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Report on Research Results

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# Trend Analysis:

## Citizens' attitudes in north Kosovo

## Overseeing organization

NVO AKTIV

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North Mitrovica

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## Research Methodology

**Research method:** Face-to-face survey research (F2F)

**Survey:** 50 questions lasting approximately 15

**Research Period:** May 4<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> 2016

**Research location (s):** North Mitrovica, Leposavić, Zubin Potok and Zvečan

**Sample size:** 909 respondents

**Sample type:** Stratified random sampling – stratification based on municipality of resident

**Statistical error:** 95% statistical confidence interval for margin of error from 50% amounting to +/-3.2

**Post stratification:** Gender, age, place of residence and level of education

## Key Results

5.6% of respondents assess the political situation in Kosovo as being good.

Three out of four respondents consider things in Kosovo to be going in the wrong direction.

More than 60% of respondents say that there are no politicians in Kosovo that they can trust.

75% of respondents believe that Russia should be their biggest partner when it comes to lobbying for the interests of Serbs from Kosovo.

One out of every five respondents favors the Brussels Agreement while 40% did not express an opinion.

22.7% of respondents support the participation of Serbs in Kosovo institutions.

More than 35% of respondents stated that they would vote in the next Kosovo elections.

Every second respondent stated that they do not feel free to publically express their political positions.

Respondents stated that organized crime, inter-ethnic incidents and political instability are the greatest security risks.

8.4% of respondents believe that the Brussels Agreement advances the rights and freedoms of the Serbian people in Kosovo.

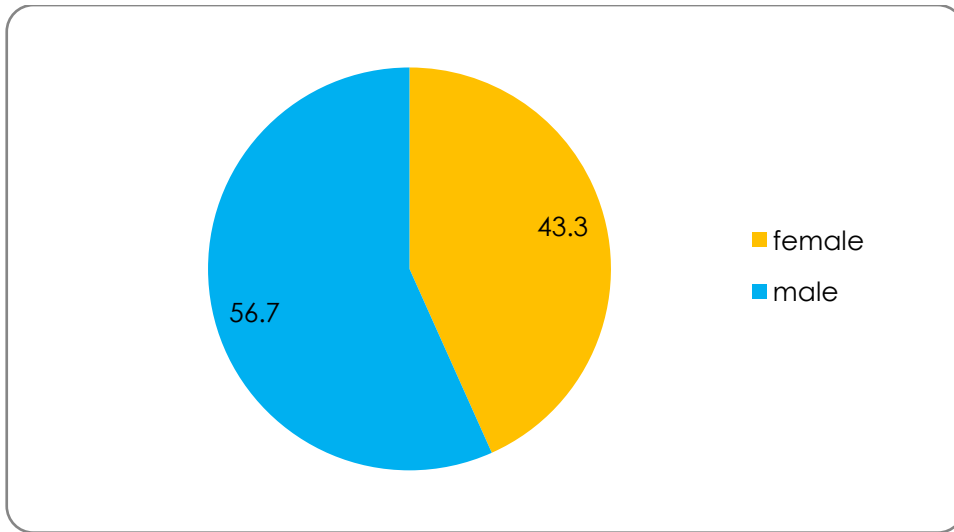
One out of every five respondents stated that they do not see themselves in Kosovo in the next five years.

More than 80% of respondents feel that the European Union sides more with Priština in the negotiation process between Priština and Belgrade.

14.4% of respondents support Kosovo's membership in the E.U.

## Sample Description

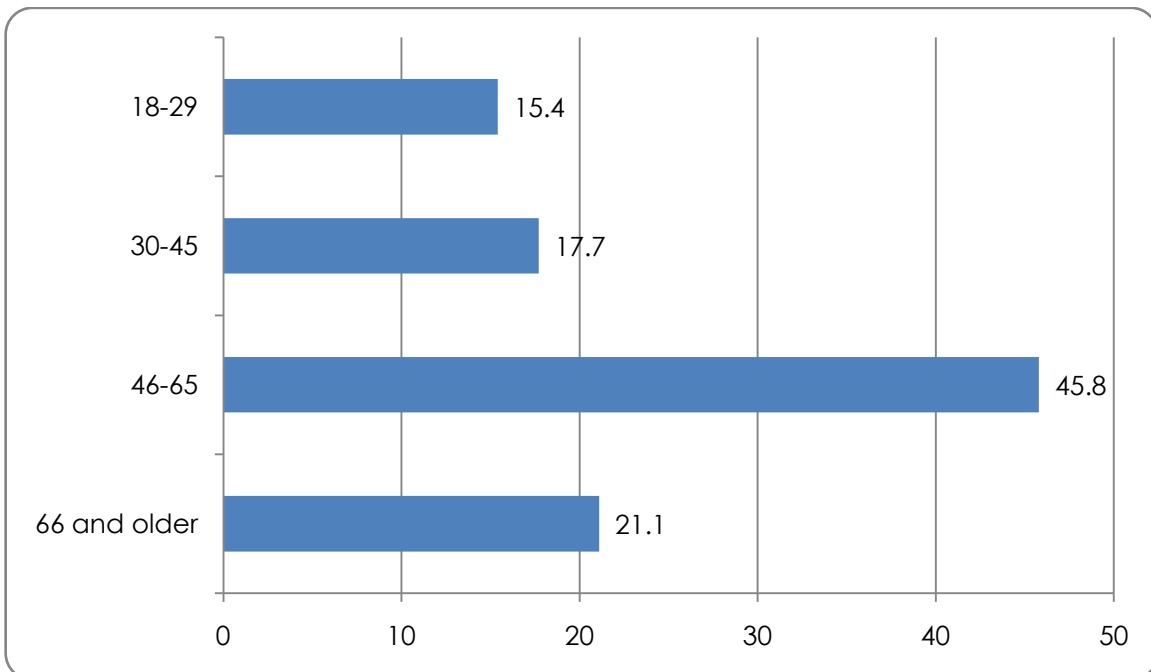
### Gender breakdown:



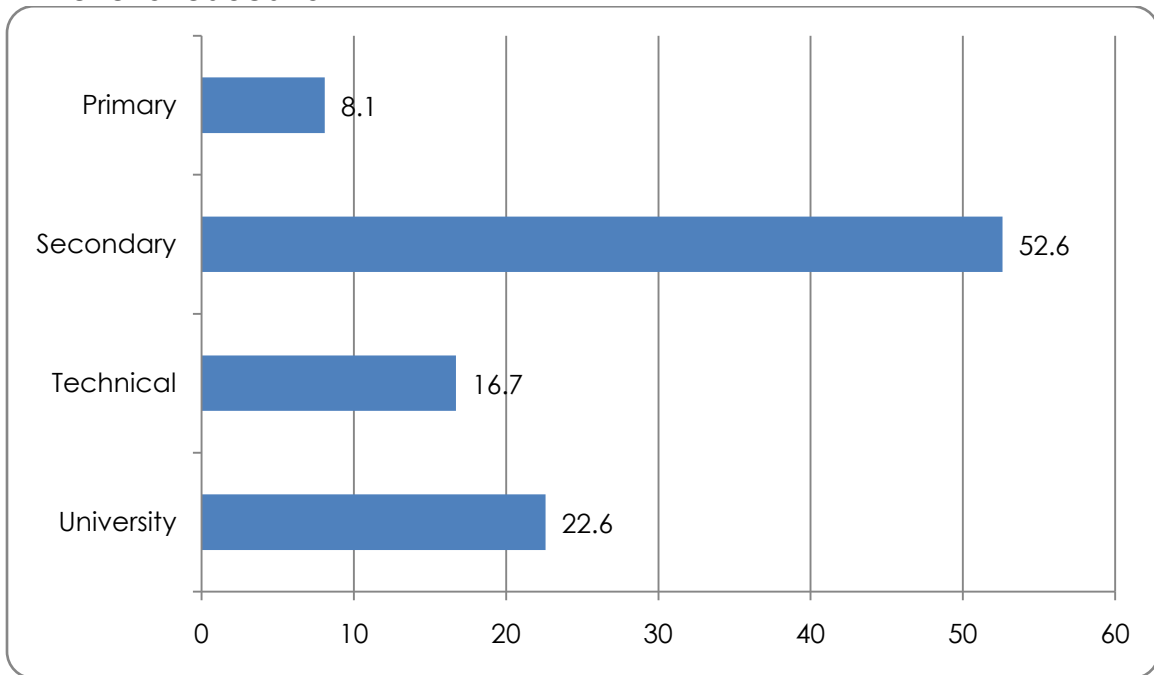
### Age

The average age of respondents was 49 years old.

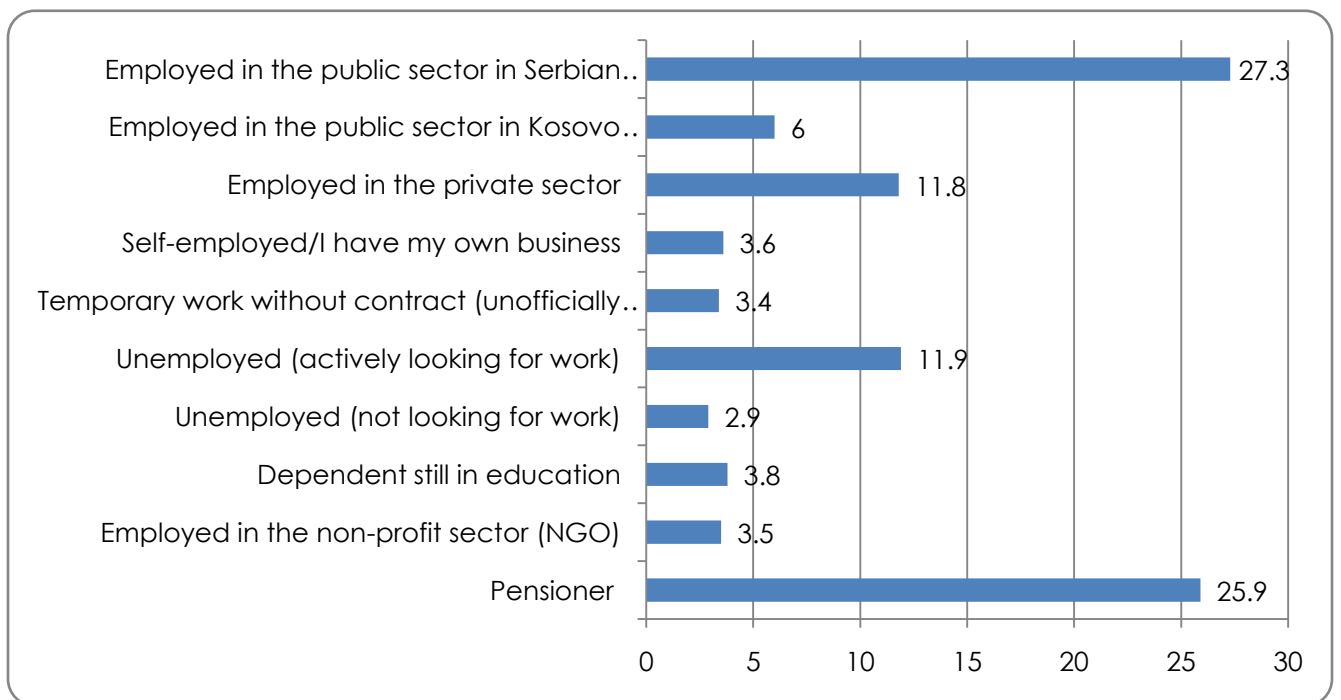
Age breakdown:



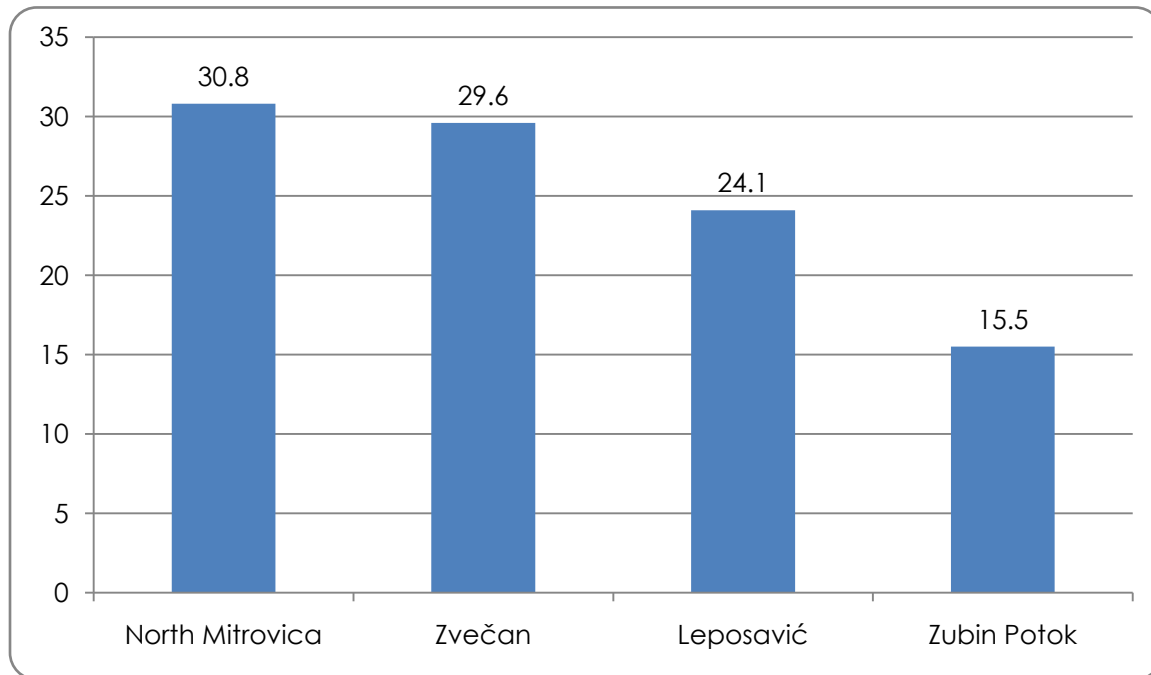
## 🌐 Level of education



## 🌐 Employment status



 **Place of residence**

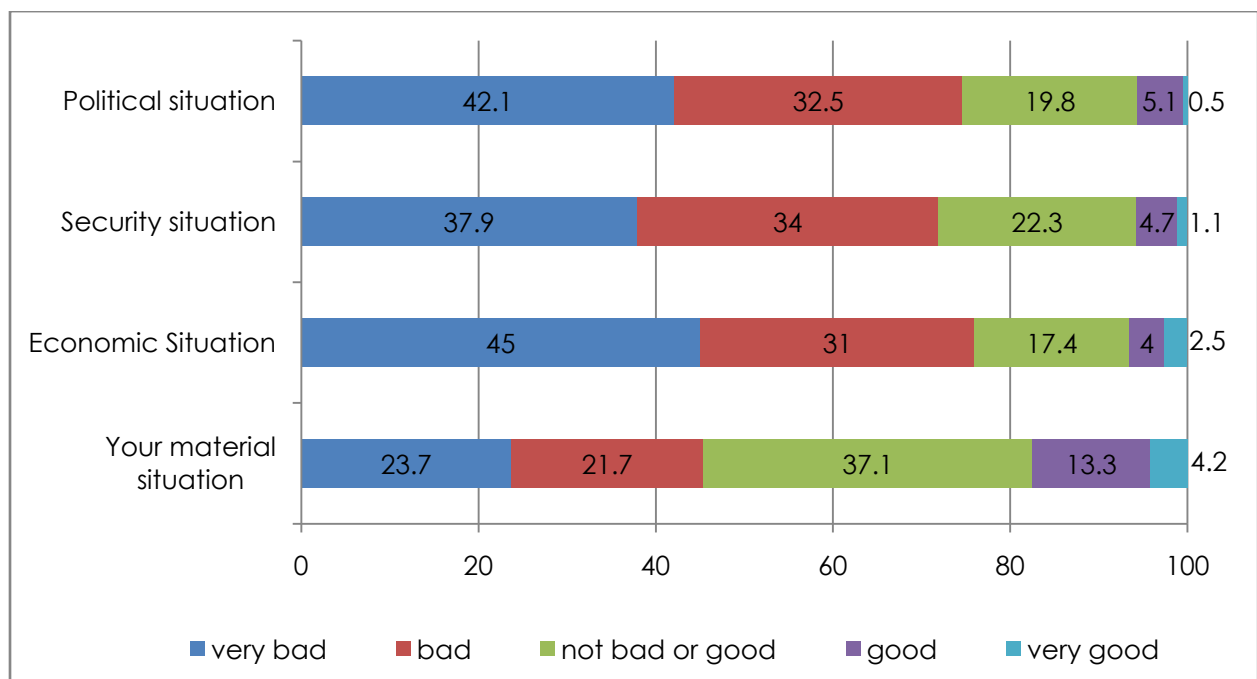




## Research Results

1. On a scale of 1 to 5, 1 being “very bad” and 5 being “very good”, how would you rate:

	Average score
The political situation in Kosovo	1.9
The security situation in Kosovo	2
The economic situation in Kosovo	1.9
Your own material situation	2.5



Respondents, regardless of age, generally rate the political situation similarly, with no significant deviations. The same applies to their assessment of the political and security situation(s.)

