DISCRIMINATORY LANGUAGE IN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS
AN ANALYSIS OF UPPER SECONDARY LEVEL SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS IN KOSOVO

PRISHTINA, NOVEMBER 2017
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This analysis, conducted in the framework of the “Youth Participation in Inclusive Education and Human Rights” Project, analyzed high schools textbooks on the use of discriminatory language. Likewise, the project researched the knowledge of young people about aspects of human rights in terms of the education they receive. The purpose of this analysis is to reveal and to know to what extent are high school textbooks in line with the principles of human rights and to what extent and in what capacity are the teaching and learning process at this level reflecting these principles.

The content analysis of school textbooks included the subjects: Biology, Civic Education, History, Psychology and Sociology. These texts were analyzed through these five parameters: 1) Gender and Sexuality; 2) Nation, Ethnicity, ‘Race’; 3) Human Rights and Citizenship; 4) Body and Ability; and 5) Diversity and Social Equity. The analysis shows that school textbooks are full of formulations containing discriminatory and exclusive language. The sorting of these findings in categories based on discrimination or exclusion, highlighted that school textbooks are primarily loaded with discriminatory language in terms of ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation and gender identity, as well as social exclusion. However, there is no lack of discriminatory language in terms of ability, economic and social status and of the use of violent language. More specifically, the analysis observed:

- Ethnic bias, ethnic exclusion and ethnic hatred;
- Misuse of the notion of “nation” when considering aspects of the state;
- Stigmatization of various forms of family; non-majority social groups, poor people, non-heterosexual communities, elderly people, women, people living in rural areas, people with disabilities;
- Definition of sexual orientation and gender identities as deviations;
- Offensive portrayal based on disability; age, profession, place of residence, ethnicity and religion, sexual orientation and gender identity.
- Inappropriate examples and irrelevant links that strengthen stereotypes, prejudice, dehumanization and symbolic violence against certain social categories.

- Suggestive and tendentious questions and assignments in relation to gender.

- Incorrectness and lack of references on provided information and additional scientific resources.

On the other hand, the analysis of the results of the questionnaires filled out by the students reveals that there is a big difference between the answers given before and after the workshop on human rights aspects. After the workshop, the students showed increased knowledge of human rights aspects. From this, we can understand that properly informing students about different aspects of human rights can impact the creation of their knowledge, skills, values and civic attitudes. The workshops addressed specific human rights issues, such as: sexual orientation and gender identity, transitional justice, gender equality, etc. This analysis revealed that students are not taught these topics at school.

The analysis resulted in recommendations to the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST), schools, publishing houses, civil society and parents. They relate to interventions in the system to ensure quality in the process of publishing school textbooks by functionalizing the commission on the review of school textbooks, as well as by reviewing each textbook, setting standards for selection of authors and content of textbooks, opening the process of drafting and publishing of textbooks, reviewing the legal regulation and enhancing the capacities of authors of textbooks and publishing houses.

To publishing houses it is recommended to follow developments in education, in policy and educational practice. They should also establish competent teams of authors and professionals of different profiles to work together in the design of school textbooks.

Teachers are strongly advised to evaluate all the textbooks they use and to demonstrate sensitivity in accordance with the principles of human rights. They are also advised to use methods that encourage critical thinking and the development of student autonomy.

Parents should cooperate with teachers and students to solve problems with discriminatory content. They should also use formal groups of parents, as well as informal groups, to put pressure on the education system to eliminate discriminatory content and other errors from school textbooks.
Quality education for young people is a prerequisite for an inclusive society. Through education, young people are provided with knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that are necessary for life in a community, where each member feels secure and is provided equal opportunities, where diversity is valued and respect and solidarity are promoted. Although there are many forms of informal education (trainings, workshops, youth centers, etc.), schools constitute the formal education setting that plays a key role in equipping children and young people with the above-mentioned information and competences. Education through a human rights-based approach can educate conscious and active citizens.

The education system in Kosovo does not help young people to develop capacities to critically evaluate the socio-economic and political reality surrounding them. This system neither provides them with quality information and learning content, nor does it encourage discussion or critical assessment of the information they receive. Moreover, the education system is still far from inclusive. School textbooks contain discriminatory and exclusive language on certain marginalized social groups in Kosovo.

The concerns of the citizens, education specialists and activists of the Youth Initiative for Human Rights - Kosovo about the low quality of education and the cases of discriminatory language in school textbooks, were the incentive behind the analysis of the textbooks. This analysis is particularly important because school textbooks continue to be the primary, and often the only resource for students in the learning process. Thus, the content of school textbooks in a space where existing prejudices are reinforced and institutionalized through inaccurate and outdated information, has a detrimental impact on deepening the separation and isolation of certain social groups in Kosovo.
2. METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the analysis is to reveal to what extent are high school textbooks in line with the principles of human rights and to what extent and in what capacity are the teaching and learning process at this level embracing these principles.

In the context of the analysis, the following research questions were raised:

- How many textbooks are in line with human rights standards and, are there cases of use of discriminatory and exclusive language?
- How familiar are upper secondary school students with the general aspects of human rights and particular aspects of the rights of members of marginalized groups?

The analysis employed a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods and was conducted in two directions. On the one hand, high school textbooks were reviewed in terms of the use of discriminatory and non-inclusive language, as well as in terms of scientific and social inaccuracies stemming from stereotypical thinking. The selected textbooks cover the subjects that are more directly concerned with human psychological, physical and social aspects: Civic Education, History, Biology, Sociology and Psychology. The sample included a total of 22 textbooks of these subjects, for grades 10, 11 and 12, in both the general and vocational system. The table of reviewed texts is provided in appendix 1. Each textbook was audited by one researcher. The findings were submitted to another researcher who validated the findings through a process of textual review and analysis.

