Promoting Democratic Values Among Youth – Student Debates 2016/2017

Key Findings of the Survey

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Introduction

From October 2016, MESA10 from Bratislava, Slovakia and Center for Euro – Atlantic Studies (CEAS) from Belgrade, Serbia implemented fourth round of Student debates, a project implemented with the support of National Endowment for democracy from USA. We continued to work with two universities from Serbia (the University of Belgrade and University of Novi Sad) and two from Slovakia (Comenius University of Bratislava and Matej Bel University of Banská Bystrica) as partners for the project. The project expanded to include a university from: Bosnia and Herzegovina (International University of Sarajevo), from Montenegro (University of Montenegro) and from Moldova (Academy of Economic Studies of Chișinău).

The project aims at promoting democratic values, strengthening debating skills and encouraging independent and critical thinking among university students from five countries. Activities of this project included: two rounds of the debates among 35 students from participating universities, one in December 2016 held in Slovakia and one in April 2017 held in Belgrade; tailor made online lectures (workshops) by experts in various fields aiming to help students to prepare for the debates; survey collected at the participating universities on the topics of NATO and EU integration, Russia and its efforts to influence Balkan countries; Current security threats; political situation in the EU, etc. and publishing of the results of the surveys in a form of online and printed handout at the two presentation events in Podgorica (Montenegro) and other in Chișinău (Moldova); and presentation of Academic publication with the essays on the debate topics, composed by university students and professors.

One of the goals of this project was focused on making connections between students from the participating universities in order to share experiences as well as making quality institutional connection and collaboration with the universities, its professors and university coordinators.

The debate topics were following: Significance of Chancellor Merkel congratulating the President-elect Trump and meaning of her statement and expectations of cooperation between EU and new administration of the United States; Increased number of pro-Russian electoral candidates in the elections of the EU member countries and its effect on the EU; The effects of Brexit; The expectations of the May NATO leaders summit in Brussels; Income of Presidential elections in France and Germany.

In this publication MESA 10 and Center for Euro-Atlantic Studies (CEAS) present results of the surveys conducted in December 2016 and April 2017 among five states, seven universities with more than 3500 students surveyed.

In December 2016 (fall semester), 1753 students were polled, and in April 2017 (spring semester), 1644 students were polled in all five countries. Most of the questions were repeated
in both surveys. Slight modifications in April 2017 reflected the recent developments in world politics or addressed new issues.

Main themes of the survey were:

1. **Students prefer liberal democracy and the West**

As the surveys show, students gave clear preference to democracy, prosperity and social welfare as these are represented by the EU and NATO countries. 52% said these are the values, which make EU and NATO countries attractive to them. Only 17% students are attracted by Russia's democracy, prosperity and social welfare. Furthermore, for 44% of students, Russia is not attractive at all, while 39% of students are attracted by Russia's political and military strength. About a quarter of respondents (26%) do not see any attractiveness of the EU and NATO countries, similar percentage (22%) value their military and political strength. The strongest attraction by EU and NATO's democracy, prosperity and social welfare is felt in Moldova (71%), the weakest in Bosnia and Herzegovina (31%). Out of the countries of the Western Balkans, Montenegro results show the most balanced composition of opinion between EU and NATO countries on one side (43%), and Russia on the other (32%), in favor of the former.

2. **European Union is an ultimate goal for majority of the students**

Out of five countries included in the project only Slovakia is an EU member state. The other four countries are recently at different stage of integration process. Nevertheless, EU membership is an attractive objective - most of the students would like to sustain or to achieve it. Clear majority – 55% expressed this view. However, students expressed more skeptical views in answering the question if they believe the Western Balkan countries will ever join the EU – 37% of respondents (in both surveys) responded negatively whereas 39% gave positive response. 24% had no opinion.

Based on the surveys, according to 40% of students, the **European Union represents the most prosperous and efficient cooperation project on the European continent**. Other options were selected by significant fewer respondents, namely: 19% said Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States represent such project; the same percentage opted for OSCE. However, more than one fifth said that there is none truly cooperative project in Europe. This opinion must be taken seriously. Highest percentages of these skeptical views were in Serbia -29%.

