



# Kosovo Security Barometer

Special Edition

Public Perceptions on Kosovo's Foreign Policy  
and Political Dialogue with Serbia

January, 2015



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Perceptions presented in this report are a summary of information gathered from respondents and it only demonstrates how people percept institutions. It is in no way a conclusive assessment of the quality of the work of the institutions subject to this study. It shall serve as an instrument for them in addressing potential shortcomings, and also as an indicator of the effectiveness of their communication with the people.

The views presented in this report are perceptions of the respondents and do not necessarily represent views of Kosovar Centre for Security Studies, our donors or partners.

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## WHAT IS THE KOSOVO SECURITY BAROMETER?

The Kosovo Security Barometer (KSB) is a KCSS specific program designed to serve as a new and innovative annual publication. The main aim and focus of this program is to measure public opinion trends towards security and justice institutions as well as the key security challenges facing Kosovo, namely the internal and external security threats, and Kosovo's foreign policy. The KSB is becoming widely known for its focus on security and justice related matters and, most importantly, being one of the first initiatives designed, implemented, and communicated by a local think tank in Kosovo. KCSS has no political constraints in communicating these findings and messages. Lastly, the KSB is unique for its methodological approach, such as the unique tailoring of quantitative and qualitative methods which aims to offer realistic results on public perceptions towards security related issues.

### Whom do we target with this special edition?

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This Special Edition of the KSB targets a wide variety of actors interested to follow Kosovo's respondents' perception towards Serbia, the region and major powers. More precisely it targets an audience group which is interested to follow the public opinion trends in Kosovo, focusing on Kosovo's foreign policy, regional and international cooperation, as well as the dialogue with Serbia. Generally, the KSB targets policy makers; the international community presence in Kosovo; local, regional and international civil society organizations; academia in each of the targeted countries, the region and in the world and media.

### Impact

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The impact of the KSB can be expected to multiply in the mid-term for a number of reasons including (a) KCSS's credibility as a politically non-affiliated and independent think-tank, (b) KCSS's track record of employing appropriate scientific methods in its research, (c) the importance of local ownership and (d) the professional capacities available at the KCSS.

## Methodology

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This special edition of the KSB includes respondents' answers to Kosovo's foreign policy and dialogue with Serbia.

Answers to the KSB questionnaires were collected through face-to-face interviews conducted around Kosovo. All the questions were close-ended, and the majority were in the form of five-point Likert scales. Sampling, piloting, and interviewing were conducted by the KCSS team of more than 30 field researchers. The national sample from which the research was drawn featured 1,101 households, following a representative sample of the population above 18 years old in Kosovo. The ethnic breakdown of the interviewed respondents used for the purposes of this edition of the KSB was: 87.92 percent K-Albanian, 9.08 percent K-Serbian, and 3.0 percent others (Bosnian 1.0 percent, Turks 1.0 percent, and RAE 1.0 percent).

The sample frame was based upon telephone code areas and as such included the following 7 regions: Prishtina, Mitrovica, Prizren, Ferizaj, Gjilan, Peja and Gjakova. The first stage of geographical clustering was based on the 2012 Kosovo Census Report, the second stage involves clustering samples by municipal area with a stratified rural/urban sample as per the number of households, finally the last stage followed a random sampling method using the 'nearest birthday method'. Random sampling ensures that each resident in Kosovo has an equal probability of being chosen for an interview. With the sample used for this study, the results of the survey project the mirror image of trends in attitudes and perceptions amongst the entire adult population of Kosovo in general. The margin of error, therefore, is 3 percent with a confidence interval of 95 percent.

Prior to the commencement of fieldwork, a pilot interview was conducted at the beginning of October 2014, in order to test the feasibility of the questionnaire. The research team subsequently reported that the pilot interview was successful, and no problems were encountered with the questions asked to the pilot interviewee. All interviews were completed during October 2014. Data processing and analysis has been completed using SPSS software.

Perceptions presented in this report are a summary of information gathered from respondents, demonstrating only how people perceive these institutions. Hence, this report does not represent a conclusive assessment of the quality of the work of the institutions subject to this study. The KCSS's intention with this publication is solely to interpret the perceptions, or in other words, "what is the say" of Kosovo's citizens in areas covered by the questionnaire. The KCSS team does not take responsibility for the outcome of the data, especially if and when this should trigger any reactions amongst specific actors. The team remains ready to make the entire process, and the methodology used, transparent should any subject be interested in them.

This special edition allowed the data interpreters an in-depth deconstruction of people's perception. The interpretation reflects upon the set of political and societal factors which influenced the opinion of the respondents, in order for the reader to understand the foundations for respondent's perception. The deconstruction of opinion has been based upon the data interpreter's direct involvement in the face-to-face interviews with the respondents. Also, focus groups with the field researchers supported the endeavors of the KCSS team in further deconstructing and analyzing the opinions contained in this special edition.

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## INTRODUCTION

The chapter on regional and international cooperation has been an integral part of the KSB since the launch of this program. Witnessing the trends of establishing bilateral and multilateral ties, and fledgling relations with neighboring countries, the KCSS considered it necessary to measure public perceptions towards the most relevant countries and organizations, which are also a matter of interest for Kosovo.

This edition of the KSB aims to provide a detailed insight of citizen's perceptions towards countries and international organizations, including those domestically present with missions in Kosovo. The way, respondents' perception towards the attitude of neighboring countries will also take place in this section, followed by the perceptions towards regional and other relevant international actors. In line with this, the special edition has included also a new list of issues concerning the political dialogue with Serbia, and the agreements derived from the dialogue.

This Special Edition of KSB, therefore, covers the following dimensions:

- Public perceptions towards relevant global and regional states;
- Public perceptions towards international organizations, and the EU integration process
- Public perceptions towards the political dialogue with Serbia and the outcome of this political process;

### Public perceptions towards relevant international and regional actors

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In general, the KSB respondents appear to have different and rather separate perceptions towards two neighboring countries: Albania and Serbia. With respect to Albania, up to 78.8 percent of the respondents thought of it as a friendly and partner country to Kosovo compared to 11.9 percent who thought the opposite. Only 3.7 percent of the respondents remained neutral in their views towards Albania. There are a number of factors explaining this positioning towards Albania, which connotes, predominantly, shared traditional, cultural, historical, and national features. The positive trend is however present among the Kosovar Albanian respondents only. The increasing mobility between citizens of Kosovo and Albania fostered an opinion based on the positive experiences grounded in ethnically based sentiment. On the other hand, the minority Serb respondents and other minorities are neutral with their views towards Albania, with some even expressing negative perceptions.

