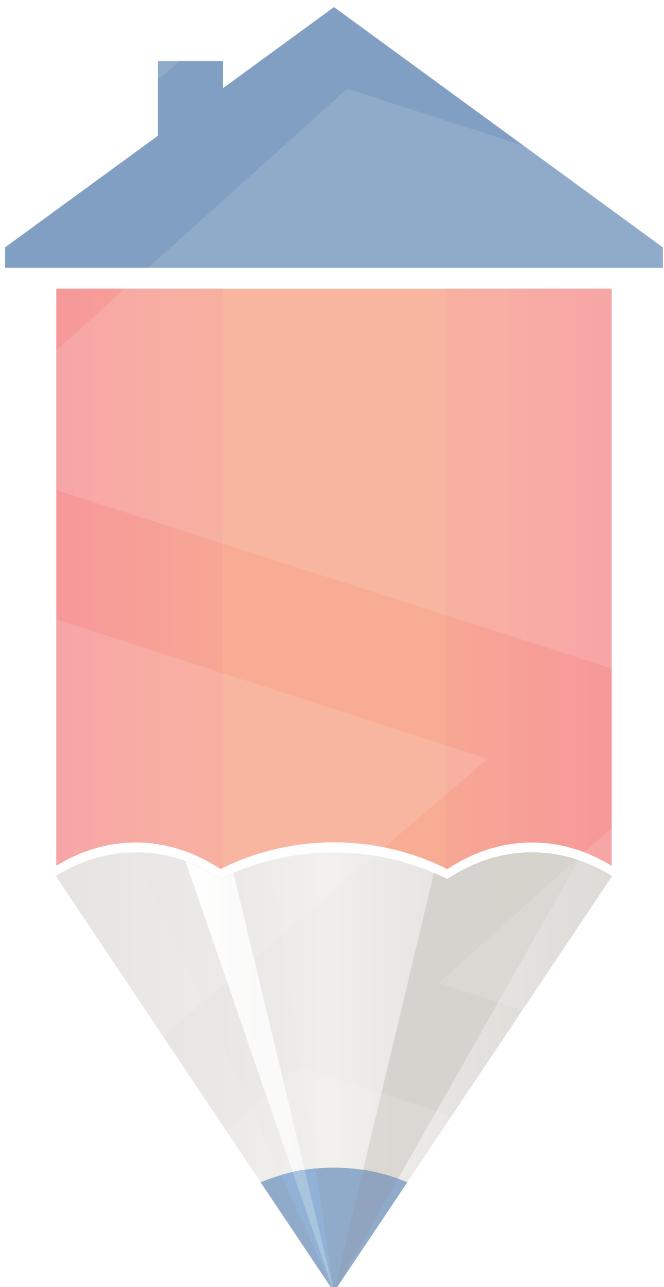


2 2013

FORUM

FORUM ZA ETNIČKE ODNOSE | FORUM FOR ETHNIC RELATIONS

Policy Paper



**NORTH KOSOVO
AND LOCAL
ELECTIONS**
Survey

SURVEY OF CITIZENS' ATTITUDES IN KOSOVSKA MITROVICA, LEPOSAVIĆ, ZVEČAN AND ZUBIN POTOK

Belgrade, October 2013.



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**Survey and publishing of this publication was supported by the
Office of the Special Representative of European Union in Kosovo.**

**The attitudes expressed in this report do not necessarily represent
the attitudes of this institution.**

CIP - Katalogizacija u publikaciji
Narodna biblioteka Srbije, Beograd

323.1

FORUM / glavni urednik Nenad Đurđević. -
Year 1, issue 1 (2002)-year 2, issue 4 (2003)
; 2013, br. 1- . - Beograd : Forum za
etničke odnose, 2002-2003; 2013- (Beograd : Dosije
studio). - 30 cm

Naslov br. 2 (2013) Sever Kosova i lokalni
izbori. - Povremeno izlazi i na engl. jeziku
ISSN 1451-6357 = Forum - Forum for Ethnic
Relations
COBISS.SR-ID 25690639

FORUM

Year 3, number 2.

Publisher

Forum for Ethnic Relations, Belgrade

Editor in Chief

Nenad Djurdjević

Proof Reading

Štrikla

Editing

Atelje, Belgrade

Translation

Touch Two Agency

Press

Dosije studio d.o.o., Belgrade

Circulation

300 copies

Publishing periodically

EDITORIAL

Forum for Ethnic Relations from Belgrade and Center for Community Development from Kosovska Mitrovica organized and conducted a survey of attitudes of citizens living in four municipalities in Northern Kosovo – Leposavić, Zubin Potok, Zvečan and Kosovska Mitrovica. The survey was conducted in September 2013, with the main goal to examine citizens' attitude toward the social and political atmosphere created after the signing the Brussels agreement. The results obtained by the survey are also used to better structure the campaign aimed at motivating a larger turnout of Serbs in the Kosovo's local elections scheduled for November 3, 2013.

The main reason for conducting the survey was to better understand the views of Serbs living in Northern Kosovo, primarily in regard to the adoption and implementation of the Brussels agreement, level of information and knowledge about the its basic provisions and readiness of the electorate to participate in the local elections. Next reason was our intention to provide more information for the public in Kosovo, Serbia and the international community, and to make aware the political parties and citizens' lists that will take part in the elections, about the views of citizens in Northern Kosovo.

Perhaps, the most important provision of the Brussels agreement is point 11, which provides for local elections to be organized in accordance with Kosovo law in the entire territory of Kosovo, including four municipalities in the north. Successful conduct of the elections will be a test of credibility for the government of the Republic of Serbia, in terms of fulfilling obligations accepted in the agreement and proving to be a serious partner for its implementation. At the same time, one of the most important goals in the government's program – to move Serbia closer to the EU and begin accession negotiations – will not be met unless the Brussels agreement is fully implemented, including the regularity of election process with free and fair election campaign, acceptable turnout and voting process.

Another important provision of the Brussels agreement which may affect a turnout of Serbs in local elections is the creation of an association of municipalities with Serb majority. Under the agreement, the association will have full overview of the areas of economic development, education, health, urban and rural planning. Next to this, the agreement envisages a single police force in Kosovo, with a police regional commander from the north, and integrated judicial system.

Given that negotiations in Brussels took place far from the public eye, both in Kosovo and Serbia, the results of the survey revealed that the provisions of the agreement are unknown to the general public in Serbia and Kosovo Serbs. The negotiations were held within the negotiating

team behind closed doors, mostly without the presence of representatives of Serbs from Northern Kosovo. As a result of such nontransparent approach to negotiations and decision making far from the public eye, over 70% of Serbs from Northern Kosovo have not read the agreement, with the same percentage of those who believe that their position will deteriorate or significantly deteriorate in case of its implementation. The biggest concern of Serbs in Northern Kosovo is whether they will be able to preserve the existing institutions; unclear financing; fear of redundancies in the public sector and losing jobs; and uncertainty regarding the education system and social welfare.

Common to all Serbs in Northern Kosovo is the feeling of uncertainty and fear for their future; divisions according to party preferences and material status; division to those working in the public sector and private sector; and division to Serbs and Albanians, which is not dominant in the survey and can be contributed to the lack of contacts between the north and the rest of Kosovo, i.e. isolation of the Serb community.

What position should be taken in such situation and how should voters be motivated to participate in the elections?

Despite the fact that the upcoming elections and everyday life are dominated by the feeling of uncertainty and insecurity among the Serbs in (Northern) Kosovo who do not know what the elections will bring to them in the future, and what are the consequences if they do not vote. Local elections are conducted with the consent and support of the key actors who can influence the future position of the Serb community in Kosovo both politically and institutionally – governments of Serbia and Kosovo, international community and EU. Their support for the election process and a large number of Serb lists and parties that have already registered for the elections, guarantee that the election results will be recognized (unless serious violations are detected during election process), and promise legitimacy to candidates, the future councilors.

It is of crucial importance who shall represent Serb voters in their municipalities and how successful their representatives will be in translating local needs of each municipality into public policies and projects that can improve the quality of life. Although the way in which the association of municipalities will be organized is not known, the same as the election process and its relationship with Kosovo's authorities on the one hand, and the government and municipalities in Serbia on the other, the election of candidates who have knowledge, integrity and negotiating skills to represent the Serb community in Pristina and Belgrade, is of paramount importance. Unconditional support of the government of Serbia provided to one election list "Srpska", and ignoring other political parties and lists,

creates additional burden on voters and unrest among already divided Kosovo Serbs.

Serbs living in central part of Kosovo have long experience of participating in the political life of Kosovo which can be applied to create a strategy and policy of the future association of municipalities. By supporting only one list at the local elections, the government of the Republic of Serbia makes this harder and introduces a risk of weakening the position of Serb representatives. Next to the institutional and financial support, it is expected from Serbia to strengthen the organizations and institutions that represent Kosovo Serbs, so that they can successfully exercise their rights and advocate for the interests of those they represent.

Finally, under the circumstances the upcoming elections will be a test for all leaders and representatives of Kosovo Serbs and the government of the Republic of Serbia who should influence the voters to choose the best candidates and thus contribute to creation of better environment for the Serb community in Kosovo, and encourage the emergence of a political space for (self) organization of Serbs in the new conditions brought about by the Brussels agreement. By networking and experience sharing,

the experiences of other national communities in Europe in building and maintaining autonomy can be used to strengthen the Serb community.

Kosovo's 2014 parliamentary elections will take place soon after the local elections. The Serb community must better organize itself for the parliamentary elections, reduce fear and uncertainty, and have clear answers to questions regarding its future. For reaching this goal, it is necessary to establish permanent and open dialogue between the Serbs and their representatives throughout Kosovo, in order to develop a mutual understanding of all issues and different realities of life; unify their problems; formulate policies that need to be implemented, and identify organizations responsible for implementation of agreed policies.

This will make Kosovo Serbs active and relevant political actors.

Belgrade, October 25, 2013

Nenad Đurđević,
Coordinator, Forum for Ethnic Relations

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SURVEY OF CITIZENS' ATTITUDES IN KOSOVSKA MITROVICA, LEPOSAVIĆ, ZVEČAN AND ZUBIN POTOK

Introduction

A survey aimed to analyze social and political environment was done in the period 24-27 September, 2013. To that end, focus group dialogues were conducted in the municipalities of Kosovska Mitrovica, Leposavić, Zvečan and Zubin Potok in the period 24 - 27 September 2013. Participants in the first focus group were the representatives of political parties which will be running at the upcoming local elections, in the second focus group the representatives on non-government organizations, media and the citizens. An average attendance was 10, with equal number of either gender. An exception was the municipality of Leposavić where male participants prevailed. Simultaneously, a field poll was conducted in the period 20 to 30 September, with 560 respondents. Since there are no relevant official statistics, we determined the size of sample based on the total population estimate, subject of the survey and availability of respondents. Namely, in the first step, we distributed 600 respondents of the survey at the level of Northern Kosovo, proportionately to the size of four municipalities. In the second step, in agreement with the local partner, we defined socio-economic zones at the municipal level and decided on the number of respondents based on size of each zone. In the third step which took place on the field, the Kish Grid was applied to select one respondent at the household level.

and 31.4% from 26 to 35. The youngest group up to 25 shared with 16.5%, while 3.1% accounted for the group of over 65.

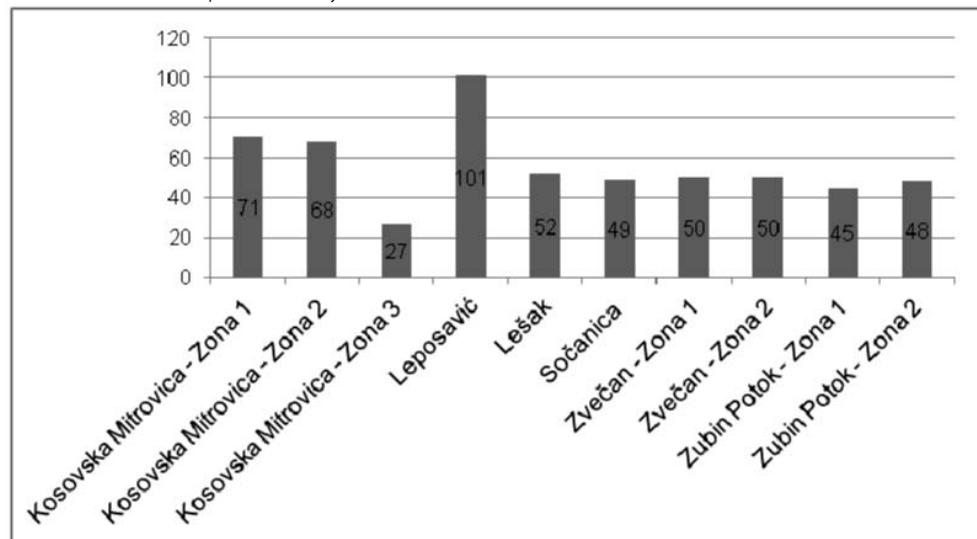
Approximately a half of respondents have secondary education, while 24.9% of respondents have university degree. 80.1% respondents were born in the territory of Kosovo, 11.2% were internally displaced persons, 6.7% migrants, and 2% refugees. Seven out of ten respondents had no real estate outside Kosovo while 17.4% did have, and the rest 12.4% did not want to reveal.

Social Environment

In our presentation of the data analysis which should give a complete social picture of Northern Kosovo, we will start from priorities to solutions, as seen by the participants in the survey. The conclusions inferred from a summary point of view and findings from focus groups discussions and field questionnaires show that the majority of population of this part of Kosovo has a problem of meeting existential needs in a prolonged period of time. This refers primarily to the problem of (un)certainty.

Namely, uncertainty is a pervading problem, which appears in several forms. Firstly, as a fear for physical safety in the community that is ethnically divided to Serbs and

Table 1. The distribution of respondents by zones



The sample comprised 54.8% male and 45.2% female respondents. The age breakdown shows that almost a half (48.9%) of respondents accounted for the age group 36 to 65,

Albanians, even though their presence is very small, politically divided according to party preferences, status divided to those who have not and those who have a job

particularly in the state sector, or divided to patriots and traitors who work for foreigners and the Albanians, to those for and against the Brussels agreement, those who are for and against turnout at the local elections, as one of crucial steps in the implementation of the Brussels agreement, and those who live in Kosovska Mitrovica as the central municipality of Northern Kosovo and those who live in other three municipalities.

In addition to the mentioned divisions the source of fear ever more evident is crime and corruption as "logical" phenomena resulting from institutional and legal vacuum. That vacuum is connected with another source of uncertainty and this is the unsettled status of Northern Kosovo, because it is unclear to the respondents themselves which legal system regulates their rights and obligations. Perhaps all the above mentioned would not have such an impact to the (re)production of uncertainty, unless there is economic uncertainty felt by the citizens of Northern Kosovo. Uncertainty as a consequence of possible loss of job and changes anticipated under the Brussels agreement create a special type of fear with those who so far were protected from losing safe salary, allowance and pension, which irrespective of the amount, at the background of high unemployment and absence of investments, represent a symbol of certainty and tranquility. Although it will be discussed later, it is important to point here, that part of fear was most probably caused by superficial informing the citizens of the Brussels negotiations, which created concern of what will happen after 3 November.

In addition to this existential problem for the participants of focus groups, other long standing problems that could not be resolved are: high unemployment rate, corruption and nepotism, which became a daily phenomena, non existent production and investments, inadequate infrastructure, and big influence of politics on daily life and character of the political elite representing the interests of people in Northern Kosovo, which is seen by the survey participants as insufficiently interested in local problems, but primarily oriented toward high (state) politics. The political elite, perceived in this way, is often swamped in corruption, divided and dependent on the "politics of Belgrade", ready to put at the second place the interests of citizens who they should represent and consult when they take decisions that have a direct impact on citizens. Further comes non-transparent spending of budget or donated funds which are designated for capital investments or various forms of assistance.

The focus group findings are supported by the results of field questionnaire where unemployment, difficult material status, feeling of uncertainty and insecurity, housing problem, poor health and bad infrastructure, were identified by the citizens as the main and long standing problems (Table 1).

Table 1. Long standing problems citizens could not resolve¹

	%
Unemployment	29.3
Difficult material status	16.2
Feeling of safety	8.4
Housing	8.4
I have no problems	6.6
Health	5.5
Bad infrastructure	5.5
Personal problems	4.9
Education	4.0
Constant uncertainty	1.8
Poor social and culture life	1.5
Political situation in Kosovo	1.1
Corruption and crime	0.9
Impossibility for advancement	0.9
Impossibility to leave Kosovo	0.7
Freedom of movement	0.7
Fundamental rights	0.5
Legalization of building	0.5
Lack of support for farmers	0.5
Pressure from authorities in Priština	0.5
Stay with Serbia	0.5
Impossibility to star up own business	0.5
Difficult position of youth	0.4
Total	100.0

The problems presented in Table 1 grouped into categories (Table 2) by municipalities in which the survey was conducted, lead to the conclusion that existential and economic problems prevail in all four municipalities, followed by personal problems. An exception is the municipality of Zvečan where infrastructure is in third position. Most of the respondents who answered "I have no problems" live in Kosovska Mitrovica (11.6%) and Zubin Potok (9.8%).

Table 2. Distribution of problems according to municipalities

	Kosovska Mitrovica	Leposavić	Zvečan	Zubin Potok
Existential	35.5%	50.0%	45.0%	26.1%
Structural	9.7%	2.0%	10.0%	1.1%
Personal	12.3%	10.9%	2.0%	16.3%
Social	3.2%	0.5%	5.0%	1.1%
Political	1.9%		6.0%	3.3%
Legal	2.6%	1.0%	4.0%	1.1%
Economic	23.2%	34.2%	24.0%	41.3%
I have no problems	11.6%	1.5%	4.0%	9.8%

Distribution of problems according to age of respondents (Table 3) clearly indicates that economic problems are much more present among younger respondents, whereas the existential problems are more present among the older ones.

¹ This was an open-ended question and respondents could choose maximum three long-standing problems?

