DIVIDED CITY BY WAR, PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITIES FOR CHALLENGES AND INTEGRATION. THE CASE OF MITROVICA

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Abstract

Since the war of 1999, the city of Mitrovica in Kosovo is divided into two parts, consequently causing demographic changes. This had imposed the administrative division of the city which through the Ahtisaari Plan formed South Mitrovica with Albanian majority and North Mitrovica with Serb majority. Despite the fact that Mitrovica after the war has always been seen as an Albanian-Serbian dispute, the reality is that in both municipalities are present other communities that participate in the public life of the city. So far, the administrative border line between the two municipalities has not been marked, which is hostage to some disputes for some Albanian villages that are geographically located on the northern side of the Ibar River, but which also belong to the south with the Ahtisaari Plan. This is also manifested in their electoral participation. The method used in the paper is the empirical method, conducting a survey with 100 respondents (50 in South Mitrovica and 50 in the North) with community members with the random method on their knowledge of the participation of the respective communities in municipal institutions. Among the paper I am focusing mainly in the outcomes of the survey which I realized Because the aim of this paper is to pave the way for further studies for whom which will be interested in this topic in the future. The importance of the paper consists in the fact that despite the trumpeting of municipal officials on the participation of communities in municipal bodies and concern with their situation, such field research presents the reality of different communities, challenges in participation and decision-making.

Keywords: Communities, North Mitrovica, South Mitrovica, municipal bodies.

JEL Classification: H83, K10

1. Introduction and literature review

The Constitution of Kosovo refers to minorities as communities, but such a terminological difference has no substantive difference.² For Serbs, in particular, there is a fear that if they are referred to as 'minorities' in Kosovo at the same time, they admit that Kosovo is an independent state (as Serbs are not a minority in Serbia as a whole country). For this reason, the term 'community' is most frequently used in Kosovo, and this is the term used for the rights conferred by the Constitutional Framework.³

Since the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, then other legal and administrative acts, formally there are many mechanisms for the protection of minority communities, which are also monitored by international organizations in Kosovo. Different communities in Kosovo have different characteristics. Therefore, the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities have other challenges compared to the Serb community.⁴ In the recent law, at the municipal level, fulfillment of number of job positions for members of communities will be in accordance with percentage of population in that municipality.⁵

According to the 2011 census data⁶, South Mitrovica has 71,909 inhabitants, of whom 96.65% are Albanian. Minority communities are: Ashkali with 647 members, Roma with 528 members, Turks with 518 members, Bosniaks with 416 members, Gorani with 23 members, Serbs with 14 members

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² Bajrami, Arsim, 2012, "Të drejtat e komuniteteve dhe pjesëtarëve të tyre në sistemin kushtetues të Republikës së Kosovës", in *Constitutio, Study journal on legal-constitutional and parliamentary issues, Pozita Kushtetuese dhe Ligjore e Pakicave në Regjion*, 2/2012, ISKP, Prishtinë, 2012, p. 15.

³ Mekaj, Genc, and Aliaj, Kreshnik, "Ethnic Dimension in Kosovo, Security and its Consequences in Transition", in *ILIRIA International Review - Vol 9, no 1 (2019)*, Felix-Verlag, Holzkirchen, Germany and Iliria College, Pristine, 2019, p. 162.

⁴ Haxhimehmeti, Gjenis, "Minoritetet në Kosovë dhe në vendet e rajonit, trajtimi i tyre përkitazi me të drejtat e njeriut dhe përdorimi politik i tyre", *in International Scientific Conference "Konsolidimi i shtetit dhe sfidat eurointegruese"*, AAB University, 2018, p. 212. ⁵ Law on Public Officials, Article 9.

⁶ Kosovo Agency of Statistics, Population by gender, ethnicity and place of residence, 2013. Available from http://data.rks-gov.net/dataset/f5753b6f-4e5e-4314-af45-724b773d47ed/resource/2f964295-d3f4-4c42-90e7-f7795d1d6cc1/download/popullsia-sipas-gjini se-etnicitetit-dhe-vendbanimit.pdf [accesed 01.11.2020].