On the other hand, through the open call for applications, over 50 high school students were selected to participate in the organized workshops in order to increase youth participation in processes related to human rights and develop their capacities in the field of anti-discrimination, legislation and human rights practices.
Young people were selected from 6 regions of Kosovo: Prishtina, Peja, Gjilan, Rahovec, Ferizaj and Prizren. The informal education program provided through the workshops addressed topics such as human rights, transitional justice, sex and sexuality and discriminatory language. Furthermore, the participating students in the workshops - through the module of discriminatory language - identified cases of discriminatory language in textbooks, linking to the review of school textbooks by the research team. Regarding the workshops, a questionnaire was prepared. The students filled out the questionnaire before the start of the workshops. The questionnaire contained questions related to various aspects of human rights, in particular gender, sex, transitional justice, leadership and discriminatory language. After the workshops, young participants again filled out the same questionnaire. The aim was to observe the possible change of opinions and attitudes of young people after an education program.

The collected data on the discriminatory and exclusive language of textbooks were sorted in an Excel database, in order to analyze: subject, class or level of education, direction of studies, page and basis of discrimination. The data from filled-out questionnaires were processed in SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), a specialized package for statistical data analysis.

The analysis benefited from the ongoing review of applicable legislation and education policies. The research team inevitably considered these aspects too. Moreover, on this basis, we recommend continuous studies on the relationship between the structural aspects of education, school textbooks and their effects on teaching practices and pedagogy.
DISCRIMINATORY LANGUAGE IN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

3. KEY FINDINGS

3.1 THE QUALITY OF TEXTBOOKS IN RELATION TO HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARDS

In the analyzed textbooks, over 100 formulations containing discriminatory and exclusive language have been found. The categorization of findings based on discrimination or exclusion reveals that textbooks are primarily loaded with discriminatory language in terms of ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation and gender identity, as well as social exclusion. Likewise, there is no lack of discriminatory language in terms of disability, economic and social status and of the use of violent language.

None of the reviewed textbooks are free from discriminatory language. There is a direct link between textbooks of certain subjects and the type of discrimination we encounter in them. Thus, history textbooks tend to be primarily loaded with discriminatory and exclusive ethnic-based language; biology textbooks have more discriminatory language on the basis of disabilities and gender; civic education textbooks contain predominantly cases of discrimination based on ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation or gender identity; psychology textbooks display cases of gender-based discriminatory language; sociology textbooks feature many cases of gender-based discriminatory language, and even on sexual orientation, gender identity and class division.

BIAS, NON-INCLUSION AND LANGUAGE THAT INCITES ETHNIC HATRED

The most frequent formulations found in the textbooks are exaggerations of the role, qualities and values of a people or ethnicity compared to other peoples or ethnicities. Historical texts reinforce a symbolic representation of the nation through the division into “Us” versus “Them”. “We” is used to praise the nation and foster the sense of national belonging, and the second term is about building the image of the “Others”, respectively of the enemy of the nation. This is observed in these two cases:
“The freedom-loving spirit of the Albanian people was not broken even after these successful Balkan-level efforts.”

“Alongside the native Albanians, other peoples settled in the Western Balkans over the ages.”

Thus, territorial nationalism is threaded into history teaching. Further on, history lessons define “Albanian lands” as a civilizing space in the Balkans, through discriminatory language, by refers to other peoples as “primitive” and thus with a negative connotation. This is best illustrated by this section from the history textbook:

“They still lived in primitive communities, but they were gradually incorporated in the cultural processes that had been cultivated by the native peoples for centuries.”

Moreover, this bias is fueled by exaggeration in terms of figures and facts from Kosovo’s recent history. Thus, in three different history textbooks, regarding the recent war in Kosovo, it is stated:

“Only during the months of NATO air bombing, the Serbian army killed about 15,000 Albanians...”

None of these textbooks indicate the source of information or mention the number of victims from other ethnicities. This fact proves the systemic exclusion of all victims not belonging to the “Albanian” ethnicity and at the same time and it reinforces the idea of qualifying them only as aggressors. This content forces separation into “victims” and “aggressors” and limits the search for truth.

Other cases of ethnic non-inclusion can be found in the textbooks of Civic Education. Therein, it is stated:

“The Kosovo government is a coalition government in which the PDK, LDK, Serb list “Srpska” and other minorities living in Kosovo participate.”

1 Bicaj, Isa and Salihu, Arbër. History 10. Prishtina: School Textbook Publishing House (Libri Shkollor), 2016 (p. 144, s. 1)
2 Rexhepi, Fehmi and Demaj, Frashër. History 11. Prishtina: School Textbook Publishing House (Libri Shkollor), 2016 (p. 82, s. 1)
3 Rexhepi, Fehmi and Demaj, Frashër. History 10. Prishtina: School Textbook Publishing House (Libri Shkollor), 2015 (p. 113, s. 7)
In this book, the unit on political parties presents a picture with the logos of Albanian political parties, excluding non-Albanian parties. Moreover, even if the symbols of parties of ethnic communities were included, the display of political party symbols is unnecessary in textbooks. Textbook authors use language that incites ethnic hatred. An example of such a language is the description of historical events using harsh words, as in the case of the History 10 textbook. Therein, referring to the recent war in Kosovo, the authors describe the acts of Serbian forces with phrases like

“... the gruesome scenes of the barbarism of blood thirsty death squads...”

inciting abhorrence and hate in young readers, the opposite of what transitional justice promotes. A similar case is also found in the History 11 textbook for the Language High School, referring to the actions of “zervista forces” on the Cham population, states:

“In June and August 1944, they tortured, butchered and killed thousands of men, dishonored hundreds of women and girls.”