Overall, 60% of students consider the EU to be a **natural space** to which their country belongs or they would like is to belong. The strongest pull is felt in Slovakia (79%), followed by Moldova (71%), the weakest in Serbia.

Also, the EU countries are a “pull factor” for **job and study of 53% of students**. The strongest drive for studying or working in the EU can be found among the students in Moldova (58%)
and Slovakia (57%), but also in Serbia (51%), whereas in Montenegro it was at 33% and in Bosnia and Herzegovina at 32%- there staying at home (35%) is the most frequent response.

3. NATO means security

In spite of reservations against NATO, the overall picture is positive and encouraging – 46% of respondents said „Security provided and prosperity protected by NATO is useful”; 28% shared the opposite view. However, it is less than in December 2016, when it reached 36%. Similarly to other questions, there are differences among the groups of students – on the positive pole, mostly Slovakia (58% of affirmative responses), on the negative pole, mostly Serbia – with just 29%.

Out of Western Balkans countries, it is in Montenegro, where the highest numbers of students believe that NATO plays a positive political and economic role in their country (49%).

4. Populism and extremism are threats to democracy

Students are aware of threats to democracy. Almost two thirds of students see extremism as rising or staying about the same, only 20% said it does not exist and 16% saw it on decline. Rising extremism is a phenomenon in Slovakia (a clear majority - 57% of Slovak respondents said).

In December 2016 survey, the students were asked if they believe that the rise of extreme, euro-sceptic, and populist parties and political leaders across the EU was a threat to EU cooperation and integration - all in all, roughly 60% responded agreeably.

5. Students and the public life

The students tend to be active citizens. On average, 61% of students would vote and 26% would run for an elective office. The levels they would run at are almost evenly distributed between local, regional, national and transnational. This is a very optimistic picture of participation potential for the future of all five countries.

This handout aims at presenting the results of the survey in more detailed way with parallels between the results from December 2016 and April 2017.
1. Students prefer liberal democracy and the West

- Students gave clear preference to democracy, prosperity and social welfare as these are represented by the EU and NATO countries – 52% said these are the values which make these countries attractive to them.

![Graph 1: EU and NATO countries/Russia are attractive to you because of their ... (April 2017)](image)

- About a quarter of respondents (26%) do not see any attractiveness of the EU and NATO countries, and similar percentage (22%) value their military and political strength.

![Graph 2: EU and NATO countries/Russia are attractive to you because of democracy, prosperity, social welfare (April 2017)](image)

- As for Russia, only 17% said they value its democracy, prosperity and social welfare. The most frequent response with regard to Russia was: the country is not attractive at all (44%), followed by the attractiveness of its political and military strength (39%).

Source: SIV/2017
• There are differences among the students across five countries. The pro-West front-runners are students from Moldova (75%), followed by the Slovaks (60%). Students from Serbia and Montenegro are less enthusiastic (45% and 43% respectively) and the most distant position to the EU and NATO countries is presented by students from Bosnia and Herzegovina (only 31%)

Graph 3:
EU and NATO countries are attractive to you because of their: (responses in %) December 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Democracy, prosperity, social welfare</th>
<th>Political and military strength at home and abroad</th>
<th>Not attractive at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOSNA-HERZEGOVINA</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOLDOVA</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONTENEGRO</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERBIA</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOVAKIA</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SXII/2016

Graph 4:
EU and NATO countries are attractive to you because of their: (responses in %) April 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Democracy, prosperity, social welfare</th>
<th>Political and military strength at home and abroad</th>
<th>Not attractive at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOSNA-HERZEGOVINA</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOLDOVA</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONTENEGRO</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERBIA</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOVAKIA</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SIV/2017

• Interests of students varied depending on the semester. The general trend is a decline in attractiveness of democracy, prosperity and social welfare attributed to EU and NATO (down by 9, 8 and 7 points in Serbia, Slovakia and Montenegro respectively), with the exception of Moldova, where it went up 6 points, from 69% to 75%. BIH is the country where we see a significant drop in almost all questions related to EU (a decline from 57% to 31% )
According to 40% of students, the EU represents the most prosperous and efficient cooperation project on the European continent.

