KOSOVO – ALBANIA
Interaction, knowledge, values, beliefs, cooperation and unification
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KOSOVO
1. Introduction

It has long been speculated about Albanians’ attitude to Kosovo-Albania relations, attitudes towards the issue of unification, relations with neighboring countries and European integration. On the basis of these speculations, governments of both countries, as well as governments of the countries in the region and other states have often manipulated with the alleged attitudes of Albanians of Kosovo and Albania.

Partial studies, limited to only a few areas, have been carried out in Albania and Kosovo. But there has never been an extensive study in both countries simultaneously to measure the perception of the citizens of Albania and Kosovo on these matters.

To contribute in this regard, the Kosovo Foundation for Open Society (KFOS) and the Open Society Foundation for Albania (OSFA) completed an extensive research in Kosovo and Albania at the end of 2018 to measure the interaction and attitudes of citizens of both countries on a range of issues, such as: interaction, social distance, perception of neighbors, European integration, regional cooperation, perceptions and stereotypes of one another, attitudes towards official cooperation of the two countries and attitudes towards national unification.

2,504 citizens were surveyed in both countries in October and November 2018: 1,200 in Albania and 1,304 in Kosovo (1,004 Albanians and 300 Serbs). Data collection was carried out according to the same methodology but by two different companies, namely IDRA in Albania, and Kantar TNS Index Kosova in Kosovo. The survey format and number of questions were the same in both countries, but a shorter version of the survey was used for Serbian citizens in Kosovo. The survey with Serbian citizens included questions about visits to Albania, perceptions of the role of Albania and Kosovo, attitudes towards other peoples of the Balkans and other powerful countries, social distance with Albanians and other peoples in the region, attitudes towards eventual agreement between Kosovo and Serbia.

Conducting this research is not the ultimate goal of this joint initiative between the two Foundations, but the first step in a series of activities aimed at analyzing and proposing the expansion of cooperation between Kosovo and Albania, as an important project in the area of regional cooperation.

The results of the survey and the database will be shared with researchers and experts from Albania and Kosovo during various activities and through public communication channels. They will be used to conduct in-depth research in the areas of education, trade and customs cooperation, the labor market, in proposals for joint energy projects, joint cultural and sports projects, for recommendations regarding the development of common policies in tourism, foreign policy and other areas.

The survey is structured into five main blocks of questions: 1. Knowledge and contact with each-other; 2. Attitudes and stereotypes; 3. Values and beliefs; 4. Common policies; and 5. Attitudes on unification and Kosovo-Serbia dialogue.

In knowledge and contacts with each-other, the citizens of both countries were asked whether they had visited and if so, how often they had visited Albania/Kosovo; their reasons for (not) visiting; whether they planned to make future visits; their attitudes towards marriages with someone from Kosovo/Al-
Partial studies, limited to only a few areas, have been carried out in Albania and Kosovo. But there has never been an extensive study in both countries simultaneously to measure the perception of the citizens of Albania and Kosovo on these matters.

Regarding *attitudes and stereotypes*, surveyed citizens were asked about individual and family values, whether they are valued/found more among Kosovo Albanians or Albania Albanians, such as: who are more hardworking, more trustworthy, more traditional, more family-oriented, etc.

Regarding *trust* in political and social institutions, survey participants were asked about their attitudes towards representative institutions, judicial institutions, and security institutions. They were also asked in which country, Albania or Kosovo, people are more law-abiding; in which country there is greater security; which country is more/less corrupt, etc.

Regarding *cooperation to date* and potential enhancement of cooperation between the two countries, participants were asked about their opinion regarding the level of cooperation, potential barriers to cooperation, and further scope of cooperation between the two countries.

Finally, respondents were asked questions about their attitudes towards *national unification*, about factors which could aid/hinder unification; whether they would choose national unification over EU integration; whether they consider national unification and European integration as issues which contradict each other, or are complementary; their attitude on continuation of the dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia, eventual agreements between the two countries, etc.

Statistical data are provided in percentages for each of the major blocks of questions, with graphical representations of key indicators.

In order to distinguish between surveyees from the Albanian and Serbian communities of Kosovo, the report provides separate data for «Kosovo - Albanian sample» and «Kosovo - Serbian sample».
2. Executive Summary

The Kosovo Foundation for Open Society (KFOS) and Open Society Foundation for Albania (OSFA), in order to measure the attitudes, perceptions and knowledge of the citizens of Albania and Kosovo on topics related to interaction between countries and citizens, cooperation with countries in the region, attitudes towards national unification, European integration and other issues, have conducted an extensive research, and the first of its kind, in Kosovo and Albania. The main results of the research which was conducted in the period between October-November 2018, are presented in this report.

