Civic Energy Center:
Annual publication

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Civic Energy Center (CEC) is a social center whose main purpose is to support civil initiatives and promote a culture of open dialogue on relevant policies and practices related to Serbs in Kosovo. The main purpose of the center is to create synergy between civil society and decision-makers.

In addition, the center encourages all social actors to be part of an open dialogue and create their own social reality. Furthermore, the center constitutes a platform where the public can express their attitudes and opinions freely. Taking this into consideration, its aim is to develop democracy through finding common ground(s) for resolving current political, economic, social and other related issues.

The beneficiaries of the Civic Energy Center are representatives of Serbian, Kosovo and regional non-governmental organizations, international organizations, non-formal and marginalized groups and citizens’ initiative groups that use it to promote democratic values and a culture of an open dialogue. NGO AKTIV is tasked with ensuring the unhindered work of the center and for coordination with organizers of external events from Kosovo and the region.

The goal of the Civic Energy Center is to promote and support democratic practices in northern Kosovo through involving citizens in public dialogue, decision-making process and other political processes of importance for citizens. AKTIV achieves this by implementing activities that foster a culture of open dialogue within the Serbian community. This encourages a better understanding of socio-political processes that affect citizens, enhances the capacities and advocacy potential of the Serbian civil-society sector in Kosovo, and promotes open and constructive dialogue between representatives of the Serbian, Albanian and other communities in Kosovo and throughout the region.

From the 15th of February 2018 to the 31st of March 2019 the following activities were carried out by AKTIV:

1. Three conferences and one forum were implemented within the Empirica Advocacy Platform. The purpose of organizing such events was to discuss content of the documents published by civil society organizations with the aim of improving relations between communities while highlighting specific problems and possibilities for resolving them.
2. Ten debates were organized within the Mitrovica Social Club. These informal debates facilitated discussion between decision-makers, analysts, civil sector representatives, experts, and citizens and enabled an exchange of opinions and attitudes about current socio-political momentum in Kosovo and the region.

3. The TV Show Sporazum, as well as the MSC debates dealt with current issues that are of relevance to Serbian, Albanian and other communities in Kosovo. During the above-mentioned period, sixteen (16) episodes of Sporazum were broadcasted on all channels that are part of TV Mreza, every second Wednesday at 9 pm. The TV Show hosts academics and experts on discuss various political topics with the aim of familiarizing the audience with the opinions, attitudes and problems of each community in Kosovo.

4. Three conferences were held within the Forum Future. The main purpose of these activities is to facilitate an open dialogue among academics, experts and representatives of non-governmental sector and provide basis for understanding the root of the “Kosovo problem,” the current situation, and possibilities for solving it for the sake of better cohesion in the future.

5. Three surveys were carried out for the needs the Sporazum TV Show, Advocacy Platform Empirica and Mitrovica Social Club within the Point One platform. The purpose of the mentioned surveys was to examine the attitudes of the Serbian community in Kosovo regarding various different issues.

6. In accordance with the general objective of CEC, support in organizing more than 150 external and internal events was given to various civil society and international organizations, media and informal associations.
2. ADVOCACY PLATFORM EMPIRICA

The Empirica Advocacy Platform aims to create a framework for converged advocacy initiatives in northern Kosovo and the wider Kosovo-Serb community. The platform’s purpose is to inspire discussion and debate on key areas of interest for the Serbian community. By doing so, it enables the Serbian community in Kosovo to comprehend its interests, live a safe and dignified life, enjoy the rights guaranteed by relevant legislation and international conventions on the rights of minority communities. The aim of this platform is to advocate for changes in the form of legal solutions and policies that directly and indirectly affect the ability of the Kosovo Serb community to exercise their rights, as well as to monitor the implementation of existing legislation.

The Empirica Platform is methodologically conceived as a merging of civilian initiatives to analyze policy and practice and serves to channel them into a unique advocacy initiative with an increased potential of direct influence on decision-makers. As such, Empirica aims to promote proposals and recommendations that would help overcome shortcomings and inconsistencies that affect the quality of life of the Serbian community.

Moreover, Empirica is an advocacy initiative of the civil society organizations that are representing the interests of the Kosovo Serb community. The mandate of the platform is to advocate for finding legal and practical solutions within legally guaranteed civil and human rights of non-majority communities in Kosovo.

The members of Empirica are: Advocacy Center for Democratic Culture- ACDC, Human Center Mitrovica, Youth Educational Club Synergy, Communication for Social Development- CSD, Radio Kontakt Plus, Network for Citizens’ Activism-MGA, Center for the Rights of Minority Communities- CRMC, Forum for Development and Multiethnic Collaboration- FDMC, Domovik and NGO AKTIV.

CONFERENCE:
MUTUAL PERCEPTIONS OF SERBS AND ALBANIANS IN KOSOVO

Date: February 20th, 2019

The Head of the NGO `Aktiv` Office in Pristina, Boban Simic, presented the results of the research `Mutual perceptions of Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo`
carried out in the second half of 2018. Some of the most important findings show that 80% of the participants, both Serbian and Albanian, expressed a willingness to accept closer forms of cooperation with members of the other nationality.

When it comes to ethnic distance between the two communities, publicist and analyst Shkelzen Maliqi said that the gap was large and that it had is more manifest with Serbs. He pointed out that, very strong anti-Albanian propaganda has been present in the tabloid press in Belgrade for many years now.

Pragmatism prevails, prejudices continue, but a fatigue has emerged. We all know that this situation cannot continue in this way and that the relations between Serbs and Albanians must be improved, Maliqi said.

Journalist Darko Dimitrijevic disagreed with Maliqi, defining the intolerance as mutual and varying in intensity according to geography, mentioning Djakovica and Decani as examples. “Serbs are still not welcome in Djakovica, and there have been many problems in the past in Decani. There is still some kind of intolerance. I see it as mutual, so I would not single out any one community”

"In observing these findings, we encounter a very important fact: that people are in general deeply dissatisfied with the political elites in Kosovo. If I were a politician, I would be deeply concerned about these results," said Miodrag Milicevic, the Executive Director of NGO AKTIV.