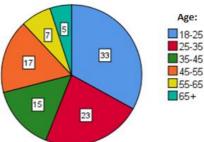
and Egyptians with 6 members. Of these, only Serbs are not represented in the questionnaire, for whom no information has been found on where they live, reinforcing the assumption that they have been displaced, because the head of the Office for Communities and Returns in the municipality is also a Serb and a resident of the north. The questionnaire has been compiled in order to achieve the most detailed results on the issue in question. In addition to questions on the topic, general questions on the profile of respondents are also included such as: community, age, gender, profession, etc.

Thus, the 50 questionnaires provided for South Mitrovica were divided, maintaining the proportionality of the number of members they have: Ashkali community 14 respondents, Turkish community with 12 respondents, Bosniak 11, Roma 10, Gorani 2 and Egyptians 1. For North Mitrovica, evaluation data were obtained from the OSCE in 2015⁷, in which, in addition to 22,530 Serbs, the population of the communities are: Albanians with 4900 members, Bosniaks with 1000 members, Gorani with 580 members, Turks with 210 members, Roma with 200 members and the Ashkali community with 40 members. The data are problematic especially for the number of the Albanian community, due to the non-signing of the administrative border between the two municipalities, so the mentioned number includes those who participate in the elections in the south. So out of 50 questionnaires distributed in North Mitrovica, respondents are: Albanian 23, Bosnian 13, Gorani 6, Roma and Turks from 3, and Ashkali 2.

		North Mitrovica	rth Mitrovica South Mitrovica	
	Gorani	6	2	8
	Egyptians	0	1	1
	Ashkali	2	15	17
	Roma	3	10	13
	Turkish	3	12	15
	Bosnian	13	10	23
	Albanian	23	0	23
Total		50	50	100

Respondents by age

We picked respondents with purpose to represent more or less the proportional number of inhabitants by ages.



Regarding the level of education of the respondents, 18 were declared without education, 7 with incomplete primary school, 12 respondents stated that they completed primary school, 34 secondary school, 23 high school or college, while only 6 with postgraduate education as master's or doctorate.

According to a previous survey in 2015, at the national level it turned out that 53% of minorities thought they were little integrated, 33% average, 7% not at all and 7% very much.⁸

2. Findings/results

Following there are main findings, but being aware that with data that we collected, it is

⁷ OSCE, Municipal Profile 2018, Mitrovica Region, Mitrovicë North. Available from https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/3/9/12 2119_1.pdf [accessed 05.10.2020].

⁸ Myrtezani, Besim, Hoxha, Flutura & Kamberi, Ferdi, *Pjesëmarrja e komuniteteve jo shumicë në jetën publike konform legjislacionit në Kosovë* in REFORMA, No 2/2015, ISSN 1800-9794, Gjilan, 2015, p. 94.

possible to cross more many variables and achieve further results.

In total, 50% of all respondents stated that they were moderately satisfied with the performance of the municipality in general (20 out of 50 respondents in the North, and 30 out of 50 respondents in the South). Communities for the Municipality of the North have a more negative assessment than for the South, where 13 respondents see the North as a bad or very bad municipality, while the South 9 such. But the performance of the municipality in the North is seen as good by 8 respondents, while 7 by the South.

			Perception of municipal performance					
						No		
					Very	knowledg	Refuse to	
		Good	Average	Bad	Bad	e	answer	Total
Municipality	North	16%	40%	18%	8%	18%	/	100%
	Mitrovica							
	South	14%	60%	8%	10%	6%	2%	100%
	Mitrovica							
Total		15%	50%	13%	9%	12%	1%	100%

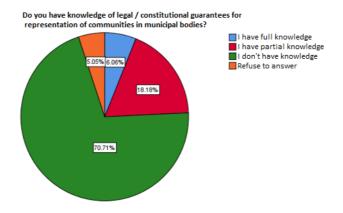
2.1. Identification of three main problems by respondents

We asked respondents to identify three main problems which concern the most. Unemployment is the problem that concerns the respondents the most. The second is the general social problems with 36 respondents listing it as one of the basic problems. Then education and corruption are with 31 answers each. Health is a challenge for 29 respondents, while the lack of support for young people was selected by 24 respondents. Ethnic discrimination with 18, infrastructure 17, public order and security by 16 respondents, lack of investment by 14.

