

Migration Governance of Kosovo – with focus on youth migration

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1. Introduction

Between 1969 and 2011, approximately 703,978 Kosovars emigrated, while in 2017, net migration was estimated at 833,739¹, a large number of whom are young people. Today 59% of youth people have expressed a propensity to migrate.² Why is it so? What are the reasons and motives of young people to leave Kosovo? What are young people looking for in EU countries and in other parts of the world, but they don't have in their own country? The answers to these questions depend on the attitude of young people from Kosovo concerning life, their society and the country, and on the desire for building and developing a system of values according to which they want to lead their lives.

Young people in Kosovo are overly optimistic regarding their personal future. They are also very optimistic about the future of Kosovo society. Females and people living in urban areas are more optimistic than their counterparts. Kosovo Albanians are optimistic about the future of Kosovo in the next 10 years, as 71 per cent of young people believe that the future will be better than now.³ If such a percentage of young people believe that the future will be better, then we can say that their dissatisfaction is proportional to that optimism. Proof of that is the answer to a question which young people (above 18 years old) were asked - whether they believed that Kosovo was going in the right or wrong direction. A key observation here is that while only 9% felt that Kosovo was going in the right direction (10% in 2018), a high proportion of the respondents (52%) felt that Kosovo is going in the wrong direction (a significant increase of 20pp compared to the results from 2018). Altogether, it is clear that young people feel increasingly pessimistic towards the direction Kosovo is going, with around one in four (24%) considering that the situation was stagnating (down from 48% in 2018).⁴

But what are the reasons for dissatisfaction, or what are the main reasons for existing such a hope of young people to believe in a better future? Is their faith in a better future based on the ambition to leave Kosovo?

Graduation; marriage; lack of marriage; employment offers; employment opportunities; migratory work; special skills; transfer of employment; sale of business; loss of farm; discharge from employment; low wages; retirement; death of relative; military service; medical care; imprisonment; political, racial or religious oppression; natural disasters; invasion or infiltration

¹ Kosovo Agency of Statistics (2018) Statistical Yearbook. Office of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo. <https://ask.rks-gov.net/media/4356/vjetari-statistikor-shtator-2018-final.pdf>

² Hoxha, A. (2022). The Impact of Economic, Social, and Political Determining Factors of the Youth Migration in Kosovo. *Migration Letters*, 19(1), 41–54. <https://doi.org/10.33182/ml.v19i1.1388>

³ FES Youth Studies Southeast Europe 2018/2019 - Youth Kosovo study 2018/2019 - THE FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG, 2019

⁴ Youth Challenges and Perspectives in Kosovo - UNDP Kosovo, Pristina, 2021

by outsiders; inheritance; maladjustment to community; wanderlust; social rejection; forced movement⁵ constitute a very wide range of reasons that lead to migration, and in this paper we will deal with the key motives that provide an answer to the questions " Why is the government of Kosovo failing to stop youth migration?" If the results concerning the reasons due to young people leaving Kosovo are worrying, then there is insufficient commitment and insufficient concrete moves by the government which do not allow the implementation of action plans and strategies aimed at keeping young people in Kosovo.

According to the policy of the Republic of Kosovo in relation to young people in the form of a strategy for the period from 2019 to 2023 the main purpose of all these topics is the idea of bringing closer Kosovar youth to the best European principles and practices, in particular the needs of young people in this country. In its strategy, the Republic of Kosovo sets three goals that it tends to fulfill, i.e.: 1. Mobilization of youth for participation, representation and active citizenship 2. Providing Skills and Preparing Youth for the Labor Market 3. A healthy and safe environment for young people. ⁶

2. Methodology

The essence of this work will be in asking questions concerning the success of the government of the Republic of Kosovo in achieving the stated goals, along with research through a questionnaire for young people who left Kosovo, which will reveal the basic reasons and motives - primarily of a cultural nature in the context of the society – which contributes to decision of young people to emigrate from Kosovo, and also by comparing statistical data that will deal with the issue of the number of young people who emigrated, their desire to stay abroad or return to their country. Also, this work has the task of establishing the key problems in the achievement and realization of the goals that have been set by the government from Kosovo in the context of the policy of retaining young people in the country, but also providing proposals for possible solutions that will contribute to the success of this type of strategy and policy.