Table 3. Distribution of problems according to age of respondents

	Up to 25	26 to 35	36 to 65	Over 65
Existential	33.3%	32.0%	47.4%	52.9%
Infrastructural	0	4.1%	8.3%	5.9%
Personal	17.9%	9.5%	9.4%	11.8%
Social	1.2%	3.6%	1.9%	0
Political	1.2%	4.1%	1.5%	0
Legal	3.6%	1.2%	1.9%	5.9%
Economic	35.7%	39.6%	24.1%	23.5%
I have no problems	7.1%	5.9%	5.6%	0

The results of the survey indicate that existential and economic problems are dominant among the low-prestige jobs, while other problems are prevailing in the lower status occupations. Thus, most of the respondents who answered that they do not have problems problems are from the security sector, freelancers and entrepreneurs.

Table 4. Distribution of problems according to occupational status of respondents

	Exi- sten- tial	Infra- struc- tural	Per- so- nal	Social	Politi- cal	Legal	Eco- nomic	I have no pro- blems
Worker	53.6%	3.1%	6.2%	2.1%	3.1%	2.1%	22.7%	7.2%
Technician	58.3%	8.3%	2.8%		5.6%		16.7%	8.3%
Employee in the administration	37.8%	10.8%	16.2%				24.3%	10.8%
Security	40.0%					20.0%	20.0%	20.0%
Manager of lower rank	58.8%	5.9%		5.9%			23.5%	5.9%
Manager of a higher rank	38.5%	15.4%	23.1%	7.7%		7.7%	7.7%	
Manager of a middle rank, specialist	50.0%		25.0%			25.0%		
Expert	34.3%	17.1%	11.4%	5.7%	5.7%		20.0%	5.7%
Farmer	41.7%	8.3%	8.3%			8.3%	33.3%	
Freelancer	21.4%	21.4%	21.4%	7.1%			7.1%	21.4%
Entrepreneur	28.6%	2.9%	17.1%	2.9%	5.7%	2.9%	22.9%	17.1%
Self-employed, work on one's own (entrepreneur)	42.9%		14.3%		14.3%		14.3%	14.3%
Jobless	34.3%	0.7%	9.7%	1.5%	0.7%	1.5%	48.5%	3.0%
Housewife/landlord	33.3%	3.3%	10.0%	6.7%			46.7%	
Pensioner	61.5%	7.7%	15.4%			3.8%	11.5%	
I manage to survive	28.3%	4.3%	13.0%		2.2%	2.2%	45.7%	4.3%

In addition to the problems, the finding about (non) satisfaction with the functioning of the institutions is indicative. Namely, the participants in the survey revealed above average satisfaction with the work of kindergartens (3.8%)², schools (3.5%), post-offices (3.5%), public health institutions (2.9%) and power distribution (2.8%). The municipal administration scored with 2.5% is in the middle, and below the median score are the police and judiciary with 1.8% namely prosecutor's with 1.7% namely the authorities who are the guarantors of security and rule of law.

Although the answers reflect subjective views of the respondents, the survey revealed that by an average, respondents in Zubin Potok are most satisfied with the work of their institutions (41.3%), and least satisfied are respondents in Kosovska Mitovica (27.6). More than a half of respondents in Kosovska Mitrovica, Zvečan and Zubin Potok are satisfied with schools. The participants from these municipalities are also more satisfied with the work of their public health institutions than other respondents. In all other cases, except for the post-office, respondents from Zubin Potok revealed highest satisfaction with the work of their institutions (Table 5).

Table 5. Distribution (%) of respondents who rated level of satisfaction with different institutions with 4 and 5, on a rating scale from 1 to 5

	Kosovska Mitrovica	Leposavić	Zvečan	Zubin Potok
School	52.2%	49.7%	58.7%	59.3%
Health care institutions	30.1%	31.5%	36.4%	40.2%
Kindergartens	58.7%	60.9%	79.5%	81.5%
Post office	54.0%	48.2%	62.6%	42.4%
Electricity distribution system	18.5%	30.5%	30.9%	38.5%
Police	5.1%	1.5%	3.1%	20.0%
Courts	3.8%	1.1%	8.5%	23.0%
Prosecutor's	6.0%		5.6%	25.3%
Municipal administration	19.9%	10.0%	36.7%	41.8%
Average satisfaction	27.6%	29.2%	35.8%	41.3%

Another data which was found in the survey is in favor of current situation. Asked to what extent are they satisfied with the individual aspects of their personal life, the respondents revealed that they are most satisfied with their health (3.9%), followed by the possibility to rely on their friends (3.7%) and to engage in the matters which are pleasant to them, while they are very little satisfied with the protection of crime and corruption (2.1%), material security (2.8%) and fulfillment with the job, if they have one (2.9%).

2 Average score on the scale from 1 – dissatisfied up to 5 – satisfied.

We can draw two conclusions from Table 6. First conclusion is that the respondents have confirmed earlier findings according to which they are very little satisfied with their material status and level of protection from crime and corruption, and are most satisfied with the other aspects of life, health and reliance on friends. Second conclusion is that the respondents from Zvečan are most satisfied with their lives, followed by the respondents from Kosovska Mitrovica.

Table 6. Distribution (%) of the respondents who rated level of satisfaction with different aspects of their lives with 4 and 5, on a rating scale from 1 to 5

	Kosovska Mitrovica	Leposavić	Zvečan	Zubin Potok
Health	65.7%	63.9%	83.0%	64.1%
Material security	27.1%	20.8%	27.0%	23.9%
Protection from crime and corruption	14.5%	11.9%	9.0%	10.9%
Satisfaction with job	35.2%	32.7%	36.0%	48.9%
Possibility of engagement in matters that bring satisfaction to you	41.6%	29.9%	44.0%	28.3%
Possibility to rely on friends	67.9%	48.5%	76.0%	45.7%
Possibility to stick to your principles	55.8%	36.1%	62.0%	58.7%
Average	43.9%	34.8%	48.1%	40.1%

Table 7 shows very clearly that top six places are dominated by social/economic priorities and those related to the rule of law, which are identified by more than half of the respondents (54.5%) as important priorities.

Table 7. Highest priorities for Serbs in Kosovo

	%
Reduction of unemployment	14.3
Improvement of infrastructure (electricity, water...	11.2
Reduction of poverty	10.1
Reduction of crime and corruption	9.6
Improvement of security and freedom of movement	9.3
Enhancement of the rule of law	7.4
Greater influence of Serbs on the government of Serbia	6.3
Better conditions for medical treatment	4.7
Better cultural life	4.2
Improvement of condition for development of entrepreneurship	3.4
Improvement of conditions for schooling	2.9
Improvement of condition for sport	2.8
Enhancement of cooperation of Serbs from Northern Kosovo with other Serbs	2.5
Suppression of grey economy	2.5
Improvement of the position of Serbs in the international institutions in Kosovo	2.2
Better information system	1.6
Enhancement of relations with the Albanian population	1.5
Preservation of status quo	1.4
Better position of Serbs relative to the authorities in Priština	1.1
Enhancement of relations with non Albanian population	0.6
Freedom and safety	0.2
Preservation of territorial integrity	0.1
Total	100.0

In terms of the highest priorities for Serbs in Northern Kosovo, by municipalities in which the survey was conducted, for the respondents from Kosovska Mitrovica it is reduction of unemployment, reduction of crime and corruption, and reduction of poverty (10%), for the respondents from Leposavić, it is reduction of unemployment, reduction of poverty and improvement of infrastructure, whereas the respondents from Zvečan identified improvement of infrastructure, reduction of poverty, and reduction of corruption and crime as priorities. Reduction of unemployment, reduction of corruption and crime, and reduction of poverty are the highest priorities for the respondents from Zubin Potok.

Table 8. Highest priorities for Serbs living in Northern Kosovo (absolute value of numbers)

	Kosovska Mitrovica	Leposavić	Zvečan	Zubin Potok
Improvement of infrastructure (electricity, water, telephone)	93	105	66	32
Reduction of poverty	69	123	33	42
Reduction of unemployment	104	154	51	69
Reduction of crime and corruption	92	69	41	52
Enhancement of the rule of law	59	82	30	24
Improvement of condition for development of entrepreneurship	29	38	15	8
Suppression of grey economy	22	23	14	6
Improvement of security and freedom of movement	52	84	72	38
Better conditions for medical treatment	40	51	20	14
Improvement of conditions for schooling	34	21	10	12
Better cultural life	47	24	21	19
Better information system	21	12	4	5
Improvement of condition for sport	34	13	14	13
Greater influence of Serbs on the government of Serbia	33	85	25	23
Improvement of the position of Serbs in the international institutions in Kosovo	9	18	27	3
Better position of Serbs relative to the authorities in Priština	9	4	12	3
Enhancement of cooperation of Serbs from Northern Kosovo with other Serbs living in Kosovo	13	16	28	9
Enhancement of relations with non Albanian population	7	2	4	3
Enhancement of relations with the Albanian population	2	25	1	11
Preservation of status quo	7	14	1	16
Freedom and safety	0	0	0	4
Survival	0	0	0	1
Return of Internally displaced persons	0	1	0	0
Preservation of territorial integrity	1	0	1	0

Political environment

In the focus group dialogues it is clearly revealed that there is a division to those who have power and those who would rather depose and substitute people who have power, but also citizens who are suspicious of either of them, but ready to give a chance to both, provided that that they are offered hope that their existential problems piling up for years will be resolved. Everything above written about the political environment fits into one sentence spoken out by one citizen in the focus group interviews: "You see, all of us here are a bit involved in politics", which shows that without political (party) involvement it is impossible to realize own interests and also the rights. The replies to the question by which we measured political activism of the respondents support the thesis about the presence of political activity of the respondents. Following the politics in the media is a general practice by almost all or more precisely over 94% of the respondents. Participation in the political debates, of either formal or informal character (talks over coffee) is practiced by about two thirds of the participants in the survey. Half of the respondents have proactive attitude in terms that they are ready to try to persuade their friends, colleagues and acquaintances to share their ideas. One third of respondents take an active part in campaigns providing support to one of the political parties.

Table 9. Political activism

	%
You follow daily news on TV during the day	97
You read articles with political topics in daily newspapers	92
You follow TV broadcasts with political, social or economic features	93
You participate in the gatherings which have no party character	71
You get into political discussions	74
You try together with fellow citizens to resolve some problem together	75
You try to get friends and acquaintances to accept your political view	51
You participate in party meetings and election campaigns	55
You talk to politicians about topics and matters of vital importance for society	50
You did campaigning for a candidate or party	42

According to Table 10, it can be concluded that the respondents from Zvečan follow political topics in the media and engage into political discussions more than others. The respondents from Leposavić try to persuade friends and acquaintances to accept their political views, while the respondents from Zubin Potok express the highest level of political activism on the ground (participation in party meetings and election campaigns, as well as discussions with politicians).

Table 10. Political activism - percentage of respondents who have at least once:

	Kosov-ska Mitrovica	Lepo-savić	Zvečan	Zubin Potok
Read articles with political topics in daily newspapers	84.7%	92.5%	98.0%	94.6%
Followed daily news on TV during the day	93.8%	98.0%	100.0%	95.7%
Followed TV broadcasts with political, social or economic features	85.6%	94.5%	98.0%	93.5%
Engaged into political discussions	70.4%	74.0%	86.7%	73.1%
Tried to persuade friends and acquaintances to accept your political view	49.1%	58.5%	33.0%	46.2%
Tried together with fellow citizens to resolve some problem together	67.5%	75.0%	61.9%	84.8%
Participated in the gatherings which have no party character	59.1%	66.3%	73.7%	79.3%
Participated in party meetings and election campaigns	58.9%	50.5%	32.0%	64.1%
Talked to politicians about topics and matters of vital importance for society	39.4%	54.3%	33.0%	57.6%

It is interesting to see the extent to which occupational status affects the nature of political involvement (Table 11). Farmers, experts and managers mostly participate in party meetings. As for the participation in gatherings which have no party character, the structure of participants is the same as for party meetings, with greater participation of middle and lower rank managers. When it comes to persuading others to accept the respondent's political views, participants are the same: farmers, experts, higher and middle rank managers.

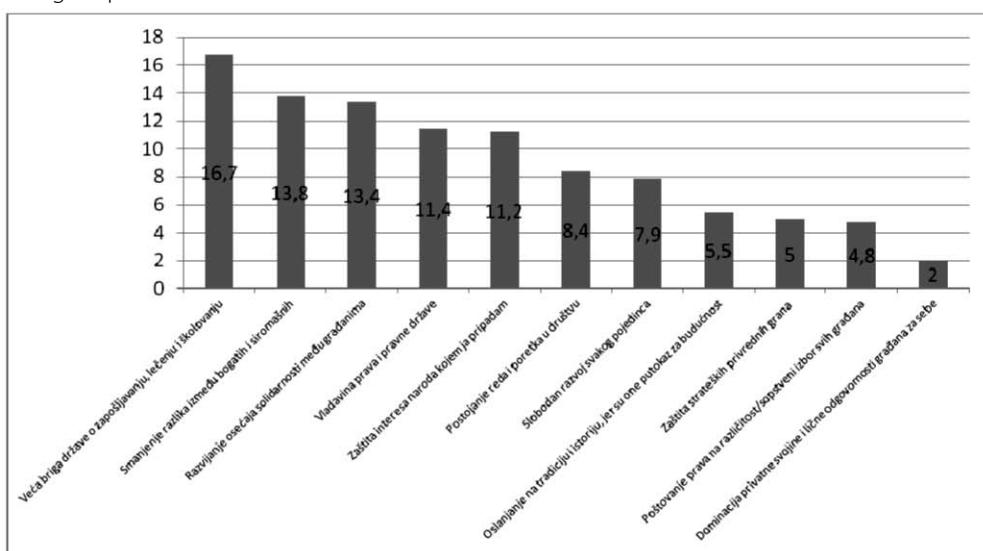
Table 11. Political activism depending on occupational status/job position

	You talk to politicians	You participate in party meetings	You participate in gatherings which have no party character	Persuading others to accept the respondents political ideas
Worker	48.5%	55.7%	68.8%	49.0%
Technician	47.2%	50.0%	69.4%	38.9%
Employee in the administration	58.3%	52.8%	75.0%	36.1%
Manager of lower rank	52.9%	58.8%	88.2%	70.6%
Manager of higher rank	46.2%	61.5%	84.6%	46.2%
Manager of middle rank, specialist	50.0%	25.0%	50.0%	50.0%
Expert	66.7%	61.1%	83.3%	72.2%
Farmer	75.0%	66.7%	90.9%	75.0%
Freelancer	42.9%	46.2%	71.4%	57.1%
Entrepreneur	66.7%	58.8%	82.4%	58.8%
Self-employed. work on one's own (craftsmen)	42.9%	57.1%	42.9%	42.9%
Jobless	34.8%	45.7%	54.3%	41.1%
Housewife/landlord	26.7%	33.3%	60.0%	33.3%
Pensioner	36.0%	44.0%	64.0%	53.8%
I manage to survive	45.7%	56.5%	67.4%	56.5%

On the other hand, and paradoxically, despite relatively high politicization, the very content of the politics is at a low level. Looking into the findings of the survey, the part about the characteristics of a politician who would deserve trust of our respondents, the so called ethical norms dominate, like keeping one's word, namely implementing the promised (1.9)³, to be honest (2.7), to have a clean record (2.9) and respect the law (3.3). On the second place are the managerial skills, i.e. the factors indicating politicians' capabilities to impact positive and prevent negative decisions at the level of political party belonging to (2.7); to influence the international community in making the positive and prevent negative decisions (2.9); to influence

state which belongs to social-democratic political spectrum: better care of the state for employment, education and medical care with 16% of support, narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor with the support of 13.8%, development of the spirit of solidarity with the support of 13.4%, rule of law with 11.4%. Only after these social priorities which belong to the political left, come the priorities that belong to the liberals and rightists, and those are protection of people I belong to (11.2%), existence of order and system (8.4%), free development of every individual (7.9%), reliance on tradition and history (5.5%), protection of strategic economic sectors (5%), respect for the right to be different (4.8%), dominance of private ownership and personal responsibilities of citizens 2%.

Chart 2. Ideological preferences



the government of Serbia in making the positive and prevent negative decisions (3.1); to know how to represent the interests with Russia and China (3.4), USA and EU (3.4), Belgrade (3.6) and Priština (3.6). At the end are the ideological criteria, i.e. ideological identification, which is almost neglectful with the score of 4.1.

The results of the focus group dialogues confirm the findings of the survey among citizens. As desirable characteristics of politicians who would gain support of citizens were: honesty, clean name, proper head of household, man of the people, to be sincere, diligent, experienced, literate, educated, to have capacity to change things, to have negotiating skill - to be able to talk to everyone and defend the interests of Serbs in Northern Kosovo, to be brave and not afraid of threats, not to lie and not to fan empty promises, to be faithful and responsible at the job, to have no criminal record, not to be greedy for money, to think with his own head and not dependant of leading parties.

In addition to personal dimensions of politicians we also surveyed the ideological preferences on the scale of liberal-social democratic/socialist-conservative/right. The findings show that most respondents prefer the concept of welfare

Naturally these findings must be fitted into the context and correlated to the above described situation and concluded that this is a situational left, i.e. that it would be incautious to say that leftist spirit predominates among respondents. On the contrary, this is the question of unsatisfied fundamental needs which dictate priorities, because in the situation of low ideological identification, support for the leftist program could go to someone on the right or a liberal, provided he would meet ethical requirements and capability to implement, required by the voters.

When it comes to preferences, minor differences can be observed by municipalities (Table 12). The respondents in Kosovska Mitrovica and Leposavić view better care of the state for employment, medical care and schooling as the first priority. Protection of the interests of people the respondent belongs to is the first priority in Zvečan, and narrowing the gap between the rich and poor in Zubin Potok. The second priority in Kosovska Mitrovica is the rule of law and legislation; in Leposavić it is narrowing the gap between the rich and poor, while the respondents in Zubin Potok and Zvečan view more state attention to employment, medical care and schooling as the second priority. It should be noted that protection of interests of

3 Average score on the scale from 1 - very important to 5 - quite unimportant.

people the respondent belongs to is rated the same as the rule of law only in Kosovska Mitrovica, unlike in other municipalities, where the protection of interests of people the respondent belongs to is more appreciated than the rule of law and legislation.

