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Normalization of relations between Belgrade and Pristina from citizens perspective

WHAT WE KNOW AND WHAT WE FEEL?

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► INTRODUCTION

The Kosovo problem has been a key national and political issue in Serbia for decades. The prevalence and over-saturation with the Kosovo issue in the Serbian public discourse affected political social and economic dynamics. Most importantly, Serbia's EU enlargement perspective, as a proclaimed foreign policy priority, is directly tied to a normalization of relations with Pristina. Chapter 35 of Serbia's accession negotiations with the EU stipulates that "the advancement of Serbia's to the EU will be measured in particular against its continued engagement towards a visible and sustainable improvement in relations with Kosovo." What's more, the EU common position on Chapter 35 asserts that if "progress in the normalization of relations with Kosovo, significantly lags behind progress in the negotiations overall," the Commission could withhold opening or closing negotiating chapters.

Since 2011, Belgrade engaged in technical and political dialogue with Pristina authorities in Brussels. Up-to-date, around 30 agreements were reached at the technical and political levels. Most of these agreements addressed issues significant to the life of citizens and facilitated the integration of Kosovo Serbs into Kosovo's legal and political system. However, following eight years of EU-facilitated dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina and more than six years from the signing of landmark "First Agreement on principles governing normalization of relations," the prospect of reaching a comprehensive legally binding agreement between both parties remains uncertain. Formal discussions on normalizing relations based on protection of non-majority community rights of Kosovo Serbs through the establishment of Association/Community of Serb majority municipalities have since July 2018 given space to reintroducing the notion of territorial delineation and land swap.

As a result of internal infight between President and Prime Minister and inability to come to coherent policy on Belgrade-Pristina, the Kosovo government decided to introduce a 100% tariff on the goods originating from Serbia in November 2018, signaling the long break in the formal talks facilitated by Brussels. The two sides have not officially met to discuss dialogue related issues since then. The international community has called on Belgrade and Pristina to avoid actions that hinder the resumption of dialogue, pressing the Pristina to suspend tariffs and Belgrade to halt "de-recognition campaign" against Kosovo. However, a continuation of dialogue is further hindered by successive elections in Kosovo, held on 6 October and one in Serbia, expected for early spring 2020. Furthermore, the lack of consensus in the international community, particularly between the United States and Germany of what could be an acceptable outcome of the dialogue, further complicates the issue. While United States has shown its commitment for swift resumption and completion of Belgrade-Pristina dialogue by appointing Richard Grenell as the US Special Envoy for the talks, Germany and European Union seem to be more reluctant and careful to explore other avenues of the possible agreement except those set by deals made in Brussels.

Whatever the future of Belgrade-Pristina dialogue, both sides would have to find a way to "sell" some kind of agreement to their respective publics. This could particularly come challenging to President Vučić and the Government of Serbia. Serbian claims over Kosovo are grounded on deep symbolic construction of this territory as a "homeland", a "cradle of Serbian culture", a "Serbian Jerusalem", and "heart of Serbia", while loss of Kosovo is perceived as "injustice", "betrayal", "shame", "loss of identity". Such a strong view on Kosovo in the Serbian public point to the need to ameliorate the emotional and symbolic roots of this issue before reaching a sustainable, legally binding agreement.

This public opinion report wants to come to the core of "how citizens feel" about the process of normalization of relations between Belgrade and Pristina, what do they think and believe. It aims to analyze and understand the meaning and importance of Kosovo in the Serbian public and assess possible scenarios for reaching a comprehensive agreement on the normalization of relations between Belgrade and Pristina. The goal is, therefore, to determine what would be the most favorable and realistic scenario – for the Serbian public – in reaching a legally binding agreement.

► HOUSE OF INSIGHTS

- The research has shown that Kosovo problem remains one of the critical political issues in Serbia. Kosovo's topic provokes emotional reactions, which points to the difficulty of demobilizing long-standing narratives in which Kosovo is represented as a cornerstone of "Serbian state" and "Serbian identity." Such narratives are underpinned by highly negative attitudes and stereotypes about Albanians, as presented by the "high ethnic distance," which on a scale from 0 to 1 stands at 0.62. Furthermore, the fact that only 14.1% of respondents would agree to support recognition Kosovo's independence if it were a precondition for Serbia's EU membership, while 71.7% opposed it points to the fact that highly «emotional» narrative on Kosovo still prevails over more «realistic» attitudes. Further confirmation that Kosovo remains important in the public discourse is the fact that a large number of respondents are ready to mobilize politically in the events related to Kosovo. A particular trigger would be a situation in which rights and freedoms of Kosovo Serb are jeopardized, or in the case of endangerment of Serbian religious and cultural heritage in Kosovo.
- That recognition of Kosovo independence would be hard to sell to the citizens tells the fact that only between 15% and 20% of respondents would accept some of the scenarios which entail that option, even in cases in which it brings some concessions to Serbia, such as "partition" or "exchange of territories." The only scenario that is somewhat acceptable in case of "recognition" is a maximalist and unlikely scenario by which in addition to territory in the north, Kosovo concedes Association/Community for Kosovo Serbs south of river Ibar, as well as extra-territoriality for the Serbian Orthodox Church monasteries. Such a scenario would gain the support of 36.4% of respondents. The only other scenario which would gain some traction among citizens is scenario by which Serbia does not recognize Kosovo but accepts Kosovo membership in the UN, while in exchange, it gets Association/Community of Serb majority municipalities for Kosovo Serbs.
- This information becomes even more important when we reduce the support of citizens for the two most prominent scenarios to resolve the status of Kosovo as perceived by the public. First is a comprehensive agreement on normalization of relations, which entails an exchange of territories, whereby Serbia gets four municipalities in the north, while Kosovo gets parts of Presevo Valley. According to this agreement, Serbia recognizes Kosovo's independence, and Kosovo becomes a member of the UN. The second is a comprehensive agreement on normalization of relations, which entails the establishment of Association/Community of Serb majority municipalities. According to this agreement, Serbia does not recognize Kosovo formally, but Kosovo becomes a member of the UN. As many as 72.9% of respondents would rather accept a deal that does not include Kosovo recognition. Therefore, the second scenario is more appealing to the public. The main reason for such an opinion is that there is no "de facto" recognition of Kosovo by Serbia. Furthermore, in the eyes of respondents, such agreement would enable the survival of Kosovo Serbs, as well as protection of Serbian cultural and religious heritage in Kosovo. Respecting and guaranteeing the rights of Serbs and preserving religious and cultural heritage are considered extremely important by citizens in the context of the Belgrade-Pristina deal.
- The majority of citizens, as many as 55%, supports Belgrade-Pristina dialogue. Still, the fact that 62.3% of respondents are not familiar with the content of agreements made in Brussels is a clear sign that the dialogue lacks transparency. Only 12.6% of respondents are well-informed about Brussels dialogue.