Behluj Beqaj sees the potential consent of all of us to the partition of Kosovo as a reward for the leaders in Kosovo and Serbia for their bad politics.

"If we agree with foreigners that the only solution is to divide Kosovo and go united to Europe, anachronistically, opposed... What are we doing? Despite the nonsense they have been making continuously, we are definitely giving this leadership a gift for their bad policy within our borders" - concludes Beqaj.
CONFERENCES:
TRANSPARENCY IN SERB-MAJORITY MUNICIPALITIES IN KOSOVO

Date: March 7th, 2019

NGOs Aktiv, Forum for Development and Multiethnic Collaboration and the Alternative Cultural Center carried out independent research on transparency in Serb-majority municipalities in Kosovo. In his opening remarks, Boban Simić, Head of Aktiv’s office in Pristina, highlighted that transparency of local self-government is one of the crucial preconditions for democracy and good governance at the local level.

At the end of 2018, Ministry of Local Government Administration (MLGA) developed a legal package for the transparency of municipalities that includes four administrative instructions. Starting from the 30th of March, the Ministry plans to organize visits to municipalities in order to inform them about obligations arising from these administrative instructions - explained by Venera Çerkini, Director of Department for Municipal Performance and Transparency at MLGA.

Milica Jakovljević, an NGO AKTIV Project Manager, argued that more than 30 meetings were held with citizens from the north Kosovo as part of the transparency survey. “We found ourselves in a situation where we did not want to be in any way subjective, but we wanted to make an objective report based on evidence and conclusions where the methodology established at the beginning of our work would be respected” – underlined Milica.

Dejan Radivojević, Executive Director of the Forum for Development and Multiethnic Collaboration, mentioned that the research conducted by his NGO in six municipalities with Serb majority south of the Ibar river showed that 15% of citizens are familiar with the work of local self-governments, that 26% inform themselves via the media and that only 11% have information on municipal budgets.

Vladan Trifčić presented the results of transparency research conducted by Alternative Cultural Center. He mentioned that the report is not completed but some preliminary results can be shared. When asked if they are satisfied with
the work of their local government he stated that: “It is interesting that the majority of citizens in the municipality of Štrpce responded positively - 45% of respondents expressed their satisfaction. The second municipality according to these results is the Municipality of Gračanica where 40% responded positively, followed by Ranilug, Parteš, Novo Brdo and finally Klokot.”

CONFERENCE:
INTEGRATION OF THE JUDICIARY IN NORTH KOSOVO

Date: March 20th, 2019

Seventeen months after the integration of judiciary in north Kosovo there are different opinion on how effective this part of the Brussels Agreement was. The participants of the conference “Integration of the judiciary in North Kosovo” agreed that judiciary in North Kosovo is functional despite the harsh conditions that it faces.

According to the Executive Director of Advocacy Center for Democratic Culture-Dusan Radakovic the integrated judiciary is still functioning under very difficult conditions. “Is it successful of not? Let’s answer this question by grading the whole process with 3+ on a scale from 1 to 5”. He also emphasized that the initiation of efficient work and performance on the part of the judiciary had to be done before integration. However, this process is conducted on an ad hoc basis.

A high court judge, Jelena Krivokapic, said that the lack of translation is one of the biggest problems that the Serbian court is facing. She further added that many laws have not been translated into Serbian, which makes the overall situation more difficult. “As far as translation is concerned, I have heard that this issue of somewhat resolved in the north. In the High Court we only had one interpreter, while we just recently hired another one. The interpreters are doing their job exquisitely. However, in cases when they have to translate case that its closely related to economic matters and contains a huge number of files that needs to be translated there is no chance that such job can be done in a month.”
In comparison with 2017, the integrated judiciary in the north is functioning and achieves results regardless of the problems that its facing. “With all the problems, with all the difficulties certain results are achieved. Today`s situation compared to the situation in 2017 is much better.”

Certain remarks about the work performance of Eulex courts have been noted at the conference. “I don’t think that Eulex fulfilled any expectation of the Serbian community. After talking to Albanian friends and colleagues I could notice the same when it comes to the Albanian community. They also didn’t get what they should have and what they expected,” Dusan Radakovic said.

He also claims that the Eulex mission worked well before the corruption scandals. “They were not effective at all times. If I may be honest, the results of the Eulex court were not any greater than the results of today`s court. We have a large number of Eulex cases that were not processed further. On contrary those cases remained unresolved and in the drawers of the Prosecutors and Special Prosecutor`s office.”

CONFERENCE:
STATUS OF MINORITY RIGHTS IN KOSOVO- CHALLENGES AND OBSTACLES

On March 29th, AKTIV organized a panel discussion about the challenges and obstacles encountered by the non-majority community in Kosovo.

Head of the Policy Office at NGO AKTIV, Caleb Waugh, presented the key findings of the report "The Status of Minority Rights in Kosovo - Challenges and Obstacles." He outlined the most important challenges: return of displaced persons, difficult access to institutions, "silent departure", contempt to the right to use the native language, lower representation of communities in the public administration in Kosovo. As for the right to use the language, Waugh added that under the Kosovo legislation, Serbian and Albanian were equal, but that in practice this is not the case.

The political adviser of the president of Kosovo, Ardian Arifaj mentioned the initiative to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. He believes that such commission would be supported by the media, all communities and religious representatives. He also believes that it is necessary to implement all contracts envisaged by the Brussels Agreement and that their implementation would have a positive impact on interethnic relations.
Executive Director of the Forum for Development and Multiethnic Cooperation, Dejan Radivojevic added that the Serbian community is confused by the current developments and with the process of a dialogue. He believes that there is a lack of sufficient representation of the Serbian community that is reflected at all levels. He notes that certain organizations are dealing with the issues of the Serbian community, but there is not enough political pressure to solve all of their problems.