A total of 2,504 citizens participated in the survey, of whom 1,200 in Albania and 1,304 in Kosovo (1,004 Albanians and 300 Serbs). The survey was structured into five main blocks of questions, in order to measure knowledge and relationships with one another, attitudes and stereotypes, values and beliefs, common policies and institutions, and attitudes towards unification of the two countries.

The survey results show that Kosovo Albanians visit Albania more (88.7%) than vice versa (31.6%). The main reason for visits to both countries is tourism, with 89.9% of respondents in Kosovo stating that they visit Albania for tourism and 73.5% of respondents in Albania stating the same reason for visiting Kosovo. Although 68.4% of respondents in Albania stated that they have never visited Kosovo, those who visit Kosovo do so much more often. This is because of seasonal or long-term employment. On the other hand, only 4% of Kosovo Albanian respondents cited employment as a reason for their visits to Albania. Most of those who have not visited Kosovo or Albania express a desire to do so in the future. Financial constraints and distance are the two most commonly cited reasons for not making the visits so far. To a greater extent, Kosovo Albanians stated that they did not feel safe to travel to Albania (32.6%), as compared to Albania Albanians to travel to Kosovo (10.9%).

In general, Kosovo Albanians have more general knowledge and are more familiar with political developments in Albania than vice versa. Kosovo Albanians follow the Albanian media more than the other way around. Respondents in both countries think that the percentage of minorities in Kosovo and Albania is much higher than official figures. When citizens of each country are asked about the number of inhabitants in the other country, respondents’ knowledge is mainly inaccurate.

Social distance, or the willingness to accept others as equal in every aspect of social interaction, is narrow between Albanians in both countries. Albanian respondents in Albania and Kosovo would have no problem maintaining social relations with each other, living in shared spaces, marrying each other, or working together. But to a greater degree, Albanians of Albania express a greater affinity to Kosovo Albanians than vice versa. Kosovo Albanians are more opposed to marrying someone of another religion. Meanwhile, Kosovo Serbs have a more rejective attitude towards Albanians of Albania than those of Kosovo.

Albanians of both Kosovo and Albania are convinced that the economy is more developed in Albania than in Kosovo, but the well-being of residents in Kosovo is higher than in Albania. Even as regards education and health, Albanian respondents in both countries believe they are more developed in Albania than in Kosovo. The citizens of Albania believe that the citizens of Kosovo are more law-abiding. In terms of freedom of speech and respect for women’s rights, respondents think the situation is better in their own country than in the other.
Albanians of Albania and Kosovo have almost identical attitudes regarding the perception of friendship with other countries. Turkey, Germany, the US and Italy are considered the friendliest countries to Kosovo and Albania, while Serbia and Russia are the least friendly countries.

The survey results point to more negative attitudes among Albanians in Albania and Kosovo when it comes to values and virtues. Kosovo Albanians believe that they are more hospitable, more trustworthy, more ambitious, more family-oriented, and more hard-working than Albanians in Albania. Albanians of Albania hold the same attitude, i.e. they maintain that these values are more pronounced among themselves, the Albanians of Albania. The only value that Kosovo Albanians believe to be higher among Albanians in Albania is that related to education. Albanians in both Kosovo and Albania believe that Kosovo Albanians are more religious and more traditional.

Regarding trust in public and social institutions, all respondents indicated a high degree of trust in close family and relatives, and a high degree of mistrust in political parties and courts. Citizens in both countries have a low degree of trust in the media and civil society organizations.

As it relates to cooperation between the two countries, the majority of Albanian respondents are of the opinion that the relations between the two countries are not sufficiently developed and that there is still work to be done. Albania’s commitment to the Kosovo issue is not seen as interfering with Kosovo’s internal affairs by Albanian respondents in both countries, while most Kosovo Serbs do see it as interfering. All respondents agree that Albania plays the «big brother» role with Kosovo. Regarding the areas of cooperation, Albanians surveyed in both countries believe that trade relations, cooperation in the field of tourism and sports are more advanced, while the least is done in the fields of justice and natural resource utilization.

As regards attitudes toward the idea of unification under a single country, the majority of Albanian respondents in both countries, but to a greater extent in Albania (74.8%) as compared to those in Kosovo (63.9%), are in favor of the idea of unification and would vote for it if given the opportunity in a referendum. However, those surveyed believe others in their circle of acquaintances are less willing to vote in favor of unification. Likewise, a majority of respondents do not believe that unification is possible. Albanians in both countries, more specifically 84.7% of respondents in Albania and 66.4% in Kosovo, would prefer the European Union to national unification.