These issues are of crucial importance for all the countries of the Western Balkans, including Kosovo. The departure of young people represents a problem with consequences which are becoming more apparent with the passage of time. The question arises in regard to what the future of Kosovo will be based on, if the most educated people want to leave their country.

Analyzing these data, we point out the reasons for which young people decide to emigrate (emphasize the analysis of non-financial reasons), that refers to the insufficiently concrete and decisive moves of the Kosovo government in order to retain young people. In that regard, we

⁵ Katerina VELJANOVSKA BLAZHEVSKA - FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THE PROCESS OF MIGRATION OF YOUTH: A CASE STUDY OF KOSOVO, MIT University – Skopje, R. of Macedonia , 2017

⁶ STRATEGY FOR YOUTH 2019-2023 – Republic of Kosovo, Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport , 2019, Pristina

will point out the weak points in the functioning system of the government of Kosovo and thus try to contribute to find a solution to these problems.

"When will it get better?" - the context of young people life in Kosovo

According to data from the "Anadolu agency," the Youth Initiative for Human Rights - Kosovo was held in August 2022, marking International Youth Day with a symbolic action titled "When it will get better?" in the center of Pristina with mean to cause to notice the peculiarity of youth migration from Kosovo. At the same-named event, Program Manager Rina Kadiri of the Youth Initiative for Human Rights - Kosovo stated: "This year, on International Youth Day, we focused on the phenomenon of migration, bearing in mind that many young people are leaving Kosovo for various reasons, but mainly because the state of Kosovo does not offer them the opportunities they need and because, above all, human rights are not respected."

When we talk about the background of the causes that lead young people to decide to leave, or about the state of society in the perception of young people, we see a clear picture in the answers to various questionnaires that young people - in the context of the desire for changes in Kosovo - provided. Namely, regarding the possibility of the respondents to change anything in life perception in Kosovo, to a greater extent the respondents believe that it would be: a radical change in political life and the decision-making process; implementing ethical values, a merit system and merit-based employment in the public sector; creating a good climate for investment; and engagement on the road for achieving visa-free travel for Kosovo.⁷

The lack of opportunities for young people may be a trigger for a decision that would imply leaving as a solution for every young person from Kosovo. The first data contributes to the high level of 63 % of young people from Kosovo stating that they would accept jobs that are not desired by local populations. Those who would accept less desirable jobs are considered to want to migrate mainly for "economic reasons", and as one would expect they tend to come from the "poorer" quintile of the wealth index.⁸

However, the lack of respect for human rights and basic freedoms by the state towards the population – and especially towards young people as a sensitive part of the population – is particularly problematic. Considering the data on the amount of young people who have emigrated, or want to emigrate from Kosovo, the following question can be asked: Do young

⁷ Katerina VELJANOVSKA BLAZHEVSKA - FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THE PROCESS OF MIGRATION OF YOUTH: A CASE STUDY OF KOSOVO

⁸ FES Youth Studies Southeast Europe 2018/2019 - Youth Kosovo study 2018/2019 - THE FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG, 2019

people believe that change may occur in Kosovo through the actions of the political leadership or the politics of the government?

Regarding the views of youth for participation, representation and active citizenship, research shows that there is a considerable decline of youth interest in political events. Young people express very little interest in government in this country. Two thirds of young people in Kosovo do not discuss or rarely discuss politics with their family or their friends.⁹ Only 10 percent of Kosovo youth think that their interests are represented "well" in national politics.¹⁰

Although, on the other hand, 62% of people believe that the economic situation in the country will improve in 10 years, the fact that speaks of the major disinterest of young people in political events, actions and results of the government from Kosovo, may be an indication of the lack of trust that young people have in politicians in process of solving their problems. Also, such contradictory or absurd data suggest that young people are unsure of where their lives are going. As a result, they have the option of leaving, or emigrating, as the only clear and viable option.