The offensive terms to refer to different ethnic communities are encountered in everyday use by people in informal settings. However, their use in formal educational settings, through textbooks, turns this into a serious matter. Thus, in the History 11 textbook for general high schools, the term «gypsies» is used for Roma and «Jews» is used for Hebrews. A rather relativistic language is used in terms of the “gypsies”, assuming that “their numbers cannot be accurately estimated, but they should not be large” and further claiming that “... their treatment, in these lands, has almost never been bad throughout the ages”. History textbooks are loaded with sentimental descriptions of historical events and figures, which turn these textbooks into romantic nationalistic textbooks for the nation. For example, Albanians are represented with “steadfast faith in their own forces,”, or how Skanderbeg died “covered with eternal glory.”

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6 The same visual appearance and logos of Albanian political parties are also included in the Book of Civic Education 10, which does not mention the direction (p. 34).
8 See also: Gashi, Shkëlzen. History of Kosovo - in textbooks of history in Kosovo, Albania, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia, 2016 (p. 112, s. 2)
9 Rexhepi, Fehmi and Demaj, Frashër. History 11. Prishtina: School Textbook Publishing House (Libri Shkollor), 2016 (p. 210, s. 5)
11 Ibid.
13 Ibid (p. 179, s. 1)
NATION AND NATIONAL VERSUS STATE AND PUBLIC

In terms of the subject of this analysis, it may appear superfluous to discuss the nation and national versus state and public concepts. However, these notions are very important for many people, in terms of the feeling of comfort or embarrassment that accompanies them. Because of such sensitivity, the wrongful utilization of these notions in textbooks can give rise to formulations of nuanced discriminatory language. In Kosovo high schools textbooks there are many cases when something about Kosovo is presented through the nation or national element.

Let us recall that the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, in Article 3, item 1 stipulates that: “The Republic of Kosovo is a multi-ethnic society ...” While describing several community levels, Civic Education 10 for vocational schools refers to Kosovo as a national community. On page 42, where the concept of national community is elaborated in more depth, the authors are limited to Albanian culture as part of the national community, brushing aside all other ethnic groups living in Kosovo. It is clear that this is a language of exclusion and can be perceived as a tendency for supremacy of a nation over others, within a multi-ethnic country or state. Such a definition of the national community can even offend Kosovo Albanians themselves, as they may feel separated from the rest of the nation, Albanians in Albania and elsewhere. There are other such statements in the above mentioned textbook, such as:

“E.g., legal experts argue that the expression of certain ideas is harmful to the public, it can endanger national interests”.14

Such statements are found even in the other textbook of the same authors, like:

“The government protects the people from the enemies of the nation”.15

To avoid the language of exclusion, the words “general interests” or “interests of the society” could have been used in the both cases, to substitute “national interests” and “the enemies of the country”.

14 Ibid, (p. 66, s. 4)
PREJUDICES AND GENDER STEREOTYPES

Gender is highly represented in textbooks, both directly through the elaboration of biological aspects, gender roles, skills, etc., and indirectly through the use of these aspects to elaborate on other social topics.

Unfortunately, during the review of school textbooks, many cases of use of discriminatory language in terms of gender were identified. The range of these cases begins with gender bias and stereotypes and ends with women’s branding on the basis of their physical and psychological features.

Women and children appear to be vulnerable social groups and victims, thus becoming powerless subjects. The following quote suggests this:

“Many of those (mothers and children) who experienced the bombing, later died of leukemia and other malignant diseases.”

In psychology textbooks, when talking about the social characteristics and personality of people on the basis of gender, the authors refer to them as male and female rather than men and women, bypassing their social status. This implies that students do not know how to differentiate between sex and gender, and this is confirmed in this analysis through the results of questionnaires with students participating in the workshop.

In these textbooks, men and women are still trapped inside their gender roles and “typical”, traditional behaviors. These texts show that “girls enjoy the most playing with dolls”, or how “males tend to play with trucks, planes and blocks, while girls mainly play with clothing, inflated plastic animals, etc.” In another case, elaborating on issues of art history, gender stereotypes are reinforced through “… the figure of the intellectual or feminine beauty, etc.” The highly emotional description “… the manly act of the miner” was encountered in two different history textbooks, written by different authors: History 10 for mathematics and computing high schools, and natural science high schools, and History 11 for language high schools. The authors could easily replace “manly” with “human”, to have a text with gender sensitivity and perspective.

The categorization into genders is the tendency of the authors of psychology textbooks. This division is supposedly based on some studies and theories (the sources of which do not appear in the textbooks), which have been rejected as not true. Researcher Regan McNeil claims that “the brain structure is not specifically related to sex”. However, in the Psychology 11 textbook, it is stated that

“... the two brains are wired differently: male brain to do and female brains to talk.”\(^\text{17}\), and further that “... the differentiated male brain finds it easier to face many tasks, such as talking while building something”.\(^\text{18}\)

This is basis on which differences in the social, emotional and cognitive functions are established. Thus, according to a table on page 82, women are usually: prudent, friendly, open, inclusive in verbal aggression, anxious and depressive, and capable of hiding emotions. Men, on the other hand, are described as: competitive and dominant, insistent, perpetrators of the majority of crimes (especially sexual crimes) who are not afraid of the dangers involved in physical aggression and have high self-esteem. In the same text, on the next page, there is another table, this time related to gender differences in choosing partners and sexual behavior. It states that women usually: prefer an older partner with higher income and a good character; they feel more threatened by emotional infidelity; and limit sexual intercourse to potentially long-term partners. On the other hand, men usually: prefer a younger partner, who is physically attractive and has good housework skills; they feel more threatened by sexual infidelity; are comfortable with casual sexual intercourse; are jealous of their sexuality and tend to control their partners.