Alternatives such as environment and lack of political stability by 13 respondents. In the end are the lack of electricity and negative phenomena by 7, privatization by 5 and lastly the quality of administration services by 2.

	Respondents	sanswers	Total percentage	South Mitrovica	North Mitrovica
	No. of respondents	Percentage	of answers	No. of respondents	No. of respondents
Education	31	9.5%	31.3%	18	13
Infrastructure	17	5.2%	17.2%	13	4
Health	29	8.9%	29.3%	20	9
Social problems	36	11.0%	36.4%	20	16
Political instability	13	4.0%	13.1%	6	7
Corruption	31	9.5%	31.3%	14	17
Discrimination on ethnic basis	18	5.5%	18.2%	8	10
Unemployment	64	19.6%	64.6%	35	29
Public order, security	16	4.9%	16.2%	2	14
Privatization	5	1.5%	5.1%	4	1
Lack of electricity	7	2.1%	7.1%	7	0
Environmental pollution	13	4.0%	13.1%	7	6
Negative phenomena (prostitution, drug addiction, alcoholism)	7	2.1%	7.1%	3	4
Lack of investments	14	4.3%	14.1%	4	10
Insufficient support for the young people	24	7.3%	24.2%	12	12
Quality of administration services	2	0.6%	2.0%	1	1
Total	327	100.0%	330.3%		

In the following question, more than 70% of all respondents don't have knowledge about legal framework regarding their rights as communities for representation in the local institutions.

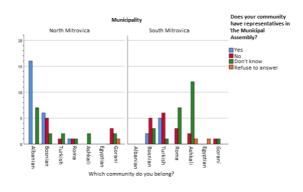


	0	e of legal tion in mur			l guarant	ees for	community	Total
	Albanian	Bosnian	Turkish	Roma	Ashkali	Egyptian	Gorani	
I have full knowledge	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	6
I have partial knowledge	5	6	3	2	0	0	2	18
I don't have knowledge	15	16	12	8	15	1	3	70
Refuse to answer	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	5
Total	23	23	15	12	17	1	8	99

2.2. Representation of communities in the Municipal Assembly

There are a total of 19 municipal councilors in the Municipal Assembly of North Mitrovica. Serbs as a majority have 17 seats, while Albanians are represented by 2 councilors from the same entity (Democratic Party of Kosovo). Other Albanian parties, as well as Bosniaks and Gorani, have failed to win any seats. While in South Mitrovica all 35 seats in the Municipal Assembly are divided between Albanian parties. In the last local elections, no party representing the communities has managed to win the required number of votes for representation in the assembly. ⁹

But when asked if your community has a representative in the Municipal Assembly, apart from the majority of Albanians in the North 69.5% who knew they had a representative, 46.1% of Bosniaks thought they had a representative in the assembly, whereas 38.4% were convinced that they did not. Even in the Roma community there were those who thought they were represented in the assembly of North Mitrovica. In South Mitrovica also the Bosniak community with 20% and especially the Turkish one with 41.6% stated that they have no representatives in the assembly. However, there were still those who declared that they have representation. The Roma and Ashkali communities were largely unaware of this issue.



⁹ Central Election Commission, Elections for the Municipial Assembly 2017. Available from http://www.kqz-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/1.pdf [accesed 15.10.2020].