► METHODOLOGY

Time span of the research: Public opinion research was conducted from 23-30. September 2019

Research method: F2F survey

Population: Serbia without Kosovo (120 research units); 18+ (6.724.949 voters)

Type of sample: Three-stage random stratified sample

Stratification method: 9 strata (criteria: polling station size & region)

Respondents selection method: Polling station; Household; First next birthday

Sample size: 1173 respondents

Margin of error: + / - 2,8

DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE - DEMOGRAPHY

1. Sex

Female	51.4%
Male	48.6%

2. Average age: 44

3. Place of residence in Serbia?

Belgrade	23.4%
Vojvodina	26.4%
West Serbia	13.2%
East Serbia	8%
Central Serbia	15.1%
South Serbia	13.8%

4. Settlement:

Urban	59.9%
Rural	40.1%

5. Education:

Elementary education	29.2%
High School education	54.3%
Attained a college or university degree	16.5%

6. How would you describe yourself in terms of religion?

Non-religious	12.3%
Moderately religious person	60.8%
Very religious person	20.9%
I don't want to answer	6%

7. Employment status:

Employed in public sector	17.7%
Employed in private sector	18.6%
Self-employed	7.8%
Employed in the gray zone	4.1%
Not-employed (actively seeking a job)	7.9%
Unemployed (I don't search for a job actively)	5.9%
Student-high school student	12.8%
Retired	25.3%

7. Overall, how satisfied are you lately?

The average grade on the scale from 1 (I am not satisfied at all) to 10 (I am very satisfied) is **6.25**

I am not satisfied	14.9%
Moderately satisfied	50%
Satisfied	35.1%

8. How would you assess the financial situation in your household?

With current income, we find it hard to make ends meet.	14.9%
We get along, but it's far away from any stability.	41.1%
The situation is not bad; we have enough money to sustain our needs.	38.1%
Condition is great; we have enough money not to worry about it.	5.9%

9. When you observe your family experience in the last ten years, would you consider yourself as transition loser or transition winner?

Transition loser	37.6%
Neither loser nor winner of transition	52%
Transition winner	10.4%

► SURVEY RESULTS

10. How often do you follow politics?

I don't follow at all	13.6%
I mostly don't follow	31.4%
I mostly follow	42%
I follow often	13%

11. What is your main source of information about politics?

TV	53%
Internet media	14.4%
Social media	11.8%
I do not get informed	8.4%
Press	7.6%
Web portals	4.1%
Radio	0.7%

- Segmentation on traditional and new media

Traditional media	66.9%
New media	33.1%

12. Which daily newspaper do you read mostly?

Blic	26.4%
Kurir	15.2%
Informer	14.2%
Danas	10.3%
Večernje novosti	8.7%
Politika	8.5%
Ostalo	7.2%
Alo	4.8%
Telegraf	3.7%
Lokalne novine	0.3%
Press	0.2%
Nin	0.2%
Nedeljnik	0.1%

13. On which TV station, do you usually get informed about politics?

RTS	47.1%
Pink	19.9%
N1	14%
Prva	9.5%
O2	3.4%
Rest	2.9%
Happy	2.3%
RTV	0.5%
Nova S	0.2%
Local TV channels	0.1%
International TV's (CNN, BBC)	0.1%

14. In your opinion, which system of government would benefit Serbia:

Democracy	45.8%
Authoritarian	8%
In principle, democracy, but at this point in time, we need a strong hand.	46.2%

15. How important is it to you to live in a country which is governed democratically?

The average grade on the scale from 1 (it is not important) to 10 (it is very important) is 7.35

Not important at all	7.9%
It is somewhat important	36.8%
It is very important	55.3%

16. Why are you proud to be a Serb?

Because of our history and tradition	47.9%
Because of our successes in sports	22.9%
I am not proud to be a Serb	8.7%%
I am not a Serb	7%
Because of our scientific and technological advancements	4.2%
Because of our advancements in culture and literature	1.9%
Because of fair and equal treatment of all ethnic and social groups	1.6%
Because of our social security system	1.4%
Because of something else	1.4%
Because of our political influence in the world	1.1%
Because of the way democracy functions in our country	0.7%
I am ashamed of being a Serb	0.6%
Because of our economic advancements	0.5%

16. Why are you proud to be a Serb?

Index of nationalism from 0 (no nationalism) to 1 (high level of nationalism) is **0.6**

Survival of its own people needs to be the main goal of each individual.	66%
Common heritage is a basis of trust between citizens.	52.1%
Marriage between individuals from different communities or nationalities is less stable than those of the same heritage.	38.8%
The individual can feel completely safe only in the state in which his community is in the majority.	49.8%
Between different nations, it is possible to have cooperation but not trust.	45.4%

18. The scale of ethnic distance toward Albanians

Index of ethnic distance from 0 (no distance) to 1 (large ethnic distance) is **0.62**

“Would you accept that Albanian...”	NO
... lives in your state	38.2%
... lives in your neighborhood, street, apartment building	45.6%
... be your colleague at work	42.3%
... be your superior at work	68.9%
... be a teacher to your children or grandchildren	75.8%
... be your friend who you often visit	58.1%
... be a public official in your country	83%
... be married to your relatives	67%
... be married into your family or with your children	81.5%
No ethnic distance	10.8%
Small ethnic distance	15.3%
Middle ethnic distance	28.9%
Large ethnic distance	45%

19. In general, would you say that Serbia is heading in a right or wrong direction?

In the right direction	39.8%
In the wrong direction	33.5%
I don't know	26.7%

20. What do you think, what would be the state of the Serbian economy in the future (3-5 years)?

Much worse	9.3%
A bit worse	9.6%
Similar to current	38%
A bit better	33.6%
Much better	9.5%

21. Do you support the current government lead by Aleksandar Vučić as President?

I don't support at all	22.3%
I mostly do not support	19.8%
I mostly support it	25.7%
I totally support it	19.3%
No attitude	12.9%

22. How often do you follow news related to Kosovo?

I don't follow at all	12.6%
I mostly don't follow	31.5%
I mostly follow	42.8%
I follow often	13.1%

23. Are you familiar with President Vučić's Kosovo policy?

I am not familiar	58.5%
I am somewhat familiar	24.2%
I am very familiar	17.3%

24. Do you support President Vučić's policy toward Kosovo?

I don't support at all	10.4%
I mostly do not support it	8.4%
I mostly support it	22.4%
I totally support it	15.5%
I don't know what his policy is	32%
No attitude	11.2%