Table 12. The distribution of ideological preferences of the respondents by municipalities

	Kosovska Mitrovica	Lepo-savić	Zvečan	Zubin Potok
Development of the feeling of solidarity among citizens	86	126	34	41
Narrowing the gap between the rich and poor	75	124	38	60
Better care of the state for employment, medical care and schooling	113	146	47	52
Respect for the right to be different / own choice of all citizens	29	30	32	11
Rule of law and legislation	77	99	42	26
Dominance of private ownership and personal responsibility for themselves	18	11	9	4
Existence of order and system in society	55	66	42	18
Protection of interests of people I belong to	76	70	52	43
Reliance on tradition and history, because they are road sign for the future	31	34	39	13
Protection of strategic economic sectors of Serbia	22	32	44	9
Free development of each individual	48	62	19	40
Total⁴	630	800	398	317

It should be noted that the priority "protection of the interests of people I belong to" is more evident among the respondents having lower status occupation than among those having higher status occupation, except the unemployed who also rate the protection of the interests of people they belong to as less important than "more state attention to employment, medical care and education", and "narrowing the gap between the rich and poor".

Brussels agreement

Some of the questions raised in the focus group dialogue were devoted to that issue. The analysis of the participants' attitudes found that the Brussels agreement is rather unclear and unknown for participants of the focus group, more precisely that as such it is incomprehensible, particularly from the perspective of "ordinary man". Most of the collocutors do not understand the meaning of the items of the agreement and thereby express certain dose

of fear and uncertainty about the consequences of its implementation. Insufficient understanding opens the possibility for different interpretations of the provisions of the Brussels agreement and possibility for manipulating the citizens who are afraid for their future. The dominant attitude toward the Brussels agreement is negative because it is seen as negative for the Serbian population in Northern Kosovo, since it is general, unclear and its consequences for the people are unknown. What makes the situation additionally difficult is non-transparency, absence of consultations with the citizens in the process of negotiating and establishing the agreement.

The main concern is the financing, reflected in the fear of redundancies in the public sector. Also, project funding which is mentioned is connected to "financing from/ via Priština" that is interpreted as unclear, complicated and hostile. Financing from the budget of Serbia is questionable because the rumor goes that the budget is in the deficit and impossibility of Serbia to allocate funds and if it would, it may finance the population of Northern Kosovo. Next to financing, another concern is the education system and the preservation of language. As to the association of municipalities, almost all respondents do not understand what it means. The respondents experienced in politics expressed negative attitude to the association of municipalities, as they said that it has no legislative, executive and judiciary powers, and hence is not perceived as a modality via which the Serbs could influence their status and exercise their rights.

The questionnaire for citizens resulted in identical findings. Namely, when asked to what extent they followed the Brussels process (negotiations), 31.9% answered – moderately; one fifth (21%) – intensely; 16.2% - very little; and 12.5% – hardly. Only 10% of the participants in the survey actively followed events that resulted around and in the Brussels agreement. Those who followed it did it primarily via RTS (35.5%), than private media (Pink, Blic, B92, Kurir, Informer ...), while 20% of respondents followed it via Internet. The share of the local media is about 10%. Only one in ten respondents read the agreement, partly 17.6%. The agreement was not read by 33.5%, while 39.4% said they did not read it, but are aware of the information important to them. Looking more closely, three tendencies are evident. Firstly, the agreement lacks support of more than a half of the respondents. Secondly, the biggest portion of support goes to the so called status part which regulated the status of the association of municipalities, while on the other hand the support to parts concerning security and rule of law is between 10% and 20%. However, in the case of all the items, somewhat above one thirds of respondents between 30% and 40%, said that the items are both acceptable and not. Just this last response shows poor information of respondents and little knowledge about the contents of the Brussels agreement (Table 13).

⁴ The number of responses is bigger than the sample size because they could choose up to four answers.

Table 13. Acceptability of some provisions of the Brussels agreement

	Yes	So, so	No
Establishment of the association of the Serb majority municipalities in Kosovo	41.8	35.7	22.6
The association will have full supervision in the areas of economic development, education, public health, urban and rural planning	41.2	36	22.8
The association shall have president, vice president assembly and the council	39.1	37.3	23.5
The association shall have representative role with the central government	26.3	41.4	32.4
The signatories have undertaken to reach agreements on telecommunications and energy	17.4	41.2	41.4
Holding of local elections in 2013	16.2	36.9	46.9
Police shall be united, integrates in the framework of Kosovo police	14.7	33.9	51.3
Personnel of other security Serbs structures shall be offered jobs in corresponding Kosovo structure	12.9	39.3	47.8
Judiciary shall be integrated into the frame of the Kosovo legal system	11.3	34.1	54.6

The conclusion inferred from the analysis of findings by municipalities is that the part of Brussels agreement (status part) which regulates the establishment and competencies of the association of municipalities, received support of more than a half of respondents only in Kosovska Mitrovica. On the other hand, the least support to the provisions of the Brussels agreement is provided by the respondents in Zvečan (Table 14).

Table 14. Acceptability of some provisions of the Brussels agreement, by municipalities

	Kosovska Mitrovica	Leposavić	Zvečan	Zubin Potok
Establishment of the association of the Serb majority municipalities in Kosovo	55.2%	45.5%	18.0%	35.5%
The association will have full supervision in the areas of economic development, education, public health, urban and rural planning	53.1%	43.1%	24.0%	22.6%
The association shall have president, vice president assembly and the council	53.7%	42.3%	40.0%	18.3%
The association shall have representative role with the central government	38.3%	29.9%	12.0%	12.9%
The signatories have undertaken to reach agreements on telecommunications and energy	27.2%	16.4%	12.0%	8.6%
Holding of local elections in 2013	25.8%	14.5%	10.0%	9.7%
Police shall be united, integrates in the framework of Kosovo police	14.1%	18.9%	11.0%	10.8%
Personnel of other security Serbs structures shall be offered jobs in corresponding Kosovo structure	14.1%	15.4%	12.0%	6.5%
Judiciary shall be integrated into the frame of the Kosovo legal system	11.0%	12.9%	10.0%	9.7%

It should be noted that by linking the respondent's answers with their occupational status, we come to the conclusion that the respondents who are "politically involved" (managers, farmers and self-employed/craftsmen) to somewhat greater extent support the provision Brussels agreement. The respondents who own real estate or do not want to declare, support the provisions of the "status part" of the Brussels agreement to a greater extent than the respondents who have no property outside Kosovo. Even though the support for the Brussels agreement grows with the level of education, it is still slightly higher than oppose it. On the other hand, the opposition to the Brussels agreement grows among the respondents having secondary education, except for those who graduated from the high school (Table 15).

Table 15. Acceptability of some provisions of the Brussels agreement, depending on education of the respondents

	Elementary	Secondary vocational	High school	Higher school	Faculty
Establishment of the association of the Serb majority municipalities in Kosovo	25.0%	37.7%	43.2%	43.2%	51.8%
The association will have full supervision in the areas of economic development, education, public health, urban and rural planning	20.8%	34.1%	40.5%	39.5%	52.2%
The association shall have president, vice president assembly and the council	20.8%	36.5%	40.5%	40.7%	54.7%
The association shall have representative role with the central government	20.8%	22.4%	29.7%	19.8%	36.8%
The signatories have undertaken to reach agreements on telecommunications and energy	8.3%	15.1%	18.9%	16.0%	24.3%
Holding of local elections in 2013	4.2%	14.0%	18.9%	19.8%	19.7%
Police shall be united, integrates in the framework of Kosovo police	4.2%	13.6%	13.5%	13.6%	19.9%
Personnel of other security Serbs structures shall be offered jobs in corresponding Kosovo structure	4.2%	11.8%	10.8%	8.6%	19.7%
Judiciary shall be integrated into the frame of the Kosovo legal system	4.2%	10.3%	13.5%	12.3%	13.9%

Pessimism is evident also in the perception of the position of Serbs in Kosovo and the relations of Serbia with Kosovo in the aftermath of the Brussels agreement.

Two thirds (65%) of respondents anticipate that the status of Serbs in Northern Kosovo will be worse if the entire Brussels agreement is implemented, and only 7% that it will improve, while 1/4 of respondents said that nothing will change. Relatively the same anticipation goes for central and southern Kosovo and the status of Serbs - 56% said that the status will deteriorate, 27% it will remain the same, a 15% improved. In the case of dissatisfaction with the implementation and results of the Brussels agreement, most of the respondents or 47,7% will do what the majority of citizens will do, 13% will politically support the political parties which are against this agreement, the same percentage will follow the instructions of institutions representing the interests of the Serbs, while only 4.3% respondents will follow the advise of political leaders of Serbs. 6.8% of the respondents are thinking of moving out their children, while 9.8% are thinking about moving out whole families

The pessimistic trend shifted to the attitude of Serbia towards the Serbs in Kosovo. Namely, 54% of respondents said that the support to Serbs in Northern Kosovo will decrease, while 20.5% think that the support will remain the same, with 18% who think that the support will stop. In the case of Serbs living in central and southern parts of Kosovo, 44.5% of respondents said that the support will be lower, and 21.5% that it would remain at the same level, with 26.6% who said it would stop. The crucial issue linked with the Brussels agreement is the way of financing the Serb institutions in Kosovo. That is why one question was about most desirable way of financing. 74% of respondents answered that public health should be financed "in a straight line", and 26% by projects; similar attitude was regarding financing of education - 72% favored the straight line, and 27% project. The same proportion of straight line and project financing is in the area of financing welfare, 72:27. In the case of culture, legal and human resources support, telecommunications and infrastructure, the respondents are divided into two equal parts when it comes to the choice of linear and project financing of the Serb institutions in Kosovo.

Local Elections 2013

Local elections representing one of the benchmarks under the Brussels agreement for the participants in the focus group dialogue, represent a big "unknown" when it comes to the consequences on life of Kosovo Serbs. In such environment, there are interpretations of elections which are often extreme and mutually exclusive. The local elections are seen as an act of recognizing the independence of Kosovo, because turnout at the elections which are not local means recognition of the state of Kosovo. The opponents to the turnout think that maximum one third will turn out and bring into question the legitimacy of new authorities. On the other hand, part of respondents

said that the reason for campaigning and voting for the "single list of candidates" will be fear of losing the job, that the employees in the public sector will turn out and vote to keep their job and a source of income. The slogan "get out not to lose the job" is imposed on them, while at the preceding elections the slogan was "turnout to get a job". Fear is seen as the main factor which will decide whether people will get out. The dominant position is that these elections will bring no good to the citizens. People are at odds whether the turnout means recognition of Kosovo. "The Civic Initiative Srpska" was not positively assessed, rather deemed as imposed, with many runners with questionable biographies, and that among the candidates are those who did not want to be part of it.

Regularity of elections is one of the great concerns of citizens. A considerable number of respondents doubt the regularity of elections. The reasons stated are still unknown number of voters (big number of newly registered voters who acquired the right on the basis of their birthplace), possibility of mailing votes seen as a way of planting the ballots in favor of the single list "The Civic Initiative Srpska".

Asked what are the arguments for turnout the participants of the focus group said above all: an attempt to exert own influence on their fate; not to let the Albanian win; chance to change people who for 14 years have been shuffling in power; because it is voted for a name; gaining political space for the Serb population in Kosovo; we will vote to prevent someone else to vote.

On the other hand, the arguments against turning out the elections are: wish to respect the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia; illegitimacy of elections; these are Kosovo elections; because they are a lie, particularly when it is said that they are status neutral; they are not in favor of the Serb people; because of the threat of losing the job unless they turn out; because they are carried out forcefully, arrogantly, threatening to people and are a betrayal; no party presented a program for which one would vote for.

Along the same track go the findings of the survey. Asked about the function of elections, slightly below two thirds of respondents (58.2%) think that the elections serve recognition of Kosovo's independence. The position that these elections are in the function of establishing the association of municipalities was supported by one fifth (19.3%) respondents. One out of ten respondents (10.4%) think that the purpose of these elections is to empower local self governments resolve the problems within its competence. Relatively the same percentage of respondents think that these elections are for local self government which will continue to cooperate with Belgrade, 12% of them. Observed by municipalities, like in the case with the position toward the Brussels agreement, the same divisions are present again. The percentage of respondents who see the elections as an act of recognition of Kosovo as a state is higher in Zvečan and Zubin Potok than in Kovska Mitrovica and Leposavić. Similarly, the respondents

in Kosovska Mitrovica and Leposavić to a greater extent think that the elections serve the function of establishing the association of municipalities (Table 16).

Table 16. The respondents' attitude toward the upcoming elections, by municipalities

	Kosovska Mitrovica	Leposavić	Zvečan	Zubin Potok
The elections are for the recognition of Kosovo as a state on its whole territory	52.1%	54.5%	67.0%	68.5%
The elections serve the function of implementation of the Brussels agreement which guarantees the establishment of the Association of municipalities	20.0%	22.0%	18.7%	13.0%
Elections for the local authorities which will continue cooperation with Belgrade	12.7%	11.5%	12.1%	12.0%
Elections for the authorities to deal with the problems of the local self governance	15.2%	12.0%	2.2%	6.5%

Like in the case with the attitude toward the implementation of the Brussels agreement, the lower level of education, higher the opinion that the elections serve the function of recognition of Kosovo, i.e. the higher level of education, higher the opinion that the elections serve the function of establishing the association of municipalities.

Table 16. The position of the respondents toward the upcoming elections depending on the level of education

	Elementary school	Secondary vocational	High school	Higher school	Faculty
The elections are for the recognition of Kosovo as a state on its whole territory	75.0%	60,0%	40,0%	58,2%	56,7%
The elections serve the function of implementation of the Brussels agreement which guarantees the establishment of the association of municipalities	8,3%	15,9%	31,4%	15,2%	26,1%
Elections for the local authorities which will continue cooperation with Belgrade	16,7%	12,6%	11,4%	15,2%	9,0%
Elections for the authorities to deal with the problems of the local self governance	0%	11,5%	17,1%	11,4%	8,2%

Similarly to the focus group, the survey shows that at the one hand we have those who are in favor of elections and who, at the time of conducting the survey, had a vague picture about the motivation for turning out which is understandable, because, before the start

of the campaign for turnout at the elections, big majority of those who were getting ready for elections did it secretly fearing the reaction to such a decision, and those who opted to run had not presented their respective programs. It all resulted in 30% of respondents who had no argument why to go to the elections, while almost one in five respondents (18%) see the motive in the improved status of Serbs in Kosovo, for 6% it is a way to protect their personal interest, while for 4.3% this is an obligation. On the other hand, during the surveying period, the arguments against turning out were more intensive. Namely, almost half of respondents (47%) think that the elections are recognition of independence of Kosovo. Election irregularities and fear are crucial factors against getting out and voting. This group of factors was the reason for 10% of respondents not to turnout. 8.7% respondents think that the elections will not bring any change, while 4.5% think there is no one to vote for.

Asked what they will decide and whether they would turn out at the elections most of respondents said they would follow the majority, namely depending on the security situation during and on the day of elections. In addition to the stated factors which will determine their behavior, they mentioned: program of the candidates, regularity of the campaign and election process including the day of elections.

Finally, asked whether they will go to the elections, 45% of respondents replied that they will not, 24.9% do not know if and who they will vote for, and 18.7% said that they will get out but do not want to tell who they will vote for, while 9.4% respondents said they will cross the ballot. We want to note that these results should not be taken as a prediction of electoral behavior on the day of elections, considering the timing of the survey and the early stage of the election campaign which was just starting. This question was useful for analytical purposes to determine the overall election behavior.

Given the context in which the survey was conducted, we will present a detailed statistical analysis of the results on the electoral behavior of the respondents.⁵

The highest number (102)⁶ of respondents who described their problem as existential would not vote, including most of those who see economic factors as a problem and personal factors. Of those who do not want to say 34 described their problems as existential, 17 as personal. Those uncertain described their problems as existential and economic. The significance of differences according to frequency was checked against Pirson's hi-square test and it was found that the difference among groups based on voting and type of problems is statistically significant at the level of 0.05.

⁵ The statistical analysis was performed by Sanja Stamenković from the Bureau of Social Research

⁶ The results in this part of the Report will be presented in absolute numbers.

Table 17. The connection between electoral behavior and type of long standing problem

		I would not vote	I am not sure who I would vote for	I would cross the ballot	I would vote but don't want to say
Existential	Count	102	62	22	34
	% of problem ⁷	45.7%	27.8%	9.9%	15.2%
	% of voting	41.8%	45.9%	42.3%	33.7%
Infrastructural	Count	7	11	5	7
	% of problem	23.3%	36.7%	16.7%	23.3%
	% of votes	2.9%	8.1%	9.6%	6.9%
Personal problems	Count	24	12	2	17
	% of problem	42.1%	21.1%	3.5%	29.8%
	% of votes	9.8%	8.9%	3.8%	16.8%
Social	Count	3	2	2	5
	% of problem	25.0%	16.7%	16.7%	41.7%
	% of votes	1.2%	1.5%	3.8%	5.0%
Political	Count	5	4	1	2
	% of problem	41.7%	33.3%	8.3%	16.7%
	% of votes	2.0%	3.0%	1.9%	2.0%
Legal	Count	3	1	3	2
	% of problem	27.3%	9.1%	27.3%	18.2%
	% of votes	1.2%	0.7%	5.8%	2.0%
Economic	Count	80	38	12	30
	% of problem	48.8%	23.2%	7.3%	18.3%
	% of votes	32.8%	28.1%	23.1%	29.7%
I have no problem	Count	20	5	5	4
	% of problem	58.8%	14.7%	14.7%	11.8%
	% of votes	8.2%	3.7%	9.6%	4.0%
Total	Count	244	135	52	101
	% of problem	44.9%	24.9%	9.6%	18.6%
	% of votes	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Statistically significant correlation was found relative to whether the respondents followed the Brussels negotiations and their choice when voting. Those who would not vote largely followed the Brussels negotiations at the median scale (88), and those who were not sure (46). The respondents who did not want to say followed, largely the elections (31). Statistical significant is at the level of less than 0.01.

