) formulation of goals and problems as stated in strategic documents and 2) the policy instruments as defined in the regulatory instruments and curriculum. It resulted that both pre-service and in service teacher training, in Kosovo, is standardized (for the reasons stated in the previous paragraphs). Hence, in the variable *the uniformity of teacher training* as indicator of standardization of the education system, I evaluate Kosovo's education as standardized.

5.2 School Budget

To typify and evaluate the degree of standardization of Kosovo's education system in respect to *the autonomy or centrality in deciding about the school budget*, I will review and analyze the regulatory instruments, i.e. laws, administrative instruction, regulations and decisions which can reveal more about the decisive authority and the uniformity in financing the education. So, from the formal regulations will be explained the financing education and the autonomy in deciding about their budget. The school financial management is considered to be at the heart of the decentralization of education in Kosovo because the education system has been extensively centralized

(Berisha, Nagavci, Saqipi, Duraku & Haxhaj Gushlla 2012). In 2009, Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology together with the Ministry of Finance started the reform of transferring the financial powers from the central governments.

In the context of school-level finance management, a special importance holds the increasing powers that are given to schools, more specifically to School Steering Councils or Governing Boards in decision-making because traditionally this organ was only formal and had just an advisory role without any decision-making power. The powers, duties and authority of the School Governing Board in pre-university education (Grade 1-12) are expanded in: drafting the school rules and being part of the selection process of the school direct, deputy director and school teacher but without a right to decide (Law on Pre-university Education Law No.04/L –032; Administrative Instruction No. 03/2016). These duties, which reveal a lot about the school autonomy, are further explained through Administrative Instructions. The Administrative instruction No. 03/2016 specifies further the autonomy that schools have in their budget. This administrative instruction specifies that the school governing boards have the right in exercising the power for managing the school budget or can delegate such responsibility to the school director. Furthermore, the school through the school governing board and/or the school director is responsible for planning and deciding the school budget. In addition, AI No. 03/2016 and Law No.04/L –032, gives the freedom to the School Governing Board to decide on the use of funds contributed to the school by donors and parents. While the Administrative Instruction No. 33/2013 further specifies that the schools have the freedom “to plan to spend amounts on salaries, goods and services and utilities that are different from the notional allocations calculated by the Municipal formula in order to arrive at a total school budget allocation”(Administrative Instruction No. 33/2013). As aforementioned, the school plans the budget and the planed budget should be sent for approval the Municipal Education Directorate for approval.

With the decentralization process the role of the municipalities regarding the education, in general, and finances, in particular, has changed. The Law in Local Self-Government (LLSG) lays out the fundamental principles of the local finances or municipal finances (Law Nr. 03/L-040). This law is fundamental for the financial autonomy of the municipalities because it specifies that the municipalities will have their own budgets in order to fund services. Further it specifies that these budgets can consist of own source of revenues, grants from the Government of the Republic of Kosovo, loans and donations (Law Nr. 03/L-040). Moreover, it specifies that the

municipal assembly and executive officers have full rights and authorization to independently regulate and manage the budget from both: own resources and grants. With the Administrative Instruction No. 33/2013 is enforced and determined the method that should be used by municipalities to determine the budget for the schools within their municipality. According to Article 9 of this administrative instruction, the total budget allocation for each school should be based on: (1) the total number of full time teachers and their salaries; (2) the total number of non-teaching staff and their salaries; and (3) services and goods including utilities (Administrative Instruction No. 33/2013). The school's budget is allocated to it as a total allocation and is not divided into economic categories. However, when talking about the budget allocation from municipality to schools it is very important to inspect the municipal sources of finance. Considering the fact that, the Governmental Grants are the main financial source for education in municipality, it is important to look at the way that these grants are appropriated by the municipality (Seiwald, Allen, Last, and Rial 2016). According to the Law No. 03/L-048 on Public Financial Management and Accountability, at the municipal level, the Municipal Chief Financial Officer (MCFO) is responsible to review the proposed budgets requested by the municipal departments, in the case of school budgets, it will receive the request from the Municipal Education Directorate. Once the (MCFO) reviews and approves such request, he/she has to propose it to the Municipal Mayor. While, once the Mayor has approved a proposed Municipal Budget, including education budget, he/she should submit such document to the Municipal Assembly for approval; and once the Assembly approves, they should sent the document to the Ministry of Economy and Finance.

So, when considering the role of the central level in the financing of education a very important law is the Law on Local Government Finances (Law No. 03/ L- 049) which in Article 25 specifies that Municipalities should receive a Specific Grant for Education, from the Consolidated Budget of Kosovo, that will enable the provision of minimum standard level of pre-primary, primary and secondary education, which is a competence of municipalities (Law No. 03/ L- 049; Law No. 03/L-068). In this regard, the Ministry of Education and Finance is responsible to review the budgetary requests from the municipalities. However, it specifies that neither the Minister nor the Government shall modify the proposed budget by the municipalities if such document complies and is calculated in accordance with the formulae specified in the Law on Local Government Finance (Law No. 03/L-048 on Public Financial Management and

Accountability). In the Law No. 03/ L- 049, is specified that the Grants Commission is the body that decides on the formula for allocation of Specific Grant to municipalities. Unfortunately, at this point is operation and decisions of the Grants Commission are not made transparent and the exact allocation formula is not made available. However, in the Law on Local Government finance is specified that the allocation formula shall be based on the normalized number of teachers and actual enrollment. Further it should take into account the special needs education and the non-wage operating expenses.

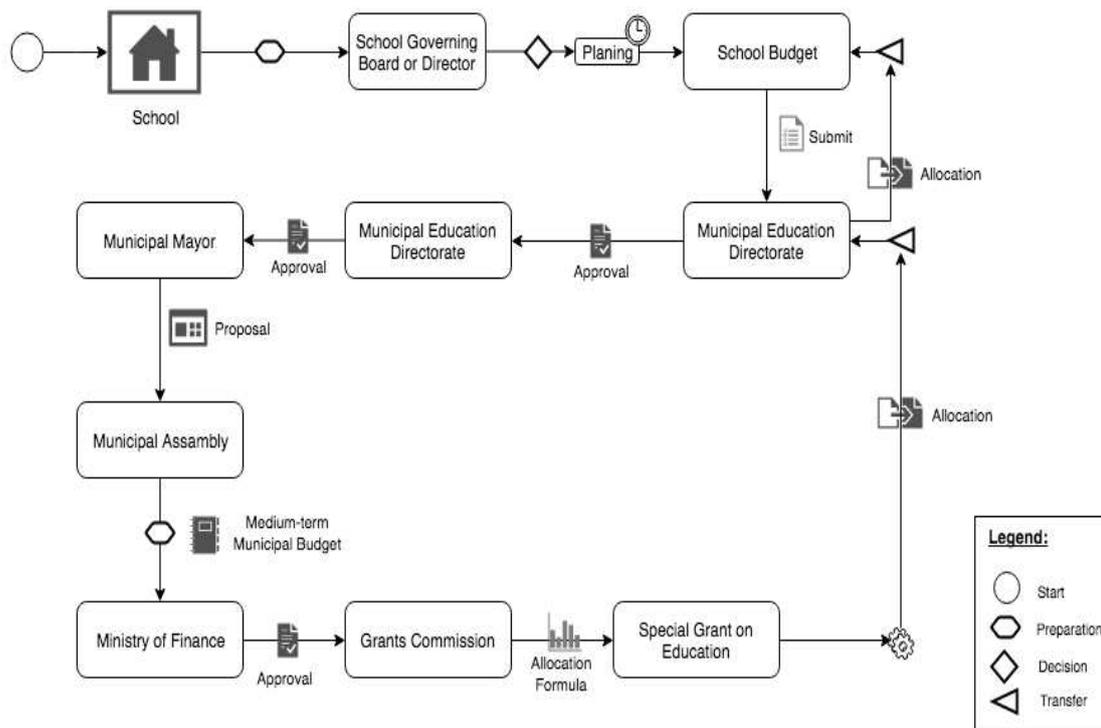


Figure 2: Financial management of education in Kosovo (*Authors visualization*).