Those who expressed the highest level of dissatisfaction with their material situation were also the oldest respondents(above 66 years of age.) In that age

group, every second respondent stated that they were dissatisfied with their material situation. This number declines the younger the respondents get.

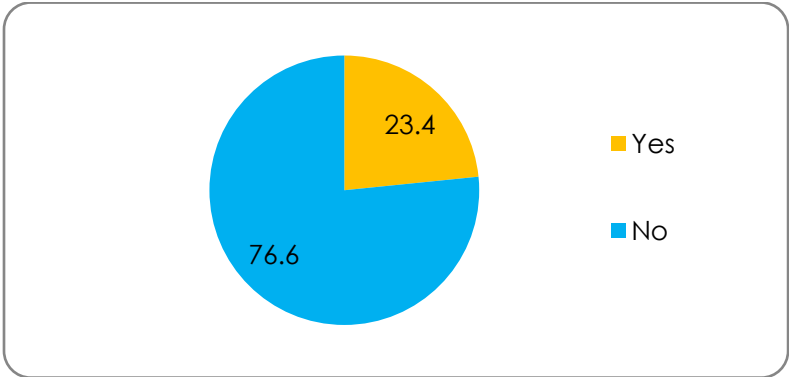
When we examine this question set through educational variables, we can see the rate of dissatisfaction with the political situation growing with the level of education of the respondents. The same applies to economic and security situation(s.)

	Dissatisfaction with the political situation
Primary	58,5%
Secondary	71%
Technical	85,1%
University	82,5%

Every second respondent with a primary or secondary education assessed their own material situation as being bad, while every third respondent with a higher-level degree assessed their material situation negatively.

When it comes to place of residence we can see that 23% of respondents from North Mitrovica are satisfied with their material situation while this falls to 10.8% of respondents from Zvečan. Residents from all four municipalities assessed the political, economic, and security situation(s) very similarly.

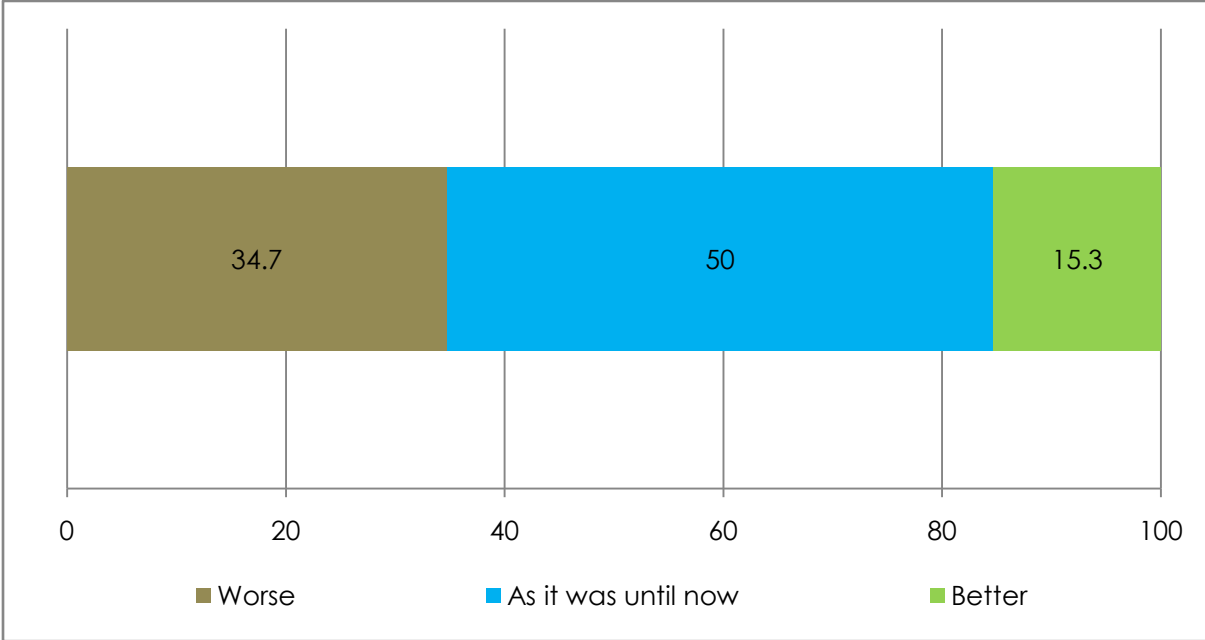
**2. Generally speaking, are things in Kosovo going in the right direction?**



We can see meaningful differences between various age groups in responding to this question. A mere 13% of young people between 18 and 29 years of age think that things in Kosovo are going in the right direction. The percent of respondents who consider that things are going well in Kosovo grows with age: from 30 to 45 years of age 19.7%, from 46 to 65 years of age 26% and for those older than 65 years of age 26% stated they felt things in Kosovo were going in the right direction.

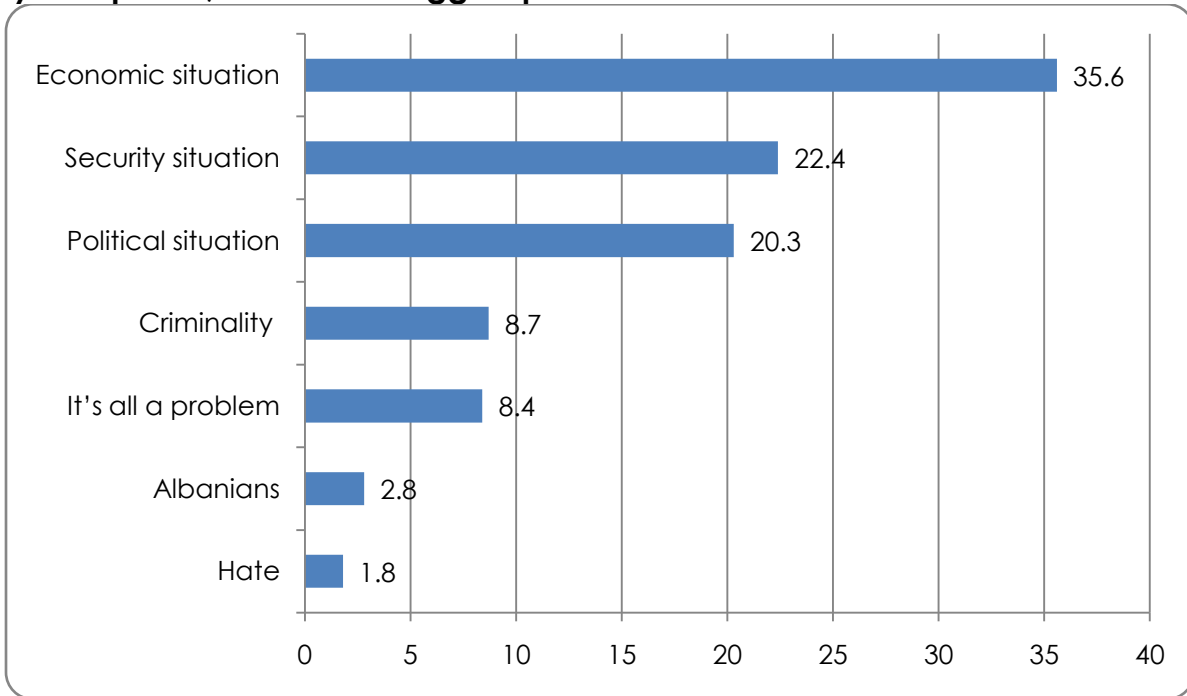
There is also a correlation between the level of education of respondents and their answers to this question. We can see that respondents with higher levels of education tend to express a higher level of skepticism towards the road that Kosovo has taken and do not believe that things are going in the right direction.

**3. In your opinion, in three years' time, the life of Serbs in Kosovo will be:**



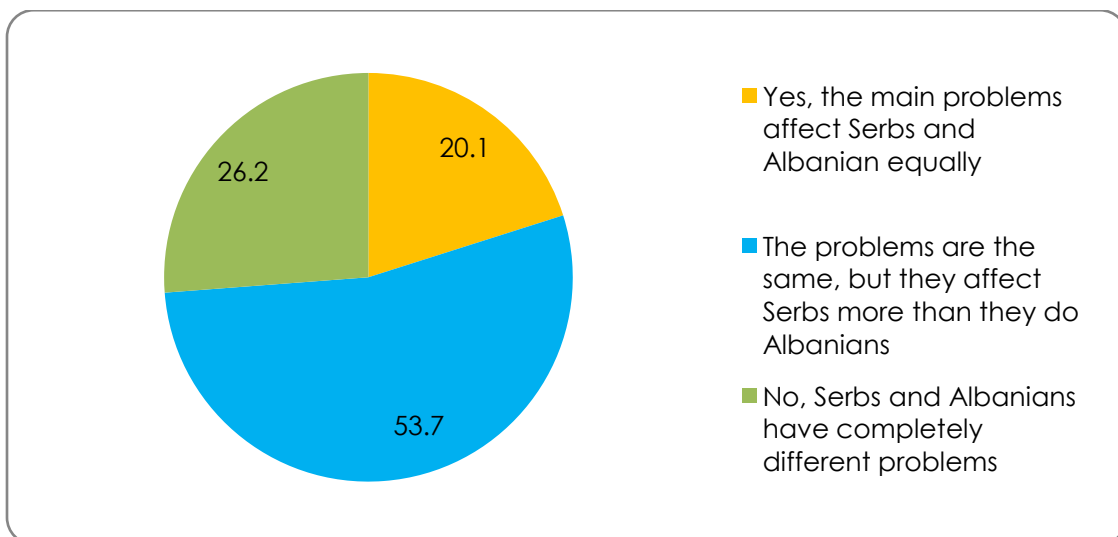
Only 8% of respondents between the ages of 18 and 29 are optimistic that life for Kosovo Serbs will improve in the next three years.

**4. In your opinion, what is the biggest problem in north Kosovo?**

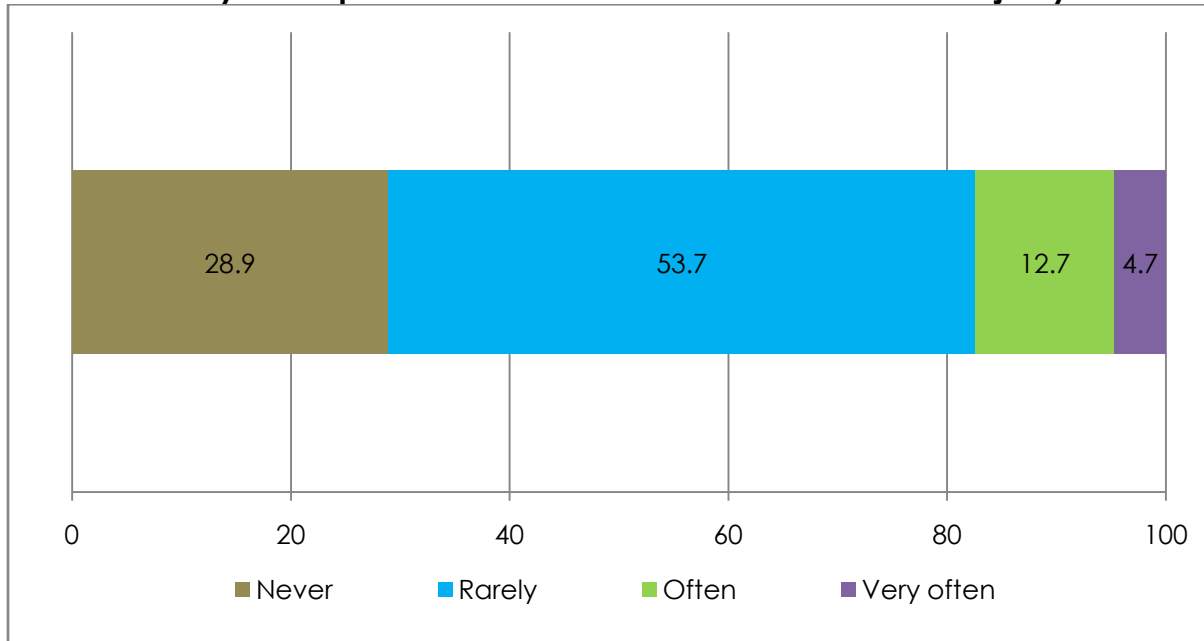


Depending on education, respondents have differing perceptions of the main problems in Kosovo. For respondents with a primary school education it's the political situation, while respondents with more advanced education stated that the biggest problem is the economic situation.

**5. Do the main problems in Kosovo affect both Serbs and Albanians equally?**

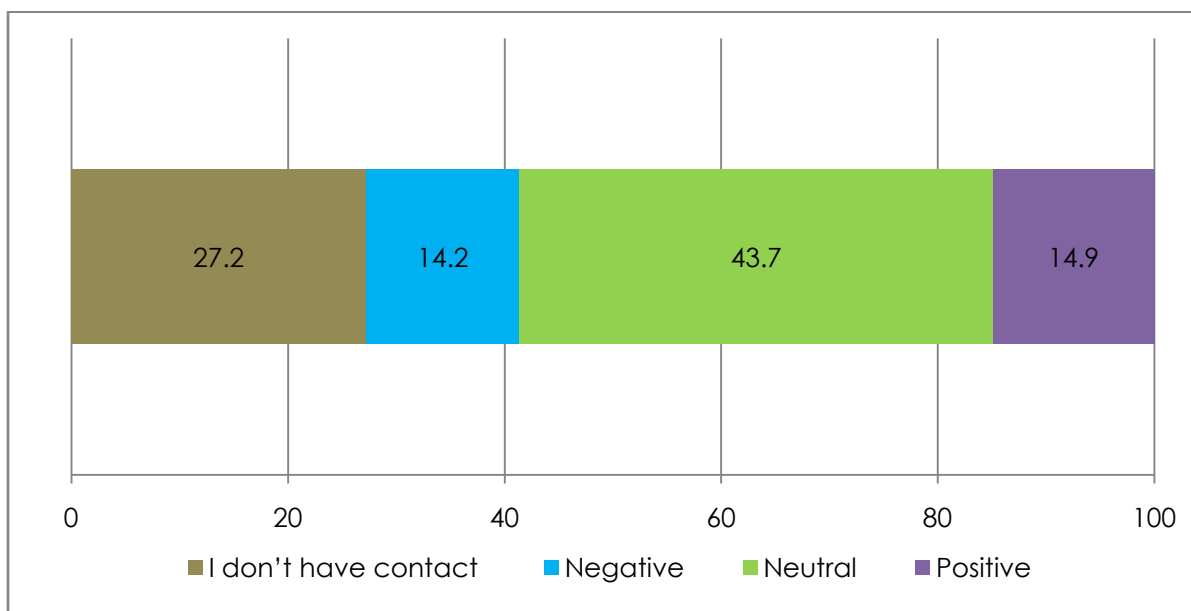


**6. How often do you frequent areas where Albanians are in the majority?**



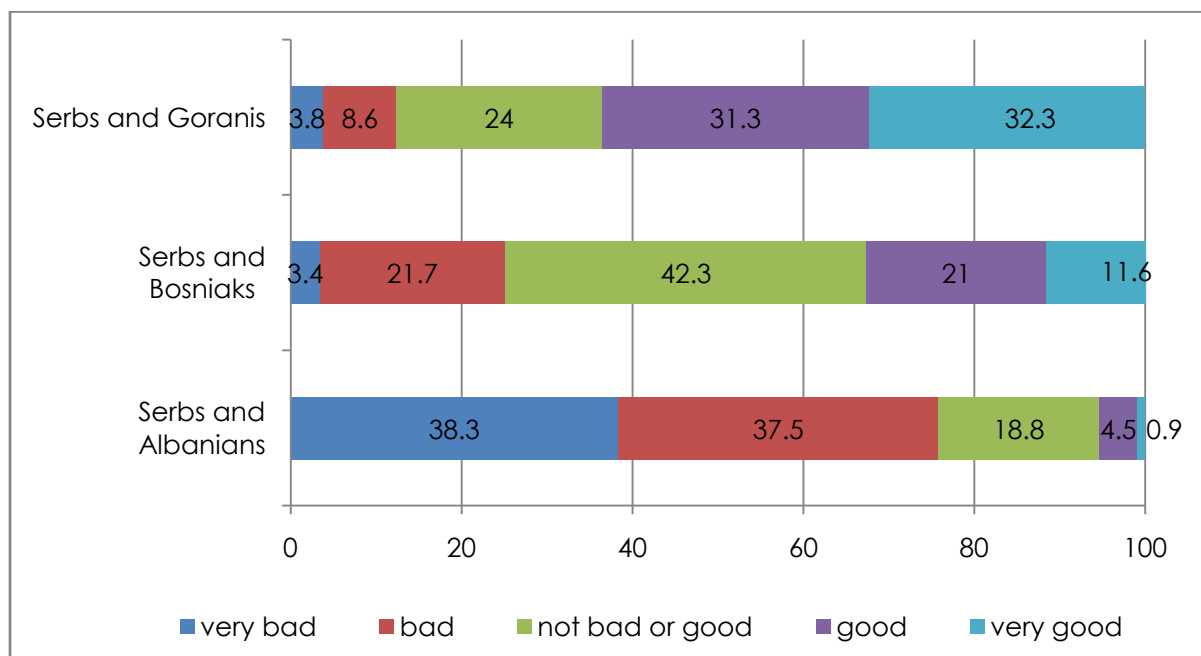
The youngest and the oldest respondents go to Albanian-majority areas most frequently. We can also see a correlation with the level of education of respondents: those having completed primary school go much less often (1.7%) while those who completed university-level education go the most frequently (21.3%.)