Journalist, Darko Dimitrijevic said that the capacities of the Community Council are limited, as well as the capacities of its secretariat. The allocated budget is rather insufficient. He also stressed that the situation of property rights is especially difficult in region of Pec/ Peja. Moreover, he added that only two Serbs are employed in Kosovo Police in his town and that leads to a lack of credibility of institutions.
3. MITROVICA SOCIAL CLUB

Mitrovica Social Club comprises of a series of debates which aim to provide a platform for inclusive discussion in order to contribute to a culture of open debate for all citizens in Kosovo. The idea behind Mitrovica Social Club was to open Mitrovica to different ideas and perspectives and promote certain topics that are of interest for all communities in Kosovo. In an informal atmosphere, the audience is able to comment on topics discussed in debates or to raise questions and allow panelists to answer. During the last project period 10 debates were held and 20 experts discussed various relevant topics with audiences.

ART AND CULTURE IN KOSOVO SERB COMMUNITY

Date: March 22nd, 2018

Creating a favorable climate where young artists will want to stay and create, as well as developing an awareness that tradition is not something that is necessarily inherited, but something gained through active participation in its creation were the key recommendations of the participants in the debate on culture and art in the Serb community in Kosovo, which was held last night at Mitrovica Social Club in North Mitrovica.

Creating a favorable climate means creating sound cultural institutions that with their active work and with the need for creative energy would give the youth creators will to stay in Kosovo after their graduation and live from their creations, says painter Miljana Dundjerin.

Zivojin Rakocevic points out that the tradition is acquired by a contemporary young artist continuously updating the genius creativity of our nation.

Panelists emphasize that artists need to create high-quality art regardless of the funds from which they are paid. Furthermore, the audience recognizes a certain number of artists.
who receive salaries from Kosovo institutions, regardless of the fact they don’t reside live in Kosovo.

BRUSSELS AGREEMENT- HOW FAR IS THE COMPROMISE?

*Date: April 25th, 2018*

Five years after reaching the Brussels agreement, Serbs are not fundamentally integrated into Kosovo society and with the establishment of the Association of Serbian Municipalities, Serb municipalities will be put out and more than 20,000 Serbs may remain without wages, it was said during a debate at the Mitrovica Social Club, which was held last night in North Mitrovica.

"Integration, I think, is basically far from being implemented in accordance with the interests of those living in these municipalities, and whether there will be some changes, I think that will depend on many things, the willingness of those who caused this situation to review themselves and the whole process in the sense of revising the failures and obstacles that led to this situation", he says.

Former Kosovo Government Minister Nenad Rasic, at the same event, commented on survey findings showing that 40% of respondents in northern Kosovo do not support the Brussels Agreement, while the same number of people have no stand on this issue.

"It is an economic genocide and a disaster. According to some information, about 22,000 employees work in local Serb self-governments that are displaced in Kosovo. We can, overnight, be left without 22,000 wages or 22,000 pillars of existence. This is the biggest problem. We should not celebrate something that is "a cat in a bag" and something that as an institution can certainly not employ more than 20,000 workers", Rasic says.
THE INTERNAL MONOLOGUE

Date: May 16th, 2018

Participants of the first debate "Internal Monologue" within the Mitrovica Social Club, member of the Consultative Council for Communities Darko Dimitrijevic and editor-in-chief of Radio Television Kim Goran Avramovic, say that reasons for the increasingly-frequent departures of young people from Kosovo is the lack of functional institutions.

The Editor-in-Chief of RTV Kim considers that the system has cracked, and that widespread corruption is one of the biggest problems.

“And this corruption can be noticed in our lives in millions of different examples every day. I think that people here, as well as throughout Western Balkans, are leaving because they cannot live a life worthy of a human being”, says Avramovic. “

Both interlocutors believe that the participation of the Serbian community in Kosovo institutions is important, but that they don’t believe that the manner in which it is currently happening is constructive.

“We have the Srpska Lista that has been in opposition for a long time, as they themselves declared. However, we have ministers who call themselves ministers in resignation, while in fact they participate in the work of the Government and go to work every day” says Dimitrijevic.

Talking about the security situation, participants of the Mitrovica Social Club believe that the role of international military forces is important in this context. “I will recall that Gorazdevac did not face any damage during the violence in March 2004 because we had more than 10 KFOR check-points in 2004 and that this was probably the only reason why people were protected. Now, when number of international forces is decreasing and there are more and more inflammatory messages, regardless if those are artificially created or real, I think it can drastically damage the security situation”, considers Dimitrijevic.
"The time has come for the citizens of North Kosovo to decide where to live. From that moment on, I stand for a solution that could regulate relations between Serbs and Albanians in some other way. Therefore, I support the decision that these four municipalities should be part of the Republic of Serbia, and in return for this, Preševo and a part of Bujanovac should belong to Kosovo," said Marko Jaksic, a lawyer from North Mitrovica, within the Mitrovica Social Club.

He believes the subject of partition has come to the agenda due to changes in the US administration and, above all, the arrival of John Bolton. In his words, even Serbian President Aleksandar Vucic did not expect this scenario. "He is the only politician to whom Serbia would even forgive the recognition of Kosovo. If he is able to conduct partition, he will be the absolute ruler of Serbia, "Jaksic believes.

On the other hand, political analyst Ljubomir Stanojkovic thinks that this is not a realistic solution, and that if some sort of partition comes, it will not imply that the entire north of Kosovo belongs to Serbia.

"I think that Kosovo will have to give up a small area important for Serbia. It includes a part of Kopaonik and some villages in Leposavic. However, Serbia will have to renounce some villages near Presevo, in return," Stanojkovic says.
INTEGRATION OF THE JUDICIARY- A YEAR LATER

**Date: October 24th, 2018**

A year has passed since the integration of Serbian judges and prosecutors into the Kosovo judicial system. Judge of the Supreme Court of Kosovo, Jelena Krivokapic, says that "the single greatest advantage of the integration may be that the citizens do not have to seek justice in two different courts, that is, in two different legal systems."