25. Do you support Belgrade-Pristina dialogue?

I don't support at all	10.3%
I mostly do not support it	11.8%
I mostly support it	39.3%
I totally support it	16%
No attitude	22.5%

26. Are you truly familiar with agreements made in Brussels in Belgrade-Pristina dialogue?

I am not familiar	62.3%
I am somewhat familiar	25.1%
I am very familiar	12.6%

27. What do you think is President Vučić's plan for Kosovo?

Recognition of Kosovo in return for EU membership	23.4%
Recognition of Kosovo with the exchange of territories	14.3%
Recognition of Kosovo if the northern part of Kosovo remains in Serbia	21.1%
Recognition of Kosovo which entails a greater degree of autonomy for Kosovo Serbs (A/CSM)	7.9%
Non-recognition of Kosovo with greater degree autonomy for Albanians	12%
Non-recognition of Kosovo with no concessions to Albanians	21.1%

28. Attitudes toward Brussels dialogue?

	I don't agree	Neutral	I agree
Brussels dialogue led to the improvement of relations between Serbs and Albanians	55.8%	27.6%	16.6%
Brussels dialogue leads toward recognition of Kosovo independence	25%	25.6%	49.4%
Brussels dialogue abolished the Serbia institution in north Kosovo and enabled integration of Serbs into Kosovo's legal and political system.	27.2%	31.8%	41%
Brussels dialogue will enable the protection of Serbian religious and cultural heritage in Kosovo.	42.6%	27.9%	29.5%
Brussels dialogue will enable the return of Kosovo into a political and legal system of Serbia.	60.4%	24.8%	14.8%
Brussels dialogue improved position of Kosovo Serbs	56.7%	25.3%	18%

29. When you hear the word Kosovo, what is your first thought? (total number of associations)

War	100
Serbia	100
Monasteries	60
Serbian history	60
Kosovo battle	55
NATO bombing	20

30. When you hear the word Kosovo which emotion do you feel?

Sadness	28.7%
Patriotism/Pride	18.6%
Anxiety	8.9%
Indifference	8.6%
Emphatic pain	5.6%
Angry	5.6%
Fear	5.4%
Excitement	3.7%
Nostalgic	3.2%
Love	3%
Confusion/Insecurity	2.7%
Disgust	2%
Happiness	1.7%
Admiration	0.6%
Boredom	0.5%
Content	0.5%
Awe	0.2%
Interest	0.2%

31. What does losing Kosovo mean to you? (number not %)

Nothing special	90
Betrayal	60
Loss of territory	60
Defeat	50
Loss of identity	50
Sadness	40
Injustice	30
Shame	25

32. Kosovo narratives

	I don't agree	Neutral	I agree
Kosovo is the heart of Serbia	15.3%	16.2%	68.5%
Kosovo is an independent state	69.4%	11.7%	18.9%
Albanians settlers, Serbs are natives in Kosovo	11.5%	19%	69.5%
Kosovo should be defended by weapons	48.3%	19.8%	31.8%
Both Serbs and Albanians have the same right over Kosovo	56.9%	20%	23.1%
There would be no Serbia without Kosovo. Kosovo is the cradle of the Serbian state and Serbian identity.	18.3%	21.4%	60.3%
Serbia lost the war in Kosovo and therefore lost the right to govern Kosovo.	66.4%	16.4%	17.2%
Serbia is a victim of an international plot, and as a result, it lost Kosovo.	21.9%	20.1%	58%
It is more important to protect people than land.	13.3%	25.9%	60.8%
Kosovo is lost; we have to turn toward strengthening our economy.	50.1%	20.2%	29.7%
Serbs have a historical right over Kosovo	7.6%	16.9%	75.5%
Serbia cannot trade with Kosovo, Kosovo has no price.	16.6%	17.7%	65.7%
We are too small and weak to confront Western powers over Kosovo.	29.2%	26%	44.8%
Serbia should never recognize Kosovo as it would mean shame and humiliation.	14.8%	17%	68.2%
Recognition of Kosovo is a national treason.	16.7%	14.6%	68.7%

33. Do you consider that Kosovo is lost?

Yes	33.3%
No	52.1%
I don't know	14.6%

34. Do you support Serbian membership in the EU?

I don't support at all	17%
I mostly do not support it	21.3%
I mostly support it	38.7%
I totally support it	15.6%
I don't know	7.4%

35. Do you think that recognition of Kosovo is a precondition for membership in the EU?

Yes	65.3%
No	21.5%
I don't know	13.1%

36. Would you support the recognition of Kosovo's independence if it would be the precondition for Serbia's EU membership?

Yes	14.1%
No	71.7%
I don't know	14.2%

37. Which Serbian modern politician had the best policy toward Kosovo?

No one	57.7%
Someone	42.3%

38. How would you assess the Kosovo policy of following politicians? (scale from 1 to 5)

Zoran Đinđić	3
Aleksandar Vučić	3
Slobodan Milošević	2.4
Vojislav Šešelj	2.3
Vojislav Koštunica	2.2
Tomislav Nikolić	2.2
Boris Tadić	1.9
Čedomir Jovanović	1.6

39. Which Serbian politician in the last 30 years is the most responsible for the situation in Kosovo?

Slobodan Milošević	46.6%
Boris Tadić	17.2%
Aleksandar Vučić	12.7%
Vojislav Koštunica	6.2%
Zoran Đinđić	5.4%
Tomislav Nikolić	1.3%
Someone else (The most common answer Tito)	10.6%

40. Which attitude is closest to the truth?

Serbia lost Kosovo before 1999	46.7%
Serbia lost Kosovo between 2000 and 2008.	17.5%
Serbia lost Kosovo between 2008 and 2012.	11.3%
Serbia lost Kosovo after 2012	7.5%
I don't know	17%

41. Which of the following situation could motivate you to be political and social activism?

	It could not	Neutral	It could
The interethnic incident in Kosovo	42.2%	15.9%	41.9%
Recognition of Kosovo independence	38.1%	14.8%	47.1%
Endangering right of Kosovo Serbs	27.8%	17.7%	54.5%
Endangering Serbian cultural and religious heritage in Kosovo	26%	16.9%	57.1%
Creation of Great Albania	33.2%	11.9%	55%
Exchange of territories between Kosovo and Serbia	40%	22%	38%