Only 19% said Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States represent such project and the same percentage “voted” for OSCE.

More than one fifth said that there is none truly cooperative project in Europe. Highest percentage of such skeptical views were in Serbia (29%).

**Graph 5:**
The most prosperous and efficient European cooperation project is today represented by (all five countries, responses in %, April 2017)

- The EU: 40%
- OSCE: 22%
- Russia and the Commonwealth of Ind. States: 19%
- Truly cooperative project does not exist: 19%

Source: SIV/2017
A clear majority - 53% would choose EU to complete their studies if they would have a scholarship or could pay for their education; other possibilities are less attractive - at home – 22%; elsewhere 15%, and in Russia just 10%

The same pattern could be seen with regard to future job after graduation, although in this question the gap between the options „in the EU“ and „at home“ is smaller (where 39% would prefer a job in a EU/NATO country and 36% would prefer a job at home); also 14% said they would like to get a job elsewhere and just 11% prefer to get a job in Russia.

Graph 6:
If you had a scholarship or could pay for your education, where would you complete your studies? (all five countries, responses in %, April 2017)

Graph 7:
Where would you like to get a job after graduation? (all five countries, responses in, April 2017 %)

Source: SXII/2016

Source: SIV/2017
The strongest drive for studying or working in the EU can be found among the students in Moldova (58%) and Slovakia (57%), but it is also the most attractive option in Serbia (51%) and Montenegro (33%); less students would decide in favor of the EU countries only in Bosnia and Herzegovina (32%), where staying at home is the most frequent response (35%).

As for Russia, a pattern of low percentages could be seen with regard to future job after graduation, where the highest percent of students who would prefer a job there is in Montenegro (17%) and BIH (14%); others are significantly less attracted in it with 9% in Serbia, 8% in Slovakia and just 7% in Moldova.

**Graph 8:**
If you had a scholarship or could pay for your education, where would you complete your studies? (responses in %, April 2017)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>in EU or NATO country</th>
<th>in Russia</th>
<th>at home</th>
<th>elsewhere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOSNA-HERZEGOVINA</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOLDOVA</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONTENEGRO</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERBIA</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOVAKIA</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SXII/2016
2. European Union is an ultimate goal for majority of the students

- EU membership is an attractive objective - most of the students would like to sustain or to achieve it (55%), while 28% were against it and 17% had no opinion.

- Students expressed more skeptical views in answering the question if they believe the Western Balkan countries will ever join the EU – 37% of respondents responded negatively whereas 39% gave positive response; 24% had no opinion.

  Graph 9:
  Do you want your country to remain or to become a member of the European Union?
  (all five countries, responses in %)

  - YES: 55%
  - NO: 28%
  - NO OPINION: 17%

  Source: SIV/2017

- Students beliefs on whether the countries from Western Balkans will ever join the EU varied depending on the semester in Serbia, Montenegro and BIH, with a spike of skepticism by 3 and 2 points in BIH and Serbia (from 38% to 35% in Serbia and from 40% to 38% in BIH); only in Montenegro were the students positive and showed a rise of 1 point (from 47% to 48%).

  Graph 10:
  Do you believe that most of the states of the Western Balkans and the EU’s East will ever join the EU?
  (all five countries, responses in %)

  - YES: 39%
  - NO: 37%
  - NO OPINION: 24%

  Source: SIV/2017
Graph Q6a:
Do you believe that most of the states of the Western Balkans and the EU's East will ever join the EU? (only YES responses, in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>December 2016</th>
<th>April 2017</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOSNA-HERZEGOVINA</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONTENEGRO</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERBIA</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SIV/2017
• There are variations among the non-member states – the EU membership is mostly desired in Moldova (65%), followed by three Western Balkan countries (55% in Serbia, 50% in Montenegro and just 36% in BIH)

• We see different dynamics in Serbia and BIH when comparing the polls from different semesters. Whereas in Serbia the portion of the pro-EU students increased (from 43% to 55%) in BIH it declined (from 55% to 36%); in Moldova the portion of the pro-EU students declined by 3 points (from 68% to 65%) and the situation in Montenegro stays the same (50%)