Evidently, the violence and implications of the football match between Albania and Serbia in Belgrade<sup>1</sup> as part of Euro 2016 led towards the demarcation of political opinions towards the neighboring countries. In other words, the public opinion appears to be influenced by the event and the inter-ethnic tensions afterwards; thus, it contributed towards the increase of negative perceptions of the Kosovo Serbs towards Albania and the Kosovo Albanians towards Serbia<sup>2</sup>. Given that the incident occurred in the middle of the data collection period, the survey finds that the Kosovo

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<sup>1</sup> "Serbia-Albania Qualifier Abandoned." BBC Sport. October 15, 2014. Accessed November 22, 2014. <http://www.bbc.com/sport/0/football/29604464>.

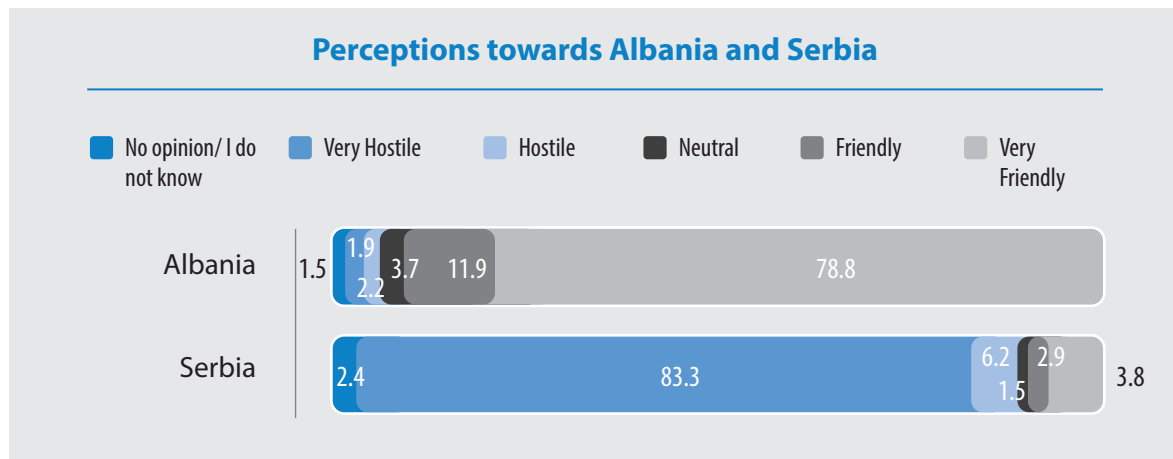
<sup>2</sup> Kosovar Center for Security Studies, *Focus Group I with Kosovo Security Barometer - Field Researchers* (October 2014)

Serb community's negative perceptions regarding Albania changed overnight, from 3.0 percent to 20.0 percent. The same match had a similar impact on the perceptions of the Kosovo Albanians towards Serbia as well. Statistically speaking, this event increased the negative perceptions towards Serbia by 10 percent. The qualitative feedback shows that the revival of national rhetoric and the violence during the game highlighted the fragile inter-ethnic relations and reflects no improvement whatsoever. In spite of the quantitative results, the qualitative analysis shows that the attitude towards Serbia was manifested in a more rigorous and explicit manner.

Serbia, on the other hand, is considered to be a very hostile state in the eyes of the Kosovo Albanian respondents. Up to 89.5 percent of the respondents believe that Serbia maintains a very hostile approach towards Kosovo. Only up to 1.5 percent of respondents think that Serbia is neutral while a small percentage of the respondents, or 6.7 percent, list Serbia as a rather friendly country to Kosovo. The perception towards Serbia is sharply divided between the Kosovar Albanians and Kosovar Serbs. Compared to the findings in the previous edition of the KSB, in which 69.3 percent of respondents thought that Serbia's approach towards Kosovo was hostile, the current edition of the KSB finds that 89.9 percent of respondents think that Serbia's approach towards Kosovo is hostile – showing a 20.2 percent increase in one year. Evidently, the opinion of the Kosovo Albanians towards Serbia is still being influenced by the past as well as Serbia's reluctance to soften its approach towards Kosovo. The weak implementation of the agreements reached between Kosovo and Serbia feeds further the pessimism towards Serbia.

It is noted that Kosovo Serb respondents distinguish between Serbia and Kosovo, including the respondents in the north, showing therefore a gradual acceptance of the factual reality of Kosovo's existence as a state.

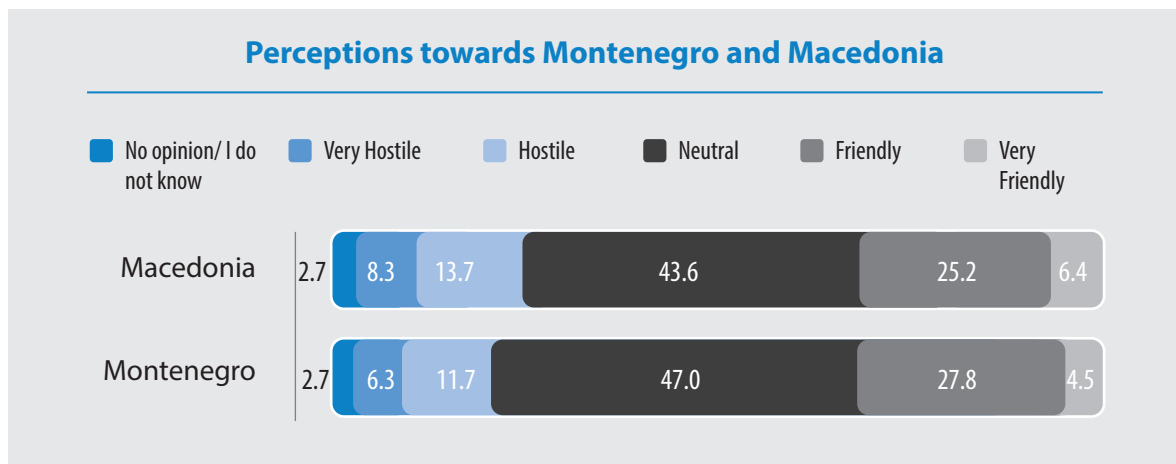
**Figure 1 - Public perceptions towards Albania and Serbia**



While the position towards Albania and Serbia is rather clear, there are mixed perceptions towards Kosovo's two other neighboring countries, namely, Montenegro and Macedonia. Almost half of the respondents find Montenegro to be a neutral country by 47.0 percent. The respondents do not perceive Montenegro as a friendly country per se, though neither do they share hostile feelings towards it. Another 27.8 percent of the respondents expressed a positive opinion about Montenegro's position vis-à-vis Kosovo, whereas another 4.5 percent consider this country as a very friendly one. On the other hand, 18.0 percent of the respondents qualified Montenegro as a hostile country towards Kosovo, and 2.7 percent of respondents refused to share their opinion. There is a soft positive trend towards this country mostly triggered by the recognition of Kosovo's independence, thus marking a diplomatic event that slightly overshadowed the historical perception of congruence between Serbia and Montenegro.

