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The OSCE and the Creation of Multi-Ethnic  
Police Forces in the Balkans

Working Paper 14



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## Preface and Acknowledgements

The establishment of multi-ethnic democratic police services, which are capable of preventing human rights violations, protecting democratic institutions and resolutely fighting corruption, organized crime and terrorism, has become an integral part of peace-building missions of the UN, the OSCE and the EU. It has been widely understood that their effective functioning is a prerequisite for a sustainable peace process following civil wars. In 2005, thirteen out of 17 post-conflict peace-building missions worldwide included a police component, tasked with creating, reforming, training and/or monitoring domestic police forces.

The record of international efforts in creating multi-ethnic police services in the Balkans is still rather limited and based only on a brief period of experience. Very little empirical research has been conducted on these issues so far. This study aims to narrow this research gap by comparing the international police activities of the OSCE, the UN and the EU in Kosovo, Southern Serbia (Presevo valley) and Macedonia. The project analyses whether, and to what extent, multi-ethnic police services can help to overcome the legacy of ethno-political conflicts; it also identifies the structural deficiencies of post-socialist security sectors, and studies the problems confronting international actors when they developed and implemented their training and reform concepts.

Begun in January 2003, the project covers police reform developments in Kosovo, Southern Serbia and Macedonia from the start of each of the three missions until the summer of 2005.

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Thorsten Stodiek

# Chapter 1 Introduction: Challenges of Police Reform in Post-Socialist War-Torn Societies

## 1.1 *Police Reform in Ethno-Political Post-Conflict Situations*

The police components of international post-conflict peace-building missions, which deal with peace consolidation after the resolution of violent intra-state conflicts,<sup>1</sup> are of increasing importance. A prime feature of intra-state conflicts is the challenging of the states' "internal sovereignty"<sup>2</sup> by domestic actors (sometimes supported by external ones), who call into question the legitimacy of the state's monopoly of force. If this monopoly is challenged and the state is no longer able to provide "security, law and a reasonable amount of order"<sup>3</sup> for all citizens, intra-state security dilemmas arise.<sup>4</sup> If citizens or groups believe that potential rivals will not be restrained by state authority, they will take security into their own hands by arming themselves, thus initiating an "intra-state arms race".

In order to re-establish the state's legitimate monopoly of force, which, according to Senghaas, is "of paramount importance for any modern peace order"<sup>5</sup> and to secure a sustainable peace process, citizens must be disarmed, the parties to the conflict demobilized and demilitarized, and the armed forces reconstituted.<sup>6</sup> In addition, it is particularly important to reform or even completely restructure the domestic police forces. After the international police have withdrawn, the (re-)established democratic police services<sup>7</sup> must have both the ability and the will to prevent human rights violations, protect democratic institutions and resolutely fight corruption, organized crime and terrorism. The ability to provide public security for all population groups is a basic precondition for the socio-economic stabilization of crisis regions.<sup>8</sup>

### 1.1.1 *The Ethno-Political Dimension of Police Reform*

The establishment of ethnically mixed police forces within multi-ethnic societies in the aftermath of violent conflicts presents a particular challenge for police reforms. In an environment, which is characterized by ethnically motivated hatred and social mistrust, police forces must be constituted of members of all population groups. Otherwise the population or at least certain minority groups will have no confidence in the security forces and will either flee or rely on vigilantism. The intra-state security dilemma would then continue. However, the key question, particularly in view of the high hopes implied in police mission mandates, is whether and to what extent it is possible to unite members of antagonistic ethnic communities in one and

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<sup>1</sup> For a definition of the concept of peacebuilding see Schneckener 2005: 19.

<sup>2</sup> Holsti 1996: 94.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> For an excellent analysis of intra-state security dilemmas, see Kafir 2003: 53-76.

<sup>5</sup> Senghaas 2004: 28. In addition to the state monopoly of force, Senghaas mentions five other "essential conditions for the civilized – i.e. the non-violent – resolution of unavoidable conflicts in societies": rule of law; affect control, democratic participation, social justice and equity, and constructive conflict management (pp. 28-31).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Perthes 2000: 447.

<sup>7</sup> According to Call and Bayley, key characteristics of "democratic policing" are: civilian control of the police, police responsiveness to the needs of the population and the accountability of the police to multiple external audiences (cf. Call 2000: 9; Bayley 1985).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. McCartney/Fischer/Wils 2004: 5; Matthies 2004: 47-50; Ferdowsi/Matthies 2003: 33; Perthes 2000: 447.



the same police force, and to develop a spirit of professionalism and comradeship within these multi-ethnic police units, without which effective co-operation is impossible.

Moreover, the example of the UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina has shown that parallel chains of command and loyalties based on membership in specific ethnic groups can persist in reformed police units, seriously undermining their performance.<sup>9</sup> Separate agendas of the different ethnic components of the police can lead to openly arbitrary performance of police officers with respect to the members of other ethnic communities. A number of examples show how indigenous police officers have either acted inadequately or not at all when dealing with riot control or investigations concerning members of their own ethnic group. The reason for this failure is partially rooted in the open partisanship towards one's own ethnic group. In addition, police officers are exposed to strong social pressure from their own ethnic groups.

The creation of a multi-ethnic police service does not take place in a socio-political vacuum and its mere existence does not guarantee its acceptance by all ethnic groups. Even if the police behave appropriately and protect the rights of all citizens in an unbiased way, some ethnic groups may need more time to gain confidence. For this reason comprehensive and long-lasting confidence-building programmes such as "community policing"<sup>10</sup> are necessary.

The integration of members of ethnic minorities into the police is closely related to the reintegration of former regular and irregular combatants. This can lead to a particular dilemma: Demobilization programmes are usually doomed to failure if former combatants are not given economic perspectives. In collapsed post-war economies, the integration of former combatants into police and/or military forces often appears to be the only quick solution to this problem. However, if the incorporation of former combatants does not succeed, there is a serious risk of a sharp rise in organized crime, based on the close relationship between members of former armed units.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, acting according to the principles of the rule of law and democracy constitutes a great challenge for former combatants. Thus, their incorporation may hinder the functioning of multi-ethnic police units as well as their acceptance by the population.

Even if the demobilization and reintegration of former combatants proves to be successful, a sharp increase in (organized) crime is almost unavoidable in post-conflict societies with war-shattered economies.<sup>12</sup> In the fight against organized crime, the question for police reformers is whether to resort to existing experienced, but publicly discredited, police forces or to rely on the newly established police units that are trained to respect human rights, but are inexperienced in fighting crime. The support of international police forces frequently makes no great difference, because they are usually not familiar with the local languages, culture, and police laws, let alone the local criminal structures.<sup>13</sup> However, without success in fighting crime, the police will not gain trust among the population and this may worsen the security situation in general.

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. Stodiek 2004a: 210; Hansen 2003: 187.

<sup>10</sup> According to a definition by the OSCE, community policing aims at fostering the co-operation between the police and the population in identifying and resolving issues of concern to the citizens, e.g. problems of crime, social disorder or the "overall quality of life in the community" (OSCE 2003: 22).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Perthes 2000: 447; Call/St Stanley 2001: 154.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. O'Neill 2003: 154ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Stodiek 2004b: 217; Call/St Stanley 2001: 164.

### *1.1.2 Structural Deficiencies of Post-Socialist Police Forces*

Beyond the above-mentioned challenges to creating multi-ethnic police services, police reforms in the transformation societies of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe have been confronted with particular structural deficiencies. These societies are characterized by an unfinished process of modernization and development<sup>14</sup> and exhibit hybrid forms of intellectual constructs that combine traditional and modern elements. The functional differentiation of the state is still incomplete. Although these states have undergone fundamental social change, cultural patterns, not congruent with the requirements of legal rational statehood, are still present in the way actors behave. This contradiction has led to the creation of hybrid forms of governance, which combine political and economic power options, the insufficient division of public and private spheres, the paramount importance of personalized politics, and the break up of formal legal rules through the clientelistic law of reciprocity.<sup>15</sup> Typical structural deficiencies of transformation societies are the weak performance of democratic institutions, state-controlled economic structures, underdeveloped civil societies, a lack of political accountability and transparency as well as severe shortcomings in the rule of law.<sup>16</sup> Concerning the police, these shortcomings include aspects such as the over-centralization, politicization and militarization of the police apparatus as well as records of human right abuses and endemic corruption. These structural deficiencies have posed additional obstacles to the creation of democratic police services in post-conflict settings. The particular structural deficiencies and dysfunctions of the post-Yugoslav police will be described in detail below (see 1.3).

### *1.1.3 Resource Problems and the Question of Reform Ownership*

Alongside the ethno-political and structural obstacles, international police reform missions usually have to cope with substantial resource problems. Reform efforts have frequently suffered from a severe lack of qualified personnel, lack of standardized curricula and textbooks, and a scarcity of material and financial resources for equipping international police instructors. This lack of resources has made the training of domestic police forces much more difficult. Moreover, local governments have also often been short of resources for providing their police officers with adequate equipment and pay.

Last, but by no means least, local governments must have a sense of ownership if the reform process is to be successful. If governments and local administrative bodies do not fully support the reforms, they will not be sustainable.<sup>17</sup> However, reforming the police is a very sensitive issue for every government, because it “touches the heart of a state’s sovereignty and its monopoly of coercive means”.<sup>18</sup> Resistance to reform may, of course, not only come from the government, but also from within the police. Police forces show a tendency to adhere to traditional structures and assumptions that constrain reform options, particularly if these forces used to enjoy privileges under authoritarian regimes, and sometimes they even formed a state within a state.<sup>19</sup> It may therefore not always be easy for international organizations to get the support they need from their local counterparts. The best way to secure support from local governments is to involve them in the development of the reform process at every stage,

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. Matthies 1994: 11.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Kößler 1994; Schlichte 2000; Schlichte/Wilke 2000.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Ackermann 2001: 118; Lindholt 2003: 12f.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Eide/Holm 2000: 5.

<sup>18</sup> Hansen 2003: 176.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Wulf 2004: 14; Hänggi 2005: 124.

making them see the immediate benefits of training, and to offer them political incentives right up to the possibility of EU and NATO accession in the future.<sup>20</sup>

Furthermore, the reform process must be perceived as legitimate by the local population, otherwise the international organizations' efforts may be seen as assisting the coercive apparatus of an illegitimate government. The public will become even more distrustful if this assistance includes technical support such as riot-control or surveillance equipment.

## 1.2 *Objectives and Methodology of the Study*

The (re-)establishment and/or reform of multi-ethnic democratic police services have become an integral part of peace-building missions by the UN, the OSCE and the EU. In 2005, worldwide 13 out of 17 post-conflict peace-building missions included a police component, tasked with creating, reforming and/or training local police forces.

Following its first engagement in police monitoring in Croatia,<sup>21</sup> the OSCE has become a key player in the field of training and reforming police forces in the Western Balkans: since June 1999 in Kosovo, since May 2001 in the south Serbian Presevo valley, and since August 2001 in Macedonia. While bearing the main responsibility for the basic training of local police officers and providing assistance to local authorities in reforming police services, the OSCE police components have co-operated with their counterparts from the UN (UNMIK in Kosovo) and the EU (EUPOL Proxima in Macedonia), as well as with a number of other international organizations, NGOs and bilateral state actors.

The aim of this study is to compare the international police activities of the OSCE, UN and EU in Kosovo, South Serbia (Presevo valley) and Macedonia in order to analyse whether, and to what extent multi-ethnic police services can help to overcome the legacy of ethno-political conflicts, as well as to identify the structural deficiencies of post-socialist security sectors and to study the problems confronting the OSCE, UN and EU when they developed and implemented their training and reform concepts.

The findings of the study are based on the analysis of a number of documents and research reports published by international organizations and NGOs as well as on numerous oral interviews and a comprehensive written survey with local police officers and their instructors and monitors from the OSCE, the UN and the EU in Kosovo, South Serbia and Macedonia, which were carried out by the author between September 2003 and June 2005.

### 1.2.1 *The Written Survey*

The survey was conducted with representative samples of international police officers and local police officers belonging to (at least) the two largest ethnic groups in each mission area. Questionnaires were distributed at police academies and at police stations with multi-ethnic staff. Other criteria for the selection of police stations were that they be located in the biggest municipalities as well as in particular hot spots of inter-ethnic conflicts.

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. Hänggi 2005: 122; Lindholt/de Mesquita/Titus/Alemika 2003: 173 and 177.

<sup>21</sup> In October 1998, an OSCE *Police Monitoring Group* continued the police monitoring task of two predecessor missions by the UN, which had initially established and trained a multi-ethnic police force in Croatia's Eastern Slavonia region; see Stodiek, 2004a: 128-158.

Altogether, 1,016 questionnaires were distributed, of which 692 were returned. This corresponds to a return rate of 68.1 per cent. In Kosovo, questionnaires were distributed to 130 police cadets at the Kosovo Police Service School (KPSS) in Vucitrn, to 250 officers of the Kosovo Police Service (KPS), to 50 OSCE police instructors and to 100 UNMIK police officers, including field trainers, station commanders, shift leaders and patrol officers, herein after referred to as UNMIK police monitors. In Macedonia, questionnaires were given to 100 police cadets, 150 local police officers, six OSCE police instructors, and 50 EUPOL Proxima police monitors (including co-locators at stations, monitors and advisors). In South Serbia the sample comprised 150 local police officers as well as 30 former OSCE instructors. Table 1 shows the distribution of returned questionnaires with respect to the different samples.

Table 1: Returned Questionnaires and Return Rates

	Kosovo	Macedonia	South Serbia
Cadets	61 = 47% Ethnicity: 52 Albanians 6 Serbs 3 "Others"	97 = 97% Ethnicity: 53 Albanians 43 Macedonians 1 "Others"	-*
Local Police Officers	178 = 71.2% Ethnicity: 83 Albanians 68 Serbs 27 "Others"	102 = 68% Ethnicity: 54 Albanians 38 Macedonians 10 "Others"	126 = 84% Ethnicity: 80 Albanians 46 Serbs
Internat. Instructors	30 = 60%	6 = 100%	5 = 17%
Internat. Monitors	54 = 54%	33 = 66%	-**

The small number of questionnaires returned by OSCE instructors in Macedonia and Serbia results from the fact that, at the time of the survey, only six instructors were present in Macedonia, and that, of the 30 former OSCE instructors in Serbia (training ended in May 2002), who were contacted in October 2004, only five were able or willing to participate in an online survey. Since this small number of responses is unsuitable for a statistical evaluation, they have not been taken into consideration for quantitative assessments. However, since a number of OSCE representatives were interviewed in Belgrade and Bujanovac (Presevo valley), the qualitative tendencies of their responses were taken into account for the South Serbia case. This procedure was even more appropriate for the Macedonia case study, since the (small) sample of OSCE instructors there was fully covered.

In addition to the standardized written surveys, more than 100 semi-structured oral interviews were conducted with police station commanders in all three mission areas, members of the KPS Counselling and Support Teams (KPS-CAST) in Kosovo, responsible for the psycho-social care of KPS officers, senior representatives of all missions, representatives of the ministries of the interior (Macedonia and Serbia), and a number of human rights NGOs.<sup>22</sup>

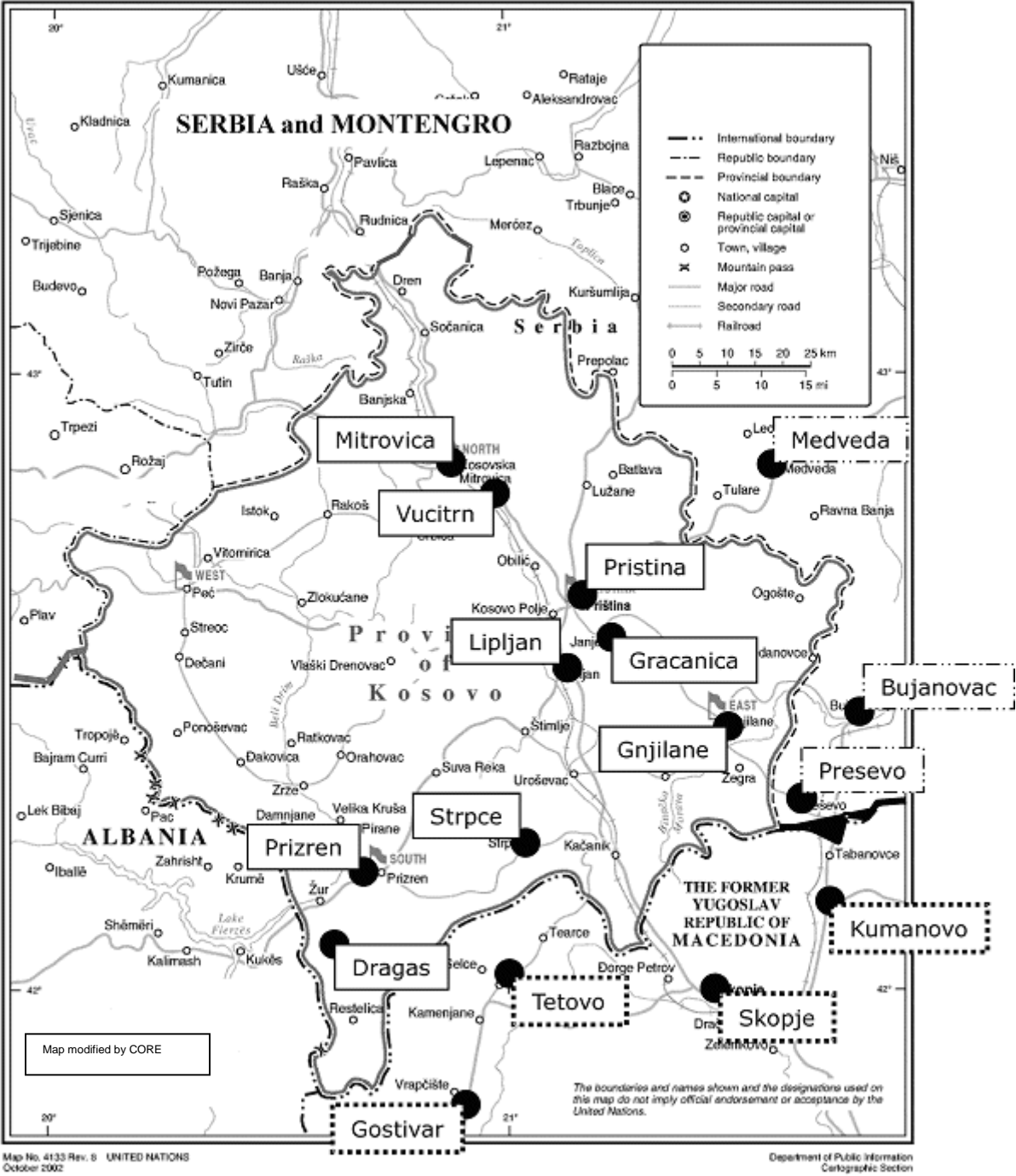
\* At the time of the survey, the basic academy training for officers of the *Multi-Ethnic Police Element* (MEPE) had been completed, so that there were no cadets to be interviewed.

\*\* At the time of the survey, there were only two OSCE police monitors left in South Serbia. They were interviewed orally.

<sup>22</sup> Because of the riots in March 2004, the reconciliation process between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo suffered a heavy setback. Investigations were conducted against ethnic Albanian officers accused of severe misconduct; ethnic Serbian officers were dismissed because they adamantly refused to further co-operate with their Albanian colleagues. Since the local police were also affected, the assumption was that the findings of the September 2003 survey regarding the inter-ethnic climate in the KPS might no longer

The following map shows the police stations in the three mission areas visited during the field research.

Map: Police stations visited



*Kosovar towns*

*South Serbian towns*

*Macedonian towns*

be valid. Therefore, a number of additional interviews were carried out with senior representatives of UNMIK police and the OSCE-led KPSS in March 2005.

### *1.2.2 Research Questions and Variables of Analysis*

The three central research questions of this study are:

- To what extent was it possible for multi-ethnic police forces to be established in the post-war societies of the Western Balkans?
- To what degree have the populations gained confidence in them?
- Which factors explain the success or failure in establishing multi-ethnic police services?

To answer these questions, two dependent variables were introduced: “status of the creation and integration of multi-ethnic police units” and “degree of acceptance of the multi-ethnic police in the population”. The dependent variable, “status of the creation and integration of multi-ethnic police units”, is operationalized on the basis of the proportion of members of ethnic minorities in the multi-ethnic police, the inter-ethnic social climate within the police, the integration of the multi-ethnic police elements within the general police structure as well as the general performance of the multi-ethnic police forces in the three mission areas. The second dependent variable, “degree of acceptance of the multi-ethnic police in the population”, is operationalized on the basis of surveys of citizens’ perceptions of the police and the degree of citizens’ co-operation with the police, and with the help of the self-perception of local police officers with respect to their acceptance in the population.

The results of the dependent variables will be explained on the basis of the independent variables “ethno-political conflict constellation” and “structural aspects of the police apparatus”, as well as with the help of the intervening variable “impact of international actors on the process of police reform”.

The independent variable “ethno-political conflict constellation” will be operationalized on the basis of the conflict intensity in the three cases, e.g. the number of casualties, refugees and displaced persons, as well as the violent actions of the security forces and rebel movements (see 1.4). The independent variable “structural aspects of the police apparatus” is operationalized on the basis of the recruitment situation with a special view to the inclusion of former combatants and members of political parties, the achieved level of general education and police training of the police cadets and officers, and the structural deficiencies of the legal systems of the countries concerned in terms of the politicization and centralization of the police, the level of corruption, the quality of the legal foundations of police work, and the availability of material resources (see 1.3). This discussion of the entire legal system is necessary, because its effectiveness is a prerequisite for the effectiveness of the police in providing order and security. If legal and judicial reform lags behind police reform, a feeling of impunity among the population and one of frustration and cynicism among police officers might develop, leading to improper behaviour or vigilantism.<sup>23</sup>

### *1.2.3 Problems in Evaluating the Results of Police Reform*

While it is rather easy to evaluate the quantitative criteria of police reform – the numbers of police officers recruited, trained and integrated – it is much more difficult to evaluate the qualitative criteria, particularly the levels of police performance.<sup>24</sup> For the qualitative evaluation of police performance, a comprehensive set of direct and indirect indicators has to be

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<sup>23</sup> See for example Call/Stanley 2001: 168.

<sup>24</sup> For a general discussion of the difficulties of defining the success of reforms see German/Chalmers 2005: 299-308.

analysed. Direct performance indicators include crime statistics, clear-up rates for crimes, as well as assessments by international police monitors and human rights NGOs covering aspects such as the record of human rights abuses or police corruption. Indirect indicators include the public perception of the police, the personal feeling of security within the population, the scale of illegal distribution of small arms among the population as well as the level of co-operation between the public and the police.<sup>25</sup> In view of the specific reform task of creating multi-ethnic police units, the inter-ethnic climate within the police units and at the police academies represents an additional performance factor. Except for clear-up rates, which were not consistently available for all three cases studies, all other indicators are analysed in the case studies.

### *1.3 Structural Deficiencies within the Police System: The Yugoslav Legacy*

In pre-war Yugoslavia, as in other communist states, police forces were dysfunctional in the sense that they served the state, meaning the ruling party, rather than the public. Throughout the Balkans, the popular perception emerged, particularly among ethnic minorities, that the police were biased in favour of certain ethnic and/or political groups.<sup>26</sup> During the Milosevic era, ethnic minorities such as the Albanians in Kosovo, Muslims in Sandzak, Roma throughout Serbia, but also other minorities such as homosexuals suffered from police discrimination, unlawful arrests and ill-treatment. However, not only minorities, but also citizens opposing the Milosevic regime, faced excessive use of force by the police, as did journalists who covered such incidents.<sup>27</sup> With respect to the recruitment and promotion of police officers, their loyalty to the regime was more important than their professionalism. Their prime task was not to investigate and solve criminal cases, but to demonstrate power and to vigorously enforce public order.<sup>28</sup> In the early 1990s, the Serbian police was restructured, and many refugees from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina were integrated into the police. Although they were well paid, they did not receive Serbian citizenship. As any regime change would have threatened their position, they were very loyal to the government and regarded the opposition as an enemy.<sup>29</sup> The criminal police dealt rather with opposition against the state than with criminal acts involving citizens.<sup>30</sup>

Due to the economic decline during the last phase of the Tito regime, corruption within the police increased. However, the criminalization of the police, from the lower ranks to the top leadership, reached its climax in the 1990s during the Milosevic era. Corruption within the police became the norm. The negative consequences of the state-directed command economy had already led to a growing black market in the 1970s and 1980s, on which not only citizens but also companies relied. The rise of the black market went hand in hand with the increase in corruption of those state officials ostensibly tasked with fighting it. The acceptance of bribes gave these officers the opportunity to improve their living standard despite the general economic decline. Another source of additional “income” was pocketing road traffic fines. In order to become promoted to such lucrative positions, police officers had to bribe their superiors. Secret service and customs officers also profited from the illegal import of high-tech products from Western countries.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> See Boeden 1988: 67.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 2001e: 15; Caparini/Day 2002: 6; Hansen 2003: 177f.; Babovic 2003: 53 and 59; Caparini 2004: 256.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Human Rights Watch 1999 and 1997.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Caparini/Day 2002: 6f.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2000b: 8.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Caparini/Day 2002: 6f.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Center for the Study of Democracy 2004: 41f. and 48; Transparency International Serbia 2001: 63.

Corruption increased in the same way as the state economy declined, due in part as well to the UN economic sanctions over the course of the Balkan wars.<sup>32</sup> A governmental distribution system based on licenses had to be established for scarce commodities.<sup>33</sup> The state and the leading party had enormous influence on the economy. Furthermore, state authorities issued vouchers for special goods for the friends of the regime. With the beginning of the UN embargo, the smuggling of weapons, oil, foreign currencies, drugs, cigarettes, alcohol and food literally exploded. The margins of profit allowed for bribing customs and police officers. Police escorts for transports of illicit goods were common practice.<sup>34</sup> In some cases, police officers even participated in trafficking in heroin.<sup>35</sup>

Milosevic had already laid the foundations for the interconnectedness between politics, police and organized crime in the early 1990s. In 1991, he replaced the whole staff of the secret service with people of his choice.<sup>36</sup> The connection between police and organized crime was most obvious on the payrolls of the Serbian Ministry of the Interior that contained a number of well-known figures in the underworld.<sup>37</sup> The regime used small-timers and major criminals for its dirty purposes.<sup>38</sup> Secret service and police officers co-operated with crime bosses in assassinating defectors or politicians who represented an obstacle for Mr Milosevic. Starting in 1991, more than 150 unsolved murders of that kind took place, including more than 60 of Yugoslav émigrés residing predominantly in Western Europe. Alleged criminals often carried police identification. According to the “Center for the Study of Democracy”, the systematic employment of criminals was initiated by the later chief of the uniformed police and vice-minister of the interior, Radovan Stojicic.<sup>39</sup> The most prominent crime figures handling extra-legal deeds on orders of the police or the state security were Zeljko Raznatovic and Jovica Stanisic, also known as “Arkan” and “Giska” respectively.<sup>40</sup>

Arkan and Giska, did not act only in secret, but earned an infamous reputation for the atrocities they and their paramilitary units committed among the non-Serb communities in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo during the Balkan wars of the 1990s.<sup>41</sup> It was not only their units that committed war crimes, but also some special police units that were militarized by Milosevic with equipment and infrastructure. These paramilitary police units have been accused of carrying out many more war crimes than the armed forces themselves.<sup>42</sup>

In Macedonia, the structural deficiencies mentioned above more or less survived the country’s peaceful secession from Yugoslavia. The police were as politicized and centralized as in Serbia, and violated the human rights of citizens to the same extent. Rather than ethnicity, the common characteristic of victims was usually their “oppositional political activity or low social-economic status”.<sup>43</sup> Individuals were sometimes arrested without a warrant and beaten until they confessed to a crime. Corruption was as endemic as in Serbia and, due to the international sanctions against Yugoslavia and the simultaneous Greek economic embargo against

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<sup>32</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 2001e: 13 and 15; Caparini/Day 2002: 6; Mappes-Niediek 2003: 53.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Mappes-Niediek 2003: 45f.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Center for the Study of Democracy 2004: 48; Mappes-Niediek 2003: 30f. and 53.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 2001e: 13; Caparini/Day 2002: 6.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2000b: 7.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Center for the Study of Democracy 2004: 49.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Caparini/Day 2002: 7f.; Mappes-Niediek 2003: 37f.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Mappes-Niediek 2003: 41f.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Mappes-Niediek 2003: 30f.; Center for the Study of Democracy 2004: 42.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Mappes-Niediek 2003: 30f.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 2001e: 15; Caparini/Day 2002: 6; Hansen 2003: 178; Mani 2000: 11; Amnesty International 1999; Human Rights Watch 1999.

<sup>43</sup> Human Rights Watch 1998: 1.



Macedonia in the course of the dispute over Macedonia's official name, smuggling also exploded in Macedonia leading to an interconnectedness between police, politics and organized crime similar to that in Serbia.

Similar to the situation in Serbia, parts of the Macedonian police were also militarized; the difference between the military and the police became blurred in terms of competencies, weaponry and structures. Both institutions became closely associated as the government turned to the military to shore up the police's capacity to maintain internal power with coercive means, particularly during the violent conflict in 2001.<sup>44</sup> In addition to the already existing special police task force, the "Tigers" and units of police reservists, used in fighting the UCK rebels, the then Macedonian minister of the interior, Ljube Boskovski, created his own paramilitary police unit, the "Lions", in 2001. This unit, acting under Boskovski's direct command, acquired a notorious reputation for its intimidating and violent behaviour against the Albanian population,<sup>45</sup> culminating in the brutal police raid on the Albanian village of Ljuboten on 12 August 2001, just one day before the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement. The army first shelled the village. After the "Lions" had entered the village, houses were blown up, detained civilians severely beaten and shot, and ten villagers killed. Boskovski himself and a commanding officer of the Lions were indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in this context for violating the laws or customs of war.<sup>46</sup> While this incident seems to be the only case of police involvement in war crimes, the Albanian population, nevertheless, still has no trust in any of the Macedonian special police forces.

#### 1.4 *The Legacies of Ethno-Political Violent Conflict*

The three cases significantly differ in terms of the level of violence during the conflict periods. In Kosovo, the level of violence was by far the highest. Serbian security forces and the paramilitary gangs of Arkan and others used brutal force against the Albanian population both before, and in particular, during the NATO bombing campaign against Serbia, and committed atrocities and large scale acts of "ethnic cleansing". On the other hand, members of the Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army (*Ushtria Clirimtare e Kosoves/UCK*) and ethnic Albanian civilians committed revenge killings and acts of "ethnic cleansing" as well. This time, Serbian civilians became the victims. The number of Albanians killed by Serbs is estimated at about 10,000.<sup>47</sup> Between June and November 1999, Albanians killed more than 200 Serbs. While approximately 860,000 Albanians were internally displaced or had fled from Kosovo by June 1999,<sup>48</sup> about 150,000 Serbs and members of other minorities fled to Serbia proper after July 1999.<sup>49</sup>

In the south Serbian Presevo valley, the structure of the conflict was similar to that in Kosovo. However, the level of violence was significantly lower. The municipalities of the Presevo valley – many of which were inhabited by an ethnic Albanian majority – had been neglected economically by the Belgrade government for years. The authorities discriminated against the Albanian population. The attacks of the Albanian Liberation Army of Presevo, Medvedja and Bujanovac (*Ushtria Clirimtare e Presheves Medvexhes dhe Bujanovicit/UCPMB*) on Serbian

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<sup>44</sup> Cf. Hansen 2003: 178.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Ordanoski 2001; Matveeva/Hiscock/Paes/Risser 2003: 22f.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia 2004.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 2000: 32.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2000a: 2.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Human Rights Watch 2001.

security forces after January 2000 provoked massive retaliation by the police and the military.<sup>50</sup> The new political constellation after the fall of Milosevic in October 2000, as well as the desire of NATO not to see a new violent conflict develop within the Ground Safety Zone between Kosovo and Serbia proper, paved the way for a stop to the fighting long before a level of violence similar to that in Kosovo had been reached. According to the International Crisis Group, about 100 people were killed during the fights between the UCPMB and the security forces; and 12,500 Albanians fled to Kosovo.<sup>51</sup>

In Macedonia, the level of violence was comparable to that of South Serbia. Fighting between the Albanian National Liberation Army (*Ushtria Clirimtare Kombetare/UCK*) and the Macedonian security forces, starting in January 2001, caused about 100 casualties with a very small death toll among civilians.<sup>52</sup> Because the peace agreement of August 2001 was reached rather quickly, the number of displaced persons was also rather low compared to Kosovo. About 108,000 Albanians and 40,000 ethnic Macedonians fled from the North-Western Macedonian crisis region.<sup>53</sup>

Because of the much lower level of violence in South Serbia and Macedonia, we assume that the level of inter-ethnic hatred there is considerably lower than in Kosovo and that therefore the chances for the creation of multi-ethnic police services as well as for their acceptance in the population are significantly better. However, the hard line taken by anti-terror police units against the ethnic Albanian population in South Serbia and Macedonia has undoubtedly deepened the mistrust against these units, which are still composed solely of ethnic Macedonian and Serbian officers today.

The next three chapters cover the case studies on police reform in Kosovo, South Serbia and Macedonia. Each case study provides a comprehensive analysis of the mission mandate, the reform activities implemented as well as the results achieved. In chapter 5, the conclusions of the three cases are compared and summarized, interrelating the values of the independent, intervening and dependent variables. Based on the study's findings, recommendations are given with respect to the enhancement of the effectiveness of police training and reform missions.

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<sup>50</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2001: 2.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2003: 1.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Kriegsursachenforschung 2004.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. UNHCR 2001.

## Chapter 2 Kosovo

After the complete withdrawal of the Serbian security forces from Kosovo within the framework of the “Military Technical Agreement between the International Security Force and the Governments of the Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia”, which marked the end of the Kosovo war in June 1999,<sup>54</sup> the incoming NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR) and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) were confronted with a dangerous security vacuum. Anarchy was spreading throughout this crisis-stricken province.

### 2.1 Mandate

In an attempt to cope with this situation, UN Secretary-General Annan formulated two main goals for UNMIK’s law enforcement strategy: the ‘provision of interim law enforcement services and the rapid development of a credible, professional and impartial Kosovo Police Service’ (KPS).<sup>55</sup> As soon as a credible national police force had been established, law enforcement authority was to be gradually transferred from UN Civilian Police (UNCIVPOL) to the KPS.<sup>56</sup> UNCIVPOL was responsible for law enforcement and the field training of the new KPS officers, while OSCE police instructors were supposed to provide the basic KPS training at the Kosovo Police Service School (KPSS),<sup>57</sup> run by the OSCE Mission in Kosovo (OMIK). Originally, a UNCIVPOL contingent of 3,100<sup>58</sup> and 150 OSCE police instructors<sup>59</sup> were designated for accomplishing these tasks.

Initially, the creation of a KPS contingent of 3,000 police officers was envisaged.<sup>60</sup> The composition was to be multi-ethnic, with at least nine per cent Serbian officers and seven per cent of officers belonging to other minorities. 20 per cent of the officers were to be women.<sup>61</sup> Police cadets were supposed to undergo five weeks of basic training at the police academy in Vucitrn, followed by 19 weeks of field training with UNMIK police officers, and an additional 80 hours of advanced classroom training provided by OMIK at the KPSS, before they were eligible for certification and independent assignment.<sup>62</sup> The tentative start date for training was 30 August 1999.<sup>63</sup>

### 2.2 Building up the Kosovo Police Service

Building up the KPS consisted of three successive core steps: recruitment (see 2.2.1), academy training (see 2.2.2), and field training (see 2.2.3). On this basis, the confidence of all ethnic communities of the local population was to be gained (see 2.2.4), and a number of reform

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<sup>54</sup> Cf. NATO 1999a.

<sup>55</sup> UNMIK 2003a: 5.

<sup>56</sup> For a detailed description of UNMIK’s and KFOR’s mandates see United Nations Security Council 1999; and Stodiek 2004a: 261-265.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. United Nations Security Council 1999; UNMIK 2003a: 5; OSCE Permanent Council 1999: 1.

<sup>58</sup> The CIVPOL contingent was later expanded to 4,700 officers.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. UNMIK 1999: 6; OSCE 1999: 2.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 1999b.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2003a: 9.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2000: 2f.; OSCE Mission in Kosovo 1999a; OSCE Mission in Kosovo 1999b.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 1999b.

obstacles inherited from both Yugoslavia's socialist and Milosevic eras needed to be tackled (see 2.2.5).

