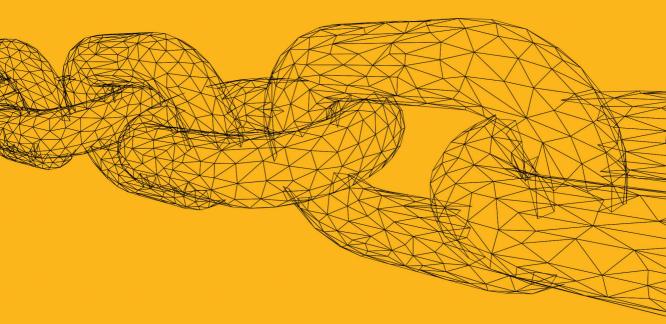


SUBSTANTIVE REINTEGRATION

how to avoid 'Zombie Governance' in north Kosovo



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INTRODUCTION

Over the three years or so, the security and local governance situation in north Kosovo has faced profound challenges, undoing most of the progress from the last decade in terms of integration Kosovo Serbs and placing a strain on relations between different communities. These challenges emerged before the Banjska attack in September 2023 and have become even more acute since. The situation in the north has subsequently deadlocked dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina, further straining relations and raising concerns about further negative developments in north Kosovo.

In April 2023, local elections in the four Serb-majority municipalities (North Mitrovica, Zvečan, Zubin Potok, and Leposavić) were boycotted by the ethnic Serb population, resulting in extremely low voter turnout¹. Overall, some 3.47% of eligible voters cast ballots, with very few Kosovo Serbs². This led to the election of ethnic Albanian mayors, who lack legitimacy in the eyes of the local Serb community. This outcome did not offer a long-term political solution for these municipalities. This situation later escalated into significant tensions and clashes in May 2023 when Pristina, ignoring the international community, took control of the municipal buildings by force to enable the newly elected mayors to assume office³. That move caused serious tensions and violent clashes on the ground.

The installation of mayors perceived as outsiders deepened divisions between local Serbs and Kosovo institutions, rendering municipal governance ineffective in addressing community needs. Expressions of dissatisfaction in each of the four municipalities are widespread, with many asserting that the current local governments are essentially dysfunctional. Yet despite various scenarios foreseeing early local elections in the north, these have not materialised.

The subsequent erosion of trust profoundly impacted all aspects of life in north Kosovo, including the security situation and protection of fundamental rights, affecting not only the Kosovo Serb community but also others who reside in the north. There is a palpable sense of insecurity among the local Serb population. Civil society organisation and local media report a concerning trend of increasing harassment of women and girls in North Kosovo, including sexual harassment, and a lack of institutional responses, particularly from the Kosovo Police (including a failure to respond to reports, and pressure on witnesses) and the Police Inspectorate of Kosovo (PIK).

- ¹https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/kosovo-izbori-srpska-lista/32373784.html
- ² https://www.danas.rs/vesti/politika/cik-na-izborima-u-opstinama-na-severu-kosova-glasalo-3-47-odsto-upisanih-biraca/
- ³ https://kossev.info/violence-ensues-as-special-police-forcibly-enter-municipal-buildings/

This situation has been further complicated by frequent unilateral actions by the Kosovo government, such as closing institutions in the north and elsewhere, while ignoring its obligations under the Brussels Agreement to establish an Association/Community of Serbmajority Municipalities. Residents of the four northern municipalities have remained in a state of limbo, and the mayors and municipal councillors who assumed office have not enjoyed the support of the local population they were mandated to serve. While decisions have been implemented in accordance with Kosovo's laws and constitutional framework, they have been largely rejected by the Kosovo Serb community. All mechanisms for consultation have broken down, meaning that the voices of those most affected by their enactment are not being heard.

With local elections to be held in Kosovo this autumn, the prospects for the return of Kosovo Serbs to political and institutional structures in north Kosovo are ever more tangible, even if there remain potential obstacles that could disrupt the nomination of candidates and turnout of voters. Regular local elections can end a period defined by the disengagement of the Kosovo Serb community since the mass resignations of November 2022.