Similar to the case of Montenegro, 43.6 percent of respondents consider Macedonia to be a neutral country towards Kosovo, while 25.2 percent share a positive opinion about it. Only 6.4 percent of the respondents listed Macedonia as a friendly country towards Kosovo, while 22.0 percent of the respondents listed Macedonia as a hostile or a very hostile country towards Kosovo, while 2.8 percent refused to share their opinion towards this country. Public opinion towards Macedonia is mostly driven by the daily politics and economic relations between Kosovo and Macedonia. The respondents tend to distinguish their opinions between the Macedonian state and the Albanian community living in Macedonia, by considering the Macedonian state a predominantly Slav-Macedonian administration. The very good economic cooperation, sound freedom of movement and the significant Albanian community in Macedonia maintains an overall neutral or positive opinion towards this country.

**Figure 2 - Public perceptions towards Montenegro and Macedonia**

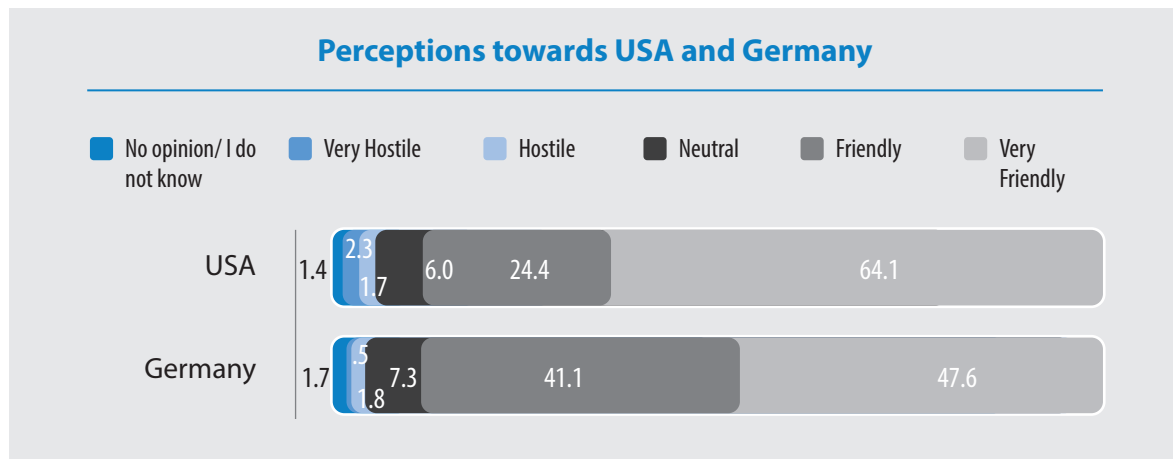


On the other hand, the respondents were also asked to show the way in which they perceive other countries relevant to Kosovo - major powers in the global affairs. Hence, the results in this section reflect opinions and perceptions based upon the attitude of these countries towards Kosovo's political status and statehood. The answers given by the respondents show that there is a positive trend towards the western states and Turkey; but also that a lack of enthusiasm towards notably Russia and China can be depicted.

The United States of America and Germany top the list, being perceived as friendliest countries towards Kosovo with over 85.0 percent of the respondents listing these countries as friendly or very friendly. In the eyes of Kosovo Albanians, the USA and Germany are perceived as the greatest supporters in the past 15 years including during the period of conflict until nowadays. The active and rather supportive approach shown on a constant basis by the US Government within NATO, and later within the diplomatic sphere, has made the citizens of Kosovo perceive the USA from a positive prism. Similarly, in the case of Germany, trends show that the citizens of Kosovo perceive Germany as their main ally within the EU. Evidently, the German foreign policy towards Kosovo and Serbia (the EU membership conditionality) has contributed to this positive trend; however the Kosovo Serb respondents have responded differently. Around 39 percent of them listed the USA and Germany as friendly countries towards Kosovo, indicating that this is the approach towards Kosovo as a country, not in relation to the Serbian minority in particular. Thus the results of the KSB show that the Serbian minority still has some reservations with respect to these countries.



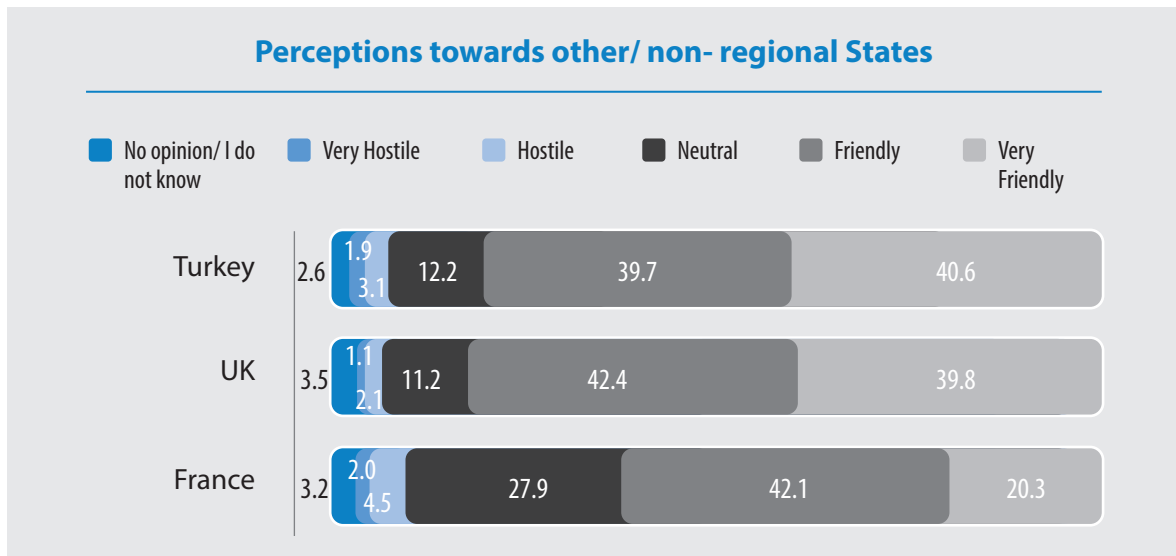
Figure 3 - Public perceptions towards USA and Germany



The United Kingdom (UK), Turkey and France are ranked almost equally in terms of respondents' perception about these countries. The perception about these countries is however constructed on a different basis. While most of the respondents value the UK's unreserved support during the war as well as in the post-independence period, Turkey on the other hand is positively perceived because of their increased economic cooperation and greater mobility in the past years. Statistically speaking 80.2 percent of the respondents listed the UK as a very friendly, and friendly, state whilst 79.7 percent did so for Turkey. On this list, France marks third place, with 62.4 percent of the respondents listing it as a friendly country, while 27.9 percent were of the opinion that it is a neutral country, the other 6.5 percent believed it to be a hostile country. According to the respondents, the slight difference compared to the UK and Turkey is constructed on the basis of the respondents' opinion on France's role in the past. Respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the inefficiency of French troops (part of KFOR) in preventing the division of Mitrovica while a segment of the respondents however highlighted also the positive approach of French diplomacy towards Kosovo's statehood.