Krivokapic added that, in the past 12 months, there had been scarce cases from the North that came to the Supreme Court of Kosovo… "The Supreme Court is the last instance in which potential errors from the Basic or Appellate Courts can be corrected. However, this does not happen." - says Krivokapic.

The Director of the Center for the Advocacy of Democratic Culture, Dusan Radakovic, said that the integrated Kosovo judiciary had been facing more or less the same problems for a year. Radakovic mentioned the problems with translation, a large number of unresolved cases, problems that citizens have with documentation and outdated cases, etc. However, he stressed that the expertise of judges and prosecutors who had been integrated a year before, should not be questioned having in mind their experience and expertise.

CIVIL SECTOR IN KOSOVO, POTENTIAL, COOPERATION AND CHANCES

**Date: December 7th, 2018**

Cooperation between Serbian and Albanian NGOs in Kosovo is fairly good, but there is a huge space for improvement. This was, among other things, said at the Mitrovica Social Club organized in Pristina by the NGO "Aktiv" from North Mitrovica.

The Head of Aktiv’s office in Pristina, Boban Simic, noted that after the Brussels Agreement cooperation between Serbian and Albanian organizations is way better. He also added that cooperation is inevitable in situations in which the common interests are recognized.
The Director of the NGO "Forum for Development and Multiethnic Cooperation" Dejan Radivojević emphasized at the same event that the cooperation between Albanian and Serbian NGOs in Kosovo is relatively good and that it depended on many factors, and especially on political circumstances. However, he adds that the interests of certain organizations overlap, so there may be cooperation between them.

The Director of the "Balkan Policy Research Group" Naim Rasiti believes that it is necessary to develop sectoral cooperation between the civil society organizations in Kosovo. He said that there were ten NGOs in Kosovo that had a vision of how to finalize the Brussels Agreement. He also stressed that the NGOs in Pristina started a petition regarding visa liberalization for Kosovo but did not see any Serbian non-governmental organization supporting it. According to him, that's an example of a bad cooperation among Kosovo Serb and Kosovo Albanian NGOs.

DISCUSSING THE KOSOVO ARMY FROM A SECURITY PERSPECTIVE

Date: December 20th, 2018

"Kosovo Army has no capacity to spread to the North, and there is neither the political will nor the logic that would justify it. Secondly, there is this legal framework reached between the NATO and the Government of Kosovo according to which KSF can come to the North exclusively with the consent of the NATO and KFOR," – Director of KCSS Florian Qehaja said on the seventh MSC debate.

Essentially, the changes will take place in the mandate. KSF played the role of civil defense, demining, and had individual military capabilities. Now they have a typical defense mandate" - says Qehaja.

The Security researcher Veroljub Petronic thinks that the reason for the fear present within population, particularly in the North, lies in the unwillingness of both Pristina and Belgrade to provide complete information about what this transformation really means for them.
Discussing the role of KFOR in Kosovo, both panelists agreed that forming the Army would not, in any way, affect the mandate of the International Military Mission whose presence and role are defined by the Resolution 1244.

The accusations in which Pristina was blamed for violating its own constitution through its decision to form an army, Qehaja considered as untruthful. He noted that the disagreement was caused by the name of the forces, but adds that, if there were any legal obstacles, no bilateral partner of Kosovo would support it.

WHAT HAS CHANGED AFTER JANUARY 16TH, 2018?

Date: January 15th, 2019

Ms. Ksenija Bozovic - Vice President of Citizen Initiative "Serbia, Democracy, Justice", Mr. Budimir Nicic - President of the Association of Journalists of Serbia in Kosovo, and Mr. Miodrag Milicevic - Executive Director of the NGO AKTIV addressed the topic of "What has changed after January 16, 2018" at the MSC debate.

Miodrag Milicevic pointed out that the situation was quite alarming and that it was accompanied both by the noticeable trend of people leaving Kosovo and collective apathy. He underlined the fact that this issue should not be forgotten and that its necessary to keep it in the spotlight.

"This is a political murder, and every political murder has its own goal and message. This was a message to politicians, perhaps even to the followers of Oliver Ivanovic or to the ordinary citizens that something like that might happen to them," said Nicic. He believes that an independent international expert commission should be formed to work with on this case.
Ksenija Bozovic said that the investigation was heading in the wrong direction and was unprofessionally conducted from the very beginning, adding that "the murder of Oliver Ivanovic killed the hope that this could be a normal, democratic society".

**SOCIO-POLITICAL CRITICISM THROUGH ARTISTIC EXPRESSION**

*Date: February 14th, 2019*

Cultural- artistic expression has historically been the first indicator of people’s dissatisfaction with the way certain issues were or were not dealt with. An artist inevitably deals with politics in its original form, the form that involves the constant engagement of a man in the process of creation of a better and more organized society, regardless of the potential high price.

The panelists believe that criticism in art has always existed and find it impossible for an artist to avoid it, if he, aside from being a musician, writer, actor, painter etc., wants to be a personality, too. "It is not a question of whether an artist has the need to criticize, but whether what he says causes any kind of reaction of the political elite", says Dundjerin.

Nebojsa Simeunovic, notes that rock and roll has become business, and that if you want to criticize, you must truly live for rock and roll, without the expectation of living off it." Everything that affects us in our society, we convey through our music, but we do not live off it. If at any moment we started regarding it as business and thinking about making money of rock 'n' roll and living off it, we would have to abolish the criticism", said Simeunovic.

**DIALOGUE THAT WENT IN A WRONG DIRECTION**

*Date: March 27th, 2019*

The chances of ending dialogue between Belgrade and Prishtina during the mandate of Federica Mogherini are fairly low. The Kosovo Platform is an end of the Brussels Agreement. Kosovan and Serbian political elites are not ready to
make a compromise. In regard to that, the taxes on Serbian and Bosnian goods imposed by Kosovo Government are damaging for Kosovo.