2.3. Deputy Chairperson for Communities and Deputy Mayor for Communities

The position of Deputy Chairperson for Communities (DCC) has been introduced within the municipality institutional framework by the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo¹⁰, likewise Deputy Mayor for Communities exist by law in the municipality where at least 10% of citizens belongs to communities. But sometimes the good practice was when this position was given regardless the communities were able reached or not 10%. Communities with majority don't know if those position are functional or not. Only 20% of Albanians in the North, knew that the post of DCC is exercising by the member of their community. In the previous mandate the post of deputy mayor existed in the South and was held by Turkish community. Maybe this is the reason why 41.6% of Turks in the South thought this post still exist, despite the fact that in this mandate this post wasn't given to anyone.

2.4. Representative in the Committee for Communities in the Municipality

The Committee on Communities, exist by Law on Local Self Government, is one of the permanent committees of the municipal Assembly ¹².

The Municipal Communities Committee is operational in both municipalities of the city of Mitrovica. In North Mitrovica, this Committee is chaired by a representative from the Bosniak community, while in North Mitrovica it is led by the Albanian community. However, most community members have no knowledge of this. Albanians in the north with a majority or 82.6% do not know whether they have representatives in this Committee, while 17.4% others say "Yes". 46.1% Bosniaks in the North also have no knowledge of this, but 38.4% others state that their community is represented in the Communities Committee, while only 2 persons state that they are not represented. In South Mitrovica the majority of Bosniak communities 62.5% and Turkish 50% state that they do not have such knowledge, but in the Turkish community 5 or 41.6% state that they have representatives in this Committee. While members of the communities from Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians are mainly divided between alternatives that have no representatives at all or have no knowledge about it.

2.5. Functionality of the Municipal Council for Community Safety

The Municipal Community Safety Council operates under the law to build trust between the police and the community at the local level. Representatives of each community also participate in this mechanism, followed by religious communities, representatives of the municipality, the police and the KSF. However, despite the legal requirement, in North Mitrovica this mechanism has not yet been functionalized. Most respondents were not aware of this Council, although it is operational in South Mitrovica. Just from Bosnian community in the South 30% declared that they are aware for operation of this Council.

2.6. Does the municipality marks the national day of your community?

Communities generally state that the municipalities of North and South Mitrovica *do not mark* their community day (40% in the North and 56% in the South). Also, a high percentage have *no knowledge* if this happens (44% in the North and 16% in the South). 12% in the North and 24% in the South state that *sometimes* their Community Day is celebrated, while regularly this happens in *each year* only 4% are declared in both municipalities.

¹⁰ The Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, article 62.

¹¹ Law on Local Self Government, article 61.

¹² Law on Local Self Government, article 51.

Does the municipality marks the national day of your community?

Municipality		Every year	Sometimes	Never	Don't know	Total
North Mitrovica	Albanian	4.3%		43.5%	52.2%	100.0%
	Bosnian		23.1%	38.5%	38.5%	100.0%
	Turkish			66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	Roma	33.3%		33.3%	33.3%	100.0%
	Ashkali		50.0%		50.0%	100.0%
	Egyptian		33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	100.0%
	Total	4.0%	12.0%	40.0%	44.0%	100.0%
South Mitrovica	Bosnian	10.0%		70.0%	20.0%	100.0%
South Mitrovica	Turkish		50.0%	41.7%	8.3%	100.0%
	Roma		30.0%	70.0%		100.0%
	Ashkali	6.7%	20.0%	53.3%	20.0%	100.0%
	Egyptian				100.0%	100.0%
	Gorani			50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Total	4.0%	24.0%	56.0%	16.0%	100.0%

2.7. Complaints in the municipality

In general, 66% in North Mitrovica and 48% in South Mitrovica were not in the municipality to complain at all.

Did you ever go in the municipality to complain for issue that preocupate your community?