5.2.1 Evaluation for Standardization of School Budget

After the careful analysis of Kosovo government's main actions 1) formulation of goals and problems as stated in strategic documents and 2) the policy instruments as defined in the regulatory instruments and curriculum it was made clear the role that each level of educational institutions: central authorities, local authorities and schools have in school budget. In the formal documents there was an emphasis on the decentralization of the system and in increasing the autonomy of local authorities. However, the central level, Ministry of Finance, is the main financing source of the education and it holds the power in deciding about the allocation formal. What is more important, the allocation formula is not based on the performance of schools but rather is standardized and takes into account the number of teachers and students. Hence, it can be concluded that

financing of education in Kosovo has a high degree of centrality in deciding about the school budget which equally allocates money for all the schools in Kosovo. Therefore, in the variable *autonomy/centrality in deciding about the school budget* as indicator of standardization of the education system, I evaluate Kosovo's education as standardized.

5.3 External examination

To typify and evaluate the degree of standardization of Kosovo's education system in respect to the variable *existence of external examination*, I will review and analyze main government actions (1) formulation of goals and problems in strategic document (in this case the National Qualification Framework) and (2) the policy instruments as defined in the regulatory instruments i.e. laws, administrative instruction, regulations and decisions. The existence of a national external exam is an indicative of the standardization of educational outputs in an education system. As suggested by Allmendinger, if everyone in the system has to go through unified school-leaving examination then the quality of the skills obtained in education are standardized, hence the students themselves, as well as the outsiders - parents, schools and employers - know what is expected and what to expect from them (1989).

The administrative instruction No. 08/16 on Pupils Assessment under the Curriculum Framework for Pre-university Education of the Republic of Kosovo specifies that the external exams are standardized assessments that are carried out by state institutions or agencies to assess students at the end of Grade 5, 9 and 12. In this administrative instruction is specified further that the external exam at the end of grade 5 has more of a research character and its outcomes do not have any impact in students' education path (Administrative Instruction No. 08/16). Rather the outcomes are meant to be used by the central and local authorities to take actions on education. This exam is conducted with 10 to 15% of students in 5th grade. While the external exam at the end of grade 9, according to the administrative instruction, has a guiding character for students in upper secondary education. In reality, the results of this exam have a very important role in student's educational path because the results of the exam together with the previous academic success are the main determinant that are used in the admission formula for each secondary education path - vocational or gymnasium (Telegrafi 2013). While the external exam at the end of grade 12, or State Matura, is regulated with the Law on State Matura Exam (Law No. 05/L-018). According to this law, all students of

gymnasiums, who have completed successfully the last year of their studies, should be subject to the State Matura Exam. While, all the students of the vocational schools who have successfully finished the final exam and want to be registered in the higher education institutions, should be subject of the State Matura Exam (Law No. 05/L-018). According to National Qualification Framework (NQF), the Matura State Exam, is considered as the exit qualification and as a benchmark qualification at the National Qualification Level 4; and students of vocational schools at this level in the labour market have the status of “qualified worker” (National Qualification Authority 2011). Further, the Law on state Matura obliges that all higher education institutions to accept the achieved results during the secondary school (internal evaluation) and achieved results from the State Matura Exam (external evaluation) and that they do not have the right to register the students without the State Matura Exam. In addition, the law specifies the admission method that should be used by the higher education institutions. It is stipulated that the higher education institutions should be done based on achieved outcomes: “3.1. thirty percent 30% during secondary high education; 3.2. thirty percent (30%) in the State Matura Exam; 3.3. forty percent (40%) in the internal evaluation of the academic units” (Article 19 Law No. 05/L-018).

5.3.1 Evaluation for Standardization of External Examination

After the careful analysis of Kosovo government’s main actions 1) formulation of goals and problems as stated in strategic documents and 2) the policy instruments as defined in the regulatory instruments and curriculum it was made clear the existence of national school leaving exam in Kosovo at all levels of education. From the analysis of the documents it can be concluded that in Kosovo external exams exists in three levels after the completion of: primary education (grade 5), lower secondary education (grade 9) and upper-secondary education (grade 12). As, specified in the National Qualification Framework, the Matura Exam at the end of grade 12 serve as standardized exit qualification for students at this level with clear qualification for the labour market. Therefore, in the variable *existence of standard based external examination* as indicator of standardization of the education system, I evaluate Kosovo’s education as standardized.

5.4 Curriculum

To typify and evaluate the degree of standardization of Kosovo's education system in respect to the variable, *existence of standardized curricula and centrality/autonomy in deciding about the curricula*, I will review and analyze Kosovo government's main actions in the policy instruments as defined in the regulatory instruments (laws, administrative instruction) and the curriculum. The main emphasis will be in analyzing the new Kosovo Curriculum Framework (KCF), which serves as the main conceptual document, and the 3 Core Curriculums for pre-university education, which make KCF applicable in the schools.

Currently, Kosovo is undergoing a major reform in its education system because with a decision, in 2011, Ministry of Education, Science and Technology approved a new curriculum framework for Pre-university education and specified that all documents of the same nature should no longer be valid. In 2013 with administrative instruction No. 30/2013, decided to pilot the curriculum framework and core curriculums in 10 selected schools for the academic year 2013/14. The piloting of the new curriculum started expanding in additional 114 schools for academic year 2014/15 and in 95 schools for academic year 2015/16. This means that the implementation of the new curriculum framework is taking place in only 8% of the schools (Muja 2015). According to the Evaluation Report of Kosovo's Education Strategic plan 2011-2016, the implementation of the new curriculum is facing difficulties in transforming the teaching and learning patterns and in implementation of instrument for students' assessment. Such difficulties rise because the 2011 Curriculum Framework left behind the 2001 Curriculum developed in the post war period. The 2001 Curriculum was subject focused and based upon learning objectives - with a major emphasis on what teachers had to do while developing learning objectives for their student in each subject area (Kadriu & Gougeon 2014). While, the 2011 curriculum framework, focuses more on student competencies and learning outcomes, which requires teachers to create strategic learning activities that will lead students to acquire specific competences (The New Kosovo Curriculum 2001; Curriculum Framework for Pre-University Education in the Republic of Kosovo 2011).

An interesting feature of Kosovo's new curriculum framework (2011) is that it provides autonomy to school to decide about some part of the curriculum which is called as the optional curriculum. According to the Curriculum Framework the optional

curriculum will take 10 to 20% of the total school time (Curriculum Framework for Pre-University Education in the Republic of Kosovo 2011). However, in the Curriculum Framework is made clear that optional curriculum must also contribute towards achievements of the six core competencies as defined by the framework. And, despite the fact that the school together with parents, students and other stakeholders decides on the optional curriculum, they have to first propose and get the approval for the optional study programme by both local and central authorities - Municipal Education Directorate and the Ministry of Education Science and Technology (Administrative Instruction No. 32/2013). Furthermore, central authorities will design the subject syllabus, which is meant to guide the school (Curriculum Framework for Pre-University Education in the Republic of Kosovo 2011).

5.4.1 Evaluation for Standardization of Curricula

After the analysis of the policy instruments i.e. the regulatory instruments (laws, administrative instruction) and the curriculum, as the main informants of the Kosovo government's main actions in education policy, it was made clear that in Kosovo existed and is being introduced national standardized curricula. Furthermore, after analysis of the curriculum framework that is being introduced, it was made clear that the central authorities have a great power in deciding over the curricula. Even the optional curricula (10 to 20% of the total school time), which is claimed to be providing more autonomy to schools in decision-making, cannot be implemented without the approval of the central authorities and the subject syllabus provided by them. Therefore, in the variable *existence of standardized curricula and centrality/autonomy in deciding about the curricula*, as indicator of standardization of the education system, I evaluate Kosovo's education as standardized.

6. Stratification of Kosovo's Education System

6.1 Tracking and Timing of Selection

To typify and evaluate the degree of stratification of Kosovo's education system in respect to the variables, *tracking - existence of different tracks and the number of school types that exists once the tracking starts and timing of selection – the age when*

tracking of students starts in the system, I will review and analyze Kosovo government's main actions in (1) formulation of goals and problems in strategic document (in this case the National Qualification Framework) and (2) the policy instruments as defined in the regulatory instruments (laws, administrative instruction, regulations and decisions) and curricula.