**7. In general, your experiences with personal contact with Albanians are:**

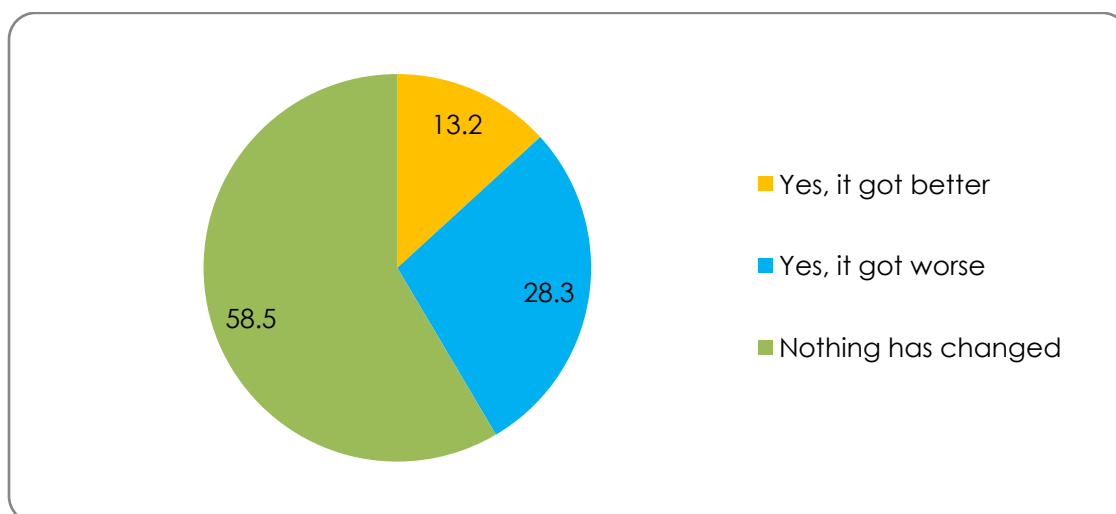


8. On a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being 'very bad' and 5 being 'excellent', rate the state of multi-ethnic relations between various communities in Kosovo:

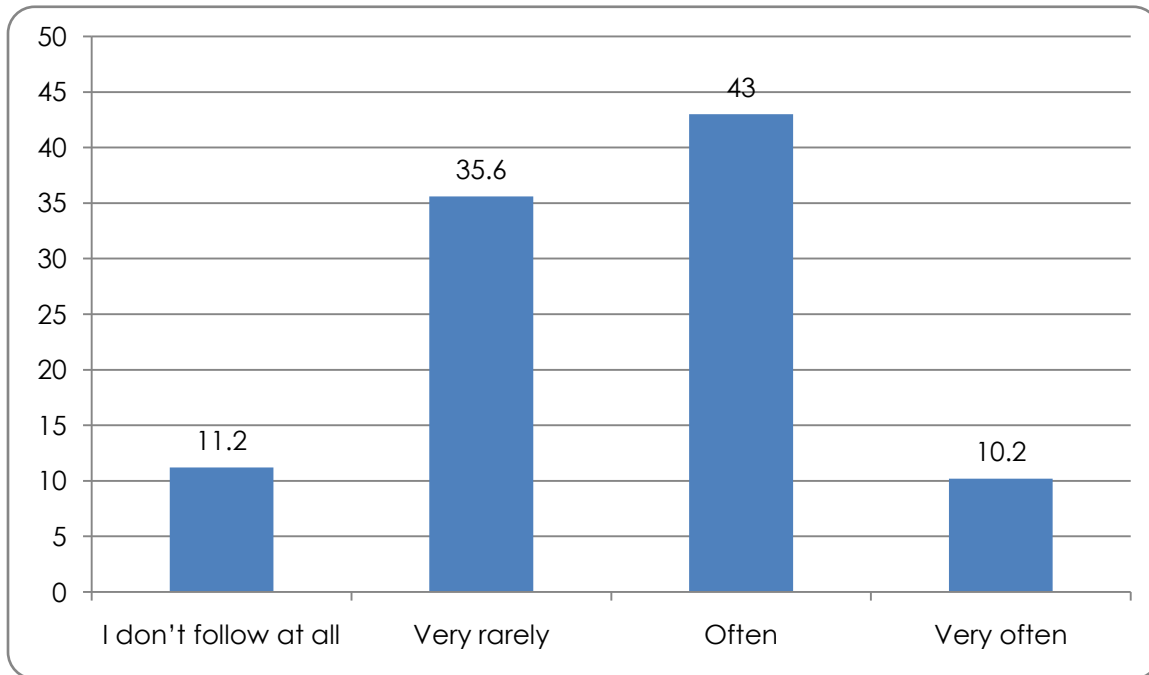
	Average rating
Serbs and Goranis	3,8
Serbs and Bosniaks	3,1
Serbs and Albanians	1,9



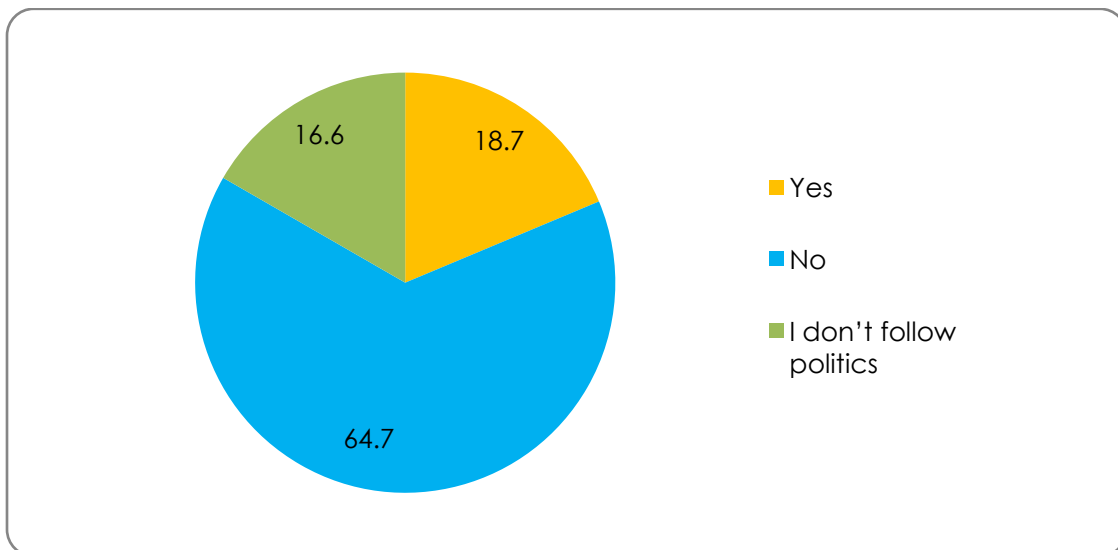
9. Has the economic situation in north Kosovo changed in the past year?



### 10. How often to you follow political events?



### 11. Are there any politicians in Kosovo that you trust?

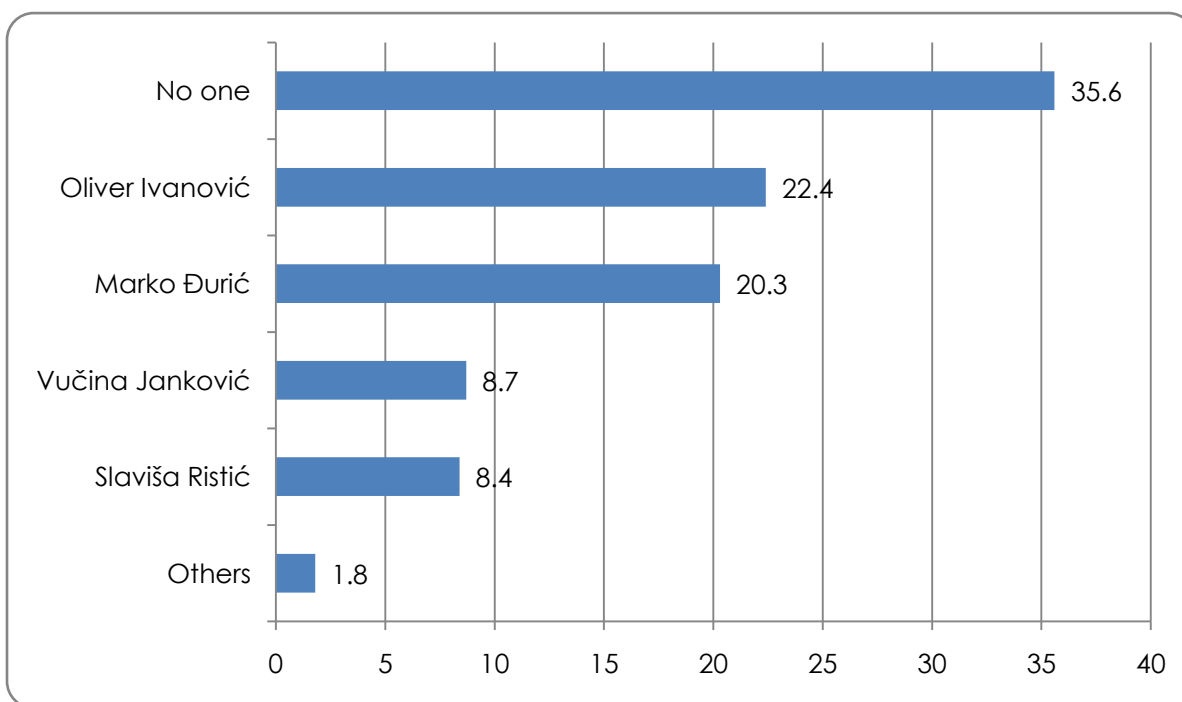


Respondents with a primary school education have the highest level of trust in politicians (27%), while those with university-level degrees have the lowest level (11.8 %.)

Aside from that, the level of trust in politicians fluctuates the most between younger and older respondents:

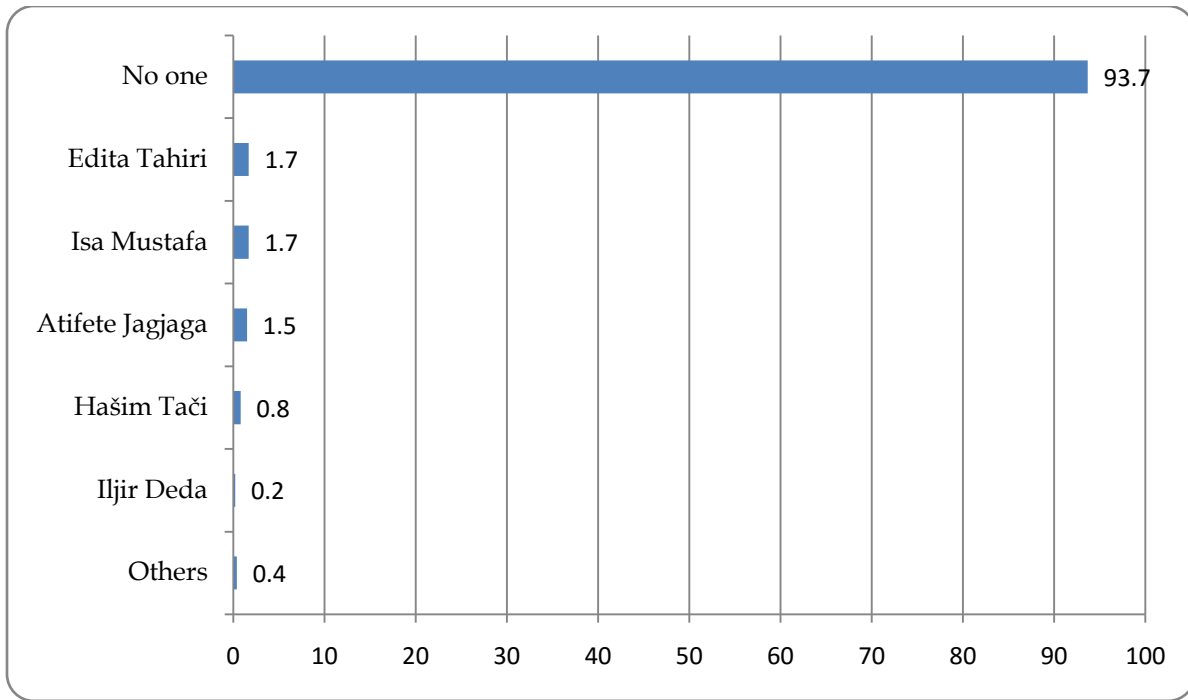
I have trust in politicians	
18-29	10%
30-45	8,9%
45-65	19,4%
66	31,2%