• As for Slovakia, the portion of the pro-EU students declined from 71% to 59%
Graph Q5a:
Do you want your country to become a member of the European Union?
(only YES responses, in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>December 2016</th>
<th>April 2017</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOSNA-HERZEGOVINA</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONTENEGRO</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERBIA</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SIV/2017

Graph 13:
In your opinion, the European Union is:
(all five countries, responses in %)

- Natural space to which your country belongs or you would like to belong: 60%
- Your country’s partner of which you don’t want to be a member: 25%
- A dangerous, enemy space which threatens your country: 15%

Source: SIV/2017
• Majority of students (60%) believe that the EU is their countries natural space they belong or want to belong to; 25% that the EU is their countries partner, but that membership is not desired and only 15% see the EU as dangerous space.

• Students from five countries differ in their views: in Slovakia, 79% of the students believe that the EU is their countries natural space, while that number is 71%, 61%, 55% and 46% for Moldova, BIH, Montenegro and Serbia respectively; 16% that the EU is their countries partner in Slovakia, while that number is 25% for Moldova, BIH and Montenegro and 36% for Serbia; and just 5% see the EU as dangerous space in Slovakia, while that number is 4%, 14%, 18% and 20% in Moldova, BIH, Serbia and Montenegro respectively.

Graph 14:
In your opinion, the European Union is (December 2016):

- Natural space to which your country belongs or you would like to belong
- Your country’s partner of which you don’t want to be a member
- A dangerous, enemy space which threatens your country

Source: SXII/2016
Comparison of the fall and the spring semester survey shows some difference in students opinion whether the EU is their countries natural space. The biggest change can be seen in BiH, where the support for EU fell by 19 points, from 61% to 42%, then in Slovakia, a fall by 9 points, from 79% to 70% and a fall by 5% in Montenegro, from 55% to 50%; a positive trend can be seen in the increase of pro EU students in Moldova by 3 points, from 71% to 74%, and in Serbia, an increase by 5 points, from 46% to 51%
Most students believe that the EU plays a positive role (65%) in the political and economic development of their country, while 25% believe that it plays a negative role and 10% believe it has no role at all.

**Graph 16:**
In the political and economic development of your country, the EU plays:
(all five countries, responses in %)

- 65% Positive role
- 25% Negative role
- 10% No role at all

Source: SIV/2017
The leading positive evaluators are students from Moldova (78% positive role to 15% negative role) and Slovakia (72% positive role to 18% negative role), then Serbia (65% positive role to 24% negative role) and Montenegro (51% positive role to 40% negative role) and finally BIH (38% positive role to 43% negative role).

As for the opinion that the EU has no role at all, the leading country is BIH (19%), then Serbia (11%), Slovakia (10%), Montenegro (9%) and finally Moldova (7%).

With regard to Serbian students we could observe a positive trend – in December 2016, 49% students gave a positive evaluation, whereas in April 2017 65% did so, while a negative trend can be seen in BIH (falling from 42% to 38%) and Montenegro (falling from 53% to 51%).

As for Germany, a positive evaluation clearly prevails over negative in four countries (a 60% positive to 17% negative in Slovakia, 54% to 7% in Moldova, 58% to 27% in Serbia and 49% to 29% in Montenegro) but not in BIH (a 31% positive to 46% negative role).

**Graph 17:**
In the political and economic development of your country, the EU plays (responses in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Positive role</th>
<th>No role at all</th>
<th>Negative role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia-Herzegovina</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldova</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Graph Q13:**
In political and economic development of your country EU plays... (only POSITIVE ROLE responses, in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>December 2016</th>
<th>April 2017</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia-Herzegovina</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SIV/2017
Graph 18: In the political and economic development of your country, Germany plays: (responses in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Positive role</th>
<th>Negative role</th>
<th>No role at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia-Herzegovina</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldova</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Positive role
Negative role
No role at all