The overwhelming majority of respondents in both countries oppose an agreement which would involve changing Kosovo’s borders, even if that would mean Serbia’s recognizing of Kosovo as an independent state, UN membership or paving of the way to national unification.
3. Interaction

Mutual visits between the citizens of Kosovo and Albania have increased significantly, especially after the liberation of Kosovo and the construction of the Nation's Road. However, Kosovo citizens visit Albania significantly more than Albanian citizens visit Kosovo. According to research conducted in both countries, 88.7% of Kosovo Albanians have visited Albania, while only 31.6% of Albanian citizens have visited Kosovo.
This difference is even more evident when referring to the Serbian community in Kosovo. Only 18% of those surveyed from the Serb community living in Kosovo have visited Albania in the last two years.

Regarding the frequency of visits, Albanian citizens visiting Kosovo do so significantly more frequently than Kosovo citizens visiting Albania. The highest frequency of visits of Albanian citizens to Kosovo can be related to employment, with 14% of respondents in Albania stating that the reason for visits to Kosovo has to do with work, while the same reason for visits to Albania is only cited by 4% of Kosovo respondents. However, overall tourism is the main reason for mutual visits, with education, health, trade and employment occupying very little space.
Less than 30% of respondents in both countries stated that they have friends, family, or fellow employees in the other country. The vast majority of those who have not visited Albania or Kosovo say they would like to do so, but cannot because of financial constraints. Some of the respondents in Albania and Kosovo (20%) stated that they have not visited the other country because of the distance. Survey data shows that the greater the distance, the fewer are the visits. Citizens of southern Albania have largely cited distance as a reason for not visiting Kosovo. Financial reasons were mentioned by respondents with a household monthly income of below ALL 30,000 (about Euro 240).
Safety while traveling around Albania is of greater concern to Kosovo Albanians than to Albanian citizens traveling to Kosovo. While 85% of respondents in Albania stated that they feel safe or very safe to travel to Kosovo, only 60% of Kosovo citizens shared this feeling of safety. The feeling of insecurity is high among Kosovo’s Serbian population, with only 18% of respondents saying they feel safe to travel to Albania.
CHART 4: How safe do you feel about traveling to Albania/Kosovo?

**Albania**
- Very Safe: 73.4%
- Very Unsafe: 1.5%

**Kosovo**
- Very Safe: 36.9%
- Very Unsafe: 5.0%
Of those who have never visited Kosovo/Albania, the majority expressed their desire to visit the other country in the future.
4. Social Distance

Questions about the social distance between Albanians themselves, between Albanians and other Balkan peoples, between Kosovo Serbs and Albanians or other peoples, between all respondents and persons of other religions, are intended to assess attitudes and prejudices related to cohabitation with different people and religions.

4.1 Social Distance between Albanians

The majority of Albanian respondents in Albania and Kosovo stated that they would have no problem having social relations with someone from Kosovo/Albania, living in the same village, town, neighborhood with someone from Kosovo/Albania, or sharing the same workplace. To a certain extent, Albanians in Albania appeared more in favor of having social ties, sharing the same residence or workplace with Kosovo Albanians, rather than the other way around.

However, the positive attitudes start to decline in both Albania and Kosovo when surveyees are asked whether they would marry Albanians from the other country - Albania/Kosovo; 75% of respondents in Albania saying they do not have a problem and only 56% of respondents in Kosovo give a positive answer. About 37% of Albanians on both sides of the border stated that they have friends from Kosovo/Albania.
The greatest social distance with Albanians in Albania was found in Albanians of the Prishtina and Ferizaj region, whereas the greatest closeness was expressed by the Albanians of Gjakova and Peja. In terms of education, university graduates have shown greater social closeness to Albanians in Albania when compared to those with primary education only.

Compared to Kosovo Albanians, Albanians in Albania have more social relations with Greeks, Serbs, Montenegrins and peoples of Western Europe.
Respondents over 55 years of age in Albania have a greater distance with Kosovo Albanians than those of younger ages. Also, inhabitants of northern Albania have a greater distance with Kosovo Albanians and respondents in the north and southeast have a greater distance with persons of other religions.

CHART 9: Social distance between Albania Albanians and Kosovo Albanians (divided demographically)
4.2 Social distance with other peoples in the Balkans and in Western Europe

Albanians of both Kosovo and Albanian are more distanced to Serbs than to Montenegrins and Greeks. 84% of Kosovo Albanians and 67% of Albanian citizens do not like to have social relations with Serbs.

The refusal becomes more marked when survey participants are asked whether they would like to share the same residence, workplace or marriage with someone from the Serbian community.

Albanians in Kosovo and Albania differ in their attitudes towards coexistence with Greeks and Montenegrins. While Albanians in Albania have a greater social distance with Montenegrins than with Greeks, Kosovo Albanians show greater rejection of Greeks than Montenegrins.