According to the new curriculum framework, as well as the old curriculum, there was and is no formal tracking in primary and lower secondary education in Kosovo. However, the tracking existed and exists in the start of the upper secondary education. According to the New Curriculum Framework the upper secondary education institutions in Kosovo are differentiated in two main tracks gymnasiums and vocational schools. Each of the tracks distinguishes further within the track. For example the gymnasium track has three types of schools: 1. social science and language gymnasias; 2. natural science gymnasias; 3. specialized gymnasias (artistic, mathematical, linguistic etc.). While, the vocational track has six types of schools: 1. agricultural schools; 2. technical schools (electro-technology, engineering, civil construction, graphic design, communication); 3. medical schools; 4. economic and administration schools; 5. chemistry-technology schools; 6. art schools (Curriculum Framework for Pre-University Education in the Republic of Kosovo 2011). According to information provided by the Ministry of Education Science and Technology, currently there are 140 different profiles of vocational schools in Kosovo (Koha 2017).

Further, as suggested by Allmendinger, stratification of education system can be measured by examining the organizational structure of educational systems by looking at: the timing of selection. There is no consensus on what consists an early age of selection. In some countries the selection of children in different tracks starts as early as the primary school and in others it is up until the higher education. However, cross-country studies show that the earlier a system tracks the students the more socioeconomic background affects their performance (Horn 2010). In Kosovo the timing of the first selection starts at the age of 15, or in the upper secondary education (Curriculum Framework for Pre-University Education in the Republic of Kosovo (2011)). In the figure below is represented the structure of primary and secondary school systems in Kosovo.

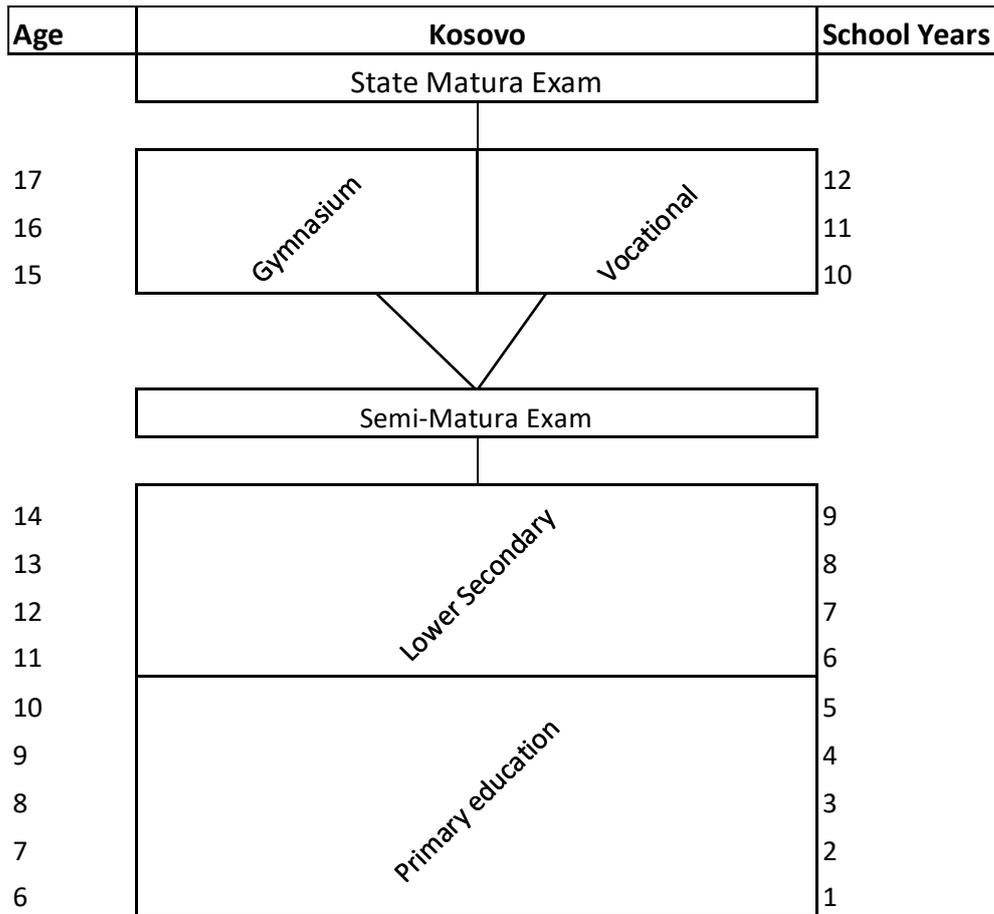


Figure 3: The structure of pre-university education in Kosovo (*Author's visualization*).

6.1.1 Evaluation of Stratification: Tracking and Time of selection

After the careful analysis of Kosovo government's main actions 1) formulation of goals and problems as stated in strategic documents and 2) the policy instruments as defined in the regulatory instruments and curriculum it was made clear the existence tracking in Kosovo's education system in upper secondary education, where students are selected in general and vocational schools. In Kosovo, tracking of students starts with the start of upper secondary education, which is not an early selection if it is compared with systems that start tracking in primary education e.g. Germany. However, it is more selective than some comprehensive systems that provide the same upper secondary education for all of the students e.g. U.S. However, as defined by Kerckhoff stratified education system refers to the differences in secondary school that later impact the path that students will follow in their adulthood because different types of schools are associated with different access to opportunity. Therefore, in the variable *tracking*

and timing of selection as indicator of stratification of the education system, I evaluate Kosovo's education as stratified.

6.2 Academic Selection

Another aspect that is considered to be very important in evaluation of the stratification of an education system is *the academic selection* or whether the schools take into consideration the previous academic record or the results of an entrance exam as a prerequisite for attendance of students. Many cross country studies show that academic performance is affected by the family background or status (Horn 2010; PISA 2016). Therefore, many scholars theorize that an academically selective system is status selective a well (Horn 2010). To draw conclusions for Kosovo's education, I reviewed government policy instruments, as well as the policy instruments used by the local authorities (regulations and decisions) regarding the academic selection.

Students in Kosovo follow the same path of education in primary (ISCED1) and lower secondary education (ISCED 2), which corresponds to grades 1 to 9 or students' age 6 to 14. This also matches with the compulsory education, which was defined by the Law on Pre University Education (Law No. 04/L-032). In order to understand the selectivity of the students in the process of school registration, I had to review the decisions and regulations taken at the municipal level, since the laws and administrative instructions did not specify anything about the actual process. Also, according to the Law in Pre-university education the registration of students in schools is a responsibility of the municipalities (Law No. 04/L-032). After reviewing the municipal regulations and decisions, it was clear that the most common practice and rule used to register students, in primary and lower secondary schools in Kosovo, was the district rule, which means that students are registered at the school that falls within the area that they live (Decision No. 03/47, Municipality of Pristina). However, the registration of students in the upper secondary institutions, which corresponds with the first tracking of students, relies heavily in the academic selectivity. Firstly, students have to complete the external exam at the end of the 9th grade. Afterwards, the Municipal Education Directorate together with schools set the criteria for admission in each type of school and opens the competition for admission. Generally the criteria used by schools are 25% from the academic performance in compulsory school, 15% from the performance in the priority subjects in the external exam (as determined for each school) and 60% from the external

exam (Guri, 2015; Municipality of Pristina 2016). So the students' selection in different tracks depends both on the previous academic performance as well as the standardized external results.

6.2.1 Evaluation of Stratification: Academic Selection

After the careful analysis of Kosovo government's main actions through policy instruments, as well as the policy instruments used by the local authorities (regulations and decisions) regarding the academic selection, it can be claimed that when tracking happens there is a high academic selection. As seen in the previous section, for the admission of students in upper secondary school are taken into consideration both the previous academic record and the results of state's external exam. Therefore, in the variable *academic selection* as indicator of stratification of the education system, I evaluate Kosovo's education as stratified.

6.3 The Finality of Selection

When looking at the stratification of a system it is considered of high importance to look whether the students can move easily from one track to the other or the *finality of the selection*. From the section above it was made clear that in Kosovo once the students finish the compulsory education they have to go through rigorous selection that sets them in either vocational or general schools. Hence, selection in different tracks is quite definite. However, to have a better understanding, I researched the existence of formal regulations regarding the movement of students from one track to the other and I found one administrative instruction, AI No. 16/2011, for transition of student of higher secondary school from one educational profile to another or from a school in the other school (the document is available only in the Albanian language).