The president of Serbian movement of resistance, Momcilo Trajkovic estimates that there is no true will to normalize relations between Belgrade and Prishtina. "I believe that those relations are rather established between ordinary people than between political elites, but unfortunately whenever the politics gets involved it affects those previously established relations among people.” He adds that partition would make things more complicated and that Serbs who live south of the river Ibar would have no chance of surviving and would probably get evicted from that part of the Kosovo’s territory. He also believes that the dialogue should be conducted between Kosovo Serbs and Kosovo Albanians.

The director of RTV Mitrovica Nexmedin Spahiu highlighted that there is a core interest in normalizing relations between Belgrade and Pristina, but that it is necessary to see what the politicians from both Belgrade and Prishtina are really doing regarding that matter. "The whole region cannot go forward if there is no stability. The foreign investors are not interested if Albanians, Serbs or Montenegrins are guilty for the current situation or not… they can invest if there’s peace and stability, if there’s no such things they go further away and invest in more stable societies", Spahiu noted.

Kosovo needs to be officially recognized by Serbia. On the other hand, Serbia`s interest should be to preserve its influence in the region and to ensure that Kosovo Serbs stay endangered, Spahiu added. He estimates that the issue of taxes imposed by the Kosovo Government on Serbian and Bosnian goods are a decision taken by the political class in Kosovo and as such it primarily goes to the detriment of Kosovo.
4. TV SHOW SPORAZOOM

TV Show "Sporazum" is a political talk show which was created with the aim to inform people and open debates on important political questions and challenges facing Kosovo. The idea of this TV Show is to initiate discussion on burning political issues in Kosovo on both a local and a regional level, thus affecting citizen’s perceptions of these matters on a regional level. Moreover, it gives the unique opportunity for ordinary people to be heard and to directly pose some questions to members of the political elite sitting in our TV studio. Sixteen episodes were produced and broadcast during the last season.

1. Sporazoom 1 - Ten years of Kosovo Independence
   - Belul Beqaj- Political Analyst
   - Momcilo Trajkovic- President of the Serbian National Forum
   - Nenad Rasic, Leader of the Progressive Democratic Party
   **Statement:** Petar Miletic, Former Deputy Chairman of the Assembly of Kosovo

_Broadcast date: February 21st, 2018._
The topic of the first Sporazoom in 2018 was related to the years of Kosovo’s independence. The guests talked about the European integration, continuation of the Brussels Agreement, attitudes of the international community regarding Kosovo’s future path. Furthermore, the guests discussed the position of the Serbian community in Kosovo and whether or not they support joining the EU and further integration into Kosovo society. Furthermore, the guests talked about whether or not the current political scene is adequate enough and if it can support Kosovo’s future.

2. Sporazoom 2 - Facing the Kosovo Special Court for War Crimes
   - Nora Ahmetaj, Civil Society Activist
   - Bekim Blakaj, Executive Director of the Humanitarian Law Center in Kosovo
   - Veljko Odalović, President of the Commission of the Government of Serbia for Missing Persons
   - Nebojša Vlajic, lawyer
   **Statement:** Avis Benes, Specialist Chamber Spokesperson
Guests of this episode of Sporazoom talked about the Special Court, the possible impact of the Special Court on the Kosovo's political scene and the potential impact of the court on relations between Prishtina and Belgrade.

3. Sporazoom 3 - Security and Security Perception in Kosovo
   - Ksenija Bozovic, Municipal Assembly member
   - Florian Qehaja, Director of the Kosovo Center for Security Studies
   - Milan Radojevic, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs in Kosovo
   
   **Statement:** Besim Hoti, Deputy Commander of Kosovo Police for the region of North Kosovo

Broadcast date: March 21st, 2018.

The guests of this episode of Sporazoom talked about the structure and fight against crime in Kosovo, the level trust that citizens have in security and justice institutions, as well as about the murder of Oliver Ivanovic. Aside from this, guests discussed the impact of the Brussels dialogue on security, as well as the cooperation between Serbian and Kosovan police through EULEX. Additionally, the guests talked about a rise in violence among young adults and juveniles and the results that Kosovo Police achieved in detecting criminal offences in North Kosovo.

4. Sporazoom 4 - Current Political Situation in Kosovo
   - Rada Trajkovic, President of the European Movement for Serbs
   - Krenar Gashi, Political Scientist
   - Marko Savkovic, Program director of the Belgrade Forum for Political Excellence

   **Statements:** Augustin Polokaj, correspondent of Koha Ditore and Jutarnji list from Brussels, Dusan Gajic, correspondent of RTS from Brussels
Broadcast date: April 4th, 2018
The guests of this episode of Sporazoom talked about the consequences of Kosovo Police intervention in the case of the arrest of the Director of the Office for Kosovo and Metohija, Marko Djuric on March 26th, 2018 in North Mitrovica. The guests also discussed the fate of the Brussels dialogue and foreign policy in the context of the latest political crisis.

5. Sporazoom 5 - Fifth Anniversary of the Brussels Agreement: on paper and in practice

- Goran Bogdanovic, Former Minister for Kosovo and Metohija
- Nexhmedin Spahiu, Analyst
- Zeljko Tvrdisic, Chief Editor of Radio “Kontakt plus”

Broadcast date: April 18th, 2018
On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Brussels Agreement the guests of the fifth episode of Sporazoom talked about the process of reconciliation and normalization of relations, the Association of the Kosovo Serb municipalities and role of the negotiating parties and the EU as mediators in the dialogue between Belgrade and Prishtina.

6. Sporazoom 6 - Safety of Journalists in Kosovo

- Sanja Sovrlic, Editor of the Crno- beli svet platform
- Hisni Syla, President of the Association of Journalists of South Mitrovica,
- Goran Avramovic, editor-in-chief of RTV Kim

Statement: Veran Matic, President of the Commission for Investigating murders of journalists in Serbia.
Kosovo journalists discussed safety, as well as investigative journalism and cooperation between Serbian and Albanian journalists. Furthermore, they talked about the cases of murdered and missing journalists and the fate of those cases if and how it will be resolved.