Thus the Psychology textbook reinforces stereotypes, gender biases and sexism. These are observed in the following excerpts:

“For example, in the US today, a female (or a male) who is sensitive towards others, cautious and emotionally expressive (traditionally the female form) and is also strong, independent and competitive (male form) would be considered androgynous.”\(^\text{19}\)

18 Ibid (p. 80, s. 3)
19 Psychology 11.
“For example, just because it is accepted on average that females care more than males about children, this does not automatically mean that a particular male is less careful than most women. In fact, that particular male can deeply love children and take advantage of every opportunity to play with them. This does not turn that male into female, but it suggests that this male has a ‘feminine’ dimension in his personality.”

“women appear to be more easily convinced than men.”

“For example, we know that the menstrual cycle can affect the mathematical and verbal performance of women. This suggests that performance differences in math and verbal scores between women and men are related to their sex.”

“Further, males are more skilled in developing vocabulary (for example, the vast street slang and technical terminology created by men), while women are better at using the vocabulary available to them.”

This test goes even further, forcing students to internalize sexism and gender stereotypes by asking them:

“Do you think that there are big differences between males and females in our society regarding their psychological abilities?”

Thus, propagating the prejudice that psychological abilities are based on sexual differences, the psychology textbook reinforces patriarchy and male domination over women. Generally, this textbook conveys misogyny and it hinders critical thinking about gender equality.

One form of discriminatory language expressed in sociology textbooks is observed in relation to the economic and social status of women. In the reviewed textbooks, there are formulations that link the drop in the birth rate and reproduction of the population to “… the better economic position of women” or “… the degree of female education”. Moreover, some

20 Ibid.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
statements prove the conviction of the authors that women and men are not the same. A formulation is found that shows that a family can “potentially” be matriarchal. It states:

“In contemporary societies, however, we can consider some families as matriarchal - after the death of the husband or divorce, if the children are under their mother’s custody.”

In another formulation in the above mentioned Psychology 11 textbook, authors encourage students to apply gender distortions to their thinking about social processes through the question “What are the consequences of female dedication to the career?” This question suggests that women who choose their career over men produce consequences in the society.

STIGMATIZATION OF VARIOUS FORMS OF FAMILY

In terms of family concepts, school textbooks, use a limited approach on the family that shrinks to “… created by the marriage between a man and a woman, in which children are born…” Consequently, the first argument to be mentioned about universal family features is that “it is based on heterosexual relationships in which women and men meet sexual, spiritual, moral and aesthetic needs and ensure the reproduction of society with the birth of offspring”. Such definition in the sociology textbook is a continuation of the same approach, based on heteronormativity, found in the Civic Education 9 textbook, which based on “the compactness of its structure and function”, considers “a full and harmonious family” one that is “… composed of two parents, their children, and in which no problems are manifested”. Such definitions exclude single-parent families, families consisting of grandparents or other members, families consisting of homosexual partners and so on. Thus, these families outside the “casting” of this definition remain stigmatized “as incomplete or disordered”.

27 Ibid, (p. 105, s. 3)
30 Ibid, (p. 113, s. 4)
SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND GENDER IDENTITY AS DEVIATIONS

The language of exclusion and stigmatization in school textbooks affects especially persons who do not have heterosexual orientation. These texts do not distinguish between sex as a biological category and gender as a social category, completely excluding the gender identity of those who do not feel male or female. Such a description is encountered in the Psychology 11 textbook, which restricts gender identity to “… the subjective experience of being male or female.” The textbook formulations displayed as examples in the previous section, clearly show that non-heterosexual people are not considered part of the structure defined as family. Moreover, in these texts homosexuality is equated with “Disorders, criminal behavior…” and it is also described as behavior that “… deviates from normal behavior and is noted as a deviant behavioral form…”.

OFFENSIVE PORTRAYAL BASED ON ABILITY

School textbooks are not exempt from discriminatory and degrading language on the basis of ability. There are formulation that use careless language, like “Usually, we mean one is schizophrenic when we say that someone is crazy”. It is disconcerting that while our society is increasingly supporting people with Down syndrome to lead an integrated life, four different biology textbooks for grades 10-12, define the people with this syndrome as “mongoloid idiots”. In this regard, the authors go even further by writing that “… such persons’ faces and eyes resemble the traits of the Mongolian race, but they have great mental retardation, short growth, reduced brain, characteristic dermatoglyphics and mainly live up to 10-15 years.” The offensive term “Mongolian idiot” was dropped decades ago, since the term “Down syndrome” is used instead.