In the Administrative Instruction No. 16/2011, is defined the movement of students from one profile to the other or one school to the other. I want to point out that in the Administrative Instruction (AI), the term 'profile' is not defined. Hence, it leaves room to question whether the movement "from one profile to the other profile" refers to movement from one profile of the vocational school to the other, or whether it also refers to movement from one track to the other (from vocational schools to gymnasiums). Above all, even if the AI refers to the movement of students from

vocational schools to gymnasiums the criteria specified in the AI can be considered very challenging and quite strict. In the AI it is specified that the right to transfer from one profile to the other have the students who change the living place and in the new place do not have schools of the same profile, or the student who because of their disabilities have to change the profile. Further, in AI it is stipulated that if the student wants to move from one education profile to the other or from one school to the other, first of all they must make an official request to the school. Afterwards the Municipal Education Directorate (MED) has to assess if the school has enough space for accepting a new student (Administrative Instruction No. 16/2011). If the MED considers that school has the capacity to get a new student, the student must take an exam for subject or areas of study which s/he had less than 70% in the study program that s/he was enrolled. The test is cumulative and is developed by the teachers of the school that the student wants to be enrolled. Only if s/he shows positive results in the test exam they can be considered by school for registration.

6.3.1 Evaluation of Stratification: Finality of Selection

After the careful analysis of the only Administrative Instruction that regulates the movement of students from one track to the other, AI No. 16/2011, it can be claimed that the selection in different tracks in upper secondary education in Kosovo is quite definite. The process of changing the school is long and complex. To change the school, first of all student should have a great reasons for changing the school (changing the living place or having physical disability). Their request for change has to be first assessed by the MED in terms of weather the school has the capacity to get a new student. Finally, the student has to pass the cumulative exam for the subjects that s/he had less than 70% in the previous profile. Therefore, in the variable *finality of selection* as indicator of stratification of the education system, I evaluate Kosovo's education as stratified.

6.4 The proportion of students that attained the maximum number of school years

Allmendinger argued that to understand the stratification of an education system it is very important to see the proportion of a given age cohort that attained the

maximum number of school years provided by the given education system or the proportion of a cohort that exits or at each level. Unfortunately, there are no data which separate the exact education attainment by birth cohort (year that students were born) in Kosovo. The only data that I was able to find were, the data from statistical reports with educational indicators for 2012/13, 2013/14, 2014/15 and 2015/16 by Ministry of Education, Science and Technology showing the participation to education calculated as the ratio between the total number of students in that education level (e.g. primary, lower secondary and upper-secondary education) and the official population of people at that age group. Another set of data that I was able to access were from online ASKDATA platform from Kosovo Agency of Statistics which draws from 2011 census data. The data I downloaded from the platform were showing the highest educational attainment, or highest level of schooling completed, by the people divided into age groups e.g. 15-19; 20-24; 25-29 and so on up to 80 years old.

The access and participation to education is seen as a vital indicator when analyzing the inequalities of an education system and stratification of an education system. From the data, I reviewed and summarized from the statistical reports with education indicators for 2012/13, 2013/14, 2014/15 and 2015/16 provided by MEST, it could be seen that the participation in primary education institutions in Kosovo for these years was very high and comparable to statistics coming from the regional countries. In the statistical reports the access to, or participation in compulsory education (grades 1 to 9) is calculated as the ratio between the total number of students who were enrolled in compulsory education and the official population of 6-14 years olds in that academic year. The results from the reports show, that access in this level of education is quite high in Kosovo and comparable to the average of South East European countries. For the academic year 2012/13 the participation was 98.6%, for the academic year 2013/14 was 97.2%, for the academic year 2014/15 it was 97.9% and for the academic year 2015/16 the participation was 95.28% (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology 2015). So, the percentage of students that is out of school in compulsory education (primary and lower secondary) can be estimated to be around 3-5% of the official primary school age (look at the summarized data below). While in upper secondary is noticed a lower participation of students that officially should be able to be enrolled in this level. The participation of students in upper secondary education for the academic year 2012/13 was 88.7%, for the academic year 2013/14 it was 87%, for academic year 2014/15 it was 84.5% and for the academic year 2015/16 it was 84.9% (Ministry of

Education Science and Technology 2015; 2016). So, in average around 86% of the population eligible for this level of education, were enrolled in it. From this it can be concluded that the proportion of students that are eligible to enter and actually entered to obtain the maximum years of education in the pre-university level – upper secondary education - is quite high. However, there are no data that show how many of them actually completed this level. Furthermore, currently there are no data available about the participation of students in higher education in Kosovo from which could be drawn conclusion about the proportion of people that continue to take the highest number of education years in the education system.

Participation/Enrollment of Students in each Education Level					
Educational Level	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	Average
Primary & Lower secondary (Grades 1-9)	98.60%	97.20%	97.90%	95.28%	97.25%
Upper secondary (Grades 10-12)	88.70%	87%	84.50%	84.90%	86.28%

Table 5: Participation of students in primary and upper-secondary education in Kosovo (data summarized by author).

An attempt to understand the educational Attainment in Kosovo

The statistical reports did not show the number of people that completed each education level hence they can be used to see the portion of people that entered in each education level but cannot be used to see the portion of people that completed each level, which was part of Allmendinger’s definition. Hence, in attempting to understand the attainment level in Kosovo, the only data that I was able to access were from online ASKDATA platform from Kosovo Agency of Statistics, which come from the 2011 census data. The data, downloaded from the platform were showing the education attainment of people but they were provided divided into age groups e.g. 15-19; 20-24; 25-29 and so on up to 80 years old. For the purpose of the indicator *the proportion of a given age cohort that attained the maximum number of school years provided by the education system*, the only age group that might be relevant to look at is the age group 20 to 24 because they represent the only age group that went through the current Kosovo system which was built after the war- year 2000; this means that this age group was 9 -12 and had to go through the stratification or tracking of the system. The age group 15-19 was not taken in to consideration because they represent the age group that was still in the upper education system. From the data downloaded, I calculated the

proportion of the age group 20-24, so people born 1987 to 1991, that finished each level of education and the result are as shown in the table below. From the results (see the table below), it can be seen that almost 65% of the students of this age group attained the maximum level of educational years provided in the pre-university level. Unfortunately, the data made available did not distinguish between the vocational and gymnasium students' which would be crucial in order to draw conclusions regarding the stratification of the system. However, almost 28% of the people in this age group did not attain at least upper-secondary level of education which corresponds with the start of the tracking of the system and can be considered a sign of a stratified education system. Further, although the focus of my thesis is in pre-university education, since I had some results for higher education level it was interesting to see that only 7% completed bachelor degree as the minimum level of education years offered in higher education, which is another sign of the selectivity of the education system.

Level of education attained by students born in 1987-1991	
Primary (completed grade 4/5)	2.36%
Lower Secondary (completed grade 8/9)	25.48%
Upper Secondary (completed grade 12/13)	64.57%
Post-secondary vocational	0.38%
Bachelor Degree	7.07%
Master Degree	0.14%
Total	100.00%

Table 6: Proportion of education attainment in each level of education for cohort born 1987-1991 (Author's own calculation).

One of the most important aspects in analyzing the stratification of an education system is to look at the proportion of students that are enrolled in different types of tracks because different tracks lead to different academic and life prospects for the students. In Kosovo's case this means that we have to look at the portion of students that are enrolled at gymnasiums or vocational schools. I was able to find out data and summarize them from the Statistical Notes from Ministry of Education Science and Technology for 5 academic years (2012/13t to 2016/17). From the data (see the table below) it can be seen that the proportion of students that are enrolled at gymnasium and vocational schools is almost the same. Although, for three academic years it was higher in vocational education than in gymnasiums, while in the two last years the proportion

was slightly higher in the gymnasiums than in vocational schools. From the results it can be concluded that because of the great proportion of students that are enrolled in vocational schools, the education system is quite selective and can be considered as stratified system.