Municipality		sometimes	Only one time	Never	Refuse to asnwer	Total
North Mitrovica	Albanian	8.7%		69.6%	21.7%	100.0%
NOT CONTROL OVICE	Bosnian		7.7%	69.2%	23.1%	100.0%
	Turkish			100.0%		100.0%
	Roma	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%		100.0%
	Ashkali		50.0%	50.0%		100.0%
	Gorani	16.7%	16.7%	50.0%	16.7%	100.0%
	Total	8.0%	8.0%	66.0%	18.0%	100.0%
South Mitrovica	Bosnian	10.0%	20.0%	70.0%		100.0%
	Turkish	25.0%	8.3%	25.0%	41.7%	100.0%
	Roma	10.0%	20.0%	60.0%	10.0%	100.0%
	Ashkali	26.7%	13.3%	46.7%	13.3%	100.0%
	Egyptian			100.0%		100.0%
	Gorani		50.0%		50.0%	100.0%
	Total	18.0%	16.0%	48.0%	18.0%	100.0%

2.8. Participation of communities in elections

Most members of the communities have participated in the last local elections, and they think that they will participate in the next elections as well. However, 20% in the North and 18% in the South have not yet decided whether to vote in the next elections.

	Did you vote in the last local elections?								
Municipality		Yes	No	Refuse to answer	Total				
North Mitrovica	Albanian	82.6%	13.0%	4.3%	100.0%				
NOTET WITH OVICE	Bosnian	76.9%	7.7%	15.4%	100.0%				
	Turkish	33.3%	66.7%		100.0%				
	Roma	66.7%	33.3%		100.0%				
	Ashkali	50.0%	50.0%		100.0%				
	Egyptian	83.3%	16.7%		100.0%				
	Total	76.0%	18.0%	6.0%	100.0%				
South Mitrovica	Bosnian	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	100.0%				
South With Ovica	Turkish	66.7%	8.3%	25.0%	100.0%				
	Roma	100.0%			100.0%				
	Ashkali	86.7%	13.3%		100.0%				
	Egyptian	100.0%			100.0%				
	Goran	100.0%			100.0%				
	Total	80.0%	10.0%	10.0%	100.0%				

2.9. Survey on the participation of communities in the upcoming local elections expressed in percentage

		Will	you vote in the	Will you vote in the next local elections?									
Municipality		Yes	No	I have not decided yet	Refuse to answer	Total							
North Mitrovica	Albanian	69.6%		30.4%		100.0%							
	Bosnian	46.2%	23.1%	23.1%	7.7%	100.0%							
	Turkish	33.3%	66.7%			100.0%							
	Roma	100.0%				100.0%							
	Ashkali	100.0%				100.0%							
	Egyptian	83.3%	16.7%			100.0%							
	Total	66.0%	12.0%	20.0%	2.0%	100.0%							
South Mitrovica	Bosnian	40.0%	10.0%	30.0%	20.0%	100.0%							
South Mitrovica	Turkish	66.7%		25.0%	8.3%	100.0%							
	Roma	90.0%		10.0%		100.0%							
	Ashkali	86.7%	6.7%	6.7%		100.0%							
	Egyptian	100.0%				100.0%							
	Goran	50.0%		50.0%		100.0%							
	Total	72.0%	4.0%	18.0%	6.0%	100.0%							

In determining the criteria for the selection of the candidate for mayor, 42.9% in the North and 40% in the South, list the first: education. Ethnicity in the North is considered much more important by 26.5% of respondents, compared to the South where only 2%. 14.3% in the North and 28% in the South are defined for the political platform, while the political entity presents the main criterion only for 12.2% in the North and 6% in the South. Roma communities 50% and Ashkali 46.7% in South Mitrovica have chosen the "other" alternative, on the grounds that they seek immediate benefit in exchange for the vote.

Political party Political platform Education Municipality Ethnicity Total North 31.8% 13.6% 22.7% 31.8% 100.0% Mitrovica 7.7% Bosnian 7.7% 15.4% 53.8% 15.4% 100.0% Turkish 100.0% 100.0% Roma 33.3% 66.7% 100.0% Ashkali 50.0% 50.0% 100.0% 16.7% Gorani 66.7% 16.7% 100.0% 14.3% 26.5% 12.2% 42.9% 4.1% 100.0% 60.0% 30.0% 100.0% 10.0% Bosnian South Turkish 33.3% 66.7% 100.0% Mitrovica Roma 50.0% 10.0% 30.0% 100.0% Ashkali 6.7% 20.0% 26.7% 100.0% Egyptian 100.0% 100.0% 50.0% Gorani 50.0% 100.0% 2.0% 6.0% 28.0% 24.0% 40.0% 100.0%

In your determination for the candidate for mayor that you will vote for, what plays a key role?

