Abstract

This paper will analyze the importance and the effects of religion, in Kosovar society. A great part of the paper, will analyze the social and the political relations in Post-War Kosovo. Initially it will elaborate religion and secularism, especially in theoretical aspect, what impact have these definitions in modern societies.

In order to explain what the importance of the religion in Kosovo is, we will focus on analyzing ethnical, social and political relations within Kosovo society. A considerable component of the paper is also, the elaboration of secularism in Kosovo conditions. This implies that the formulation of the problem and the objective of this research, are the substance of the paper’s theme, which is, religion in Kosovo; its definition and the outlook of the Kosovar society on religion. Is Kosovo post-war society more or less religious? That means the elements of Religions and Secularism will be part of the analysis of developments in post-war Kosovo.

Key words: Religion studies, Secularism, Post-War Kosovo, Kosovo Society, Religion in Kosovo.
1. Introduction

The first chapter of this paper deals with the theoretical side, and the perceptions of many researchers, on how they see and understand religious aspect. Therefore, this paper is based on different views, in order to understand better the importance, role, and essence of religion, also by comparing various authors’ beliefs on that matter, as well as in the definition of the term religion, in general. Another matter, in which the paper will focus, is a greatly discussed and researched issue: Secularism. What is the meaning of it?

The second chapter will focus, in the most clearly and accurately possible way, on describing and analyzing the factual situation of Kosovar society\(^1\). As a result, the main focus in this matter, will be the orientation of society toward democratic and western values; religious relations between ethnicities in Kosovo, as well as ratio relations religion-youth, on the level and the dimensions that Kosovar society practices and how it perceives religion.

Religion topics usually can be very extensive. At this point, this paper will intentionally present, very little of the historical background, as the paper seeks to treat mostly current problems, and as a result, less consideration will be given to the past occasions and their meanings. Eventhough, it is very difficult to write a paper about the religion without mentioning the religion history of Kosovo. We intentionally will mention briefly some of the most important historical developments.

Ethnical Albanians, who live, not only in Kosovo, but also in other territories, were discussed and researched by many scholars and researchers, such as Aleksandar Stipcevic, where they alleged that the Albanians provenance comes from Illyrian tribes – “Illyrian People”\(^2\).

Time of Illyrians, was followed by the period of Roman and Ottoman Empires invasions, as a result of The League of Prizren, Albanians established their identity which remained as such, even during other future historical periods such as Congress of Berlin; Proclamation of Albania Independence in 1912, its recognition in 1913 in London; except few of its territories where excluded, such as Kosovo, Western Macedonia, Cameria; and after Balkan Wars, the Albanian territories were given to Serbia, Montenegro (Kosovo and Macedonia) and Greece. After the First and Second World Wars, Kosovo

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remained again part of Tito’s Yugoslavia, where massive violent migrations of
Albanians in Turkey happened. In 1974 a sort of the autonomy allegedly
“extended” 3 until 1989, when everything still was annexed by Serbia, so a
classic invasion of those halved institutions happened. In 1991/92 through the
Wars in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Yugoslavia was
destroyed. While since 1990, in Kosovo, an occupying army regime was set.
Kosovars decided to lead a peaceful politic, worldwide known as “Gandhist”,
by hoping that it will be rewarded by the International Union. However, after
the end of Dayton Agreement, which ignored the Kosovar problem, most
Kosovars understood that the problem would not be solved in peaceful
manner, as they hoped for; therefore they started to organize, to fight for
Kosovo liberation. After the public appearance of the Kosovo Liberation Army
(KLA), by the end of the year 1997, war in Kosovo erupted between KLA and
the Serbian invading army/police/paramilitary4.

After consecutive massacres on Albanian civilians, the Contact Group and
NATO gave to the Serbia, an ultimatum: that it will be bombed, if massacres
did not stop5. In March 1999, NATO air attacks started against The Federal
Republic of Yugoslavia. After the end of 78 days of NATO bombing, the
Serbian Forces signed Kumanova Agreement, by which was required the
immediate withdrawal of Serbian forces and army. During the years 1999-2008
Kosovo was administered by the United Nations Mission, called UNMIK6.
Proclamation of Kosovo Independence occurred on 17 February 2008.

1.1. Relevance of the topic
In order to write about a contemporary topic, such as religion, a thematic
definition is needed.

It is difficult to bring an exact analysis and to represent all of the effects of
religion in Kosovar society, and its political institutions. For that reason, it is
fundamental for the paper that accompanies this research to be in full
conformity with the circumstances: What are the effects of the religion in
Kosovar society, and in its political institutions, regarding the decision process?