### 2.2.1 Recruitment

In order to be recruited, KPS candidates had to meet the following minimum qualifications:<sup>64</sup>

- Aged between 21 and 55 years;
- have completed a high school education;
- ability to read, write and understand the Albanian and Serbian languages;
- demonstrate willingness to work with all ethnic groups;
- demonstrate willingness to follow the rule of law and protect the human rights of all people, regardless of ethnicity, and to be intolerant of ethnic violence;
- have sufficient intellect, stability and strength of character to learn, apply and reinforce law enforcement techniques in the context of principles of democratic and community-oriented policing and internationally recognized human rights standards;
- be able to read, analyse and apply laws relevant to the Kosovo Police Service organization, management, operations and problem solution;
- absence of physical or mental disabilities that would preclude the performance of the previously listed essential functions;
- no substantiated history of war crimes or criminal conduct (excluding minor traffic violations, juvenile offences or political crimes) and capable of operating a motor vehicle legally.

By the beginning of the first training course on 7 September 1999, over 19,500 candidates had applied for a job in the KPS. It was often very difficult for the UNMIK recruitment officers to conduct the necessary background checks on the candidates, as most official documentation had been destroyed or had disappeared during the war. Therefore, the recruitment officers often had to rely on information provided by relatives and neighbours.

Out of the first 400 candidates, who were selected for the first two classes, 80 per cent were Albanians, 13 per cent Serbs, and seven per cent belonged to other minorities. 20 per cent of the Albanian applicants had already served in the Serbian police<sup>65</sup> until March 1989, when Milosevic revoked autonomous status for Kosovo, and Albanians were released from the police. The fact that only three of the first 200 cadets were members of the UCK led to massive protests by the UCK leadership, which demanded stronger representation for its members in the police in compliance with the demilitarization agreement with KFOR of June 1999.<sup>66</sup> The UCK finally succeeded in having its demand met. At least 40 per cent of the following classes were former UCK members.<sup>67</sup> By the end of 2004, a total of 6,900 cadets had been recruited.<sup>68</sup> UNMIK expanded the size of the future KPS several times after 1999, from the original 3,100 to 7,500, a number to be achieved by December 2005.<sup>69</sup> The ethnic composition of the KPS was as follows: 84 per cent Albanians, ten per cent Serbs and six per cent other minorities (e.g. Bosniaks, Turks, Roma, Ashkali and Gorani). 16 per cent of the officers

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<sup>64</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2000: 3.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. United Nations News Service 1999.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 20 August 1999; NATO 1999b; NATO 1999c.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Bennett 2001a: 8.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. OSCE 2004b.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. OSCE 2004b.

were women,<sup>70</sup> a figure that is clearly higher than the average figure of ten per cent for female officers in Western European police forces.<sup>71</sup>

With respect to the recruitment process, international police instructors and monitors often complained in interviews with the author about the poor quality of KPS applicants, who, nevertheless, were accepted. They were particularly critical of the fact that the maximum age of 55 years for applicants was tolerated, and of the lack of reading and writing skills of many applicants. A number of UNMIK officers also complained about insufficient background checks on criminal records of applicants and demanded a stronger involvement of KPS officers in these procedures, because they were more familiar with the local population. Due to the difficulties in obtaining viable information on applicants, additional screening during the training period or in the course of promotion procedures led to the release of a number of KPS officers for having given wrong information about their educational level or because of their criminal background.<sup>72</sup>

Concerning the co-operation between UNMIK and OMIK in the recruiting process, perceptions differed between the members of the respective organizations. OMIK instructors often demanded more involvement in the recruiting process. 11.1 per cent considered co-operation with UNMIK, in this respect, only as fair; three times as many (33.3 per cent) considered it to be bad; while 44.4 per cent said it was good; and only 3.7 per cent reported that it was excellent (see annex 2, chart A.1). By contrast, UNMIK officers, who carried the main responsibility for recruiting, rated the co-operation with OMIK much better. Only 6.1 per cent of them called it bad with respect to recruiting (cf. chart A.1).

### 2.2.2 *Academy Training*

Initially, basic training was to last for five weeks. The first training curriculum included lessons on crime investigation, defense tactics, democratic policing including observance of human rights, legal affairs, police patrol duties, use of firearms, police skills, first aid, conflict intervention and handling of refugees, forensics and evidence, as well as traffic control.<sup>73</sup> In June 2001, driver's training was also introduced at the KPSS, because more than 50 per cent of KPS officers did not possess a driver's licence.<sup>74</sup>

When it became obvious that the training period was too short to teach the content of the courses thoroughly, academy training was extended, first from five to nine weeks in the year 2000, and then to twelve weeks in 2001.<sup>75</sup> Since the lessons taught by international trainers had to be translated into Albanian and Serbian, the actual teaching time was reduced by about two-thirds, which exacerbated the problem. Another revision of the training curriculum in 2003 finally led to the extension of academy training to 20 weeks, starting in January 2004.<sup>76</sup> Since the loss of teaching time (due to the necessary translations of English instruction given by international trainers) had also been significantly reduced by the introduction of local KPS trainers (see below), the timeframe for effective teaching the academy training seems to be sufficient now. One year after the start of the first course, about 2,000 cadets had graduated

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<sup>70</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2004c: 1 and 3.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Peake2004: 17.

<sup>72</sup> Interviews with UNMIK police representatives, Kosovo, September 2003.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2000: 2f.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo, Department of Education and Development 2003a: 10.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2001a.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. OSCE 2004a.

from the police academy.<sup>77</sup> In September 2001, this number had doubled to more than 4,100.<sup>78</sup> By the end of 2004, more than 6,900 cadets had graduated from the KPSS.<sup>79</sup>

*Specialized training.* After a significant number of KPS cadets had finished their basic training in 2000, supervisory and specialist-training courses were introduced in anticipation of the hand-over strategy from UNMIK police to the KPS. One of the first special training courses was a four-week Criminal Investigation Course with 20 participants in February 2001.<sup>80</sup> By February 2003, a total of 351 KPS officers had completed the course.<sup>81</sup> In November 2003, the KPSS started with a three-week advanced training course in Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT), hostage negotiations, and investigations in arson cases in order to provide a selected group of KPS officers with the specific skills for conducting tactical operations, thereby supporting the efforts of and relieving UNMIK police officers. Later on, some of these courses were given by other organizations on a bilateral level, co-ordinated by the KPSS.<sup>82</sup>

In addition, the KPSS offered training to 100 officers to become members of Close Protection Units (CPUs) and to several hundred officers to be part of Special Police Units (SPUs). Initially, the establishment of three SPUs, capable of conducting riot-control tasks, was planned. The first two SPUs completed their training by the end of 2003, but due to the lack of equipment,<sup>83</sup> they were not ready when riots broke out in March 2004 (see 2.3.2.1). When it became obvious how important the availability of local SPUs was for the maintenance of security and order, UNMIK quickly decided to equip and retrain the existing SPUs as well as enlarge the KPS SPU component to five units by June 2006. In addition, in all five regions of Kosovo so-called Regional Operation Support Units (ROSUs) were established. These special police units, each consisting of 40 officers, received special training, based on a Danish training module, and were equipped with state of the art equipment to ensure that they would be capable of effectively conducting riot control as well as other special operations such as searches.<sup>84</sup>

Other specialist training courses provided at the KPSS after 2001 included Traffic Accident Investigation Courses and Emergency Response Driving Courses,<sup>85</sup> as well as courses for border police and correction service officers (see 2.2.5).<sup>86</sup> In 2001, the KPSS also started re-certification courses for KPS officers, who were already on duty. These courses concentrated on refreshing skills in the fields of firearms, defensive tactics, first aid and drug identification.<sup>87</sup> By the end of 2003, more than 4,500 KPS officers had participated in 49 of those courses.<sup>88</sup>

*Supervision and management courses.* In July 2000, the first 17 candidates began their twelve-day supervisor training at the academy.<sup>89</sup> By February 2003, a total of 347 officers had

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<sup>77</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2000.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2001a.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. OSCE 2004b.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2001b: 2.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2003b: 2.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. OSCE 2003d; OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2004c: 3.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2003a: 11.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2003a: 11; United Nations Security Council 2004d: 11; interviews with UNMIK police representatives, Prishtina, March 2005.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2002a: 2.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2004c: 3.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2001b: 2.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2003b: 2.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2000: 3.

graduated from the First Line Supervisory Courses.<sup>90</sup> In 2001, a Senior Management Course started for 32 officers, the first of whom was promoted to the rank of colonel in June 2001. Six further officers were promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel in August 2001.<sup>91</sup> In January 2002, the first Middle Management Course started for KPS officers; in July 2002, a total of 22 graduated. After six more months of field training, they could apply for the rank of captain to become a station commander or deputy station commander. Altogether, by the end of 2004, UNMIK had promoted one KPS officer to the rank of colonel, nine to lieutenant colonels, nine to majors, 32 to captains, 153 to lieutenants and 333 to sergeants.

*National trainers.* Starting in December 2001, 15 national KPS trainers began co-teaching courses with some of their 181 international colleagues from 23 countries<sup>92</sup> in general policing, firearms instruction, defensive tactics and staff development.<sup>93</sup> In April 2002, a first Human Rights Awareness training for KPS instructors was started to prepare them to conduct future human rights training for KPS officers on their own.<sup>94</sup> By the end of 2001, one hundred sixty KPS officers had completed the twelve-week Trainer Certification Program.<sup>95</sup> By April 2003, fifty-five local instructors had co-taught classes with 89 international trainers.<sup>96</sup> By September 2004, local police instructors had outnumbered the international instructors 80 to 60. In 2002, OMIK also started training local Field Training Officers (FTOs). By the end of 2003, all new KPS cadets, who graduated from the academy, were mentored by 800 local FTOs.<sup>97</sup> By May 2005, the transition of police training from OMIK to KPS staff had made considerable progress: 80 per cent of instructor posts, 90 per cent of technical and support and 68 per cent of management positions were filled by local staff.<sup>98</sup>

#### 2.2.2.1 Evaluation of Training by KPS Cadets

In general, the OSCE basic academy training received good ratings from KPS cadets and officers. While the cadets of September 2003 almost enthusiastically rated the basic training – the vast majority being satisfied or extremely satisfied with basic training (72.5 per cent) –, former cadets were somewhat more critical, yet still the majority very satisfied or extremely satisfied with the training (56.2 per cent). 27.6 per cent of the cadets of September 2003 and 38.3 per cent of former cadets stated that they were fairly satisfied. While no one of the September 2003 cadets gave negative statements regarding the basic training, a small percentage of former cadets (4.9 per cent) were more or less dissatisfied with the basic training (cf. chart A.2). In general, KPS cadets and officers did not believe there were any subjects missing in the basic training. The only aspect criticized by a number of them was the amount of practical training, which, according to them, needed to be expanded.

With respect to the performance of the OSCE instructors at the KPSS, assessments by cadets and former cadets differed considerably. While the vast majority of KPSS cadets in 2003 were very, or even extremely satisfied (26.2 / 42.6 per cent) with the OSCE instructors, former cadets were more critical in hindsight, with 37.9 per cent stating they were very satisfied; but only 12.1 per cent stated that they were extremely satisfied. However, the relative majority (45.4 per cent) of former cadets were only fairly satisfied with the OSCE instructors, while

<sup>90</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2003b: 2.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2002a: 2; OSCE 2002b.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2002a: 3.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2002b.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2002c: 1.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2002a: 3.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2003b: 3; OSCE 2003a.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2003b: 2.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. United Nations Security Council 2005: 9f.

only 27.9 per cent of the KPSS cadets, who had finished their training in September 2003, gave their instructors such mediocre ratings. 1.6 per cent of the cadets of September 2003, and 2.9 per cent of former cadets were more or less dissatisfied with the OSCE instructors (cf. chart A.3). It is interesting to note that OSCE instructors received their best ratings for their readiness to solve ethnically motivated problems at the academy (52 per cent of the cadets of 2003 and 31 per cent of former cadets saying excellent, 20 / 24.6 per cent very good and 22 / 24.6 per cent good (cf. chart A.5a and A.5b). This assessment is interesting, in light of the fact that almost nobody claimed to have recognized any ethnically motivated problem at the academy (see 2.3.3.1).

Interestingly, the cadets of September 2003 gave their local instructors better marks than the international instructors, while former cadets gave better evaluations to the OSCE instructors than to their local instructors. Among the cadets of September 2003, there were 24.6 per cent who were very satisfied; and 62.3 per cent were even extremely satisfied with their countrymen, while only 18 per cent of the former cadets were extremely satisfied; and 23.8 per cent were very satisfied with the local instructors. By contrast, 13.4 per cent of the former cadets were more or less dissatisfied with the local trainers, while only 1.6 per cent of the cadets of 2003 viewed their local instructors in such a bad light (cf. chart A.4). It would seem that the teaching skills of local trainers have significantly improved since they started teaching in December 2001.

*Assessment of the resources available.* While the majority of KPS cadets in September 2003 considered the time frame and the material resources for the basic training to be sufficient (60 / 51.7 percent), former cadets were somewhat more critical in this respect. Here the majority considered the time frame and the material resources for the basic training to be merely moderately sufficient (56.6 / 51.4 per cent). Only 34.2 per cent (time frame) and 24 per cent (material resources) considered them to be sufficient (cf. chart A.8). This might have been due to the shorter training period and the fewer training resources available in the first two and a half years of academy training. About ten per cent of the KPS cadets, and of the former cadets, described the time frame and the material resources as insufficient (cf. chart A.8).

Most of the OSCE trainers considered the material training resources to be sufficient (56 per cent); 36 per cent said that they were moderately sufficient. However, with respect to personnel resources, their assessment was much more critical. Sixty per cent said personnel resources were moderately sufficient; and only 39.1 per cent said they were sufficient (cf. chart A.7). At the time of the survey, the number of international trainers had been reduced from 180, in 2001, to less than half that number, and was to be further reduced to 60 in September 2004.<sup>99</sup> The introduction of local trainers, who outnumbered their international colleagues in 2004, did not seem to change the rather sceptical assessment.

#### 2.2.2.2 *Assessment of Qualification of the Cadets*

In 2003, the majority of OSCE instructors (51.7 per cent) considered 50-75 per cent of the cadets suitable to become police officers. A total of 27.6 per cent believed that 75-90 per cent were suitable, while only 6.9 per cent said that more than 90 per cent of the KPS cadets were suitable for the job. A minority of OSCE instructors (13.8 per cent) was of the opinion that only 25-50 per cent were suitable (cf. chart A.10). By 2005, about 60 cadets had been dismissed from the academy, because they failed to pass the exams or the fire arms tests. The vast majority of OSCE instructors who were interviewed said that educational deficits were

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<sup>99</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2004c: 3.



the most important reason for the unsuitability of a number of cadets. Another reason, according to the instructors, was the criminal background of a number of cadets. OMIK instructors did not perceive inter-ethnic hatred among the cadets and therefore did not consider this aspect to be relevant for the unsuitability of certain officers.

### 2.2.3 *Field Training*

Upon successful completion of the academy training, the cadets were assigned to police stations to complete the 19-week long field training, which focused on patrolling, investigating, arresting, incidents and disputes, traffic control, and police station duties. UNMIK police Field Training Officers (FTOs) were responsible for training and developing the cadets' skills. UNMIK expected the FTOs to be experienced officers with the appropriate competency and attitude required to serve as good role models for the new KPS officers.<sup>100</sup> Unfortunately, the international FTOs, coming from a large variety of countries with different police cultures, showed a very mixed record of policing skills and quite uneven dedication to their tasks. This led to a significant lack of standardization in the training. In addition, with a growing number of KPS cadets starting the field training, the ratio between FTOs and trainees became more and more unfavourable, so that intensive personal mentoring was no longer possible.<sup>101</sup> Because of the reduction of the field training timeframe from 19 to 17 weeks in 2000,<sup>102</sup> and further down to 15 weeks in 2001,<sup>103</sup> the situation got even worse. It was not until the introduction of local KPS field trainers in 2002 and the reassessment of the field training programme by UNMIK police – which finally led to its extension to 20 weeks in 2004<sup>104</sup> – that the training became more adequate to the task.

Another problem was that many UNMIK police station commanders preferred to let their UNMIK police personnel continue their public duties rather than let them take the time to thoroughly mentor their inexperienced KPS colleagues. This was particularly relevant with respect to putting the abstract principles of democratic policing into reality.<sup>105</sup> There was also no coherent policy on what to do with the new KPS officers, once they reached the stations. International officers often hesitated to transfer responsible operational tasks to their local colleagues.<sup>106</sup> These factors led to deficiencies in policing skills – sometimes quite significant ones – among a number of KPS officers (see 2.3.3.2).

*Evaluation of field training by KPS officers.* Compared to the critical view of the field training held by international police officers and researchers, the majority of KPS officers seemed to be quite satisfied with the training. There were 54.6 per cent who said that they were extremely or very satisfied with the training. On the other hand, by comparison with the academy training, the field training received much lower ratings from the KPS officers, with 37 per cent saying they were fairly satisfied and 7.7 per cent that they were more or less dissatisfied (cf. chart A.2a). As with the general assessment of the field training, KPS officers seemed to be more satisfied with the time frame and the material resources available than did the international observers. 55.2 per cent called the time frame moderately sufficient; and almost 38.3 per cent considered it sufficient, while 63.3 per cent thought the material resources had been

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<sup>100</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2000: 2ff.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. O'Neill 2002: 110; Cockell 2002: 495; Peake 2004: 20.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2000.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2002a: 2.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2004c: 2.

<sup>105</sup> Interview with UNMIK FTO coordinator, Kosovo, September 2003; Peake 2004: 20.

<sup>106</sup> Interview with UNMIK FTO coordinator, Kosovo, September 2003; Peake 2004: 2ff.

moderately sufficient; and 28.3 per cent assessed them as sufficient (cf. chart A.9). This rather positive assessment might be rooted in the KPS officers' lack of knowledge about training programmes in other countries, which gave them no opportunity to compare the availability of resources.

*Additional training provided by other international actors.* In addition to its own training programmes, OMIK co-ordinated training courses within the framework of the EU-funded regional Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilization (CARDS) programme as well as bilateral courses offered by a number of OSCE participating States (e.g. France, Germany, Switzerland and the USA) and several NGOs. These courses focused on a variety of issues such as organized crime, human trafficking, drug enforcement, border policing, hostage negotiations, special weapons and tactics, and community policing.<sup>107</sup> In order to avoid duplication of projects and to ensure the quality of additional projects, OMIK created the position of a European Bilateral Training Project Manager. Since most additional training programmes were provided at the KPSS, OMIK had the opportunity to select projects, thereby avoiding duplications. However, it was more difficult to avoid duplication of projects in cases where the KPS leadership itself decides on bilateral projects.<sup>108</sup>

#### 2.2.4 *Efforts to Win the Trust of the Local Population*

The OMIK Department of Police Education and Development (DPED) had been implementing community-based projects since the beginning of the mission. After the March 2004 riots, more emphasis was put on the relationship between police and youth. The KPSS offered KPS trainees the opportunity to take part in interactive and participative learning that focused on issues such as conflict, non-violent problem solving and community policing addressed to local youth. In addition, annual youth camps were organized at the KPSS, at which secondary school students from different ethnic groups focused on civic responsibilities and non-violent problem solving and conflict resolution skills. Furthermore, the DPED set up Community Policing Programmes in eight municipalities across Kosovo.<sup>109</sup>

UNMIK established local Crime Prevention Councils in a number of municipalities of Kosovo, bringing together police, KFOR, municipality authorities and community representatives to address the requirements of local security. After the March 2004 riots, UNMIK, KFOR and the Kosovar government (Provisional Institutions of Self-Government/PISG) established the Kosovo Security Advisory Group as a forum for all communities to discuss their security concerns with UNMIK and KFOR. However, the group's activities stopped after its first meeting in July 2004, when the Belgrade government decided not to allow the Kosovo Serbs to participate.<sup>110</sup> In January 2005, UNMIK began deploying 350 international police officers to potential return sites of Serbian refugees and areas inhabited by vulnerable communities across Kosovo as part of a new community policing project. The primary task of these international police officers was to patrol on foot in order to establish close relations with the communities, so that they might better address their special security needs.<sup>111</sup> However, there was criticism within the UNMIK police that the mission had not chosen police officers from Western European countries, who were familiar with the concept of community policing, but

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<sup>107</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2004c; OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2004d: 6; interviews with KPSS representatives, Vucitrn, May 2004 and March 2005.

<sup>108</sup> Interview with OMIK representative, Vucitrn, March 2005.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo 2004c: 2; OSCE 2004d.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. United Nations Security Council 2004c: 10f.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2005a.

instead primarily officers from countries with no community policing traditions at all. There was concern that this could severely undermine the confidence-building efforts between Serbian returnees and the police.<sup>112</sup>

### 2.2.5 *Excursus: Reform of the Judicial and Penal System*

The best police system cannot function without a properly working judiciary. The following excursus on the specifics of the reestablishment of a judicial system in Kosovo after 1999 shows how painful it was to reforge the basic conditions for law enforcement there.

Due to the total collapse of the judicial system during the Kosovo war and thereafter, when Serbian judges, prosecutors and lawyers left Kosovo, UNMIK and OMIK had to rebuild the whole system from scratch.<sup>113</sup> The first action of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) for Kosovo, Bernard Kouchner, was to establish a Joint Advisory Council on Provisional Judicial Appointment (JAC), which soon recommended the provisional appointment of 55 judges and public prosecutors<sup>114</sup> to conduct pre-trial hearings of those detained by KFOR since June 1999. Provisional district courts and public prosecutors' offices were established in four cities; mobile court units operated in those areas not served by the courts.<sup>115</sup> The OSCE developed training for local judges, prosecutors and lawyers at the Kosovo Judicial Institute (KJI), and established the Kosovo Law Center (KLC) responsible for the compilation of compendia of law as well as for the reform of judicial education at the University of Prishtina. To ease the burden on understaffed local courts and in an effort to maintain the impartiality of the courts, UNMIK appointed international judges and prosecutors who cooperated with local personnel and dealt primarily with crimes and offences related to ethnicity. Up until this point, there had been a number of cases, in which Albanian judges applied the law in a discriminatory way against Serbs while favouring fellow Albanians, particularly when they were regarded as "war heroes".<sup>116</sup>

However, the capacity problems continued, the courts could not cope with all cases in a timely manner, and there continued to be cases of biased court decisions. By the end of 2000, UNMIK reacted to these irregularities by appointing a commission that reviewed questionable cases. Furthermore, by enacting UNMIK regulation 2000/64 in December 2000, the SGRG gave UNMIK the power to assign a minimum of two international judges to three-judge panels in certain cases, where the unbiased ruling of a local judge did not seem to be guaranteed.<sup>117</sup> However, Kosovar political elites kept trying to influence court decisions, and social pressure was exerted on the judges and prosecutors to not convict Albanians for crimes committed against Serbs. While UNMIK was able to limit biased rulings at the district level, ethnic and social minorities were still discriminated against at the municipal level in cases of minor offences. Biased court rulings occurred not only with respect to ethnically related cases, but also with respect to sexual offences. In cases of sexual abuse, forced prostitution and domestic violence, local judges and prosecutors often favoured the male perpetrators. The average sentence for rape decreased from three years to one year. In a further effort to gain control over the judicial system, UNMIK established a Judicial Inspection Unit, tasked with

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<sup>112</sup> Interviews with UNMIK police representatives, Kosovo, March 2005.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Stodiek 2004a: 345f.

<sup>114</sup> The candidates were selected either from a list that the OSCE had drawn up earlier in the refugee camps in Macedonia, or from a list provided by attorneys in Kosovo (cf. Hartmann 2003: 5).

<sup>115</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo, Department of Human Rights and Rule of Law, Legal System Monitoring Section 2004a: 10; Hartmann 2003: 4ff.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Hartmann 2003: 6.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. OSCE Department of Human Rights 2004: 11; Hartmann 2003: 10ff.

investigating complaints against judges and prosecutors, which in a number of cases imposed disciplinary measures.<sup>118</sup>

The efforts of UNMIK to appoint Serbian judges as well were hampered by the Serbian government in Belgrade, which was putting strong pressure on Serbian judges to not cooperate with UNMIK. Up until March 2002, there were only four Serbian judges and prosecutors working in the official Kosovar judiciary. Belgrade maintained parallel structures of courts that were present in Serb enclaves in the Mitrovica, Prishtina and Gnjilane regions of Kosovo. UNMIK tried to dismantle the parallel courts and continued its efforts to recruit Serbian judges and prosecutors into the Kosovar judicial system by signing a Joint Declaration with the Serbian Ministry of Justice in July 2002.<sup>119</sup> By January 2003, seven Serbian judges had been sworn in by UNMIK. In 2004, the integration of Serbian judges into the Kosovar justice system suffered a severe setback due to the March riots, after which a number of Serbian judges refused to show up at the courts for security reasons. Consequently, the parallel court structures, which had ceased to function, resumed their work in the Mitrovica and Prishtina regions.<sup>120</sup> By September 2004, some of the judges had returned to work: 16 Serbian judges and three Serbian prosecutors worked alongside 297 non-Serbian judges and 70 non-Serbian prosecutors of which 16 judges and six prosecutors belonged to other minorities, thus slightly improving the participation of minorities in the Kosovar court system.<sup>121</sup> To facilitate access to justice for the Serbian minority population outside the towns, where they often could not move without the fear of being attacked by Albanians, UNMIK established the Municipal Court Departments in the Serbian villages of Novo Brdo, Gorazdevac, Vitina, Orahovac and Gracanica by December 2004.<sup>122</sup> By 2005, three hundred sixty-three local judges and 58 local prosecutors handled more than 97 per cent of all criminal cases and 100 per cent of all civil. Despite this progress, UNMIK and the EU Commission described the growing backlog of cases and the sustained danger of executive influence on the judicial system as being among the biggest challenges in Kosovo.<sup>123</sup>

*Establishment of a correctional service.* The correctional service also had to be completely rebuilt after the war, because prisons had been destroyed or were in terrible condition. Since 1999, UNMIK has refurbished seven prisons and, in co-operation with the OSCE, trained the correction service personnel. In the beginning, UNCIVPOL officers had to run the prisons.<sup>124</sup> By May 2001, seven hundred local corrections officers had been trained at the KPSS. The aim was to train 1,688 officers for the Kosovo Correctional Service (KCS).<sup>125</sup> However, more than 80 per cent of the KCS officers were inexperienced, posing a serious problem for the monitoring of detention centres.<sup>126</sup> By May 2005, the number of KCS staff originally envisaged had almost been reached with 1,648 officers, of whom 1,402 were ethnic Albanians, 192 Serbs, and 55 members of other ethnic groups. Moreover, UNMIK had handed over complete authority for the management of the detention centres in Prizren, Pec, Prishtina and Gnjilane to the KCS. The three remaining prison facilities were to be transferred by the end of 2005.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Cf. Stodiek 2004a: 346.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. OSCE Department of Human Rights 2004: 12.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. United Nations Security Council 2004c: 8.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. OSCE Department of Human Rights 2004: 12f; United Nations Security Council 2004c: 8.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2004f.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2003a: 14; UNMIK 2005d; Commission of the European Communities 2004b: 54f.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Stodiek 2004a: 346; UNMIK 2003a: 17.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Bennett 2001a: 8; UNMIK 2003a: 18.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Peake 2004: 20; UNMIK 2003a: 18ff.; Commission of the European Communities 2004b: 55.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2005b; UNMIK 2005f.

## 2.2.6 Police-Related Law Reform

The severe deficits in the judicial system were aggravated by disputes between international and local authorities over the applicable law. According to a UN principle for peace missions, UNMIK had to apply the law of the host country, as long as it conformed to internationally recognized human rights standards. However, in the case of Kosovo, ethnic Albanian judges refused to accept the Yugoslav law, because they felt discriminated against and oppressed by it. It took almost half a year before the SRSG, Kouchner, decided that the Yugoslav law of 22 March 1989 – the law applicable before the removal of Kosovar autonomy by Slobodan Milosevic – would be applicable, though subordinate to several regulations promulgated by Kouchner himself.<sup>128</sup> It took even longer to develop coherent Serbian, Albanian and English translations of the applicable law and to distribute them to the local as well as the international staff of the judiciary and the police. Furthermore, it was difficult for international police officers in Kosovo to combine the Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) and criminal provisions issued by the UN Interim Administration with specific Yugoslavian legal regulations. The regulations for investigative activities, for example, differ from country to country, and the resultant insecurity of international officers, who were not familiar with those specific regulations, interfered with efficient crime solving.<sup>129</sup> The long-lasting uncertainty about the applicable law also had negative effects on training at the KPSS. On 6 July 2003, after four years of preparation, SGRG Steiner promulgated the Provisional Criminal Code of Kosovo and the Provisional Criminal Procedure Code of Kosovo, which finally provided the legal basis for the fight against crime and criminal prosecution. What is more, it could be used as a teaching tool at the KPSS. Nevertheless, it took another eight months before the two Codes entered into force.<sup>130</sup>

To fight organized crime effectively, UNMIK has introduced several new regulations since 2001. UNMIK regulation 2001/4 of January 2001 defined, for the first time, the crime of trafficking in human beings.<sup>131</sup> UNMIK regulation 2001/10 of May 2001 dealt with measures to prevent illegal border crossings.<sup>132</sup> UNMIK regulation 2001/12 of June 2001 dealt with the Prohibition of Terrorism and Related Offences.<sup>133</sup> Moreover, UNMIK established a witness protection programme in 2001, hoping this would lead to an increased willingness of the population to co-operate with the police during investigations.<sup>134</sup> Finally, UNMIK regulation 2002/6 of March 2002 allowed the use of covert and technical measures of surveillance and investigation for the first time.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Cf. Rausch 2002: 13ff.; Strohmeyer 2001: 58f.; interviews with UNCIVPOL representatives in June 2000 in Kosovo and in July 2001 in New York.

<sup>129</sup> For example, the Yugoslav law, which was to be applied in Kosovo, demanded that UN police officers call an investigating judge when approaching the scene of a crime and searching for traces of evidence. Because many international police officers did not know this fact, or because, in some cases, there was simply no investigating judge available, a lot of crime evidence material, which had been collected by the police, was later not accepted in court due to procedural errors (interviews with UNCIVPOL representatives, Kosovo, June 2000).

<sup>130</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2003b; and UNMIK 2004a.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2001a.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2001c.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2001b.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2001d; UNMIK 2001e: 17.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2002a.

### 2.3 *Taking Stock of Reform Efforts*

Whether and to what extent UNMIK and OMIK have managed to achieve the goal of establishing the ‘credible, professional and impartial’ multi-ethnic police service, the UN Secretary-General had envisaged in 1999 (see 2.1) will be analysed in this section.

#### 2.3.1 *Establishment of the Multi-Ethnic Kosovo Police Service*

With almost 7,000 KPS officers trained by 2005, of whom 9.3 per cent belong to the Serbian and 5.7 per cent to other minorities, UNMIK and OMIK have achieved their quantitative goals with respect to the number of trained officers and the ethnic composition of the police force. There is no doubt that the goal of 7,500 officers will be reached by 2006 (see 2.2.1). This represents an important success for the international organizations.

With the growing capacities of the KPS, a gradual transfer of policing responsibilities from UNMIK to the KPS has taken place. KPS was supposed to become more and more responsible for daily law enforcement, while UNMIK’s task was to shift from executive policing to monitoring and advising the KPS. The ultimate transition is to occur in 2006. In addition to establishing a local police leadership structure (cf. 2.2.2), UNMIK had already begun to transfer the leadership for police stations to the KPS in 2002, with Gracanica becoming the first village with a KPS police leadership.<sup>136</sup> Choosing the Gracanica police station as the first one under local leadership was even more important from a symbolic point of view, as it was a station with multi-ethnic staff. By March 2004, ten police stations had been transferred to the KPS.<sup>137</sup>

After the March 2004 riots, the transformation process was stopped to allow assessment of stations, which were scheduled to be transferred, on the performance of their staff during the riots. In July 2004, the process was resumed and one year later, all 33 police stations had been transferred to KPS command.<sup>138</sup> However, particularly with respect to the Mitrovica region, where the last station (Mitrovica North) was transferred in July 2005, many experts within and outside the UNMIK police, doubtful of the capacity of the KPS to do its job sufficiently, have criticized the hastiness of the process. They point to the lack of local personnel (ranging from an insufficient number of Serbian officers in North Mitrovica to a general lack of qualified leadership personnel), as well as a lack of office and communication equipment, which could severely hamper the autonomous functioning of the KPS.<sup>139</sup> There was also concern that KPS officers from North Mitrovica would continue to be reluctant to enforce the law in cases in which the rights of Albanians had to be protected, attacks upon Albanians had to be investigated, or UNMIK’s vehicle registration regime had to be enforced. These officers were anxious about losing the acceptance of the Serbian population that still considered the ongoing parallel security structures of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs (MUP) to be the real security provider.<sup>140</sup> In addition to the police stations, three of the six Police Regional Headquarters had already been transferred to the KPS by August 2005. The final transfer to the KPS of responsibility for all stations and regional headquarters is envisaged for the first

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<sup>136</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2002d.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. United Nations Security Council 2004a: 8.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. United Nations Security Council 2004c: 8; UNMIK 2004d; UNMIK 2005a; UNMIK 2005i; UNMIK 2005g.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. European Stability Initiative (ESI) 2004: 23; interviews with OSCE and UNMIK police representatives, Mitrovica, March 2005.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2005b.

quarter of 2006. By then, UNMIK also plans to have established a ministry of interior and a ministry of justice.<sup>141</sup>

The transfer of responsibilities has been accompanied by the downscaling of the UNMIK police contingent. In the summer of 2002, the KPS outnumbered the international police contingent for the first time with more than 4,700 local officers on duty compared to 4,500 UNMIK officers.<sup>142</sup> From a maximum of 4,500 officers in 2001, the international contingent had shrunk to 3,500 officers by 2003 and was supposed to be scaled down by another 30 per cent in 2004. However, after the March 2004 riots, the downscaling process came temporarily to a halt. Unfortunately, primary police contributing countries such as Germany had already reduced their contingents by 30 per cent in March and did not reverse this step. By June 2005 the international contingent had further decreased to around 3,000 officers.<sup>143</sup> UNMIK police had assumed primarily observational and advising functions. The KPS even bore the prime responsibility for controlling mass rallies. UNMIK's SPU's only stood by to assist in emergencies.<sup>144</sup>

### 2.3.2 *Performance of the KPS*

Establishing such a big police contingent in less than six years certainly carries with it the danger of quantitative success being gained at the cost of quality. For this reason, the qualitative performance of the KPS will be assessed in more detail, taking into account the criteria introduced in Chapter 1 (see 1.2.3).

#### 2.3.2.1 *Crime Developments*

Since the KPS has taken the prime responsibility for law enforcement from UNMIK (except for intelligence and certain kinds of organized crime), the development in crime figures can be linked to the work of the KPS in the same way as it is to the work of UNMIK police. According to UNMIK's statistics, there was a steady decrease in serious crimes such as murders (particularly ethnically motivated murders), attempted murders or kidnappings between 1999 and 2004. Crime figures for rapes, robberies or arson stagnated or were on the rise.<sup>145</sup> UNMIK explained the increase of these crimes with the growing willingness of the population and crime victims to turn to the police with their problems. The initial lack of trust in the international police force had given way to a growing readiness to inform the police, even when sensitive issues such as domestic or sexual violence were involved. UNMIK and the KPS viewed this development as a result of their work.<sup>146</sup> However, the flow of information was still disrupted in cases where witnesses feared acts of revenge, or where political hardliners exerted pressure on the population to not co-operate with the local and international police (see 2.3.5). After the sharp increase in murder and attempted murder in connection with the March 2004 riots, figures for serious crimes dropped again to the level of 2003.<sup>147</sup> In the first half of 2005, crime reports were dominated by a small number of politically motivated attacks on UNMIK and OSCE premises as well as against moderate politicians such as

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<sup>141</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2005i; UNMIK 2005g.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. United Nations Security Council 2002: 5.

<sup>143</sup> United Nations Security Council 2005: 21.

<sup>144</sup> Interviews with UNMIK police representatives, Prishtina, March 2005.

<sup>145</sup> The number of murders decreased from 244 (2000) to 170 (2001), to 70 (2002) and basically remained at this level (72) in 2003 (cf. UNMIK Police 2005: 9).

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Statistical Office of Kosovo 2004.