Students enrollment in Gymnasiums and Vocational Schools						
Type of School	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/2017	Average
Gymnasiums	43.00%	46.00%	49.00%	50.20%	51.60%	47.96%
Vocational Schools	57.00%	54%	51.00%	49.80%	48.40%	52.04%

Table 7: Proportion of students enrolled in Gymnasiums and Vocational Schools (data summarized by author).

6.4.1 Evaluation of Stratification: The proportion of students that attained the maximum number of school years

The proportion of students that attained the maximum number of school years provided by an education system is considered one of the most important indicators for stratification system. The assumption is that if the proportion of age cohort that attained the highest level of education available is high, then the education system is less stratified and if the proportion is very low than the education system is more stratified (Allmendinger 1987). From the data summarized for five academic years in Kosovo, it could be seen that on average a little more than 50% of the students, are enrolled in vocational schools. Hence, the education system is selecting a great portion of students in a track that can affect their future in education, labour market as well status in the society. Therefore, in the variable: The proportion of students that attained the maximum number of school years as indicator of stratification of the education system, I evaluate Kosovo's education as stratified.

7. Inequalities in Kosovo

In this chapter, using secondary data, I will explore and analyze the impact that the education system has in inequalities in Kosovo. More specifically, in the first sections of this chapter, I will try to explore the impact that education has in labour market outcomes and the occupational status of people and consequently draw conclusions about the inequalities. In the second section of this chapter, I will try to explore the inequalities in educational outcomes (referring to their performance).

7.1 *Inequalities in Labour Market Outcomes and Occupational Status in Kosovo*

It is widely claimed that the educational system has a role in structuring the movement of people from educational institutions into the labor market, which can be explained by looking at the labour market outcomes and the occupational status of the people (Kerckhoff 2001). As Kerckhoff claims, we can learn a great deal about the effect of education on social stratification, if we analyze what occurs in school and in the labor force between the age when the minimum compulsory schooling is finished and the usual age when people complete schooling and enter the labor force (Kerckhoff 2001). So, if we refer to this definition, Kosovo's compulsory education finishes at the age of 14 to 15, while usual age when students complete schooling is 23 to 24 (LAW No.04/L-032). In this case it is important to look at the outcomes of the students with comparable level of schooling, which in Kosovo's case are people who completed gymnasium and those who completed vocational education. Another aspect that is considered crucial in understanding the education system's influence in labour market inequalities is analyzing the effect that educational attainment has in occupational status of people with the same comparable level of education. Hence, in order to understand what happens in the labour market to 15-24 years olds and to understand impact of education attainment in occupational status, I will rely on secondary data, collected from the Kosovo Agency of Statistics (KAS) for the years that these data are made available: 2013, 2014 and 2015. (I accessed the data by using the online ASKDATA platform from KAS and the reports of Labour Force Survey for years 2013, 2014 and 2015).

To look at the effects of the education system in the social stratification of people in Kosovo, it is needed to examine what happens in the labour market to 15-24 years olds. The statistics show that people of the age group 15-24 make up for almost 30% of the unemployed, which tells in general about the quality of education and the mismatch of skills and the labour-market. These results are more worrying if we look at the percentage of the unemployed people that have finished vocational education, because in literature vocational education is considered as "safety net" for people who do not want a risk averse career or to say it simpler they want a career that has low unemployment possibility (Shavit & Muller, 2000). According to the data retrieved

from KAS (see table below), the unemployment rate among the people who have completed vocational education is 35.9%, which is higher than the unemployment of the students with comparable level of schooling – non vocational schools. Unemployment rate among the people who completed gymnasium is 29.5%; and it was even lower among the people who have completed tertiary education (university) 19%, which typically in Kosovo represents individuals who have finished gymnasiums.

Unemployment and Highest Educational Attainment for Years 2013-2015				
Educational Attainment	2013	2014	2015	Average
No School	1.6	1.1	0.7	1.13
I -IX classes	30.2	27.8	26.7	28.23
Secondary vocational	37.8	39.8	41.3	39.63
Secondary gymnasium	19.8	20.1	18.2	19.37
Tertiary	10.6	11.1	13.1	11.60

Table 8: Unemployment and the highest education attained (data summarized by author).

It is generally claimed that in stratified education system, the occupational status is very closely determined by the educational attainment and in turn the occupational attainment is seen as a determinant of the social status (Allmendinger 1987; Kerckhoff 2001). Hence, it is very important to see whether there is any relationship between the educational attainment and the occupational status that people get in Kosovo. To do such analysis I will use the only data that are made available from Kosovo's Agency of Statistics, which can be relevant in making some conclusions. In Labour Force Survey, conducted by Kosovo Agency of Statistics, it was distinguished a category of employment - vulnerable jobs, which was defined as jobs in which workers are either working unpaid in family business, or are self-employed without employees. Further it is specified that the people employed in vulnerable jobs have less possibilities of having formal work arrangements and less possibilities of having decent working conditions (Kosovo Agency of Statistics 2016). Since, data that show the exact occupation of people and their corresponding educational level is not available and more detailed analysis of the effects of educational attainment in the occupational status cannot be made. I will, try to analyze the effects of the educational attainment in the occupational status of people by the two subcategories of the vulnerable jobs for which are provided

statistics on the educational attainment of people in these jobs. Further, given the uncertainty and vulnerability that people in these jobs face, these jobs can be labeled with “low occupational status” compared to other jobs in Kosovo market. According to KAS data the category of these workers counts for 22.8% of the employed people in Kosovo. From the Kosovo Agency of Statistics results can be noticed that the biggest percentage of the employed in the vulnerable jobs is taken by people who finished the vocational education. Of the total employed people, the percentage of people who completed the vocational education and are working in vulnerable jobs is: 32.2% working unpaid in family business and 37.1% working in self-employed without employees jobs (Kosovo Agency of Statistics 2016). The percentage result to be lower for people who finished gymnasiums: 26% working in unpaid in family business and 27.6 % working in self-employed without employees jobs. While, this percentage is considerable lower for people who have completed university education with 10.3% of them working in unpaid in family business and 4.9% working in self-employed without employees’ jobs. These results, give an idea on how the educational attainment is related to the occupational status in Kosovo. From the results, it can be concluded that attainment of vocational education is leading the people with this education to get lower status jobs - vulnerable jobs. So, it also leads these people in lower social status, as many authors claim that the job status is one of the key determinants of social status of the people in the society (Allmendinger 1987; Kerckhoff 2001).

Vulnerable Employment by Education Attainment			
Education attainment	Self Employed without Employees(%)	Unpaid Family Members (%)	Average(%)
No school	0.7	0	0.35
I -IX classes	29.7	31.5	30.6
Secondary vocational	37.1	32.2	34.65
Secondary gymnasium	27.6	26	26.8
Tertiary	4.9	10.3	7.6
Total	100	100	100

Table 9: Vulnerable jobs and the highest education attained (data summarized by author).

7.2 Inequalities in Educational Outcomes in Kosovo

To analyze the inequalities in educational outcome, I will use the results of Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) test organized by Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), in which Kosovo participated for the first time in 2015. PISA test is widely considered as one of the world's primary evaluating tools for student educational performance. In PISA is assessed the extent to which 15-year-old students have learned key skills and knowledge which are defined as essential for full participation in nowadays modern societies (OECD 2016). Except from the result of the performance in science, reading and mathematics, the PISA assessment produces a detailed report, "Excellence and Equity in Education," that tell a lot about the equity or inequalities in a country's education system. The PISA study has its index of economic, social and cultural status (ESCS) which is used to indicate student's socioeconomic status. This index is compiled from several variables which are related to student's family background: "parents' education, parents' occupations, a number of home possessions that can be taken as proxies for material wealth, and the number of books and other educational resources available in the home" (OECD 2016). In the PISA report the socio-economic status of students is classified in these three categories: socio-economically advantaged, socio-economically disadvantaged and average socio-economic status. Students and are considered as **socio-economically advantaged** if their values in the ESCS index are among the top 25% in their country. Students are considered as **socio-economically disadvantaged** if their values in the ESCS index are among the bottom 25% in their country. Students are ranked of **average socio-economic** status if their values in the ESCS index are among the middle 50% within their country. So, since ESCS index is very important for understanding inequalities in students' performance which can be explained by the socioeconomic status. I will use the results that they have produced to analyze the inequalities in educational outcomes in Kosovo.