7. **Sporazoom 7 - Cultural Scene in Kosovo**
   - Jelena Bogavac, Playwright of the Bitef Theater
   - Aleksandar Dundjerin, Director of the private gallery “Akvarijus”
   - Enver Petrovci, Actor and director

Broadcast date: May 16th, 2018

The topics discussed were as follows: the non-existent cultural cooperation between Belgrade and Prishtina, the successful example of cooperation of Serbian and Kosovan cultural workers, the eventual cultural initiative in the future.

8. **Sporazoom 8 - Current socio-political momentum of the Kosovo Serb community**
   - Aleksandar Djikic, President of the Serbian National Forum
   - Nenad Rasic, Former minister in the Kosovo government

Broadcast date: May 30th, 2018

An internal dialogue, initiated by the authorities in Belgrade, was seen as an exclusive process that did not provide space for the presentation of different views and attitudes of Kosovo Serbs and which, when involving representatives of the Serbian community from Kosovo, was limited to narrow interest groups. Therefore, the goal of this episode of Sporazoom was to allow to the independent leaders of Kosovo Serbs to express their opinion about what it might be the final solution of the Republic of Serbia for the Kosovo problem. The main topics covered in this episode were: demographic sustainability, participation of Kosovo Serbs in Kosovo institutions, connections with Belgrade, national and ethnic identity of Kosovo Serbs and the security and prosperity of the Serbian community.

9. **Sporazoom 9 - Interview with the Ambassador of the United Kingdom**
   - Ruairí O’Connell, Ambassador of the United Kingdom in Prishtina

Statement: Miodrag Marinkovic, Program Director of NGO “Aktiv”


Broadcast date: June 13th, 2018
His Excellency, Ambassador of the United Kingdom in Prishtina talked about the challenges and perspectives of the Brussels Agreement. He also commented on the increased number of attacks against Kosovo Serbs and their property. He also went on to comment on the causes and consequences, as well as the impact and significance of the international community in Kosovo.

10. Sporazoom 10 - The Perspective of the Brussels Agreement

• Dusan Janjic, Founder of the Forum for Ethnic Relations,
• Agron Bajrami, Editor-in-chief of Koha Ditore
• Aleksandar Corac, Member of the Serbian National Forum

Broadcast date: June 27th, 2018.
The final episode of the fourth cycle was dedicated to summarizing of the Brussels Dialogue, starting from the technical negotiations, to a comprehensive agreement. The guests commented and discussed their views of possible scenarios of the Brussels Agreement, its achievements and results so far, as well as its final scenario.

11. Sporazoom 11 - Towards a comprehensive (legally binding) agreement of Prishtina and Belgrade

• Bodo Veber, Democratization Policy Council from Berlin
• Agron Bajrami, editor-in-chief of Koha Ditore
• Nenad Radosavljevic, Director of RTV Mir

Broadcast date: September 26th, 2018
In the first episode of the fifth cycle of TV Show Sporazoom the participants talked about a potential agreement between Prishtina and Belgrade. They also
covered the perspectives, possibilities and consequences of an agreement. The
guest of this episode also talked about the intersection of the implementation of
agreed solutions, expectations and possible scenarios within the framework of
the continuation of the Brussels dialogue, the demarcation initiatives, border
correction between Serbia and Kosovo - the internal, regional and international
political aspect, and the previous investments of Serbia in Kosovo and the
announcements of new major projects.

- Dusan Janjic, The founder of the Forum for Ethnic Relations in Belgrade
- Ramush Tahiri, Former adviser of the ex-president of Kosovo

Statement: Stefan Surlic, Political Scientist

Broadcast date: October 10th, 2018
This episode was dedicated to the continuation of the dialogue in Brussels and
how far we are far from the legally binding agreement. Analysts from Belgrade
and Pristina talked about the visits of the two leaders: Hashim Thaci to northern
Kosovo, and Aleksandar Vucic to Moscow. In addition to these, the following
topics were also discussed - Serbian and Kosovo delegation in the United
Nations, the foreign policy aspect of Belgrade-Pristina relations, as well as the
issues of the continuation of the Brussels Dialogue.

13. Sporazoom 13 - Citizens` Engagement in the dialogue between
Belgrade and Prishtina
- Jeta Krasniqi, Kosovo Democratic Institute in Pristina
- Marko Savkovic, Belgrade Center for Political Excellence

Statement: Miodrag Milicevic, Executive Director of NGO “Aktiv”
The guests commented on the mechanisms that guarantee citizen’s participation in Brussels dialogue, as well as the citizens’ attitudes towards demarcation/border correction, including citizen’s commitment to the European values and the European Union. They further discussed the role that citizens have in normalizing relations between Prishtina and Belgrade, together with the relevant representatives of the civil sector.

14. Sporazoom 14 - Participation of “the fourth estate” in Kosovo

- Jelena Petkovic, Member of the Board of the Association of Journalists of Serbia
- Besa Luci, Editor of the online magazine Kosovo 2.0
- Tanja Vujisic, Correspondent of Radio Belgrade from Mitrovica

**Statement:** Milica Radovanovic, journalist of the portal “KoSSev” and Fatmir Sheholi, Director of the Institute for the Affirmation of Interethnic Relations

Broadcast date: November 7th, 2018

The topic discussed were as follows: the language of public discourse- between human rights and freedoms and ethical and legal barriers. Additionally, the three journalists in studio discussed important issues, such as: hate speech in Kosovo and the region, spin, fake news, non-transparency and the strengths and weaknesses of “the fourth estate” in Kosovo.