Source: SIV/2017
3. NATO means security

- 44% of respondents said that security provided and prosperity protected by NATO is useful; 28% shared the opposite view and 28% had no opinion

Graph 19:
Security provided and prosperity protected by NATO is useful: (all five countries, responses in %)

- We see differences among the groups of students – on the positive pole, Slovakia (58% of affirmative responses), Moldova (47% of affirmative responses), Montenegro (40% of affirmative responses) and BIH (43% of affirmative responses) and on the negative pole, Serbia – with just 29%

Graph 20:
Security provided and prosperity protected by NATO is useful: (responses in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOSNA-HERZEGOVINA</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOLDOVA</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONTENEGRO</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERBIA</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOVAKIA</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SIV/2017
Almost half of the respondents (49%) said that the EU and the USA share enough values to cooperate in the future; 31% shared the opposite view and 20% had no opinion.

The leading positive evaluators are students from Moldova and Montenegro (both with 55%), then Serbia (with 53%), followed by Slovakia (42%) and finally BIH, which gave a negative answer (42%).
• Responses to the question of what role NATO plays in political and economic development of their country are divided in three almost equal shares (38% negative role to 32% positive and 30% no role at all)

Graph 23:
In the political and economic development of your country, NATO plays:
(all five countries, responses in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Positive role</th>
<th>Negative role</th>
<th>No role at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOSNA-HERZEGOVINA</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOLDOVA</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONTENEGRO</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERBIA</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOVAKIA</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SIV/2017

• We can see variations among the groups – among Slovak and Moldavian students the pro-NATO views prevail (55% positive role to 18% negative in Slovakia and 46% positive role to 13% negative in Moldova), whereas the countries of Western Balkans incline towards a more critical position, with 49% positive role to 37% negative in Montenegro, 24% positive role to 44% negative in Serbia, and 25% positive role to 49% negative in BIH

Graph 24:
In the political and economic development of your country, NATO plays:
(responses in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Positive role</th>
<th>Negative role</th>
<th>No role at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOSNA-HERZEGOVINA</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOLDOVA</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONTENEGRO</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERBIA</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOVAKIA</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SIV/2017
• With regard to Serbian students we could observe a positive trend – in December 2016, 17% students gave a positive evaluation of the role of NATO, whereas in April 2017 24% did so, while a negative trend can be seen in BIH (falling from 42% to 25%) and Montenegro (falling from 51% to 49%)

• When we compare the EU and NATO perceptions, the EU is a clear „winner“. None of the students give the advantage to NATO and the statistic is as follows: 78% of the students in Moldova are for the EU in comparison to 46% that are for NATO, 72% of the students from Slovakia are for the EU while 55% is for NATO, 65% of the students from Serbia are for the EU while just 24% is for NATO, 51% of the students from Montenegro are for the EU while 49% is for NATO and 38% of the students from Slovakia are for the EU while 25% is for NATO

Graph 25:
Positive role of the EU and NATO in the political and economic development of your country:

Graph Q13:
In political and economic development of your country EU plays...
(only POSITIVE ROLE responses, in %)
Students were asked to give their opinions on the NATO summit (held in May 2017). However, large part of them were not able to choose between two principled alternatives: „Will NATO reconfirm the commitments to the security of its members“ or „Prove that NATO is obsolete and will be dissolved shortly“ and responded with „no opinion“ (43%), while 38% chose the first alternative.

The distribution was different among those who participated in the students’ debate – out of this group „only“ 29% had no opinion and 48% chose the first alternative.
4. Populism and extremism are threats to democracy

- Almost two thirds of students see extremism as rising (34%) or staying about the same (30%), only 20% said it does not exist and 16% saw it on decline.

**Graph 27:**
In your opinion extremism in your country is:
(all five countries, responses in %)

- Respondents believe rising extremism is a phenomenon in Slovakia (57%) and Moldova (37%), while Serbia (37%), BIH (36%) and Montenegro (31%) respondents believe it has not changed.