Whether this paves the way for the reintegration of Kosovo Serb police, judges, and prosecutors is beyond the scope of this paper. It is, however, a timely juncture to consider the nature of community safety and local governance that could emerge following these elections, and potential models of civic engagement that could supplement governance in north Kosovo. While elected officials and municipal employees from the Kosovo Serb community are likely to reassume their posts within municipal structures, it remains to be seen to what extent this constitutes a substantive step towards establishing responsive governance in north Kosovo.

There are profound concerns about the potential emergence of what could be dubbed 'Zombie Governance'; namely, municipal governments that formally exist and minimally operate, but are effectively non-functional due to a lack of vision and capacity, making them incapable of enacting meaningful policies responsive to the needs and concerns of local residents. Whilst such governments would enjoy broader electoral legitimacy, bestowed by the Kosovo Serb community through the ballot box, they would fall short of fulfilling the standards of deliberation and service delivery that underpin successful local governance.

The emergence of such Zombie Governance would only reinforce the negative governance trends in north Kosovo, especially after several years of profound discontent. Aktiv's Trend Analysis for 2024 points unambiguously 'to a deeply rooted dissatisfaction and pessimism of the Serb community in Kosovo'⁴. Furthermore, the survey has regularly highlighted low levels of trust of Kosovo Serbs in the 'municipalities in the Kosovo system in Serb-majority areas.'

To mitigate the risk of such governance emerging, this paper calls for a comprehensive approach to local governance and community security/safety that goes merely beyond the formal return of newly-elected Kosovo Serbs and administrative staff.

⁴https://ngoaktiv.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/Analiza-Trendova-2024-1.pdf

To mitigate the previously outlined risks, effective partnerships between newly established local governments and civil society should be pursued in the spheres of community security/safety and the provision of social services in the north. Such models will help local governments better understand the needs and concerns of all local residents, thereby contributing to more efficient and effective service provision. In addition, the creation of such channels of communication is key for rebuilding trust between civil society and local government following the breakdown of relations in recent years.

At the same time, there must be fundamental steps to improve the enabling environment for effective local government in north Kosovo. The boycott of the census in the north, for instance, will have budget ramifications that severely impact the delivery of services. Furthermore, the Development Fund, which was designed to provide investment for the north, has remained moribund for several years. Both issues, along with the deliberation of the boundaries between Mitrovica North and South, must be addressed without any further delay in order to create an environment in the north where local government can thrive.

STRENGTHENING COMMUNITY-BASED APPROACHES TO SECURITY AND SAFETY

From a security perspective, the major trends for 2024 show that, on average, 'every fifth Serb respondent considers that their safety had been threatened in the year behind us'. Policing methods deemed repressive have contributed to a deterioration in the security situation, with many young people increasingly viewing the Kosovo police as de facto enemies, as opposed to being responsive to the communities they are appointed to serve. The notion of policing by consent has almost entirely broken down. While Kosovo has deployed special police units to the north, their heavy-handed presence has been seen as a provocation by local Kosovo Serbs. There have been repeated allegations of verbal and physical harassment over the last two years or so. The frequency and continuity of these incidents point to a systemic issue and a failure of security structures.

This situation has been felt most acutely by women and girls in north Kosovo, who have been the victims of harassment by civilians coming from the direction of southern Mitrovica, including cases in which the victims are minors. A 2024 report by Aktiv (who subsequently established a dedicated hotline for victims to come forward in confidence) highlighted that an informal women's group collected 30 testimonies in a single day from Serbian women and girls aged 15 to 60 who experienced harassment. These incidents include catcalling and verbal harassment, including frequent sexist remarks, comments on appearance, and other verbal harassment in public spaces, including non-consensual recording and photography. More seriously, there have been reported cases of physical harassment, including unwanted touching, hugging, or persistent stalking, including vehicles trailing women, creating fear and anxiety.

Various civil society organisations have voiced their concerns about the inadequate response of the Kosovo Police and the Kosovo Police Inspectorate (PIK). Victims are often hesitant to report cases due to mounting distrust in the Kosovo Police's ability and/or willingness to seriously investigate such cases. PIK, meanwhile, has shown only limited results in disciplinary actions in such cases. Mechanisms for civilian oversight of policing are deemed extremely limited.