Regarding social distance with someone from Western Europe, on average 85% of Albanians in Albania and 65% of Kosovo Albanians were in favor of social ties, sharing a place of residence or work. Differences are observed in the willingness to marry someone from Western Europe, where for 65.5% of respondents in Albania this is not a problem, whereas the same attitude is only shown by 19.5% of respondents in Kosovo.

Albania again have a more favorable attitude than Kosovo Albanians by an average difference of 20%. Respondents in the region of Ferizaj and Mitrovica are more distant from persons of other faiths and less welcoming of inter-religious marriages.

4.4 Social distance between Kosovo Serbs and Albanians

In the case of Kosovo Serbs, the refusal is greater when they are asked whether they would consent to having social relations or coexistence with Albanians in Albania than with Kosovo Albanians. This is observed in all categories, both for social relations and for coexistence in the same settlement (village, city, neighborhood), or workplace.

In terms of social distance with Greeks and Montenegrins, Kosovo Serbs feel closer to Montenegrins than to Greeks. In terms of distance with the peoples of Western Europe, Kosovo Serbs are more reluctant than Kosovo Albanians in terms of their willingness to socialize and to share a place of residence or of work.

When asked if they personally have friends among Kosovo Albanians, 36% of Kosovo Serbs stated yes, which was matched by only 3% of Kosovo Albanians.

4.3 Social distance with people of different religion

Significant differences between Albanians in Kosovo and Albania appear when they are asked about their willingness to marry someone of another religion – for 79% of respondents in Albania this is not a problem, while only 13.5% of respondents in Kosovo share this attitude.

Regarding social relations, or sharing a residence and workplace with people of other religions, Albanians in
Serbs of southern Kosovo have a lesser distance with Kosovo Albanians than do Serbs of northern Kosovo.

**Chart 10:** Social distance – Kosovo Serbs

**Chart 11:** Social distance between Kosovo Serbs and Kosovo Albanians (divided demographically)
5. Knowledge

Kosovo Albanians are convinced that they know Albania better than the citizens of Albania know Kosovo. Citizens of Albania also largely agree that Kosovo Albanians have greater knowledge of Albania than vice versa.

**CHART 12:** How much do the citizens of Albania know Kosovo and vice versa?

Kosovo Albanians are better informed about the political leaders of Albania’s main institutions and its historical dates when compared to Albanian citizens about the same information on Kosovo. 85% of Kosovo citizens know the date of Albania’s declaration of independence, whereas only 30% of Albanian citizens know the exact date of Kosovo’s declaration of independence. For the most part, Kosovo Albanians do know who is currently the Mayor of Tirana, or Albania’s Prime Minister, while Albanian citizens give more accurate answers as to who is the President of Kosovo.

Citizens of both countries tend to overestimate the percentage of minorities living in Kosovo and Albania respectively. The majority of respondents in Albania (70%) think that the Serb community comprises 13.5% of the population in Kosovo (real figures are around 3.4%), while other minorities make up 8% (in fact they make 5.6%). On the other hand, Kosovo Albanians think that Greeks make up 8% of Albania’s population (in reality they are less than 1%), while other minorities make up 11% (the real figure is 1%).
Over 50% of those surveyed in both countries stated that they do not know what the total number of the population is in Kosovo and Albania. Respondents in both countries give more accurate answers when asked about the size of the territory of Kosovo/Albania.

Kosovo citizens watch more Albanian media than vice versa: 34% of respondents in Albania stated that they never watched Kosovo media (TV/newspapers/portals), whereas only 17% of Albanian respondents in Kosovo stated that never watch media from Albania; 45% of Kosovo Albanians stated that they watch the Albanian media every week or several times a week, while only 23% of Albanian citizens stated the same about Kosovo media.
CHART 14: How often do you watch Kosovo/Albania media (TV, newspapers, online portals)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Albania</th>
<th>Kosova - Albanian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily/Almost daily</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several times/Week</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several times/Month</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several times/Year</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than once/Year</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43% of respondents in both Kosovo and Albania think that the media in their home country provide sufficient coverage to the other country, but differ when asked if the media in the other country provide sufficient news coverage on their home country. Albanians on both sides of the border believe Kosovo Albanians know Albania better than vice versa.
6. Perception of policies, services, freedoms and rights

The attitudes of Kosovo Albanians and Albanians coincide in many respects with regard to the assessment of various public services, individual freedoms and rights.

The attitudes of Albanians in Kosovo and Albanian coincide in many respects with regard to the evaluation of various public services, individual freedoms and rights.

The majority of Albanians surveyed on both sides of the border believe that healthcare is more developed in Albania than in Kosovo, but Kosovo Albanians have a more positive evaluation of healthcare in Albania (63% of respondents) than Albania Albanians (46%).