Table 18. The connection between electoral behavior and extent to which the Brussels agreement was followed

		I would not vote	I am not sure who I would vote for	I would cross the ballot	I would vote but don't want to say
Very intensely	Count	21	13	4	18
	% of following negotiations ⁸	35.6%	22.0%	6.8%	30.5%
	% of choice	8.4%	9.4%	7.7%	17.3%
Intensely	Count	46	31	8	31
	% of following negotiations	39.3%	26.5%	6.8%	26.5%
	% of choice	18.4%	22.5%	15.4%	29.8%
Moderate	Count	88	46	13	28
	% of following negotiations	49.2%	25.7%	7.3%	15.6%
	% of choice	35.2%	33.3%	25.0%	26.9%
Hardly	Count	26	23	9	10
	% of following the negotiations	37.7%	33.3%	13.0%	14.5%
	% of choice	10.4%	16.7%	17.3%	9.6%
Very scarcely	Count	43	24	9	10
	% of following negotiations	48.9%	27.3%	10.2%	11.4%
	% of choice	17.2%	17.4%	17.3%	9.6%
I don't remember	Count	26	1	9	7
	% of following negotiations	60.5%	2.3%	20.9%	16.3%
	% of choice	10.4%	0.7%	17.3%	6.7%
Total	Count	250	138	52	104
	% of following negotiations	45.0%	24.9%	9.4%	18.7%
	% of choice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Statistically significant correlation was determined by Chi square test, with the level of significance of less than 0.01, relative to the voting choice and expectations about the status of Serbs in central and southern Kosovo. The highest number (36) of those who would vote, and do not want to say for whom, and those who would cross the ballot thought that the status will remain the same. Those who thought that the status would significantly deteriorate would not vote or were uncertain for whom.

⁷ % of problem – % of: Which is the problem that you could not resolve?; % of votes – % of: Were the elections today, who would you vote for?

⁸ % of following negotiations – % of To what extent you followed the Brussels negotiations?; % of choice – % of Were the elections today, who would you vote for?

Table 19. The connection between electoral behavior and attitude toward the status of Serbs after signing the Brussels agreement

Were the elections today, who would you vote for?	What are your expectations about the status of Serbs in central and southern Kosovo after signing the Brussels agreement?				
	Significant deterioration	Deterioration	The same	Improved	Considerably improved
I would not vote	109	53	56	16	4
I am not sure	41	41	32	21	2
I would vote but I do not want to speak	10	14	19	4	3
I would cross the ballot	13	22	36	22	10

Similar results were obtained for Northern Kosovo. Those who were not sure who they would vote for thought that the status of Serbs in Kosovo would deteriorate, while those who didn't want to say who they would vote for thought it would remain the same. Those who would vote mostly said that the situation would considerably worsen. Statistical significance was also at the level of less than 0.01.

Table 20. The connection between electoral behavior and attitude toward the status of Serbs in Northern Kosovo after signing the Brussels agreement

Were the elections today, who would you vote for?	What are your expectations about the status of Serbs in Northern Kosovo after signing the Brussels agreement?				
	Significant deterioration	Deterioration	The same	Improved	Considerably improved
I would not vote	126	78	39	2	0
I am not sure	28	68	34	7	1
I would vote but I do not want to speak	11	18	18	3	2
I would cross the ballot	6	22	45	22	6

Statistically significant correlation was determined by hi square test, with the level of significance of less than 0,01, relative to the voting choice and expectations about the status of Serbs in central and southern Kosovo. The highest number (36) of those who would vote, and do not want to say for whom, and those who would cross the ballot thought that the status will remain the same. Those who thought that the status would significantly deteriorate would not vote or were uncertain for whom.

Table 21. The connection between electoral behavior and attitude toward the status of Serbs in central and southern Kosovo after signing the Brussels agreement

Were the elections today, who would you vote for?	What are your expectations about the status of Serbs in central and southern Kosovo after signing the Brussels agreement?				
	Significant deterioration	Deterioration	The same	Improved	Considerably improved
I would not vote	109	53	56	16	4
I am not sure	41	41	32	21	2
I would vote but I do not want to speak	10	14	19	4	3
I would cross the ballot	13	22	36	22	10

The biggest number (76) of those who would not vote thought that the support of Belgrade to Northern Kosovo would considerably drop, while those who were not sure who they would vote for mainly thought that the support would lessen. Most of those who did not want to say thought that the support would remain in the same level. The difference among groups is statistically significant at the level of less than 0,01 (Pirson's hi square = 193.48).

Table 22. The connection between electoral behavior and attitude regarding the position of Belgrade towards the Serbs in Northern Kosovo after signing the Brussels agreement

Were the elections today, who would you vote for?	What will be the position of Belgrade towards Northern Kosovo after signing the Brussels agreement?					
	Support will significantly increase	Support will increase	Support will be at the same level	Support will decrease	Support will considerably decrease	Support will stop
I would not vote	3	6	27	56	76	78
I am not sure	2	3	27	59	37	10
I would vote but I do not want to speak	1	2	15	15	12	6
I would cross the ballot	3	13	42	26	11	8

Statistically significant (at the level of less than 0.01) difference observed was on the same topic which relates to central and southern Kosovo. Those respondents who would not vote mostly said that the support would stop, while those uncertain who they would vote for largely thought that the support would significantly decrease. Those who would cross the ballot or do not want to say thought that the support would remain the same.

Table 23. The connection between electoral behavior and attitude regarding the position of Belgrade toward the Serbs living in central and southern Kosovo after signing the Brussels agreement

Were the elections today, who would you vote for?	What will be the position of Belgrade towards central and southern Kosovo after signing the Brussels agreement?					
	Support will significantly increase	Support will increase	Support will be at the same level	Support will decrease	Support will considerably decrease	Support will stop
I would not vote	8	6	39	41	59	89
I am not sure	1	10	22	37	39	27
I would vote but I do not want to speak	2	2	16	10	8	13
I would cross the ballot	7	9	38	17	19	12

The majority of respondents who thought that elections were in the function of recognition of Kosovo as a state, would not vote, were not sure whether they would vote or would cross the ballot. The majority (40) who didn't want to say who they would vote for thought that the elections are in the function of implementation of the Brussels agreement which guarantees the establishment of the association of municipalities. Statistical significance of those correlations was examined by hi square test (Pirson's hi square = 180.93, significance less than 0.01).

Table 24. The connection between electoral behavior and attitude toward the function of local elections

Were the elections today, who would you vote for?	How do you see the upcoming elections?			
	The elections are in the function of recognition of Kosovo as a state on its whole territory	The elections are in the function of the implementation of the Brussels agreement which guarantees the implementation of the Brussels agreement which guarantees the establishment of the association of municipalities	Elections for local authorities who would continue to cooperate with Belgrade	Elections for authorities who will deal with the problems of self-governance
I would not vote	209	17	11	10
I am not sure	59	36	22	18
I would vote but I do not want to speak	23	8	10	8
I would cross the ballot	22	40	21	17

Differences as regards gender, ownership of property outside Kosovo, start up of own business, education of father do not affect statistically significantly the position towards the elections.

The majority of respondents who rent a flat were not sure who they would vote for, while those who look after someone's other flat or who are owners would largely not vote.

Table 25. The connection between electoral behavior and housing status

Were the elections today, who would you vote for?	Your housing status		
	I rent a flat	The flat was assigned to me to look after	I own the flat
I would not vote	33	26	187
I am not sure	36	11	89
I would vote but I do not want to speak	6	16	30
I would cross the ballot	20	18	64

Statistically significant connection at the level of less than 0.01 was presented in the table below. The respondents who graduated from the university, high school, secondary vocational and elementary school would largely not vote, while those uncertain completed high school.

Table 25. The connection between electoral behavior and education level

Were the elections today, who would you vote for?	The highest completed school by respondent					
	No school	Elementary	Secondary vocational	High school	Higher school	Faculty
I would not vote	1	16	126	6	33	67
I am not sure	1	4	70	16	20	27
I would vote but I do not want to speak	0	0	24	7	11	10
I would cross the ballot	0	3	46	8	16	30

The respondents who scored with 5 the satisfaction with their material status would mostly vote, but didn't want to say for whom. Those who scored with 1, 2, 3 and 4 would mainly not vote. The difference is statistically significant at the level of less than 0.01 (Pirson's hi square = 75.54).

Table 25. The connection between electoral behavior and satisfaction with material status

Were the elections today, who would you vote for?	How satisfied are you with your material status?				
	1	2	3	4	5
I would not vote	31	65	99	43	11
I am not sure	21	30	53	22	12
I would vote but I do not want to speak	7	10	23	7	5
I would cross the ballot	14	19	39	14	18

Entrepreneurial inclination among the participants of the survey

As to the start up of business, namely development of entrepreneurship in Northern Kosovo, one quarter of respondents (24.8%) never thought of it, while 16% succeeded in the attempt of starting up their business, and 12% failed. The motive of the respondents to start up a business was a good idea (28.6%), availability of grants (22%) the way to get self employment (11.9%), high quality of people they would work with (11.2%) and existence of market for goods and services (7.6%). Obstacles for start up were the shortage of capital (60%), unfavorable economic environment (13.1%), lack of adequate idea (10.6%) and unfavorable political setting (7.6%). As a stake into the new business the respondents would invest their labor (29.4%), skill (27.3%), premises (11%) and experience (6.7%). Trade with 31.2%, farming with 13.3%, education 12.6% and craftsmen 12.2% where the areas were the respondents would start business.

Statistically significant difference was found between the respondents in terms of starting own business. The majority of female respondents stated that they never thought of it, while the majority of male stated they thought of it but never realized.

Table 26. The connection between entrepreneurial inclination and gender

Have you ever thought of starting your own business?	Gender	
	Male	Female
Yes, I started and succeeded	61	31
Yes, I started but failed	45	23
Yes, more than once but didn't start	99	63
Yes, once or twice but didn't start	54	43
No, I never thought of it	47	92
Total	306	252

Hi square test examined the correlation of age of the respondents and the possibility of starting their business. Elderly respondents are statistically significantly less enthusiastic about starting the business and vice versa.

Table 27. The connection between entrepreneurial inclination and age

Have you ever thought to start your own business?	Age			
	Up to 25	26 to 35	36 to 65	Over 65
Yes, more than once, but I did not	5	35	48	0
No, I never thought of it	9	20	33	2
Yes, once or twice, but I didn't	35	53	70	1
Yes, I started and succeeded	16	36	41	1
Yes, I did but I failed	25	27	74	13
Total	90	171	266	17

The table below shows the higher level of education higher the wish to start own business. The correlation is statistically significant at the level of less of 0.01.

Table 28. The connection between entrepreneurial inclination and level of education

Have you ever thought to start your own business?	The highest completed school of respondents					
	No schooling	Elementary school	Secondary vocational	High school	Higher school	Faculty
Yes, more than once, but I did not	0	1	41	4	14	33
No, I never thought of it	0	3	36	0	11	18
Yes, once or twice, but I didn't	0	1	83	12	22	45
Yes, I started and succeeded	1	3	45	11	13	23
Yes, I did but I failed	3	16	69	10	21	20
Total	4	24	274	37	81	139

The respondents who scored higher the satisfaction with their material safety more often thought about starting own business or even succeeded in it.

Table 29. The connection between entrepreneurial inclination and satisfaction with material position

Have you ever thought to start your own business?	How much are you satisfied with your material safety?				
	1	2	3	4	5
Yes, more than once, but I did not	11	9	31	25	18
No, I never thought of it	14	19	27	7	1
Yes, once or twice, but I didn't	23	44	65	20	11
Yes, I started and succeeded	13	21	44	14	5
Yes, I did but I failed	18	34	51	21	14
Total	79	127	218	87	49

The participants in the survey who have a real estate outside Kosovo are statistically much more turned to starting up their business (Pirson's chi square = 20,36, p<0,01).

Table 30. The connection between entrepreneurial inclination and possession of real estate outside Kosovo

Have you ever thought to start your own business?	Do you have real estate outside Kosovo?		
	Yes	No	I do not want to reply
Yes, more than once, but I did not	25	50	19
No, I never thought of it	16	43	8
Yes, once or twice, but I didn't	23	123	17
Yes, I started and succeeded	13	69	12
Yes, I did but I failed	20	105	13
Total	97	390	69

The Serbian-Serbian and Serbian-Albanian relations

One of the topics of our survey was to examine how Kosovo Serbs saw their perspective in the context of desirable priorities for their legal and political status. The first finding suggests that before any status solutions, the rights of every Serb, wherever living in Kosovo, should be protected. Evidently, the situation of general uncertainty pushed the "status" issues to the second place, and pulled quality of life into the focus. So instead of territorial and status issues, the citizens gave priority to have their rights and interest guaranteed, which is currently at a low level. In the context of this finding, we should identify the current and future attitudes toward the Brussels agreement; because if the agreement shall focus on the status matters rather than on the improvement of quality of life, particularly in the parts where the survey found it was unsatisfactory, the Brussels agreement might become yet another promising paper.

Another finding in the focus group is the feeling of resignation and dissatisfaction, the result of which is isolation of people and minding own business. Somewhat less than 10% of respondents thought that relations among municipalities in the north of Kosovo should be enhanced, while 5.4% that it should be done at the level of all municipalities.

Table 31. The respondents' attitudes

	%
To improve the protection of each Serb wherever residing in Kosovo	60.9
Each municipality should mind its own business	5.6
To connect and strengthen ties between the Serb municipalities in the North	8.4
To connect and strengthen ties between all the Serb municipalities	5.4
To connect and strengthen ties between all the Serb municipalities and as strong influence on the authorities in Belgrade as possible	5.9
To connect and strengthen ties between all the Serb municipality and as high influence as possible on the international community	3.6
To connect and strengthen ties between all the Serb municipalities and as strong influence as possible on the authorities in Priština	1.1
To connect and strengthen ties between all the Serb communities and improvement of cooperation with non-Albanian population	0.7
To connect and strengthen ties between all the Serb communities and to try to find common interest with the Albanian population	1.4
Future should be completely ties to the politics in Belgrade	5.9

Based on the available data, the Serbian-Albanian relations in the territory of (Northern) Kosovo were not the topic of utmost importance to our respondents. The reasons for such a finding should be traced in the fact that a vast majority of Serbs did not recognize the proclaimed independence of Kosovo and that each escalation of discussion and cooperation with the Albanian side was looked

upon as integration into the state of Kosovo. Secondly, it is a fact that in the northern part of Kosovo there are less Albanians, hence the interaction is weaker, experience of living together is shorter than the experience of Serbs in the central and southern Kosovo. Thirdly, it is a fact that the Serbian community has its problems, which almost marginalized this priority. However, last but not least is the legacy of traumatic experience, which was particularly prominent in focus groups among the respondents who after 2004 arrived from the southern or central part of Kosovo to the north.

In favor of arguments about the status of Serbian-Albanian relations goes also the fact that one fifth of the respondents were ready to cooperate with the Albanians without any reservation, while between 30% and 40% of respondents had some, between 40% and one half of the respondents were not ready to start up a business or politically act, or work in a firm owned by an Albanian.

Table 32. The distance scale of Serbs toward Albanians

	Yes	Depends	No
Start up business with an Albanian from Kosovo	21.5	37.9	40.6
Is there is priority/problem because of which you would join a Montenegrin from Kosovo and work to solve it	20.5	39.0	40.6
Work in a firm owned by an Albanian	17.9	31.2	50.9

Conclusion

To sum up: present political figures (local officials and politicians irrespective of the political party they belong to) and institutions, particularly in the area of the rule of law, according to respondents, are not at the appropriate level. In such social environment, part of the public finds that corruption, nepotism and political connections are normal, because this is the way to achieve the basic interest, feeling of safety and also an efficient way to satisfy existential needs.

The Survey on hand revealed that the Serbian community in Northern Kosovo lives in socially deprived environment, in a situation where considerable number of people can not meet their fundamental needs, and above all, safety. In such a situation of legal/political vacuum, where a mixture of several legal and political systems prevail, the citizens are left to themselves to cope through informal regulation that is (self) regulation, based on self reliance, relatives and friends as actors in survival, namely reliance on the traditional values and customs in tackling mutual relations. Thus, we faced a phenomenon of social networks taking the place of absent and non functional institutions. On the other hand, the bright note are schools, health care centers and hospitals, post offices and power distribution company, whose functioning guarantees the minimum of citizens needs in

those four municipalities. The above said absence of safety and certainty results in resignation of a part of respondents, which is manifested in taking their lives in their hands. This taking lives in hands is manifested in several forms. Firstly, those who can migrate from Kosovo take this opportunity. Secondly, at the political level they turned away, primarily from Belgrade. That turn away goes in two directions: one to the East by searching for partners in Russia and China, and the other by trying to establish rational ties with the West and Priština, through cooperation that would not mean "trade of own faith for a meal".

According to the survey results, the legal and institutional vacuum and feeling of uncertainty are also reduced by involving in politics. In the above mentioned situation politics tends to become everything, but also nothing. Politics is everything, because possession of power turns into the assumption for realization of rights and making a career. On the other hand, politics becomes nothing, because it turns into its opposite. Instead of being an activity in the function of common good it is getting privatized for the function of (re)production of power in the hands of a few and dependant individuals. We are facing a phenomenon where in addition to high politicization of social life we de-ideologization is taking place, on the other hand. The result is that politics is boiled down to management and maintenance of the existing situation, while politicians and public officials, are commissioners who guarantee status quo who have no autonomy to initiate development. This is the reason why such politicians are confronted with integrity crisis because they lack communication with the citizens, resulting in suspicion about their integrity and legitimacy. Next to the social exclusion and almost non-existent access to proper jobs, pertaining primarily to young people with or without university degree, and all others with secondary and lower education, our survey revealed that they are even more politically excluded than other citizens of Northern Kosovo.