3. Reasons worth migration

The lack of job opportunities (81%), poverty/poor economic situation (68%) and nepotism/corruption (42%) were the top three biggest challenges mentioned by young people in Kosovo (above 18 years old). Another 20% mentioned the general political situation and 17% the low quality of education. In comparison to 2018, more young people mentioned the lack of job opportunities (81% in 2020 vs 60% in 2018, an increase of 21pp), poverty (68% in 2020 vs 49% in 2018, an increase of 19pp) and around the same percentage of respondents mentioned nepotism/corruption (42% in 2020 vs 43 in 2018, a decrease of 1pp). On the other hand, the low quality of education was mentioned by 29% in 2018 and only by 17% in 2020 (decrease of -12pp).¹¹

From a percentage perspective, it is clear that the economic situation and lack of jobs for young people is the primary reason for their dissatisfaction. However, when we talk about the socio-cultural aspect of their dissatisfaction, the problem of nepotism and corruption may very well affect the consciousness of a young person when it comes to their relationship or approach to life. Nepotism was mentioned throughout the various researches as a prominent problem, with many who felt that securing a job was only possible when one had well-established connections. Some of the participants between the age of 17 and 19 years old felt discriminated against due to their young age.¹² Young people's awareness of such a large amount of nepotism has a discouraging effect on their understanding of ways through they should build a career in life, the

⁹ STRATEGY FOR YOUTH 2019-2023 – Republic of Kosovo

¹⁰ ibidem

¹¹ Youth Challenges and Perspectives in Kosovo - UNDP Kosovo, Pristina 2021

¹² ibidem

meaning of investing in effort regarding their education, abilities and qualities that - in addition with reasons of an economic nature - are a key factor in the process of making their decision to leave Kosovo. Such an assumption cannot be questioned given the fact that around 59% also felt that school or studying and financial security were extremely important aspects in their life (vs 28% and 31% in 2018 respectively).¹³

In this regard, the story of Gent, a 26-year-old from Kamenica (Kosovo), and Almir, a 23-year-old, demonstrates that young people are always looking for a chance to leave Kosovo. In order to leave Kosovo, they both attempted to obtain visas at the Croatian Embassy and found employment in Croatia. Their explanations for leaving Kosovo included the following: According to what they told BIRN, they both attended the public university in Gjilan/Gnjilane, where Gent studied economics and Almir studied law. However, they both stopped their studies because they didn't see any future prospects. ("I applied twice for the Kosovo Police, but neither time was I accepted. Now I have applied again, but even if I get a positive response, I will not come back" - Gent stated¹⁴). Additionally, Rinor, a 27-year-old waiter from Podujeve/Podujevo, obtained a working visa for Croatia. After completing his bachelor's degree in economics and management, he worked unsuccessfully for several months in Pristina. Specifically, he stated: "Given that I put in so much effort at university, it is agonizing for me to work as a waiter here and earn 200 euros per month," he told BIRN.¹⁵

Also, in various researches and questionnaires that were conducted with young people who left Kosovo, an attitude of the respondents prevails that they have left Kosovo because of: family economic crisis; inability to obtain quality education (mostly master's studies); because of nepotism in state institutions; because of the failing economic and political situation in Kosovo, especially due to the existence of corrupt government officials; by failing to find a well-qualified position - too much competition - insufficient appropriate choice; to enjoy better family life in future; insufficient options for professional development of young people; and depression due to inadequate private life.¹⁶ Regarding the manner of exercising the right to migrate, the most common reasons among respondents are the following: financial assistance from close relatives; obtaining a scholarship to study abroad; husband-wife already live abroad or have close family there; obtaining a working position; selling your own property to buy a ticket to provide initial costs.¹⁷ In the process of deciding to migrate from Kosovo, respondents mostly cited the following reasons: the process took place under the influence of family, friends, co-workers; it was the habit of the lifestyle in Kosovo; statements of acquaintances who have already emigrated and arranged their life acted very powerfully.¹⁸