There has also been a loss of confidence in the ability of international missions, particularly the EU's Rule of Law Mission (EULEX), to provide sufficient oversight and accountability. A consortium of civil society organisations from north Kosovo recently questioned EULEX about the conclusions of its monitoring assessments, the concrete steps taken when systematic failures were identified, and how it can ensure that its findings and recommendations lead to changes in the conduct of policing structures. Such calls, however, have been largely ignored at both the operational and diplomatic levels, further deepening the sense of institutional passivity and the absence of accountability for the prolonged crisis in northern Kosovo.

Intermittent speculation about the possible reopening of the Main Bridge in Mitrovica to vehicle traffic has fuelled further tensions and arguments that the security environment is not conducive to such a step. In the absence of a clear response from the international community, renewed EU mediation on the issue, including a reluctance to publicly clarify what preconditions must be fulfilled before the Bridge can be reopened (i.e. the delineation of the municipal boundaries between Mitrovica North and South, it continues to undermine an already fragile security context.

Public trust between the police and local communities in north Kosovo is arguably at its lowest point since the integration of Kosovo Serb police was formally completed, with profound consequences for the rule of law and human rights in north Kosovo⁵. The accumulated and associated challenges suggest that this dynamic can only be transformed through transparent, accountable, and effective work by both local and international actors. As the aforementioned press release stated, "there is an urgent need to build people's trust in the security community', adding that, 'this can only be achieved through the accountable and transparent work of all competent authorities, including international missions that have a mandated role in ensuring the rule of law and the protection of human rights in Kosovo⁶.

Even if a pathway is found for reintegrating Kosovo Serb police officers who previously resigned their posts, repairing the damage done will require a more holistic approach to security and safety issues. Given such a context, it is necessary to consider how security actors can be more responsive to the needs and concerns of local communities, including through community policing structures and approaches.

To this end, it is imperative to revitalise Municipal Community Safety Councils (MCSCs) and Local Public Safety Committees (LPSCs) through the active engagement of newly-installed local governments, with tangible support from the international community. Strengthening the LPSCs in north Kosovo requires a multi-faceted approach that enhances their capacity, inclusivity, and effectiveness in fostering community-police collaboration.

As a first step, it is necessary to broaden representation on the LPSCs by including diverse community members, particularly women and those from other underrepresented groups, to address specific safety concerns. This can be achieved through proactive awareness campaigns, including educating citizens about the role of LPSCs, ensuring that the language rights of all be respected throughout this process.

LPSC members should have access to regular training programs, including on community policing, conflict sensitivity, and communication skills. There should be a specific emphasis on areas such as hate crimes and domestic/gender-based violence. Funding should also be provided to the LPSCs so that they can pursue targeted initiatives that solve daily community safety/security challenges in north Kosovo.

⁵ https://ngoaktiv.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/Analiza-Trendova-2024-1.pdf

⁶https://ngoaktiv.org/en/news/press-release-5/

With respect to the MCSCs, the respective municipal leaderships should commit to taking a more active role in the functioning of these bodies to give them greater legitimacy and leverage. The issue of security has been at the forefront of concerns of the Kosovo Serb community in recent years, hence, more assertive political leadership is required to engage the Kosovo Police in order to identify and address key priorities.

A pro-active, community-driven approach to safety/security can help defuse tensions around specific issues before they escalate, particularly given the existing distrust towards the Kosovo Police. Instead of a top-down, enforcement-focused model that has led to accusations of repressive methods and mistrust, a community-driven approach prioritizes building relationships and fostering trust. This is achieved through regular engagement and dialogue within and between municipal leaderships, the police, and local communities, especially marginalised groups.

Such approaches also support transparency and accountability at the local level, ensuring that complaints are investigated more openly and thoroughly. They also support preventative measures that can reduce concerns about police harassment, especially of women and girls, ensuring a victim-centered approach to ensure cases are handled with sensitivity and professionalism. Finally, they contribute to early warning and information sharing, allowing community leaders and the police to act before situations escalate. In doing so, they contribute to shifting the current negative perceptions of policing in north Kosovo.