As to the Brussels agreement, "it failed" in terms of citizens' support, provided that its better understating requires improved presentation that will reduce the number of those who are in two minds, irrespective of whether it will increase or decrease the number of citizens in favor or against. The Brussels agreement is mostly supported by those who are politically more active and

involved in the existing institutions and who were connected to the existing institutions, especially that part of the agreement which refers to establishment of the association of municipalities, seen by the respondents as a new Republic of Srpska.

And finally we came to the local elections. The period when the survey was conducted gave us no opportunity to make predictions about turnout at the elections, because in the meantime significant events occurred while the survey itself was conducted before the campaign started officially. Confusion about the Brussels agreement is also reflected in the local elections. At the time of elections, the messages sent by the opponents of elections got nearer the ears of respondents. Evidently, the turnout will depend on three factors. The first is security, both during the election campaign and on the day of elections, followed by regularity of election process and finally, the turnout will depend on whether the runners will be able to present their programs in such a way as to persuade the respondents of worthiness of voting at the local elections. It can be concluded from the analyzed data that at the time the survey was conducted, up to 20% of respondents were ready to turn out while some 25% were in two minds, and the rest of respondents were in favor of the option stay at home. In addition to this indicator about the turnout, a finding that 16% supported the local elections, as part of the Brussels agreement, is worth mentioning.

Table 33 clearly shows the confusion of respondents' attitude about the Brussels agreement and going to the local elections. Even those who supported the elections will not all turn out. Also a quarter of those against this segment of the Brussels agreement are thinking whether to vote or not.

Table 32. The connection between respondent's position to the Brussels agreement and voting at local elections

	I would not vote	I am not sure who I would vote for	I would cross the ballot	I would vote but I don't want to say
Yes	1.6%	11.6%	21.6%	50.5%
Yes and no	26.3%	55.1%	35.3%	40.8%
No	72.1%	33.3%	43.1%	8.7%

FOCUS GROUPS REPORT

Focus groups were held in the municipalities of Kosovska Mitrovica, Leposavić, Zvečan and Zubin Potok in the period 24 - 27 September 2013. Participants were the representatives of political parties who are going to run for the forthcoming local elections in Kosovo, NGOs, media and citizens. The average numbers of participants in Focus groups was 10, with equal gender representation. The exception was the municipality of Leposavić, where men predominated. The in-depth interviews were carried out with the representatives of political parties and organizations standing against the local elections scheduled for 3 November 2013.

The public opinion survey had the following objectives: to identify problems faced by citizens of the municipalities in Northern Kosovo; to examine their perceptions of the causes and potential solutions to existing problems, attitudes of citizens towards the Brussels agreement and the local elections.

1. Life of Serbs in the Northern Kosovo and major problems

Uncertainty and absence of the rule of law were quoted as the greatest problems of citizens in all the municipalities and in all groups of participant.

Uncertainty is reflected in different ways:

1. As fear for physical security in the setting of internal conflicts in the community and divisions between the citizens along various issues (based on different political preferences and support to the given political parties; division along the unemployed and employed (particularly those in the public sector); patriots and traitors; associates of the international organizations and foreigners as such through to the guardians of Serbdom, those in favor and against the Brussels Agreement, those who favor voting at the local elections and those against, etc.).

It is terrible, because we have so many divisions according to party affiliations and divisions into haves and have-nots; those employed and unemployed; the patriots so to say and traitors, and what not...

Fear reigns.

People are afraid, for themselves, for their children.

2. Presence of crime. Although they pointed out to the existence of crime and express their fear, respondents mentioned a paradox, because accord-

ing to them the tradition and patriarchal mentality are barriers to further growth of crime and violence. Crime rate was scored as low, relative of the absence of institutional framework for its prevention.

Well, the rule of law here and legislation pose a problem, in principle. Not so many dangerous things happen here since there is no rule of law, no courts, but in principle it seems it could happen and turned into even worse. But, people here know each other and somehow it gets regulated.

We are here over flooded by crime and corruption.

3. Political uncertainty is reflected in unclear status of the Northern Kosovo area. This area has been in a vague status for more than a decade, and a part of respondents said that it is unclear to them in which state they were living and which legal system regulated their lives. Political uncertainty is a cause of almost complete absence of a picture of Northern Kosovo and position of Serbia in the period to come, be it the period immediately following the local elections or perspective for 5 or 10 years.

Nobody is telling us what will be after 3 November. What if we do not turn out for elections? Who will represent the Serbs, in which institutions.

4. Economic uncertainty plagues the employees in public sector, who are many, according to respondents, and who express fear of losing their job after the elections. The employees in the public sector and their family members account for a significant number of inhabitants whose existence is questionable due to changes supposed to take place once the Brussels Agreement shall be applied and new system of financing introduced after the elections.

Well, we have no rights at all. The one out there gave me a job; I dare not say anything against him. I cannot say anything against this one because he gave a job to my brother; you keep silent to avoid offending your own brother. You have to keep silent all the time because of someone and everything goes around like this.

5. Absence of the rule of law - the respondents agree that formally legal system is in place and some institutions. What is singled out as a big objection is no functioning of legal system, complete silence of courts and complete absence of punishment. They often replied that the police was doing their job the least adequately in view of the prevailing situation,

but problems arise when it comes to the judiciary and punishment for criminal offences. Also, those dissatisfied, that is the citizens who suffered damage in different ways, have no recourse, namely institutional mechanism for resolving (current) problems.

Police is doing what it can, but courts no. Police detains prosecutor releases.

There is some law and there is some police, but simply nobody is getting accused.

You can literally kill a man and go unpunished. I do believe this is so.

Northern Kosovo is a territory where neither Belgrade or Priština have much authority, we can all see that, many things are left to unfold spontaneously, regrettably. But, the citizens succeeded in keeping the elementary functions of the community function, on their own. I think that at some other place people would kill each other in these conditions.

Other problems mentioned were:

High rate of unemployment - Poor economic situation in society and consequential high unemployment rate are characteristic of Northern Kosovo and the respondents said that it was not different in any part of Central Serbia or many other states.

Here, in real terms, the problem is lack of jobs, in my view. I think there are many people who are free, jobless. This is priority, to get the job for the work force in Northern Kosovo.

Many people are jobless. Particularly the young.

8000 people are unemployed in Kosovska-Mitrovačka area and another 5000 receive compensation.

Corruption and nepotism - Corruption in various forms is one of significant problems and is connected with all the segments of social life. Be it the employment opportunity or exercise of different entitlements, or the provision of support for the development of entrepreneurship or possibility of social or economic progress. Corruption is associated also with the political leaders in all settings and earning personal benefit through the position held.

We have been eaten up by corruption.

They are well tied individuals.

Everyone designates his own man.

Nonexistence of production facilities - no manufacturing plants is a major problem, because except earnings of salaried staff in public sector, trade and some in farming, there are no other sources of revenues. That is why no sustainable functioning is on the horizon in Northern Kosovo in the long run.

For 14 years not a single commercial facility has been started.

There is no production ongoing here. We are all living off the budget, mostly.

No production.

The local political elites are deprived of any potential, they are disinterested in local problems and enhancement of the quality of life of the local inhabitants, they are turned towards «pursuit of high (state) politics», often tainted with corruption, divided, dependent on the «politics of Belgrade», take no decisions based on the needs of local citizens, not asking them when passing the decisions about their needs.

For such big matters the current Leposavić elite in political terms is more a follower than an equal partner in decision making.

Everyone should decide in his/her own name and it is rather painful that nobody asked us about anything, everything had been decided as if we were nonexistent. And it seems that we really do not exist.

They had not been interested in the local issues, 90% of our politicians were dealing with the high politics.

Nobody deals with the local issues.

Dilapidated infrastructure - Despite the fact that the problems of infrastructure were mentioned in all the municipalities the respondents in the municipality of Leposavić were the only who stated concrete problems as water supply shortages in summer time and black outs in winter, the need for a structured landfill, rural roads which are almost non-existent in some areas of the municipality, completely cut out villages. Uncontrolled forest felling, namely water pollution.

Lack of investment into economic development and infrastructure

Enormous sums of money went to help the people, but it would be better if it were invested into long term projects.

For instance, big money went to the water supply system but we have no water for 3 or 4 months a year!

Big influence of politics on daily life

Emigration - quitting Northern Kosovo, specially youth

The young leave for Belgrade to take up studies and more often than not they never come back.

Who purchased flats left one after another? The poor ones will stay to starve.

Non transparent money spending earmarked to investments, different types of assistance either coming from the budget of the Republic of Serbia or from donations.

That road was anticipated in 1975. It was asphalted at the time of present day Vukašin, the man spitted out the money, his son runs a couple of shops here. He is an active entrepreneur. This is him, how he managed nobody knows and the road is

still being built even today and money is taken and it is never to be completed and who took the money? I do not know.

What can you expect, as we the simple citizens go to the municipality, to see the president or the secretary. To arrive and say: listen buddy I am interested to see what was done here and how much money was put into it? Do you know what he will tell me? Is it your problem? Go back where you came from.

2. Causes of problems /culprits for the present situation

The causes of problems, according to the participants in the focus group are:

Politicians - both the local ones and those from Serbia and European countries. The local politicians are blamed for the lack of interest and engagement around local issues and problems, dependence on the «politics from Belgrade», care for their own interest and complete disunity. The leaders of the ruling parties in Serbia are criticized for «Letting the North downstream», «betrayed the people in the North», «neglected it completely». On the other hand, they expressed awareness of the difficult position of the Central Serbia due to the bad economic situation, budget deficit, great pressures from the West but some respondents «giving up Northern Kosovo for the sake of better life of Serbia» is interpreted as a betrayal of the Serbian people.

Disinterested and passive citizens - waiting for someone else to find a solution and present it to the people and who are still relying on the politicians. Such a behavior is connected to the shift of responsibility to the decision makers while own role is minimized.

Most of the citizens are viewed as apathetic, without any wish to move and try to point to the problems by getting together and find modalities for their resolution. One part of this passive attitude is explained by the conviction that an ordinary man cannot influence the decision makers that they are not asked about anything and nobody wants to respect their opinion, that the decisions are not taken locally but moved to Belgrade or Brussels.

Shortcoming of the people is disinterest. Everybody thinks only about the getting out to Belgrade or a foreign country. All are thinking about getting to Belgrade or abroad and nobody can see his/her future and perspective here and then nobody wants to do anything and join together for the protection of their interest.

Central Serbia - seen as a proponent of the politics has no development strategy for Kosovo.

It is tragic that Serbia has no strategy for Kosovo. It has no clear state policy for Kosovo.

Kosovo welcomes chaos here and Serbia cannot do anything about it.

To us the biggest problem is Belgrade.

Hardly any consensus among the very inhabitants of Kosovo

3. Solution

Most of the participants of the focus group see no solution for the problems encountered by the citizens of Kosovo because of complexity of problems, plethora of causes and impact of a series of factors affecting the statehood, international relations, interests, etc. The solution is yet to be traced. Perception of key steps in this process of solution finding is as follows:

Reliance on own strengths through various forms of association, consensus on the common interests of Serbs in Kosovo, drafting the strategy with concrete aims and activities for the period of 5 to 10 years. Association for the protection of own rights, education about the protection of human rights and better educated people capable of representing the interests of the Serbian people in Northern Kosovo before the international community, international institutions and institutions of the state of Serbia and Kosovo as a community not recognized as a state which is imposed upon them to do.

Our politicians have no strength to get rid of Belgrade and gain muscle to free themselves and show their own vision and struggle for it themselves.

We are yet to struggle for our position within the Kosovo state.

We have to get educated about human rights. About how to fight to protect our right.

Growth of economic activity through investment into SMEs. Only economic activity is seen as a realistic basis for creating conditions for sustainable survival of the Serbs in Northern Kosovo. Consequently, investments should be routed towards the goals the funding of which is accessible. An analysis should be made about the needs and potentials and based on it to place the resources, leaving aside personal animosities for the sake of general cause. The only realistic way out of such a situation is seen in higher employment.

This is priority, to employ the workforce in Northern Kosovo, to provide jobs. Then they would survive and remain in this area.

These parts, with its tradition. If they would be developed through economic activities would become a sort of Ell Dora-dó. I think that we will be able to work and earn money which would result in less friction. Not all could be on the budget.

When we get economically stronger, if we become economically strong then we will be able to survive.

Other elements of the solution for enhanced position of the Serbs are:

Decentralization - achievement of certain number of autonomy of Northern Kosovo, reliance on own forces and management of own resources (mines, forests, potential for farming, cattle and vegetable growing).

It has been planned that in the period before us a good strategic plan should be produced with the partners in power about the economic development of Northern Kosovo, preservation of higher education system and health care, improvement of legal system with judges from the ranks of the Serbian community, with such a formation of the Police who would enable efficient legal system in the field and that in eight years in five to ten years, Northern Kosovo proclaim general secession from the Southern part of Kosovo as an independent part, namely proclaim autonomy in the framework of autonomy.

To be somewhat like Republika Srpska.

We must be with Belgrade. Let them give us mini state. We have what to live off.

Changes of mindset - insisting on the citizens' movement and work for the good of the community.

Local policy pursuit

The politics must be locally oriented. These are local elections.

When we start thinking with our own head about our own future and make it known what we want in fact and when we will tell Belgrade what is to be done and not listen to what Belgrade wants we will then win the battle.

Insisting on **respect of the law and Constitution**

Orientation to the positive aspects by people of Northern Kosovo and potentials of the community which is not perceived as small (nature, ores, forests, water).

This should be the motivation. Irrespective of the political options, each of us to share the way of our presentation to the citizens and the program we will represent, but the goal is to take out what is good and nice, for what we would stay here for ever.

Political literacy - education about the rights and empowerment of citizens to insist on the exercise of rights and fight for the rights.

The allies in tracing the solutions were not clearly identified among the respondents. Part of collocutors expect assistance and support from the politicians from Belgrade while part of them perceive Belgrade as not be willing that is able to influence the solution of piled up problems. The collocutors who during the discussion expressed negative attitude about

the forthcoming elections and Brussels Agreement, see the Russian Federation, China, India and Korea as allies.

Within the solution of the problem thriving in Northern Kosovo and the solution of which is of significance for its population is based on the potentials, that is advantages of this area.

People - for the most participants in the focus groups, people,- inhabitants are the biggest advantage. Courage, the will to survive, perseverance, which to «stay and survive» represent the most significant potentials. Also, inclination to companionship. Positive spirit openness, skill of good entertainment are singled out as qualities.

Perhaps, the greatest plus of the people is that they stay here, and last.

National resources - ores, farming potential, tourism (Kopaonik and the Gazivode lake) are seen as a basis for sustainable development of the area.

We have these natural resources, forests. Potential of fruit tree growing and cattle breeding and two cross points. We should focus on it.

We have mining rent, we have forests, we have this side of the Kopaonik mountain, we have Gazivode. We will finance ourselves.

4. Attitudes towards the Brussels Agreement

Discussing the Brussels Agreement, there are many unclear provisions and unknown elements to the focus groups participants. There is a general conclusion that the Agreement is hard to understand, particularly for «man in the street». Most of the collocutors do not understand the items of the Agreement and therefore expressed certain doze of fear and uncertainty about the impact of its implementation. Insufficient comprehension is the very source of different interpretations of the provisions of the Brussels Agreement and opens the possibility for manipulations of citizens afraid for their future.

The dominant stand is against the Brussels Agreement. The Brussels Agreement is viewed as negative for the Serb population in Northern Kosovo.

The Brussels Agreement was judged as:

- generalized
- vague
- unknown effects on the people

The negotiators failed to inform of the course of negotiations and its meaning

The government of Serbia is 100% insincere about the Brussels Agreement

*There are more unwritten than written provisions in it
Complete crash of the state policy*

*We are getting integrated in a way
Our state of Serbia is not willing to surrender but has no
other solution*

*Our side made some concessions it did not have to
Thereby Serbia let the North down the drain
They are doing what the West orders
Official Belgrade stub the knife in our back
The state let us to nicely go down the drain. Our mother;
which we still feel as our parent country.*

*It is clear to nobody what had been signed and what is in
store for the aftermath of the Brussels Agreement.*

According to the Brussels Agreement we should forget Serbdom.

*As a complete failure of one so-called state politics, complete
crash, I know that the state of Serbia is in the minus in a
deficit that it has no money that it is under pressure; I was in
Brussels I know how it functions.*

There will be large emigration.

Wait and see. I cannot know, has anyone told us anything.

The impact of the Brussels Agreement on the Serbian people is enormous in Northern Kosovo and reflected in:

Completely unclear funding - the main fear is reduction of employees in the public sector and the impossibility of maintaining the current number of employees in public sector. Also, the project financing that was mentioned is connected to «financing from/via Priština» which is interpreted as vague, complicated and hostile. Financing from the budget of Serbia is doubted because of the talks of the budget deficit and impossibility of Serbia to allocate and if it wishes to do so, it may finance the population in Northern Kosovo.

Well, that funding matter is vague. It is clear to me, meaning financing by the state of Kosovo. Serbia may do it if it wants to. It is clear that it does want but it cannot (financial crunch). Probably the fringe benefits will go on.

Fear about education system - the respondents also expressed fear that they would get included into the education system of Kosovo which had no developed education strategy in the Serbian language, posing a threat to almost all the respondents.

*Kosovo has no education strategy in the Serbian language.
I don't want my child to study Albanian history.*

Unclear role and functions of the «Association of Serbian Municipalities» - almost no respondent understood what this Association means. The respondents with experience in politics expressed negative attitude to the Association because as they said it has no legislative, executive and judicial authority and hence do not perceive it

as a modality via which the Serbs may exert any influence on their position and realization of their rights.

We are leaving to the state of Serbia to win the battle for our position, be it in the framework of the Kosovo state.

The role of Serbia in fringe benefits - The role of Serbia is connected to the allowances in social area but the allocated funds in the range of 40 to 80% of the minimum earning in Serbia are perceived as low and insufficient for the vulnerable categories.

5. Attitudes to local elections on 3 November

The forthcoming elections are linked with great uncertainty by all the respondents. No one of the respondents, irrespective of age group, education, political or social engagement, had a clear picture about the consequences of elections, namely about the impact on the life of the population of Northern Kosovo.