3. Conclusions

Through a public opinion survey among the minority communities in North Mitrovica and South Mitrovica we have achieved a more complete picture of their representation in municipal bodies, other institutions and the level of their political culture expressed in elections.

In addition to those incorporated in the questionnaire, there are others, such as the Office for Communities and Returns that operates within the municipality, where in the South it is led by a Serb who is a non-resident in South Mitrovica, while in the north this office is headed by a woman from the Bosniak community.

Despite the existing mechanisms, the results of the survey showed that the communities in both municipalities of the city of Mitrovica do not have much knowledge about the existence of the rights they have for representation. Most have not even turned out to have knowledge of such mechanisms whose mission is to represent and protect their rights.

South Mitrovica in this mandate has marked a regression in the representation of communities, as it has abolished the post of deputy mayor appointed by a minority community. Also, due to the non-representation of any minority community in the assembly, the functioning of the deputy chairman of the assembly from the ranks of the communities has never been done. It is recommended

to refunctionalized the post of deputy mayor held by a community, due to it is useful in increasing the channels for coordination of executive work related to the living of the communities and adds an address for the communities in the local government.

Despite the legal requirement, North Mitrovica has refused to make the Municipal Community Safety Council functional as a protection mechanism for communities. At the same time, in the municipality of North Mitrovica, the position of deputy mayor for a community has not been given, however, the position of deputy chairman of the assembly is exercised. It is recommended that the functioning of this inter-institutional mechanism (council) will affect the improvement of the security climate which is fragile in North Mitrovica.

The main problems that concern the communities have resulted: unemployment and social issues, education, the level of corruption and health. In the north, the problem of public order, security and tranquility has been expressed. The last on the list has been the quality of administration services. So, regardless of nationality, unemployment is a common thing of their concerns, so measures in this regard are necessary.

According to the results of the survey, the communities do not show a willingness to complain to the municipal bodies about their problems. 66% in North Mitrovica and 48% in South Mitrovica have never been to their problems in the municipality, while 18% in both municipalities have refused to give answers, which serves as an indication of concern and for taking measures that the municipality be more open and closer to their citizens.

Also, informal community organizations such as: sports clubs, youth, associations, etc., are at a very low level, but even when they exist, they face insufficient institutional support and financial problems, which has resulted in dissatisfaction from communities regarding the representation that these clubs do.

In North Mitrovica the communities do not turn out to have cooperation among themselves to the extent that this inter-community cooperation results in South Mitrovica. But there are also concerns in the South in this regard. Institutionally celebrating the "national days" of the communities would have a positive effect on cooperation in other areas as well.

Despite numerous problems and insufficient knowledge of their representative mechanisms, community members have voted in the local elections elected by their representatives. In the last local elections in both municipalities there were competitive lists of some of the minority communities, but also members from these communities who competed in the lists of majority entities. However, the results were lacking, as only two municipal councilors from the minorities, i.e. Albanians, were elected in the Municipal Assembly of North Mitrovica, and none in the Municipal Assembly of South Mitrovica.

Communities mostly prefer for mayor, the candidate who has good education and upbringing, ranking this quality before the candidate's ethnicity, political platform or political party. Exceptions are the Roma and Ashkali communities in South Mitrovica who close to half have chosen the "other" alternative, not preferring one of the four alternatives given. Some of them have stated to the surveyor that they choose this option for reasons that before voting for the candidate for mayor, seek personal interest in exchange for the vote.

Finally, we can conclude that the representation of minority communities in the municipal bodies in North Mitrovica and South Mitrovica still remain a challenge for the future. Long-term investment is needed to raise the general political culture, which in the future would result in their representation, in addition to being formal and concrete.

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