42. In the case of some future referendum, would you support the following solutions?

	I would not support it	Neutral	I would support it
Agreement by which Serbia recognizes Kosovo	78.5%	9.1%	12.4%
Agreement by which Serbia recognizes Kosovo independence, and in return, it gets A/CSM and extraterritoriality for SOC monasteries	58.2%	20.4%	20.4%
Agreement by which Serbia recognizes Kosovo independence in return for exchange of territories where Serbia gets four northern Kosovo municipalities and gives parts of Presevo and Bujanovac	66.7%	17.5%	15.8%
Agreement by which Serbia recognizes Kosovo independence and gets three northern Kosovo municipalities, Mitrovica becomes a district, while Gazivode and Trepca are under international management	57.7%	23.4%	18.9%
Agreement by which Serbia recognizes Kosovo independence but gets four northern Kosovo municipalities.	57.3%	20.9%	21.9%
Agreement by which Serbia recognizes Kosovo independence but gets four northern Kosovo municipalities. A/CSM in the south and extraterritoriality for SOC monasteries	44.4%	19.2%	36.4%
Agreement by which Serbia does not recognize Kosovo independence but accepts Kosovo's UN membership, and gets A/CSM for Kosovo Serbs.	47.5%	19.9%	32.6%

43. If you would have to choose between two scenarios for resolving the Kosovo problem, which one would you choose?

<p>A comprehensive agreement on normalization of relations, which entails an exchange of territories, where Serbia gets four municipalities in the north, while Kosovo gets parts of Presevo Valley. According to this agreement, Serbia recognizes Kosovo's independence, and Kosovo becomes a member of the UN.</p>	<p>57.7%</p>
<p>A comprehensive agreement on normalization of relations which entails the establishment of A/CSM. According to this agreement, Serbia does not recognize Kosovo formally, but Kosovo becomes a member of the UN.</p>	<p>42.3%</p>

44. When it comes to a final agreement on the normalization of relations and the status of Kosovo, how important do you find the following questions?

	I do not agree	Neutral	I agree
<p>Agreement on who manages cultural and religious heritage.</p>	<p>4.9%</p>	<p>11.5%</p>	<p>82.6%</p>
<p>Guaranteeing and respecting the rights of Kosovo Serbs.</p>	<p>3%</p>	<p>8%</p>	<p>89%</p>
<p>Agreement on who has the right over managing natural resources</p>	<p>4%</p>	<p>12.5%</p>	<p>83.5%</p>
<p>Eternal peace between Albanians and Serbs</p>	<p>10.1%</p>	<p>14.7%</p>	<p>75.2%</p>
<p>Mutual recognition of war crimes and punishment of those who committed the crimes.</p>	<p>13%</p>	<p>15.9%</p>	<p>71.1%</p>
<p>Establishment of Association/Community of Serb majority municipalities</p>	<p>8.3%</p>	<p>17.3%</p>	<p>74.4%</p>
<p>Agreement on who is the international sponsor of the deal</p>	<p>11.4%</p>	<p>20%</p>	<p>68.6%</p>
<p>That except two governments opposition and NGOs accept the agreement.</p>	<p>25.7%</p>	<p>20%</p>	<p>54.3%</p>

44. When it comes to a final agreement on the normalization of relations and the status of Kosovo, how important do you find the following questions?

	I don't agree	Neutral	I agree
A new conflict between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo	11.5%	16.1%	72.3%
Serbia losing support in its accession toward the EU	15.3%	23.3%	61.4%
Rise of nationalism in Serbs and Albanians	7.2%	18.7%	74.1%
Can lead to mass violations of Kosovo Serbs rights	8.2%	13.2%	78.6%
Can lead to imposing international sanctions to Serbia	23%	23.6%	53.4%
Can lead to economic deterioration in Serbia	24.5%	27.5%	48%
Can lead to the retreat of FDI in Serbia	25.3%	29.2%	45.5%
Can lead to a change of international circumstances and in turn, Serbia will have even less support for its Kosovo policy	18.5%	25.6%	55.8%
Can lead to a change of international circumstances and in turn, Serbia will have more support for its Kosovo policy	37.6%	27.9%	34.5%

46. Why is it important that Kosovo remains part of Serbia?

	Not important	Neutral	Very important
If we give up on Kosovo, tomorrow, Albanians will take southern Serbia	13.6%	11.7%	74.8%
If we give up on Kosovo, tomorrow Vojvodina will ask for the right to secede because it will see that Serbia is weak in defending its territories.	19.8%	15.1%	65.1%
Kosovo is our holy land, the cradle of Serbian people, and if we give up on it, we gave up on our identity.	12.9%	19.4%	67.7%
If we give up on Kosovo, we will be less secure	20.5%	21.4%	58.1%
If we give up on Kosovo, it will be a huge emotional loss for country and citizens	9.8%	17.3%	72.9%
If we give up on Kosovo, we will lose friendship with Russia	36.6%	26.2%	37.2%

▶ POST-STRATIFICATION

GENDER

- **42%** of men support Aleksandar Vučić's (AV) policy on Kosovo, while among women, the support is **33%**.
- **37%** of women don't know what's AV's plan for Kosovo, while only **26%** of men are not familiar with that plan.
- **28%** of man doesn't support the Belgrade Pristina dialogue (Dialogue), while that percentage among women is **16%**.
- **65%** of women think that it is more important to save people than territory, while **55%** of men share that opinion.

AGE

- **AV plan is non-recognition of Kosovo with no concessions to Albanians:**
 - **18%** of the 18-34 age group agrees
 - **26%** of the 35-54 age group agrees
 - **51%** of over 55 age group agrees
- **AV plan is Recognition of Kosovo in return for EU membership:**
 - **36%** of the 18-34 age group agrees
 - **24%** of the 35-54 age group agrees
 - **12%** of over 55 age group agrees
- **Supports the current Government (AV)**
 - **27%** of the 18-34 age group agrees
 - **37%** of the 35-54 age group agrees
 - **66%** of over 55 age group agrees
- **Supports the AV policy on Kosovo:**
 - **23%** of the 18-34 age group agrees
 - **38%** of the 35-54 age group agrees
 - **61%** of over 55 age group agrees
- **Supports the Dialogue**
 - **44%** of the 18-34 age group agrees
 - **50%** of the 35-54 age group agrees
 - **69%** of over 55 age group agrees
- **Considers Kosovo is lost:**
 - **42%** of the 18-34 age group agrees
 - **37%** of the 35-54 age group agrees
 - **22%** of over 55 age group agrees

- **Serbia is a victim of an international plot, and as a result, it lost Kosovo:**
 - **49%** of the 18-34 age group agrees
 - **33%** of the 35-54 age group agrees
 - **70%** of over 55 age group agrees

EDUCATION (highest education breakdown)