<sup>147</sup> The number of murder cases in 2004 was 87, including 19 victims of the March riots (cf. UNMIK Police 2005: 9).

President Rugova, apparently conducted by the Albanian extremist group the Albanian National Army.<sup>148</sup> Thus, while acts of “ordinary” serious crime decreased to a level comparable to other countries in the neighbourhood, the level of politically motivated serious crimes, focusing primarily on local political actors and on the international community in Kosovo, was growing.

In an UNDP survey conducted in November and December 2003, 33 per cent of Albanians believed that crime in Kosovo had increased in 2003; 30 per cent said that it had remained the same; and 31 per cent thought crime had decreased. However, 47 per cent of the Kosovo-Serbs thought that crime had increased; 42 per cent said it had stayed at the same level; and only 5 per cent believed it had decreased.<sup>149</sup> The views of Albanians and Serbs were similarly divergent on the point of the development of the general security situation in Kosovo. 49 per cent of Albanians felt that the security situation in Kosovo had improved; 34 per cent said the security situation was unchanged; and only 15 per cent said the situation had deteriorated. In sharp contrast to this, only nine per cent of the Serbian respondents were of the opinion that the situation had improved, while 60 per cent believed it had stayed the same, and 29 per cent thought it had worsened. It should be noted that this survey was conducted four months before the March riots of 2004.<sup>150</sup>

There were also significant differences between Albanians and Serbs on the issue of their main security concerns. While Albanians (35 per cent) characterized murder as the most pressing issue in Kosovo, only five per cent of Serbs held this view. In contrast, 37 per cent of Serbs saw the lack of “freedom of movement” as their biggest security problem.<sup>151</sup> Correspondingly, only ten per cent of Albanians, but 46 per cent of the Serbs in Kosovo had limited or changed their activities due to their concerns about crime.<sup>152</sup> It is interesting to note that other minority communities, in significant contrast to the Serbs, assessed the security situation and levels of crime even slightly better than the Albanians.<sup>153</sup> Kosovo-Serbs were thus overwhelmingly convinced that they were at considerably greater risk in Kosovo than any other ethnicity. This feeling of insecurity, as well as the lack of employment opportunities were the biggest obstacles to the return of Serbian refugees and internally displaced persons. By 2005, barely ten per cent of Serb refugees had returned.<sup>154</sup>

#### *2.3.2.2 Demonstrated Skills and Level of Professionalism*

According to 11.5 per cent of UNMIK police officers surveyed in police stations with multi-ethnic staff in September 2003, more than 90 per cent of KPS officers were suited for their jobs. 25 per cent of the UNMIK officers believed that at least 75-90 per cent of the KPS officers were suited for police work, and 30 per cent thought that 50-75 per cent of the local officers were suited. 21.2 per cent of the UNMIK officers said that only 25-50 per cent of the KPS officers were suited; and 7.7 per cent still thought that only between 10 and 25 per cent of their local colleagues were suited for their job (cf. chart A.10). Interestingly, KPS officers, by and large, shared the views of their UNMIK colleagues. Except for some 6.3 per cent, who considered all of their colleagues to be suitable for the police job, almost as many local as international police officers (26.7 / 30.7 per cent) claimed that 75-90 per cent, or 50-75 per

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<sup>148</sup> Cf. Terdevci 2005; B92 2005.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. UNDP 2004a: 32.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 31.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 33.

<sup>152</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 31.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 31-33.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Christian Science Monitor 2005; Waringo 2005.



cent respectively, were suitable (cf. chart A.10). In interviews, UNMIK police officers considered educational deficits, professional deficits as well as the politicization of the police by certain groups and parties to be primarily responsible for the deficits of those officers not suited for the job.<sup>155</sup> According to the head of the KPSS, until 2001, 0.5 per cent of KPS officers had become involved in criminal activity.<sup>156</sup> By 2005, about 300 KPS officers had been dismissed from the KPS for disciplinary reasons.

*The human rights record of the KPS.* The KPS seems to be free of allegations of serious human rights violations against Kosovar civilians. The only accusations by human rights NGOs such as Human Rights Watch or Amnesty International against members of the local police have to do with the alleged passive behaviour and failure of KPS officers to protect the minority populations during the March 2004 riots.<sup>157</sup> Accusations of widespread biased and discriminatory behaviour against minorities focus primarily on the courts.

*Fight against organized crime.* Since only a small number of KPS officers were playing a supporting role in UNMIK police's fight against organized crime until 2004,<sup>158</sup> and were only integrated in larger numbers into the specialized organized crime units by 2005, it is too early to make a final assessment of the KPS performance in this field. In general, the fight against organized crime poses the biggest challenge to the international and local police in Kosovo. According to a Europol report of 2003, the spread of organized crime in the Balkans represented the most important danger for the EU in the areas of trafficking in drugs and human beings.<sup>159</sup> Kosovo was seen as the most important transit country for smuggling cigarettes, drugs and weapons from South-Eastern to Western Europe. The International Police Association to Fight Narcotics Trade has estimated that, every month, four to five tons of heroin are brought from Kosovo to Serbia and Montenegro, from where it penetrates the European markets via Italy, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Hungary.<sup>160</sup> In the field of human trafficking, Kosovo as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina are considered to be the most important transit countries for around 120,000 women and girls, who are smuggled out of the CIS and South-Eastern European countries every year by criminal organizations, in most cases for sexual exploitation.<sup>161</sup>

The fight against organized crime was hampered from the beginning by a lack of personnel, equipment and legal regulations. It took the UN almost three years, before effective special units to combat drug smuggling, trafficking in human beings and illegal prostitution were set up, legal prerequisites (e.g. the Provisional Criminal Code or the Witness Protection Programme) were introduced, and the necessary technical equipment was provided to conduct intelligence operations. In addition, cross-border co-operation arrangements with the law enforcement agencies of neighbouring states, which are indispensable for the effective fight against transnational organized crime, were absent until 2002.<sup>162</sup> Moreover, the lack of knowledge of local structure and languages on the part of the international police, and the lack of trust in the police among the population caused severe problems in gaining relevant information. Particularly in Kosovo, family ties and clan structures often form the informal frame-

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<sup>155</sup> Interviews with UNMIK police representatives, Kosovo, September 2003.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. Bennett 2001a: 8.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Human Rights Watch 2004.

<sup>158</sup> For example, by 2004, 26 KPS officers worked in the Trafficking and Prostitution Unit, 17 in the Central Drugs Unit, eleven in the Kosovo Organised Crime Bureau (KOCB), and eight in the Central Criminal Investigative Unit (cf. UNMIK 2003c).

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Beta 2004.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Beta 2003.

<sup>161</sup> See International Organization for Migration 2001: 2; UNHCR 2002: 4.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. United Nations Security Council 2002: 5.

work for criminal networks, which are hard for outsiders to infiltrate. By integrating local police officers into its special crime fighting units, UNMIK tried to cope with this latter problem.<sup>163</sup> However, finding KPS officers suitable for this task proved to be difficult since reliable background checks were hard to conduct and the KPS officers chosen had little experience and training.<sup>164</sup>

Nevertheless, the continuing pressure on organized crime in Kosovo by law enforcement bodies in the international community seems to have produced its first results.<sup>165</sup> According to the Czech National Centre for Fighting Drugs' assessment, the Kosovo-Albanians have lost their predominance in drug trafficking on the Balkans. Today, organizations operating in Albania and Serbia are regarded as the main drug suppliers. Drug streams are increasingly bypassing Kosovo.<sup>166</sup> Interestingly, while the international police force has put the fight against organized crime at the top of its agenda, only seven per cent of the Kosovars considered trafficking in human beings or drugs to be of primary concern.<sup>167</sup>

*Performance during the March 2004 riots.* Without any preparation for dealing with riots of this dimension, lacking equipment such as riot control gear, shields, tear gas or rubber bullets, and with no contingency plans, the majority of KPS officers behaved professionally and bravely and tried their best to control the riots, prevent the mobs from attacking Serbian property and to save the lives of Serbs, Roma and Ashkali.<sup>168</sup> In view of the simultaneous escalation of violence at more than 30 hot spots across Kosovo, they worked most of the time with UNMIK officers within units hastily assembled because of the scarcity of available officers.<sup>169</sup> Without the support of the KPS in communicating with the demonstrators, KFOR and UNMIK police would have been even more helpless to calm the crowds down.<sup>170</sup> In addition to 67 KFOR soldiers and 65 UNMIK police officers, 58 KPS officers were injured during the riots.<sup>171</sup>

Juxtaposed with the generally positive statements on the KPS's performance given by the UN and international think tanks, were serious accusations of misconduct made against Albanian KPS officers by Serbian citizens, NGOs and by Serbian KPS officers. In addition to the most frequent accusation made, namely that many Albanian officers had stood by passively watching the riots, the most serious accusations were that Albanian officers had denounced their Serbian colleagues to the mob or that they had even taken part in the riots.<sup>172</sup> While there were no complaints from Serbs against KPS officers in Prizren, the most serious complaints came from Serbs in Vucitrn, Obilic and Kosovo Polje.<sup>173</sup> During the investigations of the March 2004 riots, a number of UNMIK police officers also complained that many Albanian KPS officers had undermined the investigations by refusing to identify Albanian suspects on videotapes, often in cases where they supposedly knew the subjects, since they knew whole

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<sup>163</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2003c.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Stodiek 2004b: 213.

<sup>165</sup> Between 2002 and 2004, often in co-operation with police forces of several European countries, KOCB led major operations against organized crime networks which, in turn, led to the arrest and conviction of a number of high ranking criminals (cf. UNMIK 2002c; United Nations Security Council 2004b: 12). For a detailed description of UNMIK successes in the fight against organized crime see Stodiek 2004b: 213f.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Beta 2004.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. UNDP 2004a: 20.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. United Nations Security Council 2004b: 12.

<sup>169</sup> Interview with UNMIK police officers, Kosovo, May 2004.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2004: 20.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. United Nations Security Council 2004b: 1.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2004: 20f.; Human Rights Watch 2004, Chapter 6: 2; United Nations Security Council 2004b: 12.

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Human Rights Watch 2004, Chapter 7.

communities of certain villages.<sup>174</sup> In July 2004, investigations were underway against some 100 KPS officers for allegations of misconduct. However, no evidence was found to back up the most serious allegations. Therefore, by March 2005, only about a dozen officers had been temporarily suspended for disrupting radio communication during the riots.<sup>175</sup> Compared to the some 5,700 officers, who were on duty in March 2004, this small number of accused and convicted officers is an indication that the share of ethnically motivated failures within the KPS was rather low.

### *2.3.3 Social Inter-Ethnic Climate at the Police Academy and in the Units*

Determining whether inter-ethnic relations at the police academy and in the units were significantly better than relations between the different ethnic communities, in general, is crucial for answering the basic question of whether the approach of reconstituting the monopoly of force in ethnically divided countries with the instrument of multi-ethnic police is a viable option. For this reason, this aspect was covered broadly in the survey.

#### *2.3.3.1 Social Climate at the Academy*

As soon as the first class of cadets came to the academy, ethnically motivated tensions between Albanian and Serbian cadets as well as politically motivated obstruction became evident. Of the 20 Serbian cadets, who had been recruited for the first class, only nine showed up at the academy. This was partly due to the fact that they feared for their own safety in an Albanian-dominated environment, but also due to massive political and social pressure from the Kosovo-Serbian community and the Belgrade government to not co-operate with the international community. When two of those nine Serb cadets were arrested, following the accusation from an Albanian cadet that they had committed war crimes, all Serbian cadets left the academy in protest.<sup>176</sup> However, a week later, 17 of the 20 Serb cadets were participating in the classes.<sup>177</sup>

Apart from these incidents at the beginning, there were no further significant problems between Albanian and Serbian cadets. In 2003, the majority of OSCE instructors (51.7 per cent) described the social climate in the classes as acceptable, 31 per cent as co-operative and 10.3 per cent even as friendly, while only 3.4 per cent described it as tense or uncomfortable. None of the instructors described the climate as antagonistic (cf. chart A.11). The cadets of September 2003 gave even better ratings to the climate. While 27.8 per cent rated the climate at the KPSS as acceptable, 38.9 per cent said it was co-operative; and 29.6 per cent even called it friendly. Only 1.9 per cent felt it was uncomfortable, while another 1.9 per cent said it was antagonistic. But here again, former KPS cadets were more sceptical in their assessment. While 35.4 per cent said the social climate during their training had been acceptable and 36.6 per cent recalled it as having been co-operative, only 9.1 per cent said it had been friendly. Moreover, eight per cent said the climate had been uncomfortable and more than ten per cent even said it had been tense. On the other hand, only 0.6 per cent recalled it as having been antagonistic (cf. chart A.12a).

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<sup>174</sup> Interviews with UNMIK police officers, Prizren and Prishtina, 28-30 May 2004.

<sup>175</sup> Cf. United Nations Security Council 2004c: 8; UNMIK 2004e; interviews with UNMIK Police representatives, Kosovo, March 2005.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 9 September 1999; Bennett 2001b: 4-8.

<sup>177</sup> Cf. UN News Service, 13 September 1999.

*Ethnically motivated problems in classes.* While 96.5 per cent of the September 2003 cadets who responded had never experienced ethnically motivated problems in their class (cf. chart A.13a), former cadets of previous classes had slightly different experiences. 21.1 per cent recalled having recognized ethnically motivated problems in their classes, a view that corresponds to the general assessment that the inter-ethnic climate had significantly improved since the start of the training programme (cf. chart A.13.b). Interestingly, those who had recognized ethnically motivated problems were almost exclusively Serbs. A third of the Serbian cadets of 2003, and 41.8 per cent of former Serbian cadets said they had recognized such problems in their class (cf. charts A.13a and A.13.b). According to KPSS representatives, the positive development in the inter-ethnic climate came about for a number of reasons. First of all, all cadets were obliged to interact with members of other ethnic communities in order to successfully complete the training.<sup>178</sup> In addition, the police instructors facilitated modern interactive teaching with class discussions, group work and role-playing exercises, which also forced the different ethnic groups to mix – at least in the classes.<sup>179</sup> In this way, the cadets developed a professional and co-operative attitude towards members of other ethnic communities.

*Social activities after classes.* Even though former cadets described the inter-ethnic social climate in more negative terms than the cadets of 2003, almost as many former cadets (91.9 per cent) as cadets of 2003 (94.4 per cent) reported that they had social contact with cadets belonging to other ethnic groups in their leisure time (cf. chart A.14).

### 2.3.3.2 Social Climate in the Multi-Ethnic Units

Until 2003, co-operative relations between the different ethnic groups hardly existed at most KPS stations. KPS officers refused to go on patrol in ethnically mixed units and more or less ignored each other at the police stations. When UNMIK station commanders began to force KPS officers to work in mixed units, this finally led to the development of more professional and co-operative interaction between the different ethnic groups. The improvement in the climate was further enhanced by the emergence of new moderate political leaderships at municipality level, which no longer tried to prevent the Serbian officers from co-operating with their Albanian and international counterparts.<sup>180</sup> According to the survey and a number of interviews conducted with international and national police officers in Kosovo in 2003, the social climate in the multi-ethnic police units across Kosovo had, in general, become positive and helpful by that year. The relative majority (42.6 per cent) of UNMIK police officers (field trainers, station commanders, shift leaders, monitors) considered the climate to be acceptable, 22.2 per cent viewed it as co-operative, and 9.3 per cent as friendly. However, 18.5 per cent of UNMIK officers were not so enthusiastic about the climate and described it as uncomfortable; 3.7 per cent as tense; and another 3.7 per cent even as antagonistic (cf. chart A.11). The assessment by KPS officers was even more positive. While 32.4 per cent considered the inter-ethnic climate to be acceptable, 44.4 per cent saw it as co-operative and 16.9 per cent as friendly, with only 3.4 per cent describing it as either uncomfortable or tense. None of the respondents called it antagonistic (cf. chart A.17). A noticeable percentage of UNMIK police officers (40 per cent) had recognized structures of loyalty based on ethnic identity (cf. chart A.26).

*Ethnically motivated problems in the stations.* Corresponding to the positive assessment of the inter-ethnic climate, the vast majority of KPS officers (86.5 per cent) stated they had never

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<sup>178</sup> Cf. OSCE 2000: 2f.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. Peake 2004: 19.

<sup>180</sup> Interviews with UNMIK and KPS police station commanders across Kosovo, September 2003.

been aware of any ethnically motivated problems within their units or in their police stations. Among the different ethnic groups, however, there were noticeable differences in the perception of ethnic problems. While 22 per cent of “other” minorities claimed they had been aware of such problems, 19 per cent of Serbs stated the same, while only 6.3 per cent of Albanians recalled such problems. Nevertheless, the vast majorities of Serbs (81 per cent) as well as those from other ethnic minorities (78 per cent) stated they had never recognized ethnically motivated problems (cf. chart A.18).

*Inter-ethnic social contacts after duty.* The basically positive assessment of the social climate at multi-ethnic stations is supported by statements of 70.3 per cent of the responding KPS officers who claimed to have had social contacts with colleagues belonging to other ethnic groups after duty (cf. chart A.19). In view of the fact that there is little social interaction between the different ethnic groups in Kosovo in general, this result of the survey is surprising.

*Problems of incorporating former combatants into the police.* The majority of KPS officers (53 per cent) did not view the incorporation of former combatants as a threat to the efficient functioning of the multi-ethnic police. Nevertheless, 11.9 per cent perceived this as a danger, 35.1 per cent stated they did not know. Among the different ethnic groups, the percentage of those who said that they did not know was largest among the Serbs (50.8 per cent). Not surprisingly, the percentage of those who saw a danger in the incorporation of former combatants, was also the largest among Serbs (16.9 per cent), followed by those of other ethnic minorities (14.8 per cent), whereas only 6.6 per cent of Albanians shared this opinion (cf. chart A.16). While the vast majority of Albanians did not perceive a threat in the incorporation of former combatants (which is not surprising, as 40 per cent of the KPS officers at that time were former UCK members), 32.3 per cent of Serbs and the majority of officers belonging to other ethnic minorities (51.9 per cent) shared this positive view (cf. chart A.16).

Concerning problems in incorporating former combatants, a number of OSCE police instructors mentioned the long-term character of the process to overcome what has happened and the time span necessary to change peoples’ minds. Generally, this issue was not regarded as a problem as long as former combatants had not been involved in (war) crimes. The relative majorities of OSCE instructors (33.3 per cent) and UNMIK police officers (47.2 per cent) believed that the spirit and the principles of democratic policing could be conveyed to former combatants. On the other hand, 3.3 per cent of OSCE instructors and 13.2 per cent of UNMIK officers said that only certain aspects of these principles were transferable to former combatants, while 13.4 per cent of OSCE instructors and 24.5 per cent of UNMIK officers claimed that it is not possible at all to transfer these principles (cf. chart A.15). Interestingly, according to some UNMIK and OSCE officers, there seemed to be more tension between the older and more experienced Albanian police officers, who had already been on the police force in the 1980s, and younger, inexperienced police officers with a UCK background, based on the different level of professionalism, than between Serbs and former UCK members.<sup>181</sup>

*Effects of the March 2004 violence on the inter-ethnic climate.* After the March 2004 riots, the inter-ethnic climate seriously deteriorated in a number of police stations and mistrust between Albanians and Serbs grew again.<sup>182</sup> Serbian officers accused a number of their Albanian colleagues of misconduct (see 2.3.2.2). The most serious incidents happened at the police station in Strpce, until then one of the success stories of multi-ethnic policing in Kosovo. The Serbian station commander and his Serbian staff categorically refused to co-operate further with their Albanian colleagues and did not let the Albanians enter the station. When they also refused to

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<sup>181</sup> Interview with KPSS and UNMIK police officials, Vucitrn and Prishtina, May 2005.

<sup>182</sup> Interviews with KPS CAST members, Prishtina, 29 May 2004.

co-operate with other Albanian officers, brought in from other stations, UNMIK ended the blockade by dismissing the station commander and his Serbian deputy. Facing the potential consequences of their actions, Serbian staff of two other stations, which had also refused to co-operate with the Albanians any more, stopped their blockades and agreed to resume the work of ethnically mixed patrols.<sup>183</sup> UNMIK police monitored the re-established mixed patrols for a couple of days. Since there were no incidents and no complaints about the performance of the mixed units, the units went on patrol without the presence of UNMIK police monitors. At least on the surface, things had returned to normal by June 2004.<sup>184</sup>

#### 2.3.4 *Public Perception of KPS Performance*

With respect to the performance of the KPS, the public perception between Albanians and Serbs differed in similar ways as regards crime and security. The Albanian population has been very satisfied with the KPS in recent years. From 95 per cent of respondents, who were satisfied or very satisfied with the performance of the KPS at the end of 2002, the figure went down only slightly to 90 per cent in July 2004. The Serbian minority, on the other hand, assessed the performance of the KPS much more negatively. Only 9.3 per cent were satisfied or very satisfied with the KPS at the end of 2002. This figure went down dramatically to three per cent at the beginning of March 2004 and further down to an all-time low of only 1.9 per cent in July 2004. Other minorities, however, viewed the KPS in a much better light. From 90.6 per cent in 2002 the approval rate declined slightly to 85.3 per cent in July 2003.<sup>185</sup> Interestingly, Albanians and Serbs shared only one view, namely their rapidly increasing dissatisfaction with the performance of UNMIK police. While the approval rate of the Albanians for UNMIK police went down from 78.5 per cent in November 2002 to only 44.2 per cent in July 2004, the approval rate among the Serb population went down from an already low figure of 22.9 per cent in November 2002 to 3.7 per cent in March and July 2004.<sup>186</sup> Regarding the ethnic neutrality of the KPS, only nine per cent of the Albanians, but 63 per cent of Serbs believed the KPS was biased in favour of Kosovo-Albanians.<sup>187</sup> Moreover, four times as many Serbs as Albanians thought that officers of the same ethnicity would treat them less favourably.<sup>188</sup> One can therefore conclude that there was high satisfaction with and trust in the KPS among the Albanians and non-Serb minorities in Kosovo, while the perception of the KPS in the Serb community was much worse even before the March riots.

These figures roughly correspond to KPS officers' perception of the multi-ethnic units' acceptance by the population. While the vast majority of Albanian officers (74.6 per cent) and a bare majority of Serbian officers (53.9 per cent) perceived the multi-ethnic units as well-accepted by Albanian-dominated communities, a considerably smaller proportion (54.6 per cent of Albanians and 41.6 per cent of Serbs) saw the multi-ethnic units as well accepted by Serbian-dominated communities (cf. chart A.20). KPS officers considerably overrated their acceptance within this ethnic group. In 2003, only 5.6 per cent of UNMIK police officers per-

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<sup>183</sup> Independent of these specific incidents, ethnically mixed patrols were suspended temporarily by UNMIK after the March 2004 riots, because some Serbian officers had been afraid to enter Albanian villages. On the other hand, UNMIK and the KPS had avoided provoking the Serbian population by sending Albanian officers into their villages.

<sup>184</sup> Cf. United Nations Security Council 2004c: 8; interview with UNMIK police representative, Prishtina, 20 March 2005.

<sup>185</sup> At the time this report was finished, UNDP had not published figures for the other minorities for 2004.

<sup>186</sup> Cf. UNDP 2003: 32; UNDP 2004b: 31.

<sup>187</sup> Cf. UNDP 2004a: 24.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 34.

ceived ethnically mixed units as being accepted in all communities where they were patrolling, while 44.4 per cent saw them as being accepted in most communities. 35.2 per cent of the UNMIK officers were more sceptical and believed mixed KPS units were only accepted in a few communities. Seven point four per cent even thought mixed units were not accepted at all in Kosovo (cf. chart A.21). Since the acceptance of multi-ethnic units had deteriorated drastically after the March 2004 events, UNMIK suspended the mixed patrols for several weeks as a consequence (see 2.3.3.2).

### 2.3.5 *Obstacles to the Build-up of a Democratic Multi-Ethnic Police Service*

In the CORE survey, OSCE instructors, UNMIK officers and KPS officers were asked to rate the relevance of the following negative factors, influencing the establishment of a multi-ethnic, accountable, competent and democratic police force in Kosovo:

- influence of political parties and groups as well as ethnic communities;
- low acceptance of the KPS by the local population;
- low salaries of the KPS officers, influencing their morale and favouring corruption;
- influence of organized crime;
- inappropriate legislation;
- insufficient training of the KPS.

Low salaries influencing the morale of the KPS officers in a negative way were seen as the biggest problem by all groups surveyed. Most respondents from each group (69.8 per cent of UNMIK observers, 74.1 per cent of OSCE instructors, and 67.2 per cent of KPS officers) rated this item as a big problem. The influence of political parties and groups of the different ethnic communities was listed second or third most frequently by OSCE instructors as well as by UNMIK and KPS officers. Opinions differed among the sample groups with respect to the relevance of the other items listed. While the influence of crime was listed fourth by OSCE instructors and KPS officers, UNMIK observers ranked the problem of the low acceptance of the KPS by the local population in fourth place. Interestingly, insufficient training of the KPS did not play a prominent role in the rankings, although it was usually mentioned in interviews as one of the biggest problems (cf. charts A.22 and A.23). While the problems of the reform of the judicial system are dealt with in section 2.2.5, some of the other problems mentioned here will be elaborated in more detail below.

*Politicization* of the police was most apparent in the early recruitment phase and with respect to the promotion of police officers. While, for example, the UCK leadership insisted on a high quota for former UCK fighters within the KPS, the Serbian leadership in Mitrovica North insisted on the incorporation of former MUP officers within KPS for the Serbian villages north of the Ibar river.<sup>189</sup> As for promotions, a number of KPS and even UNMIK officers claimed that there is sometimes an incompatibility between the performance and promotion of certain KPS officers, noting that the political affiliation of the officers might be a more important factor than performance in the decision.<sup>190</sup> There are also allegations that different factions in the KPS would support different political parties (or different former UCK leaders) and would, as a result, therefore obstruct investigations into particular individuals.<sup>191</sup> In July 2005, when UNMIK announced a plan for establishing a ministry of interior and a ministry of

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<sup>189</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission in Kosovo, Department of Human Rights and Rule of Law 2003c: 15.

<sup>190</sup> Interview with senior UNMIK police official, Prishtina, May 2005; UNDP 2004a: 28; Peake 2004: 22.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. Xharra/Hajrullahu/Salihu 2005.

justice by the end of 2005, international and local analysts expressed their concerns that the two biggest Kosovar parties, the LDK and PDK, would attempt to insert their own people into the new structures.<sup>192</sup>

*Lack of co-operation by citizens.* While co-operation of citizens with the police increased in cases of minor offences and domestic violence (with the side-effect of an increase of such crimes in the statistics),<sup>193</sup> UNMIK police and KPS complained about the lack of co-operation in cases of serious crimes. While the fear of revenge seemed to be the most important reason for non-co-operation on the Albanian side, the lack of confidence in the police appeared to be decisive for Serbian citizens.<sup>194</sup> Furthermore, Serbian politicians in Kosovo put political pressure on the Serbians to not co-operate with UNMIK police. While this pressure decreased to some extent, for example in North Mitrovica, there were cases in other enclaves where political hardliners refused to co-operate with UNMIK police even when UNMIK police tried to investigate the murders of Serbian villagers.<sup>195</sup> One reason for this poor co-operation between the population and the KPS might also be the lack of KPS-initiated contacts with the public. In the view of the Kosovars, the KPS appeared “to have adopted a relatively distant position vis-à-vis the public”,<sup>196</sup> revealing deficits in existing community policing programmes and a lack of knowledge about existing security forums.<sup>197</sup> Last but not least, there were two budget-related causes for the lack of information provided by the population. Due to the lack of financial resources, the police were neither able to offer any financial incentives for information, nor to sufficiently fund the witness protection programme introduced in 2001.<sup>198</sup>

*Small arms proliferation.* It is estimated that, in Kosovo, 333,000-460,000 illegal small arms are still in the hands of civilians<sup>199</sup> despite several arms collection initiatives by KFOR, UNMIK and the PISG. This wide distribution of weapons among the population (Albanians and Serbians alike) severely hampers the implementation of the monopoly of force by the state. It provides considerable arms resources for organized crime, and even minor disputes between citizens may be “solved” by the use of weapons.<sup>200</sup> In addition, the proliferation of small arms poses a severe risk to local and international police officers. By 2005, eight KPS and three UNMIK police officers had been killed in armed attacks.<sup>201</sup>

*Financial and infrastructural constraints.* The international and national police alike had to cope with severe shortcomings in the infrastructure. On the arrival of UNCIVPOL in Kosovo, the local police infrastructure had been destroyed and there was a severe shortage of office space, office equipment, communication technology, police cars etc.<sup>202</sup> Many police stations were without heating, electricity or reasonable sanitation, circumstances which have not improved much thus far, at least with respect to heating and sanitary facilities. A number of police stations outside the main cities still lack basic office technology. In 2004, the EU Commission criticized the KPS’s lack of equipment, casting doubt on its capacity to carry out

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<sup>192</sup> Cf. Mustafa 2005.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. Statistical Office of Kosovo 2004.

<sup>194</sup> Cf. UNDP 2004b: 25.

<sup>195</sup> Interview with police station commander in the Prishtina region, September 2003 and May 2004.

<sup>196</sup> UNDP 2004a: 26.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. UNDP 2004a: 26f.

<sup>198</sup> Cf. UNDP 2004a: 25; OSCE Mission in Kosovo, Department of Human Rights and Rule of Law, Legal System Monitoring Section 2004a: 74ff.

<sup>199</sup> Khakee/Florquin 2003: 2.

<sup>200</sup> According to the UNDP Small Arms Survey from 2003, Kosovo has a higher “gun-crime rate” than other transformation countries (see Khakee/Florquin 2003: 36f.).

<sup>201</sup> Cf. Der Standard, 13 January 2005.

<sup>202</sup> Cf. Traub 2000: 82-89; Stodiek 2005: 94.



investigations properly.<sup>203</sup> In 2005, UNDP estimated that 38 Million Euros would be required to adequately outfit the KPS with vehicles, computers and other equipment.<sup>204</sup> After the March 2004 riots, UNMIK and the KPS planned to provide all police stations in Kosovo with riot control equipment. By spring 2005, the implementation of this plan was far from complete.<sup>205</sup>

The KPS budget is completely financed by the PISG. UNMIK covers only the costs for the international police force. The 40 million Euros, which the 2003 Kosovo General Government Budget provided for the KPS, was, however, “deemed insufficient to meet the basic equipment and overhead needs of the force”.<sup>206</sup> Even the increase of the police budget to 53 million Euros in 2004<sup>207</sup> did not meet the requirements, since the KPS needed more resources due to the accelerating transfer process of police responsibility from UNMIK police to the KPS in 2004. Because of the limited financial resources available, salaries of KPS officers remained low with an average income of only 254 Euros per month. As this is hardly enough to support a family,<sup>208</sup> these low salaries provide a fertile ground for corruption.

*Corruption* is endemic in the Balkans. Despite UNMIK’s attempts to fight the problem through “proactive legislation and creation of institutional capability”,<sup>209</sup> legal and institutional loopholes have persisted in Kosovo. As with the fight against organized crime, UNMIK was only able to concentrate on this problem after the ethnic and general crime rates had significantly declined in 2002. Since then, a number of high-profile corruption cases have been uncovered and several high-ranking local and international officials have been arrested.<sup>210</sup> UNMIK also established an Investigation Task Force comprising representatives from the UN Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS), the EU Anti-fraud Office and the UNMIK Financial Affairs Unit in order to conduct and co-ordinate actions to identify fraud and corruption within UNMIK and local institutions.<sup>211</sup> In March 2004, UNMIK and the PISG launched an anti-corruption strategy. Its implementation, however, has remained weak. Abuse of internal controls and procurement mechanisms continue to be widespread.<sup>212</sup>

Interestingly, although international and local police officers perceive the low KPS salaries to be the biggest obstacle for the establishment of an accountable democratic police force, the Kosovo citizens themselves perceive the KPS as one of the state institutions least affected by corruption. The KPS is seen as the second least corrupt institution after the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC). Bearing in mind that the KPC – as the *de facto* successor organization of the UCK – profits from its image as an institution of war heroes, it is remarkable that the KPS received the second-best ratings overall and the best ratings from the non-Serb minorities without having this image.<sup>213</sup> The state institution perceived as most corrupt in Kosovo is the customs service, followed by the Kosovo Government, the Kosovo Presidency, and the judiciary.<sup>214</sup> 45.2 per cent of Albanian respondents, and 44.8 per cent of non-Serb minorities said,

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<sup>203</sup> Cf. Commission of the European Communities 2004b: 55.

<sup>204</sup> Cf. UNDP 2005a: 57.

<sup>205</sup> Interviews with UNMIK police representatives, Prishtina, March 2005.

<sup>206</sup> Peake 2004: 23.

<sup>207</sup> Cf. Government of Kosovo 2003: 121.

<sup>208</sup> Cf. UNDP 2004a: 27; UNDP 2005a: 56.

<sup>209</sup> UNMIK 2003a: 28.

<sup>210</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2003a: 29; UNMIK 2004b.

<sup>211</sup> Cf. United Nations Security Council 2004a: 7.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. United Nations Security Council 2004c: 9.

<sup>213</sup> Cf. UNDP 2004c: 41.

<sup>214</sup> Cf. UNDP 2004c: 39. It should be noted that the Kosovar Power Co-operation (KEK) and hospitals, which I have not put into the same category of state institutions as governmental institutions, are perceived as being, by far, the most corrupt institutions in Kosovo (KEK 24.5 / hospitals 11.6 per cent).

in the UNDP survey, that the KPS was not at all corrupt, while only 6.7 per cent of Serbian respondents expressed this positive perception. The relative majority of the Serbian respondents (25.3 per cent) were of the opinion that the KPS was very corrupt. Only 3.2 per cent of Albanians and 5.2 per cent of non-Serbian minorities shared this negative view.<sup>215</sup> The majority (52 per cent) of the population expected a decrease in the corruption level in the next three years.<sup>216</sup> This perception of the population was also mirrored by the fact that only 8.4 per cent of the KPS officers surveyed by CORE claimed there had been attempts to bribe them. The figure of 91.3 per cent of KPS officers who had never been offered a bribe (cf. chart A.24) corresponds to the figure of 85.2 per cent of UNMIK police officers who had never become aware of attempted bribery at their station. 14.8 per cent of UNMIK police officers claimed they were aware of such cases (cf. chart A.25). Despite these surprisingly positive figures, UNDP proposed, in 2005, that the KPS Professional Standards Unit (PSU) receive more and better qualified staff, and more equipment in order to effectively fight corruption and other cases of misconduct within the KPS.<sup>217</sup>

*Inadequate health insurance and pensions.* Another problem related to finances is the issue of inadequate health insurance and pensions for KPS officers and their families. This problem became more pressing every time a KPS officer was injured or killed on duty.<sup>218</sup> International and local police officers used to collect money to provide the families of their deceased colleagues with at least a little financial support. However, UNMIK stated that the principal dependents of “KPS officers killed by any means of violence committed against” them while on duty should receive the same “full pension entitlement which would have been paid had the officer reached retirement age”, as well as “immediate financial compensation of a lump sum equivalent to one-year’s salary”.<sup>219</sup> These shortcomings in the working conditions undermine the working morale of KPS officers and possibly discourage a lot of potentially good police officers from joining the local police force.

## 2.4 Conclusions

Bearing in mind that the whole law enforcement structure in Kosovo has had to be built from scratch since 1999, a lot has been achieved. More than 7,500 local police officers were scheduled to have finished their training by the end of 2005, and the command authority for almost all police branches has already been transferred to the KPS. From a quantitative point of view, UNMIK and OMIK have fully achieved their goal of building up a KPS. It is also remarkable that OMIK and UNMIK were successful in establishing multi-ethnic police units, which have developed a co-operative and sometimes even friendly inter-ethnic relationship in spite of the general mistrust and sometimes even hatred that exists between ethnic Serbs and Albanians.

However, questions remain regarding the quality of a number of KPS officers and their suitability for effectively fighting organized crime and providing for the security of all Kosovars, including the Serbian minority population. It would seem that due to the pressure of recruiting and training a large number of police officers in a short period of time – not least to support the inadequate number of UNMIK police officers – a lot of applicants have been accepted, who, due to their educational deficits, lack of physical fitness or their criminal background, are not suitable.

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<sup>215</sup> Cf. UNDP 2004c: 31.

<sup>216</sup> Cf. Transparency International 2004b: 21.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. UNDP 2005a: 56 and 60.

<sup>218</sup> Interview with KPS-CAST members, Prishtina, September 2003; Peake 2004: 21; UNDP 2004a: 27.