¹³ ibidem

¹⁴ ibidem

¹⁵ ibidem

¹⁶ Katerina VELJANOVSKA BLAZHEVSKA - FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THE PROCESS OF MIGRATION OF YOUTH: A CASE STUDY OF KOSOVO

¹⁷ Ibidem

¹⁸ ibidem

Again, beside reasons of an economic nature, young people's views on inadequate education, arbitrary nepotism, corrupt authorities, insufficient opportunities to develop their personality and their abilities, but also the depression that occurs in life of young people due to such environment that does not offer a clear perspective of future, tells us about the multitude of socio-cultural reasons or aspects of Kosovo society according to which young people choose to leave. In addition, the fact that some of the young people decide to sell real estate in their country in order to "buy" a one-way ticket, or to permanently leave their country and look for opportunities elsewhere – sounds problematic for youth migration issues.

4. Kosovo strategy for youth – How to keep young people?

Given that in this paper we are dealing with the causes of young people's decision to leave Kosovo, one of the most important indicators for us are the policies undertaken by the state authorities of Kosovo in order to create a more adequate and favorable environment for young people to stay in Kosovo. Also, it is necessary to assess whether or not there are opportunities for employment of young people in Kosovo.

As one of the most important documents in this area, we may take in consideration the "Strategy for Youth" created by the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport Republic of Kosovo. The Youth Strategy 2019-2023 aims at young people in the Republic of Kosovo to be active, responsible, healthy, safe and educated citizens who live dignified and quality lives, prepared and active to contribute to the development of responsible and accountable society. The strategic objectives include the following: Strategic Objective 1: Mobilizing Youth for Participation, Representation and Active Citizenship; Strategic Objective 2: Providing Skills and Preparing Youth for the Labor Market; Strategic Objective 3: A Healthy and Safe Environment for Young People.¹⁹

Low wages explain part of the high in-work poverty rate in Kosovo. Based on 2017 Household Budget Survey data, estimate that the in-work poverty rate is 15.2%. Most in-work poverty in the country is found among men, self-employed individuals, young and middle-aged employees, and low-educated workers.²⁰

Also, second important source is “Strategy for Migration 2021-2025” and the “Action Plan” that reflect the priorities of the Government of the Republic of Kosovo for managing migration through institutional mechanisms.²¹ With the goal in mind to achieve the main objective that serves the empowerment of migration management, the Strategy on Migration 2021-2025 is set on these pillars, specifically on strategic objectives:

¹⁹ STRATEGY FOR YOUTH 2019-2023 – Republic of Kosovo, Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport

²⁰ HOW MIGRATION, HUMAN CAPITAL AND THE LABOUR MARKET INTERACT IN KOSOVO - Report drafted by Ardiana Gashi for the European Training Foundation, under the supervision of the Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies (wiiw), May 2021

²¹ “Strategy for Migration 2021-2025” – Ministry of International Affairs, 2020, Pristina

Strategic Objective 1: Management of regular migration movements;

Strategic Objective 2: Guaranteeing a safe, organized and regular migration;

Strategic Objective 3: Migration and Development;

Strategic Objective 4: Management of Internal Migration;

Strategic Objective 5: Advancement in the field of managing migration and international protection system²²

This program also foresees a number of measures and instruments which among others include the development of a special package for facilitating and inciting investment from diaspora and reconfiguring the “brain drain” into people returning to the country to work and contribute.²³

One of the specific objectives is “Advancement of policies and the system for sustainable reintegration of returned migrants”. Exactly this specific goal is important for quality opportunities that can be offered, among others, to young people who tend to return to their country. Concrete and precise conditions and opportunities that may be offered to all migrants who want to come home, including young people, should be of key importance in this area.