- **Supports the current Government (AV)**
 - **50%** of the population with primary school agrees
 - **42%** of the population with high school agrees
 - **29%** of the population with higher education agrees
- **AV plan is non-recognition of Kosovo with no concessions to Albanians:**
 - **46%** of the population with primary school agrees
 - **30%** of the population with high school agrees
 - **21%** of the population with higher education agrees
- **AV plan is the recognition of Kosovo with the exchange of territories**
 - **6%** of the population with primary school agrees
 - **17%** of the population with high school agrees
 - **20%** of the population with higher education agrees
- **Supports the AV policy on Kosovo:**
 - **52%** of the population with primary school agrees
 - **35%** of the population with high school agrees
 - **23%** of the population with higher education agrees
- **“Kosovo is the heart of Serbia” emotional narrative:**
 - **82%** of the population with primary school supports
 - **67%** of the population with high school supports
 - **49%** of the population with higher education supports
- **Considers Kosovo is lost:**
 - **20%** of the population with primary school agrees
 - **37%** of the population with high school agrees
 - **45%** of the population with higher education agrees
- **Agreement by which Serbia does not recognize Kosovo independence but accepts Kosovo’s UN membership, and gets A/CSM for Kosovo Serbs:**
 - **44%** of the population with primary school supports
 - **28%** of the population with high school supports
 - **26%** of the population with higher education supports
- **Agreement by which Serbia recognizes Kosovo independence but gets four northern Kosovo municipalities. A/CSM in the south and extraterritoriality for SOC monasteries:**
 - **41%** of the population with primary school supports
 - **32%** of the population with high school supports
 - **43%** of the population with higher education supports

- **Agreement by which Serbia recognizes Kosovo independence in return for exchange of territories where Serbia gets four northern Kosovo municipalities and gives parts of Preševo and Bujanovac:**

- **21%** of the population with primary school supports
- **14%** of the population with high school supports
- **13%** of the population with higher education supports

WHAT IS AV PLAN FOR KOSOVO - GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION SUPPORTERS

	Government	Opposition
Recognition of Kosovo in return for EU membership	8.9%	38.8%
Recognition of Kosovo with the exchange of territories	10.3%	20.7%
Recognition of Kosovo if the northern part of Kosovo remains in Serbia	22.7%	19.2%
Recognition of Kosovo which entails a greater degree of autonomy for Kosovo Serbs (A/CSM)	9.9%	6.7%
Non-recognition of Kosovo with greater degree autonomy for Albanians	15.9%	6.7%
Non-recognition of Kosovo with no concessions to Albanians	32.2%	8%

**DO YOU SUPPORT PRESIDENT VUČIĆ’S POLICY TOWARD KOSOVO?
WHAT IS THE AV PLAN FOR KOSOVO?**

	Recognition of Kosovo in return for EU membership	Recognition of Kosovo with the exchange of territories	Recognition of Kosovo if the northern part of Kosovo remains in Serbia	Recognition of Kosovo which entails a greater degree of autonomy for Kosovo Serbs	Non-recognition of Kosovo with greater degree autonomy for Albanians	Non-recognition of Kosovo with no concessions to Albanians (A/CSM)
Support	8.3%	10.5%	23.8%	8.1%	16.9%	32.4%
Don't support	44.3%	23.2%	16.7%	6.4%	2.5%	6.9%

MEDIA TRADITIONAL VS. NEW MEDIA

- Respondents who follow traditional media show higher values on the Nationalism index (0.66) than those which follow new media (0.49).
- Respondents who follow traditional media show higher values on Ethnic distance toward Albanians index (0.69) than those which follow new media (0.49).
- **15%** of supporters of Government are informed through new media, while **49%** of those who do not support the government informs themselves through new media
- **59%** of respondents who follow traditional media support the Government (AV), while only **22%** of those who follow new media.
- **51%** of respondents who follow traditional media support AV policy on Kosovo, while only **20%** of those who follow new media support that policy.
- **16%** of respondents who follow traditional media believe that AV plan is to recognize Kosovo in return for EU membership, while that percentage rises to 30% among those which follow new media.
- **27%** of respondents who follow traditional media think that AV plan is to sign a non-recognition agreement with no concessions to Albanians, while only 11% of new media followers think that way.
- **27%** of respondents who follow traditional media believe that Kosovo is lost, while as much as **45%** of new media followers believe that Kosovo is lost.