<sup>219</sup> UNMIK 2004c.

The extremely limited timeframe for training and the limited number and, in part, the poor quality of trainers made it very difficult to train KPS officers thoroughly. The lack of training and equipment became particularly obvious in the riots in March 2004, when KPS officers were often heavily overtaxed by protecting the lives and property of the Serbian and Roma communities. The already low trust of the Serbian community in the KPS, including its Serbian officers, was further diminished by the March riots. On the other hand, the KPS enjoys huge support among the Kosovo-Albanians and most non-Serbian minorities, a fact which must be emphasized in light of the circumstance that the Kosovo-Albanians never before trusted the institution of the police. In addition, UNMIK police officers working in specialized areas such as the fight against organized crime have praised the skills and professionalism of their local colleagues without whom they would have had no chance to penetrate the networks of organized crime. Finally, compared to their counterparts in neighbouring countries, the domestic police seem to be less affected by the number of structural deficits typical of police apparatuses of transformation countries such as the level of politicization, centralization, and corruption. This was a positive side effect of establishing a police service from scratch.

After the March 2004 riots, UNMIK and the KPS leadership promised more efforts in training and equipping the KPS, particularly with respect to riot control. They also promised to sort out those within the KPS who were guilty of grave misconduct. Even though UNMIK has already transferred authority over police stations to the KPS, its head of mission did not want to rule out the option of a further executive policing mandate for a future EU police mission.<sup>220</sup> In view of the fact that the UNMIK police have been dominant in fighting organized crime, the KPS needs more specialists to be able to effectively fulfil functions such as close protection, intelligence, special investigation, enforcement, and forensics.

In addition to further training and better equipment, much of KPS's future performance and structure will depend on the overall political developments in Kosovo directly linked to the decision of the future status of the crisis province. Assuming the most probable result of the status talks, that of a "conditional independence" for Kosovo,<sup>221</sup> it remains unclear whether the police structure will remain the same: Will former UCK structures be introduced? Will the future ministry of the interior along with the KPS become much more politicized? And will Serbian KPS officers stay in Kosovo and in the police service, or leave for Serbia proper? It will be one of the most important tasks for the EU – probably implemented in the framework of a monitoring mission – to ensure that the KPS survives in the form it was envisaged in June 1999.

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<sup>220</sup> Cf. UNMIK 2005h.

<sup>221</sup> This proposal is most often heard from within the contact group and the EU.

## Chapter 3 South Serbia

In 2000, Albanian rebels of the Liberation Army for Presevo, Medvedja und Bujanovac (UCPMB) attacked Serbian security forces in the south Serbian region bordering on Kosovo, to emphasize their demands for greater autonomy of Albanian-inhabited municipalities or the accession of the Presevo valley to Kosovo. Because the UCPMB withdrew after their attacks into the five-kilometre wide Ground Safety Zone between Serbia proper and Kosovo – access to which, according to the Military Technical Agreement of 1999 was restricted for Serbian security forces – Serbia had no means of putting an end to the UCPMB actions.<sup>222</sup> After the fall of Milosevic in October 2000, the new government tried to reach a peaceful solution. In spring 2001, the then Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Nebojsa Covic, who was also the President of the Coordinating Body of the Federal and Republic of Serbia Governments responsible for Southern Serbia and Kosovo, developed a plan for the peaceful termination of the crisis in South Serbia.

### 3.1 *Mandate*

The so-called “Covic Plan” laid out four objectives for the solution to the crisis:

1. “The elimination of all kinds of threats [...] to state sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Serbia”;
2. “The establishment of [...] security [...], freedom of movement [...], ensured by the complete disbanding and disarmament of terrorists, by the demilitarisation of the region and by allowing the return of all the refugees to their homes”;
3. “The development of a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional society, based on democratic principles and the respect of all human, political and minority rights”;
4. “Prosperous and rapid economic and social development [...]”.<sup>223</sup>

Goal no. 3 was to be implemented with a view to the “harmonization of the ethnic structures of the employees in the civil services, [...] with the ethnic structure of the population”,<sup>224</sup> meaning that Albanian police officers were to be integrated into the existing Serbian police in the three municipalities of Medvedja, Bujanovac, and Presevo. Ethnically mixed patrols were to be introduced, “when the indispensable conditions for that [were] fulfilled”.<sup>225</sup> According to the Covic Plan, the restoration of security and peace also included the “withdrawal of extraordinarily engaged military and police forces, return or remaining of the regular police of mixed ethnic composition in settlements (stations, patrols and other forms of regular activities) and of regular military units, including the appropriate units at the line towards Kosovo and Metohija and the border units at the border with Macedonia”.<sup>226</sup>

Ethnically mixed units were to be established, composed of a number of experienced Serbian and former Albanian police officers and 400 new police officers, of which more than half would be of Albanian ethnicity. Those 400 new officers were to be trained at the police academy in Mitrovo Polje in three phases by May 2002.<sup>227</sup> The newly established OSCE Mission to

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<sup>222</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2001a: 5f.

<sup>223</sup> Covic 2001: 70.

<sup>224</sup> Covic 2001: 79.

<sup>225</sup> Covic 2001: 80.

<sup>226</sup> Covic 2001: 80f.

<sup>227</sup> Cf. OSCE 2001e: 4.

the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (OMiFRY),<sup>228</sup> which had already assisted the Serbian authorities in restructuring and training their law enforcement agencies in general, was ready to provide the training for this new Multi-Ethnic Police Element (MEPE) and offered 32 police trainers.<sup>229</sup> The first training phase was to consist of just three five-day refresher courses for 40 former Albanian and Serbian officers to enable the first multi-ethnic police patrols to be established quickly. In the second training phase, those 40 officers were to receive an additional five-week training. The third training phase, designed for new recruits, was to cover twelve weeks of basic police training, followed by a 16-week field training, delivered by Serbian instructors.<sup>230</sup> The tentative start for the first training phase was 21 May 2001.<sup>231</sup>

## 3.2 *Building up the Multi-Ethnic Police Element*

### 3.2.1 *Recruitment*

To be eligible for recruitment, MEPE cadets had to be between 20 and 27 years old, have a secondary-school education, be in good physical and mental health and have no criminal record.<sup>232</sup> By August 2001, more than 500 candidates had applied. Serbian, Albanian and OSCE representatives jointly carried out the selection. The UCPMB insisted on its members being incorporated into the MEPE. A compromise was reached stating that former UCPMB fighters would neither be preferentially treated nor rejected.<sup>233</sup> However, while the Serbian side claims that 30 per cent of the Albanian officers were former UCPMB fighters, Albanian representatives insist that former fighters make up less than five per cent of the Albanian MEPE officers.<sup>234</sup> Although the Albanian community in the Presevo valley represents two-thirds of the population, the co-ordination body set a 60 to 40 ratio in favour of the Albanians.<sup>235</sup> With respect to the incorporation of women, the OSCE struggled to convince women to apply. Because of the low number of female applications received by the original deadline of August 2001, the OSCE started a media campaign in September 2001 to encourage women to join the police.<sup>236</sup> In the end, only 28 women (seven Albanians/ 21 Serbs) took part in the academy training.<sup>237</sup>

### 3.2.2 *Academy Training*

The first two training phases were run by five OSCE instructors, supported by two Serbian police instructors. Sixty Albanian and Serbian officers completed these courses in July 2001. The first six ethnically mixed teams had already started patrols in May 2001.<sup>238</sup> The actual academy training began in August 2001. During the twelve-week training, the cadets received lessons in general policing (e.g. criminal and traffic law, code of conduct, human rights, democratic policing and ethnic diversity), instruction in operational police skills (e.g. use of

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<sup>228</sup> It was mandated by Permanent Council Decision No. 401, 11 January 2001, cf. OSCE 2001b: 1.

<sup>229</sup> Cf. OSCE Permanent Council 2001b.

<sup>230</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 2001c; interview with OMiSaM representative, Belgrade, 9 August 2001.

<sup>231</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 2001a.

<sup>232</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2003b: 18.

<sup>233</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Law Enforcement Department 2002b: 6; interview with OMiSaM representative, Bujanovac, 27.10.2004

<sup>234</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2003b: 19.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2001a: 10.

<sup>236</sup> Cf. OSCE 2001d: 12.

<sup>237</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Law Enforcement Department 2002b: 7.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. OSCE 2001e: 2; OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 2001b; interview with OSCE representative, Vienna, 13 September 2001.

force, defensive tactics and disarming), firearms training and tactical training.<sup>239</sup> The training curriculum was basically copied from that of the OSCE police academy in Kosovo and adjusted to suit certain specific aspects of Serbian police law.<sup>240</sup> Thirty-four Serbs and 64 Albanians took part in the first course. Since the OSCE was not able to quickly deploy the 32 police instructors it had promised, 13 instructors were borrowed from the police academy in Kosovo.<sup>241</sup> The academy was run by an OSCE police instructor in co-operation with a Serbian counterpart from the Ministry of Interior. Most classes were taught in English and translated into Serbian and Albanian; classes given by local instructors were taught in Serbian and consecutively translated into Albanian when requested by the cadets. By July 2002, 253 Albanians, 128 Serbs, two Roma and three cadets of other minorities had graduated from four basic training courses.<sup>242</sup>

### *3.2.2.1 Evaluation of the Training by Former MEPE Cadets*

In the CORE survey of October 2004, the twelve-week basic training received pretty good ratings. Of the former cadets, 42.2 per cent said they had been extremely satisfied with the training, 31.4 per cent said they had been very satisfied. While almost a quarter (24.5 per cent) of the former cadets had been only fairly satisfied, no more than two per cent had been more or less dissatisfied with the training (cf. annex, chart A.2). With respect to the evaluation of police instructors, the relative majority of MEPE officers (38.2 per cent) were extremely satisfied with their former OSCE instructors, while 29.3 per cent were very satisfied and 30.1 per cent fairly satisfied. Only 2.4 per cent said they had been more or less dissatisfied with the OSCE instructors (cf. chart A.3). Local instructors were even better evaluated. 41.5 per cent of respondents said they had been extremely satisfied with the local instructors, and 32.5 per cent were very satisfied, while 22.8 per cent reported that they had only been fairly satisfied. Just 3.3 per cent said they had been more or less dissatisfied with their local trainers (cf. chart A.4). OSCE instructors received their best ratings for their motivation for work (50.9 per cent excellent / 28.7 per cent very good) and for their readiness to speak about problems after training classes (51.8 per cent excellent / 19.1 per cent very good, cf. chart A.5e). These factors were rated less enthusiastically for the Serbian instructors (motivation for work: 40.5 per cent excellent / 32.4 per cent very good; readiness to talk about problems after classes: 44.1 per cent excellent / 20.7 per cent very good) (cf. chart A.6e).

*Assessment of resources available.* The relative majority (42.9 per cent) of the former MEPE cadets assessed the time frame for the basic training as moderately sufficient; 38.1 per cent said it was sufficient; 19 per cent, however, considered it to be insufficient. With respect to the material resources available for training, the assessment was less positive. While the majority (52.9 per cent) said the material resources were moderately sufficient, only 25.7 per cent said they were sufficient and almost as many (21.4 per cent) considered them to be insufficient (cf. chart A.8).

### *3.2.2.2 Assessment of Qualification of the Cadets*

Former OSCE instructors differed in their assessment of the suitability of local cadets. Views ranged from only 10-25 to 75-90 per cent of local officers being suitable for the job.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Cf. OSCE 2001c: 8.

<sup>240</sup> Cf. OSCE 2001c: 8; Peake 2004: 31.

<sup>241</sup> Interview with OMiSaM representatives, Belgrade, October 2004; International Crisis Group 2001a: 10.

<sup>242</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2003b: 18; OSCE 2002a; interview with OMiSaM representative, Belgrade, 26 October 2004.

<sup>243</sup> Interviews via e-mail with former OMIFRY police instructors, November/December 2004.

Educational deficits and a lack of professional attitude, in part due to the politicization of the cadets (meaning that a number of those unsuited had been given the job because of political pressure) were seen as the cadets' biggest deficits.<sup>244</sup>

### 3.2.3 *Field Training*

The 16-week field training was conducted by Serbian police officers on the job, since MEPE officers were to be incorporated into existing police structures.<sup>245</sup> However, the new MEPE officers, instead of being integrated into daily police work at police stations, were mostly deployed in groups of six or eight to police containers, often located in remote areas in the countryside, where they did not receive adequate field training – if they received any at all. As in the case of Kosovo, field training was also hampered by a lack of structure in the programme as well as by the uneven interests and teaching abilities of local trainers.<sup>246</sup> The training offered usually did not afford any opportunity to practice or apply new skills.<sup>247</sup> In the end, the standing of these new officers was pretty low among their colleagues, who had undergone the regular six-month basic training.<sup>248</sup>

*Assessment of resources available.* The assessments of the resources available for the field training were as modest as for the basic training. The relative majority (48.2 per cent) of the former MEPE cadets assessed the training time and 56.8 per cent the availability of material resources, as only moderately sufficient. 14.3 per cent rated the time frame, and 19.8 per cent rated material resources as insufficient. 37.5 per cent rated the time frame and 23.5 per cent the material resources as sufficient (cf. chart A.9).

*Additional training provided by the OSCE mission.* In April 2002, in an effort to improve the poor policing skills of the MEPE officers, the Law Enforcement Department (LED) of OMiFRY offered a follow-up course for MEPE as part of the Modern Policing Course, which the LED had already developed for the entire Serbian police force. The course focused on five specific topics of democratic policing including law enforcement and the community, communication, use of force, defensive tactics, and a legal update. By December 2002, over 600 officers from South Serbia had participated in this additional training.<sup>249</sup> Since the Serbian MoI had not introduced any measures to further improve the performance of the MEPE officers after the end of the original MEPE training in 2002, the OSCE mission (meanwhile renamed OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro (OMiSaM)<sup>250</sup>) provided south Serbian police officers with an additional Police Development Program in 2003. By 2004, a total of 620 officers had been re-trained in one-week courses to improve their skills on issues such as tactical communication, community policing, drug identification, infectious diseases, officer survival, weapon disarming and searching vehicles and people.<sup>251</sup>

To enhance field training and mentoring in Serbia, OMiSaM provided a six-week Trainer Development Program in 2003 and 2004 for 98 Serbian officers, about ten of them coming from South Serbia.<sup>252</sup> In addition, the mission reassigned three police trainers to the Presevo

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<sup>244</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>245</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Law Enforcement Department 2002b: 5.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. Peake 2004: 32.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro 2004d: 23.

<sup>248</sup> Cf. Peake 2004: 32.

<sup>249</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 2002a.

<sup>250</sup> Cf. Permanent Council Decision No. 533, 13 February 2003.

<sup>251</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, Law Enforcement Department 2004b: 2.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, Law Enforcement Department 2004b: 3.

valley to improve in-service training and community policing in the region.<sup>253</sup> OMiSaM also proposed that the MoI should provide its MEPE officers with an intensive training course of at least two months, covering areas in which MEPE officers still showed a serious lack of skill. Areas to be covered were investigative skills, confidence building, community policing and police station management.<sup>254</sup> Finally, in 2004, the OMiSaM and the Serbian authorities established the South Serbia Working Group, comprised of the mayors and police chiefs of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja, police officials from Vranje and Leskovac as well as representatives from the MoI, the co-ordination body and the OSCE. The initial focus was on an in-service training programme for all police officers in the three south Serbian municipalities, conducted by Serbian instructors who had passed the OSCE's Trainer Development Course. The OSCE mission's LED and the Serbian MoI jointly conducted a training needs assessment and developed a training curriculum.<sup>255</sup> Community policing and police management were again high on the training agenda. The training started in March 2005.<sup>256</sup>

*Additional training provided by other international actors.* In 2001, the Serbian MoI named the OSCE mission as the co-ordinator of international police reform activities because a number of other international organizations (Council of Europe, European Agency for Reconstruction) and states (Australia, Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, and the US) were also present with their own projects, often focusing on the same issues. For example, five of the actors mentioned offered projects on fighting organized crime, at least three were engaged in border police assistance, and three supported Serbia in the field of forensics. However, OMiSaM complained about the unwillingness of a number of international actors to co-ordinate their actions with the OSCE, leading to a duplication of work and, even worse, allowing the Serbian MoI to pit "one organization against the other in an attempt to get as much out of the international community as possible".<sup>257</sup> In June 2004, the MoI and OMiSaM signed a memorandum of understanding on joint co-ordination of international assistance. This helped to improve co-ordination in certain fields such as border policing, but in other fields such as criminal intelligence or community policing co-ordination was still insufficient.<sup>258</sup>

### 3.2.4 *Efforts to Win the Trust of the Local Population*

In November 2003, the OSCE started a Community Policing Programme in South Serbia to improve the relationship between the police and the population. The programme consisted of several components:

- a two-day management training course for senior police officers to teach them basic management skills for running police stations in a professional manner;
- a drug-awareness programme at schools in South Serbia;
- a school-resource officer programme, in which police officers would go to schools to enhance confidence building;
- the establishment of Community Advisory Groups (CAGs). These were fora where representatives of local municipalities, religious groups, the chamber of commerce and the local police could meet regularly for open discussions on security concerns of all groups

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<sup>253</sup> Cf. OSCE 2004e.

<sup>254</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, Law Enforcement Department 2003: 3f.

<sup>255</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro 2004c.

<sup>256</sup> Interviews with OMiSaM representatives, Belgrade, 26 October 2004.

<sup>257</sup> OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, Law Enforcement Department 2004a: 77f.

<sup>258</sup> Interview with OMiSaM representative, Belgrade, 10 May 2005.



represented. The CAGs were to be engaged in supervising police activities, enhancing community participation in police decision-making and encouraging the police to be more responsive and responsible.<sup>259</sup>

In addition to the CAGs, which functioned at the very basic community level, the OSCE envisaged the establishment of Municipal Safety Councils (MSCs) at the municipality level. Each MSC was to be composed of the mayor, the head of administration, the chief of police and representatives of public services such as education, health, social welfare and public utility companies. The MSCs, arranging consultations with the CAGs, were to have an advisory role to the Municipal Assemblies in defining the main safety issues of the municipalities.<sup>260</sup> In November 2004, OMiSaM started a number of community safety workshops in the three south Serbian municipalities. Here, local actors had the opportunity to exchange views on community safety issues with police experts from the UK.<sup>261</sup>

Another OSCE programme in the area of community policing was the training and deployment of Community Policing Officers (CPOs). The OSCE envisaged the introduction of 60 CPOs, who would link the 40 police containers with the villages surrounding them. Each village would have its own CPO, who would facilitate the exchange of information and views between the community members and the police. In the training and mentoring phase, the OSCE would provide at least three mentors to reinforce the CPOs' knowledge of the community policing philosophy.<sup>262</sup>

### 3.2.5 *Excursus: Reform of the Judicial and Penal System*

In addition to deep-seated corruption, the judicial system also suffered from a severe lack of independence from political influence. Judges were appointed by the ruling party (-coalitions) in parliament. Judges obviously unsuited for applying the law could, therefore, make careers thanks to their political connections.<sup>263</sup> The EU Commission criticized the inefficiency of the courts, which caused a huge backlog of unsolved cases.<sup>264</sup> While citizens' trust in the judiciary slightly increased after the fall of Milosevic in October 2000 (42 per cent saying they had trust, 49 per cent that they had no trust), by summer 2003, the level of trust had again fallen to only 33 per cent.<sup>265</sup>

In an effort to ensure the independence of judges, parliament adopted five laws in 2001 that led to the establishment of two independent bodies; the High Council of the Judiciary intended to nominate judges and court presidents; and the Grand Personnel Council tasked with ascertaining grounds for removing judges and court presidents. However, by 2003, several amendments to the 2001 laws ultimately led to the replacement of those two independent bodies with a parliamentary board responsible for proposing judges and court presidents. The Minister of Justice assumed the authority to remove judges.<sup>266</sup> The EU Commission complained that the introduction of the state of emergency, following the assassination of Prime Minister Djindjic in March 2003, led to legislative and personnel changes in the judiciary

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<sup>259</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, Law Enforcement Department 2004b: 6; interview with OMiSaM representatives, Belgrade, 26 October 2004.

<sup>260</sup> Interviews with OMiSaM representatives, Belgrade, 26 October 2004.

<sup>261</sup> Cf. OSCE 2004c.

<sup>262</sup> Interview with OMiSaM representative, Belgrade, 26 October 2004.

<sup>263</sup> Cf. UNDP 2000: 41.

<sup>264</sup> Cf. Commission of the European Communities 2004b: 9.

<sup>265</sup> Cf. Center for Liberal Democratic Studies 2004: 20.

<sup>266</sup> Cf. Freedom House 2004a: 20.

based on irregular procedures. For example, the Serbian parliament decided to retire 35 judges without the legally required involvement of the Supreme Court.<sup>267</sup> The deficits of the judiciary were even more acute in South Serbia, where Albanians had almost no representation in the judicial system. At the end of 2003, there was only one Albanian judge working in Presevo, only ten Albanians were working in the court administration in Presevo and one in the court administration in Bujanovac. The introduction of legal apprentice jobs for Albanians in the courts and prosecutors' offices was seen as the beginning of a long process of fairly representing Albanians in the judiciary.<sup>268</sup>

Since the judicial system suffered from a lack of qualified judges and prosecutors, OMiFRY, ODIHR and the Serbian government had discussed measures to improve the training for judges, prosecutors and lawyers. As a consequence, in April 2001, the Belgrade authorities established the Judicial Training Centre, a national institute for education and retraining of judges, prosecutors and lawyers. The OSCE took a seat on the Centre's Advisory Board.<sup>269</sup> However, efforts to improve the quality of judges and prosecutors had little success, as almost two years later, both judges and prosecutors were still dissatisfied with the quality and organization of seminars as well as the lack of opportunities to attend them due to a shortage of funds.<sup>270</sup> In 2001, another issue of concern to the OSCE mission and its partner organizations was the low salaries for both judges and public prosecutors (170 Euros a month on average), leading to a loss of qualified personnel, who preferred working for the private sector and, at the same time, preparing the ground for corruption (see 3.3.6). Following the advice of OMiSaM and other agencies, the Serbian government agreed to double the salaries.<sup>271</sup>

*Reform of the penal system.* Based on a joint needs assessment study by the Council of Europe and OMiFRY, the ODIHR and the Serbian government agreed, in 2001, on a programme for penal reform including legislative review, study visits, and professional training for the staff and administrators of the penal system.<sup>272</sup> In 2003, an OSCE/UN monitoring mission described the overall conditions in prisons, notably in detention centres, as a serious cause for concern. Furthermore, in connection with the state of emergency and the police operation "Sabre" in 2003, several international organizations and NGOs reported cases of ill treatment even including torture. The EU Commission was critical about those claims not being fully investigated by the Serbian authorities. In 2004, the Commission also complained that the comprehensive reform of the prison system was still only in a preparatory phase.<sup>273</sup>

### 3.2.6 *Police-Related Law Reform*

In 2001, to adapt Serbian legislation to European standards and to improve the effectiveness of the police in fighting crime, the Serbian government began introducing new police-related legislation such as a criminal procedure law, and a law defining organized crime.<sup>274</sup> However, the government's attempt to revise the old Serbian police law from 1991 faced severe difficulties. A draft police law, introduced to parliament in 2002, was still waiting for approval in mid-2005 due to the political stalemate in the Serbian Parliament.<sup>275</sup> The MoI was more successful in introducing a code of ethics for its police officers in 2003, developed in co-

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<sup>267</sup> Cf. Commission of the European Communities 2004b: 8.

<sup>268</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2003b: 20.

<sup>269</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 2001d: 4.

<sup>270</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro Rule of Law/Human Rights Department 2003: 25ff.

<sup>271</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 7.

<sup>272</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 2001d: 4.

<sup>273</sup> Cf. Commission of the European Communities 2004b: 10.

operation with the OSCE mission.<sup>276</sup> While the implementation of the code has not yet been evaluated, the suitability of other legal reforms can be assessed: The frequent revision of the criminal procedure law (four times between 2001 and 2004) demonstrates the immature state of the new legislation.<sup>277</sup>

### 3.3 *Taking Stock of Reform Efforts*

#### 3.3.1 *Establishment of Multi-Ethnic Police Units*

With the completion of the basic training courses in June 2002, OMiFRY had achieved its goals with respect to the number of MEPE officers recruited and trained. However, with only about 280 Albanians being part of the MEPE, the Albanian share of police officers did not fully correspond to the percentage of Albanians within the south Serbian population despite the announced intention to that effect in the Covic Plan. According to the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Albanian police representation in Medvedja, where Albanians made up 26.17 per cent of the population, was 12.1 per cent in 2002. In Bujanovac, 40 per cent of the police officers were Albanian, while 54.69 per cent of the general population were Albanians. In Presevo, where 89.10 per cent of the population were Albanians, only 50 per cent, (according to ICG only 30 per cent) of the police officers belonged to that community.<sup>278</sup> On the other hand, bearing in mind that the police in those three municipalities had included only a handful of Albanian officers before May 2001, this development represented a great improvement. Presevo had an Albanian Chief of Police, while the Serbian and Montenegrin police chiefs of Bujanovac and Medvedja had Albanian deputies. Moreover, the Albanian community was consulted during the appointment process.<sup>279</sup>

One point which continued to concern the OSCE mission and particularly the Albanian population in South Serbia was the high number of Serbian police officers, who had participated in fighting the UCK in Kosovo in 1998/1999, and who had been deployed to South Serbia after the withdrawal of Serbian police from Kosovo in June 1999. Some of those officers were suspected of having committed war crimes in Kosovo. The Serbian Ministry of Interior had promised to rotate those officers to other regions of Serbia and replace them with MEPE officers.<sup>280</sup> However, this process was still far from being completed by 2005.<sup>281</sup>

Most MEPE officers were deployed in small ethnically mixed units in 40 newly set-up police containers within or on the outskirts of Albanian-dominated and ethnically mixed villages in the Presevo valley. Others worked at fixed police stations in towns. Three years after the beginning of the first MEPE training course, the OSCE and the Serbian MoI stressed that all MEPE officers had been incorporated into the structures of the regular Serbian police and that the term MEPE was, therefore, no longer appropriate.<sup>282</sup> However, the work of the officers deployed in containers was restricted to guarding their containers, doing foot patrols or operating the radios. This severely hampered the development of their general policing skills,<sup>283</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Cf. Paunovic 2004: 28f.

<sup>275</sup> Cf. *ibid*: 29.

<sup>276</sup> Cf. *ibid*: 30.

<sup>277</sup> Cf. *ibid*: 33.

<sup>278</sup> Cf. Trivunovic 2004: 274; International Crisis Group 2003b: 18.

<sup>279</sup> Cf. Trivunovic 2004: 18.

<sup>280</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2003b: 18.

<sup>281</sup> Interviews with OMiSaM representatives, Belgrade and Bujanovac, October 2004.

<sup>282</sup> Interviews with representatives of the Serbian MoI and OMiSaM, Belgrade and Bujanovac, October 2004.

<sup>283</sup> Interviews with OMiSaM representatives, Belgrade and Bujanovac, October 2004.

which led to the assessment by the elder and more experienced Serbian officers that the multi-ethnic units were still “a largely separate and less capable entity”.<sup>284</sup> Furthermore, Albanian officers had not been promoted since the beginning of the training. The Serbian MoI justified this with the lack of higher education of most Albanian officers as well as a lack of work experience among the new police officers. A first attempt to promote two Albanian officers failed, because the officers had left the police college in Belgrade before completing their advanced training, “leaving allegations of intimidation behind”.<sup>285</sup>

Another issue that contradicts the assertion that the MEPE officers have been integrated into Serbian police structures has been the lack of co-operation between Serbian Gendarmerie and the multi-ethnic police units. In cases where the Gendarmerie conducted search operations in Albanian-dominated municipalities, the multi-ethnic units were not informed, let alone involved in the operations.<sup>286</sup> Obviously, there was mistrust on behalf of the Gendarmerie. The exclusion of the multi-ethnic units from such operations represented another missed opportunity for building confidence among the minority population in the state security organs. Another example of a severe lack of co-operation between the Gendarmerie and multi-ethnic police was an incident, in which the Gendarmerie beat one Albanian police officer and arrested three others, but did not inform the local chief of police about the reasons for the arrest or about the whereabouts of the officers. The response of the Gendarmerie to public complaints on such practices was usually quite simply: “We have our reasons”.<sup>287</sup>

As an important step to genuine integration of the multi-ethnic units into the regular police force, the OSCE pushed in 2004 for the reduction and consolidation of the containers and the establishment of more permanent sub-stations, in which the new police officers would “carry out the same administrative functions as the main police stations [...] and have the capacity to develop local initiatives to prevent crime and undertake criminal investigations.”<sup>288</sup> These changes would also allow normal career development and rotation of staff between field offices and main police stations.<sup>289</sup> By the end of 2004, the Serbian authorities seemed to be willing to consider this proposal and, by late spring 2005, they had started reducing the number of containers.<sup>290</sup>

### 3.3.2 *Performance of the MEPE*

#### 3.3.2.1 *Crime Development*

According to the chiefs of the police in Medvedja, Bujanovac, and Presevo, the situation in 2004 had very much improved compared to the tense security situation in 2000/2001. There were no “terrorist attacks” in 2004 in contrast to multiple threats and hand-grenade attacks against Albanian MEPE officers in 2002 and 2003.<sup>291</sup> The situation of public order was characterized as very satisfying. Even the large number of rallies to support the UCPMB, which had taken place since 2001, had passed without any violence. No ethnic conflicts had been

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<sup>284</sup> Peake 2004: 38.

<sup>285</sup> OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, Law Enforcement Department 2003: 3.

<sup>286</sup> A confidence-building measure could be the co-location of multi-ethnic units at Gendarmerie checkpoints in order to inform the Albanian population (in their own language as well) about the reasons for such checkpoints.

<sup>287</sup> Interview with local OSCE mission member, Bujanovac, 28 October 2004.

<sup>288</sup> OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, Law Enforcement Department 2003: 4f.

<sup>289</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, Law Enforcement Department 2003: 5; OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, Law Enforcement Department 2004a: 73.

<sup>290</sup> Interviews with OMiSaM representatives, Belgrade and Bujanovac, October 2004 and June 2005.

<sup>291</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2003b: 19.

reported. Ordinary crime rates had declined (e.g. by 40 per cent in Medvedja) significantly within the previous three years and were on the same level as in the rest of Serbia. The biggest problem, according to the police chiefs, was large-scale smuggling of cigarettes and weapons from Kosovo and the trafficking of women to Kosovo. Co-operation with UNMIK police and KFOR in fighting smuggling was characterized as good, but with room for improvement.<sup>292</sup>

This positive assessment of the security situation in South Serbia was not shared by all citizens of the three municipalities. One-third of the Serbs (33.3 per cent) and 40.8 per cent of the Albanians felt unsafe in their municipalities. Furthermore, only about one half of each ethnic group (52.8 per cent of the Albanians and 45.5 per cent of the Serbs) had the feeling that their property was secure.<sup>293</sup> However, when asked in another poll, conducted on behalf of the OSCE and the MoI, what crimes and issues posed the biggest problems in South Serbia, a clear majority of all respondents in the three south Serbian municipalities (55 per cent) did not mention serious crimes, but considered dumping of waste and rubbish to be the biggest problem in the region, followed by bad traffic behaviour of fellow citizens (40.9 per cent). Public disorder ranked third with 31.9 per cent. Classic crimes such as property theft were seen by only 26.2 per cent as a problem, again followed by minor issues such as parking problems (25.7 per cent) and stray animals (25.4 per cent). Serious crimes such as murders (2.2 per cent), sexual assault (two per cent), assault (6.2 per cent), domestic violence (5.5 per cent) or juvenile delinquency (5.5 per cent) did not seem to be of much concern to the general public.<sup>294</sup>

In another survey by the South Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SEESAC), inhabitants of the three municipalities assessed the different factors threatening general security in South Serbia. While 53 per cent of Serbian “household heads” (HH)<sup>295</sup> said that general security was not threatened, only 15 per cent of Albanian HH shared this view. Interestingly, 43 per cent of Albanian HH felt that general security was most threatened by the Serbian Gendarmerie, followed by 14 per cent who identified the military as a threatening factor. Crime and corruption were only mentioned by three per cent of the Albanian HH. In sharp contrast to this view, Serbian HH neither mentioned the Gendarmerie nor the army as a threatening factor for general security. Their perception of security threats focused on terrorism (eight per cent) and inter-ethnic conflicts (seven per cent). Similar to the Albanian HH crime and corruption were also not assessed as particularly threatening (five per cent).

With respect to their personal security, both Serbian HH (71 per cent) and Albanian HH (43 per cent) assessed the situation significantly more positively. Again, for the Albanian HH the Gendarmerie posed the biggest threat to personal security (25 per cent), whereas Serbian HH considered crime and corruption (9 per cent) as the biggest threat for their personal security.<sup>296</sup> Comparing the security situation of 2003 with that of a year before, 50 per cent of Albanian HH said it had improved and pointed to the MEPE introduction as a major contributing factor. Twenty-seven per cent said it had remained the same. Most Serbian HH (60 per cent) said that security had remained the same, while 25 per cent claimed it had improved.

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<sup>292</sup> Interviews with chiefs of police in Medveda, Bujanovac and Presevo, 27 and 28 October 2004.

<sup>293</sup> The figures are based on the findings of a survey by OMiSaM, conducted in the three municipalities in August 2004. For OMiSaM figures see: OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro 2004d: 6-10.

<sup>294</sup> Cf. Partner Marketing Research Agency 2002: 19.

<sup>295</sup> The category “household heads” was used by SEESAC in this survey, conducted in 2003, see South Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons 2004b: 7.

<sup>296</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 7-9.

Only nine per cent of the Albanian and seven per cent of the Serbian HH perceived the security situation as worse compared to the year before.<sup>297</sup>

### 3.3.2.2 Demonstrated Skills and Level of Professionalism

As mentioned above, MEPE officers had insufficient field training and had few opportunities to develop general policing skills by learning on the job. Therefore, in the international and local perception, their policing skills were rated rather low. MEPE officers, Serbs and Albanians alike, appeared to be far less experienced than their long-serving colleagues. According to one police chief, a number of Albanians selected should not be in the police, because they had only been included to protect Albanian interests. In his view, 50 per cent of the officers were suitable to do their job or needed only a little more training, while 50 per cent needed a lot more training. This rather negative assessment of the policing skills of Albanian police officers was (of course) not shared by MEPE officers themselves. The relative majority (31.9 per cent) even said that all MEPE officers were suitable for police work, while another 12.6 per cent thought that more than 90 per cent were suitable. The second biggest fraction of respondents (22.7 per cent) said that between 75-90 per cent of the officers were suitable. Just 15 per cent believed that only between 50-75 per cent of the officers were suited. Even less favourable perceptions were given only by a small fraction of respondents (cf. chart A.10).

A written test covering several important policing domains, conducted by OMiSaM in South Serbia with 183 police officers with different educational backgrounds and work experience, revealed that MEPE officers (with the exception of officers in Medvedja) scored significantly lower than their colleagues who had passed the Police High School and regular Serbian Basic Police Course training.<sup>298</sup> While the subject of community policing was best dealt with, issues such as traffic safety, human rights and the penal code proved to be the areas with which they were least familiar.<sup>299</sup>

*The human rights record of the Serbian police.* While there are no reports available dealing specifically with human rights violations by members of the new multi-ethnic contingents, a number of reports focus on the human rights record of the Serbian police in general. According to the Serbian Humanitarian Law Center (HLC), there have been no “serious incidents of police misconduct against members of ethnic communities since the fall of Milosevic”.<sup>300</sup> However, while relations between Albanians, other minorities and the police may have improved significantly in Serbia, Roma are still targets of racial discrimination and police brutality.<sup>301</sup> Even the Serbian government admitted that, between 2003 and 2004, nineteen police officers were involved in physical attacks against Roma.<sup>302</sup> According to Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, since 2004, human rights advocates, NGOs and parts of the media have become prime targets of intimidation and physical attacks by nationalist circles in Serbia that continue to have close ties to parts of the police or the Serbian State Security Agency (BIA). Such intimidation and attacks occurred particularly in cases in which human rights activists demanded the investigation of (war) crimes committed by Serbs. In South Serbia, for example, a human rights lawyer was beaten up by a police officer, appar-

<sup>297</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 10.

<sup>298</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro 2004d: 14-20.

<sup>299</sup> According to the report, use of police powers, tactical training, communication skills and report writing were also issues that needed a lot of improvement; cf. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro 2004d: 14-20.