A somewhat lower trend has been followed by the Serbian respondents towards this group of countries; roughly 56.0 percent of Kosovo Serbs listed the UK as a friendly country, while Turkey was seen as a friendly country by only 38 percent of the Kosovo Serb respondents. This level of "skepticism" towards Turkey was also triggered by the explicit support given by the Turkish politicians to Kosovo in general. As for the case of France, the public perception seems to be similar to the case with the Kosovo Albanians; however the opinion is constructed on different grounds. 62.4 percent of the Kosovo Serbs listed France as friendly or very friendly country while 27.9 percent of the respondents remained neutral, with 6.5 perceiving it as hostile or very hostile country and 3.2 percent having no opinion towards France.

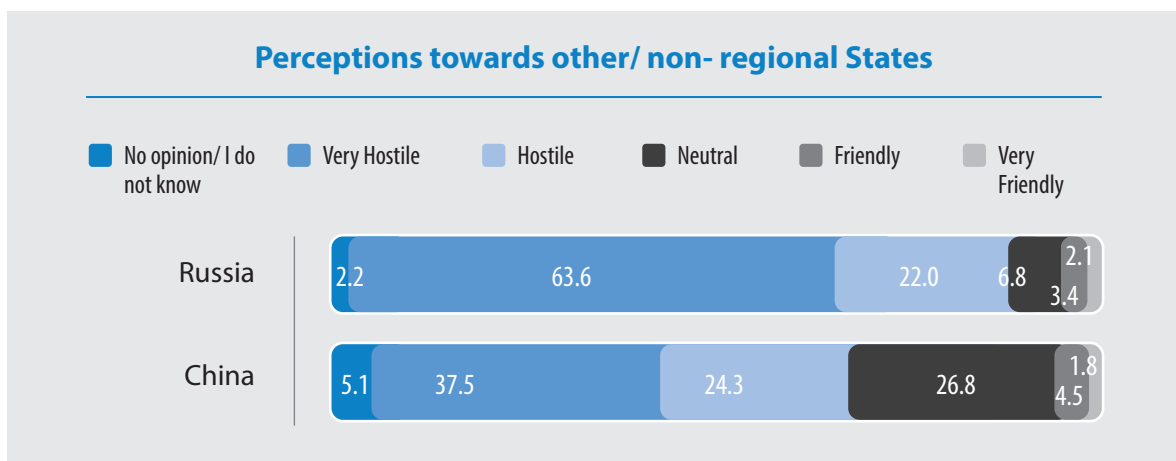
**Figure 4 - Public perceptions towards UK, France and Turkey**



States such as Russia and China do not appear to be very popular among the citizens of Kosovo. Russia is considered as a hostile country by 85.6 percent of the respondents; only a few respondents, mostly among the Kosovo Serbs listed Russia as a friendly (3.4 percent) or very friendly (2.1 percent), while 6.8 percent see Russia as a neutral country. If one looks at the support for Russia within the Kosovo Serb community perceptions, 56 percent of them list Russia as a friendly country.

China's policy towards Kosovo and its veto power in the United Nations Security Council has influenced the opinion of the citizens of Kosovo in general, by perceiving it as an obstacle in the international arena. Around 37.5 percent and 24.3 percent of the respondents list China as a very hostile and a hostile country respectively, while 26.8 percent list it as a neutral one.

**Figure 5 - Public perceptions towards Russia and China**



## Public perceptions towards international organizations and the EU integration process

Along with relevant states, respondents were asked to give their opinion towards the international organizations, having some still present in Kosovo with active missions. The opinions and perceptions given in this section are highly influenced by the mission these organizations lead and represent in Kosovo. As the graph below shows, NATO still remains the friendliest international organization

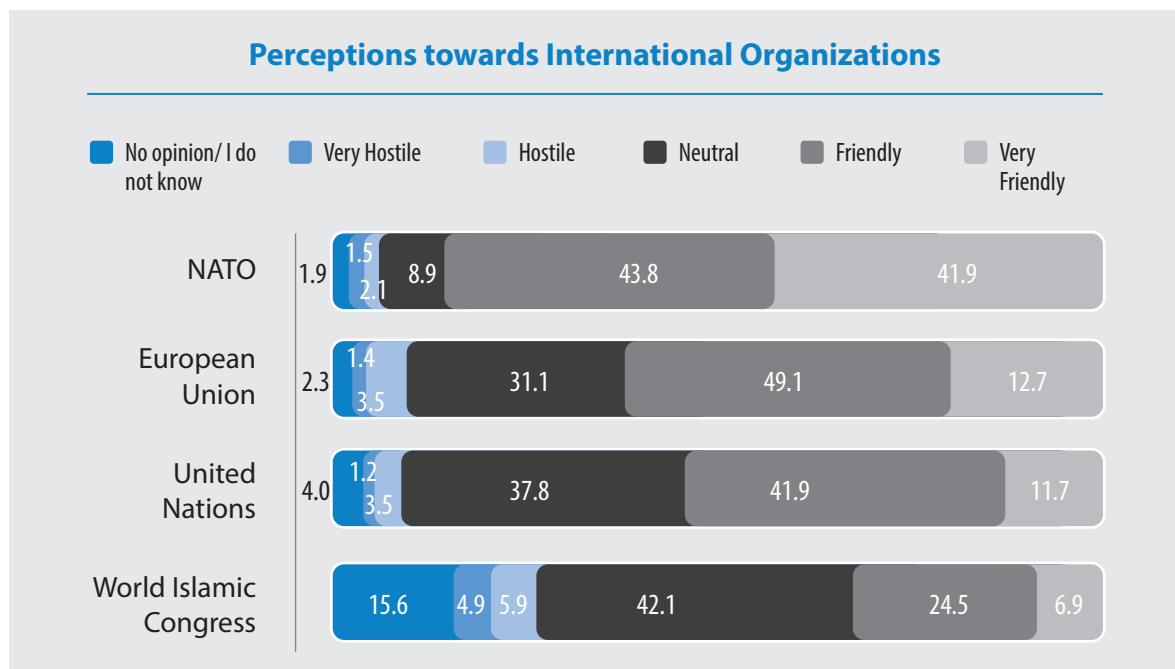
according to the citizens of Kosovo. Accordingly, 85.7 percent of the respondents listed NATO as a very friendly and a friendly organization, while 8.9 percent listed it as neutral one. Only a small percentage of the respondents (3.6 percent) considered it as very hostile and hostile organization towards Kosovo. The NATO intervention during the 1999 war, and the presence of KFOR during the aftermath to ensure Kosovo’s security, represents the most common reason behind the positive attitude towards NATO.