Similarly, the majority of Albanian respondents in both countries consider that education is more developed in Albania than in Kosovo. Respondents in both countries also believe that Albania has greater potential for development in the field of tourism.

Respondents in both countries think that sports are more developed in Kosovo, just as they think that the welfare of Kosovo inhabitants is higher.

Regarding the rule of law, citizens of both countries consider that the law is better enforced in Kosovo. However, Albanians of Albania and Kosovo have different attitudes regarding the development of culture, respect for women’s rights and freedom of speech, where respondents consider that they are in a better position in their own country. As regards economic development, respondents feel that the other country is at a better level of economic development than their own country.

Asked about their perception of corruption in Kosovo, Kosovo Albanians tend to think that corruption is higher in Kosovo than in Albania, while Albanians in Albania largely disagree with this finding.
CHART 15: Do you agree with the finding that corruption is higher in Kosovo than in Albania?

ASKED ABOUT THEIR PERCEPTION OF CORRUPTION IN KOSOVO, KOSOVO ALBANIANS TEND TO THINK THAT CORRUPTION IS HIGHER IN KOSOVO THAN IN ALBANIA, WHILE ALBANIANS IN ALBANIA LARGELY DISAGREE WITH THIS FINDING.
7. Common ‘Friends’ and ‘Enemies’

Albanians on both sides of the border have similar opinions regarding which countries are friendly or hostile to Albania and Kosovo. Albanians in Albania and Kosovo agree that countries like Germany, Italy, France, the US, Croatia and Turkey are friendly to both countries. Although to a lesser degree, Macedonia is also seen as a friendly country to both Albania and Kosovo. The two hostile states to both Albania and Kosovo are considered to be Serbia and Russia.

Regarding Greece, Albanians in both Kosovo and Albania agree that Greece has a friendlier behavior towards Kosovo and a more aggressive behavior towards Albania. Kosovo Albanians view China as hostile to both Kosovo and Albania; Albanians in Albania on the other hand believe that China has a friendly attitude towards both Albania and Kosovo.

**CHART 16:** How friendly do you think these countries are to Kosovo/Albania?
Differences in opinions are also observed with regard to Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina. While Kosovo Albanians consider Montenegro and Bosnia to be friendly countries to both Kosovo and Albania, Albanians in Albania say Montenegro and Bosnia have a friendly attitude towards Kosovo, but a little more hostile towards Albania.
CHART 18: Index of evaluation on countries’ friendliness to Kosovo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>-0.129</td>
<td>0.485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>-0.209</td>
<td>1.211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>0.107</td>
<td>1.386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>0.300</td>
<td>0.959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>0.733</td>
<td>1.513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>0.079</td>
<td>1.069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>0.228</td>
<td>1.481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>0.226</td>
<td>1.397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>0.226</td>
<td>0.809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>0.228</td>
<td>0.343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro</td>
<td>0.228</td>
<td>0.323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>-0.776</td>
<td>0.257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonia</td>
<td>-0.997</td>
<td>0.491</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. Values

Regarding values related to integrity, faith, self-initiative, hospitality, attitude towards work, etc., Kosovo Albanians and Albanians have great prejudices about each other.

Albanians in Albania believe that they have more self-initiative than Kosovo Albanians, are more family-oriented, more hospitable, better educated, more trustworthy and more hardworking. On the other hand, Kosovo Albanians also believe that they are more family-oriented, more hospitable, more trustworthy, hard-working, more open to the world and with more initiative.

The only value that Kosovo Albanians grant to being higher for Albanians in Albania is better education. Albanians in Albania believe that Kosovo Albanians are more open to the world. Kosovo Albanians and those from Albania share the opinion that Kosovo Albanians are more religious and more traditional.
9. Trust

After family and relatives, Albanians in Kosovo and Albania put greatest trust in intellectuals of their country, internationals at large and their religious leaders. They put the least trust in courts, political parties, social networks, the President’s Office and non-governmental organizations.

Despite the fact that respondents on both sides of the border are of the belief that Kosovo Albanians are more religious than Albanians in Albania, trust in religious leaders in Kosovo is lower than in Albania.

Kosovo citizens trust the police the most of all state institutions. Compared to Albanians in Albania, Kosovo Albanians have less trust in state institutions such as the Prime Minister, the Government, the President, the country’s intellectuals, the international community as a whole. On the other hand, they place greater trust than Albanian citizens in the courts, political parties and non-profit organizations.
10. Perception of Albania’s role in Kosovo

Regarding Albania’s official attitude towards Kosovo, the citizens of both countries agree that Albania plays the role of «big brother» to Kosovo. Citizens of both countries maintain that Albania represents Kosovo’s interests in the world, has helped with the recognition of Kosovo as an independent state and has good cooperation with key stakeholders in Kosovo.