<sup>300</sup> Organisation Mondiale contre la Torture 2004: 11.

<sup>301</sup> Cf. Human Rights Watch 2003: 5.

<sup>302</sup> Cf. United Nations Human Rights Committee 2004: 6.

ently because he had recently represented a client who was beaten up by the same police officer.<sup>303</sup> According to the HLC, members of the police and BIA also threatened a number of people in South Serbia, so that they would not give evidence to the HLC about the secret burning and burying of corpses of Kosovo-Albanians in May 1999 in South Serbia.<sup>304</sup> Even if the police or the BIA were not directly involved in such intimidation or attacks, they were, at the very least, indifferent, neither preventing nor investigating those incidents. Sharing this attitude were a number of members the judiciary who failed to prosecute such cases, thus perpetuating the climate of impunity for these kinds of crimes.<sup>305</sup>

In general, the HLC considered the “frequency with which police officers continue to use excessive force during identity checks, arrests, detention in police stations, and investigatory interrogations”<sup>306</sup> to be the most pressing human rights problem. According to HLC, the reason for such cases of police misconduct was rooted in the absence of proper police work on collecting material evidence.<sup>307</sup> Torture was used to gain evidence. Prosecutors were again passive about investigating such offences.<sup>308</sup> During the operation “Sabre” and the state of emergency in 2003, sixteen persons were tortured by the police according to Amnesty International. However, the MoI confirmed “only” six cases.<sup>309</sup> In addition to cases of torture, the police frequently violated the rights of citizens by not informing suspects of their rights.<sup>310</sup> HLC considered members of the Gendarmerie to be the greatest threat to human rights in Serbia.<sup>311</sup> They earned a particular reputation for routinely using excessive force when dealing with crowd control, staffing checkpoints or conducting searches. The Albanian population in South Serbia, in particular, continued to complain about the discriminatory and menacing behaviour of the Gendarmerie as well as its actions to prevent Albanians from working in fields close to the Kosovo border. There were also complaints about beatings and seizures of money as well as house searches without court orders (see 3.3.4).<sup>312</sup>

In order to fight and penalize police misconduct, the post of General Inspector at the MoI was established in June 2003. This official was supposed to investigate all allegations of police abuse. However, the work of the General Inspector was quite critically assessed by the HLC, since he confirmed, for example, only one of six cases of police misconduct that the HLC had presented to him. In 2005, the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia complained that the office of the General Inspector was still not fully operational, because of a shortage of personnel, financial resources and the lack of regulations defining its competencies. The OSCE mission proposed that the General Inspector be accountable to the parliament and not to the MoI.<sup>313</sup> The General Inspector himself complained that his powers were restricted from the very top of the Ministry of Interior.<sup>314</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> Cf. Human Rights Watch 2005: 1.

<sup>304</sup> Cf. Amnesty International 2005a: 2f.

<sup>305</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 1-12.

<sup>306</sup> Organisation Mondiale contre la Torture 2004: 11.

<sup>307</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>308</sup> Cf. Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia 2005: 156.

<sup>309</sup> Cf. Amnesty International 2005a: 31.

<sup>310</sup> Cf. Organisation Mondiale contre la Torture 2004: 21.

<sup>311</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 7.

<sup>312</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2003: 14; OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro 2004d: 14f.

<sup>313</sup> Interview with OMiSaM representatives, Belgrade, October 2004.

<sup>314</sup> Cf. Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia 2005: 155ff.

### *3.3.3 Social Inter-Ethnic Climate at the Police Academy and in the Units*

#### *3.3.3.1 Social Climate at the Academy*

Since the police academy of Mitrovo Polje is located outside the Presevo valley (near Nis) in a non-Albanian area, there was initially concern that Albanian MEPE applicants would not want to participate in the training so far away from their own community. The OSCE, however, responded to these worries by offering a bus service from Mitrovo Polje to Bujanovac every two weeks. Former OMiFRY police instructors described the inter-ethnic atmosphere at the academy as acceptable.<sup>315</sup> MEPE officers recalled the climate at the police academy even more positively. While 23.1 per cent said the climate had been acceptable, 44.6 per cent called it co-operative, and 28.9 per cent even described it as friendly. Only 1.7 per cent recalled it as uncomfortable or tense (cf. chart A.12a). 89.1 per cent of MEPE officers had never been aware of any ethnically motivated problems at the academy. Interestingly, Albanian officers were much less aware of any ethnically motivated problems. Only 2.7 per cent of the Albanian MEPE members had ever been aware of such problems. Among the Serbian officers, who had been in the minority position at the academy, however, a quarter of the respondents recalled such problems (cf. chart A.13a). Underlining the good inter-ethnic climate at the police academy, almost 90 per cent of the former cadets claimed they had social contact with cadets belonging to other ethnic groups after the training sessions (cf. chart A.14).

#### *3.3.3.2 Social Climate in the Multi-Ethnic Units*

MEPE officers described the inter-ethnic climate at police containers and police stations in quite positive terms. The relative majority of 36.2 per cent called the climate friendly, while 33.6 per cent called it co-operative, and 24.1 per cent thought it was acceptable. Only 5.2 per cent felt the climate to be uncomfortable, and 0.9 per cent thought it was tense. None of the respondents described the climate as antagonistic (cf. chart A.17). This positive assessment was shared by representatives of the MoI and OMiSaM. The good climate involved a professional and good working relationship.<sup>316</sup> The vast majority of respondents from both ethnic groups (81 per cent of Serbs / 89.3 per cent of Albanians) also stated they had never been aware of ethnically motivated problems in their units. Among those who had at least once been aware of such problems, Serbs were in the majority (19 per cent of Serbs / 10.7 per cent of Albanians, cf. chart A.18). A remarkable majority of the officers (82.1 per cent) also claimed to have social contact after duty with colleagues belonging to other ethnic groups (cf. chart A.19). The majority of MEPE officers (55.1 per cent) were not concerned about the effects the incorporation of former combatants would have on the efficient functioning of the multi-ethnic units. As in the case of Kosovo, Serbs were more sceptical than Albanians. 23.3 per cent of Serbs, but only 5.3 per cent of Albanians were afraid of negative effects (cf. chart A.16).

### *3.3.4 Public Perception of MEPE Performance*

In 2004, the Albanian population in the three municipalities was more enthusiastic about the performance of the multi-ethnic police than were the Serbs. While the majority of Albanians (55.2 per cent) rated the performance of MEPE as good and nine per cent even as excellent, only 25.6 per cent of Serbs thought that the police performance was good, and 13.4 per cent said the performance was excellent. Correspondingly, only 5.7 per cent of the Albanians said

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<sup>315</sup> Ibid.

<sup>316</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2003b: 19.



the performance was poor, while almost a quarter of the Serb respondents (24.3 per cent) were of that opinion. Furthermore, 25.5 per cent of the Albanians and 33 per cent of the Serbs rated the MEPE performance as fair.<sup>317</sup> While it could be expected that the perceptions of Albanians and Serbs on the MEPE would differ, the actual difference in perceptions is remarkably small.

When asked who should be responsible for security in the region, the differences in opinions between Albanians and Serbs were more significant. Serbian respondents preferred the existing MUP forces (39 per cent), followed by the army (23 per cent), and the Gendarmerie (seven per cent). Only two per cent of the Serb respondents preferred the multi-ethnic police units. In sharp contrast, 24 per cent of the Albanian respondents preferred the multi-ethnic police, 19 per cent the MUP forces, only one per cent the army and none of the Albanians mentioned the Gendarmerie.<sup>318</sup> What can be said definitively is that the majority of south Serbian citizens felt that the police had reformed since 2001. Not surprisingly, Albanians appreciated the effects of the reform more than Serbians did. Eleven per cent said the police department had reformed completely, 42.5 per cent said it had mostly reformed, and 35 per cent said it had reformed somewhat. Only three per cent of the Albanian respondents said there had been no noticeable reform. Serbian respondents were somewhat less enthusiastic about the reform endeavours, with only 5.8 per cent saying that the police had completely reformed, 32.7 per cent saying it had mostly reformed, and the relative majority of respondents saying it had only reformed somewhat. 11.9 per cent of Serb respondents stated that the police had not reformed at all since 2001.<sup>319</sup> According to the respondents, the behaviour of the police had improved visibly since the introduction of police reform measures, although more needed to be done.<sup>320</sup> Already by 2002, a quarter of respondents had noticed “much better treatment” by the police and 45.5 per cent mentioned “somewhat better treatment”.<sup>321</sup>

Corresponding to the general public perception of the police, the majority of MEPE officers felt accepted by the population in Serbian-dominated municipalities (high acceptance: 31.9 per cent / relatively high acceptance: 32.8 per cent) as well as in Albanian-dominated municipalities (high acceptance: 39.8 per cent / relatively high acceptance: 28 per cent). However, 25 per cent of the Albanian officers perceived their acceptance in Serbian-dominated municipalities to be low. Interestingly, compared to the Albanian respondents, Serbs felt better accepted in municipalities, which were dominated by “the other ethnicity”, since only 16.3 per cent of Serbian respondents rated their acceptance in those areas as low (cf. chart A.20).

### 3.3.5 *Obstacles to the Build-up of a Democratic Multi-Ethnic Police Service*

From the pre-determined categories of answers in the CORE survey, a clear majority of MEPE officers (57 per cent) selected the low salaries of police officers as the biggest obstacle to establishing an accountable and democratic police force, because low salaries influence the

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<sup>317</sup> The figures are based on the findings of a survey by OMiSaM conducted in the three municipalities in August 2004 (cf. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro 2004d: 6-10).

<sup>318</sup> Cf. South Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons 2004b: 12. Interestingly, 23 per cent of the Serbian and even 35 per cent of the Albanian respondents opted for local governments as the primary security provider.

<sup>319</sup> Cf. Partner Marketing Research Agency 2002: 63.

<sup>320</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro 2004d: 13f.; interview with representatives of the NGOs Narodni Parlament and Leskovac Resource Centre, Leskovac, October 2004.

<sup>321</sup> Partner Marketing Research Agency 2002: 29.

working morale of the police and favour corruption. Other important obstacles perceived by significantly lower percentages of officers were the influence of organized crime (31.5 per cent), inappropriate legislation (30.8 per cent) and the influence of political parties and groups (30 per cent). More than a quarter of the officers also rated the insufficient training of MEPE officers (27.4 per cent) and the low acceptance of the MEPE by the local population as big obstacles (25.8 per cent, cf. chart A.23). In the following, some of these problems will be analysed in more detail.

*The politicization of the police* was even seen by police officers as one of the biggest obstacles to the creation of an accountable, democratic police force. In the case of South Serbia, there was the specific problem of the politically influenced decision-making in the MEPE recruitment. In addition, OMiSaM, in its efforts to reform the Serbian police service in general, had to struggle with the deeply politicized structures of the police. Until 2005, the Serbian Minister of Internal Affairs was still the head of the police force and kept direct command, e.g. over the Directorate for the Suppression of Organized Crime.<sup>322</sup> The OSCE complained that Serbian politicians mistakenly had understood police accountability to mean political control of the police. Quite the contrary, operational independence, control and responsibility had to become the rule within the police service.<sup>323</sup> The draft police law, which was still waiting for approval by parliament in the summer of 2005, at least envisaged steps for the separation of the police service from the MoI, with the police director being selected through public advertisement and competition.<sup>324</sup>

*Centralization.* During the Milosevic era, politicization also involved the centralization of police structures. Like de-politicization, the de-centralization process, meaning the devolution of authority from the MoI to the local police commanders, did not go as smoothly as desired by the OSCE and its international and Serbian partners. However, since devolving authority to local commanders was a prerequisite for effective and responsive community policing, OMiSaM urged the MoI to further decentralize its command structures.<sup>325</sup>

*Lack of co-operation by citizens.* While the majority (59.4 per cent) of south Serbian citizens stressed that they would be willing to co-operate with the police in solving problems in their community, there was still a significant percentage (40.6 per cent) of the respondents who were not willing to co-operate.<sup>326</sup> However, bearing in mind that most Albanians in South Serbia had, until 2001, objected to any co-operation with the police, these figures are quite positive. The introduction of ethnically mixed patrols had led to a significant increase of trust in the police and therefore also to the increased willingness to co-operate with the police. Since more than 64 per cent of respondents in the three municipalities at the end of 2002 had also said that they would appreciate “some sort of education of the citizens about co-operating with the police”,<sup>327</sup> one can assume that the public information initiatives and confidence-building measures within the framework of the OSCE’s community policing programme led to a further increase in the willingness of citizens to co-operate with the police.

*Small arms proliferation.* In 2004, the south Serbian population frequently said that firearms were present throughout the Presevo valley. However, each ethnic group claimed that only the

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<sup>322</sup> Cf. Markovic 2002: 293f.

<sup>323</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, Law Enforcement Department 2004a: 22.

<sup>324</sup> Interview with OMiSaM representative, Belgrade, 15 June 2005.

<sup>325</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, Law Enforcement Department 2004a: 21.

<sup>326</sup> Cf. Partner Marketing Research Agency 2002: 55.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid.: 58.

other group possessed firearms.<sup>328</sup> The majority of Albanians (62 per cent) said that the control of firearms would not increase security in South Serbia, while the majority of Serbian respondents (52 per cent) were of the opposite opinion. Interestingly, despite the fact that Albanians were generally more sceptical than Serbian respondents about the positive effect on security of handing in illegal weapons, the Albanians were actually much more willing to hand in their weapons in exchange for community development projects in their municipalities.<sup>329</sup>

*Corruption.* In the 2004 Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index, Serbia and Montenegro was in place 97 together with Algeria, Lebanon, Nicaragua and Macedonia with an index of 2.7 (10 being the most “clean”).<sup>330</sup> Police corruption in particular is a problem, which has been widely perceived by the Serbian population, local NGOs and international actors.<sup>331</sup> According to a public perception survey from 2002, the police department was rated as the second most corrupt institution among state organs, only “outplayed” by the customs service and directly followed by the privatization agency, tax offices, the judiciary, and the agency for foreign investment.<sup>332</sup> Moreover, people in South Serbia assessed police corruption even more harshly than people in other Serbian regions.<sup>333</sup> Although the public perceived its police as quite corrupt, it seemed that the vast majority were not willing to participate in the “corruption game”, since “only” 16.8 per cent of the police officers responding in the CORE survey claimed they had been offered bribes (cf. chart A.24).

In 2002, when the Serbian government seemed to be ready to fight corruption, the Anti-Corruption Council was set up. The council, which was made up of respected persons, was tasked with investigating the largest corruption cases in Serbia, and advising the government on new legislation. It immediately proposed the drafting of several laws, e.g. laws on the declaration and registration of property owned by public officials, on conflicts of interest, and on the financing of political parties. However, by the end of 2003, parliament had only adopted a law on party financing. Even after the assassination of Prime Minister Djindjic in March 2003, when it became obvious how deeply interlinked organized crime, politics and the police were, the “political will to tackle corruption” in government, public administration and the judiciary “stayed somewhat weak”.<sup>334</sup> The EU Commission, in 2004, kept demanding comprehensive anti-corruption strategies and pointed to the continuing lack of political support for the Serbian anti-corruption institutions, with the government sometimes even behaving obstructively.<sup>335</sup>

*Financial constraints.* As with other broken promises of the Serbian government with respect to the financial support of the Presevo valley, adequate funding of the multi-ethnic police force in South Serbia had still not been provided by the end of 2004. The poor equipment of the police as well as the low salaries of police officers (between 300 and 350 Euros a month) did not help to boost the working morale.<sup>336</sup> MEPE officers deployed in the police containers were subjected to extreme working and living conditions.<sup>337</sup> Basic equipment such as radios, forensic kits or computers was either missing in most containers, or so antiquated that it was

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<sup>328</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: i and 23.

<sup>329</sup> Cf. South Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons 2004b: 28.

<sup>330</sup> Cf. Transparency International 2004: 1 and 4.

<sup>331</sup> Cf. UNDP 2000: 41; Bojovic/Simpson 2005.

<sup>332</sup> Cf. Southeast European Legal Development Initiative 2002: 19.

<sup>333</sup> Cf. Partner Marketing Research Agency 2002: 46.

<sup>334</sup> Freedom House 2004a: 5.

<sup>335</sup> Cf. Commission of the European Communities 2004b: 11.

<sup>336</sup> Cf. Peake 2004: 34; Karanovic 2005.

<sup>337</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, Law Enforcement Department 2004a: 73.

rather useless.<sup>338</sup> Therefore, the OSCE proposed the replacement of the containers with permanent dwellings and the provision of badly needed vehicles and equipment. However, this required significant funding not foreseen in the state budget.<sup>339</sup>

### 3.4 Conclusions

The establishment of multi-ethnic police units and their deployment in the three south Serbian municipalities has led to a significant increase in confidence in the local police among large segments of the population. People got used to seeing multi-ethnic patrols, and contact between the population and the police improved, not least because Albanians could now talk in their mother tongue to representatives of the state organs. The establishment of police containers inside and on the outskirts of villages in remote areas gave the population the chance to develop personal contact with the police. Community policing projects initiated by the OSCE were further important steps in confidence-building. The establishment of Community Advisory Groups and Municipal Safety Councils, and the deployment of Community Policing Officers in the villages will, it is hoped, improve the relationship between the population and the police even more. This is particularly necessary for the Serbian population, which is still rather sceptical about the suitability of Albanian police officers to serve all ethnic communities in a professional manner.

Both Albanians and Serbs are sceptical about the policing skills of many MEPE officers. These officers' inadequacies do not result primarily from the twelve-week basic academy training, which though much shorter than the usual police training provided by the Serbian MoI, was useful for teaching basic policing skills. The primary problem is the in-service training provided by the Serbian authorities – or rather the lack thereof – particularly for MEPE officers stationed in the police containers. Hopefully, the new in-service training programme, jointly developed by the OSCE and the Serbian MoI in 2004 and scheduled to start in 2005, will bridge this gap.

A lot remains to be done with respect to the integration of the MEPE into the regular police force. Although representatives of the MoI insist that the integration of the MEPE has already been successfully completed, the reality on the ground shows a different picture. The “former” MEPE officers are not given the full spectrum of police tasks and, in this respect, they are not taken seriously by the local population, nor by long-serving police officers. In addition, the MoI does not seem to be interested in promoting Albanian police officers, again causing resentment among the Albanians. Unfortunately, multi-ethnic police units are also not used as a confidence-building instrument in police raids and search operations conducted by the Serbian Gendarmerie.

Other obstacles to the establishment of an accountable and efficient democratic police force involve structural deficiencies in the police inherited from the communist and Milosevic period: centralization, politicization, widespread corruption and the connection between elements of the police and organized crime. Finally, at least two political challenges will determine the future of the multi-ethnic police reform in South Serbia: the further implementation of the Covic Plan and the developments in Kosovo. Since the Serbian government, in spite of its announcements made in 2001,<sup>340</sup> has done nothing to promote the economic development of the three municipalities, and because of the continuing presence of large army and Gendar-

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<sup>338</sup> Cf. Peake 2004: 34.

<sup>339</sup> Cf. OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro, Law Enforcement Department 2004a: 73.

<sup>340</sup> Cf. Blic 2005.

merie units, which are strictly rejected by the Albanian population, the possibility of another round of violence by Albanian extremists cannot be ruled out. In the 2004 local elections, radical Albanian parties won the majority of seats in the municipal assembly of Presevo making it more difficult for the moderate Albanian mayor of Presevo, Riza Halimi, to mediate between the different ethnic groups. The killing of a 16-year-old ethnic Albanian boy by Serbian army border troops, in January 2005, led to enraged protests by thousands of Albanians against the presence and the behaviour of the military, and to the renewed call from all Albanian political parties for the withdrawal of army and Gendarmerie units and their replacement by multi-ethnic police units.<sup>341</sup> The only positive aspect of this recent crisis is the reactivation of the co-ordination body for South Serbia.<sup>342</sup> In addition to security issues, the co-ordination body announced it would focus on issues of economic recovery, infrastructure, education, justice, health, media and culture.<sup>343</sup> It is to be hoped that this time the co-ordination body will be able to convince the government to fulfil its obligations to South Serbia. Finally, so long as the political status of Kosovo is not resolved, the Presevo valley will continue to be the subject of speculation about a possible territorial exchange including the northern part of Kosovo and the Presevo valley. These strategic uncertainties can only be resolved by reaching a decision on the final political status for Kosovo.

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<sup>341</sup> Cf. B92 2005a.

<sup>342</sup> Cf. B92 2005b.

<sup>343</sup> Cf. OSCE 2005a.

## Chapter 4 Macedonia

For a long time, Macedonia was perceived by many as an "island of peace in an ocean of inter-ethnic quarrels". While it was commonly known that deep-seated tensions existed between ethnic Macedonians and Albanians, Western observers were reassured by the fact that Albanian parties were consistently represented in Macedonia's governing coalitions. This led them to overlook the growing ethnic segregation in the country, which, together with a plethora of unresolved social and political problems, created the potential for the explosive inter-ethnic conflict that erupted in spring 2001. The fighting started in January 2001, when the so-called National Liberation Army (*Ushtria Clirimitare Kombetare* – UCK), which used the same abbreviation as the Albanian fighters in Kosovo, attacked several police stations and patrols in a number of villages along the border with Kosovo, and declared those villages "liberated areas". The poorly trained and badly equipped Macedonian police were not able to prevent further attacks. Fighting escalated and, by August 2001, the UCK had gained control over the Albanian-dominated town of Tetovo as well as the northern suburbs of the capital Skopje.<sup>344</sup> Sixty members of the Macedonian military and police forces were killed and several officers kidnapped.<sup>345</sup> While the UCK had initially fought for the liberation of the Albanians in Macedonia, from March on it demanded equal constitutional rights and treatment for the Albanian population.<sup>346</sup> Under heavy diplomatic pressure from the EU and the USA, the four most important ethnic Albanian and Macedonian parties, with the approval of the UCK, finally signed the Ohrid Framework Agreement on 13 August 2001. In exchange for substantial political reforms favouring the Albanian community, the agreement put an end to the fighting and guaranteed the territorial integrity of Macedonia.<sup>347</sup>

### 4.1 Mandate

The Ohrid accord called on the OSCE to support the Macedonian authorities in reforming the police, particularly by creating ethnically mixed units to be deployed in the crisis region to re-establish the state's monopoly of force.<sup>348</sup> The USA offered its International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP) to quickly train a first group of ethnic Macedonians and Albanians by December 2001. By July 2003, about 1,000 Albanian officers were to be integrated into the Macedonian police. By 2004, the Macedonian police force was to generally reflect the ethnic composition and distribution of the country's population.<sup>349</sup> The OSCE offered 60 police advisers and 17 instructors to implement these tasks. The training curriculum developed by the OSCE, in co-operation with the Macedonian Ministry of the Interior (MoI), foresaw a three-month basic training at the police academy in Idrizovo to be followed by six months of in-service training provided by Macedonian police officers.<sup>350</sup>

In February 2002, the OSCE and the EU initiated a co-operative effort for police reform in Macedonia. Two police experts from the EU were seconded to the OSCE Police Development Unit (PDU) of the OSCE Spillover and Monitor Mission to Skopje.<sup>351</sup> In December 2003, the

<sup>344</sup> Cf. Paes/Schlotter 2002: 235.

<sup>345</sup> Cf. Peake 2004: 29.

<sup>346</sup> Cf. Ackermann 2001: 119f.

<sup>347</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2001b; Council of Europe/Republic of Macedonia 2001.

<sup>348</sup> Cf. Schenker 2002: 176.

<sup>349</sup> See Annex C, Article 5.2 of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, in: Council of Europe/Republic of Macedonia 2001: 5; OSCE 2001d: 4; OSCE 2001g; Berliner Morgenpost, 15 October 2001.

<sup>350</sup> Cf. OSCE 2002d.

<sup>351</sup> Cf. OSCE 2002e.

EU significantly expanded its police-related activities in Macedonia by deploying the EU Police Mission “Proxima”. The mandate of the 180 Proxima police officers included monitoring and advising Macedonian police authorities on issues such as:

- “the consolidation of law and order, including the fight against organised crime [...],
- the practical implementation of the comprehensive reform of the Minister of the Interior, including the police,
- the operational transition towards, and the creation of a border police [...],
- the build up of confidence between the local police and the population,
- enhanced cooperation with neighbouring States in the field of policing.”<sup>352</sup>

Proxima activities were to be co-ordinated with OSCE efforts and bilateral police projects of other international actors (see 4.2.3).<sup>353</sup> Since the OSCE had cancelled its field training activities in 2002, Proxima officers took charge of monitoring the performance of multi-ethnic police units at the police stations in the crisis region.<sup>354</sup>

## 4.2 *Building up the Multi-Ethnic Police*

In December 2001, the first class of 106 ethnic Albanian and Bosniak police officers graduated from ICITAP’s basic training course. At the beginning of 2002, the OSCE assumed the responsibility for police training (see 4.2.2).

### 4.2.1 *Recruitment*

In Article 5.3 of Annex C of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, the OSCE was asked to assist the Macedonian authorities in the recruitment, selection and promotion process.<sup>355</sup> Applicants had to meet the following minimum requirements: be aged between 18 and 25, have completed the 4th degree of secondary school, and be a citizen of the country. The OSCE also aimed for a significant representation of women.<sup>356</sup> The OSCE mission stressed the point that political parties should not influence the selection process. However, in 2002, the mission criticized the ongoing politicization<sup>357</sup> of the recruitment process.<sup>358</sup> In co-ordination with the European Commission Justice and Home Affairs Team (ECJHAT), the OSCE formulated a transparent recruitment procedure and submitted it to the Macedonian MoI, which officially welcomed this initiative. However, due to slow legal changes, the new selection criteria had still not been introduced by 2003. According to OSCE and EU representatives, all political parties (ethnic Macedonian as well as Albanian and Roma) continued to try to incorporate as many party members as possible into the multi-ethnic police element, disregarding professional requirements. Some of the applicants obviously lacked any motivation to become police officers. However, they joined the police due to pressure from parties, communities or clans.<sup>359</sup> With respect to the incorporation of former UCK fighters, there were no public political

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<sup>352</sup> Official Journal of the European Union 2003: Article 3.

<sup>353</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>354</sup> Cf. European Union Police Mission Proxima 2004a: 14.

<sup>355</sup> Cf. Annex C, Article 5.3 of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, in: Council of Europe/Republic of Macedonia 2001: 5.

<sup>356</sup> Cf. OSCE Spillover and Monitor Mission to Skopje, Police Development Unit 2002: 22.

<sup>357</sup> Cf. Georgieva 2002: 16.

<sup>358</sup> Cf. *ibis.*: 23.

<sup>359</sup> Interviews with OSCE PDU representative and EUPOL Proxima representatives, Skopje, May 2004.

debates. Within the administration, ethnic Albanians were responsible for the recruitment.<sup>360</sup> No official figures are available on the number of former UCK members in the multi-ethnic police units. From a pool of 2,900 applicants, 101 cadets were selected for the first training course.

#### 4.2.2 Academy Training

Basic training was started on 11 February 2002 at the police academy in Idrizovo, which required complete refurbishment by the OSCE due to its extremely poor state of repair. A number of classrooms were still not usable by the beginning of the first weeks of training. By the end of 2002, the OSCE had provided 2.2 million Euros for completing this task.<sup>361</sup>

The twelve-week basic training, jointly provided by Macedonian and international police instructors, included topics such as policing in a democracy, constitutional framework, human rights, use of force, police ethics and code of conduct, community policing, patrol procedures, arrest and detention, effective communication and traffic accident management. The curriculum contained elements from both the then current Macedonian curriculum and the one the OSCE had developed in Kosovo. Because some of the lessons did not really correspond to some aspects of Macedonian law, they had to be adjusted. However, even after that, the new curriculum still had some shortcomings, since it dealt extensively with issues of traffic policing or investigations, which were not necessary for basic training, while, on the other hand, neglecting important issues such as vandalism or domestic violence.<sup>362</sup> Although the OSCE mission officially praised the effectiveness of its Macedonian counterparts, police instructors privately complained about the outdated teaching style of a number of their Macedonian colleagues. Moreover, teaching was severely hampered by the inability of a number of Albanian cadets (about 15-20 per cent) to follow the lessons, because they did not speak Macedonian. As a result, Macedonian-language courses had to be offered to those Albanian officers, otherwise they would not have been able to pass the exams.<sup>363</sup> By July 2003, a total of 1,156 police officers had graduated from basic training, among them 103 ethnic Macedonians. 15 per cent of the cadets were women. About nine per cent of the cadets did not pass the final exams.<sup>364</sup>

##### 4.2.2.1 Evaluation of Training by Cadets

In 2004, the majority of the police cadets were quite satisfied with the basic training. A total of 31.5 per cent of the respondents said they were extremely satisfied with the courses, 37.1 per cent reported that they were very satisfied. On the other hand, 23.6 per cent were only fairly satisfied, and 5.6 per cent were even more or less dissatisfied (cf. chart A.2). Former cadets, who had participated in the basic training courses in 2002 and 2003, expressed somewhat less satisfaction. Only 27.4 per cent said they had been extremely satisfied, 32.9 per cent had been very satisfied, and 30.1 per cent were fairly satisfied. Only 1.4 per cent recalled more or less dissatisfaction (cf. chart A.2). As in the case of Kosovo, the increase in satisfaction might have been induced by the extension of training time as well as by the improved skills of the Macedonian instructors, who had undergone instructor training during the preceding two years.

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<sup>360</sup> Interview with OSCE representative, Skopje, May 2004.

<sup>361</sup> Cf. OSCE 2002.

<sup>362</sup> Interview with OSCE PDU representative, Skopje, May 2004.

<sup>363</sup> Interviews with OSCE PDU representatives, Skopje, May 2004.

<sup>364</sup> Cf. OSCE Spillover and Monitor Mission to Skopje, Police Development Unit 2004: 2; OSCE 2003.



In evaluating the OSCE police instructors, the relative majorities (32.3 per cent each) of the cadets of 2004 were very or fairly satisfied, while 26 per cent were extremely satisfied and 9.4 per cent were more or less dissatisfied (cf. chart A.3). Local instructors received somewhat better evaluations. A total of 30.2 per cent of the responding cadets said they were extremely satisfied and 37.5 per cent that they were very satisfied. 24 per cent were fairly satisfied with the local instructors. Only 4.2 per cent expressed more or less dissatisfaction (cf. chart A.4). Again, as in the case of Kosovo, former cadets gave the OSCE instructors much better ratings than they did their national instructors. A total of 26.7 per cent had been extremely satisfied with the internationals, and 41.9 per cent very satisfied. 20 per cent recalled only fair satisfaction, and 5.8 per cent had been more or less dissatisfied (cf. chart A.3). On the other hand, while 25.3 per cent of the former cadets had been extremely satisfied with the local instructors, only 27.6 per cent stated that they had been very satisfied (compared to 41.9 per cent for OSCE instructors). The relative majority of former cadets (37.9 per cent) reported that they had been fairly satisfied with their countrymen. 5.7 per cent had been more or less dissatisfied (cf. chart A.4).

The same tendency was clear with respect to specific criteria such as the instructors' motivation for work, their readiness to solve problems or their readiness to speak about problems after classes. While the vast majorities (between 60 and 73.2 per cent) of the cadets of 2004 rated the local instructors in these respects as excellent (cf. chart A.6c), the proportion of OSCE instructors, who got the same good marks, was significantly smaller (between 45.8 and 46.8 per cent, cf. chart A.5c). Again, the former cadets were more critical in assessing their instructors. Although the relative majorities (between 32.9 and 48.2 per cent) were willing to call the performance of local as well as international instructors excellent with respect to the additional quality aspects, a significant minority of the former cadets (between 8.2 and 16.3 per cent) also characterized the performance of the local and international instructors in these aspects as only fair. 10.7 and 9.4 per cent, respectively, even characterized the readiness of the local or international instructors to speak about problems after classes as poor. International instructors' motivation for work and their readiness to solve problems were also assessed as poor by 9.4 per cent of the former cadets (cf. charts A.5d and A.6d). The general improvement of the ratings for local instructors might have been based on their growing teaching competencies due to the OSCE train-the-trainer programme.

*Assessment of the resources available.* The vast majority of the cadets of 2004 assessed the time frame for the basic training as well as the material resources as sufficient (68.9 and 60 per cent, respectively). About a quarter of the cadets called the time frame and the material resources moderately sufficient (23.3 and 27.1 per cent, respectively), 7.8 per cent considered the time frame and twelve per cent the material resources to be insufficient. Again, former cadets were more critical. While only one-third of them rated the time frame and the material resources as sufficient (34.3 and 34.9 per cent, respectively), 57.1 per cent considered the time frame and 49.2 per cent the material resources to be only moderately sufficient. Similar to the cadets of 2004, 8.6 per cent assessed the time frame and 15.9 per cent the material resources as insufficient (cf. chart A.8). This more critical assessment is not surprising, as the refurbishing of the police academy had not been finished at the start of the academy training in February 2002. While the majority of the OSCE instructors interviewed considered the material resources to be moderately sufficient, their views on the personnel resources were divided with equal numbers of respondents calling them sufficient, moderately sufficient or insufficient. Particularly at the beginning of the training, there were too few international and national instructors (cf. chart A.7).

#### 4.2.2.2 Assessment of Qualification of the Cadets

The majority (50 per cent) of the OSCE instructors surveyed in 2004 stated that 50-75 per cent of the cadets were suitable to become police officers, while one-third of the respondents thought that only 25-50 per cent were suitable for the police job (cf. chart A.10). OSCE instructors considered the politicization of cadets to be the biggest deficit in those cadets they thought unsuited for police work, followed by criminal background and enduring ethnic hatred. Educational deficits were considered only as the fourth biggest deficit among those who were assessed as being unsuited for the job.<sup>365</sup>

#### 4.2.3 Field Training

Together with the MoI, the OSCE's PDU developed a field-training programme for 439 senior and mid-level police officers. In accordance with Macedonian law, field training lasted for six months and was given by Macedonian officers.<sup>366</sup> Since the field training faced similar problems as the training in South Serbia due to a lack of skills and motivation of the local field trainers (called mentors), the OSCE mission developed a special field-training course for 500 mentors and a Police Field Training Manual to provide them with a better understanding of their tasks. However, since the mentors did not receive extra payment for their additional work, the success of the field training depended on individual motivation.<sup>367</sup> To improve the field training, the OSCE mission also deployed Field Training Co-ordinators to police stations tasked with evaluating the performance of the cadets as well as their mentors. In 2002, the PDU monitored the field training of 640 cadets.<sup>368</sup> Surprisingly, for many OSCE monitors, the head of the PDU terminated the monitoring of the field training in May 2003.<sup>369</sup> In 2004, police officers of the EUPOL Proxima mission took charge of monitoring. According to Proxima representatives, some aspects of field training such as crime scene investigations were in fact useless, since there was no appropriate equipment available for these tasks.<sup>370</sup>

In addition to the training problems caused by shortages in resources, the field training was also hampered by legal constraints that limited the responsibilities of the cadets. Trainees were neither allowed to carry firearms nor to execute policing tasks independently, which made it impossible for them to gain experience in daily police work. Station commanders criticized the lack of knowledge of the law among the new recruits implying that there might be a problem with violating citizens' rights. Longer-serving officers also complained about the lack of self-defence skills, which could endanger the new recruits as well as their colleagues on duty. Due to all these problems, the new officers still lacked skills and experience after the probation period.<sup>371</sup>

*Evaluation of field training by officers of the multi-ethnic units.* Corresponding to the rather critical evaluation of the field training by international police officers, the relative majority of local officers (27 per cent) considered the field training to have been only fairly satisfying. On the other hand, 40 per cent of the officers rated the field training either as extremely (21.6 per cent) or very satisfying (16.3 per cent, cf. chart A.2b). A quarter of the officers (24.4 per cent)

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<sup>365</sup> Interviews with OSCE instructors, Idrizovo, May 2004.

<sup>366</sup> Cf. OSCE Spillover and Monitor Mission to Skopje, Police Development Unit 2002: 25.

<sup>367</sup> Cf. Peake 2004: 32.

<sup>368</sup> Cf. OSCE Spillover and Monitor Mission to Skopje, Police Development Unit 2002: 25f.

<sup>369</sup> Interview with PDU representative, Skopje, May 2004.

<sup>370</sup> Interview with EUPOL Proxima representatives, Skopje, May 2004.