Also, as part of the third goal - Migration and Development - it is stated that one of the special goals is development of human capital and the prevention of brain drain, but also – the development of policies and schemes which aim the management of migration for employment reasons. These two goals are extremely important for the issue of young people who have left or want to leave the country. Primarily for the reason that the aim is to prevent brain drain, which we can interpret as a mechanism to encourage young people to make a decision to stay in the country. On the other hand, if we take into account that the most basic reason for the departure of young people, but also people of other ages - is the lack of jobs, or i.e. inadequate working conditions – then we can say that this goal is also of the substantial importance for the process of preventing the migration problem of a large number of young people abroad.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs will be the main bearer of applying the Strategy on Migration 2021-2025, with the help of supporting institutions.²⁴To monitor the application (execution) of foreseen activities in the Action Plan of the Strategy of Migration 2021-2025, the Secretary of GAM (Government Authority on Migration) will be responsible in coordination with the Secretary for Strategy based upon MIA, which will prepare:

- 6 Months reports on achieving the strategic objectives and for the application of the action plan. The 6-month report will contain information on the achievement of objectives and the application of activities. In this 6-month report, especially, underlined will be the challenges and obstacles faced, risks identified and addressing them in order to execute the strategy.

²² Ibidem

²³ Ibidem

²⁴ Ibidem

- Annual reports on the achievement of strategic objectives and for the application of the action plan. The annual progress report will contain information on the achievement of objectives and the application of activities. In this annual report, the challenges and obstacles faced, the risks identified and their addressing in order to execute the strategy, will be especially underlined.²⁵

5. Questions for young people who left Kosovo

In order to obtain precise information about the young people who left Kosovo, part of this paper involves the analysis of two young people responses to each of the following questions:

1. *What are the reasons why you decided to leave Kosovo?*
2. *If we exclude the financial aspect, what are the main motives of a socio-cultural nature that contributed to your decision to leave Kosovo?*
3. *Do you think that your country will be prosperous enough in 10 years for you to be satisfied with life in it?*
4. *Are you planning to return to your country? If yes - why?; If not - why?*

To the first question concerning the reasons for making the decision to leave Kosovo, the following two answers will be the subject of analysis in this paper:

- *“For me personally, the main reason I left Kosovo was for better quality education for Bachelor and Master's degree. I came to the U.S to finish my Master's degree at an American University well known for Diplomacy and IR. “*
- *In fact, it is only one reason why I left Kosovo. And this is due to pursuing master's studies at the University of Vienna.*

According to these answers, it is clear that young people's main reason for leaving Kosovo is the need for better and higher quality education. In the second answer, it is even emphasized that the only reason for leaving is education. In this sense, it is clear that young people from Kosovo have a strong need for quality education, especially when it comes to higher education, but that their country cannot provide it to a sufficient extent.

When we consider the second question, which refers specifically to the socio-cultural reasons for leaving Kosovo, we received the following answers:

- *One crucial socio-cultural factor that contributed to my decision to leave Kosovo is the inability of Kosovo citizens to travel anywhere in the Western Europe or else in the world without visas.*
- *As I said, I left Kosovo only for reasons of education or better education. There are no other reasons here.*

²⁵ ibidem

The first answer tells us about the need of young people for free movement, for travel and mobility in Western Europe without restrictions, and overly demanding procedures and bureaucracy. In this sense, it is necessary to understand the needs of young people, but in addition to speed up EU membership, facilitate the procedure for young people and enabling greater mobility in the form of opportunities for travel with a specified purpose - such as, for example, education.

In this regard, the second answer emphasizes even more the need of young people for quality education. Education is certainly one of the socio-cultural aspects of a society, especially of young people.

When it comes to the answers to the third question related to the opinion about the prosperity of Kosovo in the next ten years, the subject of analysis are the following two answers:

- *Now Kosovo is unfortunately facing an extraordinary migration and all this comes apparently because the young people there do not see any prosperous future for the country. Therefore, to say that within 10 years the situation in Kosovo will change radically, is a hypothesis which I do not know whether it will be possible to verify or not. Hence, I think that the situation will be more or less the same as the current one, adapting to regional and global developments.*
- *Hopefully yes. The young generations in our country are very hopeful that in the next 10 years there will be vital improvements in our homeland.*

The first answer gives us a note of pessimism when it comes to the possibility of Kosovo's prosperity in the next ten years. Even more, the second part of the answer, which says that the situation will remain the same and that it will primarily depend on regional and global events, speaks of the awareness of young people about the potential impossibility or impotence of Kosovo as a state to regulate its own progress, especially regarding young people.