## 12. Which Serbian politician in Kosovo do you trust the most?

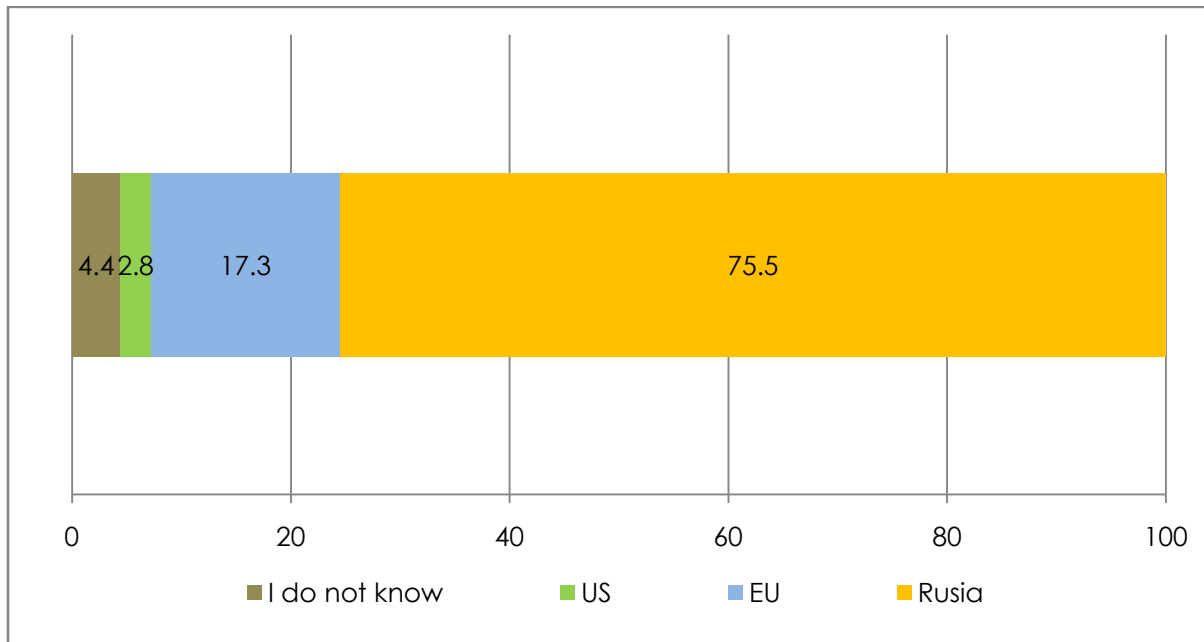




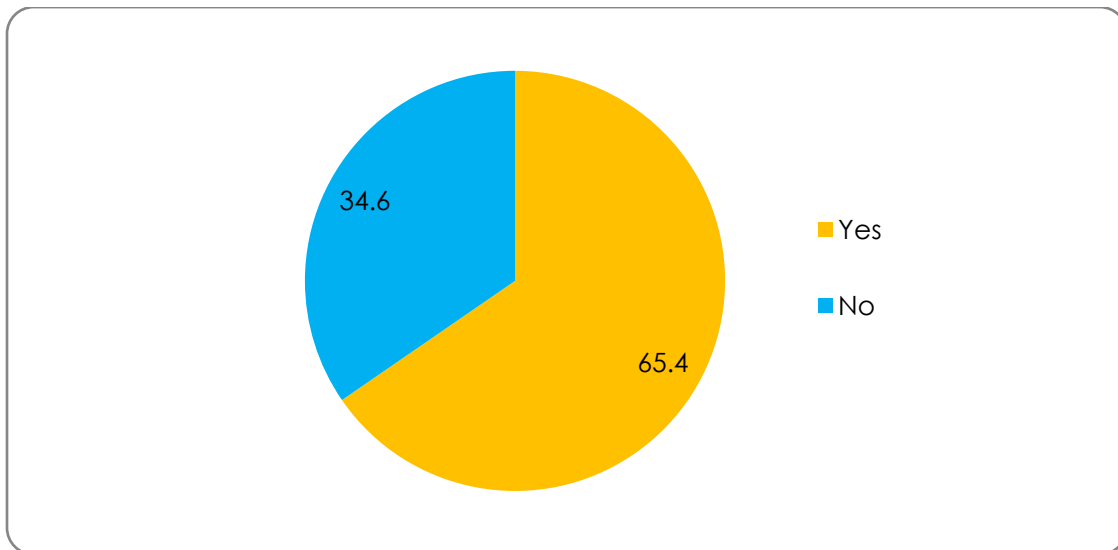
13. Which Albanian politician do you trust the most?



14. Which country/institution should Serbs from Kosovo rely on the most in foreign policy and lobbying?

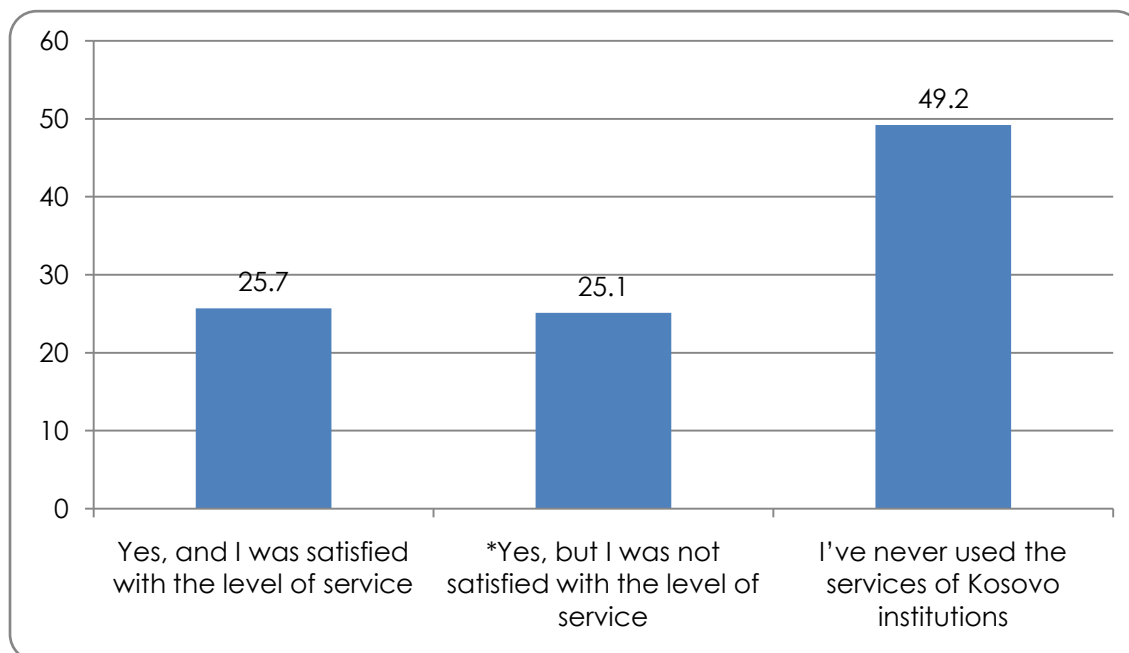


**15. Are you in possession of an identity document issued by Kosovo institutions?**



There is a meaningful different between younger and older respondents when it comes to holding identity documents from Kosovo institutions. Older respondents are two times more likely to hold Kosovo documents than younger ones.

**16. Do you use the services offered by Kosovo institutions?**



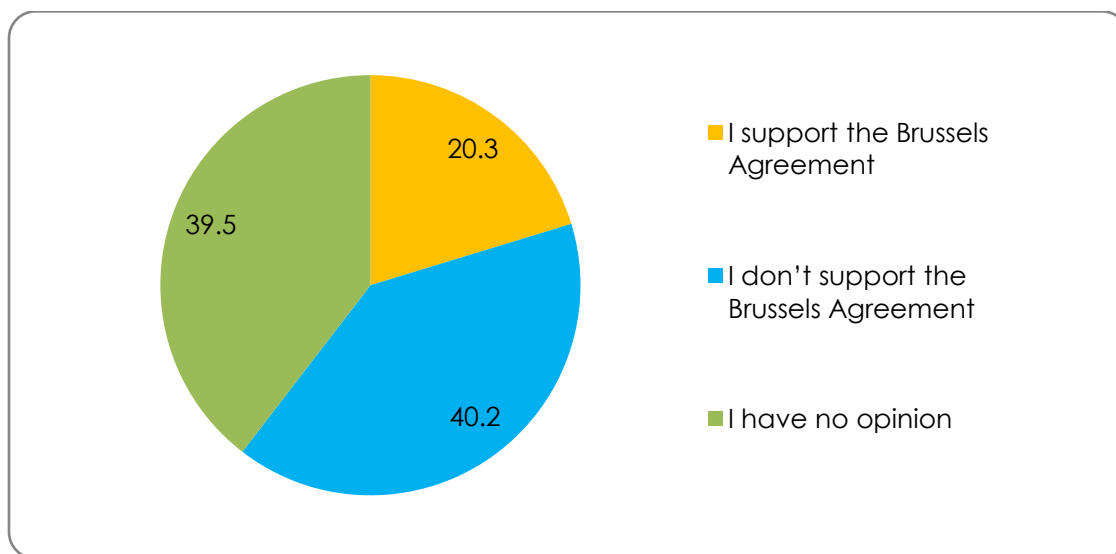
**17. On a scale of 1 to 5, rate your level of satisfaction with the following institutions:**

The government of Serbia	3
The Office for Kosovo and Metohija	2.8
The temporary organs of local administrations	2.5
The four newly-formed municipalities in north Kosovo	2.4
KFOR	2.4
Kosovo Police	2.3
UNMIK	2.2
Serbian members of the Kosovo parliament	2.1
Serbian ministers in the Kosovo government.	2
The Office of the E.U in Kosovo	2
EULEX	1.9
The government of Kosovo	1.7

**18. On a scale of 1 to 5, rate your level of trust in the following institutions:**

The government of Serbia	3
The Office for Kosovo and Metohija	2.8
The temporary organs of local administrations	2.6
The four newly-formed municipalities in north Kosovo	2.5
Kosovo Police	2.3
KFOR	2.3
UNMIK	2.2
Serbian members of the Kosovo parliament	2
Serbian ministers in the Kosovo government.	2
The Office of the E.U in Kosovo	2
EULEX	1.8
The government of Kosovo	1.7

## 19. What is your attitude towards the Brussels Agreement?



We can see a meaningful difference between younger and older respondents in terms of their support for the Brussels Agreement:

	Support for the Agreement
18-29	7.9%
30-45	11.2%
45-65	22.1%
66 +	33.3%

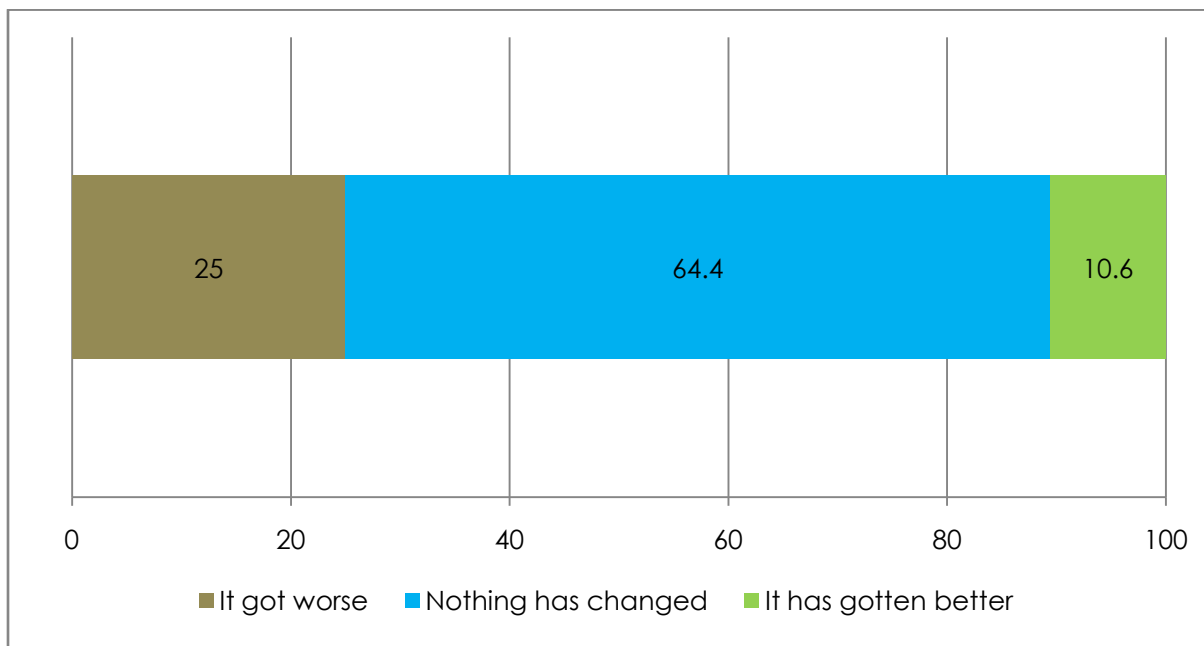
Analysis also shows that there is also a significant difference in support for the Brussels Agreement between respondents from different municipalities:

	Support for the Agreement
North Mitrovica	13.2%
Zubin Potok	17%
Leposavić	15.6%
Zvečan	33,2%

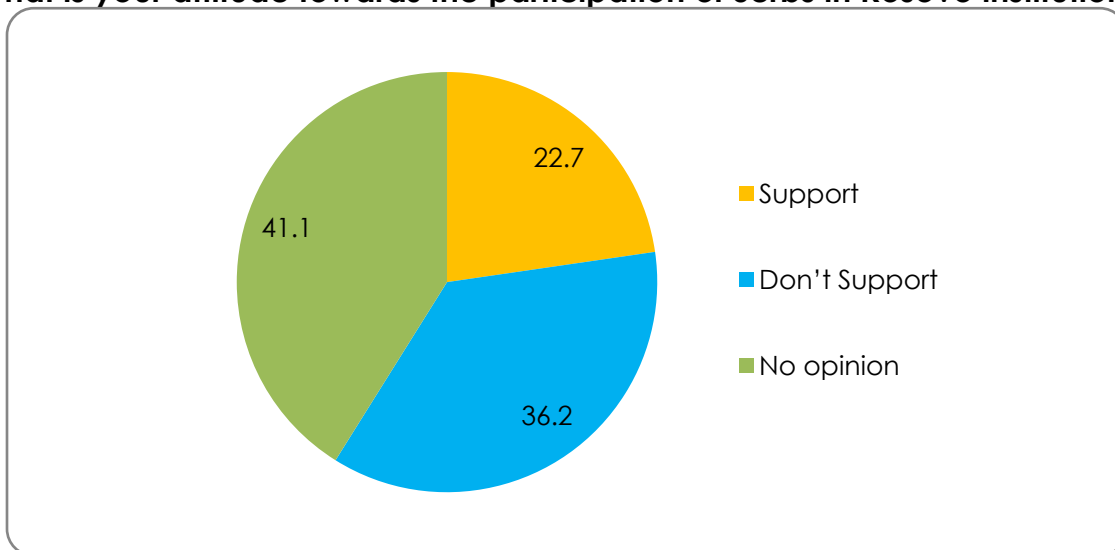
The strongest opponents to the Brussels Agreement are respondents with higher levels of education:

	I do not support the Agreement
Primary	26.2%
Secondary	35.4%
Higher/Technical	45.3%
University	41.2%

**20. How have the lives of Serbs in Kosovo changed since the signing of the Brussels Agreement?**



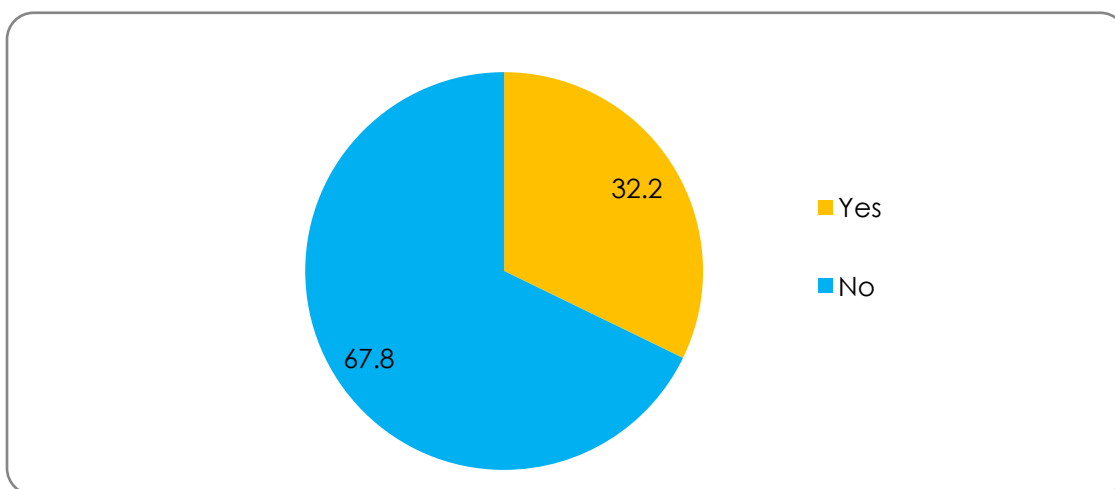
**21. What is your attitude towards the participation of Serbs in Kosovo institutions?**



The number of respondents who support Serb participation in Kosovo institutions varies from municipality to municipality:

	Support
North Mitrovica	20%
Zubin Potok	15.2%
Leposavić	20,3%
Zvečan	31.1%

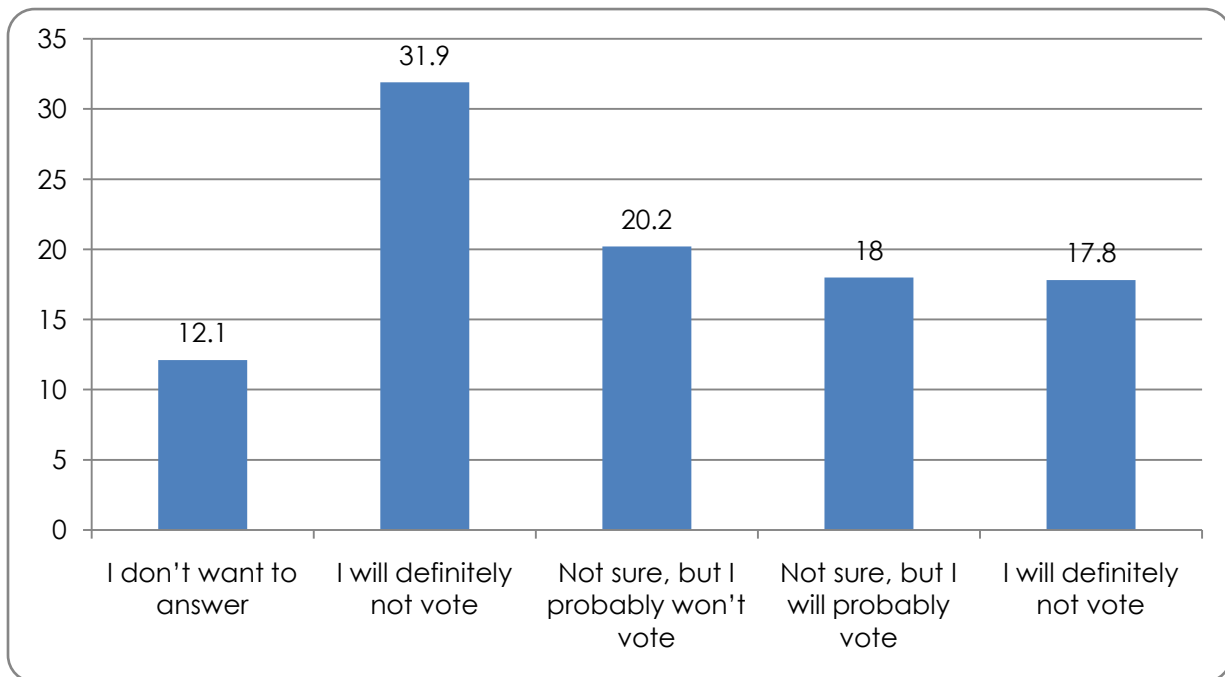
**22. Did you vote in the Kosovo parliamentary elections in 2014?**



The number of respondents who voted in the last elections in 2014 varies widely from municipality to municipality:

	I voted
North Mitrovica	40.9%
Zubin Potok	45. %
Leposavić	31.6%
Zvečan	17.9%

**23. Do you plan to vote in the next elections?**

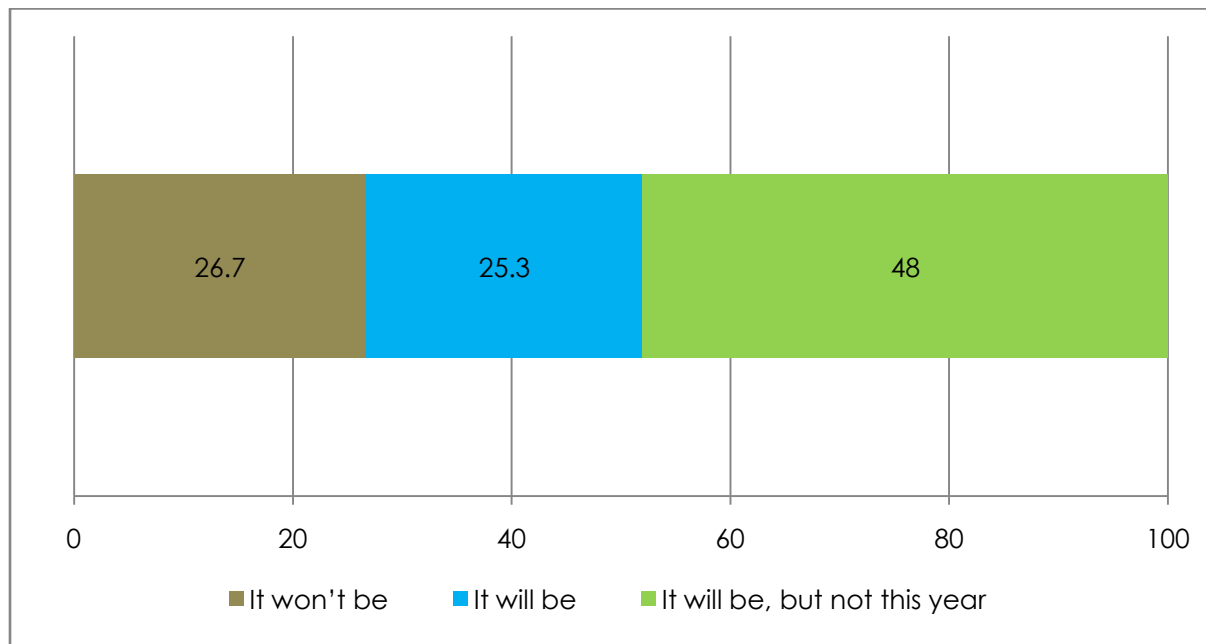


An analysis of the results reveals that younger people are less willing to participate in formal political processes than older respondents, which demonstrates that age difference plays an important role when it comes to political activism and it's meaning in the context of Kosovo.

	I will probably/definitely vote
18-29	25,4%
30-45	35%
45-65	35.9%
66 +	43.8%

The greatest numbers of respondents saying that they will probably/definitely vote are from Zubin Potok (55.5%), followed by Zvečan (35.8%), North Mitrovica (33.2%) and Leposavic (26.9 %.)

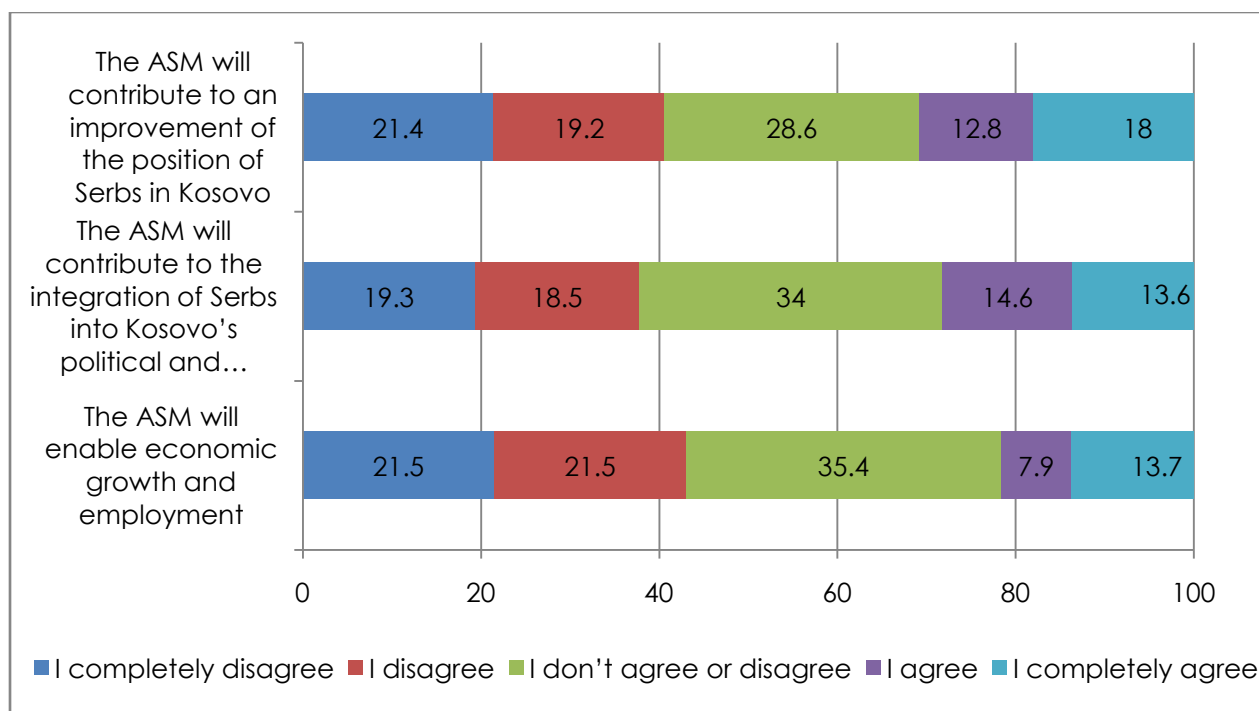
**24. Do you think that the Association of Serbian Municipalities will be established?**





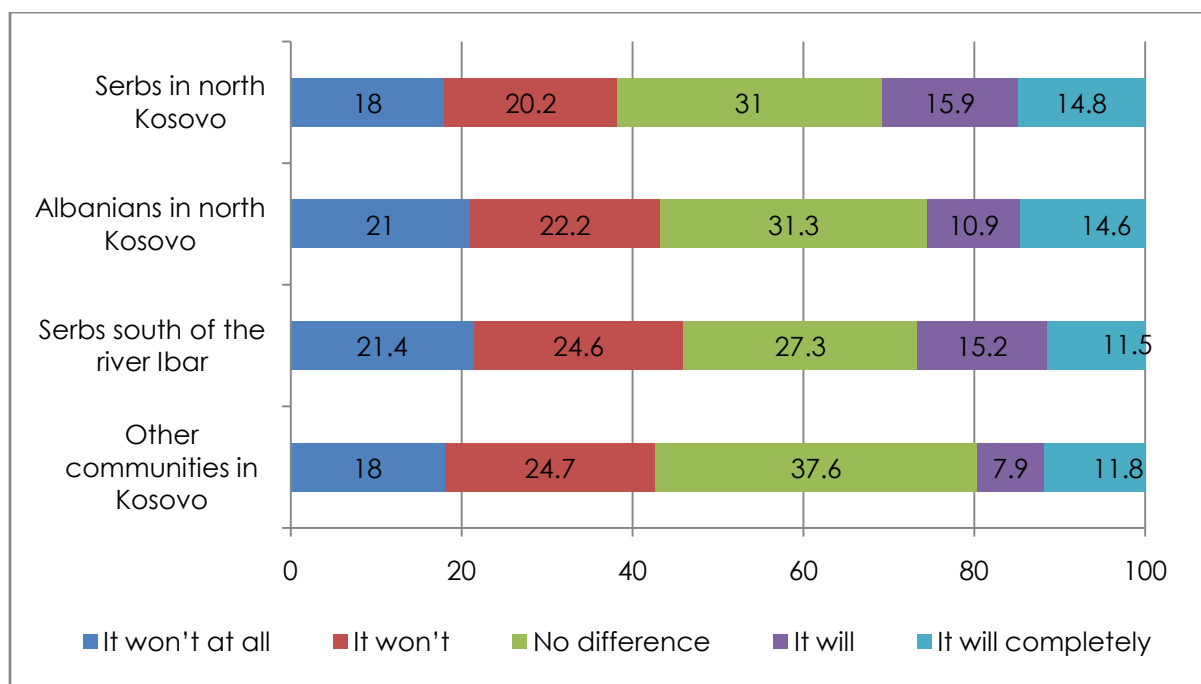
25. On a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 meaning “I complete disagree” and 5 meaning “I completely agree”, how would you assess the following attitudes towards the Association of Serbian Municipalities:

	Average score:
The ASM will contribute to an improvement of the position of Serbs in Kosovo	2.9
The ASM will contribute to the integration of Serbs into Kosovo's political and legal framework	2.8
The ASM will enable economic growth and employment	2.7

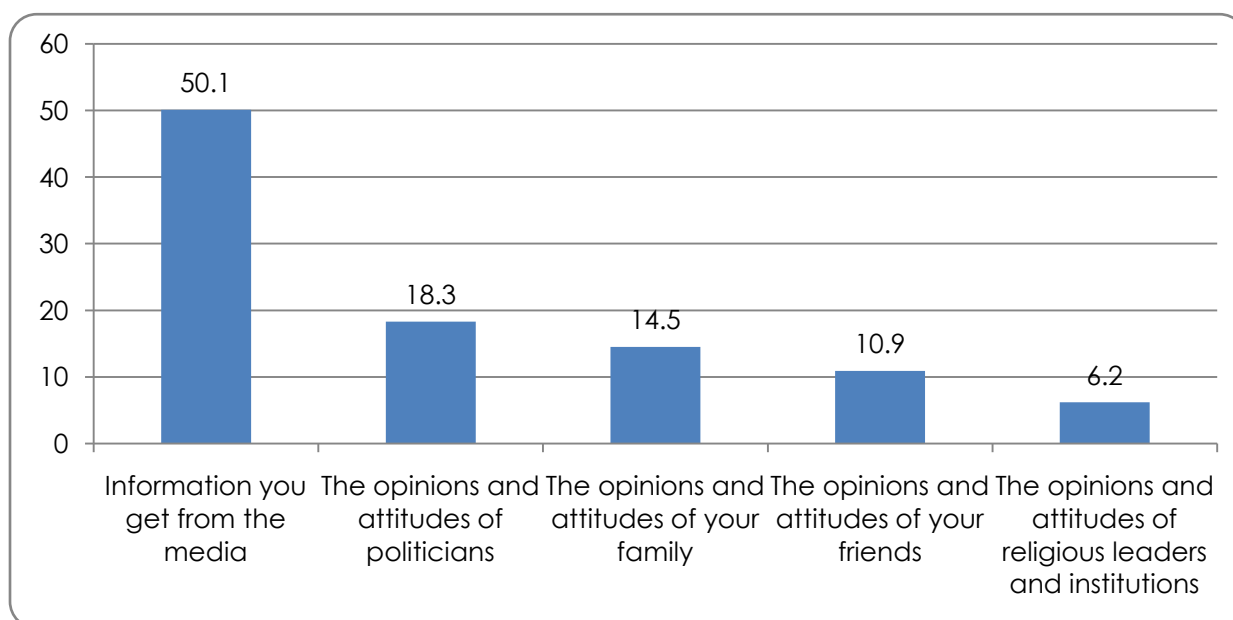


26. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being “it won't at all” and 5 being “it will completely”, will the Association of Serbian Municipalities improve the lives of:

	Average score
Serbs in North Kosovo	2.9
Albanians in north Kosovo	2.8
Serbs south of the river Ibar	2.7
Other communities in Kosovo	2.7



**27. On what do you base your attitudes towards politics and political events?**

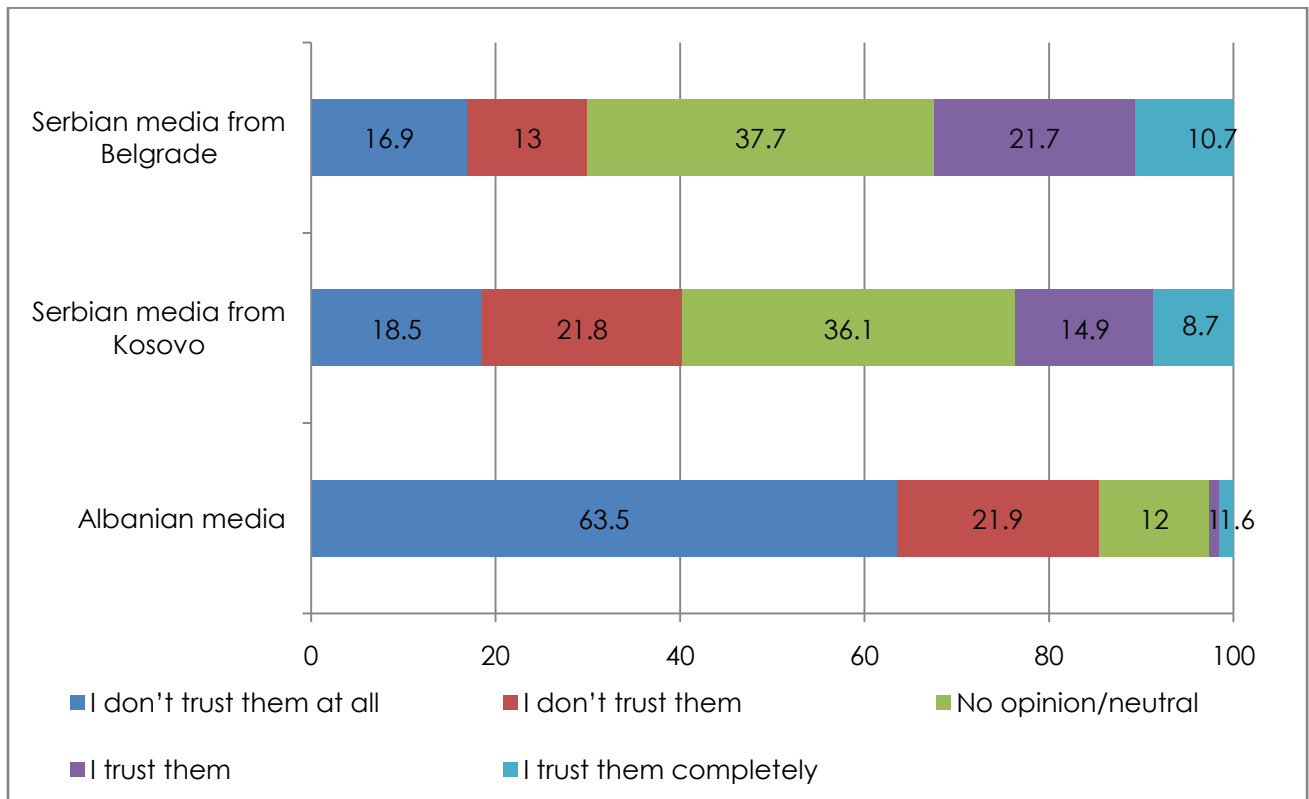


When it comes to questions of public concern, sources of information are very important in the formation of attitudes and opinions. It is interesting that respondents with a higher level of education named the media as their principal