<sup>371</sup> Cf. Peake 2004: 32; interviews with OSCE PDU representatives, Skopje, May 2004.

assessed the time frame of the field training as sufficient, while the majority said it was moderately sufficient, and 12.2 per cent called it insufficient. With respect to material resources, their assessment was slightly better. A total of 33.3 per cent recalled them as sufficient, the majority (53.8 per cent) as moderately sufficient, and 12.8 per cent as insufficient (cf. chart A.9).

*Additional police training initiatives by the OSCE.* In order to better train cadets for their examinations, the PDU introduced a two-week In-service Training Programme in October 2002.<sup>372</sup> The PDU also started a four-week Instructor Development Course for Macedonian police instructors to train them in modern teaching techniques (including adult-learning principles, classroom management, lesson planning and communication skills).<sup>373</sup> This was in reaction to criticism by OSCE instructors of the outdated teaching style of local police instructors. By 2004, a total of 359 Macedonian instructors had completed this course.<sup>374</sup> Also in 2002, the PDU developed a three-week Reform Training Programme for all Macedonian uniformed police officers, in which about 6,000 officers were made familiar with the same training issues as the new cadets in the multi-ethnic classes. Training focused on human rights, policing in a democracy, gender awareness, trafficking in human beings, domestic violence, officer safety, and drug identification.<sup>375</sup> In August 2002, a total of 3,500 police officers were also provided with a one-day Election Security Training to prepare them for ensuring the security of the upcoming elections. Training focused primarily on crowd control during campaign rallies and securing polling stations on election day in line with international policing practices and in accordance with the new national election law.<sup>376</sup>

Since the some 1,000 Albanian police officers, who were trained by July 2002, did not yet correspond to the ethnic Albanians' share of the Macedonian population, which required about 1,700 Albanian police officers, the OSCE started a sixth training course in April 2004 including 280 Albanian cadets. In line with the new Macedonian Law on the Police Academy, basic training was significantly extended from three to twelve months, while field training was shortened from six to three months. Academy training now also included topics such as preventing crimes against the environment and psychology of personality.<sup>377</sup> Specialized training courses focused on trafficking in drugs and human beings and on human rights. In addition, training was started on the new police Code of Ethics, which had been prepared by the MoI, the Council of Europe and the OSCE. By June 2005, a total of 4,500 officers from different departments, including special police units such as the "Tigers", had received human rights training.

*Additional training by other international actors.* In addition to the OSCE and EUPOL Proxima, several other international actors implemented police reform projects in Macedonia, among them the European Commission (EC), the EC Police Reform Project (ECPRP), the European Agency for Reconstruction (EAR), the Council of Europe (COE), ICITAP, the UK's International Development Programme (DFDI), the UK's operation REFLEX<sup>378</sup>, as well as the Dutch government.

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<sup>372</sup> Cf. OSCE Spillover and Monitor Mission to Skopje, Police Development Unit 2002: 27.

<sup>373</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 26f.

<sup>374</sup> Cf. OSCE Spillover and Monitor Mission to Skopje, Police Development Unit 2004: 2.

<sup>375</sup> Cf. OSCE Spillover and Monitor Mission to Skopje, Police Development Unit 2002: 26; OSCE Spillover and Monitor Mission to Skopje, Police Development Unit 2004: 2.

<sup>376</sup> Cf. OSCE 2002f; OSCE 2002g.

<sup>377</sup> Cf. OSCE 2004h.

<sup>378</sup> REFLEX is the name of a multi-agency taskforce established in the UK to tackle organized immigration crime

Proxima was primarily in charge of monitoring, mentoring and advising police personnel and leadership. From the initial five programmes (Criminal Police Programme, Border Police Programme, Uniformed Police Programme, State Security and Counterintelligence Programme, and Internal Control and Law Enforcement Monitoring Programme), the mission reduced its activities to three programmes on Organised Crime, Public Peace and Order, and Border Police, giving particular attention to upper and middle management. Within the Public Peace and Order Programme, Proxima, together with the OSCE, supported the establishment of Citizen Advisory Groups (see 4.2.4).<sup>379</sup>

The European Commission was present with a number of initiatives, e.g. within the framework of the Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilization (CARDS) programme. It appointed a long-term advisor to the police academy and deployed the Resident Police Reform Project Team (ECPRP) of five experts to guide the overall reform process. The European Agency for Reconstruction (EAR) maintained, under CARDS, a portfolio of police-related projects (co-ordinated by Proxima) providing monitoring, advisory support and technical assistance. The EAR also provided technical support for the refurbishment of the police academy. The EAR's advisory support, co-ordinated with the OSCE, focused on selection and enrolment procedures, curriculum format and content, verification of educational standards and promotion of EU best police education practice.<sup>380</sup> The Council of Europe assisted the Macedonian MoI in leadership and communication training and in stress management. The ECPRP, OSCE and CoE jointly trained the MoI's senior staff in leadership and management skills. The US' ICITAP, in addition to providing training to the first multi-ethnic class, assessed more than 20 municipalities in an effort to evaluate their capacity and willingness to adopt community policing practices. The UK's DFID worked on community policing, and the UK's Operation Reflex focused on the fight against crime. The Dutch government was also involved in community policing, and closely co-operated with the OSCE and the MoI on police open days.

Although all organizations emphasized their willingness to co-operate closely, the danger of duplication could not be eliminated, particularly in the field of community policing where at least five different actors were engaged. To avoid duplication, the OSCE, the ICITAP, Proxima and the DFID initiated the co-ordination of meetings in March 2005. In addition, there were monthly video conferences held between the OSCE and the EU. Moreover, all actors demanded increased leadership from the MoI. Similar to the reform process in Serbia, the MoI tried to play one donor organization off against the other to get as much from the international community as possible.<sup>381</sup>

#### 4.2.4 *Efforts to Win the Trust of the Local Population*

As provided for under the Ohrid agreement, the deployment of multi-ethnic police patrols in some 80 villages was a key means of restoring law and order in the crisis region and gaining the trust of the (mainly Albanian) population for the police. In October 2001, the first multi-ethnic patrols were sent to five pilot villages accompanied by EU and OSCE monitors. Their initial tasks included establishing contact with the mayors to learn about their concerns. The first patrols, each consisting of three ethnic Macedonian and Albanian officers, lasted for only a few hours and were conducted in a calm atmosphere.<sup>382</sup> After a week of almost no incidents,

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<sup>379</sup> Cf. European Union Police Mission Proxima 2005a: 5.

<sup>380</sup> Cf. European Agency for Reconstruction 2004b.

<sup>381</sup> Interviews with EUPOL Proxima representatives, Skopje, May 2004.

<sup>382</sup> CNN 2001; OSCE 2001d: 4; OSCE 2001f; Reuters 2001a; Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 October 2001.

light-armed police units were deployed around the clock.<sup>383</sup> In December 2001, patrols were extended to 15 villages. The return of the police was facilitated by an intensive information campaign by the government, the OSCE and the EU. Initially the multi-ethnic units focused on traffic policing and investigating minor criminal acts. As another step of confidence-building, 90 per cent of the police checkpoints in the crisis area, many manned by special police units, were dismantled by January 2002.<sup>384</sup> By June 2002, a 24-hour multi-ethnic police presence was officially implemented in all 80 villages in the crisis area.<sup>385</sup>

An assessment by the PDU on the practices of the Macedonian police, conducted in April 2002, revealed severe deficiencies in their relationship with the public. Consequently, the PDU developed several community policing programmes. Within the framework of the so-called New Approach to Policing, the PDU assisted the Macedonian MoI in:

- Establishing Citizens Advisory Groups (CAGs). Similar to the Community Advisory Groups in South Serbia, the Macedonian CAGs were meant to be fora for representatives of the local communities and the police to discuss a broad range of security issues from traffic safety, local crime and illegal dumping of garbage to surrendering illegal firearms. By 2005, fifty CAGs had been established covering more than 200 villages. Their regular meetings were considered to be one of the most important confidence-building instruments.<sup>386</sup>
- Facilitating workshops and seminars for MoI representatives and citizens on joint problem solving. In 2003, a total of 1,254 police officers participated in seminars provided by the PDU's Community Police Trainers (CPTs). In 2004, three hundred members of CAGs were trained on issues such as local self-governance, partnership building, problem solving and writing project proposals.<sup>387</sup>
- Training Community Relations Co-ordinators (CRCs). Thirty-two selected police officers of mixed ethnicity had two weeks of training in November 2003 to acquire the special skills needed for establishing and maintaining co-operation with all community groups in the CAGs. Training covered issues of assessment and goal development, communications and confidence-building, conflict resolution and mediation as well as liaising with the media. After completing the PDU-delivered training, the future CRCs went to the Netherlands for a week to experience community policing activities in practice.<sup>388</sup>
- Training local Community Police Trainers. In April 2005, fifty Macedonian police trainers completed their Expanded Community-Based Policing Training. Their task was to train about 7,000 uniformed police officers in all regions of Macedonia in community policing issues.<sup>389</sup>
- Launching a nationwide TV campaign in March 2004 to promote co-operation between the police and the citizens.<sup>390</sup>
- Sending community policing officers into schools, where they visited about 15,000 pupils in the first half of 2005, and informed them about police officers' duties, children's rights and the principles of community behaviour. These officers, talked, for

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<sup>383</sup> Cf. Reuters 2001b; Latifi 2001.

<sup>384</sup> Cf. Der Standard, 13 December 2001; Die Presse, 14 December 2001; Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 27 December 2001; Berliner Zeitung, 18 January 2002; OSCE 2001h.

<sup>385</sup> Cf. OSCE Spillover and Monitor Mission to Skopje, Police Development Unit 2003: 2.

<sup>386</sup> Cf. OSCE 2002h; OSCE Spillover and Monitor Mission to Skopje, Police Development Unit 2004: 3.

<sup>387</sup> Cf. OSCE 2004e: 25; OSCE Spillover and Monitor Mission to Skopje, Police Development Unit 2004: 3; OSCE 2004j.

<sup>388</sup> Cf. OSCE 2003c; OSCE 2004f.

<sup>389</sup> Cf. OSCE 2005b.

<sup>390</sup> Cf. OSCE 2004g.

instance, about safe conduct (including how to avoid street violence) and other issues such as road safety or security at home.<sup>391</sup>

- Jointly hosting Police Open Days in a number of cities in 2004, at which children in particular were addressed to make them feel comfortable in the presence of police officers.<sup>392</sup>

#### 4.2.5 *Excursus: Reform of the Judicial and Penal System*

According to the constitution of 1991 and the Law on Courts, courts in Macedonia are autonomous and independent.<sup>393</sup> However, the EU Commission, in its Stabilisation and Association Report in April 2002, pointed to several “serious weaknesses”<sup>394</sup> of the judiciary. Problems mentioned included a backlog of cases (particularly of high-profile corruption cases),<sup>395</sup> and the politicization of the judiciary, as judges were elected by the parliament. Therefore, the party affiliation of a candidate was sometimes more important than his or her professional merits. In addition, the lack of judges from minority groups was criticized.<sup>396</sup> Only five per cent of judges in lower courts and nine per cent in appeals courts were Albanians.<sup>397</sup> The EU Commission also pointed to the need for a revised system of judicial training. The European Agency for Reconstruction (EAR) proposed a legal reform that would base the selection of judges and prosecutors on professional criteria and adequate training. While judges received training at the Centre for Continuing Education, the EAR complained that there were no training centres at all for prosecutors or attorneys.<sup>398</sup> Other serious deficits criticized by international and national observers were the widespread corruption, conflicts of interests and nepotism within the judiciary.<sup>399</sup> In an effort to restore public confidence in the legal system and to help ensure the right to a fair trial, the Rule of Law Unit of the OSCE mission, in 2003, helped create a coalition of 18 NGOs under the label All for Fair Trials, that formed a network for monitoring domestic trials. The mission also organized a training programme for lawyers, law students and human rights activists to prepare them for trial observation.<sup>400</sup>

By 2004, these problems had still not been resolved and the EU Commission criticized the slow progress in strengthening the rule of law.<sup>401</sup> Proxima also severely criticized the state of co-operation and co-ordination between the different elements of the criminal justice system, particularly the repeated failure of the judiciary to prosecute known criminals after their arrest by the police. Proxima’s Head of Mission described the judiciary as marred and complained about the “lack of accountability in the judiciary”.<sup>402</sup> In December 2004, in response to EU criticism, the Macedonian government adopted a national strategy for judicial reform outlining a number of legislative and constitutional changes to increase efficiency and to free courts from political influence.<sup>403</sup> However, by June 2005, the draft proposals sent to parliament had still not been adopted. Moreover, international and local experts doubted the will of the

<sup>391</sup> Cf. OSCE 2005c.

<sup>392</sup> Cf. OSCE 2004i; OSCE 2004k.

<sup>393</sup> Cf. All for Fair Trials 2004: 21.

<sup>394</sup> Commission of the European Communities 2002: 7.

<sup>395</sup> Cf. Dimovski 2003; Causidis/Dimovski/Jovanovska 2005.

<sup>396</sup> Cf. Commission of the European Communities 2002: 8; All for Fair Trials 2004: 21; OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje 2004b: 11-15 and 26f.; Sofronievska 2005.

<sup>397</sup> Cf. OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje 2004b: 12.

<sup>398</sup> Cf. European Agency for Reconstruction 2004a.

<sup>399</sup> Cf. Petruseva/Angelovska 2004; Commission of the European Communities 2004a: 8.

<sup>400</sup> Cf. OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje 2003a.

<sup>401</sup> Cf. Commission of the European Communities 2004a: 8; Petruseva/Angelovska 2004.

<sup>402</sup> European Union Police Mission Proxima 2004b: 4.

<sup>403</sup> Cf. Causidis/Dimovski/Jovanovska 2005.

government to resolutely reform the judiciary and to ease its grip on the judiciary. They were concerned about a number of issues including the fact that the draft proposals did not include any measures to make the Republic Judiciary Council more independent of the parliament when appointing new judges.<sup>404</sup> The bad image of the Macedonian judiciary became obvious once more in a Brima-Gallup survey in 2005: 72 per cent of Macedonians said they did not trust the courts, making the courts the least trusted state institution in the country.<sup>405</sup>

*Reform of the prison system.* The reform of the prison system appeared on the agenda in January 2005, when the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) showed interest in getting the support of the OSCE Mission's Rule of Law Unit. The prison system, in particular the prison in Idrizovo, suffered from a severe lack of adequate detention facilities and well-trained personnel.<sup>406</sup> Corruption among prison employees and widespread drug dealing in the prisons were other problems. In order to strengthen security, the MoJ and the Ministry of Defence (MoD) considered transferring up to 80 soldiers to serve as prison guards.<sup>407</sup>

#### 4.2.6 *Police-Related Law Reform*

Several legal reforms had been conducted in the mid-1990s with respect to the organization and duties of the police (Criminal Code, Law on Criminal Procedure, Law on Internal Affairs, Law on Organization and Operation of the State Administrative Bodies). However, in 2002, the international community still considered the legal framework of the police, with its over-centralized structure, politicization, and the lack of a clear division of responsibilities between the police and the military, to be incompatible with EU standards.<sup>408</sup> Finally, in August 2003, after lengthy consultations with the European Commission and the OSCE mission, the Macedonian government adopted a Strategy for Police Reforms.<sup>409</sup> Issues regarded by the EU as most pressing included "more devolution of decision-making within the service, a merit-based career system, (and an) increased level of transparency of decision making and operations."<sup>410</sup> More than 14 new laws were to be adopted and more than 100 legal acts to be amended by October 2005,<sup>411</sup> among them laws on the fight against organized crime, including a law on undercover operations and one on witness protection.<sup>412</sup> An important new law, which was already enacted in 2003, was the Law on the Police Academy. It provided the legal basis for expanding the role of the police academy and aimed at developing local training capacity.<sup>413</sup>

In 2004, the MoI also endorsed a Code of Ethics for the police, which it had developed in cooperation with the PDU and the Council of Europe. The code covered issues ranging from the way work was conducted and the aims of the police, to the legal basis for its functions, its

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<sup>404</sup> Cf. Causidis/Dimovski/Jovanovska 2005.

<sup>405</sup> Cf. Vreme, Vest, Vecer, and Makedonija Denes, 23 June 2005, in: European Union Police Mission Proxima 2005c.

<sup>406</sup> Cf. European Committee for the prevention of torture and inhumane or degrading treatment or punishment 2003: 25-27.

<sup>407</sup> Cf. Dvenik, Vecer, Utrinski Vesnik, 16 and 17 August 2005, in: European Union Police Mission Proxima 2005f.

<sup>408</sup> Cf. Commission of the European Communities 2002: 8.

<sup>409</sup> Cf. Government of the Republic of Macedonia 2005: 225; International Crisis Group 2005a: 9.

<sup>410</sup> European Agency for Reconstruction 2004a.

<sup>411</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2005a: 9.

<sup>412</sup> Cf. European Union Police Mission Proxima 2004b: 3; Southeast European Times of 21.02.2005.

<sup>413</sup> Cf. European Agency for Reconstruction 2004b; Georgieva 2002: 17.

organization, and the qualifications, selection process, employment and training of police officers right up to the ultimate responsibility for and the control of the police.<sup>414</sup>

### 4.3 *Taking Stock of Reform Efforts*

#### 4.3.1 *Establishment of Multi-Ethnic Police Units*

By July 2003, the OSCE PDU had trained 1,156 police officers at the academy in Idrizovo, among them 103 ethnic Macedonians. In an additional course, 280 ethnic Albanians were trained by spring 2005 (see 4.2.2).<sup>415</sup> By the end of 2004, 16.9 per cent of the 8,216 uniformed Macedonian police officers were ethnic Albanians.<sup>416</sup> This was still less than the required 25 per cent for equal representation. Among the criminal police, the percentage of Albanian officers was substantially lower (1.7 per cent). Furthermore, representation of Albanians in managerial positions among the uniformed police was only 1.1 per cent. The very small number of career professionals among Albanian officers had its roots in their lack of university degrees.<sup>417</sup> This was also due to the attitude of ethnic Macedonian station commanders, who, before 2001, routinely denied ethnic Albanian officers permission to attend universities. Although this attitude has changed since 2001, there was still no career planning system within the police in 2004.<sup>418</sup>

The incorporation of the new officers did not happen as smoothly as envisaged. Due to their lack of skills and inexperience – superiors were particularly critical of the new officers' lack of knowledge in criminal law and their limited defence techniques<sup>419</sup> – station commanders were frequently reluctant to include them in daily police work right away,<sup>420</sup> and gave them only unchallenging tasks. In an OSCE survey, one-third of the new officers said that, most of the time, they were busy with things that were “under their level of ability”,<sup>421</sup> for example all kinds of administrative jobs. In 2001 and 2002, the deployment of multi-ethnic patrols in the crisis region was more a symbolic gesture to win the confidence of the Albanian population. In a number of cases, police were deployed to Albanian villages, where they had not been present even long before the crisis of 2001. Due to the tensions during the (re-)deployment process, patrol duties were initially limited to controlling traffic and did not include crime investigation.<sup>422</sup> By 2004, however, according to statements by the MoI, the police had reached the goal of providing full duties by proactively patrolling, conducting routine police tasks such as traffic monitoring and responding to emergency calls from the population. Informally, international observers pointed to a number of villages in which the police units still acted very cautiously (see 4.3.3) to avoid tensions with the population.<sup>423</sup>

The biggest obstacle for the full integration of Albanian officers into the police lay with the special police units, whose leadership was very reluctant to incorporate Albanians because they did not trust them. In 2005, there was still not a single Albanian officer present in these forces. Since tensions were particularly high between the special police and the Albanian population, the inclusion of Albanian officers would have been a significant confidence-

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<sup>414</sup> Cf. OSCE 2004e: 25; Republic of Macedonia, Ministry of Interior 2003.

<sup>415</sup> Interview via e-mail with a representative of the Police Academy in Idrizovo, May 2005.

<sup>416</sup> Cf. Republic of Macedonia 2005: 222.

<sup>417</sup> Cf. Matveeva/Hiscock/Paes/Risser 2003: 45.

<sup>418</sup> Cf. OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje 2004a: 26.

<sup>419</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 20.

<sup>420</sup> Interviews with Macedonian police station commanders, Macedonia, May 2004.

<sup>421</sup> OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje 2004a: 23.

<sup>422</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2002: 5.

<sup>423</sup> Interviews with EUPOL Proxima representatives, Macedonia, May 2004.



building step.<sup>424</sup> The continuing latent tensions between ethnic Albanians and the special police were probably one significant factor that prevented the Macedonian government from deploying special police units in the Skopje suburb of Kondovo in December of 2004 and in the summer of 2005 to disarm a group of armed Albanian criminals that had gathered around the notorious Agim Krasniqi, a former UCK leader wanted by the police (see 4.3.2.1).

#### 4.3.2 *Performance of the Multi-Ethnic Police*

##### 4.3.2.1 *Crime Development*

Although the newly trained police officers make up less than 17 percent of the overall number of uniformed police officers,<sup>425</sup> the attitude of the population towards the multi-ethnic elements are, nevertheless, influenced by the level of crime and the feeling of safety among the citizens.

While both the general security situation and the perception of it noticeably improved after the fighting ended in August 2001, violent crimes also increased until 2003, particularly in the former crisis region. This resulted from fights between rival Albanian gangs for control over territory, brothels or smuggling routes. Many innocent people became victims of those crimes. Moreover, armed robberies and kidnappings for ransom became increasingly common.<sup>426</sup> However, in 2004, the numbers of murders (56) and attempted murders (64) dropped for the first time in years (from 75 and 69 respectively in 2003). No murders were attributed to ethnic hatred or political causes.<sup>427</sup> The general decrease in the number of victims of crime continued during 2005. However, while capital crimes decreased, the number of petty thefts started to rise again. Cases of theft and damage to property, predominately in rural areas, remained at the same level. While ethnic Macedonians were more affected by petty theft, Albanians suffered more from aggravated theft and property damage.<sup>428</sup> And while 17.4 per cent of Albanians felt there was a threat to their personal security, only 6.5 per cent of ethnic Macedonians were worried in this respect. Ethnic Macedonians (26.3 per cent) as well as Albanians (29.8 per cent) considered street crime to be the biggest threat to their personal security. While organized crime was perceived as the biggest threat by 3.5 per cent of ethnic Macedonians, Albanians were much more worried about this kind of threat (20 per cent). Interestingly, 78.6 per cent of all respondents felt more secure in their own municipalities than in other regions of Macedonia.<sup>429</sup> In general, the relative majority (40.4 per cent) of all respondents said that the security situation had improved over the last three years, while 8.2 per cent thought it had become worse.<sup>430</sup>

Newspaper headlines in 2004 and 2005 focused on a handful of incidents, in which a number of former UCK fighters attacked the police. At the end of October 2004, the OSCE mission received reports of an armed presence in the village of Kondovo, led by Agim Krasniqi, a well-known local criminal and former UCK fighter, who had been involved in a series of incidents over the preceding months before. The group, believed to be between 20 and 50, possessed heavy weapons. Patrols by multi-ethnic police units were stopped so as not to cause any deterioration of the situation. Albanian politicians continued talks with Krasniqi until

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<sup>424</sup> Interviews with EUPOL Proxima representatives, Macedonia, May 2004.

<sup>425</sup> Cf. Government of the Republic of Macedonia 2005: 222.

<sup>426</sup> Cf. Matveeva et al. 2003: 38.

<sup>427</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2005a: 9.

<sup>428</sup> Cf. UNDP 2005b: 39ff.

<sup>429</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 65.

<sup>430</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 43.

mid-December in an attempt to convince him to resolve the situation peacefully. The Albanian coalition partner in the government, the DUI, led by the former rebel leader Ahmeti, insisted on a peaceful solution of the crisis, fearing serious political attacks from Albanian opposition parties if a police raid were to lead to bloodshed.<sup>431</sup> Finally, the Albanian interlocutors succeeded and the armed men either disappeared (for instance, Krasniqi left for Kosovo), or swapped their uniforms for civilian attire and put their weapons aside. Police resumed patrolling in and around Kondovo, but continued to be careful not to come into direct contact with villagers and not to provoke any confrontations.

In March 2005, however, Krasniqi returned. In June 2005, when four members of the Macedonian special police unit “Alpha” entered Kondovo to arrest him, they were assaulted and temporarily detained. Despite this incident, multi-ethnic patrols, which had re-entered the village in the spring, continued. Krasniqi told the media that he would defend himself with weapons including the shelling of Skopje if the police were to try to arrest him or if a single villager were hurt. The DUI was in the same difficult situation it had been in at the end of 2004.<sup>432</sup> On 12 July 2005, the police station in Vratnica, a village on the border with Kosovo, was attacked with explosive devices. Three days later, the police station in Bit Pazar in Skopje was attacked in a similar fashion. Both attacks caused only material damage. The MoI linked both incidents to the ongoing crisis in Kondovo.

By summer 2005, the situation had been “solved”, for the time being, when Krasniqi voluntarily showed up on 18 August in front of an investigative judge, who decided that this proved that he would be available for trial. Subsequently, the arrest warrant against Krasniqi was withdrawn. Krasniqi’s release immediately sparked fury among the public in Macedonia. The president severely criticized the decision, and opposition parties claimed there was a deal between the government and Krasniqi. This was categorically denied by the government. The public prosecutor’s office also denied having offered an amnesty and claimed that none of the charges against Krasniqi had been dropped. Despite their opposing views on the decision of the investigative judge, the president and the government maintained that the stability and integrity of Macedonia had not been challenged by the events in Kondovo, Vratnica and Bit Pazar. International observers from the EU and OSCE supported this view.<sup>433</sup>

#### *4.3.2.2 Demonstrated Skills and Level of Professionalism*

EUPOL Proxima officers were not very enthusiastic about the professionalism of the multi-ethnic police units. The relative majority (22.2 per cent) of Proxima officers, who rated the quality of the newly trained officers,<sup>434</sup> stated that 50-75 per cent of the new officers were suited for their jobs. While 11.1 per cent of the Proxima officers said that even more than 90 per cent of the newly trained police officers were suited for their jobs, the same percentage of respondents answered that only 25-50 per cent were suited (cf. chart A.10). Smaller fractions of the Proxima officers called either 75-90 or 10-25 per cent of the new Macedonian officers suitable for the job (cf. chart A.10). The members of the multi-ethnic units gave their national colleagues noticeably better evaluations. Almost 30 per cent of the respondents claimed that more than 90 per cent or even all of the newly trained officers were suited to do police work.

<sup>431</sup> In September 2003, two heavy-handed police operations failed to capture the notorious Albanian outlaw, Avdi Jakupi, but led to the flight of villagers and to the death of two young Albanians, causing an uproar among the population and damaging Ahmeti’s political standing (cf. International Crisis Group 2003a: 2).

<sup>432</sup> Cf. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 26 July 2005; *Koha Ditore*, 20 June 2005, in: European Police Mission Proxima 2005c; *Lajm*, 27 July 2005, in: European Police Mission Proxima 2005e.

<sup>433</sup> Cf. *Vreme*, 7 July 2005, in: European Police Mission Proxima 2005d; *Nova Makedonia*, 25 July 2005, in: European Police Mission Proxima 2005e; *Jovanov* 2005; *Stavrova/Alagjovovski* 2005.

<sup>434</sup> A total of 44.4 per cent chose the “don’t know” answer (cf. chart A.10).

Another quarter of respondents considered 75-90 per cent of their colleagues to be suitable (cf. chart A.10). The largest coincidence between local and international officers was in considering 50-75 per cent of the new officers as suitable (cf. chart A.10).

In interviews, Proxima officers mentioned educational and physical deficits as decisive factors for the unsuitability of a number of officers. In some cases, the enduring ethnic hatred among certain officers was also considered a reason for their unsuitability.<sup>435</sup> However, the most serious performance deficiency of the multi-ethnic as well as the special police was their inaction against criminal organizations in some Albanian villages in the crisis region, but also close to Skopje. The reasons were primarily of a political nature. In order not to jeopardize the quite fragile confidence of the Albanian population in the police, police patrols ignored certain criminal activities in Albanian-dominated villages, in particular cross-border smuggling. As in the case of Kondovo, a strong and confrontational approach would have risked alienating the community again. However, it was not only the Albanian coalition partner, which desperately tried to avoid a confrontation. The international community had also put pressure on the Macedonian authorities to avoid any measures, which could lead to an escalation of violence.<sup>436</sup> However, complaints by ordinary Albanian villagers that the police were not doing enough to protect citizens from criminal gangs were increasing.<sup>437</sup>

In addition to these political obstacles, police work was also hampered by structural deficiencies rooted in the police apparatus. Even when the opportunity presented itself for police officers to arrest wanted criminals, appropriate action was frequently not taken because of heavily centralized lines of command and operational procedures that did not allow for autonomous rapid action. Low-ranking officers were simply afraid of making their own decisions.<sup>438</sup> This was the case in all areas of police duties, even in the work of the traffic police.<sup>439</sup> According to Proxima representatives, deficiencies in police work were also a result of the lack of funding, since police officers did not have sufficient equipment (cars, radios etc.) to conduct patrols.<sup>440</sup>

*Fight against organized crime.* In the fight against organized crime, the MoI relied on its special police forces, which consisted exclusively of ethnic Macedonians. Multi-ethnic units were often not informed about police raids, let alone involved in such police activities, because commanders of the special police units distrusted the Albanian police officers and feared they would leak information to Albanian criminals.<sup>441</sup> This lack of co-operation not only increased tensions between the population and the police, but in several cases also allowed suspects to escape.<sup>442</sup> Co-operation, however, was not only deficient between the special police units and the multi-ethnic police, but also between the special and criminal police and the judiciary.<sup>443</sup> The co-ordination of activities of different branches of the police and the judiciary was one of the primary tasks of the new department against organized crime established by the MoI in February 2005.<sup>444</sup>

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<sup>435</sup> Interviews with EUPOL Proxima police representatives, Macedonia, May 2004.

<sup>436</sup> Interview with senior representative of the international community, Skopje, June 2005.

<sup>437</sup> Cf. Peake 2004: 36; Matveeva et al. 2003: 44f.

<sup>438</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2003a: 5; European Union Police Mission Proxima 2005b.

<sup>439</sup> Interviews with EUPOL Proxima representatives, Skopje, May 2004.

<sup>440</sup> Ibid.

<sup>441</sup> Ibid.

<sup>442</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2003a: 5.

<sup>443</sup> Cf. Commission of the European Communities 2004a: 32.

<sup>444</sup> Cf. Southeast European Times 2005.

*The human rights record of the Macedonian police.* While there are no reports available which deal particularly with human rights violations by members of the new multi-ethnic contingents, a number of reports focus on the human rights record of the Macedonian police in general. Several reports of Amnesty International alleged police ill-treatment and torture of crime suspects. Furthermore, Amnesty stressed that in many cases “the alleged ill-treatment has had an ethnic or racial component [...] in that the victims’ minority ethnicity of Muslim faith appeared to have been one, if not the, primary factor in the alleged ill-treatment”.<sup>445</sup> Moreover, Amnesty International complained that despite the frequency of allegations of police ill-treatment or torture, the number of prosecutions of police officers for such offences was “so low as to be almost negligible”.<sup>446</sup> Even if there were investigations against police officers, such cases were usually dismissed as unfounded “despite at times compelling evidence to the contrary”.<sup>447</sup> In addition to the use of excessive force, the Macedonian Helsinki Committee also mentioned other violations of the law by the police such as searches without court warrants, and putting people into custody in police stations illegitimately. According to the Helsinki Committee, arrests without warrants even increased in 2004.<sup>448</sup> In more than 500 cases, there had been no court orders available for the infamous “informative talks”.<sup>449</sup> Amnesty International stressed that, despite an overall decrease of police ill-treatment in 2004, allegations of ill-treatment by police officers continued.<sup>450</sup> The Helsinki Committee got information on cases of “indicated torture and inhumane or humiliating behaviour”,<sup>451</sup> involving 35 victims. In contrast to the reports of earlier years, members of ethnic minorities were no longer the primary group of victims.<sup>452</sup>

The Helsinki Committee continued to criticize the failure of state institutions to investigate and sanction such misconduct, and highlighted in particular the inappropriate roles the MoI’s Unit for Professional Standards and Internal Control and the Ombudsman played in this context. According to the Helsinki Committee, the internal control unit had not managed to establish itself as an independent body capable of conducting its own investigations. The results of the restructuring of the unit as well as the introduction of procedures for citizens’ complaints in 2004 remain to be seen. The Ombudsman, according to the Helsinki Committee, had failed to engage in the resolution of sensitive problems involving state authorities who had violated the constitutional and legal rights of citizens.<sup>453</sup>

### 4.3.3 *Social Inter-Ethnic Climate at the Academy and in the Units*

#### 4.3.3.1 *Social Climate at the Academy*

The social climate between the different ethnic groups was generally described as pretty good. The relative majority (43.6 per cent) of the cadets of 2004 characterized the climate as co-operative, 34.1 per cent even said it was friendly (cf. chart A.12a). Basically, OSCE instructors confirmed this positive view. The majority of instructors interviewed called the climate co-operative (cf. chart A.11). 10.6 per cent of the cadets said that the climate was acceptable. While only 5.3 per cent of the respondents thought that the climate was uncom-

<sup>445</sup> Amnesty International 2003a: 2.

<sup>446</sup> Amnesty International 2003b: 1.

<sup>447</sup> Ibid.: 1; Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia 2003: 5.

<sup>448</sup> Cf. Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia 2003: 5.

<sup>449</sup> Interview with Goran Kalajdziev, Macedonian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, Skopje, May 2004.

<sup>450</sup> Cf. Amnesty International 2005b: 2.

<sup>451</sup> Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia 2004: 5.

<sup>452</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 5.

<sup>453</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 5 and 7.

fortable, even smaller fractions (3.2 per cent each) believed the climate was tense or even antagonistic (cf. chart A.12a). Corresponding to this generally positive assessment, only 8.2 per cent of the respondents claimed that they had recognized any ethnically motivated problems at the academy. The majority of those cadets were of Macedonian ethnicity (11.6 per cent of Macedonians, 5.7 per cent of Albanians; cf. chart A.13a).

Former cadets were not as enthusiastic as the current ones about the social climate during their time at the academy. The relative majority (36.5 per cent) of the respondents characterized the climate only as acceptable, 30.2 per cent called it co-operative and 18.8 per cent friendly (cf. chart A.12b). The percentage of those who recalled any ethnically motivated problems was also higher than in the class of 2004. 19 per cent mentioned such problems; in this case the majority of those complaining were Albanians (23.5 per cent of Albanians; 9.1 per cent of Macedonians, cf. chart A. 13b). Although former cadets assessed the inter-ethnic climate less favourably than the cadets of 2004, the percentage of those who claimed to have had social contact with cadets belonging to other ethnic groups (93.3 per cent) was almost as high as with the cadets of 2004 (95.9 per cent, cf. chart A.14).

#### *4.3.3.2 Social Climate in the Multi-Ethnic Units*

46.6 per cent of EU police monitors characterized the social climate within the multi-ethnic police units as acceptable, 20 per cent said the climate was co-operative, and 6.7 per cent called it friendly (cf. chart A.11). Again, local police officers characterized the climate in more positive terms. 27.4 per cent said it was acceptable, 37.4 per cent stated that it was co-operative, and 28.6 per cent even characterized it as friendly (cf. chart A.17). While only 5.5 per cent of local officers said that the climate was uncomfortable or tense, almost 27 per cent of EU police monitors held that view. Hardly any of the respondents called the climate antagonistic (cf. charts A.11 and A.17).

80 per cent of all officers of the multi-ethnic units felt accepted by their colleagues regardless of their ethnicity.<sup>454</sup> 85 per cent of the officers also felt included by their colleagues.<sup>455</sup> The majority (about 50 per cent) of ethnic Albanian and Macedonian officers said that they were not treated better by superiors who shared their own ethnicity than by superiors of the other ethnicity. However, 30 per cent of ethnic Albanians and 16 per cent of ethnic Macedonians indicated that they were treated better by superiors who shared the same ethnicity.<sup>456</sup> Corresponding to these figures were statements from EUPOL Proxima observers, of whom 17.9 per cent had recognized exclusive structures of loyalty at their station based on ethnic identity (cf. chart A.26).

13.1 per cent (almost exactly as many as in Kosovo or South Serbia) of the responding police officers had, at least once, recognized ethnically motivated problems within their units or at their stations. On the other hand, almost 87 per cent had never noticed such problems. Interestingly, in Macedonia (in contrast to Kosovo and South Serbia) it was the ethnic Albanians (19.6 per cent) who more often remembered ethnically motivated problems than their colleagues from the other ethnicity (5.6 per cent, cf. chart A.18). The good inter-ethnic climate was underlined by statements from over 82.8 per cent of the respondents that they had social contact after duty with colleagues belonging to other ethnic groups (cf. chart A.19).