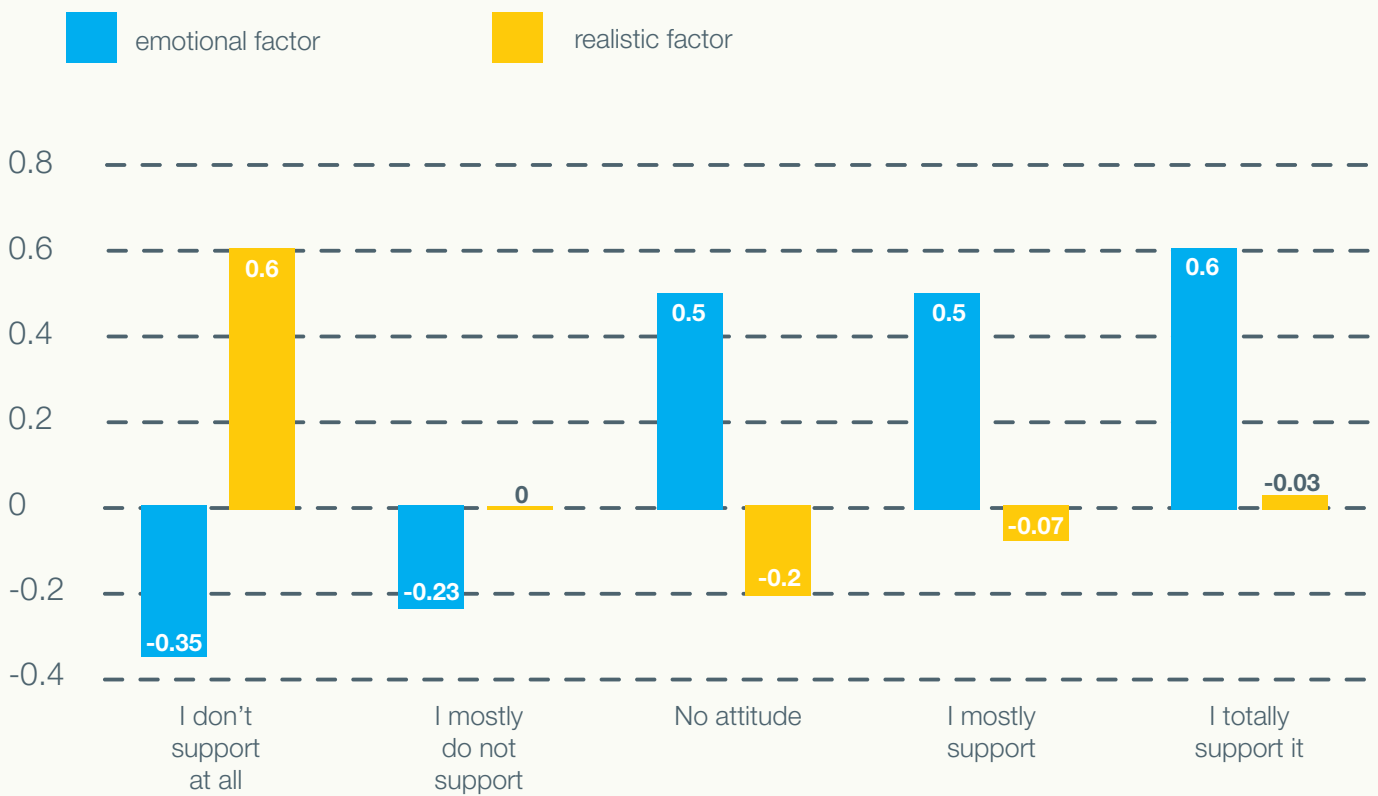
VALUES

- Respondents with higher degrees of ethnic distance toward Albanians and nationalism are far less (than those with lesser degrees on mentioned scales) open to any other solution except Kosovo UN membership without formal recognition.

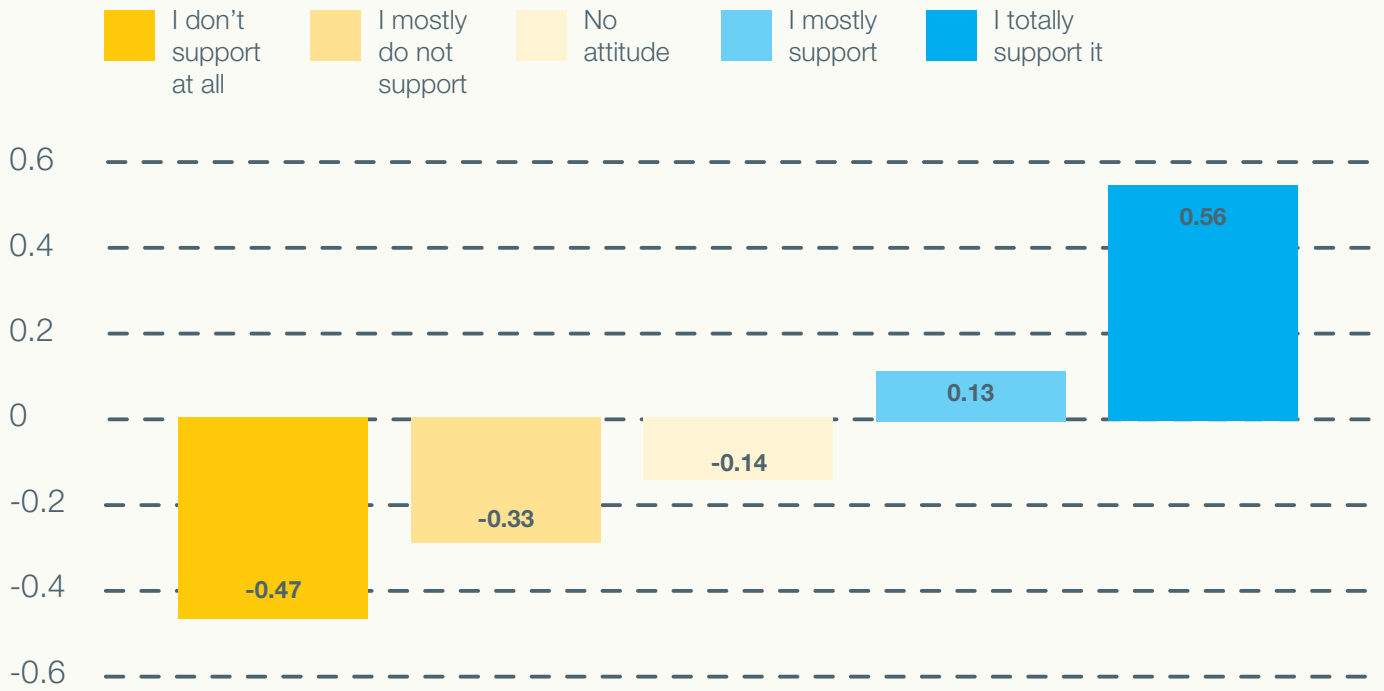
▶ FACTOR ANALYSIS - EMOTIONAL VS. RATIONAL KOSOVO NARRATIVE

Using the Factor Analysis, we have identified that there are two specific Narrative Groupings (NG) within the battery of questions about the Kosovo narratives. The first “Narrative Groupings” are grouped around emotions (Kosovo is the heart of Serbia), while the second is realistic narrative factor and is grouped around narrative which symbolizes realistic standpoint towards Serbian potentials in the process of negotiations on the future status of Kosovo (We are too small and weak to confront Western powers over Kosovo)

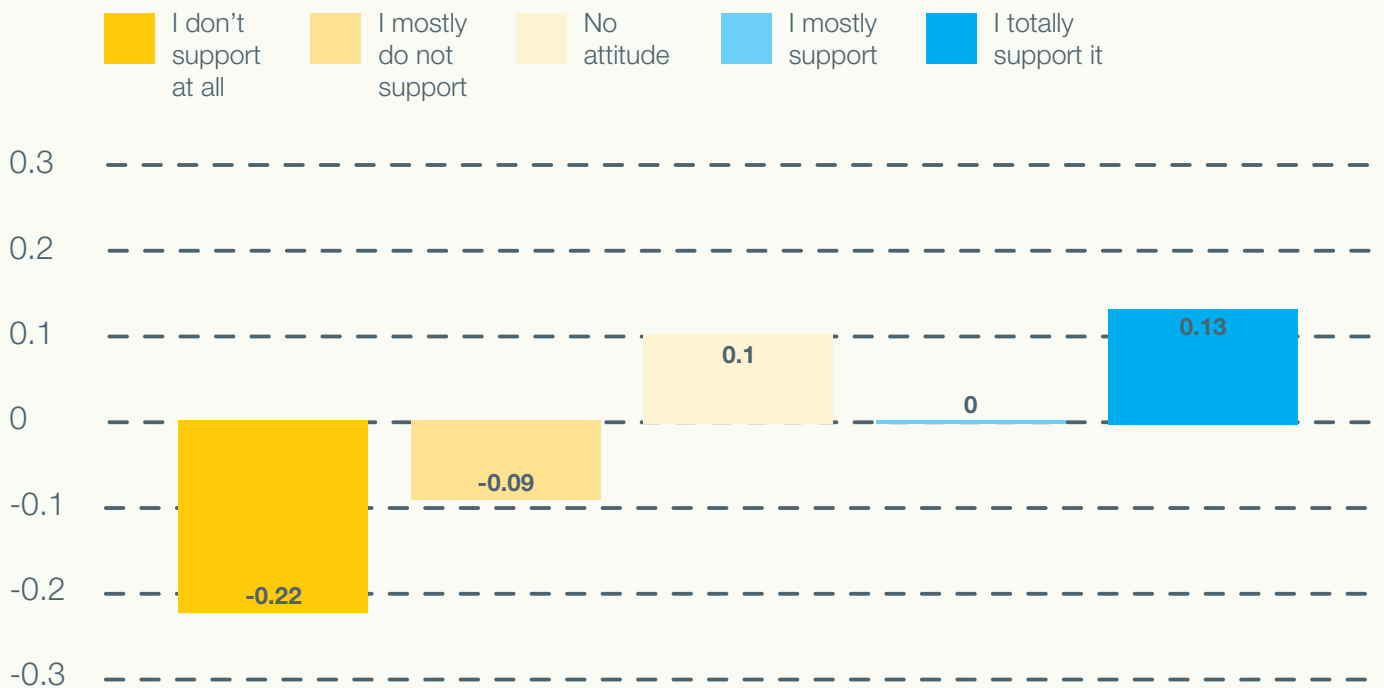
▶ Factor Analysis identified the difference of the internalization of these two NGs among the voters of the opposition and the government (AV). Those who do not support the government (AV) have adopted the realistic NGs, while the growth of support for the government is followed by the growth of internalization of emotional NG. It is very important to highlight that those who fully support the government (AV) are the ones that internalized both emotional and realistic NGs. Having that said, our assumption is that President Vučić was successful, to some extent, in sending realistic messages to a certain percentage of his hardcore supporters.