The elections are seen as:

- Existential issue
- Not local but status issue
- Voting at the election means acceptance of another state
- No credit in any good for the Serbian people

Well, people do not comprehend that these are no local elections, these are status election and should be said so to the people.

It was estimated that the turn out at the elections will be low. Most respondents think that by turning out they would indirectly recognize Kosovo as their own state namely that it was imposed on them to vote and thereby the responsibility for recognition that they form part of the state of Kosovo is passed on to their hands. On the other part, one part of respondents said that the campaign for turnout and voting for the «Single list» is the result of fear of losing jobs that the public sector employees will turn out and vote to keep their jobs and secure their source of income. They are forced by the slogan «**turn out not to loose the job**» while at the preceding elections the slogan was «**turn out to get the job**».

The fear is seen as the main factor which will decide the turnout. The attitude is dominant that these elections will bring no good to the citizens. People are asking themselves whether the turn out means recognition of Kosovo.

Having accepted the elections the state of Serbia gave up its institutions in Northern Kosovo.

«Civic Initiative Serbian» has been positively appraised by one part of the focus group participants. It is taken as an imposed matter, with many runners of dubious biography, and it was also stated that there are persons on the list who did not want to take part.

Regularity of elections is one of great fears of many citizens. Considerable number of respondents doubts the regularity. The reasons mentioned is still unknown total number of registered voters (high number of newly inscribed voters who acquired the right to vote thanks to birth place), the possibility to vote by mail which is seen as a way to plant the ballots in favor of a uniform list of the «Civic Initiative Serbian», and as different influences of stakeholders).

The first obstacle for us are the voters' lists.

The arguments IN FAVOR for turning out are:

- *A try to influence one owns' destiny*
- *To prevent the Albanians victory*
- *A chance to change the people who have been in power 14 years one after another*
- *Benefit for the individuals who are candidates*
- *Nothing for the North, benefit for Serbia*
- *And that is why we like to go to those elections, because we are going to vote for a name. - People have chance to change those who are in power for 14 years.*
- *Subsequent entering negotiations and gaining political space for the Serb population in Kosovo, subsequent entry means that you will get less. We will vote not to let someone else to vote.*
- *It's a question of existence. Vote to have a job. Not to loose the job.*

Arguments AGAINST turnout are:

- *The wish to respect the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia*
- *Illegitimacy of elections*
- *These are Kosovo's elections.*
- *Because they are false, specially when it is said that they are status neutral*
- *They are not in favor of the Serbian people*
- *Because of a threat of loosing the job unless one turns out*
- *Because they are carried out forcefully, arrogantly, threatening people*
- *This is a treason*
- *To win an unfair battle, which will not be regular, with a lot of rigging ... Difficult.*
- *No single party presented a program, why turning out.*

6. Ideal candidate

The most important characteristic of the candidate whom all participants were ready to support were honesty, namely personality, voting for «name and surname».

An ideal candidate is expected to be:

- Honest
- Unblemished name
- Good landlord, man from the ranks of people
- Honorable

Desirable characteristics of a person worthy of support of the voters are:

- *Diligence*
- *Experience*
- *Literacy, education*
- *Capability of making changes*
- *Negotiating skill - to be able to talk to everyone and defend the interests of the Serbs in Northern Kosovo*
- *Bravery and resistant to threats*
- *No lies and fanning false promises*
- *Consistency and responsibility towards his job*
- *Clean record*
- *No greed for money*
- *To think with his own head independent of the leading parties*

Part of the collocutors said that new faces are needed because the present local politicians carry various negative connotations, scandals, corruption and they were not seen as good candidates who may bring positive changes.

7. Campaign

Part of pre-election campaign should be carried via social networks. In addition to electronic media, namely television as sources of information, the majority of participants stated Internet, that is Facebook as a significant source of information or as an addition to information available on the radio and television.

Most participants in the focus groups combined sources of information saying they do not fully trust one medium rather more than one to obtain a wider picture of issues of importance. Local radio and TV stations were differently assessed, among more positive were Radio Kontakt and TV and radio Mir.

Also, the informal communication is quite widespread, which may be illustrated with the words of one collocutor «You see, we are all here dealing with politics a little bit».

The target groups of the campaign are young, educated people, who think that they deserve perspective. Also, the other part of the target group should be the so-called looser, jobless for years who see themselves outside the labor system, state, who are poor and without prospects of getting integrated into society irrespective of the way of settlement of «big questions» like status, elections, statehood, who are rather focused on everyday struggle for existence.

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Asked about their long-standing problem that could not have been tackled for years, most respondents – 29.3% said it was employment, 16.2% difficult material situation, while 8.4% said that it was feeling of safety and housing problem, each.

Which is the problem that you could not resolve for many years?	Count	%
Employment	161	29,3
Difficult material situation	89	16,2
Feeling of safety	46	8,4
Housing	46	8,4
I have no problems	34	6,2
Health	30	5,5
Bad infrastructure	30	5,5
Personal problems	27	4,9
Education	22	4,0
Constant uncertainty	10	1,8
Poor social and culture life	8	1,5
Political situation in Kosovo	6	1,1
Corruption and crime	5	0,9
Impossibility for advancement	5	0,9
Impossibility to leave Kosovo	4	0,7
Freedom of movement	4	0,7
Fundamental rights	3	0,5
Legalization of building	3	0,5
Lack of support for farmers	3	0,5
Pressure from authorities in Pristina	3	0,5
Stay with Serbia	3	0,5
Impossibility to star up own business	3	0,5
Many problems	2	0,4
Bad position of youth	2	0,4
Total	549	100,0

Please asses with score from 1-bad, to 5- excellent the work of:	AS
Kindergartens	3,8
Schools	3,5
Post offices	3,5
Health care institutions	2,9
Electricity distribution system	2,8
Municipal administration	2,5
Police	1,8
Courts	1,8
Prosecutor's	1,7

The respond scored from 1 to 5 the quality of work of different institutions. The best scores went to the education institutions – kindergarten (3.8) and schools (3.5) and post offices – 3,5. The lowest scores were given to the police (1.8), courts (1.8) and prosecutors (1.7).

The respondents were asked what was the highest priority of the Serbs living in Northern Kosovo. Similar as when asked «Which is the problem that you could not resolve for many years?», here too, most respondents replied that it was joblessness, even 378, or 14.3%. As a second priority, they named the need to improve infrastructure (11.2%), while as the third one reduction of poverty perceived by – 10.1%. Preservation of territorial integrity was checked by 0.1% of respondents.

What is today the main priority of the Serbs living in Northern Kosovo?	Count	%
Reduction of unemployment	378	14,3
Improvement of infrastructure (electricity, water...)	296	11,2
Reduction of poverty	267	10,1
Reduction of crime and corruption	254	9,6
Improvement of security and freedom of movement	246	9,3
Enhancement of the rule of law	195	7,4
Greater influence of Serbs on the government of Serbia	166	6,3
Better conditions for medical treatment	125	4,7
Better cultural life	111	4,2
Improvement of condition for development of entrepreneurship	90	3,4
Improvement of conditions for schooling	77	2,9
Improvement of condition for sport	74	2,8
Enhancement of cooperation of Serbs from Northern Kosovo with other Serbs	66	2,5
Suppression of grey economy	65	2,5
Improvement of the position of Serbs in the international institutions in Kosovo	57	2,2
Better information system	42	1,6
Enhancement of relations with the Albanian population	39	1,5
Preservation of status quo	38	1,4
Better position of Serbs relative to the authorities in Priština	28	1,1
Enhancement of relations with non Albanian population	16	0,6
Freedom and safety	4	0,2
Preservation of territorial integrity	2	0,1
Survival	1	0,0
Return of Internally displaced persons	1	0,0
Total	2638	100,0

Better protection of each Serb irrespective of place of residence in Kosovo was named as priority for Serbs in by 60.9% of respondents, namely 340 of them. 47 participants in the survey thought that this is the connections and strengthening of ties among the Serb municipalities in the North. Remaining within Serbia was mentioned as priority by 0.2% respondents.

Priority of the Serbs on Kosovo should be?	Count	%
To improve the protection of each Serb wherever residing in Kosovo	340	60,9
To connect and strengthen ties between the Serb municipalities in the North	47	8,4
To connect and strengthen ties between all the Serb municipalities and as strong influence on the authorities in Belgrade as possible	33	5,9
Future should be completely ties to the politics in Belgrade	33	5,9
Each municipality should mind its own business	31	5,6
To connect and strengthen ties between all the Serb municipalities	30	5,4
To connect and strengthen ties between all the Serb municipality and as high influence as possible on the international community	20	3,6
To connect and strengthen ties between all the Serb communities and to try to find common interest with the Albanian population	8	1,4
To connect and strengthen ties between all the Serb municipalities and as strong influence as possible on the authorities in Pristina	6	1,1
To connect and strengthen ties between all the Serb communities and improvement of cooperation with non-Albanian population	4	0,7
To stay, to survive	2	0,4
To remain within Srbija	2	0,4
Freedom of movement	1	0,2
Integration into Kosovo	1	0,2
Total	558	100,0

Nearly 32% of respondents stated that they follow to a medium extent the Brussels negotiations, 21% intensely, 16.2% quite a little, 12.5% hardly, 10.7% very intensely, 7.7% did not remember.

To what extent you followed the Brussels negotiations?	Count	%
Medium	179	31,9
Intensely	118	21,0
Very little	91	16,2
Hardly	70	12,5
Very intensely	60	10,7
I do not remember	43	7,7
Total	561	100,0

The respondents were asked how they got informed about the Brussels Agreement. The highest percentage was informed via Serbian public (35.5%) and private (26.3%) media, while 19.5% obtained the information about the Brussels Agreement online.

From which media (TV, radio, newspapers, internet) you got informed about the Agreement, signed in April current year in Brussels?	Count	%
Serbian public (RTS, Radio Beograd...)	460	35,5
Serbian private (Pink, B92, the First, Blic, Informer, Kurir, Novosti, Politika...)	341	26,3
Internet	253	19,5
Local public media	82	6,3
Local private media	43	3,3
Western (Free Europe, Voice of America, Deutschewelle ...)	43	3,3
Kosovo public (RTK 1, RTK 2)	24	1,9
Russian (Vice of Russia ...)	17	1,3
I got no information (Not reading)	16	1,2
Albanian	8	0,6
Kosovo private (Koha, Zeri, KTV, Klan Kosova)	7	0,5
Others; which? (Fill in)	1	0,1
Total	1295	100,0

Have you read the Brussels Agreement?	Count	%
No, but I know essentials important to me	221	39,4
No	188	33,5
Yes, but not entirely	99	17,6
Yes, fully	53	9,4
Total	561	100,0

39.4% respondents stated they never read the Brussels Agreement, but were aware of the information of essence to the. 33.5% did not read, 17.6% did read, but not entirely, while entire Agreement was read by only 9.4% of respondents.

Acceptability of some provisions of the Brussels Agreement was examined. The most acceptable is the formation of the Association of the Serb majority municipalities in Kosovo (41.8%) and the provision that the Association will have full supervision in the areas of economic development, education, public health, urban and rural planning (41%). The least acceptable was the fact that judiciary authority will be within the Kosovo legal framework (11%).

Are the provisions of the Brussels Agreement acceptable for you?	Yes		So, so		No		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Formation of the Association of the Serb majority municipalities in Kosovo	233	41,8	199	35,7	126	22,6	558	100
The Association will have full supervision in the areas of economic development, education, public health, urban and rural planning	229	41,2	200	36,0	127	22,8	556	100
The association shall have president, vice president assembly and the council	218	39,1	208	37,3	131	23,5	557	100
The Association shall have representative role with the central government	146	26,3	230	41,4	180	32,4	556	100
The signatories have undertaken to reach agreements on telecommunications and energy	97	17,4	229	41,2	230	41,4	556	100
Holding of local elections in 2013	90	16,2	205	36,9	261	46,9	556	100
Police shall be united, integrates in the framework of Kosovo police	82	14,7	189	33,9	286	51,3	557	100
Personnel of other security Serbs structures shall be offered jobs in corresponding Kosovo structure	72	12,9	219	39,3	266	47,8	557	100
Judiciary shall be integrated into the frame of the Kosovo legal system	63	11,3	190	34,1	304	54,6	557	100

74% respondents thought that public health in Kosovo should be financed without tendering, approximately 72% each though so about education and social welfare. Most respondents (56.4%) thought that only infrastructure should be financed through projects.

In what way should be the Serb institutions in Kosovo financed?	No tendering		By projects	
	Count	%	Count	%
Health care	410	74,0	144	26,0
Education	403	72,7	151	27,3
Social welfare	400	72,2	154	27,8
Culture	321	57,9	233	42,1
Legal, technical and HR assistance to Serbs	314	56,8	239	43,2
Telecommunications	291	52,7	261	47,3
Infrastructure	240	43,6	311	56,4

16.1% of participants in the study thought that all the Serbs from Kosovo should be beneficiaries of money aid, 15.9% thought the deprived households, while the least of them – 4.5% thought that the beneficiaries should the students.

Who should benefit money aid?	Count	%
All the Serbs from Kosovo	249	16,1
Household earning less than the average of the republic	247	15,9
The disabled	233	15,0
Jobless for more than 6 months	232	15,0
Children whose parents were killed serving the Army and Police of Serbia	204	13,2
Serbs who were displaced, and have no housing	120	7,7
Disabled war veterans	104	6,7
Children of families of disabled war veterans	91	5,9
Students	69	4,5
Total	1549	100,0

After signing the Brussels Agreement the position of Serbs shall deteriorate, according to 34.2% respondents, when it comes to Northern Kosovo. Only 2% thought that the position would be significantly improved. 32.3% thought that in the Central and Southern Kosovo the position of Serbs would significantly deteriorate, in consequence of the signing of the Brussels Agreement, while 4.2% thought that it would be significantly improved.

What are your expectations about the position of Serbs after signing of the Brussels agreement?	Northern Kosovo		Central and Southern Kosovo	
	Count	%	Count	%
Worsening	189	34,2	133	24,4
Considerable worsening	174	31,5	176	32,3
The same	143	25,9	150	27,5
Improvement	36	6,5	63	11,6
Considerable improvement	11	2,0	23	4,2
Total	553	100,0	545	100,0

To the question what would be the attitude of Belgrade towards Northern Kosovo in the aftermath of the signing of the Brussels Agreement, 28.8% said that support would be reduced, 25.2% that it would be considerably reduced. Less than 2% believed that the support would be significantly higher. As to the Central and Southern Kosovo, 26.6% of respondents said that the support would be cancelled.

What would be the attitude of Belgrade after signing of the Brussels Agreement towards:	Northern Kosovo		Central and Southern Kosovo	
	Count	%	Count	%
Support will go down	160	28,8	109	19,9
Support will considerably go down	140	25,2	128	23,4
Support will remain at the same level	114	20,5	118	21,5
Support will be cancelled	105	18,9	146	26,6
Support will grow	25	4,5	28	5,1
Support will significantly grow	10	1,8	18	3,2
Total	554	100	547	100

In the case that after the implementation of the Brussels Agreement they find that the implementation resulted in the solution not in compliance with their expectations, 47.4% of respondents would act like they compatriots, while only 24 of them would act in line with the conduct of political leaders of Serbs from Kosovo.

In the case that after the implementation of the Brussels Agreement you would find that its implementation resulted contrary to your expectations, you would:	Count	%
Act like the majority of Serbs in Kosovo	266	47,4
Give political support to those against the implementation of the Brussels Agreement	75	13,4
Act like the institutions representing the interests of Serbs in Kosovo	75	13,4
We will emigrate, and all	55	9,8
I will move the children away	38	6,8
Get politically engaged	28	5,0
Act like the political leaders of Serbs from Kosovo	24	4,3
Total	561	100,0

The media mostly viewed by the respondents were TV daily news, daily newspapers, that is articles with political topics, then TV broadcasts with political, social and economic features.

How often?	Very often		Often		Rarely		Here and there		Never		No position	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
	142	25,5	192	34,5	97	17,4	107	19,2	16	2,9	2	0,4
You follow daily news on TV during the day												
Your read articles with political topics in daily newspapers	115	20,7	157	28,2	122	21,9	115	20,7	44	7,9	3	0,5
You follow TV broadcasts with political, social or economic features	89	16,1	168	30,3	133	24,0	122	22,0	39	7,0	3	0,5
You participate in the gatherings which have no party character	53	9,7	117	21,3	130	23,7	72	13,1	160	29,1	17	3,1
You get into political discussions	50	9,1	85	15,5	172	31,3	106	19,3	132	24,0	5	0,9
You try together with townsmen to resolve some problem together	32	5,8	96	17,5	176	32,1	92	16,8	136	24,8	17	3,1
You try to get friends and acquaintances to accept your political view	27	4,9	52	9,4	136	24,6	56	10,1	268	48,6	13	2,4
You participate in party meetings and election campaigns	24	4,4	40	7,3	158	28,7	63	11,5	248	45,1	17	3,1
You talk to politicians about topics and matters of vital importance for society	20	3,6	52	9,4	127	23,0	58	10,5	277	50,3	17	3,1
You did campaigning for a candidate or party	16	2,9	28	5,1	114	20,7	52	9,4	324	58,8	17	3,1

Like in some above mentioned questions, so at the question which values and principles are close to their heart, the respondents said it was more attention of the state for employment, public health and schooling (16.7%), and reduction of the gap between the rich and poor (13.8%).

Which values and principles are close to you?	Count	%
More state attention to employment, Medicare and schooling	358	16,7
Narrowing the gap between the rich and poor	297	13,8
Development of the feeling of solidarity among citizens	287	13,4
Rule of law and legislation	244	11,4
Protection of the interests of people I belong to	241	11,2
Existence of order and system in society	181	8,4
Free development of each individual	169	7,9
Reliance on tradition and history, because they are road sign for the future	117	5,5
Protection of strategic economic sectors of Serbia	107	5,0
Respect for the right to be different /own choice of all citizens	102	4,8
Dominance of private ownership and personal responsibility for themselves	42	2,0

58.2% respondents thought that the elections serve the function of recognition of Kosovo as a state, while 19.3% thought that the elections are for the implementation of the Brussels Agreement which guarantees the formation of the Association of Municipalities.