33 Mato, Erlehta and Shatri, Bajram. Civic education 10. Prishtina: School Textbook Publishing House (Libri Shkollor), 2015 (p. 102, s. 1)
INCITEMENT OF VIOLENCE AND DEHUMANIZATION

The language used in textbooks is often reckless in the use of terminology that incites to violence. A case of the usage of this language has already been mentioned: “... the gruesome scenes of the barbarism of blood thirsty death squads...”\(^37\). This language often leads to the stigmatization of the victims, like in this case that was also mentioned above: “In June and August 1944, they tortured, butchered and killed thousands of men, dishonored hundreds of women and girls.”\(^38\) Instead of the term rape, the word dishonor is used, which contributes to the stigmatization of victims of sexual violence. A similar case is also found in the Civic Education 10 textbook, which states: «Another type of violent crime is violent rape”\(^39\). The word rape implies a sexual act committed through force or against the wish of the victim, so the encountered wording is very harsh.

The authors’ approach to violence is intolerable, especially when it comes to domestic violence, where there is a tendency to dehumanize children, legitimizing forms of violence against them, and even blaming children for domestic problems. A number of such cases found in the reviewed textbooks, follows. The Civic Education 10 textbook states: “Most children receive a slap from time to time, which obviously makes them suffer on several levels”\(^40\). The authors are content with the suffering of children on several levels, without bothering to elaborate on all the possible consequences. Meanwhile, according to the American Psychological Association, “physical abuse refers to a child’s intentional injury, e.g. blows, beatings, bites, or any action leading to physical injuries”\(^41\). Further on, it is stated that “Children who are subject to abuse and neglect usually perceive the world as an unstable and dangerous place, which can harm their sense of self-esteem and their ability to cope with and adapt to the environment they grow in...”\(^42\). To prove how serious this issue is, in another text the same authors of the civic education textbook referred to in the previous paragraph, write “Given the fact that punitive techniques are the only effective methods to encourage the child to behave properly, parents often use physical

\(^37\) Bajraktari, Jusuf, Rexhepi, Fehmi and Demaj, Frashër. History 10. Prishtina: School Textbook Publishing House (Libri Shkollor), 2014 (p. 205, s. 4)
\(^38\) Rexhepi, Fehmi and Demaj, Frashër. History 11. Prishtina: School Textbook Publishing House (Libri Shkollor), 2016 (p. 210, s. 5)
\(^40\) Mato, Erlehta and Shatri, Bajram. Civic education 10. Prishtina: School Textbook Publishing House (Libri Shkollor), 2016 (p. 171, s. 2)
\(^41\) American Psychological Association http://www.apa.org/pi/families/resources/understanding-child-abuse.aspx
\(^42\) Ibid.
punishment to discipline their children.”\textsuperscript{43}. This formulation is scandalous, as the authors legitimize punitive techniques as the only effective means to make children behave properly. Another case where children instead of being seen as victims are portrayed as part of the problem is the wording that deals with the problems of the contemporary family, with juvenile delinquency being identified as the first cause of these problems: “The main problems of the contemporary family are: - Juvenile delinquency, - Use of harmful stimulants such as narcotics, tobacco, etc., - Problems with the use and exercise of domestic violence, - Divorce and problems that accompany this phenomenon, - Sexual abuse.”\textsuperscript{44} The phrasing is biased and is aimed at blaming children. In fact juvenile delinquency is the result of neglect and violence that children undergo as they grow up, and of the social and economic problems faced by many families nowadays.

**INAPPROPRIATE EXAMPLES AND IRRELEVANT LINKS**

The reviewed textbooks contain formulations through which the authors give inappropriate examples or establish inappropriate links to the issue being discussed in those texts. At best, the examples of these links cause ambiguity in students, and in the worst case they reinforce stereotypes and exclude different groups. Thus, it is difficult for the reader to establish the proper link to the following phrase: “Recent years have seen a rise in the number of families in which both parents are employed. This is the result of the fact that married women are now working outside the home”\textsuperscript{45}, which relates to “families in which both parent are employed”. Imagine how many questions may arise in the minds of students, which, if not addressed and discussed, shall remain forever unclear.

The clarification of conditional reflexes through “Beauty (conditional stimulation) causes positive emotions (conditional reaction)”\textsuperscript{46}” limits the woman’s qualities to her physical traits and as such it is an inappropriate and irritating example of the objectification of women. There are other such cases, like “… the face of an old woman and the face of a beautiful girl are seen”\textsuperscript{47}. In this case, the discrimination is twofold. The “beautiful” label is similar to the case with the above mentioned formulation, while comparing...

\textsuperscript{43} Mato, Erlehta and Shatri, Bajram. Civic education 10. Prishtina: School Textbook Publishing House (Libri Shkollor), 2015 (p. 87, s. 2)
\textsuperscript{44} Berishaj, Anton & Berisha, Ibrahim & Hasani, Ismajl. Sociology 11. Prishtina: School Textbook Publishing House (Libri Shkollor), 2011 (p. 33, s. 2)
\textsuperscript{45} Mato, Erlehta and Shatri, Bajram. Civic education 10. Prishtina: School Textbook Publishing House (Libri Shkollor), 2016 (p. 148, s. 2)
\textsuperscript{46} Nushi, Pajazit & Juniku, Neki & Bërxbulli, Dashamir. Psychology 12. Prishtina: School Textbook Publishing House (Libri Shkollor), 2012 (p. 85, s. 4)
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid, (p. 74, s. 2)
the face of an old woman and the face of a beautiful girl, shows that there are also grounds for age-based discrimination.