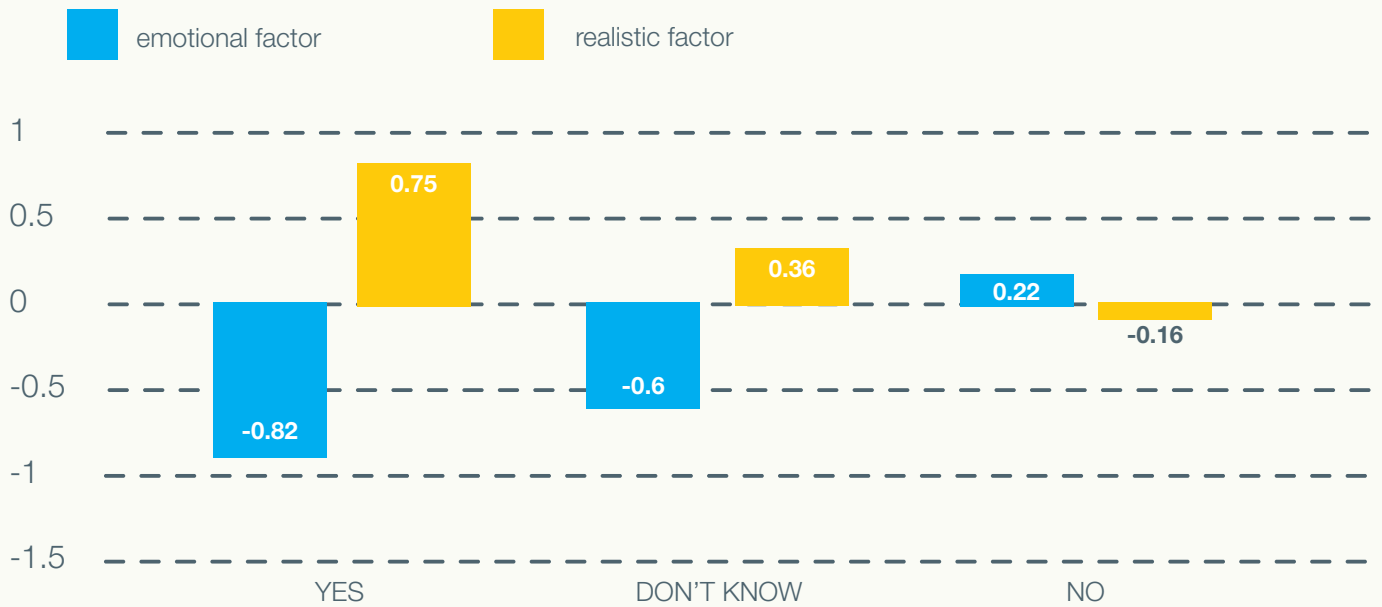
► Factor Analysis identified that the more internalized the emotional, political narrative is, the bigger is support for AV policies on Kosovo.



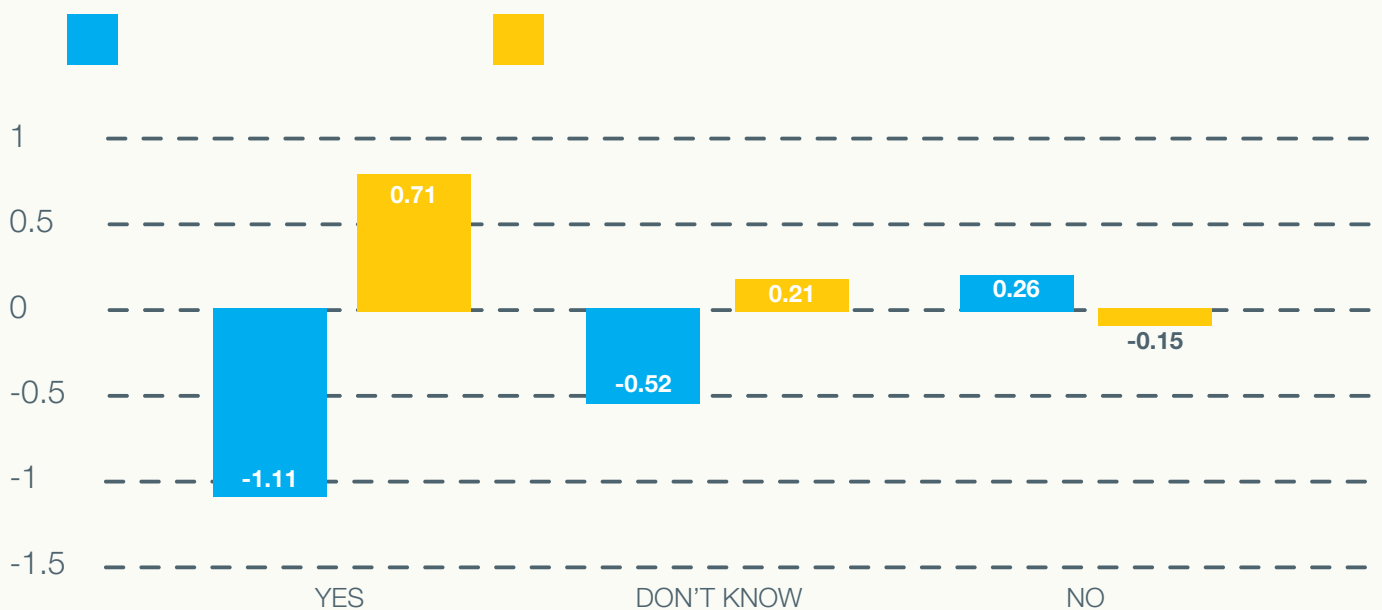
► Factor Analysis identified that the more internalized the realistic NG is, the bigger is the support to the Belgrade Pristina Dialogue.