How do you see the forthcoming elections?	Count	%
The elections are for the recognition of Kosovo as a state on its whole territory	319	58,2
The elections serve the function of implementation of the Brussels Agreement which guarantees the formation of the Association of Municipalities	106	19,3
Elections for the local authorities which will continue cooperation with Belgrade	66	12,0
Elections for the authorities to deal with the problems of the local self governance	57	10,4
Total	548	100,0

Asked about their arguments for turning out at the local elections, almost one third (30%) of respondents said they had none, while approximately one fifth (18.8%) said it was the improvement of the position of the Serbs in Kosovo and realization of their rights.

What are your arguments for turning out at the local elections?	Count	%
None	124	30,0
Improvement of the position of Serbs in Kosovo and realization of rights	78	18,8
To take things in our own hands and influence resolution of our problems	27	6,5
Defense of personal interests	25	6,0
It should be voted, it is an obligation	18	4,3
Changes	15	3,6
I want to vote to the candidate I support	14	3,4
I have no position	13	3,1
Support to the political of Belgrade	13	3,1
Formation of the Association of Serb Municipalities	10	2,4
Improvement of the work of local self governance and focus on local issues	9	2,2
Promeniti nekvalitetne ljudi na vlasti	9	2,2
Support for someone who represents the interests of Serbs	7	1,7
Preservation of the Serb institutions in the North	7	1,7
Support to townsmen and own people	6	1,4
Continuation of cooperation with Belgrade	6	1,4
Rule of law	6	1,4
Strengthen ties between Serbian municipalities	5	1,2
Improvement of security in Kosovo	4	1,0
Employment	4	1,0
Way of voting	4	1,0
To prevent theft of votes	3	0,7
Effectiveness of the Brussels Agreement	2	0,5
I would turn out if all vote	2	0,5
Not to lose the jobs	2	0,5
Economic growth	1	0,2
Total	414	100,0

Asked about their arguments against turning out at the local elections, the respondents said that the elections are recognition of the state of Kosovo (47.1). 10.7% have no argument against.

What are your arguments against turning out at the local elections?	Count	%
Elections mean recognition of Kosovo as a state	221	47,1
I have no reason	50	10,7
I have no position	27	5,8
They will not favorably affect the position of Serbs in Kosovo	27	5,8
I have nobody to vote for	21	4,5
The elections means cancellation of support by Serbia	20	4,3
The are not Serbian elections	14	3,0
Fear	14	3,0
Uncertainty	13	2,8
Nothing will be changes	13	2,8
Support for fellow citizens and people	12	2,6
Elections will shut down the Serb institutions	12	2,6
I am afraid of abuse of the results	7	1,5
Formation of the Albanian state	5	1,1
Results of the representatives of Serbs so far	4	0,9
I am not inscribed in the voters register	3	0,6
We should turn out	2	0,4
Small number of Serbs who will vote	2	0,4
I am afraid I will lose the job	2	0,4
Total	469	100

Asked what would be decisive for turning out at the local elections, most of them – 18.5% said that they would not vote, 9% had no position, the same number said that it would be the majority, or better future re for the Serbs in Kosovo after the elections.

What will be decisive for turning out or not at the local elections?	Count	%
I will not vote	82	18,5
I have no position	40	9,0
Decision of the majority	40	9,0
Better future for Serbs in Kosovo after the elections	40	9,0
Elections are the recognition of Kosovo	35	7,9
Security on the day of the voting	31	7,0
Program of candidates	27	6,1
These are no Serbian elections	22	5,0
I will go if I would profit personally	17	3,8
I will turn out to prevent theft of my vote	13	2,9
Recognition of the Brussels Agreement	12	2,7
To take things in our hands, to elect our own candidates	12	2,7
Jobs	11	2,5
Candidates are bad	11	2,5
Politics of the government of Serbia	11	2,5
I wont to participate in the elections	8	1,8
Direct election of the candidates	6	1,4
Political situation in the North	5	1,1
Elections for the formation of the Kosovo institutions	4	0,9
Wish for change	4	0,9
Nothing will change	4	0,9
Elections mean formation of the Albanian state	2	0,5
I am afraid I will lose my job	2	0,5
Strengthening of the institutions in Kosovo	2	0,5
The attitude of those against elections	1	0,2
Money	1	0,2
Total	443	100

The respondents replied to the question about characteristics of a person deserving their respect relatively heterogeneous. The following replies got approximately 4% : ideologically close to me, married, to know to chose own associates, to know him personally.

Which characteristics of a person would deserve your respect?	AS
Ideological closenesss	4,1
To be married	4,0
To know to chose his associates	3,8
To know him personally	3,8
Older than 45	3,7
To be good negotiator	3,7
To be religious	3,6
To defend the interests of the Serbs with Belgrade	3,6
To defend the interests of the Serbs with Pristina	3,6
To uphold morality	3,5
To know to mobilize the citizens to help make changes	3,5
To have achieved something in his career	3,5
To defend the interests of the Serbs with EU, USA	3,4
To defend the interests of the Serbs with Russia, China	3,4
To respect the law	3,3
To have influence with the government of Serbia and obtain positive and prevent negative decisions	3,1
To have influence and obtain with the international community the positive and avert negative decisions	2,9
To have a clean record	2,9
To be educated	2,8
To be a Serb	2,7
To have influence in his party and obtain positive and avert negative decisions	2,7
To be honest	2,7
To keep his word. Namely to carry out what was promised	1,9

The respondents were asked who would they vote if the elections were today. Most of them chose no political option. Rather they would not vote (45%), that they were not sure (24,9%), or did not want to speak up. (18,7%).

Were the elections today, who would you vote for?	Count	%
I would not vote	250	45,0
I am not sure	138	24,9
I would vote but I do not want to speak	104	18,7
I would cross the ballot	52	9,4
Oliver Ivanovic	3	0,5
SLS	2	0,4
Seselj/SRS	2	0,4
Stevan Vukmirovic	1	0,2
Civic initiative Srpska	1	0,2
DS	1	0,2
SPS	1	0,2
Total	555	100,0

The attitudes of the respondents were examined concerning Montenegrins, Bosniaks and Albanians in Kosovo. They were most tolerant towards Montenegrins, (39.8% would work in a firm owned by a Montenegrin), while the least tolerant to the Albanians (50.9% respondents would not work in a firm owned by the Albanian). The respondents were relatively indifferent to the Bosniak in Kosovo.

Would you?	Yes		Depends		No	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Work in a firm owned by a Montenegrin	222	39,8	191	34,2	145	26,0
Start up business with Montenegrin from Kosovo	217	38,9	212	38,0	129	23,1
Is there is priority/problem because of which you would join a Montenegrin from Kosovo and work to solve it	198	35,5	214	38,4	146	26,2
Start up business with a Bosniak from Kosovo	171	30,6	220	39,4	167	29,9
Work in a firm owned by a Bosniak	159	28,5	198	35,5	201	36,0
Is there is priority/problem because of which you would join a Bosniak from Kosovo and work to solve it	156	28,0	223	40,0	179	32,1
Start up business with an Albanian from Kosovo	120	21,5	212	37,9	227	40,6
Is there is priority/problem because of which you would join an Albanian from Kosovo and work to solve it	114	20,5	217	39,0	226	40,6
Work in a firm owned by an Albanian	100	17,9	174	31,2	284	50,9

29.1% of the respondents thought of but never tries to start up own business. 24.8% never thought of it. 16.8% started and succeeded. 12.1 started but failed.

Have you ever thought to start your own business?	Count	%
Yes, more than once, but I did not	163	29,1
No, I never thought of it	139	24,8
Yes, once or twice, but I didn't	97	17,3
Yes, I started and succeeded	94	16,8
Yes, I did but I failed	68	12,1
Total	561	100,0

A good idea motivated the respondents mostly to start up own business (28.6%) and grants (22%). At the bottom were wishes to employ the jobless and secure pensions.

What could motivate you to start your business?	Count	%
Good idea	159	28,6
Grants	122	22,0
A way to employ myself	66	11,9
Quality of people I would work with	62	11,2
Opportunity for selling goods and services on the market in a longer period	42	7,6
Facilities provided to those who start private business	39	7,0
Support of the state in case of failure and addition assistance	28	5,0
Favorable political environment	19	3,4
Stimulating taxation policy	9	1,6
What else? Fill in	6	1,1
Wish to employ the jobless	2	0,4
I am old	1	0,2
Total	555	100,0

The respondents were asked what prevented them to start business. Most stated the financial reasons - 60% said they had no capital, 13.1% that the unfavorable economic setting. Only 3% stated lack of know-how.

What prevents you to start your business?	Count	%
Own capital	316	60,0
Unfavorable economic setting	69	13,1
I have no adequate idea	56	10,6
Unfavorable political environment	40	7,6
Unfavorable banking conditions	30	5,7
I have no know-how required	16	3,0
Total	527	100,0

Sectors to be chosen by the respondent would be mostly trade (31%) and farming (13%).

In which sector would you start business?	Count	%
Trade	171	31,2
Farming	73	13,3
Education/training	69	12,6
Artisanship	67	12,2
Production	46	8,4
Tourism	30	5,5
Research and analyses	27	4,9
Marketing	23	4,2
IT	17	3,1
Information	13	2,4
Catering	5	0,9
Arts and culture	2	0,4
Graphic design	2	0,4
Recycling	1	0,2
Architecture and building	1	0,2
Services	1	0,2
Total	548	100,0

Discussing start ups, 29.4% would invest own labor, 27.3% skill, 11% premises, 7% nothing.

What you have to invest?	Count	%
Labor	210	29,4
Skill	195	27,3
Premises	79	11,0
Nothing	50	7,0
Experience	48	6,7
Organizational skill	41	5,7
Money	24	3,4
Marketing knowledge	22	3,1
I do not want to invest anything	18	2,5
Technology	15	2,1
Goods/services	13	1,8
Total	715	100,0

Gender	Count	%
Male	306	54,8
Female	252	45,2
Total	558	100,0

Gender breakdown of the sample was relatively homogenous. 306 respondents were male, 45.2% female.

Age	Count	%
Up to 25	90	16,5
26 to 35	171	31,4
36 to 65	266	48,9
Over 65	17	3,1
Total	544	100,0

Age structure in the sample showed that almost a half (48.9%) of the respondents accounted for the age group 36 to 65 years of age, 31.4% from 26 to 35. The youngest group to 25 accounted for 16.5%, while only 3.1% accounted for the group over 65.

The education structure of the respondents is presented in the table below. Almost a half completed the secondary vocational school. 24.9% respondent were university graduates while their fathers accounted for 11.5% individuals.

The highest school completed	By respondents		Their fathers	
	Count	%	Count	%
No school	4	0,7	33	6,3
Elementary school	24	4,3	95	18,2
Secondary vocational	274	49,0	259	49,5
High school	37	6,6	19	3,6
Higher school	81	14,5	57	10,9
Faculty	139	24,9	60	11,5
Total	559	100,0	523	100,0

The respondents were asked to describe their occupation. One quarter are jobless, 17,5% are workers, 8,6% manage. Almost one forth of fathers are workers, while 41,6% of respondents are. The fewest were the manager of medium rank 4 and 2.

Occupation of respondents	Respondents		Father	
	Count	%	Count	%
Jobless	141	25,2	17	3,4
Worker	98	17,5	129	25,5
I manage	48	8,6	8	1,6
Employee in the administration (bookkeepers, accountants, tellers etc.)	38	6,8	15	3,0
Technician (mechanical, chemical, vet, medical and he similar)	36	6,4	20	4,0
Expert (engineers, professors, doctors and the similar)	36	6,4	20	4,0
Private entrepreneur	35	6,3	11	2,2
Housewife/landlord (chores at home predominantly)	30	5,4	7	1,4
Pensioner	26	4,6	210	41,6
Manager of lower rank (heads, supervisors, foremen and the similar)	17	3,0	12	2,4
Free lancer (artists, stringers, salesmen and the similar)	14	2,5	2	0,4
Manager of a higher rank (directors, chiefs of departments, managers...)	13	2,3	8	1,6
Farming	12	2,1	34	6,7
Self-employed, work on one's own (artisan)	7	1,3	4	0,8
Security (military, the police)	5	0,9	6	1,2
Manager medium and, specialist	4	0,7	2	0,4
Total	560	100,0	505	100,0

How would you score your material position on the scale from 1 - bad to 10 - excellent?	Count	%
1	22	3,9
2	60	10,8
3	96	17,2
4	70	12,6
5	127	22,8
6	75	13,5
7	43	7,7
8	33	5,9
9	15	2,7
10	16	2,9
Total	557	100,0
AS	4,8	

The respondents judged their material position from 1 to 10. Most – 127 of them scored their material position with 5, while only 16 scored their material status with 10. The average score was 4.8.

80.1% participants in the survey were born in the territory of Kosovo, 11.2% are internally displaced, 6.7% migrants, and 2% refugees.

You are?	Count	%
Born here	444	80,1
Internally displaced	62	11,2
Migrant	37	6,7
Refugee from BiH, Croatia, Slovenia	11	2,0
Total	554	100,0

Do you have real estate in Kosovo?	Count	%
Yes	97	17,4
No	390	70,1
Do not want to say	69	12,4
Total	556	100,0

70,1% respondents had no property outside Kosovo, 17,4% did have, while the rest 12,4% do not want to reply.

The housing status of the respondents was examined. 69,3% were owners of flats, 17,7% tenants, while 13% were looking after someone else's flat.

Your housing status	Count	%
I am renting a flat	98	17,7
I got a flat to look after	72	13,0
I own a flat	383	69,3
Total	553	100,0

With score 1 dissatisfied to satisfied assess how satisfied you are with	AS
Your health	3,9
Possibility to rely on friend	3,7
Possibility to stick to your principles	3,4
Possibility of engagement in matters that bring satisfaction to you	3,0
How much you are fulfilled with your job	2,9
Material security	2,8
Protection from crime and corruption	2,1

The respondents scored the satisfaction with different aspects of life from 1 to 5. They are most satisfied with their health (3,9) and friends (3,7), and the least satisfied with material safety (2,8) and protection against crime and corruption (2,1).

Municipality	Count	%
Kosovska Mitrovica - Zone 1	71	12,7
Kosovska Mitrovica - Zone 2	68	12,1
Kosovska Mitrovica - Zone 3	27	4,8
Leposavić	101	18,0
Lešak	52	9,3
Sočanica	49	8,7
Zvečan - Zone 1	50	8,9
Zvečan - Zone 2	50	8,9
Zubin Potok - Zona 1	45	8,0
Zubin Potok - Zona 2	48	8,6
Total	561	100,0

18% of respondents live in the municipality of Leposavić, 12,7% in zone 1, 12,1% in zone 2 Kosovska Mitrovica.

Correlations and differences

		Were the elections today who would you vote for?						
		What is your long standing problem you could not resolve for years?						
Existential		Count	% of problem	% of voting	Count	% of problem	% of voting	
		100,0%	44,9%	244	3,7%	14,7%	28,1%	
		100,0%	24,9%	135	9,6%	52	9,6%	
Infrastructural		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Personal problems		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Social		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Political		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Legal		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Economic		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
I have no problem		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Total		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
		100,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
% of problem - % of What is your long standing problem you could not resolve for years?								
% of votes - % of Were the elections today who would you vote for?								

The highest number (102) of respondents who described their problem as existential would not vote. Also, most of those who see economic factors as a problem and personal factors. Of those who do not want to say 34 described their problems as existential, 17 as personal. Those uncertain described their problems as existential and economic. The significance of differences according to frequency was checked against Pirson's hi-square test and was found that the difference among groups based on voting and type of problems is statistically significant at the level of 0.05.

Statistically significant correlation was found relative to whether the respondents followed the Brussels negotiations and their choice when voting. Those who would not vote largely followed the Brussels negotiations at the median scale (88), and those who were not sure (46). The respondents who did not want to say followed, largely the elections (31). Statistical significant is at the level of less than 0.01.

To what extend you followed the Brussels negotiations?		Were the elections today who would you vote for?						
		Very intensely		Intensely		Moderate		
Count	% of following negotiations	Count	% of of choice	Count	% of following negotiations	Count	% of of choice	
35,2%	49,2%	88	18,4%	39,3%	46	8,4%	35,6%	21
33,3%	25,7%	46	22,5%	26,5%	31	9,4%	22,0%	13
25,0%	7,3%	13	15,4%	6,8%	8	7,7%	6,8%	4
26,9%	15,6%	28	29,8%	26,5%	31	17,3%	30,5%	18
33,3%	0,6%	1	0,0%	0,0%	0	33,3%	1,7%	1
100,0%	0,6%	1	0,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0
0,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0	100,0%	1,7%	1
0,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0
100,0%	0,6%	1	0,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0
50,0%	0,6%	1	50,0%	0,9%	1	0,0%	0,0%	0
0,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0	100,0%	1,7%	1
32,3%	100,0%	179	21,1%	100,0%	117	10,6%	100,0%	59
Total								

To what extend you followed the Brussels negotiations?		Were the elections today who would you vote for?							
		Hardly		Very scarcely		Total			
Count	% of following the negotiations	Count	% of of choice	Count	% of following negotiations	Count	% of of choice	Count	
100,0%	45,0%	250	10,4%	60,5%	26	17,2%	48,9%	43	
100,0%	24,9%	138	0,7%	2,3%	1	17,4%	27,3%	24	
100,0%	9,4%	52	17,3%	20,9%	9	17,3%	10,2%	9	
100,0%	18,7%	104	6,7%	16,3%	7	9,6%	11,4%	10	
100,0%	0,5%	3	0,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0	
100,0%	0,2%	1	0,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0	
100,0%	0,2%	1	0,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0	
100,0%	0,4%	2	0,0%	0,0%	0	100,0%	2,3%	2	
100,0%	0,2%	1	0,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0	
100,0%	0,4%	2	0,0%	0,0%	0	0,0%	0,0%	0	
100,0%	100,0%	555	7,7%	100,0%	43	15,9%	100,0%	88	
								Total	
								69	

In what manner should social welfare be funded?	Were the elections today who would you vote?										
	I would not vote	I am not sure for whom	I would cross the list?	I would vote but I will not tell you	Oliver Ivanovic	Stevan Vukmirovic	Civic Initiative Srpska	SLS	DS	Seselj/SRS	SPS
No tendering, direct financing	193	99	36	64	2	0	0	0	1	1	0
By projects at the tender with the Ministry	54	38	15	38	1	1	1	2	0	1	1

Statistically significant correlation was determined by hi square test, with the level of significance of less than 0,01, relative to the voting choice and expectations about the status of Serbs in the Central and Northern Kosovo. The highest number (36) of those who would vote, and do not want to say who for, and those who would cross the ballot thought that the status will remain the same. Those who thought that the status would significantly deteriorate would not vote or were uncertain for whom.