The examples used to elaborate on the subject, negatively present women even in terms of skills. “These are the expressions: “Good to see you go” - the lady of the house welcomes her husband’s dinner guests!”48 presents a family where the husband invites his friends to dinner, while his wife who is supposed to welcome and serve them, is not doing it right. On the other hand, most of the examples relating to historical personalities appear to be males. Here’s an example: “The man says I’m thinking of Abdyl Frashëri’s role in the Albanian League of Prizren, the Scanderbeg sculpture, the consequences of war, Charles Darwin’s theory...”.49

STUDENTS IN FRONT OF SUGGESTIVE AND TENDENTIOUS QUESTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

There are instances when students using textbooks are placed in unenviable situations when they have to answer questions or complete assignments given at the end of the learning unit, which are provided in discriminatory language. For example, students are required to describe “… an unpleasant event you remember that is related to inter-ethnic relations in Kosovo...”.50 Such an assignment stimulates the feeling of ethnic hatred, rather than doing the opposite.

In another case, one of the questions at the end of the learning unit is the following: “5. What are the social consequences of women’s commitment to the career?”.51 This formulation is mentioned above, in the context of the economic-social inequality between men and women. It should be stressed that students find themselves in an awkward position when they want to respond. The question is highly suggestive and leads the students to think of the “consequences”. A student should be very courageous to refuse to answer to this question or to present the view that there are no consequences, but rather social benefits from this fact.

48 Ibid, (p. 123, s. 1)
49 Ibid, (p. 110, s. 1)
INCORRECTNESS AND LACK OF REFERENCES ON PROVIDED INFORMATION

Most of the reviewed textbooks contain incorrect information. Inaccuracies are not part of this analysis, but their impact on discriminatory language in some cases leads to the discussion in this section. For the subject of this analysis, it is of little importance that a textbook published in 2016 states that “About 6 billion people live on planet Earth today,”52 when it is known that in 2011 the population reached 7 billion53. Even the fact that in a textbook written in 2016 it is stated that “Kosovo intends to become a member of the European Union, which includes 25 countries...”54, when Croatia is the 28th country since 2013.55 is unrelated to the analysis. However, inaccurate information regarding the number of those killed in the recent Kosovo war, of the type “… during the months of NATO air bombing, the Serbian army killed about 15,000 Albanians…” incite hatred and do not even serve to teach history, or life lessons on the basis of historical facts.

In school textbooks, in most cases, the authors do not provide references to information sources that would allow for verification of information, but also the possibility of deeper study of the subject matter of the study. Even when referring to theories or studies, they do not clearly state the source. Also, they do not provide a list of additional literature on topics covered by the subject.

54 Mato, Erlehta and Shatri, Bajram. Civic education 10. Prishtina: School Textbook Publishing House (Libri Shkollor), 2016 (p. 72, s. 3)
55 European Union: https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu_en
The students who applied to participate in the workshop first filled out a questionnaire with questions on human rights. The questionnaire is provided in appendix 3. After the end of the workshop, the students again filled out the same questionnaire.

The overwhelming majority of respondents stated that they have occasionally learned about the concept of human rights at school. When asked to provide details about the content, the overwhelming majority mentioned that they have learned about international laws and instruments, but there was little mention of any particular aspect. Mostly, these lessons were provided through the subject of civic education.

Students were asked to list their basic rights. In order to administer their replies in a more structured manner, they were encoded on the basis of the rights proclaimed in the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Written answers were decoded and categorized according to the coding. Only three respondents wrote 5 rights and seven other respondents 4 rights. The rest managed to identify 2-3 rights. The most identified rights are: Freedom of expression of opinion and views (Article 12); Right to life, survival and development (Article 6); Right to education (Article 28); Protection from discrimination (Article 2); and Right to Name, Citizenship and Nationality (Article 7).

Students were asked about the ethnicity of the people who died in the last war. There is a significant difference in the answers given in the questionnaires before and after the workshop. Thus, before the workshop, 37.3% of respondents answered that only Albanians lost their lives in the last war, while less than 8.9% of them still maintained this opinion after the workshop. However, most of them responded that those who lost their lives are from all ethnic groups, the difference being that the number of respondents who chose this option increased from 49.2% before the workshop, to 75.6% after the workshop.
Several specific questions were related to sexual orientation and gender identity, as well as to the social phenomena associated with them. In the question about sex and gender notions, 32.2% of respondents answered correctly before the workshop, while after the workshop this percentage increased to 57.8% of the respondents. In this regard, 27.1% of respondents had no knowledge prior to the workshop, which dropped to only 2.2% after the workshop. This means that after the workshop, most of them grasped the notions of sex and gender.

Chart no. 2. Accuracy of gender and sex definitions

Before the workshop  After the workshop

Correct  Partial  Wrong  Don’t know

32.2  15.3  25.4  27.1
57.8  24.4  15.6  2.2

DISCRIMINATORY LANGUAGE IN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS
On the other hand, those who have responded incorrectly, in most cases stated that sex is the intimate relationship or sexual intercourse in a couple.

Asked what the LGBT acronym stands for, 54.2% had no knowledge prior to the workshop, while 44.1% were familiar with the acronym. After the workshop, 91.1% became familiar, compared to 8.9% of the respondents who were still unfamiliar.

**Chart no. 3 Familiarity with the LGBT acronym**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Don’t know</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Ref/PP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before the workshop</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After the workshop</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Asked about the notion of homophobia, prior to the workshop, 30.5% of respondents provided a correct definition, while 13.6% were wrong. More than half of them, or 50.8%, stated they had no knowledge. After the workshop, the percentage of those who gave the wrong definition dropped to 4.4%, while the percentage of those who have no knowledge dropped to 17.8%. Meanwhile, after the workshop 73.3% of respondents gave the right definition, compared to the much smaller percentage prior to the workshop (30.5%). The difference between before and after the workshop is the same when it comes to the notion of “sexism”.
The biggest difference is the one in the notion of “misogyny”. In misogyny, only 1.7% of the respondents were correct before the workshop, while after the workshop 62.2% responded correctly. The vast majority, 94.9% did not know the notion of misogyny before the workshop, while after the workshop, only 31.1% did not know how to answer to the same question.