Citizens of Kosovo (to a greater extent of Serbian ethnicity) believe that Albania is trying to dominate Kosovo economically, but Albanians in Albania disagree. To Kosovo Serbs, Albania seems to interfere a lot in Kosovo’s internal affairs, but Albanians of both countries disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Value Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albania cooperates with political actors in Kosovo</td>
<td>0.854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania tries to dominate Kosovo economically</td>
<td>0.079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania represents Kosovo’s interests in the world</td>
<td>0.216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania interferes in Kosovo’s internal affairs</td>
<td>0.078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania has aided in Kosovo’s recognition</td>
<td>0.874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania behaves like a “big brother”/parent to Kosovo</td>
<td>0.411</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Value index (-2 = totally disagree; +2 = totally agree)
The majority of respondents in Albania and Kosovo (of Albanian ethnicity) consider that relations between the two countries have not developed sufficiently and that there is still work to be done. Only a certain number of respondents (18% in Albania and 20% in Kosovo) consider that the official relations between the two countries are at a good level and there is no room for improvement.

**CHART 20:** How do you rate the official relations between Kosovo and Albania?
Citizens of both countries state that there are close relations in the areas of commerce, tourism, sports and culture, customs, foreign policy, education and the establishing of common development policies. But they say that not enough has been done to enhance cooperation in the field of justice and the judicial system, the exploitation of natural resources, agricultural policies and the fight against organized crime.

Albanian polled in both countries agree that curricula and textbooks in pre-university education should be unified.

**CHART 21:** Should pre-university curricula and textbooks be unified?

- **Totally disagree**
  - Albania: 5.4%
  - Kosovo - Albanian: 5.2%

- **Neutral**
  - Albania: 1.8%
  - Kosovo - Albanian: 5.1%

- **Totally agree**
  - Albania: 11.8%
  - Kosovo - Albanian: 11.1%

- **Don't know**
  - Albania: 9.7%
  - Kosovo - Albanian: 11.2%

Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of respondents agree that the two countries should completely abolish customs duties.

**CHART 22:** Should customs duties between the two countries be abolished?

- **Totally disagree**
  - Albania: 3.9%
  - Kosovo - Albanian: 5.6%

- **Neutral**
  - Albania: 1.0%
  - Kosovo - Albanian: 2.5%

- **Totally agree**
  - Albania: 7.8%
  - Kosovo - Albanian: 11.2%

- **Don’t know**
  - Albania: 10.3%
  - Kosovo - Albanian: 12.1%
The majority of respondents (76% in Albania and 59% in Kosovo) think that developing close relations between Albania and Kosovo benefits both countries equally. To a higher degree - (21%) – Kosovo Albanians estimate that Albania benefits more from close relations between the two countries, while 10.2% of respondents in Albania estimate that Kosovo benefits more from these relations.

An overwhelming majority of respondents in both countries agree that the development of bilateral relations and the intensification of cooperation between Albania and Kosovo can bring about the strengthening of democracy in both countries. Also, the vast majority agree that an enhanced cooperation could accelerate the accession of both countries into the European Union, create more opportunities for economic development, and strengthen the Albanian factor in the region and in the international arena.
12 Attitude toward national unification

Regarding the desire to achieve national unification, 63% of respondents in Albania and 54% of respondents in Kosovo state that they want to achieve it. 16% of respondents in Albania and Kosovo do not wish this. Those who do not want the national unification seem to be largely from urban areas, both in Albania and Kosovo. Geographically, respondents in the Prishtina region and in central Albania constitute the majority of those against national unification.

But when asked if they would be willing to pay a tax which would enable national unification, respondents’ willingness declined, with only 29.5% of respondents in Albania and 43.5% of respondents in Kosovo agreeing to such a tax.
If given a chance to vote in a referendum, 75% of Albanians in Albania and 64% of Kosovo Albanians would vote in favor of national unification.

GEOGRAPHICALLY, RESPONDENTS IN THE PRISHTINA REGION AND IN CENTRAL ALBANIA CONSTITUTE THE MAJORITY OF THOSE AGAINST NATIONAL UNIFICATION.
If a referendum were to be held on the unification of Kosovo and Albania under a single state, how would you personally vote?
If a referendum were to be held on the unification of Kosovo and Albania under a single state, how would you personally vote?
If a referendum were to be held on the unification of Kosovo and Albania under a single state, how would you personally vote?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FOR</th>
<th>AGAINST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>63.9%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18.4% DON'T KNOW
1.0% REFUSES TO ANSWER

KOSOVO
Those who oppose merging into one state provide various reasons for their choice. The most frequent reason cited by Albanian respondents in Albania and Kosovo has to do with the belief that the separate states of Kosovo and Albania would work better. A considerable part of those who oppose joining under one state do so also under the conviction that Kosovo Albanians and Albania Albanians have differences in culture and tradition. But when asked what would their relatives’ and friends’ vote be in such a referendum, respondents said they were more skeptical about the ‘for’ unification vote, thinking that their family and friends would vote on a lesser scale for the unification (59% in Albania and 47% in Kosovo).