**Graph 28:**
In your opinion, extremism in your country is: (responses in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Rising</th>
<th>Declining</th>
<th>Has not changed</th>
<th>Does not exist or is marginal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOSNA-HERZEGOVINA</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOLDOVA</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONTENEGRO</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERBIA</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOVAKIA</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SIV/2017
• Students were asked if they believe that the rise of extreme, euro-skeptic, and populist parties and political leaders across the EU is a threat to EU cooperation and integration and 61% responded agreeably, while 39% believe the opposite.

• The rising extremism is seen as the biggest threat in Slovakia (67%) and Serbia (64%), followed by Moldova and BIH (both at 58%) and finally Montenegro with 53%.

**Graph 29:**
We see the rise of extreme, euro-sceptic, and populist parties and political leaders across the EU. Do you believe that this is a direct threat to EU cooperation and integration? (all five countries, responses in %) only in December

Source: SXII/2016

**Graph 30:**
We see the rise of extreme, euro-sceptic, and populist parties and political leaders across the EU. Do you believe that this is a direct threat to EU cooperation and integration? (responses in %) only in December

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>YES (%)</th>
<th>NO (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOSNA-HERZEGOVINA</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOLDOVA</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONTENEGRO</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERBIA</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOVAKIA</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SXII/2016
5. Students and the public life

- 61% of the students is going to vote on the next election, only 13% isn’t going to vote and just 10% never vote, while 16% is undecided

**Graph 31:**
In the next parliamentary elections in your country, are you planning to vote?
(all five countries, responses in %)

**Graph 32:**
In the next parliamentary elections in your country, are you planning to vote?
(all five countries, responses in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>I have not decided yet</th>
<th>I never go to vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOSNA-HERZEGOVINA</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOLDOVA</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONTENEGRO</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERBIA</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOVAKIA</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SIV/2017
Graph 33:
In the future, would you consider running for an elected position as a candidate?
(all five countries, responses in %)

Source: SIV/2017
• In all of the countries, respondents predominantly said they would vote (73% in Moldova, 63% in Slovakia, 61% in BIH and 62% in Serbia), Montenegro being the only country where the response isn’t predominant (46%)

• 26% of the students said they would run for an office, while 37% said they wouldn’t and 37% were undecided

• In Slovakia and Moldova most of the students were against running for an office (49% in Slovakia and 46% in Moldova), followed by BIH (40%) and Serbia (33%) and then Montenegro, where the majority of the respondents (83%) were undecided

• The levels they would run are almost evenly distributed between local, regional, national and transnational, the most favorable being the local or municipal level (30%), followed by the national (27%), and then regional (22%) and international or EU level (21%)

• Students from Serbia mostly prefer the local or municipal level (40%), the regional level is preferred by the students from Montenegro (51%), and while the national level is preferred by the students from BIH (38%) and Moldova (34%) the international or EU level is a favorite among the students from Slovakia (37%)

![Graph 34: In the future, would you consider running for an elected position as a candidate? (responses in %)](source:SIV/2017)
Graph 35:
Imagine that you are a candidate in an election. At which level would you run?
(all five countries, responses in %)

- Local or municipal: 27%
- Regional: 22%
- National: 30%
- International or EU level: 21%

Source: SIV/2017

Graph 36:
Imagine that you are a candidate in an election. At which level would you run?
(responses in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Local or municipal</th>
<th>Regional</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>International or EU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOSNA-HERZEGOVINA</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOLDOVA</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONTENEGRO</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERBIA</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLOVAKIA</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IV/2017
About CEAS

The Center for Euro-Atlantic Studies (CEAS) is an independent socio-liberal think-tank organization founded in 2007 in Belgrade, Serbia.

The motto which the CEAS follows in its work is “Progress, Determination, Influence”.

We stand for:

– Adoption of the principle of the precedence of individual over collective rights, without disregard for the rights which individuals can only achieve through collective action;
– Strengthening of the secular state principle and promotion of a faithless understanding of the world;
– Development and preservation of a more open, freer, more prosperous and more cooperative international order founded on smart globalization.