These results show that through the workshop students learned about aspects related to sexual orientation and gender identity, as well as related phenomena. This also shows the lack of treatment of these aspects of human rights in schools.
Prompted by the definition of the family provided in the 9th grade civic education textbook, a question was asked to see the opinions of students about the different types of family in terms of composition. Since almost all students think that the family with the mother and father and their children is a complete and harmonious family, they do not think about different types of family. Prior to the workshop, 35.6% of respondents thought that the family with two mothers is complete and harmonious, while 64.45% thought it was an incomplete and disordered family.

After the workshop, this ratio changed, since from those who responded, 77.8% thought it was a complete and harmonious family, while 17.8% remained of the opinion that this is an incomplete and disordered family. Slightly similar tendencies are shown by the results of the question on the one-parent family and his/her child, two-fathers family and their child(ren), family without parents and family with two parents and their child/children born out of wedlock.

Chart no. 7: Families with married mother and father and their child/ren

Chart 8: Family with two mothers and their child/ren

Chart 9: Family with one parent and his/her child/ren

Chart 10: Family with two fathers and their child/ren

Chart 11: Family without parents

Chart 12: Family with two parents and their child/ren born out of wedlock
Asked whether the subject of sexual education is needed at school, almost all students answered “yes”. This result is the same both before and after the workshop.

Interestingly, the results on the last two questions in the questionnaire, one related to how satisfied students are with the knowledge they receive from the education system in Kosovo, and the other inquiring whether they believe that the Kosovar society is an inclusive society where each citizen is provided with equal opportunities. Regarding the education system, prior to the workshop the students were approximately equally divided, i.e. 47.5% were satisfied and 47.5% dissatisfied, but after the workshop many more students were dissatisfied with the knowledge they receive from the education system, specifically 60% of them, while over 35.6% remained satisfied. As for the Kosovar society, both before and after the workshop, the students were very critical in terms of the inclusion and opportunities offered by the society. Only about 10% of them are satisfied.

Regarding these students’ opinions, they seem to be far more critical of the opportunities provided by the Kosovar society, while they are less critical of the knowledge provided by the education system. However, after the workshop the students thought more critically about their education, adding to the dose of dissatisfaction with the education they receive within the education system, probably influenced by the lessons they learned in an informal learning setting and the reflection on the absence of these lessons in the formal education system.
Students in Kosovo, even in upper secondary schools, still have to deal with textbooks that display discriminatory and exclusive language. We say “even in upper secondary schools” because earlier analyses have documented that such language is employed also in elementary and lower secondary school textbooks. We say “still”, since this state of affairs that was identified years ago is still persisting, perhaps with cosmetic improvements. In the analysis published in 2013, the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network - BIRN came to the conclusion that lower school secondary school textbooks, alongside other shortcomings, suffered even from the presence of discrimination, prejudices and gender stereotypes. The analysis was conducted to check whether a number of problems, defects and deficiencies, identified in an earlier 2010 study by the same organization, had been corrected. Another analysis published in 2007 by the Kosovo Center for Gender Studies, titled “Auditing gender issues in the education system” also included an analysis of gender issues in school textbooks. The analysis showed that gender stereotyping in textbooks is highly pronounced, not only in the written content, but also in illustrations and representations.

There are various types of discrimination identified in the language used in school textbooks. There are cases of discriminatory language on the basis of ethnicity, gender and family relations, sexual orientation and ability, but there are also cases of discrimination on the basis of socio-economic status, age, religion, etc. The manners in which this discriminatory language is displayed are: exclusion of certain groups, descriptions of the old social constructs, being offensive to members of these groups, and even branding them. On the other hand, members of other groups are romantically elevated, there is predominant representation of members of these groups and exaggeration of the facts associated with inaccuracies.

58 Kosovar Center for Gender Studies: http://www.kgscenter.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/AUDITIM1IceSHTJEVEGJINORENeSISTEMINARSIMOR%E2%80%9D.pdf
The biggest shortcomings revealed by the analysis of the school textbooks are the following:

- In the history textbooks there are pronounced biases when presenting historical facts, presenting Albanians as the only native people in the Balkan Peninsula, portraying Albanians as the only victims of the recent war through the swollen number of killed Albanians and the total disregard of the victims of other ethnicities, etc.;

- Gender discrimination is pronounced, beginning with gender biases and stereotypes that restrict women within their “traditional role”, continuing with sexist descriptions even when elaborating scientific issues, ending with the branding of women on the basis of their physical and psychological features;

- Sexual orientation and gender identity are not addressed in accordance with contemporary developments, but rather with the tendency that anything that does not correspond to heterosexuality is presented as a deviation;

- Disability aspects are addressed without any sensitivity. The Down Syndrome is described with the offensive term “Mongoloid idiots”, and inaccurate information is provided on the people with this syndrome, even on their lifespan;

- Harsh language is used in describing facts, fueling hatred;

- Students face suggestive and tendentious questions and assignments. Through them, biases and stereotypes are encouraged instead of critical thinking and the feeling of social harmony.