On the other hand, in the second answer, we see optimism in the form of hope, which confirms the general image of young people, based on previous research that Kosovo will still prosper and be properly regulated so that young people would not make the decision to leave Kosovo to such an extent, or to make a decision to return to their country if they are abroad.

If we take into account the last or fourth question, which refers to the desire to return to one's country, and which in some way represents the sublimation of the previous three questions, the following two answers are significant:

- *In the near future no, hopefully in my mid-50's or retirement age yes. The reason why not now is mainly because I have taken a student loan which I need to pay back, and considering the average salary for my profession back home it is not doable. Once I get more experience in my field, and am able to pay back the student loan, I will have more freedom to choose when to return.*

- *Of course, I have always thought that after finishing my studies, I would return to Kosovo. I would like to put my experience, knowledge and academic background to the service of my country. Of course, this depends on many personal and external factors, but the desire to return and contribute to my country will always remain.*

The first answer may be an indication that, in certain cases, young people are not able to return to their country, even though they might want to. An example may be found in the first answer, which implies that young people are ready to take on debt in order to leave their country and improve their education. After they leave, in rare situations they can return, because they cannot pay back their loans from the wages they would earn in their home country.

In the second answer, we see the desire of being home again. However, the second part of the answer refers to various circumstances that can affect the realization of that desire. These are not only personal reasons, as we see in the answer itself, but also certain external conditions that would have to be met in order for young people to return to their country. These external conditions do not have to be of a financial nature only, as it is the case in the first answer, but may refer to various socio-cultural reasons.

6. Conclusion

In this work, we came to the results that say that, apart from financial reasons, education is the key motive for young people to leave their country. In this sense, the state institutions of Kosovo must make an effort to improve the educational system to the extent that would meet the needs and expectations of young people, especially when it comes to the higher education system.

From documents like "Strategy for Migration 2021-2025" and "Strategy for youth 2019-2023", no conclusion may be drawn about concrete plans regarding the education sector and its improvement. In the long term, the state would have to create a concrete plan and program that would include a way to improve this area, which would indirectly reduce the level of emigration of young people from Kosovo. On the other hand, the fact that young people are ready to take on debt, i.e. to invest funds that are not theirs in their education and leave the country, speaks of the necessity of improving the educational system. One of the segments of improving the educational system, in this case, and especially in its initial phase, would have to include greater support for young people in achieving their ambitions when it comes to education. In this sense, the state should provide young people with various forms of scholarships for studying abroad. Such a scholarship would imply a model that includes the obligation to return to the country after completing the education process. This method would represent a temporary solution until the moment when the state would establish a high-quality higher education system that would be acceptable for young people, and thus prevent them from deciding to leave their country.

In the socio-cultural sense, the fact that young people, according to previous research, are optimistic when it comes to the future of their country is also interesting. Most of them believe that the situation will change for the better. We also have such an opinion in one of the answers



to the question about whether Kosovo will prosper enough for young people to return to their country. However, even though the majority have this kind of opinion, young people still decide to leave. On the other hand, in the second answer to this question, we see a pessimistic approach, in which it is explained that the situation will probably remain the same, or that the state's progress depends on circumstances that the Kosovo government cannot greatly influence. In this sense, we see a certain confusion when it comes to the opinion of young people about the prosperity of their country. Proof of that is the opinion of the majority of young people that Kosovo is not going in the right direction.

In this regard, we can conclude that young people from Kosovo live in an intermediate space between real dissatisfaction and youthful optimism without real foundations. In such a state, it is difficult to discern one's role in society, especially in terms of planning one's future in a country. In order to reduce the negative impact of that space, we believe that young people must be more involved in the decision-making process. Such a move would allow young people stability based on the sensitive influence they can leave in their society, which on the other hand brings them a clearer picture of the state and society in which they live. Consequently, the amount of young people who would make the decision to leave Kosovo would necessarily decrease.

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