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<sup>454</sup> Cf. OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje 2004a: 22.

<sup>455</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 28.

<sup>456</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 27.

Officers of the multi-ethnic units were more sceptical than their colleagues in Kosovo and South Serbia with respect to the influence of former combatants on the units. In contrast to Kosovo (53 per cent) and South Serbia (55.1 per cent), only a relative majority of officers in Macedonia (46.3 per cent) perceived no threat to the efficient functioning of the multi-ethnic units by the incorporation of former combatants. 20 per cent did perceive such a threat. Ethnic Macedonian officers, in particular, were sceptical. 27.8 per cent of them were concerned about the incorporation of former combatants. Interestingly, 15.7 per cent of ethnic Albanians also expressed this concern (compared to only 6.6 and 5.3 per cent of Albanians in Kosovo and South Serbia, cf. chart A.16). The majority of EUPOL Proxima observers (53.3 per cent) believed that the spirit and the principles of democratic policing were conveyable to former combatants. On the other hand, more than one-third of the respondents said that those principles could not be conveyed at all (30 per cent), or that only certain aspects could be conveyed (6.7 per cent, cf. chart A.15).

#### *4.3.4 Public Perception of the Performance of the Multi-Ethnic Police*

In mid-2004, 31 per cent of ethnic Albanians had gained trust in the multi-ethnic police, while 26 per cent did not trust those units. However, with respect to the Macedonian police in general, 61 per cent of ethnic Albanians still did not trust the police.<sup>457</sup> Ethnic Macedonians were more sceptical of the multi-ethnic units – 48 per cent did not trust them. It must be added, however, that ethnic Macedonians were also critical with respect to the Macedonian police in general. Only 38 per cent trusted the ethnic Macedonian police, while 43 per cent did not.<sup>458</sup> According to a survey conducted by the Macedonian MoI in 2003, a total of 23.4 per cent of the respondents stated that the police did their job well, while the majority (50.8 per cent) did not agree with this.<sup>459</sup> By 2004, the majority of ethnic Albanians and Macedonians alike were still disappointed by the performance of the police. They cited a lack of presence and of pro-activity on the part of the police to actually deter or apprehend criminals.<sup>460</sup> However, members of the Albanian community felt more confident with the police after the establishment of multi-ethnic units. Many of them said that they no longer lived in fear of ethnic Macedonian policemen. Many Albanians began to believe that the actions of the police were in the public's interest and not simply in the interest of the state. Albanians praised the improved possibilities for communication with the police; and misunderstandings between Albanians and the police, which were due to the different language and cultural backgrounds seemed to belong to the past.<sup>461</sup> Ethnic Macedonians, who live in predominately Albanian-inhabited areas, still felt insecure and insufficiently protected by the police. For this reason, about 2,700 internally displaced ethnic Macedonians, who had fled from their homes during the crisis in 2001, had not returned by 2004.<sup>462</sup>

In contrast to the generally sceptical perception of the police, the officers of the multi-ethnic police element perceived themselves as much better accepted by the public. The majority (54.1 per cent) of the responding ethnic Macedonian officers rated their acceptance in ethnic Macedonian communities as relatively high, and 32.4 per cent even rated it as high, while only 10.8 per cent felt that their acceptance was low. Ethnic Macedonian officers even felt

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<sup>457</sup> Cf. Association for Democratic Initiatives/Saferworld 2003: 6.

<sup>458</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 6.

<sup>459</sup> Cf. Republic of Macedonia 2003: 5.

<sup>460</sup> Cf. South Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons 2004a: 49; OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje 2004a: 13.

<sup>461</sup> Cf. OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje 2004a: 12.

<sup>462</sup> Cf. Matveeva et al 2003: 36; Norwegian Refugee Council 2004.

quite well accepted in Albanian-dominated communities with a majority (51.4 per cent) of the respondents reporting a relatively high acceptance, and 18.9 per cent rating acceptance as high. One-third of the ethnic Macedonian respondents thought there was only low acceptance (18.9 per cent) or did not give an assessment (10.8 per cent). Albanian respondents were slightly more sceptical regarding their acceptance by ethnic Macedonian communities. However, a relative majority (37.3 per cent) still rated their acceptance as fairly high, and 21.6 per cent even considered it to be high. 23.5 per cent perceived only low acceptance and 17.6 per cent did not respond. With respect to their own community, Albanian officers seemed to be even more convinced about their acceptance than did the ethnic Macedonian officers. While 39.6 per cent rated their acceptance in ethnic Albanian communities as fairly high, the relative majority of the respondents said that their acceptance was high. Only 5.7 per cent rated their acceptance as low. 11.3 per cent did not respond (cf. chart A.20). These results of the CORE survey were even topped by those of a survey conducted by the OSCE mission, in which 92 per cent of the ethnic Albanian officers felt accepted by ethnic Albanian citizens.<sup>463</sup>

The police officers' general overestimation of their public acceptance may have resulted from their desire to give a positive picture of themselves in the survey. The very positive assessment of the Albanian officers with respect to their acceptance in their own community may also be due to the fact that Albanian officers were regarded as traitors by the Albanian community before the introduction of the multi-ethnic police project.<sup>464</sup> In light of this past, the relationship has indeed improved substantially since August 2001. EUPOL Proxima monitors were rather cautious in assessing the acceptance of multi-ethnic units among the population. While only three per cent saw them as being accepted in all communities, a majority (51.5 per cent) said that the multi-ethnic units were accepted in most of the communities. A quarter (24.2 per cent) regarded them as being accepted in few communities only, and 6.1 per cent did not believe they were accepted in any community (cf. chart A.21).

#### 4.3.5 *Obstacles to the Build-up of a Democratic Multi-Ethnic Police Service*

Choosing from among the pre-determined answers in the CORE survey (see 2.3.5), the vast majority of local police officers rated the influence of political parties and groups as the biggest obstacle to police reform. A similar view was expressed by OSCE and EU officers for whom this item was the second most frequently cited big obstacle (OSCE instructors 66.7 / Proxima police observers 88.9 per cent). However, even more Proxima observers (96.3 per cent) perceived the low salaries and their negative effect on the morale of the local police officers as a big problem, a view also confirmed by a high percentage of OSCE instructors (60 per cent) and local police officers (54.3 per cent). Interestingly, local police officers perceived their low salaries as being slightly less important, since "only" 54.3 per cent called this a big problem. This assessment differed from those of Kosovar and south Serbian police officers who ranked this problem as the most important one. It is also interesting that 75 per cent of the OSCE instructors mentioned the unrepresentative ethnic composition of the police as a big problem, while EU observers and local officers (22.2 / 31.3 per cent) ranked this problem as substantially less important. Another problem, on which views differed significantly, was that of insufficient training, which 70.4 per cent of EU Proxima observers judged to be a big problem, while only 16.7 per cent of OSCE instructors (who had been responsible for the training) and 38.7 per cent of the local officers shared this view. The influence of organized crime was rated as a big problem by local police officers (55.3 per cent) as well as by Proxima observers (76.9 per cent, cf. charts A.22 and A. 23).

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<sup>463</sup> Cf. OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje 2004a: 17.

<sup>464</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 10.

*Politicization.* Police units directly affiliated with certain political parties such as the “Lions”, which was created by then VMRO-DPMNE-Minister Ljube Boskovski, no longer exist.<sup>465</sup> In the process of recruiting the multi-ethnic police, the OSCE was able to limit the influence of political parties. Nevertheless, international observers keep complaining that political parties still try to influence personnel and operational matters within the police on the central and local levels alike.<sup>466</sup> The most obvious recent example was the Kondovo case (see 4.3.2.1).

*Centralization.* As mentioned above, the over-centralization of the police severely hampers its performance and was therefore criticized by international reformers. To solve the problem, the MoI made decentralization the central focus of its Police Reform Strategy in 2003. The aim was to create nine police districts with autonomous decision-making authority to increase efficiency and professionalism on the local level. The decentralization process was meant to tighten the links between the population and the local police, making use of the community policing officers in each station as well as the Citizens Advisory Groups in all municipalities. Each of the nine districts would be led by a commander responsible for operations and managing resources. Within the nine districts, 39 police stations would be established. However, the heads of police were still yet to be identified by August 2005. Their election process faced severe challenges, and the MoI was concerned that the election of the heads of police by local authorities would increase the influence of local politicians. Local authorities rejected these fears as unfounded arguing that the MoI had the right to propose candidates from which the municipal councils had to select. If the councils rejected two lists of candidates, the MoI had the right to choose a candidate from a list proposed by the councils. In addition, the MoI had the option of replacing local police chiefs through the Sector for Professional Standards and Internal Control in case a police chief was found guilty of abuse.<sup>467</sup> In view of these difficulties, the goal of realizing decentralization by 2006 does not seem achievable.

*Lack of co-operation by citizens.* In cases of street damage and threats to civilians, only 61.6 per cent of people affected reported the incident to the police. Almost 40 per cent did not report such incidents. They explained their behaviour by saying that the police were not effective, or that they were afraid of the police (37.5 per cent).<sup>468</sup> However, 89.3 per cent of respondents said they would call the police if they were robbed. Among those who would call the police in cases of a robbery, ethnic Macedonians (93.4 per cent) were much more willing to do so than were ethnic Albanians (77 per cent).<sup>469</sup>

*Small arms proliferation.* Between 350,000 and 750,000 small arms and light weapons are in the hands of Macedonian citizens. An estimated 100,000 to 450,000 of them are held illegally. The distribution of arms is fairly equal between ethnic Macedonians and Albanians.<sup>470</sup> A large number of weapons were distributed during the armed conflict in 2001. Ethnic Albanians received weapons from Albania and Kosovo as well as from ethnic Albanian political parties who had the authority to distribute firearms licences to their supporters. Ethnic Macedonians received weapons either from Macedonian political parties or from the MoI as members of the police or as villagers in predominantly Albanian regions. However, even before the conflict, a widespread “gun culture” existed among ethnic Macedonians and Albanians alike.<sup>471</sup> What

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<sup>465</sup> Cf. Ordanoski 2001; Matveeva et al. 2003: 22f.; Vankovska 2003: 13.

<sup>466</sup> Interview with senior representative of the international community, Skopje, June 2005.

<sup>467</sup> Cf. Utrinski Vesnik, 31 August 2005, in: European Union Police Mission Proxima 2005g.

<sup>468</sup> Cf. UNDP 2005b: 43.

<sup>469</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 44.

<sup>470</sup> Cf. Saferworld 2004: 104.

<sup>471</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 103; Vankovska 2003: 13.



seems to be different now, compared to the period before 2001, is that firearms are more visible and more likely to be used in crimes, and that the numbers of victims and incidents involving automatic weapons are rising.<sup>472</sup>

*Financial constraints.* Of the 39.3 million Euros needed for police reform in 2005, the Macedonian state budget could only provide 3.2 million Euros.<sup>473</sup> Without the financial assistance of the international community, primarily the European Commission, the reform would have had no chance at all. Due to the financial constraints, the low salaries of police officers (about 250 Euros a month) have not been raised.<sup>474</sup>

*Corruption.* According to Transparency International's 2004 Corruption Perceptions Index, Macedonia received a rating of 2.7 (10 being the most "clean"), ranking the country (together with Serbia and Montenegro) in 97th place among the 146 countries surveyed. Compared to 2003, Macedonia has slightly improved its standing, moving up 9 places.<sup>475</sup> The Transparency International Global Corruption Barometer of 2004 shows that the Macedonian judiciary is ranked as the most corrupt institution followed by the customs service, political parties and medical services. The police service follows in fifth place.<sup>476</sup> That many people expect to gain from bribing police officers can be seen from the fact that about 30 per cent of the respondents to the CORE survey stated that they had been offered bribes (cf. chart A.24). These figures were noticeably higher than in Kosovo (8.7 per cent) and South Serbia (16.8 per cent). Correspondingly, significantly more international police observers had been aware of cases of attempted bribery at their stations in Macedonia (29.6 per cent) than in Kosovo (14.8 per cent, cf. chart A.25).

To fight corruption, a State Commission for the Prevention of Corruption has been established under the new Anti-Corruption Law; and the new Professional Standards Unit within the MoI seems to be willing to fight police corruption proactively. This is indicated by the significant increase in the number of corruption cases brought by the MoI.<sup>477</sup> Nevertheless, the head of the EUPOL Proxima mission complained in March 2005, that, since Proxima's arrival in 2003, only one large-scale anti-corruption operation had been conducted by the MoI.<sup>478</sup> In 2004, the State Commission for the Prevention of Corruption complained that it did not have access for its inquiries to any of the ministries with the exception of the MoI.<sup>479</sup> Another obstacle to effective action by the State Commission was rooted in the Anti-Corruption Law itself, which did not confer any investigative powers on the Commission.<sup>480</sup> In 2005, with the assistance of the Stability Pact and CoE's Programme against Corruption and Organised Crime in South-eastern Europe (PACO), the government prepared new laws for a more effective fight against corruption, e.g. amendments to the Criminal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, the Law for the Prevention of Corruption, and the Witness Protection Law. However, the international community considered the way these laws were implemented inappropriate.<sup>481</sup> International advisers were still looking for a decisive and successful anti-corruption policy.<sup>482</sup> The Macedonian public was even more critical about developments in

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<sup>472</sup> Cf. Saferworld 2004: 105.

<sup>473</sup> Cf. International Crisis Group 2005a: 9.

<sup>474</sup> Interview with EUPOL Proxima representative, Skopje, Mai 2005.

<sup>475</sup> Cf. Transparency International 2005.

<sup>476</sup> Cf. Transparency International 2004b: 18.

<sup>477</sup> Cf. European Union Police Mission Proxima 2004b: 4.

<sup>478</sup> Cf. European Union Police Mission Proxima 2005b: 3.

<sup>479</sup> Cf. Schenker 2004: 110.

<sup>480</sup> Cf. Freedom House 2004b: 14.

<sup>481</sup> See for example Council of Europe 2005: 3f.

<sup>482</sup> Cf. Macedonian Information Agency (MIA) 2005.

the fight against corruption. The vast majority of the population (64 per cent) did not expect any decrease in corruption in the next three years.<sup>483</sup>

#### 4.4 Conclusions

Similar to South Serbia, the OSCE and its partner organizations, together with the national MoI, have had considerable success in establishing multi-ethnic police units that were able to re-enter Albanian villages in the former crisis region, thereby (re-)establishing basic elements of the state's monopoly of force. Communication between the police and the villagers has developed. In the course of decreasing tensions, most of the some 170 former police check-points around the villages have been dismantled. Altogether, this means a significant turning away from the confrontational policing approach of the years before 2002. However, the negative trade-off for this new "soft" policing approach has been that the fight against crime has frequently been conducted in an inconsistent manner so as not to "provoke" new tensions. Multi-ethnic police units have been hampered in their actions by orders from their superiors to only focus on minor criminal incidents, traffic, and administrative service. On the other hand, the new officers' inadequate skills and inexperience have not enabled them to conduct regular police work effectively. Increasingly, this has led to the complaint by the population, including ethnic Albanians, that the police do not provide sufficient security against criminal gangs, a problem which has been noticeably on the rise in the former crisis region.

The lack of policing skills among the newly trained officers has also been the main reason for the limited success in integrating multi-ethnic units into the regular police, and for the sluggish promotion of Albanian officers. To truly achieve equal representation of Albanians in the police, as demanded by the Ohrid Framework Agreement, several hundred more Albanians need to be recruited and integrated into all branches of the police. However, deep cuts in the public administration of Macedonia as demanded by the IMF, which require the downsizing of the police force, in combination with the simultaneous additional appointments of ethnic Albanians, will almost certainly lead to renewed tensions between the two communities. The integration of Albanian officers has been particularly inadequate with respect to the special police, still exclusively composed of ethnic Macedonians. This has created a situation in which the authorities are no longer able to enforce the law as in the "Kondovo" case, because any bloodshed among Albanian villagers, as a result of a police raid by "ethnically pure" Macedonian special forces, would almost certainly lead to the resignation of the Albanian coalition partner in the government. While even ordinary Albanians have increasingly denounced the inactivity of state institutions against Albanian criminal organizations, the ethnic Macedonian majority has been particularly upset. This has further decreased the already low trust in the regular and the multi-ethnic police as well.

The poor reputation of all rule-of-law agencies has also developed as a result of the severe structural problems of politicization, over-centralization, and endemic corruption inherited from the past. These deficiencies can only be remedied if comprehensive security sector reforms are implemented consistently. The police reform strategy of December 2003, the implementation of which had not really started by the beginning of 2005, requires protracted efforts from the government and assistance from its international partners. In view of these multiple problems, the termination of Proxima and its replacement with a much smaller EU Police Assistance Team (EUPAT) in December 2005,<sup>484</sup> and the further downsizing of the OSCE's PDU do not seem to be the appropriate measures. Furthermore, although the OSCE, the EU

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<sup>483</sup> Cf. Transparency International 2004b: 21.

<sup>484</sup> The Proxima contingent of 140 police officers was to be replaced by only around 30 police advisors.

and the Macedonian government were insisting in the summer of 2005 that the security situation in Macedonia was stable despite the “Kondovo” crisis, the impact of the political and security developments in Kosovo on Macedonia cannot be predicted.

## Chapter 5 Summary of Findings, Conclusions, and Recommendations

### 5.1 *Findings of the Three Case Studies*

A critical assessment of the implementation of the three mandates reveals mixed results. That the missions were able in all three cases to recruit and train as many officers as planned was a clear success. So far, about 7,500 officers have been trained and deployed in ethnically mixed units in Kosovo, 400 in South Serbia, and 1,500 in Macedonia.

Furthermore, a general climate of professionalism and comradeship has developed at the police academies and in the multi-ethnic units. This was more easily achieved in South Serbia and Macedonia, where the level of violence during the conflicts was rather low. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that, in these two countries, inter-ethnic communication and co-operation within the police is significantly better than in their respective societies as a whole. The most surprising finding, however, concerns Kosovo. In spite of the significantly higher level of inter-ethnic violence during the Kosovo conflict, the inter-ethnic social climate at the Kosovo Police Service School and in the multi-ethnic units was judged to be almost as good as in South Serbia and Macedonia. This is the result of the extensive use made by UNMIK and OMIK of their capacity for intervention. After initially having been forced to live and work together in order not to lose their jobs, police officers of different ethnic groups developed the basic co-operative attitudes necessary for the joint execution of their tasks. This positive result is by no means cancelled out by the inter-ethnic problems the KPS experienced following the March 2004 riots. On the contrary, it is encouraging that inter-ethnic problems occurred only in a few police stations and that the multi-ethnic composition of the KPS in general was not endangered.

A third positive achievement is the level of confidence in the new police that was reached in all three cases, particularly among the Albanian population, but also among Bosniaks, Turks, and Roma. In Kosovo, the local police enjoy a very good reputation, and in South Serbia and Macedonia, the Albanian communities have begun to turn to the multi-ethnic police with their concerns. This would have been almost unthinkable for the mono-ethnic police forces before 2001.

However, a number of failures and deficiencies must also be acknowledged. Unlike the ethnic Albanian population, ethnic Serbs and Macedonians view the multi-ethnic units with much scepticism, in the case of Kosovo, even with open rejection. In the Serb-dominated northern part of Kosovo, even Serbian KPS officers are not respected by the population. The Serbian population in this region prefers to rely on the parallel security structures still maintained by the Belgrade government. In the other Serbian enclaves across Kosovo, the attitude of the population towards the KPS is more positive. However, the population there is forced to accommodate itself to the KPS, as parallel Serbian security structures do not exist. In South Serbia and Macedonia, the acceptance of the multi-ethnic units is also rather low within the regular police apparatus, most visibly expressed by the inadequate integration of these units into the existing structures. In particular, co-operation between multi-ethnic units and special police forces tasked with fighting organized crime and terrorism continues to be difficult.

The prime reason for this lack of integration is the inadequate training of the new police officers. The poor level of education of many ethnic Albanian police applicants represents a significant obstacle to their further training. Structural and conceptual deficiencies of the training programmes themselves also play a role in the inadequate skills of these newly trained

officers. As far as the basic academy training is concerned, the most important problems resulted from the need to teach an enormous syllabus within a very short period of time. Because lessons given by international instructors had to be translated from English into Serbian, Albanian or Macedonian, the already short training time was additionally cut by half or even two-thirds. Moreover, basic training suffered in South Serbia and Macedonia from too many theoretical lessons and the lack of knowledge and old-fashioned teaching styles of local police instructors. The deficiencies in the field training were primarily related to training periods that were too short to allow the new police officers to transfer their theoretical knowledge into practical experience. This problem of time was aggravated by a lack of personnel resources. Inadequate numbers of international and local field trainers did not permit intensive mentoring of the new officers. Moreover, field trainers had quite different levels of knowledge and motivation. Consequently, the substance of the field training could not be sufficiently standardized.

In addition to educational deficits, in all three cases, a number of local police officers were not suitable because of their criminal background or other negative personality traits. Nevertheless, these officers were recruited due to political pressure exerted by representatives of all ethnic communities. As the OSCE only played a supporting role with respect to the recruitment process in South Serbia and Macedonia, the organization's options for intervention were rather limited. In Kosovo, where the OSCE and the UN had the sole responsibility for recruiting, they had severe problems in getting reliable information about the applicants, because relevant documents had vanished during the war. Last but not least, the pressure to integrate as many "minority officers" as possible, within an extremely short period of time, led the international organizations to give a chance to candidates who were unsuitable.

The results of the case studies do not permit a clear assessment of the impact of the incorporation of former combatants on the functioning of the police. Relevant perceptions of international and local police officers indicate that former combatants do indeed represent an obstacle to the proper functioning of the police despite the fact that the majority of them so far have not stood out in a negative way during training or on duty.

Other reasons for the frequently unprofessional performance of new police officers were related to specific structural deficiencies of the post-socialist police forces in Serbia and Macedonia. The over-centralized command structures in Serbia and Macedonia are a significant obstacle to autonomous decision-making among lower-ranking police officers. Centralized structures also give way to political interference in operational measures and in the career development of individual police officers. A thorough reform of the Serbian and Macedonian police laws, which could contain these problems and adjust the performance of the police services to EU standards, is still far from complete. A related problem, providing fertile ground for corruption, is the low salaries of police officers. While the reputation of the police, in this respect, is quite poor in general, the Kosovar police still enjoy considerable trust among the Albanian population.

Finally, effective police work is seriously hampered in all three cases by the low level of cooperation between the police and the judiciary, and particularly by the severe deficiencies within the judiciary itself. Inefficient, corrupt, politicized and biased courts undermine the law enforcement actions of the police, thereby weakening the state's monopoly of force.

## 5.2 Conclusions

The record of international efforts in creating multi-ethnic police services in the Balkans is rather limited and based on brief experience only. Nevertheless, important steps towards achieving initial operational readiness of these new police services have been made.

In all three cases, the key problem remains the low and functionally inadequate level of training and, in consequence, the qualifications of the multi-ethnic units. However, while UNMIK has put a lot of effort into reducing these deficits and, with a few exceptions, has transferred the operational authority to the local police, police authorities in South Serbia and Macedonia are reluctant to integrate the new multi-ethnic units into the regular police forces, particularly the criminal police and the special units. If the integration problem remains unresolved and the special units remain ethnic *domaines réservées*, there is a real danger that the concept of multi-ethnic police could degenerate into a mere symbolic gesture. This would not only mean stagnation, but would also involve the risk of serious regression. Once the population and the officers themselves have come to the conclusion that multi-ethnic units represent a second or third choice and thus cannot be taken seriously, the whole concept of employing multi-ethnic police to build peace in post-conflict situations will be called into question. While, at the beginning, it was reasonable and necessary to focus on the quantitative goal of deploying a sufficient number of multi-ethnic units as soon as possible, the focus must now – and for the years to come – be on improving the performance of the new officers if the concept of multi-ethnic police is not to be undermined.

Winning the trust of all ethnic population groups is even more difficult than establishing the police's operational readiness. This requires a process of ethno-political rethinking – within all ethnic communities – which cannot be initiated and supported by administrative means, such as job incentives or disciplinary measures. What is needed is a true, voluntary and broadly autonomous learning process, something that is much more difficult to achieve. A necessary condition for such learning processes – but not a sufficient one – is that multi-ethnic units must prove in practice that they are capable of securing the rights of all ethnic groups in an even-handed manner. And precisely this has, so far, been a serious problem in all three cases. As important as favourable political conditions are – i.e. moderate politicians, confidence-building programmes and projects such as community policing or community advisory groups – the core question for building confidence is whether the multi-ethnic police are capable of functioning as a reliable guarantor of the state's monopoly of force. So far, this has only been partially achieved in all three mission areas.

Therefore, it is essential that the international actors continue their efforts to professionalize the new police services in the Balkans. The member states of the OSCE, the EU and the UN have recognized that the establishment of sound and accountable security institutions is a crucial element of sustainable post-conflict peace-building in the Western Balkans, which would allow them, at some point, to pull out their troops from the region. Furthermore, the EU members have also become aware of the fact that the creation of effective police forces is indispensable for combating organized crime in the region, that also threatens the security of European states. Since the Balkan states cannot be expected to solve these problems on their own, it is in the best interest of EU states to provide long-term support for the reform of the police and other elements of the security sector.

### 5.3 Recommendations

Police reform in post-conflict transformation societies is a complex and challenging endeavour. It needs sustained support, as the final outcome of reform efforts cannot be determined within two or three years. For this reason, international actors must be prepared to engage in police reforms for longer periods.

*Provision of personnel.* The different tasks of international police personnel, ranging from training, monitoring, and advising up to armed law enforcement, require more specialized staff and more training before and during missions. There is an urgent need for more and better-qualified instructors, both at the academies and in the field. These instructors, in turn, should undergo pre-mission training in order to be brought to the same level of competence and to familiarize themselves with mission-specific training programmes. This is essential to ensure standardized teaching of course content. In addition to instructors, police reform missions require an even larger number of monitors and advisers, who can be co-located at police stations and even at the ministerial level to monitor the implementation of police reforms and provide assistance to their local counterparts.

With respect to the three cases analysed, it would have been advisable to extend the EU police presence in Macedonia with the same number of personnel following the termination of the Proxima mandate in December 2005. The implementation of police reforms in Macedonia actually only started in January 2005 and is far from complete. Macedonian authorities will need further monitoring and advice from the EU and the OSCE if they are to have the chance of adjusting their security sector to EU standards and fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria for EU accession. The same applies to the Serbian authorities. As for Kosovo, the police mission will have to continue its work for the years to come, either under the umbrella of the UN or of the EU. In addition to trainers, monitors and advisers, the Kosovo mission needs international specialists for combating organized crime and riot control – since the KPS does not yet have sufficient capabilities to effectively fulfil these tasks on their own.

*Provision of material and conceptual resources.* In order to set up missions quickly and avoid repeating mistakes already made, pre-mission planning, including mission-specific needs-assessment in the field is needed at the earliest possible stage. Mission-specific training curricula must consider local legal and cultural specifics to avoid impracticable training content. International organizations should therefore establish analytical and planning units, run databases with standard curricula, and compare and evaluate the existing training concepts of the different missions.

Experience has shown that basic academy training should not be less than twelve weeks if the necessary minimum content is to be taught. The three cases have also demonstrated the importance of including a significant number of practical training sessions. With respect to field training, there is a need for more intensive mentoring and better integration of new officers into daily police work to give them the opportunity to acquire practical experience.

As for material resources, police training missions need start-up kits containing basic office and classroom equipment. The three case studies have also shown the need for considerable financial resources for the refurbishment of training facilities. With respect to the fight against organized crime, host countries will need high-tech equipment, in particular IT equipment and equipment for forensics and crime scene management.

At the same time, donor co-ordination should be improved to avoid duplication and in-compatibility of donated equipment and training programmes. The development of a related database, covering international police assistance projects, would be a great help to programme co-ordinators. The “Inventory Initiative” on “Security Sector Reform in South Eastern Europe”, a database project carried out by the Centre for International Security Studies (YCISS) at York University,<sup>485</sup> is a first important step in this direction. However, a more extensive database covering all regions in which the UN, the OSCE and the EU are engaged in security sector reforms is needed.

*Implementation of reform programmes.* With respect to the sustainability of police reforms, the international community cannot avoid exerting considerable political pressure on the host states to implement new legislation regulating the tasks and structures of the police forces. This is essential for making police work more effective, de-politicizing the police, dismantling over-centralized command structures, making career developments more transparent, fighting human rights violations and other forms of police misconduct, isolating radical political groups, and strengthening the co-operation between the police and the judiciary.

In Kosovo, the international community must ensure that the positive achievements of the KPS are not reversed by radical forces, should the province gain (conditional) independence from Serbia. In the cases of South Serbia and Macedonia, sustained political pressure will be necessary to achieve the integration of multi-ethnic units in all branches of the police, particularly in the special police units.

*Efforts to win the trust of all ethnic groups.* Finally, more efforts are needed to win the trust of ethnic Serbians and Macedonians in the multi-ethnic police. Only if this is achieved, can one really speak of successful integration. The creation of Crime Prevention Councils (Kosovo), Community Advisory Groups (South Serbia) and Citizens Advisory Groups (Macedonia) at municipality level, and the introduction of specifically trained Community Policing Officers are important steps in this direction. International missions, in co-operation with civil societies, must also continue to put more effort into explaining the overall purpose and proper functioning of such institutions to the local population.

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<sup>485</sup> This project is implemented on behalf of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe (Working Table III on Security Issues), see <http://sr.yciss.yorku.ca/> (30 July 2005).



## Annex 1: List of Abbreviations

BDI/DUI	Democratic Union for Integration (Macedonian political party)
BIA	Bezbednosno-Informativna Agencija (Serbian Security Intelligence Agency)
CAG	Community Advisory Group (in South Serbia)
CAG	Citizen Advisory Group (in Macedonia)
CARDS	Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilization (by the EU)
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CoE	Council of Europe
CORE	Centre for OSCE Research
CPO	Community Policing Officer (Kosovo/South Serbia)
CPT	Community Police Trainer (Macedonia)
CPU	Close Protection Unit (Kosovo)
CRC	Community Relations Co-ordinator (Macedonia)
DEPD	Department of Police Education and Development (of OMIK)
DFID	Department for International Development (of the UK)
EC	European Commission
ECJHAT	European Commission Justice and Home Affairs Team
ECPRP	European Commission Police Reform Project
EU	European Union
EUPOL	European Police
FTO	Field Training Officer
HH	Household Head (category used by SEESAC in a 2003 survey in Serbia)
HLC	Humanitarian Law Center (NGO in Serbia)
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICITAP	International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (of the USA)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
JAC	Joint Advisory Council on Provisional Judicial Appointment
KCS	Kosovo Correctional Service
KFOR	Kosovo Force
KJI	Kosovo Judicial Institute
KLC	Kosovo Law Center
KPS	Kosovo Police Service
KPS-CAST	Kosovo Police Service Counselling And Support Team
KPSS	Kosovo Police Service School
LDK	Democratic League of Kosovo
LED	Law Enforcement Department (of OMiFRY, later OMiSaM)
MEPE	Multi-Ethnic Police Element (South Serbia)
MoD	Ministry of Defence
MoI	Ministry of the Interior
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
MSC	Municipal Safety Council (South Serbia)
MTA	Military Technical Agreement

MUP	Ministarstvo Unutrasnjih Poslova (Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE)
OIOS	Office of Internal Oversight Services (UN)
OMiFRY	OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
OMIK	OSCE Mission in Kosovo
OMiSaM	OSCE Mission in Serbia and Montenegro
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
OUP	Odeljenje Unutrasnjih Poslova (Organisational structure in Serbia in charge of policing at the municipal level).
PACO	Programme against Corruption and Organised Crime in South-eastern Europe (programme of the Council of Europe)
PDK	Kosovo Democratic Party
PDU	Police Development Unit (of the OSCE Spillover and Monitor Mission to Skopje)
PISG	Provisional Institutions of Self-Government (Kosovo)
PSU	Professional Standards Unit (of the KPS)
ROSU	Regional Operation Support Unit (of the KPS)
REFLEX	A multi-agency taskforce established in the UK to tackle organised immigration crime
SEESAC	South Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons
SOP	Standard Operating Procedure
SPMU	Strategic Police Matters Unit (at the OSCE Secretariat in Vienna)
SPU	Special Police Unit
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
SWAT	Special Weapons and Tactics (training course)
TI	Transparency International
UBK	Uprava za bezbednost i kontrarazuznavanje / Directorate for Security and Counterintelligence (Macedonia)
UCK	Ushtria Clirimtare e Kosoves / Kosovo Liberation Army
UCK	Ushtria Clirimtare Kombetare / National Liberation Army (in Macedonia)
UCPMB	Ushtria Clirimtare e Presheves Medvexhes dhe Bujanovicit / Liberation Army of Presevo, Medvedja und Bujanovac (South Serbia)
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCIVPOL	United Nations Civilian Police (Kosovo)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
USA	United States of America
VMRO-DPMNE/ IMRO-DPMNU	Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity

## Annex 2: Tables with Statistical Data

Table A.0: Returned Questionnaires and Return Rates

	<b>Kosovo</b>	<b>Macedonia</b>	<b>South Serbia</b>
Cadets	61 = 47% Ethnicity: 52 Albanians 6 Serbs 3 "Others"	97 = 97% Ethnicity: 53 Albanians 43 Macedonians 1 "Others"	-
Local Police Officers	178 = 71.2% Ethnicity: 83 Albanians 68 Serbs 27 "Others"	102 = 68% Ethnicity: 54 Albanians 38 Macedonians 10 "Others"	126 = 84% Ethnicity: 80 Albanians 46 Serbs
Intl. Instructors	30 = 60%	6 = 100%	5 = 17%
Intl. Monitors	54 = 54%	33 = 66%	-

In the following tables, the sample sizes (n) sometimes do not correspond exactly to the total sample sizes of Table A.0. This is due to the fact that, in a number of cases, not all members of a sample group answered a question, since they were not in the position to do so (for example, if they had to evaluate a specific training course, which they had not attended previously). In addition, some respondents did not answer a question in the right way (for example, by choosing more answer possibilities than allowed). In both cases, those "missing" answers were not taken into account in the survey. Instead, only the valid answers, which were calculated by the SPSS programme ("valid percentages"), were used in the survey.