The statistics for Kosovo's education system seem to be quite positive since the indicators "Percentage of variation in science performance explained by students' socioeconomic status" and "score-point difference in science associated with a one-unit increase in the ESCS" Kosovo is showing to have higher equity than the OECD average (OECD 2016). The percentage of variation in science results that could be explained by

students' socio-economic status was only 5%, (in this report, science was taken as the main indicator of the students' educational outcome) (OECD 2016). Furthermore, with one-unit increase on the economic, social and cultural status of students was associated only 18 score-point difference in science (OECD 2016). As such, these results mean that the socio-economic disadvantages has relatively minor role in explaining variation in the performance of students in Kosovo. However, it should be pointed out that the results of this study show that in general the performance results of Kosovo students were very low. Less than one in four or only 25% of student scoring at or above the baseline level in reading, science and mathematics (OECD 2016). This means that Kosovo education system does not prepare the students for the minimum level of proficiency that would enable the further learning opportunities and the full participation in the modern society and economy. The PISA results show that inequalities in educational outcome that could be explained by the socioeconomic status are not that great and the same "poor" quality of education seems to be provided quite uniformly in primary and lower secondary education. The merit for this can be given to the standardized education system that gives the same quality of education for everyone.

8. Findings

After reviewing Kosovo's government main actions in education policy and their impact in the standardization and stratification of the education system, it can be concluded that the pre-university education in Kosovo's is highly standardized and highly stratified. Thus, students in Kosovo are stratified in different tracks, which according to results influence and restrict their future outcomes in labour market and their status in the society. However, the quality of education provision is uniform for all the students which are reflected in their educational outcomes.

		Stratification	
		High	Low
Standardization	High	Kosovo	
	Low		

Figure 3: Stratification and standardization of primary and secondary education in Kosovo (Author's visualization).

The results from section 7.1 *Inequalities in Labour Market Outcomes and Occupational Status in Kosovo*, show that as claimed by Allmendinger in stratified education system the level, or type, of education qualification has a more importance than the length of education. Such claim holds true for Kosovo as well, where students with comparable level of schooling and length of study (gymnasium and vocational school) have different outcomes in labour market. From the results above it can be concluded that completion of vocational schools in Kosovo does not provide a safety net for its students, as expected, because its graduates face higher unemployment rate than the gymnasium students. Furthermore, from the results it can be concluded that attainment of vocational education is leading its graduates to attain lower status jobs, vulnerable jobs, compared to gymnasium students, which in turn can be claimed as determinant of their social status. Such results, can point to the conclusion that the vocational education does not offer the qualifications expected by the labour market, or simpler there is a mismatch between vocational graduates skills and the labour market. Hence, it can be concluded that despite the fact that Kosovo has a stratified education system, the system has a low level of vocational specificity because it does not provide education that prepares students for specific jobs (Kerckhoff 2001) Thus, it can be concluded that one of the major problems of the pre-university education in Kosovo, is that by tracking students in upper-secondary education it is creating inequalities in their adult opportunity in the labour market.

The results from section 7.2 *Inequalities in Educational Outcomes in Kosovo*, show that the quality of education provision is uniform for all the students which are reflected in their educational outcomes as tested by the PISA test. The PISA test results showed that the socio-economic status had a relatively minor role in explaining differences in student's performance in Kosovo. In general, Kosovo student performed poorly in PISA test, 75% of student in Kosovo did not achieve the minimum baseline level in reading, science and mathematics, which is considered necessary to participate in the modern society. Hence, it can be concluded that because of the high standardization of the education system, all students despite their social status can benefit from the "poor" quality of education. However, it should also be recognized that the PISA test is conducted with students age 15 which represents the age when the tracking in Kosovo starts. So, for future research it would be interesting to see whether these conclusions would stay the same, when tested after the completion of post-secondary education.

Conclusion

The main goal of this thesis was to understand the institutional setting of pre-university education system in Kosovo and its impact in inequalities, especially in terms of labour market outcomes, social status outcomes and educational outcomes. To understand and typify the institutional setting of Kosovo's pre-university education was used the typology for educational inequalities introduced by Allmendinger and its two dimensions: standardization (provision of equal quality of education nationwide) and stratification (the selection procedures within the systems). After a detailed analysis of all relevant policy instruments used by Kosovo's government in shaping the institutional setting of the education system, resulted that Kosovo's education system is highly standardized and highly stratified. So the answer to the question '*What type of education system Kosovo has?*' is: standardized and stratified.

The results of secondary data analysis showed that in Kosovo, there are no significant differences in educational outcome that can be explained by student's social status. However, there are differences in labour market outcomes and social status which can be explained and linked to tracking of education system in upper-secondary education. The results showed that students with comparable level of education (gymnasium and vocational school) have different outcomes in labour market because students who complete vocational schools in Kosovo face higher unemployment rate. Almost 40% of students who completed vocational schools were unemployed, while less than 20% of students who completed gymnasium were unemployed (for the three years that data were reviewed). Furthermore, vocational school graduates have lower status jobs whereby almost 35% of employed vocational students have vulnerable jobs, compared to almost 27% of gymnasium students in these job positions. Students in these jobs can be claimed to have a lower social status in the society since by many authors occupational status is considered as the main determinant of people's status in the society (Allmendinger 1987). So the answer to the questions '*Do vocational schools differ from general schools in terms opportunities for students?*' and '*What type of inequalities does the education system in Kosovo generate?*' is: Kosovo education system differs in terms of opportunities for vocational school students, in terms of their occupational status and social status; and Kosovo's education system generates inequalities in labour market outcome and social status and not in educational outcome.

Recommendations

Equality and labour market outcomes can both be considered as two very important goals of education policy in Kosovo. In all the strategic documents reviewed could be found the formulation of the two goals explicitly. However, from the conclusion of this thesis it could be seen that one of the biggest problems of pre-university education system in Kosovo is that by selecting students in two different tracks it is undermining the labour market outcomes of vocational students. This is a result of the low level of vocational specify, because Kosovo does not have in place a 'dual system,' combining students learning in schools and working in firms. A dual system is considered to be crucial for developing the specific job skills in students and for facilitating a smoother transition to work (Van de Werfhorst & Mijs 2010; Kerckhoff 2001). Hence, as pointed out in the 'Strategy for improvement of professional practice in Kosovo 2013 – 2020,' Kosovo's government should aim at strengthening the "partnership between VET schools and businesses, aiming to extend knowledge and skills of VET students within a practical environment, so they may be prepared for productive employment and further learning." However, the realization of such partnerships should not be left on the hands of the schools alone, as it is today, but the government should initiate, facilitate and institutionalize a 'dual system' with strong involvement of employers, that would bridge the gap between the knowledge that the students get in school and the requirements coming from the labour market. Thus, it would make it possible for students attain skills and knowledge that correspond to specific jobs and prepare them from particular job fields.

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List of appendices

Appendices

Appendix 1: Notes and citation of Policy Instruments reviewed

Year	Policy Instruments	Type of instruments	Description
May-13	Administrative Instruction: No. 15/2013 for Funding of Teacher Professional Development	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction	This administrative instruction defines the role and responsibilities of the Ministry of education, Municipal education directorate and schools in teacher professional development. The role and Responsibilities of MEST "(Article 4 - "MEST is responsible to determine the budget on annual basis for TPD according to requests respectively draft proposal from municipalities"" To ensure that MEDs receive budgetary resources from MEST only for programmes accredited by MES or for municipality and school-based programmes that go through accreditation process); Municipality's role and responsibility ("Article 5 Municipalities should draft the budget and content plan for Teacher Professional Development in accordance with the demands that come from schools. Municipality should enable funding support for schools to implement TPD either through external providers or through school-based activities. To manage and supervise costs of TPD at <i>municipality and school level. The obligation for ensuring access to teacher professional development lies with MED.</i>) School's role and responsibilities (Article 6- "School's role and responsibilities are: to make annual assessment needs for professional development by reflection on School Development Plan. To support school-based

TPD by organizing specific activities according to the programme. To prepare documentation and observe procedures of accreditation of school-based PD in order that teachers are recognized in the licensing system for the completed work.)