REDUCING THE BLIND SPOTS OF MUNICIPAL SERVICE PROVISION

The breakdown of ties between municipal authorities and leading civic actors has strained relations in the four northern municipalities. The respective municipalities have tended to function without due consideration for the needs and concerns of the local community, leading to policies that have further strained an already volatile political environment. Many Kosovo Serbs feel more marginalised than at any juncture since the 2011 Brussels Agreement, with many citing this as a key factor (along with economic and security considerations) behind their decision to leave - or to consider leaving - Kosovo entirely⁷.

This situation has been further complicated by unilateral moves by Pristina to close institutions in north Kosovo, which have had significant negative consequences on service provision for the Kosovo Serb community. By disrupting financial services and social benefits⁸, among other things, the Central Bank of Kosovo's moves against the Serbian dinar have greatly impacted living conditions, with many Serbs forced to travel hundreds of kilometres to collect their salaries, pensions, and social benefits . Centers for Social Work, which provided assistance to vulnerable families, have been relocated, leaving many without their primary source of support⁹.

To counter this sense of exclusion and marginalisation, it is imperative to consider models that contribute to building substantive partnerships between local governments and civil society actors, especially those involved in delivering social services to marginalised groups. Aktiv has previously worked on implementing an approach known as Participatory Social Services Planning (PSSP) in Leposavić/Leposaviq, in conjunction with People in Need (PIN) and Peaceful Change initiative (PCi), as part of a UK government-funded project, entitled 'Amplifying Local Voices for Equitable Development' (ALVED)¹⁰.

The PSSP methodology involved the establishment of an Advisory Group (AG) in Leposavić/ Leposaviq comprised of local civil society organisations and representatives from the municipality, functioning based on a Memorandum of Understanding signed with the municipality. The AG drafted a municipal strategy for improving social and family services, with an accompanying Action Plan, which was adopted by the Municipal Assembly. This strategy was grounded in a comprehensive mapping process within the local community, drawing upon survey data, focus groups, and other sources to better understand the specific needs and concerns of specific groups and individuals.

⁷ https://ngoaktiv.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/Trend-Analisis-2024-1.pdf

⁸ https://www.kosovo-online.com/vesti/ekonomija/centralna-banka-od-1-februara-evro-jedina-valuta-na-kosovu-za-gotovinske

⁹ https://alternativna.com/zatvoreni-centri-za-socijalni-rad-na-severu-kosova-koji-su-funkcionisali-po-sistemurepublike-srbije/

¹⁰ https://ngoaktiv.org/en/news/completed-process-of-participatory-planning-of-social-services/

As a result of this process, grants were provided for temporary Youth Counseling Services and an initiative focused on the socio-economic difficulties of vulnerable social groups. The Association 'Podrži me' ('Support Me') successfully young persons with disabilities from across the municipality, including its many poorly-connected villages¹¹. Activities included creative workshops to improve various motor skills, and sports activities to enhance physical coordination. These activities also fostered friendships among participants and elevated the organization's standing, enabling it to better advocate for long-term solutions. Parents of children with disabilities also received counseling and support group meetings on topics like behavior management, school integration, and life skills.

In addition, Aktiv supported grassroots CSOs in improving their capacities for complying with contractual requirements, including financial and narrative reporting and procurement. The project ALSO enabled better communication of information about COVID-19 to local residents and contributed to the better implementation of protection measures. A public communication campaign provided information on the virus, protection measures, and debunked misconceptions¹².

This process offers a collaborative approach to designing and implementing approaches tailored to the needs of local communities, with a majority of residents believing that the local municipality had become more responsive to their specific needs. The replication of such methodologies, tailored to the specific realities of each municipality, can help raise awareness among the Kosovo Serb community about their rights and entitlements, while building mechanisms that improve the provision of services at the municipal level.

In such a context, a participatory approach can ensure that marginalised issues – such as those affecting young people, the elderly, and those in rural areas, among others – are brought to the attention of local authorities. It is not, and cannot be, a substitute for institutional structures unilaterally targeted by Pristina, which has had a significant and wide-ranging negative impact on Kosovo Serbs. Their closure has led to various challenges by disrupting social welfare, healthcare, pensions, employment, and banking/financial services. As the international community has been vocal in its criticism of Pristina's acts, particularly given the absence of sustainable alternatives for the services previously provided by Serbian institutions. The status of Serbia-supported structures should be resolved through negotiation, not unilateral closures.