Table A.1: Level of Co-operation between International Actors in the Fields of Recruiting, Screening and Training Local Police Officers

<i>A.1 Please rate the co-operation between the OSCE and UNMIK / OSCE and EU in the fields of recruiting, screening and training local police officers</i>									
	<b>Kosovo</b>						<b>Macedonia</b>		
	<i>OSCE Instructors</i>			<i>UN Monitors</i>			<i>EU Monitors</i>		
	n = 27, in %			n = 48, in %			n = 20, in %		
	Recruit- ing	Screen- ing	Train- ing	Recruit- ing	Screen- ing	Train- ing	Recruit- ing	Screen- ing	Train- ing
Grade of co-operation									
Excellent	3.7	3.7	14.8	6.1	6.3	14.6	5.3	5.0	0.0
Good	44.4	44.4	63.0	51.0	33.3	50.0	31.6	25.0	38.1
Fair	11.1	33.3	22.2	16.3	27.1	18.8	10.5	25.0	19.0
Bad	33.3	11.1	0.0	6.1	8.3	2.1	15.8	10.0	14.3
Don't know	7.4	7.4	0.0	20.4	25.0	14.6	36.8	35.0	28.6

Table A.2: Local Cadets' and Officers' Level of Satisfaction with Basic Training Courses

<i>A.2 Please rate your satisfaction with the basic training courses you attended</i>					
	<b>Kosovo</b>		<b>Macedonia</b>		<b>South Serbia</b>
	<i>Cadets</i>	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Cadets</i>	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Officers</i>
	n = 58 in %	n = 162 in %	n = 89 in %	n = 73 in %	n = 102 in %
Extremely satisfied	46.6	28.4	31.5	27.4	42.2
Very Satisfied	25.9	27.8	37.1	32.9	31.4
Fairly Satisfied	27.6	38.3	23.6	30.1	24.5
More or less dissatisfied	0.0	4.9	5.6	1.4	2.0
Don't know	0.0	0.6	2.2	8.2	0.0

Table A.2a: Kosovar Officers' Level of Satisfaction with Field Training and Specialized Training

<i>A.2a Please rate your satisfaction with the field training and specialized training you received</i>							
	<b>Officers in Kosovo</b>						
	<i>Field training</i>	<i>Specialized training</i>					
		<i>First Line Supervisor</i>	<i>Mid-level Management</i>	<i>Criminal Investigation</i>	<i>Traffic Accident Investigation</i>	<i>Emergency Response Driving</i>	<i>Basic Drivers Theory</i>
	n = 119 in %	n = 31 in %	n = 13 in %	n = 30 in %	n = 12 in %	n = 66 in %	n = 47 in %
Extremely satisfied	21.8	29.0	23.1	26.7	16.7	34.8	14.9
Very satisfied	32.8	48.4	69.2	53.3	41.7	39.4	40.4
Fairly satisfied	37.0	19.4	0.0	16.7	33.3	24.2	40.4
More or less dissatisfied	7.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1
Don't know	0.8	3.2	7.7	3.3	8.3	1.5	2.1

Table A.2b: Macedonian Officers' Level of Satisfaction with Field Training and Specialized Training

<i>A.2b Please rate your satisfaction with the field training and specialized training you received</i>						
<b>Officers in Macedonia</b>						
	<i>Field training</i>	<i>Specialized training</i>				
		<i>In-Service Training</i>	<i>Reform Training Program</i>	<i>Election Security</i>	<i>Trafficking in Human Beings</i>	<i>Municipal Emergency Management Authority</i>
	n = 37 in %	n = 52 in %	n = 33 in %	n = 48 in %	n = 36 in %	n = 25 in %
Extremely satisfied	21.6	25.0	15.2	18.8	19.4	24.0
Very satisfied	16.3	30.8	27.3	39.6	30.6	12.0
Fairly satisfied	27.0	25.0	15.2	10.4	13.9	12.0
More or less dissatisfied	8.1	11.5	0.0	8.3	27.8	4.0
Don't know	27.0	7.7	42.4	22.9	8.3	48.0

Table A.3: Local Cadets' and Officers' Level of Satisfaction with OSCE Police Instructors

<i>A.3 How satisfied are/were you with the OSCE Police Instructors</i>					
	<b>Kosovo</b>		<b>Macedonia</b>		<b>South Serbia</b>
	<i>Cadets</i>	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Cadets</i>	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Officers</i>
	n = 61 in %	n = 174 in %	n = 96 in %	n = 86 in %	n = 123 in %
Extremely satisfied	42.6	12.1	26.0	26.7	38.2
Very Satisfied	26.2	37.9	32.3	41.9	29.3
Fairly Satisfied	27.9	45.4	32.3	20.9	30.1
More or less dissatisfied	1.6	2.9	9.4	5.8	2.4
Don't know	1.6	1.7	0.0	26.7	0.0

Table A.4: Local Cadets' and Officers' Level of Satisfaction with Local Police Instructors

<i>A.4 How satisfied are/were you with the local/national Police Instructors?</i>					
	<b>Kosovo</b>		<b>Macedonia</b>		<b>South Serbia</b>
	<i>Cadets</i>	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Cadets</i>	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Officers</i>
	n = 61 in %	n = 172 in %	n = 96 in %	n = 87 in %	n = 123 in %
Extremely satisfied	62.3	18.0	30.2	25.3	41.5
Very satisfied	24.6	23.8	37.5	27.6	32.5
Fairly satisfied	11.5	37.2	24.0	37.9	22.8
More or less dissatisfied	1.6	13.4	4.2	5.7	3.3
Don't know	0.0	7.6	4.2	3.4	0.0

Table A.5a: Kosovar Cadets' Assessment of OSCE Police Instructors' Teaching Capabilities

<i>A.5a Please rate the teaching capabilities of the OSCE Police Instructors</i>						
<b>Cadets in Kosovo</b>						
	<i>Teaching capability</i>	<i>Language proficiency</i>	<i>Capability to communicate</i>	<i>Motivation for work</i>	<i>Readiness to solve ethnic problems in class</i>	<i>Readiness to speak about problems after training</i>
	n = 49 in %	n = 46 in %	n = 50 in %	n = 53 in %	n = 50 in %	n = 47 in %
Excellent	49.0	41.3	38.0	49.1	52.0	40.4
Very good	16.3	17.4	24.0	9.4	20.0	19.1
Good	28.6	32.6	26.0	24.5	22.0	19.1
Fair	4.1	6.5	12.0	17.0	6.0	17.0
Poor	2.0	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3

Table A.5b: Kosovar Officers' Assessment of OSCE Police Instructors' Teaching Capabilities

<i>A.5b Please rate the teaching capabilities of the OSCE Police Instructors</i>						
<b>Officers in Kosovo</b>						
	<i>Teaching capability</i>	<i>Language proficiency</i>	<i>Capability to communicate</i>	<i>Motivation for work</i>	<i>Readiness to solve ethnic problems in class</i>	<i>Readiness to speak about problems after training</i>
	n = 136 in %	n = 118 in %	n = 128 in %	n = 136 in %	n = 126 in %	n = 121 in %
Excellent	25.7	12.7	22.7	27.2	31.7	30.6
Very good	33.1	35.6	28.9	23.5	24.6	31.4
Good	29.4	22.0	32.8	31.6	24.6	18.2
Fair	19.3	18.6	13.3	16.2	15.1	15.7
Poor	1.5	11.0	2.3	1.5	4.0	4.1

Table A.5c: Macedonian Cadets' Assessment of OSCE Police Instructors' Teaching Capabilities

<i>A.5c Please rate the teaching capabilities of the OSCE Police Instructors</i>						
<b>Cadets in Macedonia</b>						
	<i>Teaching capability</i>	<i>Language proficiency</i>	<i>Capability to communicate</i>	<i>Motivation for work</i>	<i>Readiness to solve ethnic problems in class</i>	<i>Readiness to speak about problems after training</i>
	n = 96 in %	n = 95 in %	n = 96 in %	n = 94 in %	n = 93 in %	n = 93 in %
Excellent	39.6	31.6	45.8	46.8	46.2	46.2
Very good	27.1	20.0	24.0	23.4	24.7	19.4
Good	24.0	27.4	20.8	21.3	18.3	24.7
Fair	7.3	11.6	5.2	7.4	6.5	7.5
Poor	2.1	9.5	4.2	1.1	4.3	2.2

Table A.5d: Macedonian Officers' Assessment of OSCE Police Instructors' Teaching Capabilities

<i>A.5d Please rate the teaching capabilities of the OSCE Police Instructors</i>						
<b>Officers in Macedonia</b>						
	<i>Teaching capability</i>	<i>Language proficiency</i>	<i>Capability to communicate</i>	<i>Motivation for work</i>	<i>Readiness to solve ethnic problems in class</i>	<i>Readiness to speak about problems after training</i>
	n = 86 in %	n = 85 in %	n = 84 in %	n = 85 in %	n = 85 in %	n = 85 in %
Excellent	39.5	27.1	38.1	48.2	35.3	41.2
Very good	26.7	21.2	22.6	17.6	23.5	21.2
Good	19.8	27.1	23.8	16.5	17.6	21.2
Fair	11.6	18.8	10.7	8.2	14.1	7.1
Poor	2.3	5.9	4.8	9.4	9.4	9.4

Table A.5e: South Serbian Officers' Assessment of OSCE Police Instructors' Teaching Capabilities

<i>A.5e Please rate the teaching capabilities of the OSCE Police Instructors</i>						
<b>Officers in South Serbia</b>						
	<i>Teaching capability</i>	<i>Language proficiency</i>	<i>Capability to communicate</i>	<i>Motivation for work</i>	<i>Readiness to solve ethnic problems in class</i>	<i>Readiness to speak about problems after training</i>
	n = 109 in %	n = 112 in %	n = 108 in %	n = 108 in %	n = 108 in %	n = 110 in %
Excellent	42.2	29.5	48.1	50.9	43.5	51.8
Very good	25.7	25.0	22.2	28.7	28.7	19.1
Good	14.7	24.1	14.8	8.3	14.8	17.3
Fair	12.8	13.4	9.3	5.6	6.5	4.5
Poor	4.6	8.0	5.6	6.5	6.5	7.3

Table A.6a: Kosovar Cadets' Assessment of Local Police Instructors' Teaching Capabilities

<i>A.6a Please rate the teaching capabilities of the local Police Instructors</i>						
<b>Cadets in Kosovo</b>						
	<i>Teaching capability</i>	<i>Language proficiency</i>	<i>Capability to communicate</i>	<i>Motivation for work</i>	<i>Readiness to solve ethnic problems in class</i>	<i>Readiness to speak about problems after training</i>
	n = 56 in %	n = 50 in %	n = 53 in %	n = 53 in %	n = 49 in %	n = 50 in %
Excellent	71.4	64.0	67.9	64.2	77.6	74.0
Very good	17.9	20.0	15.1	17.0	10.2	16.0
Good	3.6	4.0	9.4	3.8	6.1	4.0
Fair	5.4	6.0	7.5	13.2	4.1	4.0
Poor	1.8	6.0	0.0	1.9	2.0	2.0

Table A.6b: Kosovar Officers' Assessment of Local Police Instructors' Teaching Capabilities

<i>A.6b Please rate the teaching capabilities of the local Police Instructors</i>						
<b>Officers in Kosovo</b>						
	<i>Teaching capability</i>	<i>Language proficiency</i>	<i>Capability to communicate</i>	<i>Motivation for work</i>	<i>Readiness to solve ethnic problems in class</i>	<i>Readiness to speak about problems after training</i>
	n = 128 in %	n = 116 in %	n = 117 in %	n = 127 in %	n = 116 in %	n = 110 in %
Excellent	21.9	19.0	13.7	23.6	19.0	23.6
Very good	26.6	26.7	28.2	23.6	24.1	23.6
Good	22.7	21.6	29.9	29.1	23.3	24.5
Fair	23.4	24.1	20.5	20.5	23.3	20.0
Poor	5.5	8.6	7.7	3.1	10.3	8.2

Table A.6c: Macedonian Cadets' Assessment of Local Police Instructors' Teaching Capabilities

<i>A.6c Please rate the teaching capabilities of the local Police Instructors</i>						
<b>Cadets in Macedonia</b>						
	<i>Teaching capability</i>	<i>Language proficiency</i>	<i>Capability to communicate</i>	<i>Motivation for work</i>	<i>Readiness to solve ethnic problems in class</i>	<i>Readiness to speak about problems after training</i>
	n = 95 in %	n = 96 in %	n = 97 in %	n = 90 in %	n = 94 in %	n = 95 in %
Excellent	61.1	79.2	73.2	70.0	60.6	70.5
Very good	26.3	8.3	14.4	14.4	21.3	14.7
Good	9.5	6.3	10.3	12.2	12.8	10.5
Fair	2.1	3.1	2.1	1.1	3.2	3.2
Poor	1.1	3.1	0.0	2.2	2.1	1.1



Table A.6d: Macedonian Officers' Assessment of Local Police Instructors' Teaching Capabilities

<i>A.6d Please rate the teaching capabilities of the local Police Instructors</i>						
<b>Officers in Macedonia</b>						
	<i>Teaching capability</i>	<i>Language proficiency</i>	<i>Capability to communicate</i>	<i>Motivation for work</i>	<i>Readiness to solve ethnic problems in class</i>	<i>Readiness to speak about problems after training</i>
	n = 85 in %	n = 85 in %	n = 84 in %	n = 86 in %	n = 85 in %	n = 84 in %
Excellent	32.9	43.5	42.9	38.4	32.9	36.9
Very good	30.6	22.4	22.6	20.9	14.1	11.9
Good	23.5	24.7	21.4	20.9	30.6	27.4
Fair	10.6	7.1	10.7	16.3	15.3	13.1
Poor	2.4	2.4	2.4	3.5	7.1	10.7

Table A.6e: South Serbian Officers' Assessment of Local Police Instructors' Teaching Capabilities

<i>A.6e Please rate the teaching capabilities of the local Police Instructors</i>						
<b>Officers in South Serbia</b>						
	<i>Teaching capability</i>	<i>Language proficiency</i>	<i>Capability to communicate</i>	<i>Motivation for work</i>	<i>Readiness to solve ethnic problems in class</i>	<i>Readiness to speak about problems after training</i>
	n = 113 in %	n = 113 in %	n = 112 in %	n = 111 in %	n = 110 in %	n = 111 in %
Excellent	54.0	54.9	45.5	40.5	40.9	44.1
Very good	18.6	15.9	19.6	32.4	27.3	20.7
Good	15.0	12.4	23.2	18.9	17.3	19.8
Fair	8.0	7.1	6.3	6.3	9.1	5.4
Poor	4.4	9.7	5.4	1.8	5.5	9.9

Table A.7: OSCE Instructors' Assessment of the Sufficiency of Basic Training Resources

<i>A.7 Please rate the sufficiency of basic training resources</i>				
	<b>Kosovo</b>		<b>Macedonia</b>	
	<i>OSCE Instructors</i>		<i>OSCE Instructors</i>	
	Personnel Resources	Material Resources	Personnel Resources	Material Resources
	n = 23, in %	n = 25, in %	n = 6, in %	n = 6, in %
Sufficient	39.1	56.0	33.3	33.3
Moderately sufficient	60.9	36.0	33.3	50.0
Insufficient	0.0	8.0	33.3	16.7

Table A.8: Local Cadets' and Officers' Assessment of the Sufficiency of Basic Training Resources

<i>A.8 Please rate the sufficiency of basic training resources</i>															
<b>Kosovo</b>															
<i>Cadets</i>				<i>Officers</i>				<b>Macedonia</b>				<b>South Serbia</b>			
<i>Cadets</i>		<i>Officers</i>		<i>Cadets</i>		<i>Officers</i>		<i>Cadets</i>		<i>Officers</i>		<i>Officers</i>		<i>Officers</i>	
Time Frame	Material Res.	Time Frame	Material Res.	Time Frame	Material Res.	Time Frame	Material Res.	Time Frame	Material Res.	Time Frame	Material Res.	Time Frame	Material Res.	Time Frame	Material Res.
n = 51, in %	n = 29, in %	n = 145, in %	n = 111, in %	n = 90, in %	n = 85, in %	n = 70, in %	n = 63, in %	n = 105, in %	n = 70, in %	n = 105, in %	n = 70, in %	n = 105, in %	n = 70, in %	n = 105, in %	n = 70, in %
60.8	51.7	38.6	34.2	68.9	60.0	34.3	34.9	38.1	34.9	38.1	25.7	38.1	25.7	38.1	25.7
27.5	37.9	56.6	51.4	23.3	27.1	57.1	49.2	42.9	49.2	42.9	52.9	42.9	52.9	42.9	52.9
11.8	10.3	4.8	14.4	7.8	12.9	8.6	15.9	19.0	15.9	19.0	21.4	19.0	21.4	19.0	21.4

Table A.9: Local Officers' Assessment of the Sufficiency of Field Training and Specialized Training Resources

<i>A.9 Please rate the sufficiency of field training and specialized training resources</i>															
<b>Kosovo</b>															
<b>Macedonia</b>												<b>South Serbia</b>			
<i>Officers</i>												<i>Officers</i>			
<i>Field training</i>				<i>Special. training</i>				<i>Field training</i>				<i>Special. training</i>			
Time Frame	Material Res.	Time Frame	Material Res.	Time Frame	Material Res.	Time Frame	Material Res.	Time Frame	Material Res.	Time Frame	Material Res.	Time Frame	Material Res.	Time Frame	Material Res.
n = 154 in %	n = 120 in %	n = 127 in %	n = 97 in %	n = 82 in %	n = 78 in %	n = 74 in %	n = 69 in %	n = 112 in %	n = 81 in %	n = 112 in %	n = 81 in %	n = 112 in %	n = 81 in %	n = 112 in %	n = 81 in %
38.3	28.3	48.8	38.1	24.4	33.3	31.1	27.5	37.5	23.5	37.5	23.5	37.5	23.5	37.5	23.5
55.2	63.3	44.1	55.7	63.4	53.8	54.1	59.4	48.2	56.8	48.2	56.8	48.2	56.8	48.2	56.8
6.5	8.3	7.1	6.2	12.2	12.8	14.9	13.0	14.3	19.8	14.3	19.8	14.3	19.8	20.7	19.3

Table A.10: Assessment of Suitability of Local Police Cadets and Officers to Become/Be Good Police Officers

	Kosovo						Macedonia						South Serbia			
	<i>A.10 Please rate the suitability of local police cadets/officers to become/be good police officers</i>															
	OSCE Instructors n = 29 in %	UN Monitors n = 52 in %	Cadets n = 59 in %	Officers n = 176 in %	OSCE Instructors n = 6 in %	EU Monitors n = 30 in %	Cadets n = 97 in %	Officers n = 95 in %	OSCE Instructors n = 6 in %	EU Monitors n = 30 in %	Cadets n = 97 in %	Officers n = 95 in %	OSCE Instructors n = 6 in %	EU Monitors n = 30 in %	Cadets n = 97 in %	Officers n = 119 in %
All are suitable	0.0	0.0	42.4	6.3	0.0	0.0	33.3	9.5	0.0	0.0	21.6	17.9	0.0	0.0	31.9	
> 90 % are suitable	6.9	11.5	16.9	8.0	0.0	11.1	21.6	17.9	0.0	11.1	21.6	17.9	0.0	11.1	12.6	
75-90% are suitable	27.6	25.0	23.7	26.7	16.7	3.7	11.3	25.3	16.7	3.7	11.3	25.3	16.7	3.7	22.7	
50-75% are suitable	51.7	30.8	10.2	30.7	50.0	22.2	13.4	23.2	50.0	22.2	13.4	23.2	50.0	22.2	15.1	
25-50% are suitable	13.8	21.2	3.4	16.5	33.3	11.1	7.2	9.5	33.3	11.1	7.2	9.5	33.3	11.1	6.7	
10-25% are suitable	0.0	7.7	0.0	4.0	0.0	7.4	5.2	6.3	0.0	7.4	5.2	6.3	0.0	7.4	3.4	
< 10% are suitable	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.2	2.1	0.0	0.0	5.2	2.1	0.0	0.0	2.5	
Nobody is suitable	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Don't know	0.0	3.8	1.7	8.0	0.0	44.4	3.1	5.3	0.0	44.4	3.1	5.3	0.0	44.4	5.0	

Table A.11: Assessment of Social Climate in Classes and at Police Stations by International Instructors and Monitors

<i>A.11 How would you describe the interethnic climate in the classes and at the police stations?</i>				
	<b>Kosovo</b>		<b>Macedonia</b>	
	<i>OSCE Instructors</i>	<i>UN Monitors</i>	<i>OSCE Instructors</i>	<i>EU Monitors</i>
	n = 29, in %	n = 54, in %	n = 6, in %	n = 30, in %
Antagonistic	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0
Tense	3.4	3.7	0.0	6.7
Uncomfortable	3.4	18.5	0.0	20.0
Acceptable	51.7	42.6	33.3	46.6
Co-operative	31.1	22.2	50.0	20.0
Friendly	10.4	9.3	16.7	6.7

Table A.12a: Assessment of Social Climate in Classes by Local Cadets

<i>A.12a How would you describe the social climate between the ethnic Serbian and Albanian/ethnic Macedonian and Albanian groups within in your class?</i>								
	<b>Kosovo</b>			<b>Macedonia</b>			<b>South Serbia</b>	
	<i>Cadets</i>			<i>Cadets</i>			<i>Officers</i>	
	n = 54, in %			n = 94, in %			n = 121, in %	
Antagonistic	1.9			3.2			0.0	
Tense	0.0			3.2			1.7	
Uncomfortable	1.9			5.3			1.7	
Acceptable	27.8			10.6			23.1	
Co-operative	38.9			43.6			44.6	
Friendly	29.6			34.1			28.9	
	Alban. n = 45 in %	Serbs n = 6 in %	Others n = 3 in %	Maced. n = 43 in %	Alban. n = 50 in %	Others n = 1 in %	Serbs n = 44 in %	Alban. n = 77 in %
Antagonistic	0.0	16.9	0.0	2.3	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Tense	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.0	0.0	4.5	0.0
Uncomfortable	0.0	16.9	0.0	9.3	2.0	0.0	2.3	1.3
Acceptable	29.0	0.0	66.6	14.0	8.0	0.0	25.0	22.1
Co-operative	44.4	0.0	33.4	25.6	58.0	100.0	38.6	48.0
Friendly	26.6	66.2	0.0	48.8	22.0	0.0	29.6	28.6

Table A.12b: Assessment of Social Climate in Classes by Local Officers

<i>A.12b How would you describe the social climate between the ethnic Serbian and Albanian/ethnic Macedonian and Albanian groups within in your class?</i>								
	<b>Kosovo</b>			<b>Macedonia</b>			<b>South Serbia</b>	
	<i>Officers</i>			<i>Officers</i>			<i>Officers</i>	
	n = 175, in %			n = 94, in %			n = 121, in %	
Antagonistic	0.6			0.0			0.0	
Tense	10.3			7.4			1.7	
Uncomfortable	8.0			5.3			1.7	
Acceptable	35.4			37.2			23.1	
Co-operative	36.6			30.9			44.6	
Friendly	9.1			19.2			28.9	
	Alban. n = 81	Serbs n = 67	Others n = 27	Maced. n = 34	Alban. n = 50	Others n = 10	Serbs n = 44	Alban. n = 77
	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %
Antagonistic	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Tense	4.0	18.0	11.1	2.9	10.0	10.0	4.5	0.0
Uncomfortable	6.0	10.4	7.5	2.9	8.0	0.0	2.3	1.3
Acceptable	47.0	22.4	33.3	41.2	36.0	30.0	25.0	22.1
Co-operative	36.0	37.3	37.0	26.5	34.0	30.0	38.6	48.0
Friendly	7.0	10.4	11.1	26.5	12.0	30.0	29.6	28.6

Table A.12c: Assessment of Social Climate in Classes by Local Cadets and Officers

<i>A.12c How would you describe the social climate between the ethnic Serbian and Albanian/ethnic Macedonian and Albanian groups within in your class?</i>								
	<b>Kosovo</b>			<b>Macedonia</b>			<b>South Serbia</b>	
	<i>Cadets + Officers</i>			<i>Cadets + Officers</i>			<i>Officers</i>	
	n = 229, in %			n = 188, in %			n = 121, in %	
Antagonistic	0.9			1.6			0.0	
Tense	7.9			5.3			1.7	
Uncomfortable	6.6			5.3			1.7	
Acceptable	33.6			24.0			23.1	
Co-operative	37.0			37.2			44.6	
Friendly	14.0			26.6			28.9	
	Alban. n = 126	Serbs n = 73	Others n = 30	Maced. n = 77	Alban. n = 100	Others n = 11	Serbs n = 44	Alban. n = 77
	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %
Antagonistic	0.0	2.7	0.0	1.3	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Tense	2.3	16.5	10.0	1.3	8.0	9.0	4.5	0.0
Uncomfortable	4.0	10.9	6.6	6.4	5.0	0.0	2.3	1.3
Acceptable	40.5	20.5	36.7	26.0	22.0	27.0	25.0	22.1
Co-operative	38.9	34.3	36.7	26.0	46.0	36.0	38.6	48.0
Friendly	14.3	15.1	10.0	39.0	17.0	27.0	29.6	28.6

Table A.13a: Assessment of Ethnically Motivated Problems in Classes by Local Cadets

<i>A.13a During the training, did you recognize ethnically motivated problems in your class?</i>								
	<b>Kosovo</b>			<b>Macedonia</b>			<b>South Serbia</b>	
	<i>Cadets</i>			<i>Cadets</i>			<i>Officers</i>	
	n = 57, in %			n = 97, in %			n = 119, in %	
Yes	3.5			8.2			10.9	
No	96.5			91.8			89.1	
	Alban. n = 49	Serbs n = 6	Others n = 2	Maced. n = 43	Alban. n = 53	Others n = 1	Serbs n = 44	Alban. n = 75
	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %
Yes	0.0	33.3	0.0	15.6	5.7	0.0	25.0	2.7
No	100.0	66.7	100.0	84.4	94.3	100.0	75.0	97.3

Table A.13b: Assessment of Ethnically Motivated Problems in Classes by Local Officers

<i>A.13b During the training, did you recognize ethnically motivated problems in your class?</i>								
	<b>Kosovo</b>			<b>Macedonia</b>			<b>South Serbia</b>	
	<i>Officers</i>			<i>Officers</i>			<i>Officers</i>	
	n = 152, in %			n = 82, in %			n = 119, in %	
Yes	21.1			19.5			10.9	
No	78.9			80.5			89.1	
	Alban. n = 81	Serbs n = 67	Others n = 4	Maced. n = 22	Alban. n = 51	Others n = 9	Serbs n = 44	Alban. n = 75
	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %
Yes	2.5	41.8	50.0	9.1	23.5	22.2	25.0	2.7
No	97.5	58.2	50.0	90.9	76.5	77.8	75.0	97.3

Table A.13c: Assessment of Ethnically Motivated Problems in Classes by Local Cadets and Officers

<i>A.13c During the training, did you recognize ethnically motivated problems in your class?</i>								
	<b>Kosovo</b>			<b>Macedonia</b>			<b>South Serbia</b>	
	<i>Cadets + Officers</i>			<i>Cadets + Officers</i>			<i>Officers</i>	
	n = 209, in %			n = 179, in %			n = 119, in %	
Yes	16.3			13.4			10.9	
No	83.7			86.6			89.1	
	Alban. n = 130	Serbs n = 73	Others n = 6	Maced. n = 65	Alban. n = 104	Others n = 10	Serbs n = 44	Alban. n = 75
	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %
Yes	1.5	41.1	33.3	10.8	14.4	20.0	25.0	2.7
No	98.5	58.9	66.7	89.2	85.6	80.0	75.0	97.3

Table A.14: Assessment by Local Cadets and Officers of Social Contact after Training Sessions between Cadets of Different Ethnic Groups

<i>A.14 Do/Did you have social contact with cadets belonging to other ethnic groups after training sessions?</i>							
	<b>Kosovo</b>			<b>Macedonia</b>			<b>South Serbia</b>
	<i>Cadets</i>	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Cadets+ Officers</i>	<i>Cadets</i>	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Cadets + Officers</i>	<i>Officers</i>
	n = 54 in %	n = 172 in %	n = 226 in %	n = 97 in %	n = 89 in %	n = 186 in %	n = 122 in %
Yes	94.4	91.9	92.6	95.9	93.3	94.6	89.3
No	5.6	8.1	7.4	4.1	6.7	5.4	10.7

Table A.15: Assessment of the Conveyability of the Principles of Democratic Police Reform and Community Policing to Former Combatants by International Instructors and Monitors

<i>A.15 Do you believe the spirit and principles of democratic police reform and community policing can be conveyed to former combatants?</i>			
	<b>Kosovo</b>		<b>Macedonia</b>
	<i>OSCE Instructors</i>	<i>UN Monitors</i>	<i>EU Monitors</i>
	n = 30, in %	n = 53, in %	n = 30, in %
Yes	33.3	47.2	53.3
Only certain aspects	3.3	13.2	6.7
No	13.4	24.5	30.0
Don't know	50.0	15.1	10.0

Table A.16: Local Officers' Perception of the Threat to the Efficient Functioning of the Multi-Ethnic Police Emanating from Former Combatants Incorporated into the Police

<i>A.16 Does the incorporation of former combatants into police represent a threat to the efficient functioning of the multi-ethnic police?</i>								
	<b>Kosovo</b>			<b>Macedonia</b>			<b>South Serbia</b>	
	<i>Officers</i>			<i>Officers</i>			<i>Officers</i>	
	n = 168, in %			n = 97, in %			n = 118, in %	
Yes	11.9			20.0			11.9	
No	53.0			46.3			55.1	
Don't know	35.1			33.7			33.1	
	Alban. n = 76	Serbs n = 65	Others n = 27	Maced. n = 36	Alban. n = 51	Others n = 8	Serbs n = 43	Alban. n = 75
	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %
Yes	6.6	16.9	14.8	27.8	15.7	12.5	23.3	5.3
No	71.0	32.3	51.9	33.3	51.0	75.0	41.9	62.7
Don't know	22.4	50.8	33.1	38.9	33.3	12.5	34.8	32.0

Table A.17: Local Officers' Assessment of Social Climate in Multi-Ethnic Units and at Police Stations

<i>A.17 How would you describe the social climate between ethnic Serbian and Albanian/ethnic Macedonian and Albanian groups in your unit/at your station?</i>								
	<b>Kosovo</b>			<b>Macedonia</b>			<b>South Serbia</b>	
	<i>Officers (n = 142, in %)</i>			<i>Officers (n = 91, in %)</i>			<i>Officers (n = 116, in %)</i>	
Antagonistic	0.0			1.1			0.0	
Tense	2.8			3.2			0.9	
Uncomfortable	3.5			2.3			5.1	
Acceptable	32.4			27.5			24.1	
Co-operative	44.4			37.4			33.6	
Friendly	16.9			28.6			36.3	
	Alban. n = 69	Serbs n = 63	Others n = 10	Maced. n = 34	Alban. n = 47	Others n = 10	Serbs n = 43	Alban. n = 73
	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %
Antagonistic	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Tense	0.0	6.3	0.0	2.8	4.3	0.0	2.0	0.0
Uncomfortable	2.9	4.8	0.0	2.8	2.1	0.0	0.0	8.2
Acceptable	33.3	31.8	30.0	32.5	23.4	30.0	37.1	16.4
Co-operative	50.7	36.5	50.0	29.4	46.8	20.0	14.2	45.2
Friendly	13.1	20.6	20.0	32.5	21.3	50.0	46.7	30.2

Table A.18: Local Officers' Assessment of Ethnically Motivated Problems in Multi-Ethnic Units and at Police Stations

<i>A.18 Have you ever recognized ethnically motivated problems within your police unit/station?</i>								
	<b>Kosovo</b>			<b>Macedonia</b>			<b>South Serbia</b>	
	<i>Officers (n = 170, in %)</i>			<i>Officers (n = 97, in %)</i>			<i>Officers (n = 117, in %)</i>	
Yes	13.5			13.1			13.7	
No	86.5			86.9			86.3	
	Alban. n = 80	Serbs n = 63	Others n = 27	Maced. n = 36	Alban. n = 51	Others n = 10	Serbs n = 42	Alban. n = 75
	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %
Yes	6.3	19.0	22.0	5.6	19.6	0.0	19.0	10.7
No	93.7	81.0	78.0	94.4	80.4	100.0	81.0	89.3

Table A.19: Local Officers' Assessment of Social Contact between Officers of Different Ethnic Groups after Duty

<i>A.19 Do you have social contact with colleagues belonging to other ethnic groups after duty?</i>						
	<b>Kosovo</b>		<b>Macedonia</b>		<b>South Serbia</b>	
	<i>Officers</i>		<i>Officers</i>		<i>Officers</i>	
	n = 170, in %		n = 99, in %		n = 117, in %	
Yes	70.3		82.8		82.1	
No	29.7		17.2		17.9	



Table A.20: Local Officers' Assessment of the Acceptance of Multi-Ethnic Police Forces among the Local Population

		A.20 How would you rate the acceptance of the multi-ethnic police force among the local population?								
		Kosovo			Macedonia			South Serbia		
		Officers			Officers			Officers		
Acceptance in areas with ...		Alb. Majority	Serb. Majority	Mac. Majority	Alb. Majority	Serb. Majority	Alb. Majority	Serb. Majority	Alb. Majority	
		n = 170	n = 166	n = 100	n = 102	n = 119	n = 102	n = 119	n = 118	
		in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	
	High	24.1	14.5	27.0	32.4	31.9	32.4	31.9	39.8	
	Relative high	42.4	33.1	46.0	43.1	32.9	43.1	32.9	28.0	
	Low	17.6	32.5	17.0	14.7	17.6	14.7	17.6	10.2	
	Don't know	15.9	19.9	10.0	9.8	17.6	9.8	17.6	22.0	
		Alban.	Serbs	Maced.	Alban.	Serbs	Maced.	Alban.	Serbs	
		n = 78	n = 65	n = 37	n = 51	n = 44	n = 37	n = 53	n = 43	
		in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	in %	
	High	38.5	10.8	32.4	21.6	34.1	18.9	43.4	16.3	
	Relative high	35.9	43.1	54.1	37.3	54.5	51.4	39.6	44.2	
	Low	5.1	35.3	10.8	23.5	4.5	18.9	5.7	16.3	
	Don't know	20.5	10.8	2.7	17.6	6.8	10.8	11.3	23.3	

Table A.21: Assessment by International Instructors and Monitors of the Acceptance of Multi-Ethnic Units among the Local Population

		A.21 Do you believe mixed police units are accepted among the local population in any municipalities/communities?					
		Kosovo			Macedonia		
		OSCE Instructors	UN Monitors	OSCE Instructors	EU Monitors		
		n = 28, in %	n = 54, in %	n = 5, in %	n = 33, in %		
	Yes, in all	10.7	5.6	0.0	3.0		
	Yes, in most	39.3	44.4	80.0	51.5		
	Yes, in few	28.6	35.2	20.0	24.2		
	No	10.7	7.4	0.0	6.1		
	Don't know	17.9	7.4	0.0	15.2		

Table A.22: Assessment of the Biggest Obstacles for the Creation of Multi-Ethnic, Accountable, Competent, and Democratic Police Forces in Kosovo and Macedonia by International Instructors and Monitors

<i>A.22 What are the biggest obstacles to creating a multi-ethnic, accountable, competent, and democratic police force in Kosovo and Macedonia?</i>				
	<b>Kosovo</b>		<b>Macedonia</b>	
	<i>OSCE Instructors</i>	<i>UN Monitors</i>	<i>OSCE Instructors</i>	<i>EU Monitors</i>
	n = 30, in %	n = 54, in %	n = 6, in %	n = 33, in %
Influence of political parties and groups	55.6	64.2	66.7	88.9
Influence of ethnic communities	66.7	62.3	33.3	74.1
Low acceptance of the multi-ethnic police by the local population	18.5	39.6	0.0	22.2
Low salaries of police officers, influencing the moral and cultivating corruption	74.1	69.8	60.0	96.3
Influence of organized crime	48.1	30.2	20.0	76.9
Inappropriate legislation	44.4	34.0	20.0	65.4
Insufficient training of the multi-ethnic police	3.7	26.4	16.7	70.4

Table A.23: Assessment of the Biggest Obstacles for the Creation of Multi-Ethnic, Accountable, Competent, and Democratic Police Forces in Kosovo, Macedonia and South Serbia by Local Officers

<i>A.23 What are the biggest obstacles for the creation of a multi-ethnic, accountable, competent, and democratic police force in Kosovo, Macedonia and South Serbia?</i>			
	<b>Kosovo</b>	<b>Macedonia</b>	<b>South Serbia</b>
	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Officers</i>
	n = 170, in %	n = 93, in %	n = 122, in %
Influence of political parties and groups	37.5	79.0	30.0
Influence of ethnic communities	38.4	30.3	16.5
Low acceptance of the multi-ethnic police by the local population	28.6	43.2	25.8
Low salaries of police officers, influencing the moral and cultivating corruption	58.9	54.3	57.0
Influence of organized crime	33.9	55.6	31.5
Inappropriate legislation	24.1	46.8	30.8
Insufficient training of the multi-ethnic police	12.5	38.7	27.4

Table A.24: Local Officers' Exposure to Bribery Attempts

<i>A.24 Have you ever been exposed to bribery attempts with respect to your work?</i>			
	<b>Kosovo</b>	<b>Macedonia</b>	<b>South Serbia</b>
	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Officers</i>	<i>Officers</i>
	n = 173, in %	n = 102, in %	n = 119, in %
Yes	8.7	29.4	16.8
No	91.3	70.6	82.2

Table A.25: International Monitors' Awareness of Cases of Attempted Bribery, in which Local Police Officers of their Station were Involved

<i>A.25 Have you ever learned of cases of attempted bribery, in which local police officers of your station were involved?</i>		
	<b>Kosovo</b>	<b>Macedonia</b>
	<i>UNMIK Police Monitors</i>	<i>EUPOL Proxima Monitors</i>
	n = 54, in %	n = 27, in %
Yes	14.8	29.6
No	85.2	70.4

Table A.26: International Monitors' Awareness of Exclusive Structures of Loyalty within the Multi-Ethnic Units Based on Ethnic Identity

<i>A.26 Have you ever recognized exclusive structures of loyalty within the multi-ethnic units, which were based on ethnic identity?</i>		
	<b>Kosovo</b>	<b>Macedonia</b>
	<i>UNMIK Police Monitors</i>	<i>EUPOL Proxima Monitors</i>
	n = 50, in %	n = 28, in %
Yes	40.0	17.9
No	60.0	82.1

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