Administrative
Instruction (MEST)
NO:14/2014
Agency of
Vocational
Education and
Training of Adults'
Education
(AVETAET) Kosovo

Regulatory
Instrument/Administrative
Instruction

Regulates the purpose, structure and functions of Agency for Vocational Education and Training and Adults' Education and Training (AVETAET) in Kosovo.

Jan-16	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No: 03/2016 Steering School Council	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction	According to this AI, the Steering School Council (Article 2) 1)"[i]s the highest advisory and decision-making body in school;" (Note: (Article 3)The council is composed of: 3 representatives of teachers 2 representatives of society and 3 representatives of teachers and 1 representative of students for lower and secondary education). In this AI specifies the functions and responsibilities of the Steering council in respect to: Selection of school personnel, ("Article 10-1.Steering council has for assignment to elect a representative of parents and teachers from the member of the steering council, to participate as observers in appointment of the director, deputy director and school teachers"... 2. they should have an observer role but they give their opinion to interviewing commission regarding the selection of teaching and administrative personnel) financial management (Article 11- every year the council must have allocated budget, according to which approves the budget plan. The council can delegate the responsibility for expenditures in specific field to the school director. The school director should report every 3 months to the council about the budget condition.), Management of donation and contributions (Article 12- the council decides in the use of funds from donors and parent contributions.
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Oct-15	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 13/2015 Piloting of the Curriculum Framework of Pre-University Education of the Republic of Kosovo and Core Curriculum 2015/2016	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction	The purpose of this administrative instruction was the piloting of Kosovo's Curriculum Framework and Core Curriculum in 95 schools selected by MED in cooperation with MEST.
Jul-14	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 23/2014 Curriculum Framework of Pre-University Education of the Republic of Kosovo and Core Curriculum 2014/2015	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction	The purpose of this administrative instruction was the piloting of curriculum framework and core curriculum in 10 existing pilot schools and expansion in 114 other selected pilot schools by MED in cooperation with MEST.
Aug-13	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 30/2013 Piloting of the Curriculum Framework and Core Curriculum	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction	The purpose of this administrative instruction was the piloting of curriculum framework and core curriculum in 10 selected schools by MEST.
Dec-13	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No. 32/2013 Organization of Curricula with Election at All Levels of Pre-university Education	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction	The aim of this AI is to allow school autonomy in compiling the Curricula with selection and to realize that in the most appropriate manner and form. With Curricula with election is meant the part of curriculum which school determines in cooperation with students, parents and other partners. Proposal for subjects, modules, projects with election can be done by: students, community, parents, school, leadership, school council;

			professionals, MED and MEST. <i>Selection is made by school in agreement with teachers, students, parents and MED.</i> School prepares a final list with subjects curriculum, modules and elective project and sends it for approval to MED. MED is obliged to return to schools the approve list.
Dec-13	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No: 33/2013 Implementation of a Municipal Formula for Determining the Allocation of School Budgets for Schools that are Administered by Municipalities	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction	This AI determines the method that should be used by municipalities to determine the budget for the schools within their municipality. Total Budget allocation "Article 9 The total budget allocation sum for each school is 1) the number of and salaries of the full time teachers 2) the number of and salaries for administrative and support staff and 3 Goods and services plus utilities") The school's budget is allocated to it as a total allocation and is not divided into economic categories. Schools can plan to spend amounts on salaries, goods and services and utilities that are different from the notional allocations calculated by the formula in order to arrive at a total school budget allocation."
Feb-14	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No:08/2014 Procedures and Selection Criteria of School Director and Deputy Director of the Instructive-Educational and Training Institution	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction	This administrative instruction (AI) specifies the procedures and criteria for selection of school director and deputy director as well as the criteria. According to this AI, the selection of the school director or deputy director is coordinated and directed from an established commission by Municipal Education Director (local level). The commission consists of four members: 2 members assigned by the mayor of the municipality and 2 representatives of the Steering School Council as observer (one parent and one teacher).

May-16	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No:08/2016 On Pupils Assessment Under the New Curriculum Framework for Pre-University Education of the Republic of Kosovo	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction	This administrative instruction specifies different assessment form that should take place in internal assessment (Article 3), introduces assessment per stage (Article 8- Assessment per stage is foreseen to take place at school level upon completion of stage 1,2,3 and 5 of the curriculum or grades 2,5,7 and 11 respectively." 8.6.The instruments for assessment per stage shall be standardized and drafted by MEST and administered and controlled/ assessed by the school and monitored by the municipality"), external assessment (Article 14- "14.1.External assessment is standardized assessment carried out by institutions or state agencies for pupil assessment. Is organized upon the end of Grade 5, 9 and 12." 14.3 External assessment of students at the end of grade 5 is organized with a comprehensive sample of 10-15% of grade 5 students; it has research character its results are used by central and municipal level. 14.4 and 19.4 External assessments of students at grade 9 has a guiding character for students in upper secondary education - the scores of this exam are reported in certification of lower secondary education completion <i>Note: the students with these results and grades from school apply in upper secondary institutions.</i> 14.5. External assessment of students at the end in the end of grade 12, or State Matura, has a certifying character -in accordance with law on State Matura)
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2016	Administrative Instruction (MEST): No. 23/2016 on School Development Plan and Municipal Education Development Plan	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction	This administrative instruction defines the format, content and procedures for drafting Development Plans for all Pre-university institutions (MED and Schools). School Development Plan is an obligatory working document for all schools. SDP should be developed for a 3 year period with subsequent annual plans for each year. It can be reviewed annually based on monitoring and evaluation report of the SPD. The SDP is prepared by a working group that is proposed by the school director and approved by the Governing Board. The school Development Plan should be harmonized with Municipal Education Development Plan. Municipal Education Development Plan is a working document developed by each municipality in which are defined the priorities and objectives for improving the quality of the education in a medium-term pride of time.
Dec-11	Administrative Instruction No. 16/2011 on The transition of student of higher secondary school from one educational profile to another or from a school in the other school (Albanian only)	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction	It defines the transition of student on higher secondary schools from one educational profile to another. Criteria that are used if the student wants to move from one education profile to the other or from one school to the other are as follows: The MED has to assess whether the school has enough space for accepting a new student. The student must take an exam for subject or areas of study which s/he had less than 70% in the study program enrolled. The student must show positive results in the test exam.
Jul-14	Administrative Instruction No. 25/2014 Licensing of teachers	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction	In this AI are defined the establishment of teachers licensing system.

Apr-17	Administrative Instruction No. 3/2017 for the State Council on Teachers Licensing	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction	In this AI are adjusted the procedures for establishment and functionalization of the State Council on Teachers Licensing, as responsible body for licensing and advancement in career of teachers... STCL is established with a decision of the Minister of Education (Article 3) Responsibilities of SCTL (Article 7 - reviews and recommends procedures, conclusions, recommendations, standards and policies for the licensing system and teacher professional development in career... "Reviews applications and approves the list of institutions that have met criteria for provision of training programs for TPD within the licensing system, in accordance with the AI in force for the criteria and procedures for approving programs for professional teacher development and educational employees"
May-13	Administrative Instruction: No. 16:2013 Implementation of Teacher Professional Development	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction	This AI determines the modalities of teacher professional development. The teacher professional development program in Kosovo includes or is provided through programmes made available by 1) external providers and 2) school-based teacher professional development. The school-based teacher development is schools self-initiative. The role and responsibilities of MEST (Article 4- "to define the orientation of provision of professional development nationwide according to the Professional Development Framework; determines standards on quality of TPD programmes which are implemented in the process of accreditation of programmes of teacher professional development; to accredit teacher professional development programmes either from central providers or schools as providers or schools as providers of school-based professional development.")