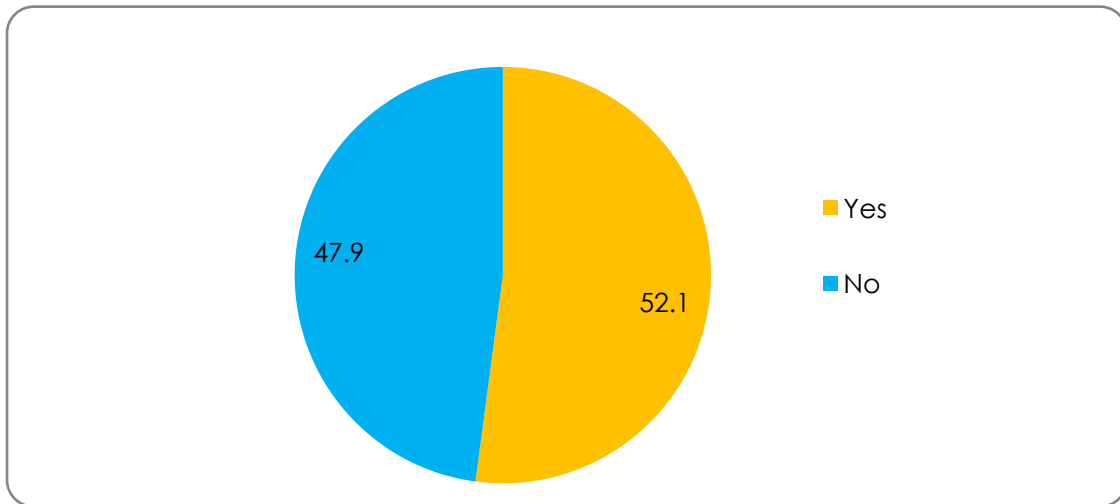
source of information while those with a lower level of education stated that politicians are there main source of information.

**28. On a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being “I don’t trust at all” and 5 being “I trust completely”, how much to you trust:**

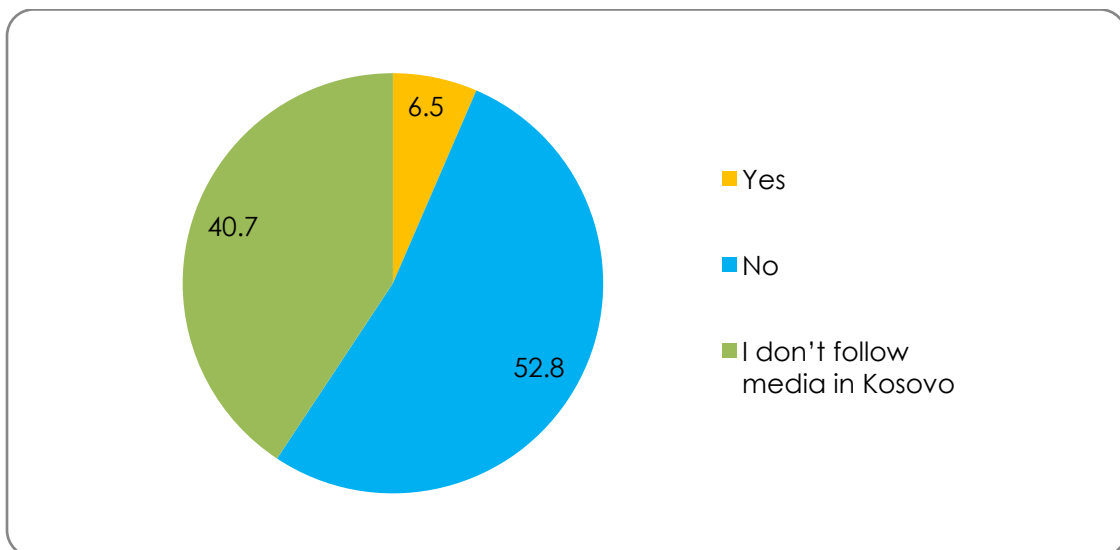
	Average score
Serbian media from Belgrade	3
Serbian media from Kosovo	2,7
Albanian media	1,5



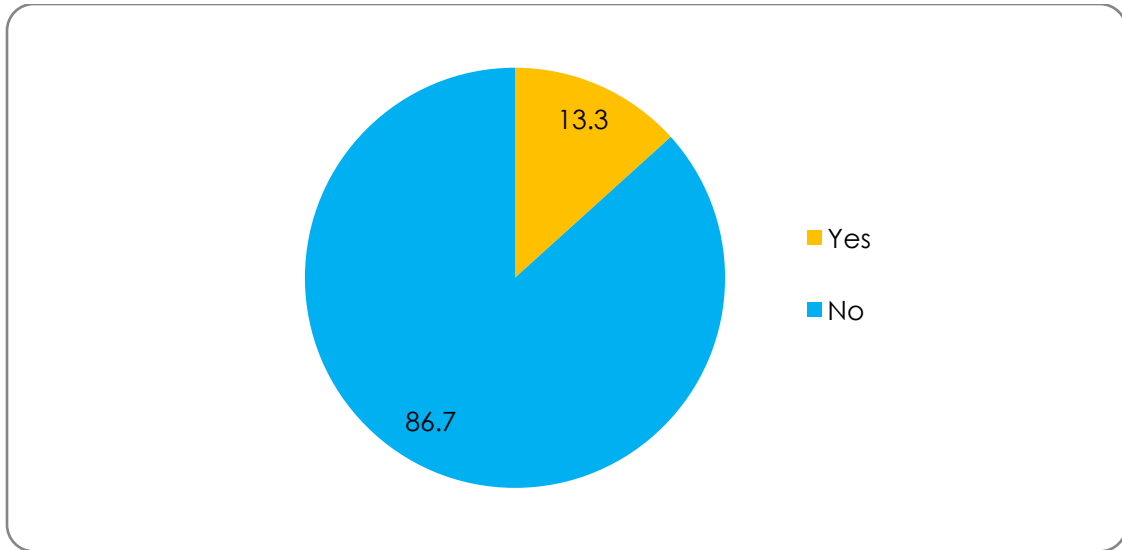
29. Do you feel free to publically express your political positions?



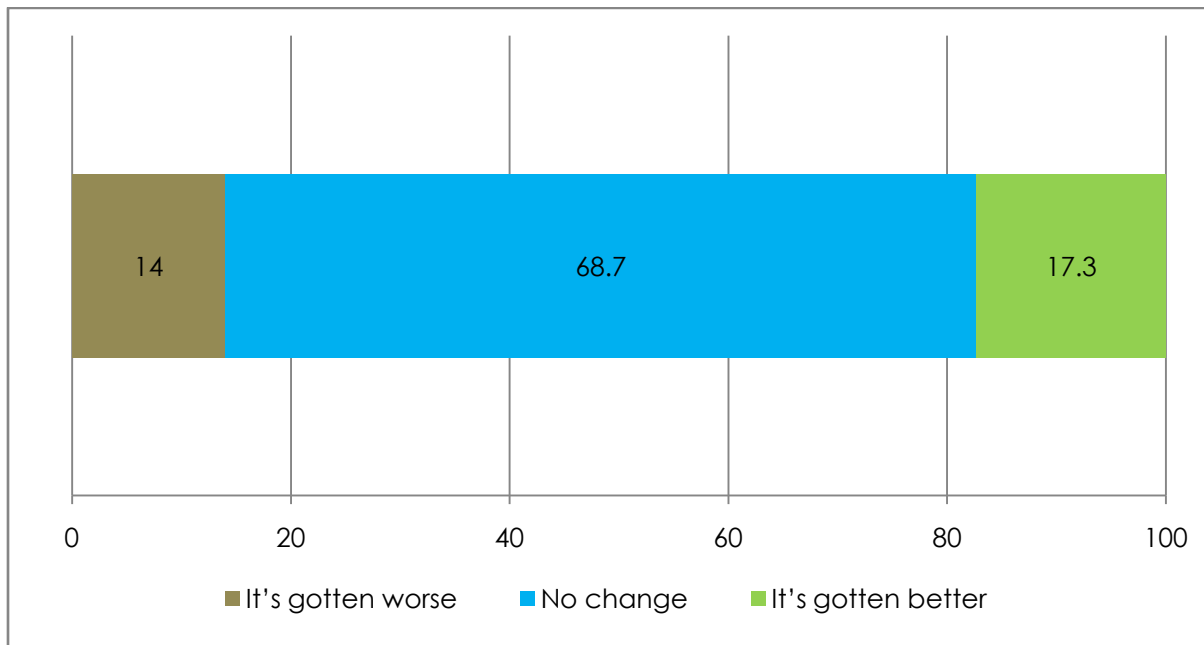
30. Are independent attitudes and critical thinking adequately represented in the media in Kosovo?



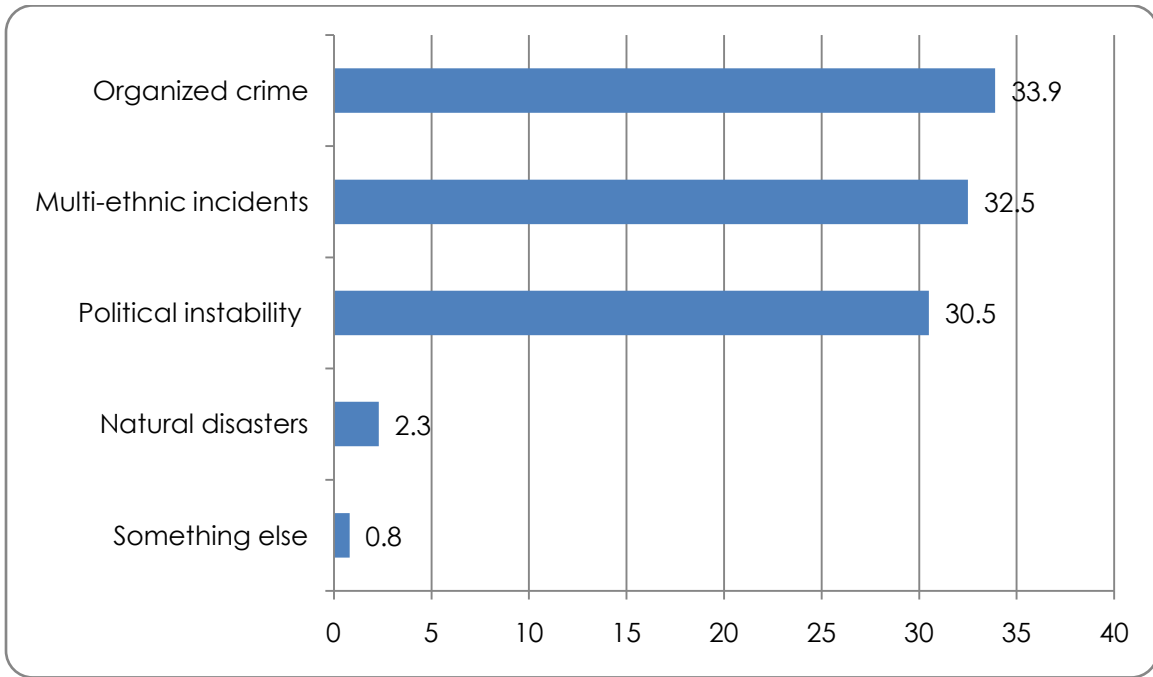
31. Was your safety or the safety of your family endangered in the past six months?



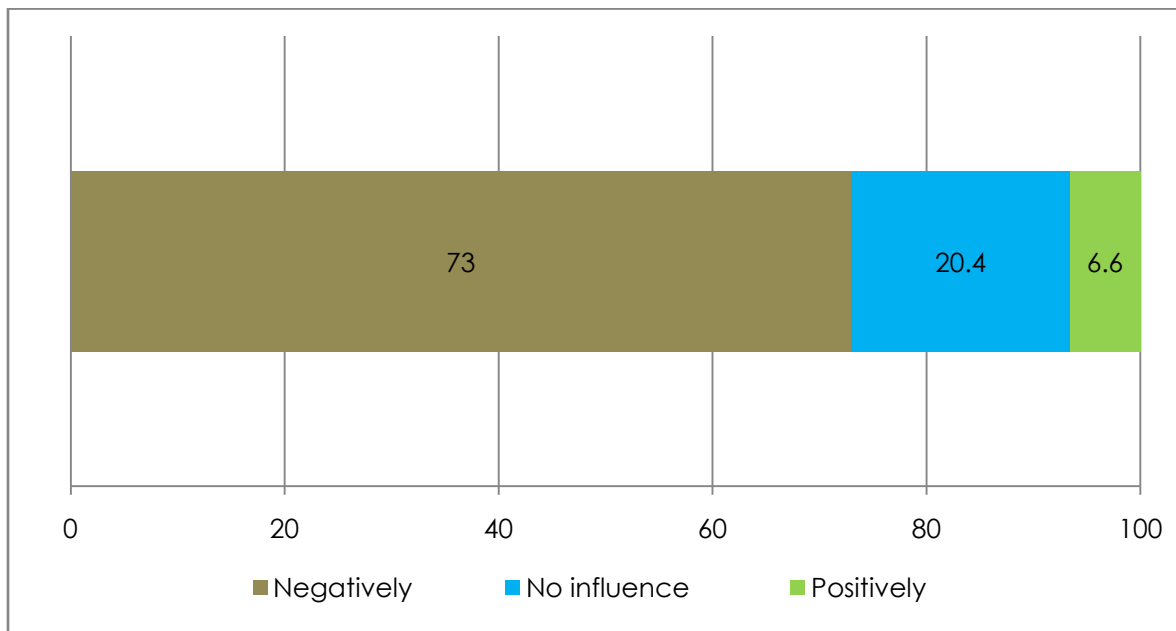
32. Has the security situation in north Kosovo changed at all in the past year?