3 Compare, Malcolm Noel “Kosovo A Short History” London, 1998, pg 201-323
4 Compare Jandl Gerhard: Der Kosovokonflikt – mögliche und wahrscheinliche
Verhandlungslösungen, pg. 10. In: Riegler Henriette (Hg.) (2000): Der Kosovokonflikt –
Bestandsaufname und Lösungsszenarien. Arbeitspapier 28, Österreichisches Institut für
Internationale Politik. Wien
5 Arifi Dritero: The concept of “Comprehensive security” as a draft for reconstructing security in
a system of international relations. Iliria International Review, issue 2011/1 Iliria College,
Pristina, Kosovo. pg. 24
6 Hence, in June 1999 and with the UNSCR 1244, the NATO forces (KFOR – Kosovo Force) started
deploying, together with the UN protectorate (UNMIK- United Nations Interim
Administration in Kosovo).
This topic includes two issues: that of a social and scientific aspect, as the main aim of research is how the future developments could be.

1.2. Problem definition
The important focus of this analysis is regarding how and where Kosovar society stands, through secularism and religion impact. This means that the problem formulation and the research object, is the content of the topic about the religion in Kosovo, definition and outlook of the Kosovar society on religion.

Through this paper, we will attempt, by a few concrete questions, to present an overview, respectively of one reality,
- What is the role of the religion in social and political life in Kosovo?
- What are the outlooks that Kosovars have for the European orientation?
- How the cross-religion relations stand in Kosovo?

1.3. Methodology
Method of the research work, first of all is focused in theoretical aspect about the outlooks on religion and secularism. Data in this field are gathered mainly from books, interviews\(^7\) and various texts. Also, in the second part of the paper, data that are taken and analyzed have to do with the factual situation in the terrain.

2. Religion as a phenomenon

Religion as a subject in itself, in most of the cases, and among many well-known authors, has begun to be treated and to be debated as a social, political and cultural topic. Not in the exact aspect of the definition, but in theoretical forms. This is also because the religion in itself as a phenomenon is very old. But, at the same time it is a phenomenon very interesting to be studied. Most of the authors which have treated this religion topic, couldn’t, at least find the approximate definition in theoretical aspect; hence many authors have attempted to do research on the effect and impact of the religion, its idea, its existence, relation between religion and state or religion and politics. Few authors agree that in theoretical aspect religion as a phenomenon is challenging to be studied.

\(^7\) Interview with a group of students at the College ILIRIA, few opinions on secularism and religion. Pristina, April - May 2013
Definition of “religion” in sociologic aspect, according to the author Otto Maduro, who by this definition attempts to states that religion in relation with the power and the society has a great understanding: Perhaps, then, “religion” could be redefined as that social arena where a constant struggle is waged to define, on the one hand, whose lives are worth respecting and protecting (i.e. whose lives are, “scared” and whose are not), and, on the other hand, who holds the legitimate capacity to perform such definition- shifting sands where today’s legitimate “religion” might become tomorrow’s subversive “politics”; somebody’s “priest” someone else’s “witch”; and one region’s “god” its neighbor’s “demon”, depending on the state of the power relations between the different groups involved in the strife.

While the author Kennick Victoria has an interesting view, because he thinks that religion has a very positive impact on stabilization of the society: Religion is a cultural force that can stabilize society, and exert a powerful effect on people over many generations (...).

In his book, Eugen Drewermann “Wozu Religion”, elaborates the need of the religion as something essential for the humans, which is very interesting in understanding, perhaps, few natural phenomena: Ich glaube, dass die Religion, dass das Sprechen von Gott überhaupt deswegen notwendig ist, weil wir zur Beantwortung von absolut menschlichen Fragen einen Hintergrund brauchen, der in der Natur nicht enthalten ist. On the other hand, the author, because of the fear for the unknown, which exists to the humans, thinks that in the most of cases religion or religious outlooks are greatly emotional.

An interesting view is presented by Jonatan Fox, in the subject of differences between ethnicity, religion and civilization. Because, according to him, civilization and religion are not the same. For example: Slavic people have different religions, mixed ethnicity and also they come from different civilizations (those western and orthodox). While, on the other hand, Markus Weingardt thinks that religion has also a role, or can play a peaceful role in conflicts, respectively in conflict prevention. The analysis and description of

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9 Ibid, pg. 603
10 Urubshurov, Kennick Victoria: Introducing World Religion. pg. 10.
12 Compare ibid. pg. 95-96
13 Compare Fox Jonatnan: Clash of civilizations or clash of religions. Which is a more important determinant of ethnic conflict? Ethnicities. SAGE Publications. pg. 298, 2001
14 Compare ibid, pg. 304
15 Compare Weingardt A. Markus: Das Friedenspotential von Religionen in politischen Konflikten.
the religion from few authors, is just a miniature of how many thoughts exist, how many approaches and views on religion there are.