Our advocacy and research work is mostly focused on:

– Contemporary Serbian, Regional and Trans-Atlantic Foreign and Security Policies;
– Full Serbian membership in EU and NATO;
– Russian and other non-democratic influences on the stabilization and democratization of Western Balkans;
– Importance of connection between security sector reform and transitional justice in the post-conflict Balkans;
– Promotion of Responsibility to Protect, the international humanitarian and security doctrine;
– Overcoming of the democratic deficits of multiculturalism.


CEAS is the only member from the Region of South-Eastern Europe to have full membership in ICRtoP- the International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect. The coalition brings together non-governmental organizations from all over the world to collectively strengthen the normative consensus for the doctrine of Responsibility to Protect (RtoP), with the aim of better understanding this principle, pushing for the strengthened capacities of the international community to prevent and halt genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity, and to mobilize the non-governmental sector to push for action to save lives in RtoP country-specific situations.
CEAS is a member of the Coalition for RECOM – a coalition comprising more than 1,800 organizations from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia, advocating for the founding of the Regional Commission for establishing facts about war crimes and other serious violations of human rights committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia between 1991 and 2001.

CEAS is among the most visible think-tanks in the Balkans, with a wide media, institutional and social outreach. CEAS has been quoted in leading prominent liberal media such as The New York Times, Washington Post, Politico, etc. In December 2016, CEAS Director Jelena Milic was elected as one of the POLITICO 28 Most influential People in the annual POLITICO 28 list of people who are shaping, shaking and stirring Europe.

CEAS programs have been so far supported by: Open Society Fund (OSF); Think Tank Fund, Budapest; National Endowment for Democracy, USA; Rockefeller Brothers Fund, USA; European Commission; Balkan Trust for Democracy – GMF, Serbia; NATO Public Diplomacy Division; Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Serbia; Royal Norwegian Embassy in Belgrade; Visegrad Fund, Slovakia; Friedrich Nauman Foundation, Serbia; Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Serbia; USA Embassy in Serbia.

For more information about CEAS, our team and activities please visit our web site www.ceas-serbia.org and more information of an overview of all pending and completed projects can be found directly at https://www.ceas-serbia.org/en/projects.
About MESA10

Since its founding in 1992, MESA10 champions individual liberty, free market economy and a government of limited powers. It promotes private initiative, individual rights, democratic principles and values such as free competition, equality of chances, free enterprise, openness of the economy and inviolability of private ownership. Throughout its existence, MESA10 supports, in diverse ways, economic and social reforms aimed at building a free society based on respect for democratic principles and values. MESA10 and its members pushed for structural reforms in economy, banking, judiciary, public finances and public administration. After Slovakia’s integration into the European Union and the NATO in 2004, MESA10 strengthened its accent on sharing Slovakia’s transitional and reform experience. It works on the projects involving the EU and NATO member states, those aspiring to join them and countries, companies and communities trying to shape, initiate or implement reforms.

MESA10 has a wide global and European cooperative network of partners and is able to mobilize a variety of domestic experts. This enhances MESA10’s ability to fulfill its mission and to promote democratic values.

MESA10 is an independent think tank, non-governmental, non-profit organization. Its name denotes an abbreviation of Macro Economic and Social Analyses and symbolizes its 10 founders: František Šebej, Pavel Hoffmann, Jozef Dančo, Mikuláš Dzurinda, Pavol Kinčeš, Jozef Kučerák, Ján Langoš, Ivan Mikloš, Gabriel Palacka and Anton Vavro. In 1997, five years after its founding, the legal personality of MESA10 changes – the new civic association had the following founding members: Ivan Mikloš, František Šebej, Gabriel Palacka, Pavol Kinčeš and Viktor Nižňanský.

Among critical activities of MESA10 are:
- Elaboration of economic and social analyses and studies
- Provision of consultations
- Delivery of interviews, standpoints, reactions and comments to actual topics to the media
- Provision of consultations
- Organization of discussions, seminars, conferences and lectures
- Publication activities

Main areas of activities of MESA10 members are:
- Economic Development, Trade, Investment and Privatization
- Foreign Policy, International Relations and Development Cooperation
- Public Administration and Public Finance Reform
- Regional Development, Decentralization and Local Governance
- Social Security and Assistance, Pension and Tax Reform