When speaking about the EU approach towards Kosovo, the findings in this edition of the KSB show that there is a solid positive perception towards the EU. Accordingly, 61.8 percent of the respondents list the EU as friendly organization, whereas 31.3 percent consider it as a neutral one. While the majority expresses a positive perception towards the EU, the trend is decreasing, and the perceptions about the EU stand at the lowest level recorded, when compared to previous years. Evidently, there are a number of arguments explaining this perception: the lack of visa liberalization; the continuous status-neutral approach of EU towards Kosovo; difficulties in ensuring the implementation of agreements with Serbia – all these highlighted by the respondents themselves to be reasons behind their perceptions.

Similar trends follow the UN; findings show that 53.6 percent of the respondents consider the UN to be a very friendly and a friendly organization, while 37.8 percent consider it as a neutral organization towards Kosovo. Having a considerable number of respondents that consider the UN as a neutral organization towards Kosovo clearly shows that respondents have made a connection between the UNMIK mission in Kosovo and the UN, on top of the neutral political attitude of the UN in relation to Kosovo’s ongoing aspiration for membership in this organization, which has directly influenced the opinion of Kosovars.

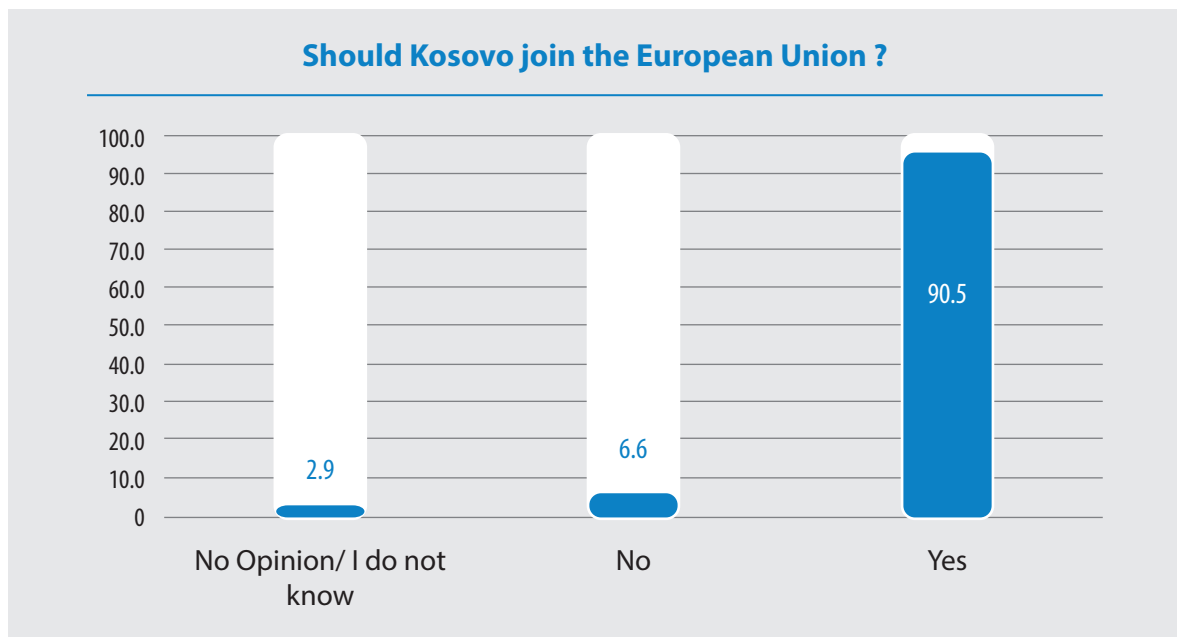
On the other hand, there is the World Islamic Congress (WIC), a rather unknown international organization, with 15.7 percent of the respondents not actually managing to give an opinion regarding to this organization. Nevertheless, 42.1 percent have declared that the WIC has a neutral attitude towards Kosovo and 24.5 percent said it is friendly, based mostly upon the fact that it is a union of Islamic states and, therefore, it manifests a friendly approach towards this predominantly Muslim populated, albeit secular, society. While 6.9 percent of the respondents considered it to be very friendly, 10.8 percent listed this organization as a very hostile and hostile organization, driven by the cases of Islamic extremism, the latest developments in Syria and Iraq as well as the involvement of Kosovar citizens in these conflicts.

**Figure 6 - Public perceptions towards international organizations**



Being aware that EU integration and membership is one of the main pillars of the Kosovo foreign policy, measuring the perceptions towards the EU integration process has been one of the key questions of all KSB editions. A positive trend and attitude towards EU integration has been shown throughout the years, hence the graph below shows that the citizens of Kosovo continue to maintain an overall positive opinion towards the EU integration process. When asked whether Kosovo should become part of the EU, around 90.0 percent of the respondents answered positively by showing a large level of enthusiasm towards EU membership. The current edition of the KSB shows that citizens of Kosovo still believe in, and are willing to join, the EU despite the crisis and the hard and long lasting process of integration. Regardless of the above mentioned factors and the obstacles hampering Kosovo's path towards EU membership, findings show that the citizens of Kosovo still consider the EU as a relevant partner and as a solution somewhat in resolving economic, political and security related problems. Having left aside the reservations with regard to the EU's approach towards Kosovo, a high percentage of the respondents still show that they see EU membership as the only mean for prosperity, namely in the field of rule of law, sustainable economic development, and democracy. On the other hand, only 7.0 percent of the respondents declared that they do not support Kosovo's path towards the EU, while only 3.0 percent of the respondents did not have an opinion with regards to this issue and preferred not to answer.

**Figure 7 - Public perceptions on EU integration process**



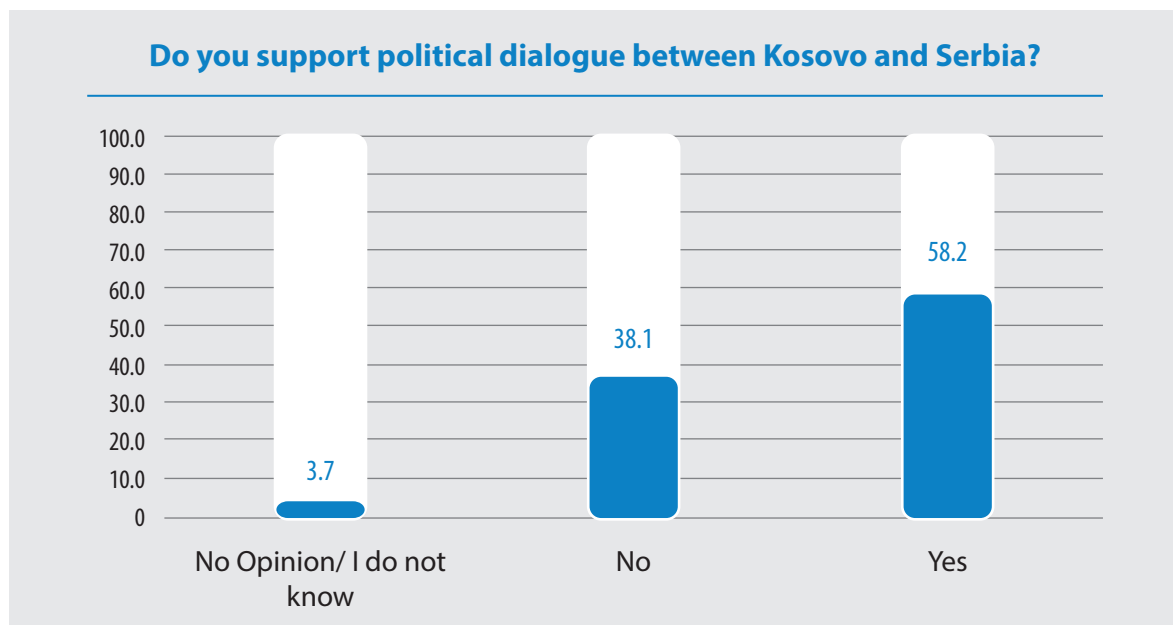
## PUBLIC PERCEPTION TOWARDS THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH SERBIA