15. Sporazoom special edition - Brussels Dialogue in 2018

- Behlul Beqaj, Political Analyst
- Dusan Janjic, Political Analyst

**Statements:** Zivojin Rakocevic- Journalist, Nedxmedin Spahiu- Director of TV Mitrovica, Nenad Radosavljevic- Director of RTV Mir, Florian Qehaja- Director of the Kosovo Center for Security Studies.

Broadcast date: December 5th, 2018.

In December 2018 two specials of TV Show Sporazoom were produced and broadcasted. In the first special edition of the show the main topics discussed were closely related to the process of normalization of relations between Belgrade and Prishtina in 2018. Will the dialogue continue, who is losing and who benefits from it and what are the consequences of ending the relations are some of the questions that were additionally discussed in this special edition of the last episode of Sporazoom for 2018.

- Belul Beqaj, Political Analyst
- Dusan Janjic, Political Analyst

Statements: Zivojin Rakocevic- Journalist, Nedxmedin Spahiu- Director of TV Mitrovica, Nenad Radosavljevic- Director of RTV Mir, Florian Qehaja- Director of the Kosovo Center for Security Studies, Luan Shlaku- Director of the Kosovo Foundation for an Open Society (KFOS), Ruairí O’Connell- Ambassador of the United Kingdom in Prishtina, Zoran Kesic- journalist and editor of TV Show “24 minuta”. Dusan Gajic- correspondent of RTS from Brussels, Agustin Polokaj, correspondent of Koha Ditore from Brussels

Broadcast date: December 12th, 2018

Withdrawal of the recognition of Kosovo’s independence, Kosovo’s failure to get admitted to the Interpol, the 100% tariffs on products from Serbia and Bosnia, the key challenges for the EU in the Western Balkans in the next year, the security situation in Kosovo and predications of what awaits us in 2019 were some of the issues discussed in the special edition of the fifth session of Sporazoom.
5. FORUM FUTURE

In 2018, Aktiv created a forum to facilitate dialogue between Serbs and Albanians at the non-political level. The aim of involving local and national leaders in these talks is to establish professional dialogue within the historical and social context based on mutual relations and the key interests of communities and potential for better cooperation in the future. The representatives of the professional and academic community, civil sector and media participated in three initiatives within the forum and discussed past, present and the future of the Serbian-Albanian relations in Kosovo and the region. The participants had a chance to familiarize themselves with the results of the survey on mutual perceptions of Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo within the second initiative of the forum.

HISTORICAL COHABITATION OF SERBS AND ALBANIANS IN KOSOVO IN XIX AND XX CENTURY

Date: May 25th, 2018

Aleksandar Pavlovic, a researcher with the Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory at the University of Belgrade stated that the conflict between Serbs and Albanians has never been particularly vast and that there is a need to confront the past.

Shkelzen Gashi wrote a research study that looked into how relations between Serbs and Albanians were discussed in primary and high school history textbooks in Kosovo and Serbia. “Hence the textbooks that Hashim Thaci and Aleksandar Vučić studied from where much more succinct and accurate than the ones that students have today and that are produced by the countries that those two govern,” said Gashi.

It’s necessary to confront with the past, we are the first people to have difficult historical experiences, not the only, not the first and not the last. Until we
confront those “enmities” between us we can’t expect to build a positive relationship between us,” doctoral student in history Milos Damjanovic said.

Joanna Hanson, speaking on behalf of “New Perspectives” from Priština, said that it’s very important to open a discussion on the constructive aspects of Serbian-Albanian history.

“I think we have to go forward with this knowledge and not waste time asking ourselves who’s right and who’s guilty in history and we should be blamed,” Hanson concluded.

MUTUAL PERCEPTIONS OF SERBS AND ALBANIANS IN KOSOVO

*Date: December 7th, 2018*

According to a research conducted by the NGO "Aktiv" from North Mitrovica on stereotypes between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo, nearly 80% of the Serbian and Albanian population could accept closer forms of cooperation with members of the other nationality. The Albanians see a solution for the rapprochement between Serbs and Albanians in joining the EU, while the Serbs see it in the economic cooperation. As the main cause of the unfavorable situation in Kosovo, members of the Serbian community pointed to ethnic conflicts, incompetence of politicians and Albanians. On the other hand, Albanians believe that the main cause of such situation is the inability of Albanians to lead Kosovo and incompetent politicians. The most important piece of information is that both communities believe in reconciliation.

The Director of the Center for Humanitarian Law, Bekim Blakaj said that the ethnic distance between Albanians and Serbs had increased over time and that, less than five years before, there had been fewer stereotypes. He added that the media and education played a negative role while giving an example of Kosovo books that contain very biased information and mention only Albanian war victims, without mentioning the missing and killed from other ethnic communities.
“It is difficult to assess the nature of the relationship between communities, and whether the stereotypes about each other will be more or less frequent in the future,” - said Nebojša Vladisavljević, professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade. “It particularly depends on the international factors and actions of the authorities at different levels. It is in human nature to hope for the better, and that was proven at the end of this research” - he said.

A journalist and writer, Živojin Rakočević, estimated that the development of democracy will affect the presence of “walls and stereotypes” between Serbs and Albanians in the future. "In the period of the most horrific conflicts in 1999, 2000 and 2004, and during the worst hermetic isolation of Serbs in Kosovo, we had more hope in democracy than today. On all sides, we could see more democratic potential than nowadays" - he said.

**FUTURE OF RELATIONS OF SERBS AND ALBANIANS**

*Date: March 18th, 2019*

The most important conclusions at the Forum Future were that: a comprehensive agreement on the normalization of relations between Serbia and Kosovo is necessary and should guarantee a multiethnic character of Kosovo, while the future of relations between Serbs and Albanians depends on the discourses of Pristina and Belgrade.

“The key interest of Serbia is to protect and preserve the Kosovo Serb community as a significant social and political element of Kosovo, while the key interest of Prishtina would be to conclude the story about the sovereignty and secure membership in international organizations,” political scientist Stefan Surlic said.