**CHART 27:** How do you think others around you would vote (family, friends)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Albania</th>
<th>Kosovo - Albanian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For</td>
<td>58.6%</td>
<td>47.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against</td>
<td>41.4%</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>42.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Confidence falls in both countries when participants are asked how achievable they think national unification is, with only 23% of Albanians in Albania and 17% of Kosovo Albanians believing that such a thing is possible.

**CHART 28:** Regardless of your wish, how possible is the unification of Kosovo and Albania under a single state?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Albania</th>
<th>Kosovo - Albanian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Impossible</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Entirely possible</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For Albanians in Albania who believe that national unification is possible, the international community is seen as a key factor enabling it. Whereas to Kosovo Albanians, the main factor that can achieve such a scenario are the leaders of Kosovo and Albania.

**CHART 29: Who are the actors that make the unification of Kosovo and Albania possible (multiple answers possible)**

But even those who think that national unification cannot occur, see the international factor as a major obstacle, both in Albania and in Kosovo. Respondents in Albania see Serbia’s opposition as the second major obstacle to national unification, while respondents in Kosovo see the countries of the region in general as the main obstacle.

Of those who believe in national unification, the majority of respondents in Kosovo believe that this will happen within five years (39% of respondents), while most respondents in Albania believe that this will most likely happen within the next ten years.
Kosovo Albanians believe unification may occur within the next five years, while Albanians in Albania believe it may take longer.

**CHART 30:** In your opinion, who can hinder national unification (multiple answers possible)

- Internationals: Albania 65.9%, Kosovo-Albanian 55.0%
- Neighboring countries: Albania 29.4%, Kosovo-Albanian 37.6%
- Serbia: Albania 18.4%, Kosovo-Albanian 44.0%
- Leaders in Albania: Albania 18.5%, Kosovo-Albanian 176%
- Leaders in Kosovo: Albania 6.9%, Kosovo-Albanian 173%
- Don’t know: Albania 25.9%, Kosovo-Albanian 16.2%
- Other: Albania 0.1%, Kosovo-Albanian 0.4%

**CHART 31:** When do you think unification could occur?

- Within next 5 years: Albania 39.0%, Kosovo-Albanian 28.0%
- Within next 10 years: Albania 11.5%, Kosovo-Albanian 21.9%
- More than 10 years: Albania 6.9%, Kosovo-Albanian 12.8%
- More than 20 years: Albania 3.7%, Kosovo-Albanian 13.3%
- Never: Albania 13.3%, Kosovo-Albanian 14.6%
- Don’t know: Albania 24.0%, Kosovo-Albanian 21.9%
13. Albania and Kosovo towards the European Union

Asked when do they think Albania might join the European Union, Kosovo Albanians are more optimistic that this could happen within the next five years, while respondents in Albania are more likely to think it will happen within the next ten years. Those who do not believe that Albania will ever be part of the EU are more numerous in Albania than Kosovo Albanians. On the other hand, Kosovo Serbs largely think that Albania will never become part of the EU.

Kosovo Albanians are even more optimistic about when they think Kosovo might become part of the EU, with most respondents believing it could happen within the next five years, while in Albania they think Kosovo can become a part of the EU within the next ten years. Kosovo Serbs largely believe that Kosovo will never be part of the EU.
It is interesting to note that the most optimistic about Albania and Kosovo’s EU membership within five years are university graduates, compared to those who have not even completed primary school, both in Albania and Kosovo.

The national unification and EU accession of Albania and Kosovo are seen as processes which contradict each other by 42% of respondents in Kosovo and 37% of respondents in Albania. Albanians of Albania, to a greater extent than Kosovo Albanians, tend to view these two processes as complementary.

National unification and integration of Albania and Kosovo in the EU are seen complementary processes, that is, they do not contradict each other.

46.5% 29.6%
Those who think that the EU accession process and the scenario of national unification are opposing processes would rather choose EU membership over national unification.

**Chart 34:** Do you think that national unification and EU integration contradict one another?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo-Albanian</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
<td>29.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chart 35:** If you had to choose, which project would you prefer: national unification or EU integration?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>National Unification</th>
<th>European Union</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>32.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo-Albanian</td>
<td>84.7%</td>
<td>66.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Albania</th>
<th>Kosovo-Albanian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Respondents are divided on whether EU integration would diminish the need for unification into a single state for Kosovo and Albania.