Dialogue with Serbia, at both the technical and political level, has triggered many debates among citizens in Kosovo. The question whether Kosovo should continue the political dialogue with Serbia raised many questions among citizens of Kosovo, among both the Kosovo Albanians and the Kosovo Serbs. The questions of whether Kosovo is benefiting from this rather uncertain process, and whether Kosovo is considered and treated as an equal party in the dialogue have not been answered, which led to an increase in confusion among respondents. The Kosovo Serb minority perceives the dialogue as a positive process, expecting to improve their lives in Kosovo, yet as a costly process taking into consideration that it does represent a step forward in the recognition of Kosovo's statehood by Serbia.

There is, however, some optimism that this process will help in the EU integration path for both parties. Having in mind potential EU integration and being in front of rather larger political processes, around 58.2 percent of the respondents endorse the dialogue with Serbia. The respondents of the survey believe that reconciliation and dialogue are irreversible and that diverging from this course would have implications for Kosovo.

On the other hand 38.1 percent of the respondents do not support the dialogue mostly because of the failure to implement the agreements derived from this process; thus, believing that the situation still remains tense between Kosovo and Serbia. Only 3.7 percent of the respondents were reluctant to give an answer or did not have an opinion regarding this process. An in depth examination of the results being sorted by ethnicity and region shows that 54.0 percent of the Kosovo Serb respondents (15.0 percent from the northern part of Kosovo) believe that Kosovo and Serbia should engage in negotiations, while 30.0 percent were reluctant to support the dialogue. The positive trend towards this process is an indicator of hope for, and willingness to, normalize the relations among the parties.

**Figure 8 - Public perceptions on dialogue with Serbia**

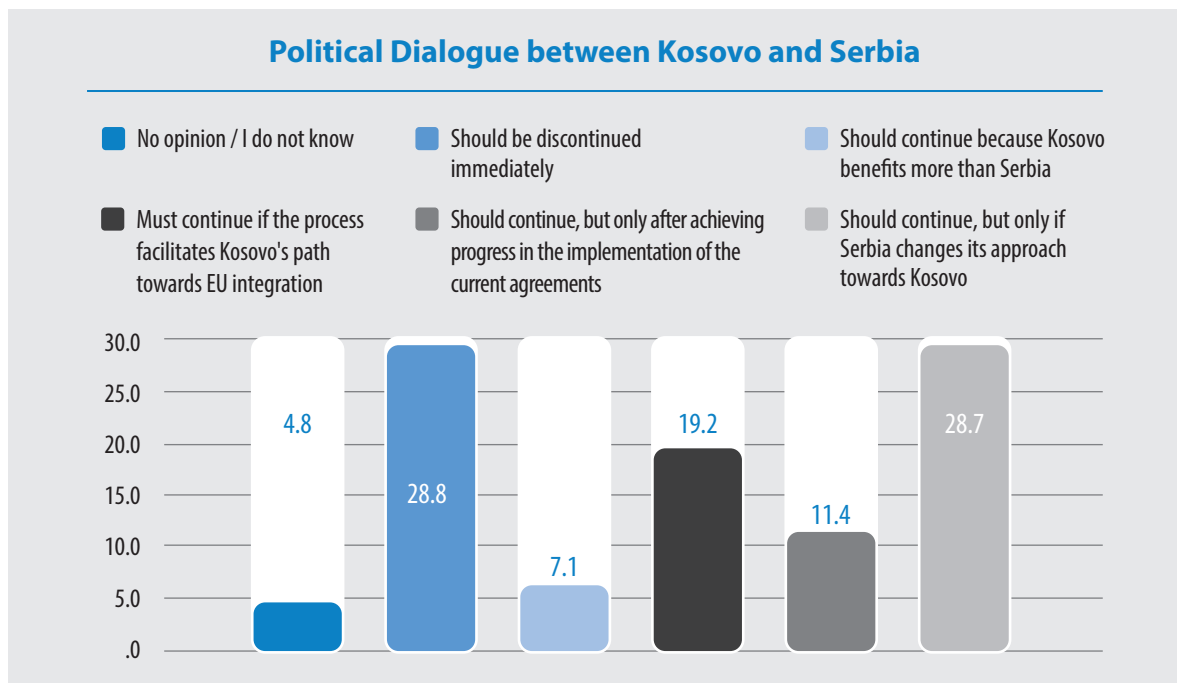


Unlike the previous editions, the current edition of the KSB aims to make an in depth examination of the perceptions towards the dialogue. As mentioned above, many questions and debates have been triggered by this process. As the graph below shows, around 28.8 percent of the respondents consider that the dialogue should be stopped immediately, providing further explanation by stating that Kosovo is not benefiting from this process, followed by the argument that, above all, the dialogue is eroding Kosovo’s sovereignty. A great number of the respondents believe that Serbia is clearly making progress vis-à-vis the EU, whereas Kosovo is not benefiting from the EU process.

Besides the fact that the majority of the respondents supported the dialogue with Serbia, they are of the view that the dialogue it should proceed in a more constructive manner. Kosovo should understand its importance in this process; hence, a strategy and plan should be developed in order to set up a list of conditions for Serbia as well as the EU in terms of their approach towards Kosovo. As a result, 28.7 percent of respondents believe that the dialogue should happen only if Serbia changed its approach towards Kosovo. This group does not exclude dialogue per se, but it rather asks for a conditional dialogue in which Kosovo statehood must be recognized by Serbia in order for parties to talk on an equal basis.

On the other hand, 11.4 percent of the respondents support the dialogue on the condition of the implementation of the existing agreements between Kosovo and Serbia. Only 7.1 percent of the respondents claimed that Kosovo is benefiting more than Serbia, furthermore, 4.8 percent of the respondents expressed no opinion on the matter.