3. Secularism

If today, someone is referred to the secularism or debates about this term, most of the people will percept it immediately: as a separation of religion institutions with state and political institutions. But, as a term, is a product of the XIX Century. 

At the time of the economic-wellbeing development and a fast technological development, according to the “theory of secularism”, general causes of secularism, have to do with “life modernization”. This means that a human, even without going to church, can live in a very good way, while on the other hand state institutions are sufficient and they fulfill obligations toward society and individual and vice-versa.

Moreover, by the modernization of life also, the time is more dynamic. While the other model is “economic model” then, tells about an indicator where society is developed, is already established and is more independent and more powerful and the third theory has to do with the “Individualism”.

Because of these elements stated above, we can understand that: at one time society depended on the church, and the way of living was imposed in such a manner as collective, but in modern times it is “the individual” who decides about the way of living. These parameters allow us to understand that the society, religious or less religious one, is starting to depart from the Church, respectively from the religion. This means that the society is building manners and forms of religion, or the linkage between people and religion. Steve Bruce states this in a very explicit form: (...) the current position of Christianity in France and in Britain is similar: the majorities of the population have little knowledge of Christianity, take no part in its rituals, pay no attention to the churches’ social and moral teachings, and do little to ensure the survival of the faith.
3.1. Factual situation and outlooks about religion in Kosovo

In the historic view, Kosovo (as a territory), by the violations of Slavic onslaughts has become a “multiethnic” country (advent/onslaughts of Slavics by the violations toward Albanian lands) a country which is characterized greatly by the ethnicities and by the past. In a political discourse, questions are often made, on what Kosovar residence/territory is identified? What is the thing that makes its identity and its entity? In Kosovo, among the majority Albanians (about 92% - are of an Islam religion and a small minority of it are Catholics), also there are some other religious minorities e.g. Serbs (5-6 % - are of an orthodox religion), Turkish, Bosnians, Romas, etc. Each group within the Kosovar territory has its desires, ambitions, respectively its aims on how they want to live.

1. Albanians, which represent the majority of the population of Kosovo, dream about one Albanian Communion, which would have as an aim the establishment of an Albanian identity (also after the Kosovo Independence);

2. Kosovo Serbs: in fact is a homogeneous entity, separated in three or four parties. This group can play a great constructive role for the future of Kosovo. But in reality this group, identifies with the Serbian state. In most of the cases they don’t pay taxes and they don’t express the desire to be integrated in Kosovar institutions. But, after the Independence of Kosovo (2008) a great part of Serbs have begun their integration, and have become part of Kosovo Government. Serbian minority, in many aspects is privileged e.g. their representation in the Parliament of Kosovo with reserved seats (positive discrimination)

3. Other minorities (Turkish, Bosnians, Romas, etc.) consider Kosovo as their homeland, and all of them are represented in the Parliament of Kosovo. In this manner they protect their rights in a legitimate approach.

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23 Compare for instance member countries of EU has over 5% minorities. Doesn’t exists any country in the world with 7% to 10% minorities that is multiethnic (Switzerland has around 20%, Austria has over 10%, Slovakia has around 6.9%, Bulgaria over 14%, Romania over 9%, Macedonia over 30% because Statistics in Macedonia in some cases have too many inaccuracy, etc. In: Der Fischer Weltalmanach „ Zahlen Daten und Fakten-2001 “Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag. Frankfurt am Main, 2000
Table 1: Ethnical Grups in Kosovo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnical Groups</th>
<th>Representation by ethnicity</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Representation by religion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Albanians</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>92/93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>7/8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Serbs/Montegreans</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>Slavic/Orthodox</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Turkish, Romas, Bosnians, etc.</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>Mostly Islam</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Judah, Tim (2008, 2)

3.2. About the orientation and the religion in Kosovo

A great part of Albanians consider themselves as Europeans, while Arben Xhaferi states that the Albanians consider themselves as Europeans but also as Muslims. This, according to the opinion of few academics, is one of the most delicate Kosovar questions, because to the Kosovars (the majority of them Albanians), still is lacking a state identity\(^{24}\) (also after proclamation of Kosovo Independence), so they are called in their National-Albanian identity, while as for the anti-overview on if they consider themselves “Europeans”, we will discuss further.