¹¹ https://westernbalkans.peopleinneed.net/media/publications/1882/file/brochure-alved-grant_kosovo-serbia-eng_ web.pdf pg.8

¹² https://ngoaktiv.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Covid-19_lzmedju-stvarnosti-i-dezinformacija.pdf

AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT FOR THE RULE OF LAW, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NORTH KOSOVO

At the same time, it is imperative to consider the environment in which local government operates in north Kosovo. To this end, the international community must demonstrate its commitment to an enabling environment for the rule of law, human rights, and good governance in north Kosovo, including:

- 1 Advocating re-running of specific elements of the census process in the north to more accurately account for population levels.
- 2 Unfreezing the Development Fund for North Kosovo to support additional investments in north Kosovo.
- ³ Delineating the municipality boundaries between Mitrovica North and South.

Revitalising the Development Fund for North Kosovo

The Development Fund for North Kosovo, established as part of the EU-facilitated dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina, was designed to support the socio-economic development of the four municipalities in north Kosovo¹⁵. This includes an emphasis on improving the quality of life for residents by investing in infrastructure (roads, water supply, etc.), social services, institutional capacity building, poverty alleviation, culture, sports, and agriculture. By funding projects that create jobs, increase income, and improve competitiveness, the fund has and can positively influence the economic development of north Kosovo, whilst playing a role in integrating these municipalities into the broader legal and institutional framework of Kosovo.

The Development Fund has, however, fallen victim to political obstacles, most notably import restrictions from Serbia into Kosovo¹⁴, particularly the ban on Serbian-origin finished goods imposed in June 2023, which had a notable impact on the Funda's revenues. Though Kosovo lifted the ban at the Merdare¹⁶ crossing in October 2024, as a step toward restoring free trade under the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA), the Development Fund is financed only by customs revenues collected at the Jarinje and Brnjak border crossings in north Kosovo. Despite the clear and tangible benefits it brings for all communities in north Kosovo, the Fund's fate has been neglected by the Belgrade-Pristina dialogue.¹⁶

¹⁴ https://www.kosovo-online.com/vesti/politika/vukadinovic-ogranicenja-za-uvoz-srpske-robe-ostetila-fond-za-razvojsevera-za-oko-38

¹⁵ https://www.danas.rs/vesti/ekonomija/kurti-o-uvozu-robe-iz-srbije-delimicna-dozvola-uvoza-robe-na-prelazu-merdaredovoljna-za-ceftu-i-berlinski-proces/

¹⁶ https://www.kosovo-online.com/vesti/politika/vukadinovic-ogranicenja-za-uvoz-srpske-robe-ostetila-fond-za-razvojsevera-za-oko-38

¹³ https://www.rts.rs/lat/vesti/politika/1252948/osnovan-fond-za-sever-kosova.html

In parallel to diplomatic pressures for its revisalisation, improvements in its functioning must be considered, including transparent and merit-based criteria for project selection, more regular and active engagement by the Management Board, and transparency and accountability in terms of the Fund's operations. In addition, there should be greater emphasis on projects with income-generating potential, and stimulus for municipalities to raise funds for complementary projects to maximise the Fund's impact.

Rerunning elements of the census in north Kosovo and delineating the boundaries of Mitrovica North and South

Various concerns have been raised about the accuracy and legitimacy of the 2024 census process in the four northern municipalities; concerns that justify a re-running of the process to mitigate some of the potential profound consequences of implementing the incomplete results garnered to date. The extent of the Kosovo Serb boycott was such that it has skewed the demographic data recorded, thereby fundamentally under-representing the Serb population in the north, as was the case with the 2011 census¹⁷.

Such data is imperative for determining resource allocations, political representation, and, ultimately, implementation of the Association/Community of Serb-Majority Municipalities (A/CSM), a longstanding obligation deriving from the 2011 Brussels Agreement. One of the most profound impacts of implementing an incomplete census is a reduction of budget transfers from Pristina to the north¹⁰, which would lead to an underfunding of service provision for Kosovo Serb and other communities.