**Figure 9 - Public perceptions towards continuation of dialogue with Serbia**

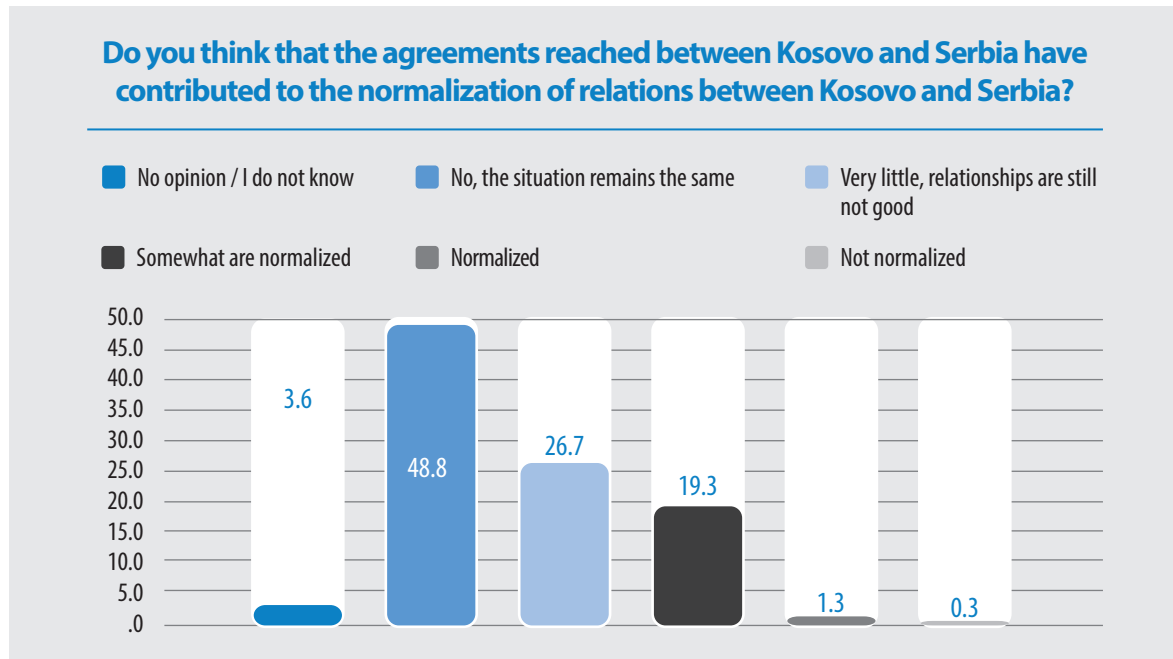


### (Mis)Carrying out normalization

When asked whether the dialogue has contributed to the normalization of relations between Kosovo and Serbia, 48.8 percent believe that the situation has remained the same. This is the predominant group that is more pessimistic with respect to normalization of relations. On the other

hand, 26.7 percent seem to be somehow optimistic about the results of the normalization of relations, whereby 19.3 percent stated that the relations between Kosovo and Serbia have already been normalized, while 3.6 percent did not want to give their opinion in this question. Given the fact that numerous agreements derived from the dialogue are directly related to the lives of the Kosovo Serb minority, especially in the northern part of Kosovo, around 24.0 percent have stated that the relations are normalized only a little, followed by another 24.0 percent (16.0 percent residing in Mitrovica) who claimed that the relations are only slightly normalized.

**Figure 10 - Public perceptions on the normalization between Kosovo and Serbia**

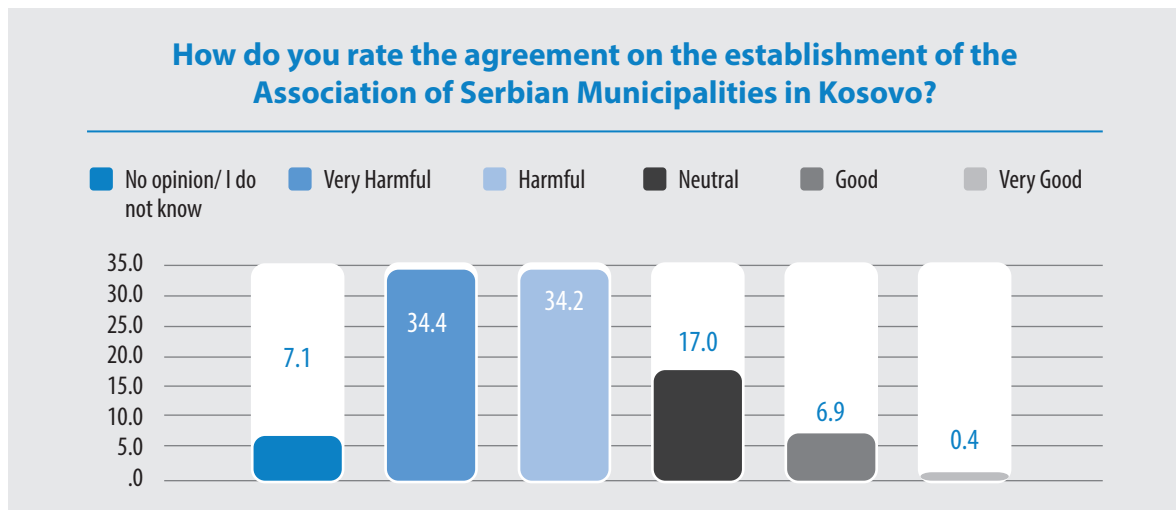


In addition to the general perception towards the dialogue, this edition of the KSB has examined the public perception on the decisions taken with respect to the normalization in the northern part of Kosovo. The overarching issue is the introduction of the Association of Serb Majority Municipalities (ASMM). In general, the findings show that the overall attitude towards the establishment of the ASMM remains negative. Around 34.4 percent of respondents stated that that the ASMM is very harmful, while 34.2 percent of the claimed that it is harmful; together constituting 68.6 percent of the respondents. This opinion was mostly based on the fear - constructed on the basis of media reportage - that the ASMM will be detached from the central institutions of Kosovo while its mandate would not be challenged by the legislative, executive or judicial powers.

Around 17.0 percent share a balanced perception towards the ASMM, while only 6.9 percent believe that its implementation is positive. From the qualitative feedback of the respondents, it appears that the Kosovo Serbs generally share positive views about the mechanism, while the Albanians believe that it is positive as long as the ASMM works based on the Kosovo constitutional order. In general, a significant number of respondents (7.1 percent) from all the ethnicities did not want to answer nor had no information on the matter.

On the other hand the positive perception of the Kosovo Serb minority in this regard is quite solid, being 48.0 percent in total – with 15.0 percent of the Kosovo Serbs residing in the northern part of Kosovo stating that it is positive and very positive, albeit with around 25.0 percent of respondents- with 18.0 percent residing in the north- which were reserved and refused to give an opinion.