**CHART 36:** If Kosovo and Albania join the EU, do you think this would diminish the need for national unification?

- **Yes:**
  - Albania: 44.5%
  - Kosovo - Albanian: 39.0%

- **No:**
  - Albania: 40.2%
  - Kosovo - Albanian: 35.4%

- **Don't know:**
  - Albania: 14.7%
  - Kosovo - Albanian: 25.5%
14. Attitude towards Kosovo-Serbia dialogue

Recent months’ debates on the possibility of border correction have not been well received by Albanians in Kosovo and Albania, nor by Kosovo Serbs. The option of land swap, relinquishing northern Kosovo to Serbia and attaching the Presevo region to Kosovo has been rejected by most respondents.

The exchange of territories, northern Kosovo for the Presevo region, is not seen as an acceptable option for Albanians in both countries, even if it would result in Serbia’s recognition of Kosovo and Kosovo’s membership in the United Nations (UN).

Such an exchange is not accepted by most of the respondents in Albania and Kosovo even if it would pave the way for national unification.

**CHART 37:** How much do you support a potential agreement between Kosovo and Serbia that entails the exchange of northern Kosovo for the Presevo region?

- **Albania:**
  - Not at all: 71.1%  
  - 2: 74%  
  - 3: 8.3%  
  - 4: 4.5%  
  - Entirely: 10.4%

- **Kosovo - Albanian:**
  - Not at all: 72.0%  
  - 2: 71%  
  - 3: 5.5%  
  - 4: 1.2%  
  - Entirely: 0.8%

- **Kosovo - Serbian:**
  - Not at all: 81.2%  
  - 2: 77.5%  
  - 3: 14.9%  
  - 4: 5.1%  
  - Entirely: 4.9%  
  - Don’t know: 2.4%
CHART 38: How much would you accept an agreement on changing the borders between Kosovo and Serbia, if it would result in Serbia recognizing Kosovo as a state and Kosovo becoming a UN member?

- Albania
- Kosovo - Albanian
- Kosovo - Serbian

CHART 39: How much would you accept an agreement on changing the borders between Kosovo and Serbia, if this paves the way for the unification of Kosovo and Albania in a single state?

- Albania
- Kosovo - Albanian
Almost the same position is held when survey participants are asked if they agree with the north of Kosovo being relinquished to Serbia, thus paving the way for national unification.

However, the majority of those polled in both Kosovo and Albania do not like the current ‘status quo’ in relations between Kosovo and Serbia and expect changes to be made, but not the kind which would affect territorial integrity.

**CHART 40:** How much would you agree for relations between Kosovo and Serbia to remain as they are, with no change?
15. Conclusions

To Kosovo, Albania remains the most important partner in the region and beyond. Since 2000, the two countries have signed 66 agreements in the fields of commerce, education, culture, customs cooperation, product security, foreign policy, etc. Some of the agreements have been signed more than once and their implementation is slow or at an early stage. But even though there are 66 signed agreements, to date there has been no extensive study that would serve as a basis for informing the two governments about their citizens’ attitudes. The findings of this research will hopefully be of interest and put to use by both governments, experts and non-profit organizations to develop more in-depth studies and improve regional cooperation policies.

One of the main findings of the study relates to the common expectation of citizens for more interaction between them and the governments representing them. Most of the citizens surveyed believe that there is still much to be done in terms of cooperation between the two countries and appreciate the strengthening of cooperation in their mutual interest.

It seems that the cooperation between governments so far is well below the citizens’ expectations and there is room for specific initiatives in a number of areas of cooperation. The neofunctional logic of the European integration process could serve as a guide for common policies and institutions in the near future.

As noted at the outset of the study, conducting this study is not the ultimate goal of this joint initiative between the two foundations in Albania and Kosovo, but the first step in a series of activities aimed at analyzing and identifying solutions to deepen cooperation between Kosovo and Albania, as an important project in expanding and strengthening regional cooperation.

The survey results will be shared with researchers and experts in Albania and Kosovo in order to use the findings and database for in-depth research in the fields of education, commerce and customs cooperation, labor market, joint energy projects, joint cultural and sports projects, shared tourism policies, foreign policy and other areas.

Currently with the support of the two Foundations, research experts and organizations from Kosovo and Albania have started working on conducting qualitative research in some of the above areas. These partnerships aim at not only developing joint research in different fields and providing related recommendations but also at building bridges of cooperation between organizations and experts in Kosovo and Albania. In-depth thematic analyses and studies are expected to be published in Pristina and Tirana in the coming months.