Were the elections today who would you vote for?	What are your expectations about the status of Serbs on Central and Southern Kosovo after the signing of the Brussels Agreement?				
	Significant deterioration	Deterioration	The same	Improved	Considerably improved
I would not vote	109	53	56	16	4
I am not sure	41	41	32	21	2
I would cross the ballot	10	14	19	4	3
I would vote but I don't want to say	13	22	36	22	10
Oliver Ivanovic	0	0	2	0	1
Stevan Vukmirovic	0	0	0	0	1
Civic Initiative Srpska	0	0	0	0	1
SLS	1	0	1	0	0
DS	0	1	0	0	0
Seselj/SRS	1	1	0	0	0
SPS	1	0	0	0	0
Total	176	132	146	63	22

Similar results were obtained for Northern Kosovo. Those who were not sure who they would vote for thought that the status of Serbs in Kosovo would deteriorate, while those who didn't want to say who they would vote for thought it would remain the same. Those who would vote mostly said

that the situation would considerably worsen. Statistical significance was also at the level of less than 0.01.

Were the elections today who would you vote for?	What are your expectations about the status of Serbs in Northern Kosovo after signing the Brussels Agreement?				
	Significant deterioration	Deterioration	The same	Improved	Considerably improved
I would not vote	126	78	39	2	0
I am not sure who I would vote for	28	68	34	7	1
I would cross the ballot	11	18	18	3	2
I would vote but I don't want to say	6	22	45	22	6
Oliver Ivanovic	0	1	1	0	1
Stevan Vukmirovic	0	0	0	0	1
Civic Initiative Srpska	0	0	1	0	0
SLS	1	0	1	0	0
DS	0	1	0	0	0
Seselj/SRS	1	1	0	0	0
SPS	0	0	0	1	0
Total	173	189	139	35	11

The biggest number (76) of those who would not vote thought that the support of Belgrade to the North of Kosovo would considerably drop, while those who were not sure who they would vote for mainly thought that the support would lessen. Most of those who did not want to say thought that the support would remain in the same level. The difference among groups is statistically significant at the level of less than 0,01 (Pirson's hi square = 193.48).

Were the elections today who would you vote for?	What will be the position of Belgrade after signing the Brussels Agreements towards Northern Kosovo?					
	Support will significantly increase	Support will increase	Support will be at the same level	Support will decrease	Support will considerably decrease	Support will stop
I would not vote	3	6	27	56	76	78
I am not sure who I would vote for	2	3	27	59	37	10
I would cross the ballot	1	2	15	15	12	6
I would vote but I don't want to say	3	13	42	26	11	8
Oliver Ivanovic	0	1	0	1	0	1
Stevan Vukmirovic	0	0	0	1	0	0
Civic Initiative Srpska	1	0	0	0	0	0
SLS	0	0	0	0	1	1
DS	0	0	0	0	1	0
Seselj/SRS	0	0	0	0	0	1
SPS	0	0	0	1	0	0

Statistically significant (at the level of less than 0.01) the difference observed was on the same topic which relates to the Central and Southern Kosovo. Those respondents who would not vote mostly said that the support would stop, while those uncertain who they would vote for largely thought that the support would significantly decrease. Those who would cross the ballot or do not want to say thought that the support would remain the same.

Were the elections today who would you vote for?	What will be the position of Belgrade after the signing of the Brussels Agreement towards the Central and Southern Kosovo?					
	Support will significantly increase	Support will increase	Support will remain at the same level	Support will decrease	Support will significantly decrease	Support will stop
I would not vote	8	6	39	41	59	89
I am not sure who I would vote for	1	10	22	37	39	27
I would cross the ballot	2	2	16	10	8	13
I would vote but I don't want to say	7	9	38	17	19	12
Oliver Ivanovic	0	0	0	1	0	2
Stevan Vukmirovic	0	0	0	0	1	0
Civic Initiative Srpska	0	1	0	0	0	0
SLS	0	0	0	0	0	2
DS	0	0	0	1	0	0
Seselj/SRS	0	0	0	0	0	1
SPS	0	0	0	1	0	0
Total	315			105		66
						56

The majority of respondents who thought that elections were in the function of recognition of Kosovo as a state, would not vote, were not sure whether they would vote or would cross the ballot. The majority (40) who didn't want to say who they would vote for thought that the elections are in the function of implementation of the Brussels Agreement which guarantees the formation of the association of Municipalities. Statistical significance of those correlations was examined by chi square test (Pearson's chi square = 180.93, significance less than 0.01).

Were the elections today who would you vote for?	How do you see the forthcoming elections?			
	The elections are in the function of recognition of Kosovo as a state on its whole territory	The elections are in the function of the implementation of the Brussels Agreement which guarantees the formation of the Association of Municipalities	Elections for local authorities who would continue to cooperate with Belgrade	Elections for authorities who will deal with the problems of self governance
I would not vote	209	17	11	10
I am not sure who I would vote for	59	36	22	18
I would cross the ballot	23	8	10	8
I would vote but I don't want to say	22	40	21	17
Oliver Ivanovic	0	2	1	0
Stevan Vukmirovic	0	0	0	1
Civic Initiative Srpska	0	1	0	0
SLS	0	0	1	1
DS	0	0	0	1
Seselj/SRS	1	1	0	0
SPS	1	0	0	0
Total	315	105	66	56

Differences as regards gender, ownership of property outside Kosovo, start up of own business, education of father, do not affect statistically significantly the position towards the elections.

Majority of respondents who rent a flat were not sure who they would vote for, while those who look after someone's other flat or who are owners would largely not vote.

Were the elections today who would you vote for?	Your housing status		
	I rent a flat	The flat was assigned to me to look after	I own the flat
I wouldn't vote	33	26	187
I am not sure who I would vote for	36	11	89
I would cross the ballot	6	16	30
I would vote but don't want to say	20	18	64
Oliver Ivanovic	1	1	1
Stevan Vukmirovic	0	0	1
Civic Initiative Srpska	0	0	1
SLS	1	0	1
DS	0	0	1
Seselj/SRS	0	0	2
SPS	0	0	1
Total	97	72	378

Statistically significant connection at the level of less than 0.01 was presented in the table below. The respondents who graduated from the university, high school, secondary vocational and elementary school would largely not vote, while those uncertain completed high school.

Were the elections today who would you vote for?	The highest completed school by respondent					
	No school	Ele- men- tary	Secon- dary vocati- onal	High school	Higher school	Facul- ty
I wouldn't vote	1	16	126	6	33	67
I am not sure who I would vote for	1	4	70	16	20	27
I would cross the ballot	0	0	24	7	11	10
I would vote but don't want to say	0	3	46	8	16	30
Oliver Ivanovic	0	0	3	0	0	0
Stevan Vukmirovic	0	0	0	0	1	0
Civic Initiative Srpska	0	0	1	0	0	0
SLS	0	0	1	0	0	1
DS	0	0	0	0	0	1
Seselj/SRS	1	0	1	0	0	0
SPS	1	0	0	0	0	0
Total	4	23	272	37	81	136

The respondents who scored with 5 the satisfaction with their material status would mostly vote, but didn't want to say for whom. Those who scored with 1, 2, 3 and 4 would mainly not vote. The difference is statistically significant at the level of less than 0.01 (Pirson's hi square = 75.54).

Were the elections today who would you vote for?	How satisfied are you with your material status?				
	1	2	3	4	5
I would not vote	31	65	99	43	11
I am not sure who I would vote for	21	30	53	22	12
I would cross the list	7	10	23	7	5
I would vot but I don't want to say	14	19	39	14	18
Oliver Ivanovic	2	0	0	0	1
Stevan Vukmirovic	0	0	0	1	0
Civic initiative Srpska	0	1	0	0	0
SLS	2	0	0	0	0
DS	0	1	0	0	0
Seselj/SRS	0	0	0	0	2
SPS	0	0	1	0	0
Total	77	126	215	87	49

The respondents who thought that the elections are in the function of recognition of Kosovo as a state, think mostly that the status of Serbs in Northern Kosovo after the signature of the Brussels Agreement will significantly deteriorate. Those who predominantly think that the elections are in the function of the implementation of the Brussels Agreement, which guarantees the formation of the creation of the Association of Municipalities thought that the status of Serbs would remain the same, while those who thought it would worsen thought the elections were for local authorities which would continue cooperating with Belgrade and elections for local authorities which would deal with the problems of local self governance. The correlation is statistically significant.

How do you see the forthcoming elections?	What are your expectations about the status of Serbs in Northern Kosovo after signing the Brussels Agreement?				
	Significant deterioration	Deterioration	The same	Improved	Considerably improved
The elections are in the function of recognition of Kosovo as a state in its entire territory	140	110	57	8	1
The elections are in the function of the Brussels agreement guaranteeing formation of the Association of Municipality	8	29	46	15	5
Elections for local authorities who will continue to cooperate with Belgrade	13	22	20	8	2
Elections for authorities to deal with the problems of local governance	10	23	15	5	3
Total	171	184	138	36	11

When we examine this hypothesis relative to the Central and Southern Kosovo, the respondents who mostly thought that the elections are in the function of recognition of Kosovo as a state, thought that the status of Serbs after the Agreement would significantly deteriorate. Those who mainly thought that the elections are in the function of implementation of the Brussels Agreement which guarantee the formation of the Association of Municipalities and those who thought that elections are for local authorities which would continue to cooperate with Belgrade were of the view that the status of Serbs would remain the same.

How do you see the forthcoming elections?	What are your expectations about the status of Serbs in the Central and Southern Kosovo after signing the Brussels Agreement?				
	Significantly deteriorates	Deteriorated	Remain the same	Improved	Significantly improved
The elections are in the function of recognition of Kosovo as a state on its whole territory	129	72	77	24	10
The elections are in the function of implementation of Brussels Agreement and guarantee the formation of the Association of Municipalities	18	22	34	19	8
Elections for local authorities which will continue to cooperate with Belgrade	13	15	23	10	2
Elections for the bodies of authority which will deal with the local self government	13	19	13	8	3
Total	173	128	147	61	23

Statistically significant correlation was determined by Chi square test between the age of respondents and how they see the forthcoming elections. The respondents who said that the elections are in the function of recognition of Kosovo as a state in its whole territory mostly belong to the age group 36 to 65. "The elections are in the function of the implementation of the Brussels Agreement which guarantees the formation of the Association of Municipalities" was designated mostly by those who belong to the age group 26 to 35.

How do you see the forthcoming elections?	Age			
	Up to 25	26 to 35	36 to 65	Over 65
The elections are in the function of recognition of Kosovo as a state on its whole territory	46	83	173	9
The elections are in the function of implementation of Brussels Agreement and guarantee the formation of the Association of Municipalities	17	46	34	4
Elections for local authorities which will continue to cooperate with Belgrade	11	16	36	3
Elections for the bodies of authority which will deal with the local self government	15	23	14	1
Total	89	168	257	17

The respondents who largely thought that the elections are in the function of recognition of Kosovo as a state on its whole territory were in the majority and that the elections for the authorities which would deal with the local self governance were of the view that the support from Belgrade would significantly drop. Those who thought that they are in the function of the implementation of the Brussels Agreement which guarantees the formation of the Association of Municipalities thought that the support would remain the same level.

How do you see the forthcoming elections?	What will be the position of Belgrade after signing the Brussels Agreement towards Northern Kosovo?					
	Support will significantly increase	Support will increase a	Support will be at the same level	Support will decrease	Support will significantly decrease	Support will stop
The elections are in the function of recognition of Kosovo as a state on its whole territory	3	4	43	87	97	85
The elections are in the function of implementation of Brussels Agreement and guarantee the formation of the Association of Municipalities	4	9	37	34	11	5
Elections for local authorities which will continue to cooperate with Belgrade	1	7	19	22	9	7
Elections for the bodies of authority which will deal with the local self government	2	5	11	16	17	6
Total	10	25	110	159	134	103

Similar finding were revealed for the position of Belgrade towards the Central and southern Kosovo, and are presented in the table below.

How you see the forthcoming elections?	What will be the position of Belgrade after signing pf the Brussels Agreement towards the Central and Southern Kosovo?					
	Sup- port will signifi- cantly incre- ase	Sup- port will incre- ase	Support will beat the same level	Sup- port will decre- ase	Support will signifi- cantly decre- ase	Sup- port will stop
The elections are in the function of recognition of Kosovo as a state on its whole territory	3	11	50	58	83	106
The elections are in the function of implementation of Brussels Agreement and guarantee the formation of the Association of Municipalities	9	8	29	23	21	14
Elections for local authorities which will continue to cooperate with Belgrade	2	3	22	18	7	12
Elections for the bodies of authority which will deal with the local self government	4	5	13	8	16	9
Total	18	27	114	107	127	141

Statistically significant correlation was determined by hi square test between the way the respondent see the elections and what they said they would do if they find that the implementation of the Brussels Agreement is not in their favor. Most of the respondents who thought that the elections are in the function of recognizing Kosovo as a state on its whole territory, said that they would do what the majority of Serbs in Kosovo would do.

How do you see the forthcoming elections?	In the case that after the implementation of the Brussels Agreement you find that it failed to bring solutions in keeping with your expectations, you will?						
	Engage politically	Politically support those against implementation of the Brussels Agreement	Act like the institutions representing Serb interests in Kosovo	Act like political leaders of Serbs in Kosovo	Act like majority of Serbs in Kosovo	Move the children out	We all will get out
The elections are in the function of recognition of Kosovo as a state on its whole territory	8	53	27	10	163	24	34
The elections are in the function of implementation of Brussels Agreement and guarantee the formation of the Association of Municipalities	5	12	19	4	52	4	10
Elections for local authorities which will continue to cooperate with Belgrade	5	4	17	6	23	4	7
Elections for the bodies of authority which will deal with the local self government	7	4	10	4	26	4	2
Total	25	73	73	24	264	36	53

Statistically significant difference was found between the respondents in terms of starting own business. The majority of female respondents stated they never though of it, while the majority of male stated they though of it but never realized.

Have you ever thought of starting your own business?	Gender	
	Male	Female
Yes, I started and succeeded	61	31
Yes, I started but failed	45	23
Yes, more than once but didn't start	99	63
Yes, once or twice but didn't start	54	43
No, I never thought of it	47	92
Total	306	252

Hi square test examined the correlation of age of the respondents and the possibility of starting their business. Elderly respondents are statistically significantly less enthusiastic about starting the business and vice versa.

Have you ever thought of starting your own business?	Age			
	Up to 25	26 to 35	36 to 65	Over 65
Yes, started and succeeded	5	35	48	0
Yes, started but failed	9	20	33	2
Yes, more than once but never started	35	53	70	1
Yes, once or twice but never started	16	36	41	1
No, never	25	27	74	13
Total	90	171	266	17

The table below shows the higher level of education higher the wish to start own business. The correlation is statistically significant at the level of less of 0.01.

Have you ever thought to start your own business?	The highest completed school of respondents					
	No school	Ele-mentary school	Secon-dary voca-tional	High school	Hi-gher school	Facul-ty
Yes, started and succeeded	0	1	41	4	14	33
Yes, started but failed	0	3	36	0	11	18
Yes, more than once but never started	0	1	83	12	22	45
Yes, once or twice but never started	1	3	45	11	13	23
No, never	3	16	69	10	21	20
Total	4	24	274	37	81	139

The respondent who scored higher the satisfaction with their material safety more often thought about starting own business or even succeeded in it.

Have you ever thought of starting your own business?	How much are you satisfied with your material safety?				
	1	2	3	4	5
Yes, started and succeeded	11	9	31	25	18
Yes, started but failed	14	19	27	7	1
Yes, more than once but never started	23	44	65	20	11
Yes, once or twice but not started	13	21	44	14	5

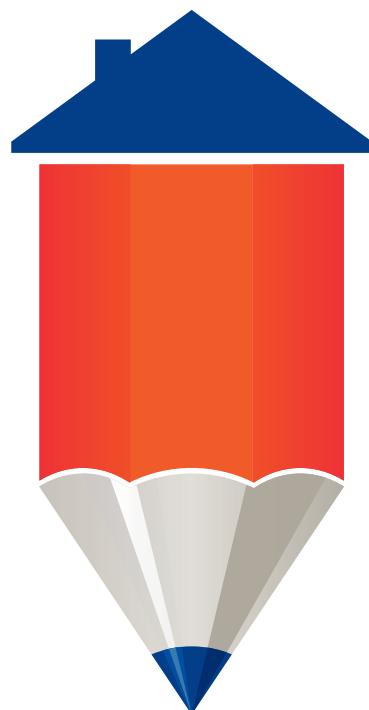
Have you ever thought of starting your own business?	How much are you satisfied with your material safety?				
	1	2	3	4	5
No, never	18	34	51	21	14
Total	79	127	218	87	49

The participants in the survey who have a real estate outside Kosovo are statistically much more turned to starting up their business (Pirson's chi square = 20,36, p<0,01).

Have you ever thought of starting your own business?	Do you have real estate outside Kosovo?		
	Yes	No	I do not want to reply
Yes, started and succeeded	25	50	19
Yes, started but failed	16	43	8
Yes, more than once but never started	23	123	17
Yes, once or twice but I never started	13	69	12
No, I never thought of it	20	105	13
Total	97	390	69

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