The analysis has also found systemic problems with regard to school textbooks. Despite the fact that education policies and regulations in this area were not part of the analysis, it was impossible to design and conduct this analysis without a quick research on the issue. Thus, the standards on school textbooks were adopted in 2011 through the Administrative Instruction 5/2011. In the reviewed textbooks, we find little of the content of this document. Thus, the findings from the analysis reveal, for example, that the standards in place for school textbooks are totally neglected. Here are just a few standards that are directly related to the scope of this analysis: Standard 10 - Links to education aspects of maturity/independence, democracy education, peace education; Standard 11 - Reflection of gender equality; Standard 7 - Questions and assignment; etc.

The Law 02/L-67 on publishing school textbooks, educational teaching resources, reading materials and pedagogical documentation was adopted in 2006. Article 3.2 of this Law states: “The school textbooks, the educational teaching resources, reading materials and pedagogical documentation are not allowed if they make propaganda against Kosovo, which violate human rights and gender equality and that incite political, national, and religious hatred”. The analysis reveals that the opposite is taking place in the practice of textbooks. Further on, article 4.3 states: “The Reviewers make written critical evaluation of an educational text, an artistic play and a scientific work before their publishing.” We did not find the name of any reviewer in any of the reviewed texts.

A textbook review commission was established in 2015 at the level of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, but we have no results from the work of this commission.

Thus, although there is a legal framework for school textbooks, the textbook quality assurance system is missing. Thus:

- School textbooks contain discriminatory and exclusive language as well as information that do not contain references to resources.
- The absence of reviewers proves the absence of the first filter.
- There is no diversity of authors and publishing houses. The same authors have written most of the textbooks of a subject and the same mistakes are reflected in all the textbooks. All the reviewed school textbooks are also published by the same publishing house.
- There are instances when the same discriminatory formulation appears in textbooks with different authors.
- Surprisingly, the decisions to approve the textbooks have been made many years before the textbooks are published. An example: “The text was approved by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology by Decision no. 491/02-1, on 04.07.2005”.

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These textbooks are far from being sources that contribute to achieving the goals of pre-university education as defined by the curriculum framework: “... through the development of the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values required by the democratic society. This enables young people to be active and accountable citizens, to constructively face differences and challenges, and to respect their rights and the rights of others”. The content of these textbooks, coupled to the lack of contemporary methods for dealing with this content in the classroom, complicates matters for teachers and students, forcing them to seek other sources of information and more effective ways to address the content of the teaching material.

High school students attended the workshops organized by the project. The workshops related to general human rights concepts as well as specific aspects such as: sexual orientation and gender identity, transitional justice, gender equality, etc. The methodology used in these workshops was active learning and collaboration, a methodology that the reviewed textbooks do not encourage at all. Participants filled out the questionnaires related to the content of the workshop, first prior to the workshop and then again after the completion of the workshop. The analysis of the results of the questionnaires shows that there is a large difference between the answers given before and after the workshop. After the workshop, the students showed increased knowledge of human rights aspects. From this, we can conclude that the proper elaboration of particular aspects of human rights can impact on the creation of knowledge, skills, values and civic attitudes of students.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the results of the analysis and the drawn conclusions, we provide recommendations to the parties involved in education.
TO THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY:

- It is recommended to revise the Law 02/L-67 on publishing school textbooks, educational teaching resources, reading materials and pedagogical documentation, especially section II, assessment and approval of school textbooks, educational teaching resources and pedagogical documentation. Depending on the review process, an amendment to the law should be initiated or a new law should be passed.

- Develop a practical guide for publishing houses and textbook authors for the implementation of school textbook standards. The promotion of the human rights-based approach should be at the core of this guide.

- Design a training program for textbook authors to be offered annually to publishers and interested authors. Training should also be offered to education officials.

- Open the process of publishing textbooks, providing for diversity of authors and publishing houses. It should also be possible for independent authors to offer their proposals.

- Functionalize the textbook review commission or any other body at Ministry level to continuously supervise school textbooks and actively participate in the process of publishing school textbooks. The commission itself should be broad-based and bring together independent experts, civil society representatives, and parents. Determine the criteria for selection of textbook authors. A transparent communication channel between this commission or body and teachers, parents, education experts and other citizens must be established for any matter related to school textbooks.

- Ensure that school textbooks go through the dual review process that enables the critical assessment of textbooks.

- Pilot school textbooks with teachers and students.

- All school textbooks must be subject to the drafting of content from a gender perspective.

- MEST should report annually to the Kosovo Parliament on the use of school textbooks and the impact on teaching and learning.
TO PUBLISHING HOUSES:

- Monitor developments in the education system and society, including education policies and contemporary education practices. This provides a good basis for the process of publishing school textbooks.

- Create diverse teams of authors and professionals of other profiles who will jointly work on designing school textbooks. School textbooks should be guided by a human rights approach, and explicitly and implicitly promote the values of democratic citizenship.

TO TEACHERS:

- Critically evaluate all school textbooks employed in the practice of classroom teaching and use them in accordance with the principles of human rights and student needs.

- Identify sections of textbooks that carry prejudices, stereotypes and discriminatory language, and replace them with alternative sources.

- Employ methodologies that encourage critical thinking, active learning and collaboration, in order to develop civic competences in students.

TO PARENTS:

- Cooperate with teachers and students in identifying problematic content and provide assistance in overcoming the risks of such content.

- Employ formal parent organizations, as well as informal groups, to advocate for the removal of discriminatory content and other errors from school textbooks.
6. BIBLIOGRAPHY


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UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CRC.aspx last accessed on 19.11.2017
7. APPENDICES

7.1 Reviewed Textbooks


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