**Figure 11 - Public perceptions on the establishment of the Association of Serbian Municipalities in Kosovo**



### Kosovo Police Regional Command in the northern part of Kosovo

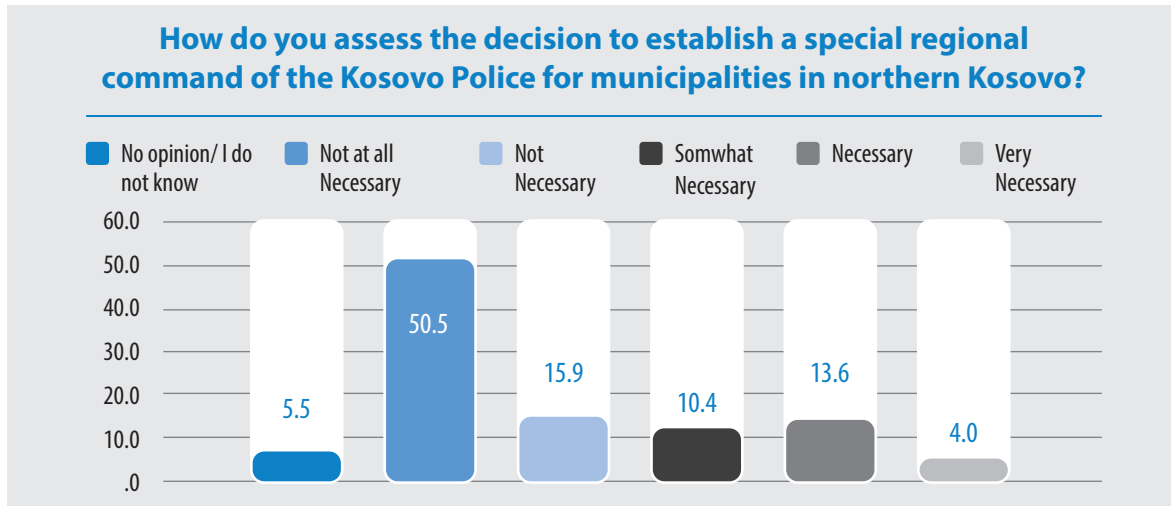
Similar to the previous question on the establishment of the ASMM, a negative attitude is expressed towards the establishment of the Kosovo Police Regional Command in the northern part of Kosovo. As the graph below shows, 50.5 percent of the respondents followed by 15.9 percent, think that this agreement was not necessary at all – an opinion which shows the familiarity of respondents with the matter. This opinion was given based upon the argument that the police could easily function without having a separate command for the north. In fact, the opinion is constructed based on the political objections regarding the introduction of a separate regional police command beyond the existing legal framework.

On the other hand, 10.4 percent of the respondents stated that it was somewhat necessary to have a separate command in the north, while 17.6 percent claimed that it is necessary and very necessary to have a separate command for the north. This opinion was mostly expounded based on the argument that this will ensure and establish a moderate presence of Kosovo institutions in the north; thus, contributing to the dissolution of the Serbian structures operating illegally and controlled by the Serbian government.

The Kosovo Serbs had generally a positive opinion about the police command in the north. Around 48.0 percent (15.0 percent residing in the north) have considered it a necessary step, while 25.0 percent (22.0 percent from the north) did not have an opinion concerning this issue due to a lack of information.



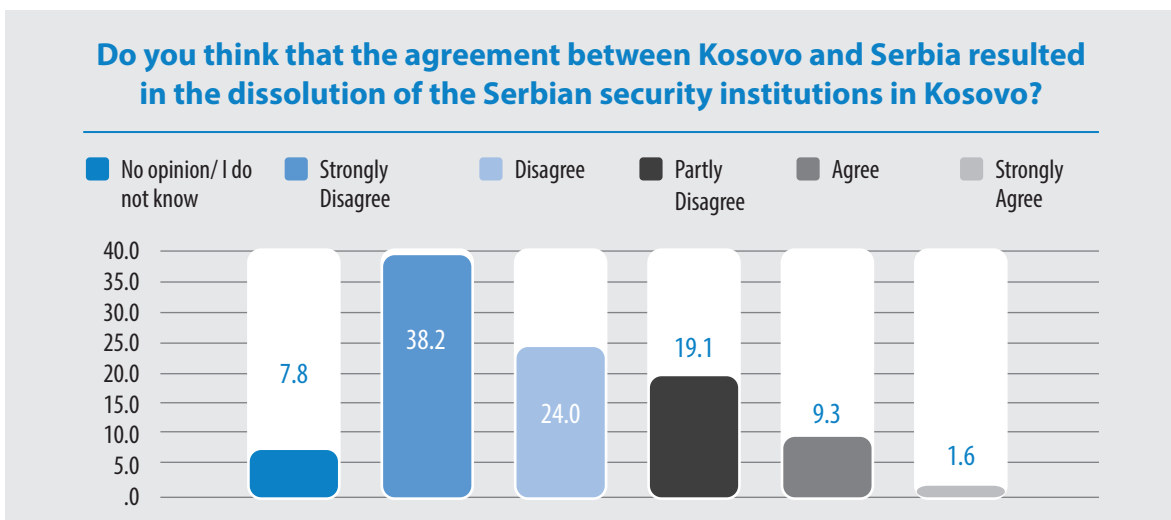
Figure 12 - Public perceptions on the regional command in northern Kosovo



## Dissolution of the Serbian security structures in Kosovo

As the dissolution of the Serbian security structures in Kosovo was part of the Brussels Agreement<sup>3</sup>, the implementation process relating to this point was quite closed for the broader public. Answers given in regard to this question were based on the media reports and news. As such, 62.2 percent of the respondents claimed that the agreement between Kosovo and Serbia has not resulted in the dissolution of the Serbian security structures in Kosovo. The majority still consider that Serbia’s security structures are still operating actively in the whole territory of Kosovo (Serbian municipalities) and that the failure to completely implement the agreements has led to another state of confusion concerning this issue. This answer was mostly supported by the fact that the integration of the Serbian police into the Kosovo Police was a rather hermetic process, developed quite fast and far from the public eye. Some also argue - on the basis of the media reporting - that the members of the Serbian ministry of Internal Affairs (MUP) continue to operate and work for the MUP wearing the Kosovo Police uniform. Accordingly, 19.1 percent of the respondents partly disagree by stating that the information they possess is limited and that they are not capable of knowing the real situation in the ground. Another 7.8 percent of the respondents have chosen not to answer the question or did not have an opinion when asked about this subject.

Figure 13 - Public perceptions on the dissolution of the Serbian security institutions in Kosovo



<sup>3</sup> "European External Action Service." European Union. April 19, 2013. Accessed November 22, 2014. [http://eeas.europa.eu/top\\_stories/2013/190413\\_eu-facilitated\\_dialogue\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/top_stories/2013/190413_eu-facilitated_dialogue_en.htm).

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