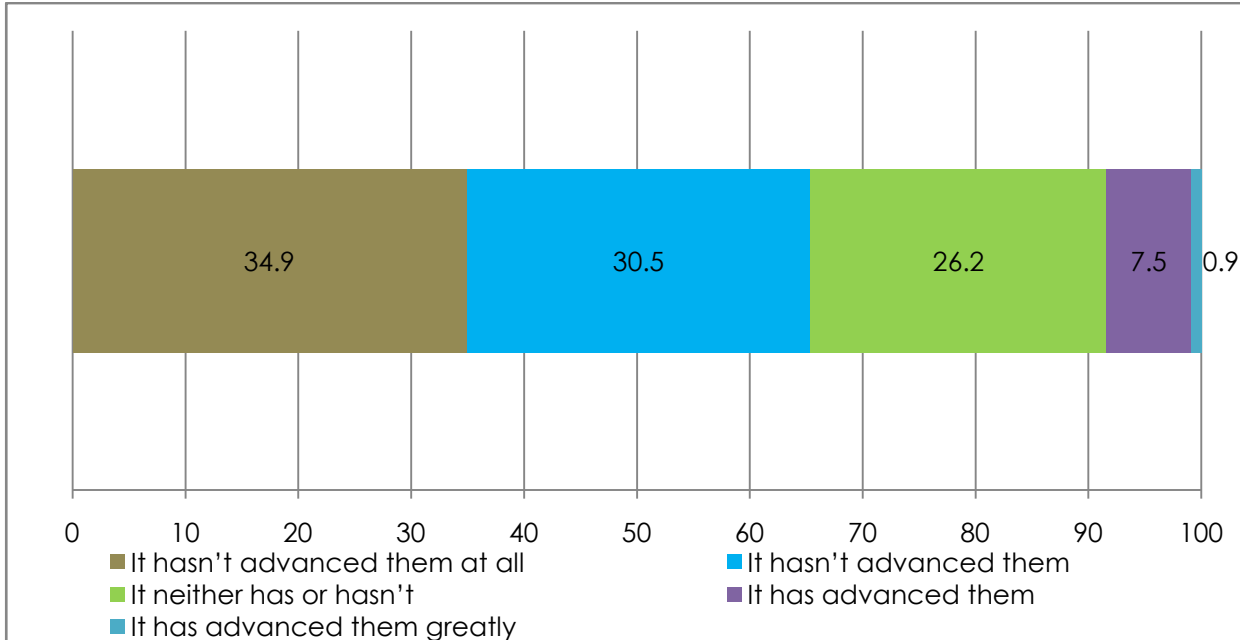
**33. In your opinion, what are the greatest security risks in your area?**



**34. How will the opening of the main bridge on the Ibar influence the security situation?**



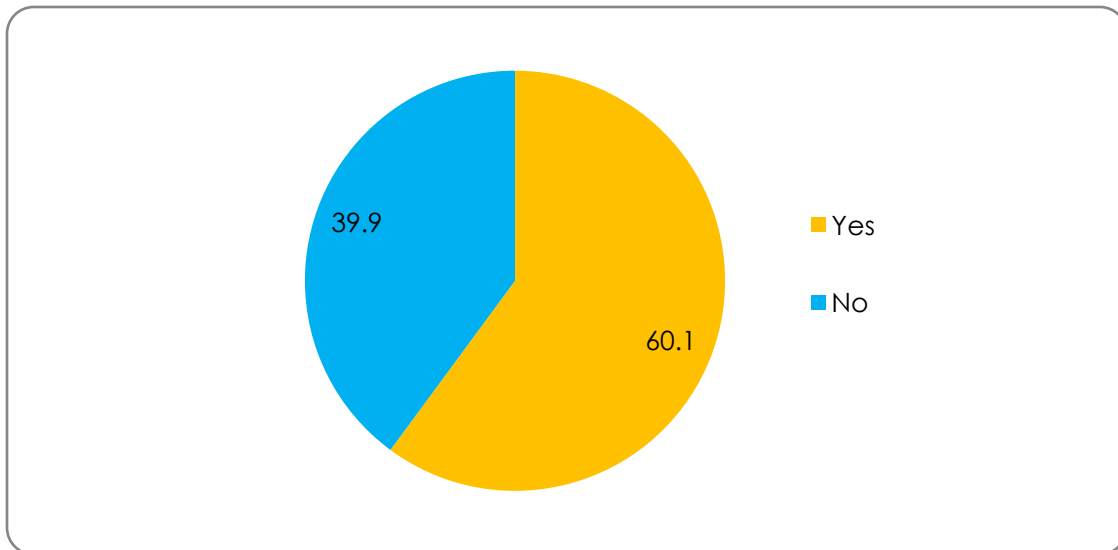
35. On a scale of 1 to 5, to what extent has the Brussels agreement advanced the rights and freedoms of the Serbian people in Kosovo?



36. Rate to what extent the following rights and freedoms of the Serbian people are respected in Serbian municipalities?

Language rights	4
Freedom of religion	4
Right to education	3.9
Right to healthcare/health insurance	3.8
Right to freely express national belonging	3.8
Right to free speech	3.5
Freedom of movement	3.4
Right to work	2.4

37. Do you see yourself in Kosovo in five years' time?



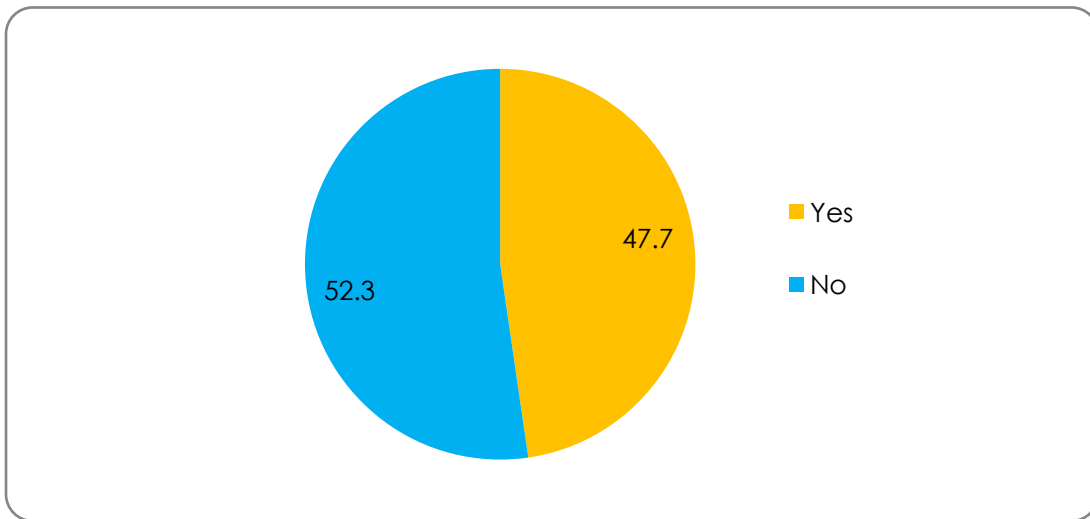
As expected, the youngest respondents are more likely to consider leaving Kosovo. In fact, 46.5% of respondents between the ages of 18 and 29 stated that they do not see themselves in Kosovo in the next five years. More importantly, those who were most likely to state that they do not see themselves in Kosovo in five years' time were also the most educated of all respondents. This would indicate that this is not only a demographic, but also a technocratic problem.

An analysis of the results shows that respondents' future plans vary from municipality to municipality:

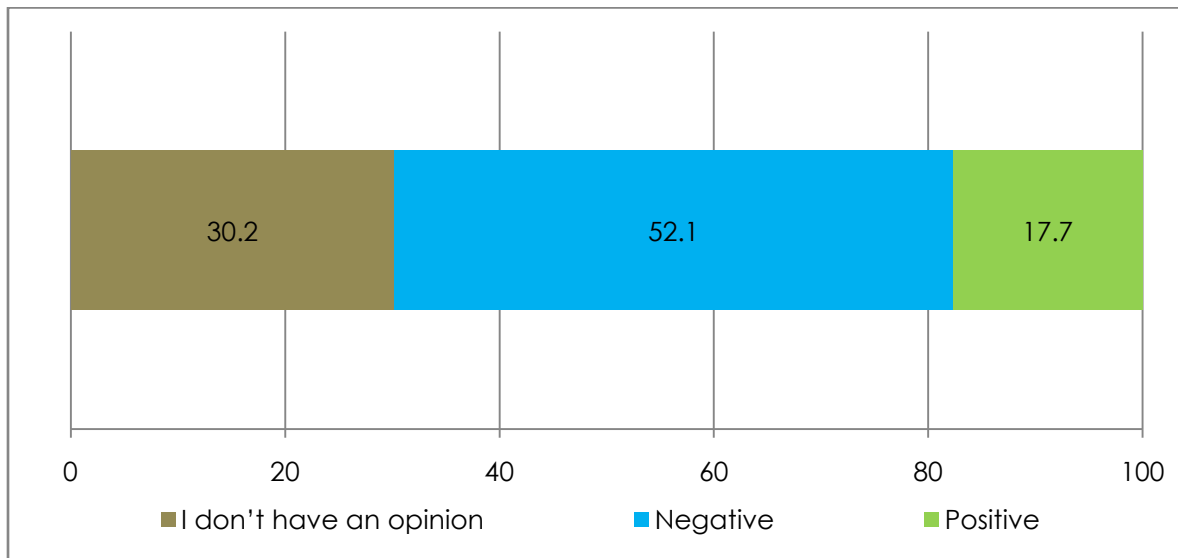
	I do not see myself in Kosovo in five years
North Mitrovica	37.5%
Zubin Potok	32.2%
Leposavić	13.5%
Zvečan	10.3%



**38. Has someone close to you left Kosovo in the last 6 months?**



**39. When you hear „European Union“ is your initial reaction positive or negative?**

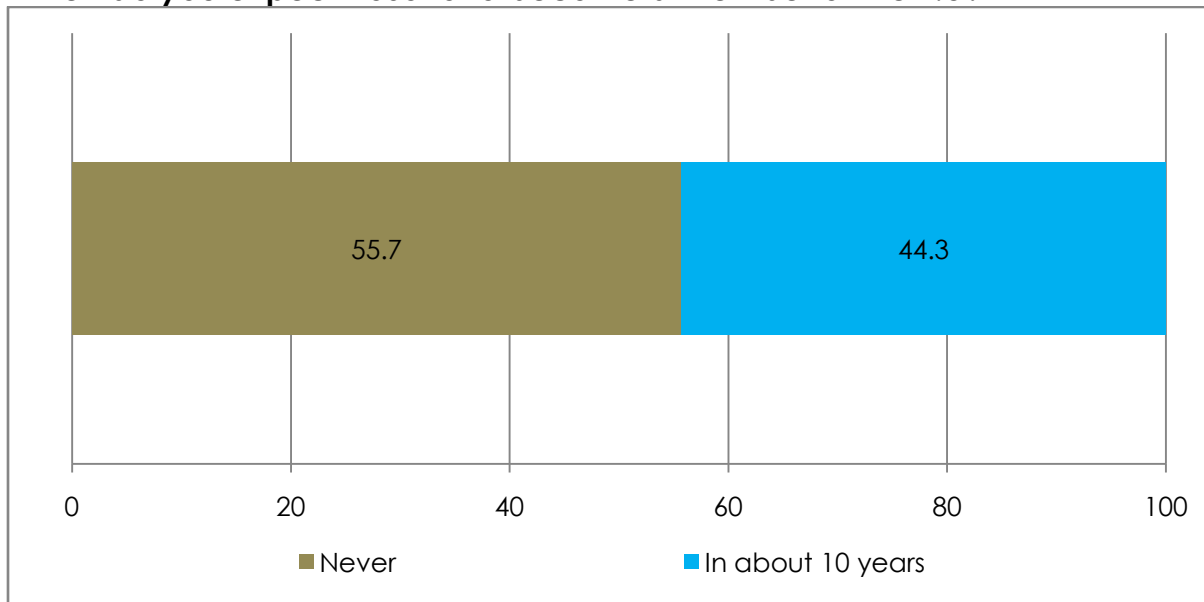


Answers to this question show that the youngest respondents view the European Union most negatively. A mere 10.9% of younger respondents have a positive view of the E.U. Support for the E.U isn't much higher among higher age groups, 18.1% of respondents between the ages of 30 and 45 have a positive opinion of the E.U, 16.3% of 46-65 year olds, and 25% of respondents over the age of 66.

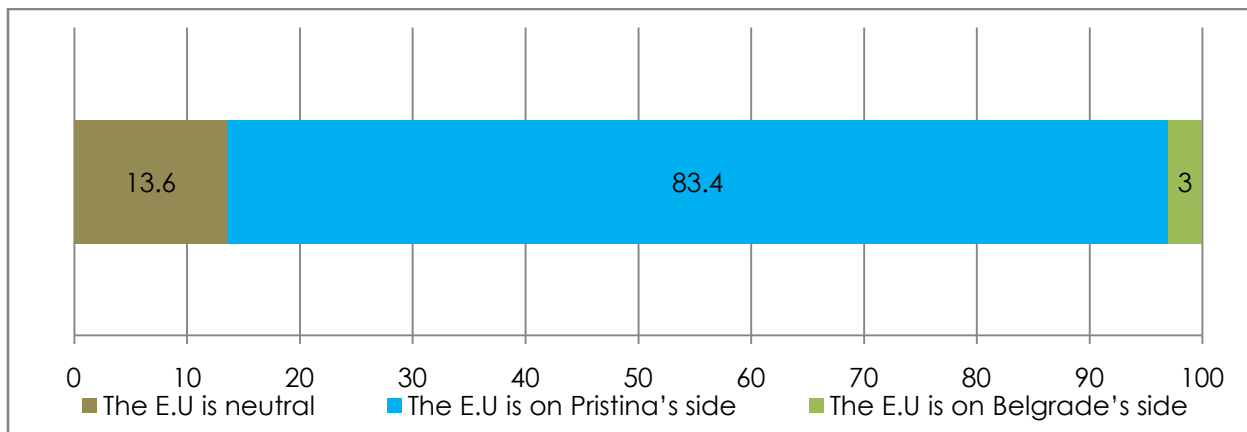
Varying perceptions of the E.U can also be found among respondents with different levels of education:

	Positive association
Primary	34.4%
Secondary	19.6%
Higher/technical	10%
University	18.7%

**40. When do you expect Kosovo to become a member of the E.U?**

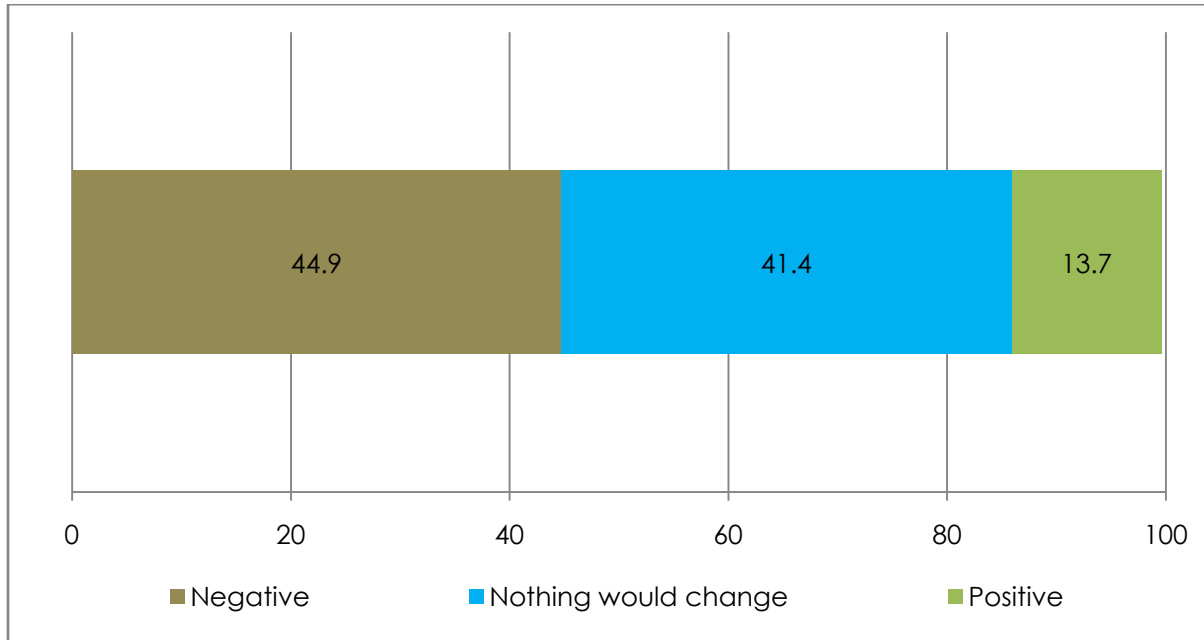


**41. How do you view the E.U's position in the negotiations between Belgrade and Priština?**

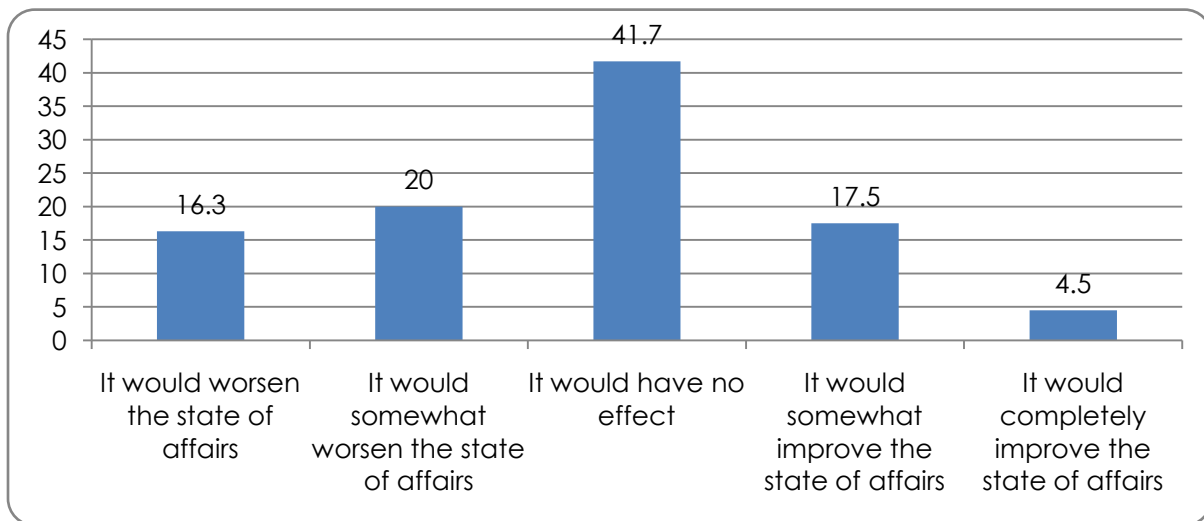


We can see significant differences in responses to this question depending on levels of education. Respondents with a primary school education, in 21.5% of cases, stated that they felt that the E.U sides Priština sides in negotiations while that number is much higher among those with university degrees at 88.8%.