Such an outcome would only further reinforce perceptions of discrimination, exclusion, and marginalisation, further deterring local communities from engaging with their municipal governments due to an inability to respond to their needs and concerns. The credibility of the census is also imperative for the planning of future service provisions in the fields of health and education, areas which will come under intense focus as and when the establishment of the A/CSM moves forward.

Rerunning the census in north Kosovo would require a proactive campaign to inform residents about the benefits of a fully-fledged census, combined with international community lobbying in Pristina and Belgrade to ensure full support for the process. In parallel, there should be progress on delineating the municipal boundaries between Mitrovica North and South to provide legal and administrative certainty to Mitrovica and its residents.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The fundamental damage done to trust between communities, especially where security and governance matters are concerned, will take time to heal. The November 2022 resignation of Kosovo Serbs from their official positions in the north, especially from the police, judiciary, and prosecution, was a severe setback for the decade-long integration process, with subsequent developments further eroding the position of the Kosovo Serb community. The sum consequence is a drastic decline in perceptions of safety and security in north Kosovo, with no signs that the situation will change anytime soon.

The impact on the security situation is reflected in the testimonies of Kosovo Serbs, many of whom have experienced a decline in their personal and collective security reality in recent years. One ramification of a deteriorating situation in the north is the departure of Serbs from Kosovo, with another conclusion of the 2024 Trend Analysis is that a 'third of respondents will "leave if a chance comes up". Without substantive changes in how the north is governed, both from Pristina and locally, many Kosovo Serbs will conclude that their future lies elsewhere.

The return of Kosovo Serbs to the institutions of local self-governance would be a welcome shift in the dynamics observed in the past several years. However, it is not sufficient in and of itself to ensure positive improvements in terms of security and governance.

To this end, we hereby propose the following key recommendations for ensuring substantive reintegration in north Kosovo:

Key recommendations for the international community

1 -

Provide renewed and tangible support to community security/safety mechanisms, especially those where Kosovo Serbs reside, to pinpoint and resolve specific concerns before they fuel local tensions.

2 -

In parallel, the EU's Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX) should be more transparent and proactive in explaining the nature of its monitoring work and how it is working to correct systematic deficiencies, especially where police complaints are concerned.

3 -

Provide programming that encourages partnership-driven approaches to local governance as a means of ensuring the delivery of social services is responsive to the needs and concerns of all residents.

Reiterate calls for Pristina to cease unilaterally closing or obstructing the very institutions on which the Kosovo Serb community depend for their daily existence, with a clear red line that the status of Serbia-supported structures should be resolved through negotiation, not unilateral closures.

5 -

4

Initiate tangible steps to revitalise the Development Fund as a priority of the Belgrade-Pristina dialogue to unlock much-needed investment in north Kosovo, including by making it a priority for Pristina and proposing new working modalities to strengthen its functioning.

6 _____

Build consensus in Kosovo, including among opposition political parties who may well form the new government, about the need to re-run elements of the census, while engaging diplomatically with Belgrade to ensure substantive participation from the Kosovo Serb community.

7 –

At the same time, reiterate that the re-opening of the Main Bridge can not proceed without a substantive consultation process with the Kosovo Serb community to allay concerns arising from, in particular, the repetitive cases of sexual harassment.

Key recommendations for domestic actors

Develop a mechanism within the Interior Ministry to explore how community security/ safety mechanisms could be enhanced to improve relationships between the police and local residents as a matter of urgency.

2 —

1

Launch a process to urgently address the problems arising from, in particular, repeated cases of sexual harassment in north Kosovo, with women's organisations from Mitrovica North and Mitrovica South provided with a clear and independent mandate to conduct a thorough review and propose a series of tangible recommendations.

3 –

Actively encourage municipalities to establish Advisory Groups, including civil society organisations, to develop strategies and action plans for social service delivery, a support networking between municipalities keen to engaged in such partnership models.

4 —

Develop a plan for how elements of the census in north Kosovo could be re-run to ensure the numbers reflect the demographic reality in the north, thereby ensuring that requisite budgetary funds are allocated, including public information campaigns and sufficient staff speaking the Serbian language.

5 –

Actively propose a participating working group approach to move forward the delineation of the municipal boundaries between Mitrovica North and South to provide legal and administrative certainty for all.

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