			<p>Municipality's role and responsibilities (Article 7- to request schools to complete an annual assessment of teachers' needs; to request development of new teacher professional development programmes in cases when common needs are identified within the municipality; to monitor and evaluate the teacher professional development programmes; to report to MEST about the result of TPD;) School's role and responsibilities (Article 8 " to make annual evaluation of school's needs for professional development; to support school-based TPD, by organizing specific activities according to the programme; to support groups of different schools for teacher professional development; to provide regular activities of teacher professional development sessions; to prepare documentation and follow accreditation procedures of school-based professional development in order for teachers to get recognition for their work by the licensing system)</p>
Feb-14	Administrative Instruction: No.09/2014 for Normative over Professional Staff of the General Education	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction	The aim of this AI determines the normative about the professional staff in pre-university education. Inclusion of all pre-service programs within faculty of education.
Jan-14	Administrative Instruction (MEST) No: 01/2014 Organization and Planning of the Educational Process in Vocational Education and Training	Regulatory Instrument/ Administrative Instruction	This administrative instruction determines the organization and planning of the education process in Vocational Education and Training. This AI among others specifies that it is the responsibility of VET institutions "to make request for opening of relevant profiles"; "VET institution conclude agreement with the labour market for realization of professional practice " "VET organizes training for staff" (Article 2)

Aug-11	Curriculum Framework for Pre-University Education in the Republic of Kosovo	Curriculum	<p>In 2011, MEST with a decision issued the following:" The Curriculum Framework for Pre-University Education of the Republic of Kosovo is approved.2. All documents of this nature that have been previously published and approved shall no longer be valid. " The Kosovo curriculum documents are grouped into two main components:1 The conceptual component, that is the Kosovo Curriculum Framework (KCF);2 The operational component, that is a complex set of documents enabling the implementation of the KCF in the education system by clearly defining expectations about students', teachers' and schools' performance. The curriculum framework plays a regulatory role in the pre-university education system, and its common principles ensure the coherence and consistency of such a system. One of the main principles is <i>inclusion</i> which in KCF is defined the right of every child to have equal access to quality education.</p>
Jun-08	Law No. 03/ L- 049 ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE	Regulatory Instrument/ Law	<p>This law specifies the financial resources available to municipalities in Kosovo. Among others it has articles on: Specific Grants for Health and Education (Article 25- 1)" Municipalities shall receive a Specific Grant for Education... [...] The determination of the amount of such grants shall be based on an open-ended funding approach. 2) The Specific Grant for education shall finance the cost of providing a minimum standard level of pre-primary, primary and secondary education. 4) The Specific Grant for education shall be defined and located to municipalities according to the allocation formula... [...] and such formula shall be based on student enrollment and standards supplied by the Ministry of</p>

			Education, Science, and Technology. The formula shall principally be based on the normalized number of teachers and effective enrollment. It shall also take into account the national curriculum, special needs education, non-wage operating expenses, class size norms and location. Minority students shall be given higher weights. "
Mar-08	Law No. 03/L-048 on Public Financial Management and Accountability	Regulatory Instrument/ Law	The Law No. 03/L-048 on Public Financial Management and Accountability, specifies that neither the Minister nor the Government shall modify a proposed budget or appropriations request submitted by a municipality if such document complies and is calculated in accordance with the formulae specified in the Law on Local Government Finance Article 20 4&5). If a proposed budget or appropriations request submitted by a municipality does not comply with the requirements he Minister shall return such documents to the concerned mayor and municipal assembly with an explanation of the deficiencies that must be corrected. At the municipal level the Municipal Chief Financial Officer shall (i) review the proposed budgets and appropriations requests received from the municipal departments and after consultation propos the budget to Mayor. Once the Mayor has approved a proposed Municipal Budget, the Mayor shall submit, such document to the Municipal Assembly. Who has to propose the budget to the Municipal Assembly for approval?

Nov-08	Law no. 03/L-060 LAW ON NATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS	Regulatory Instrument/ Law	This law is to establish a National Qualifications System, based on a National Qualifications Framework (NQF) regulated by a National Qualifications Authority (NQA).
May-08	Law No. 03/L-068 ON EDUCATION IN THE MUNICIPALITIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOSOVO	Regulatory Instrument/ Law	Regulate the organization of public educational institutions and the provision of public education at the pre-primary, primary, lower secondary, upper secondary and higher education levels in the municipalities of the Republic of Kosovo. Among others it defines the Competencies of Ministry (Article 3- "a) develop policies, draft and implement legislation for the development of education, including higher education, and science in Kosovo;...c) establish and manage a general system of certification for all teachers in Kosovo;... e) design, implement and supervise equitable and effective forms of educational administration and school management;"), Municipalities (Article 4- "exclusive power in registration and licensing of educational institutions, recruitment, payment of salaries and <i>training of education instructors and administrators</i> ")
Feb-13	Law No. 04/L-138 FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING	Regulatory Instrument/ Law	Regulates the national vocational education and training system in the Republic of Kosovo. Regulates the structure, organization and management of institutions that provide vocational education and training (Establishes the Agency for Vocational Education and Training and for Adults. Qualification and Modules of Vocational Education and Training Article 6 " 3.4. In IVET is allowed implementation of dual forms of vocational education and training in which practical training and experience is realized in enterprise, while contracting enterprises. Conditions and criteria that govern such provisions are regulated by sub-

			legal act." Article 33 in Law on Vocational Education and Training suggest as an appropriate incentive, lowering the taxes for host enterprises.
Dec-15	Law No. 05/L-018 ON STATE MATURA EXAM	Regulatory Instrument/ Law	<p>Matura Exam Criteria (Article 18- " 1. All students/candidates of gymnasiums, who have completed last year with success, shall be equipped with diploma and are subject of Matura State Exam.2. All students/candidates that have completed with success the final exam of vocational education shall be equipped with diploma. The ones that wish to be registered at HEI will be subject of State Matura Exam. "Obligations of education institutions (Article 19- " 1.Higher Education Institutions are obliged to accept the achieved outcomes of the candidates during secondary high education years and the state Matura exam results.</p> <p>2. Higher private and public Education Institutions don't have a right to register students without state Matura exam. 3. Students' admission is done based on the achieved outcomes:</p> <p>3.1. Thirty percent (30%) during secondary high education.</p> <p>3.2. thirty percent (30%) in the state Matura exam.</p> <p>3.3. forty percent (40%) in the internal evaluation of the academic units"</p>

Aug-11	LAW No.04/L –032 ON PRE- UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF KOSOVO	Regulatory Instrument/ Law	<p>Regulates pre-university education and training from ISCED levels 0 to 4, including education and training for children and adults taking qualifications at these levels. The law regulates the organization and managements of the pre-university education. Among others it defines the responsibilities of the Ministry (Article 5), competencies of municipalities (Article 7) responsibilities of education institution (Article 17 - "11. The governing board of a school at ISCED Levels 1, 2 or 3 shall have the following powers, duties and authority: 11.1. To draft the school rules specified in Article 22 of this Law to be submitted to the municipality for approval; 11.2. to elect one parent and one teacher representative, from among the members of the Governing Board, to take part in the appointment of the director, deputy director and school teachers, in the capacity of observers; 11.3. to exercise such functions in relation to the use of the school budget, including a scheme of delegation between the municipality, the school governing board and the school director as are set out in this Law; 11.4. To decide on the use of funds contributed to the school by parents and <i>other donors</i>; 11.5. to approve the school's extra-curricular activities as proposed by the school director;), financing (Article 28-"The sources of finance for pre-university education are: 1.1. the specific grant for education based on the Law on Local Government Finance (LLGF), no. 03/L-049, 13 March 2008, and the Law on Public Financial Management and Accountability,no.03/L-048, 13 March 2008, to finance the cost of providing a minimum standard of compulsory education based on parameters and standards approved by the</p>
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			<p>Ministry; 1.2. self-revenues generated by the educational and training institution; 1.3. additional funding from the general municipal grant, depending on local financial opportunities.") Delegation of financial authority (Article 29- Municipalities shall delegate responsibility for budget and finance to educational and training institution[s].);</p>
Feb-08	<p>Law Nr. 03/L-040 ON LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT</p>	<p>Regulatory Instrument/ Law</p>	<p>This Law defines the legal status of municipalities, their competencies and general principles of municipal finances, organization and functioning of the municipal bodies, the intra-municipal arrangements and the inter-municipal cooperation including the cross border cooperation and the relationship between municipalities and central government. <i>Note: Delegation of powers by this law has as its main justification the minority issues.</i> Among others in the Article 17 is specified that municipalities have full and exclusive power in "h) provision of public pre-primary, primary and secondary education, including registration and licensing of educational</p>

institutions, recruitment, payment of salaries
and training of education instructors and
administrators;