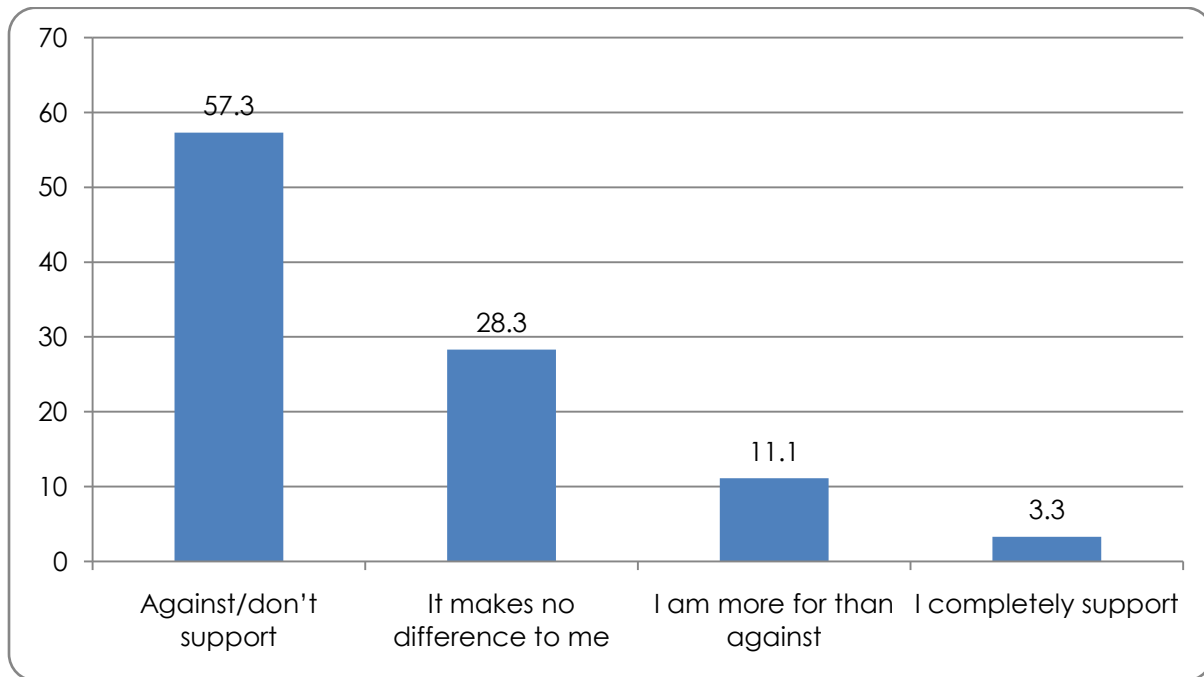
**42. What kind of influence would Kosovo's entry into the E.U have on you personally?**



**43. In what way would Kosovo's entry into the E.U have on the current socio-economic state of affairs in Kosovo?**



#### 44. Do you support Kosovo's entry into the European Union?



Educational variables play an important role in this as well:

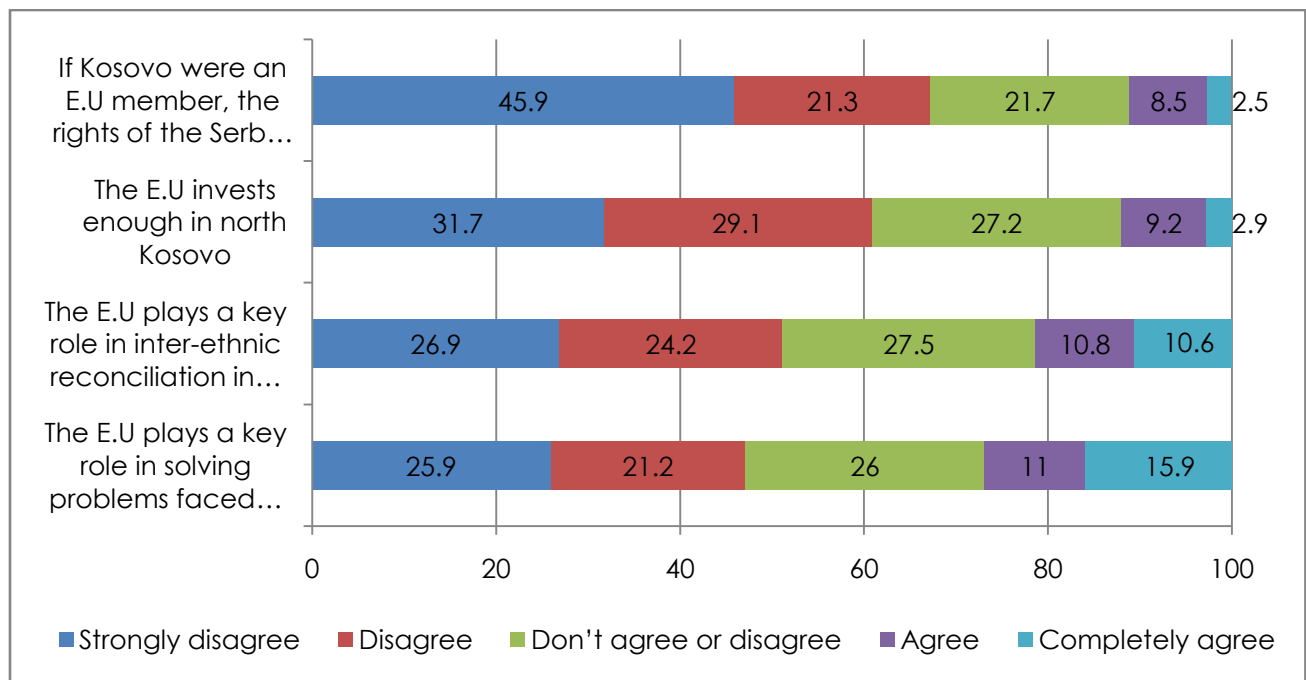
	Do not support	Completely support
Primary	25%	18.8%
Secondary	58.7%	0.2%
Higher/technical	62.4%	1.4%
University	57.4%	2.1%

Differing responses to this question can also be identified according to municipality:

	Support
North Mitrovica	19.9%
Zubin Potok	4.2%
Leposavić	12.8%
Zvečan	14.9%

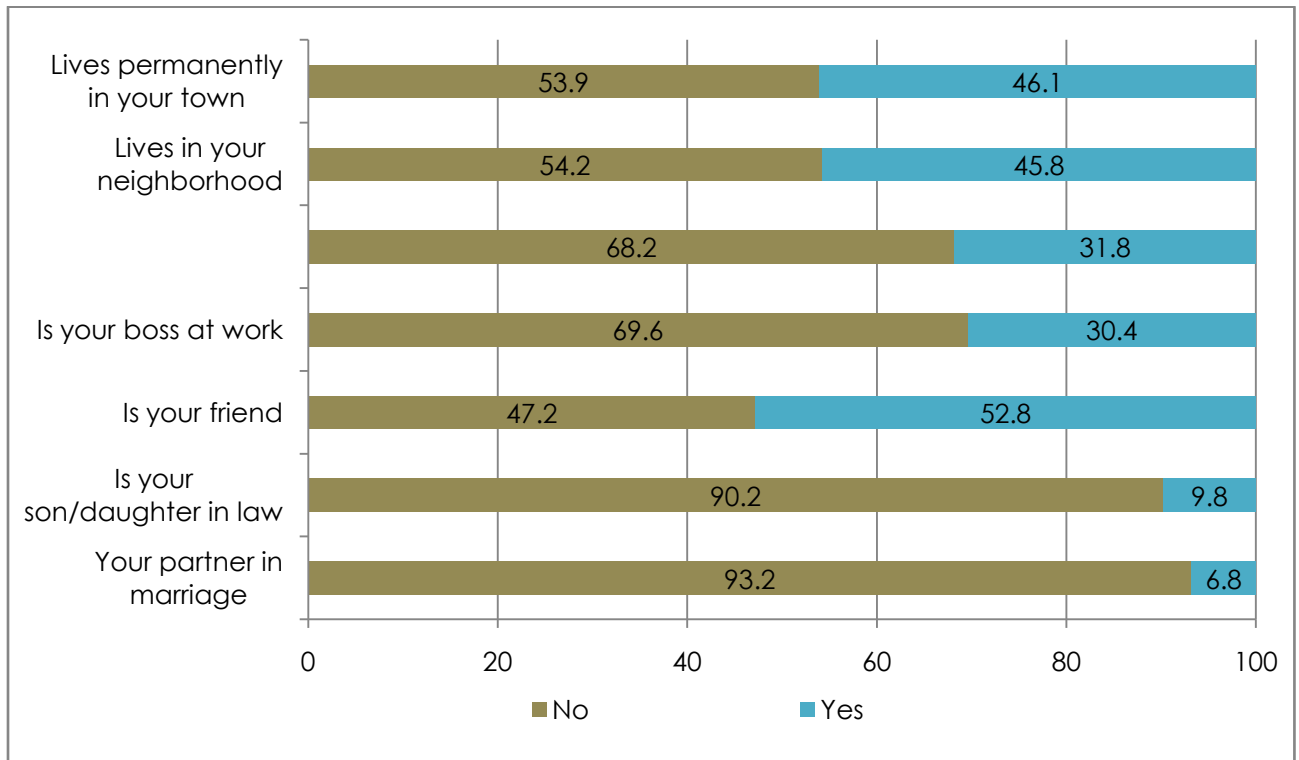
45. On a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means “I completely disagree” and 5 means “I completely agree”, rate the truthfulness of the following assertions:

	Average score
The E.U has a key role in solving the problems of the Serbian community in Kosovo.	2.7
The E.U plays a key role in inter-ethnic reconciliation in Kosovo.	2.5
The E.U invests enough in north Kosovo	2.2
Were Kosovo to be a member of the E.U, the Serbian community would be more protected	2

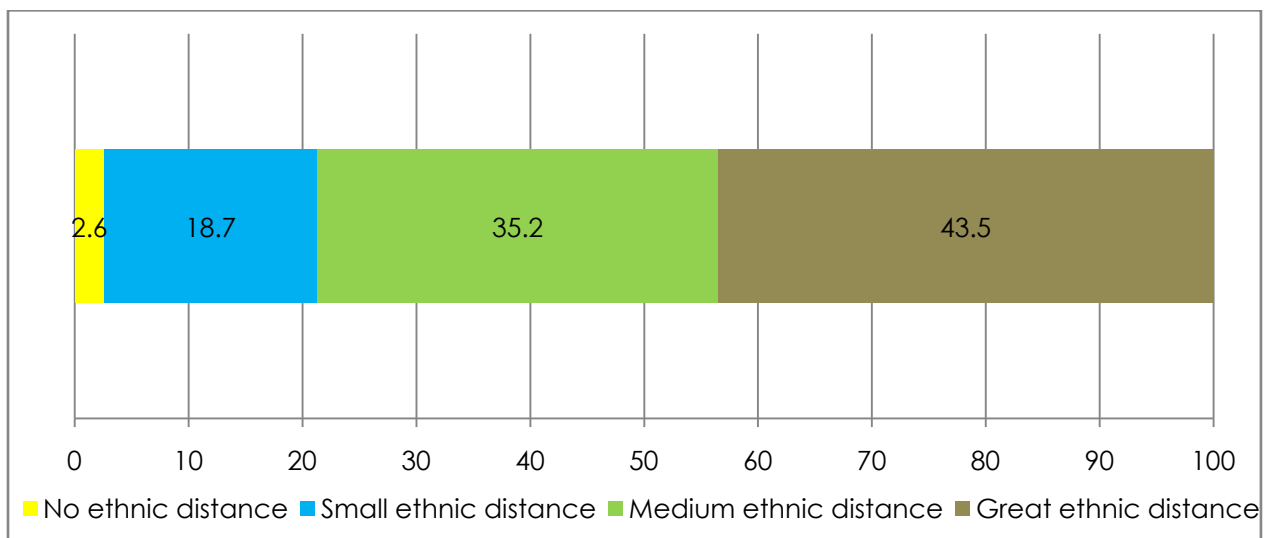


## 46. Measuring ethnic distance

Accepting a member of the Albanian community:



### Ethnic distance scale (total)



Even though in some societies scales measuring ethnic distance show variations depending on age in some societies, in our particular case we were not able to see a meaningful statistical variation between older and younger respondents. However, level of education did play a large role in the distribution of answers on the scale of ethnic distance:

	Medium and great ethnic distance
Primary	96.9%
Secondary	74.7%
Technical	87.2%
Higher	74.9%

One of the most important factors that influences the reduction in ethnic distances between Serbs and Albanians is the extent to which they (Serbs) have spent time in areas in which Albanians are the majority. Namely, correlation tests demonstrate a medium negative correlation ( $r = -0.39$ ) that tells us that the more time respondents have spent in Albanian areas, the shorter the ethnic distance.

## Conclusions

- The research shows that residents of north Kosovo are extremely dissatisfied with the current political, economic and security situation. What is especially worrying is the fact that residents not only rate current conditions poorly but that they also consider overall developmental trends in Kosovo to be negative. The fact that every third respondent believes that life for Serbs in Kosovo will be even worse in three years than it is now serves only to confirm this.

- Responses show that there exists a high level of distrust in political institutions and procedures in Kosovo. Taking this into consideration, it is no surprise that a large number of respondents do not wish to exercise their right to vote. The fact that the majority of respondents do not trust a single Serbian or Albanian politician contributes particularly heavily to this political passivity. In this case, elections are a race between the lesser of two evils and not to choose the best or most qualified candidate.

- Aside from passivity respondents also demonstrate a lack of commitment – they often selected “I don’t have an opinion” or “I don’t know” as their answer to questions. Looking at this, it is interesting to mention that 40% of respondents did not express an opinion regarding the Brussels Agreement, a treaty that is frequently discussed and, should it be fully implemented, has the potential to have a meaningful impact on the socio-political reality in Kosovo.

- The population aspect may prove to be highly problematic because this research shows that a significant number of respondents are considering leaving Kosovo within the next five years. This problem is particularly acute because it involves a young and well-educated sector of the population that could, with its departure, give rise to demographic and technocratic problems for an already-ageing and uneducated population in Kosovo.



- Respondents in north Kosovo do not view the role of the European Union in the process of resolving Kosovo's status at all positively. This Eurosceptic trend is especially pronounced among young and educated people who do not believe that the European Union has the same standards for both sides in the negotiation process. Having this in mind, it should be of no surprise that only a small number of respondents support Kosovo's membership in the E.U.

- The ethnic distance between Serbs and Albanians is still great and the only factor that has an actual impact on the lessening of those distances is the frequency and intensity of personal contact. The more people meet, communicate, cooperate and share living spaces the greater the tendency to shorten the distances between members of two and very distant groups.

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Jan

Feb

2K

1.5K

1K

500

0