Many researchers are of an opinion that yes, Kosovars can consider themselves “Europeans”, because of historical, geographical, cultural and other circumstances. If we percept Kosovars collectively, then we come into conclusion that they mostly feel as “Europeans”, but in specific cases also as Muslims, for instance, during religious holidays, but not because the religion or someone requires to do so, but more because of a popular tradition. While for the identity of the Albanian population, the poet with a great reputation, Ismail Kadare states: Albanian population doesn’t have half-identity, lying or hiding in deceptive flowers. Its identity is also clear, despite that someone wants to see it, and someone doesn’t want to see it. Albanians are among the oldest populations in

\(^{24}\) After many efforts and investments Kosovo still doesn’t have a mutual identity, even though the international community has done and it’s doing efforts, but still couldn’t develop a Kosovar identity (especially to the Serbs in the North of Kosovo, which are boycotting Kosovo institutions) so far.

As for the Kosovar side, already has begun one “institutionalization of citizens” as an important pre-condition for building a national-state identity, so is adaption and integration of the population inside state institutions, in few other words “citizen’s institutionalization” inside state borders (i.e. Creation of one Kosovar community). This is one process which still hasn’t been completed.
European Continent, fundamental population in its region, as the Albanian Language has been accepted from all great linguists, as a beder 10 or 12, fundamental languages of the continent“ 25.

But if we analyze, also with a great carefulness, the thought of Tim Judah, which is stated in this manner: 26 “Generally speaking Albanians are a very secular people. Having said that, the overwhelming majority of Kosovo Albanians are of Muslim background. Likewise the vast majority of Macedonian Albanians are also Muslims, though their most famous daughter, Mother Teresa, born Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhiu in Skopje in 1910, was one of the late 20th century’s most famous Catholics. In 1967 Enver Hoxha, Albania’s communist dictator, declared Albania to be the world’s first atheist state and religion was henceforth “abolished.”

This formulation about Albanians in general, shows that they are a population with a secular tradition. Also, the poet, Pashko Vasa in XIX Century is referred to the thesis that: “the religion of the Albanians is Albanianism.” 27 That implies that Albanian identity isn’t defined from Religion, as to the other people of Balkan region. How much really is Kosovo secularized?

Secularism in Kosovo has to do with many factors, because Albanians, respectively Kosovars didn’t have the luxury time to practice religion, because survival has been foremost:

- First, with the Albanian tradition;
- Second, with consecutive occupations and permanent fight for freedom;
- Third, with the lack of state institutions;
- Fourth, 55 years of communist ideology.

In terms of relations between youth and religion, we might say this is more about a socio-cultural phenomenon. Kosovar youth, in the context of majority, in general is oriented more toward secularism or modern life. This means that relations aren’t healthy, because in many cases there is a lack of debate between young people and religious leaders. In Kosovo live about 1.8 million residents, about 92% of them Albanians, where most of them are of an Islamic religion, and 65% of Kosovo population are under 26 years of age. Meanwhile, this other phenomenon is related also with Kosovar mentality of post-war: various roads and squares are named, for instance Bill Clinton and Madeleine Albright 28. A

25 Kadere Ismail: Identiteti evropian i shqiptarëve. Onufri, Tiranë, f. 20. 2006
26 Judah, Tim: Kosovo. What everyone needs to know. Oxford University Press, New York 2008. pg. 8
27 Cited according to Tim, Judah: S. 9
28 For example, two main streets or boulevards in Pristina are re-named after former president Bill Clinton and former State-Secretary Madeleine Albright In: Balkan anderes-
majority of them like Europe, and aren’t even interested in the messengers’ Mohammed caricatures, as well as annually is celebrated a “Thank You USA”\textsuperscript{29} event (at the same time when American Thanksgiving Day is celebrated), on the other side we have an interesting indicator, where each year, in a huge concert the independence of USA (4\textsuperscript{th} of July) is yearly celebrated. This is an indicator that shows the relation of the youth and their perceptions of the religion. This topic is so complicated, too little, almost none at all, is debated either in academic or political discourse.