A civil activist from Pristina, Teuta Hodxa emphasized that the existing political elites in Kosovo and Serbia will not succeed in reaching long-term solution. She believes that dialogue went in a negative direction, since neither side responded to the needs of society.
The Political Science professor in Prishtina, Adem Beha, emphasized that if there were a project to draw borders or exchange territories, it could become the foundation of a new conflict between Serbs and Albanians. Beha points out that the idea of exchanging territory is dangerous for Serbs, because part of the them would have to move away from Kosovo, and that would destroy all international investments in creating a multiethnic society.

Editor of “Crno Beli svet” platform, Sanja Sovrlic, points out that political crises are often an excuse for the fact that institutions do not do their job and do not deal with the real problems of their citizens. “We are constantly having crises that leave ordinary people’s life aside... I see the opportunity to improve the relationship between the Serbs and Albanians through improving the quality of life of citizens” – Sovrlic concluded.
6. POINT ONE

Point One (.1) is a Platform for qualitative research of public opinion and statistical analysis of data. The purpose of this platform is to support various types of initiatives with accurate and argumentative data derived from quantitative public opinion research of primarily Serbs in Kosovo. In 2018, three such surveys were conducted in municipalities with Kosovo Serb majority.

EVERY THIRD PERSON FROM ENCLAVES WANTS TO LEAVE KOSOVO IN THE NEXT THREE YEARS

The first statistical survey, conducted in Serb inhabited areas south of the Ibar River, indicates the alarming data regarding the position of young people. Only 32% of young people between 18 and 30 years old intend to stay and build their lives in the places where they currently live in. Proportionally the same number of respondents are either firmly determined to leave (35%) or seriously think about it (33%). According to the young people in Kosovo main reasons for leaving are unemployment (48.5%) and better living conditions in other places (19.5%). The data shows that 56% of respondents plans to leave in the next three years. In addition, the respondents stated that local authorities do not have enough understanding about the problems of young people (66%) and that no one really cares in general about the needs of youth (74.6%).

The survey was conducted on May 1st, 2018 on a sample of 200 young people.

ATTITUDES OF SERBIAN COMMUNITY IN KOSOVO ABOUT THE IDEA OF PARTITION/ DEMARCATION

The issue of a long-term solution of the status of Kosovo is subject to expert discussions within post-Yugoslav communities and beyond them. Since the break-up of the armed conflict in 1999, a surprisingly large number of plans, drafts, agreements and proposals have been proposed, which to a different extent envisaged protection or were a guarantee to the autonomy of Kosovo as part of Serbia.

Among other things, the Brussels agreement enjoys the greatest political success that provided Belgrade and Pristina with a framework for eventual normalization of relations, which would also protect and secure the rights and privileges of the Serb community in Kosovo. However, the lack of clarity of the
agreement (at least perceived by public opinion), as well as the lack of transparency in the process of dialogue have led to a situation that can be characterized as a state of confusion and discord. This state of affairs has contributed to the revival and imposing the idea of a division or demarcation of Kosovo as a way of achieving the normalization of political relations between Belgrade and Pristina. The absence of tangible details about the potential appearance of such a solution in practice created the space for many speculations and contributed to the general fear and insecurity among the local population, both among Serbs and among Albanians.

NGO AKTIV measures the influence of political events on the local population, as well as the ways in which it can cause socio-economic changes in the Serb community north and south of the Ibar River. The special attention is given to the matter of partition/demarcation: a) to what extent the Serbian community in Kosovo understands and/or accepts the division as a viable solution; and b) whether local communities perceive division as something that would jeopardize the future of Kosovo, if Yes in what way?

AKTIV conducted two different surveys to examine opinions among Serbs in north Kosovo and in other areas mostly inhabited by Kosovo Serbs south of the Ibar river. The survey was conducted in two municipalities in northern Kosovo (North Mitrovica and Zvecan) on a sample of 202 participants. When asked about their attitude towards partition, almost half (49%) of respondents replied that they are against it. About one quarter of respondents (24%) pointed out that it fully or partially supports the potential partition of Kosovo. The 17% of the total number of surveyed participants answered that they don’t have enough information about partition, while 10% or respondents didn’t want to answer or doesn’t have any opinion about the mentioned topic.

As previously mentioned this research was also conducted in the municipalities south of the Ibar river. In total 197 respondents were surveyed. Almost two-thirds of the respondents (65%) emphasized that they are completely opposed to potential partition of Kosovo. This is the clear distinction between opinions of Serbs from northern Kosovo and Serbs from the “south.” In addition, 15% of the total number of respondents answered that they are partially or fully in favor of partition, which is 9% less than in North Mitrovica and Zvecan. The differences in the answers between Serbs living north and south of the Ibar are large. This can be explained by the fears of Serbs living south of the Ibar river that in case of partition they will lose formal ties with Serbia.

This research was conducted at the beginning of December 2018.
7. SUPPORT IN ORGANIZING ADDITIONAL PROJECT ACTIVITIES

The Civic Energy Center hosted 177 events in the period from February 2018, until the end of the project period (31.03.2019). The center was visited by 3000 people which lead to the total number of 155 organized events and more than 12,500 people. Conferences, trainings, workshops, public debates, TV Shows are only part of the program that was organized and implemented in CEC.

Some of events that were organized in CEC were the School of the European Integration, conferences with a purpose of sharing the results of a great importance for the community, as well as presentation of the policy papers and analysis of crucial importance for Serbia, Kosovo and the region. One of such conferences that was organized in CEC is the Trend Analysis, an annual publication on the attitudes of Serbs from the north of Kosovo on socio-political, economic, security and other aspects of life in Kosovo.

Furthermore, several trainings and workshops were organized for the representatives of the civil sector, students and citizens on various topics, such as labor and social policy, gender budgeting, the fight against corruption and violent extremism, etc. In addition, Serbian and Albanian NGOs from Kosovo organized a series of public discussions, workshops and info sessions on various topics, while international organizations held various meetings with representatives of civil society in Kosovo.