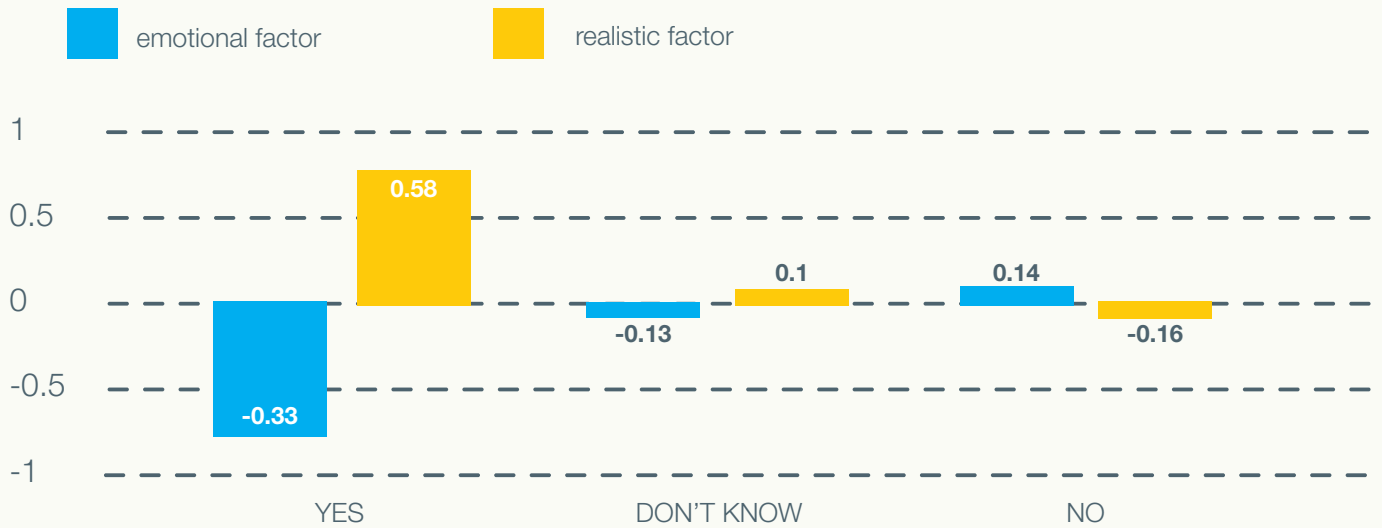
- ▶ Factor Analysis identified that the support to an agreement, which includes the recognition of Kosovo independence, is much bigger among respondents, which internalizes the realistic political narrative than among those who internalize emotional, political narrative.



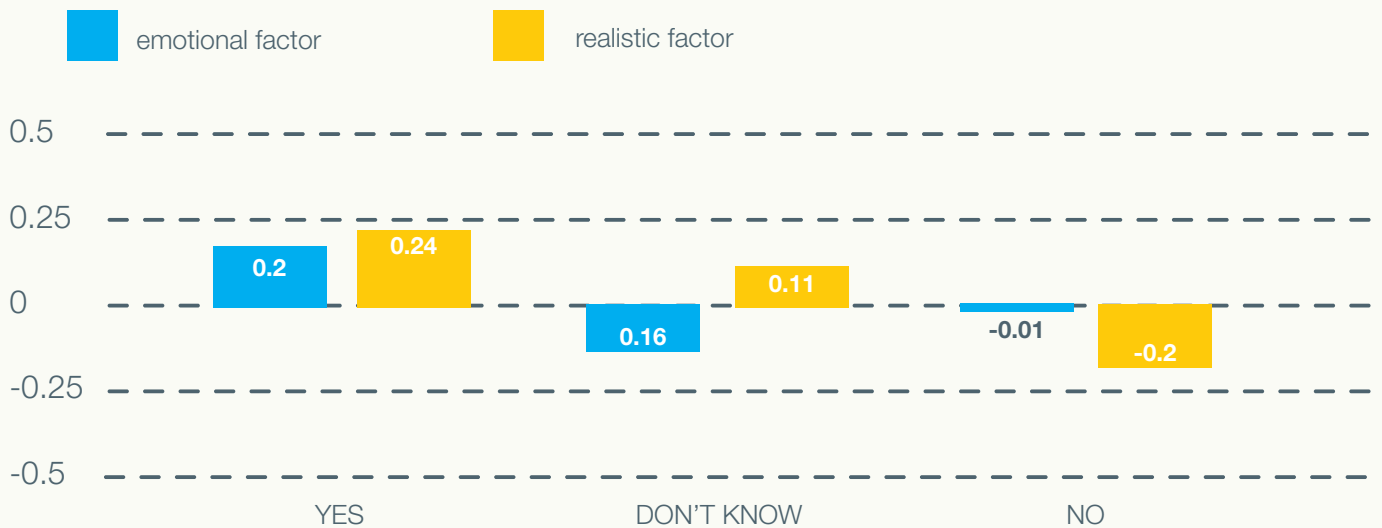
- ▶ Factor Analysis identified that the support to an agreement, which includes the recognition of Kosovo independence in return for Serbia joining the EU, is much bigger among respondents, which internalizes realistic political narrative, than among those who internalize emotional, political narrative.

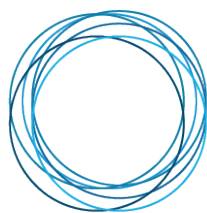


- ▶ Factor Analysis identified that the support to an agreement, which includes the recognition of Kosovo independence with the exchange of territories, is much bigger among respondents, which internalize realistic political narrative, than among those who internalize emotional, political narrative.



- ▶ Factor Analysis identified the only agreement which is (almost) equally supported by those which internalize realistic and those which internalize emotional, political narrative: the agreement which doesn't include official recognition of Kosovo independence but includes the consent for Kosovo chair in UN, while Serbia gets the A/CSM.





CENTAR ZA
DRUŠTVENI DIJALOG I
REGIONALNE INICIJATIVE