On the other hand, inter-religious relations in Kosovo, in essence didn’t have any special role, neither for the Albanians nor for the Serbs. If we observe from the historical aspect, Kosovo always has been a country of several religions. In few cases, when it was convenient for the Serbian party (for political reasons), has peevèd religious relations even when they didn’t exist, but they were used just in medial sphere, for the cross-religious hate. In reality all communities that live in Kosovo can apply their religious rituals without exception. This is made possible also by the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo.\textsuperscript{30} While religious relations in the past, didn’t have any important role either for the Albanians or for the Serbians.\textsuperscript{31} Many authors think that, if the ethnic relations would be, tolerant as religious ones, the problems of Kosovo would be smaller.

But we have to analyze well and carefully the circumstances and processes in which Kosovo is going through, and answers in which the religious relations were elaborated, the relations youth-religion, Kosovars and their European identity, etc. Many researchers believe that the majority of Kosovars think that: Kosovo has been, it is and will remain secular country. Therefore, because of the socio-cultural developments, we consider that Kosovo cannot be in danger by any sort of violent act of some religious group. While, as for any - links with Turkey (Turkey is a secular Republic) or to any other Islamic country, we
believe that there aren’t any symbolic relations in the religious aspect. 32 (so, relations exist only when interests and state aspects are involved) even though the majority of Kosovars are of an Islamic religion. Kosovars in general don’t follow the rules of the religion, meaning that they don’t think and act the same as Arabs, respectively as typical Muslims, as their approach is more toward the western world, toward democratic, racial, religious, gender and other values, which are almost the same as European approaches and perceptions.

It is needed to consider that in Kosovo, the majority of people understand or perceive the religion as something “normal/private”, without being too detailed on that of who is representing which religion. The role of religion/ (Mosque or Church); in Kosovar democracy isn’t notable at all, because a great part of the people didn’t see that as an important issue. This means that religion leaders never participate in political decisions. Also in crucial matters such as poverty, social rights, abortion, homossexuality- in low voices has been criticized from some religion leaders due to the liberal politics of Kosovo Government. In the territory of Kosovo “Religion in Public” 33 is mostly notable during the religion holidays. Just like in the “Bill of Rights” also in the Constitution 34 of the Republic of Kosovo, the religious freedom is guaranteed by law.

Also, in the Parliament of Kosovo we don’t have any strong political party that has to do or is identified with religion. 35 (Except the party of justice, this doesn’t have any specific relevance nationally). Because of its secular tradition, in Kosovo there has never been any religious education in Schools. There was a debate on this issue in the Kosovo Assembly, but it was rejected entirely.

4. Conclusions and results

The aim of this study has been testing a few aspects of the “difference between secularism and religion in Kosovar society”. Data which is presented in this research shows clearly: differences and relations that the Kosovar society stands neutral in relation to religion in a great size is uninterested for politization of religion in state institutions.

32 For example after the Independence of Kosovo we have non-massive recognition from the Arabian world respectively Muslim world, or said more exactly a wave of recognitions has came only after “Arabian Spring”.
34 Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo
In this aspect, Kosovar society is oriented more toward secularism, rather than toward religion. Because a part of the population doesn’t have the needed knowledge about Islam, they don’t participate in religious rituals or they don’t have any interest to do so. Therefore, even though the greatest parts of the population is of a Muslim religion, their orientation is indeed western, and respectively they have more of a pro-European identity.

From this research, we can conclude that we have a very large group, or most of the population which can be defined also as “Light Muslims” because they don’t practice religious rituals regularly, or a very low number of them do so. As well, during the research we’ve faced very positive elements, because a considerable part of Kosovars do not discriminate based on religion in relation to the (ethnicity).

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, the official languages of the country are Albanian and Serbian. As well, for a majority of the society, ethnicity is more important than religion, so, these two fields have deficiencies mostly. But, on the other hand, religious hatred isn’t present. This means that this is a greatly positive element for Kosovar society.

Another very important point which has been brought to the surface has been that, Kosovo institutions don’t have religious education in public sector, and especially in public opinion never wasn’t said or expressed clearly that they are against or pro including religion education in public institutions of education. While, in parliament such debate was opened but was refused by the absolute majority. We think that this has to do with the fear that, maybe, someone can instrumentalise or politicize religion. This is an indicator of great significance, which determines one secular society, and it gives you the impression or convinces that in Kosovo, religion to the absolute majority of the society doesn’t have any effect or if it exists, the effect is very small. Moreover, the positioning of Kosovo as a secular and neutral country toward religious beliefs is the main indicator for the absence of religion being injected in the public and institutional life of Kosovo.

By this we can understand that Kosovars don’t face any problem they consider to be “Albanian-Muslims” or “Europeans”. This means that the state institutions, as well the Kosovar society in general, especially in urban areas, remain loyal to secularism.
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