

ევროკავშირის გავლენა სერბეთის ამჟამინდელ პოლიტიკურ სპექტრზე: პოლიტიკურ ელიტებს შორის იდეოლოგიური შეჯახება და ევროკავშირის განზრახვა

EU's influence on Serbia's current political spectrum-Ideological clash between political elites and EU's intention

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საერთაშორისო ურთიერთობების მაგისტრი

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აბსტრაქტი

ზოგადად ევროკავშირის გაფართოების პოლიტიკა გარკვეულწილად სწრაფად ხორციელდება 21-ე საუკუნის დასაწყისიდან. ახალი სახელმწიფოების მიღება მათ რიგებში ძალიან დადებითან აისახება მათ განვითარებაზე, თუმცა არის გარკვეული პრობლემები რაც აფერხებს ინტეგრაციის პროცესს. ეს ძირითადად გამომდინარეობს პოლიტიკური ლიდერების განწყობებიდან. ისინი ზოგიერთ შემთხვევაში არ გამოთქევენ მზადყოფნას რათა ჩაერთონ მთავრობათაშორისო მოლაპარაკებებში. თუ პოლიტიკის მეცნიერებების რაკურსით შევხედავთ, ლიდერთა ეს ქმედება უკავშირდება რეალპოლიტიკას. ეს უკანასკნელი კი ხშირად არ ტოვებს სივრცეს თანამშრომლობისთვის.

აღნიშნულ სტატიის მიზანია განვიხილოთ სერბეთის და ევროკავშირის ბოლოდროინდელ ურთიერთობებს. განსაკუთრებით კი ვუჩიჩის ზეობის ხანაში. იქიდან გამომდინარე რომ მისი პოლიტიკური რაკურსი პირდაპირ ხასიათდება არაპროგნოზირებადობით და ხშირად აკრიტიკებს ევროპის ლიდერებს, მისი ეს ქმედება აღიქმება როგორც პოპულიზმი. აღნიშნულ კვლევაში ყურადღება გამახვილდება მის ქცევაზე საარჩევნო კამპანიის მიმდინარეობის პროცესში, სადაც ჩანს მისი ანტიევროპული მისწრაფებები. ფეისბუქ პოსტების დახმარებით საშუალება გვქვია გავიგოთ მისი პოტენციური ამომრჩევლის განწყობა. კვლევაში გამოყენებული-კონტენტ ანალიზის მეთოდი საშუალებას მოგვცემს 2023 წელს ჩატარებული წინასაარჩევნო კამპანიისადმი მიძღვნილ ზოგიერთ პოსტს სოციალურ ქსელში, რამდენი ფეისბუქის მომხმარებელი აფასებდა დადებითად ან უარყოფითად. ცხადია აქ საუბარია მის პოლიტიკური განცხადებების გაგებაზე. იქიდან გამომდინარე რომ ეს მხოლოდ მიკრო კვლევას წარმოადგენს, ამ ეტაპისთვის მხოლოდ 4 ფეისბუქ პოსტის ანალიზი განხორციელდა. აქედან გამომდინარე ნაშრომის ძირითად მიზანს წარმოადგენს ერთის მხრივ სერბეთის და ევროკავშირის ურთიერთობების ანალიზი და მეორეს მხრივ, ვუჩიჩის ქმედებების შესწავლა, როგორც ლიდერის რომელიც აფერხებს ევროინტეგრაციის პროცესს. საკვები კითხვა ჩამოყალიბდა შემდეგნაირად: როგორ რეაგირებს მოსახლეობა მის გადაწყვეტილებებზე

ევროკავშირთან ინტეგრაციის შეჩერებასთან დაკავშირებით? რატომ წარმატდგენს საფრთხეს ვუჩიჩის ქმედება ევროპული ოჯახისთვის?

საკვანძო სიტყვები: *არჩევნები, ევროკავშირი, ღირებულებები, რეალპოლიტიკა, ინსტიტუტები*

Abstract

Currently EU's enlargement policy has been implementing rapidly since at very beginning of 21st century. Joining new member states can be very beneficial for developing countries in every shape of future. However, sometime there is a case when political leaders do not show their vulnerability of cooperation with intergovernmental actors, as like European Union. The reason can be arisen from realistic perspectives-as far as this theory argue each individual state actors, follow its realpolitik approaches, that sometime does not leave any space for cooperation.

In our case relationship between Serbia and EU in Vucic's period, is very interesting to investigate. As far as his behavior is not predictable, he is regarded as one of the most successful populist leaders manifesting Eurosceptic narratives, during his election campaign. The main aim of this paper is to analyze his attitude as a political leader of Serbian Progressive party and find general overview of his voter's how do they react on his anti-European narrative? Why does Vucic's action is regarded as a threat for European Integration policy? I will code his latest speeches with an appropriate idea, related from the Facebook users who commented on his particular posts. I will organize those Facebook announcements from pre-election campaign in 2023. I will select those posts containing information about his election rally. As a sum, 4 Facebook post is analyzed, as far, as it is micro research only.

Keywords: Election, EU, Values, Realpolitik, Institutions

Introduction

Actually, talking about European integration is one of the most frustrating and challenging things most of the political scientists. There are theories that in highest probability can be applicable for understanding relationship between two actors (Intergovernmental organizations VS state actors). Current literature has widely identified main issue in such case. Scholars mostly argue about general narrative of integration theories, that help state actors to treat in a reciprocity way and establish internal norms, that are recalled from European Union. Liberal intergovernmentalism, assume that instance actors have a huge impact on establishment of oversea cooperation. EU's values, path softly through the partner country's state policy and this impact on state's behavior. Relationship between governments is regarded as a liberal inter governmentalism. Despite such ideal description scholars do not have enough capability to argue more details about decision makers-politicians who create political environment in their states. Such incumbents are directly elected by popular votes and are delegated from people to meet preferences of his electorate. This is a gap that need more thoughtfully discussed in this paper.

Totally this research paper is based on main arguments implemented by different scholars. However analytical review is necessary to fulfill main research scopes. Serbia is regarded as a place that experienced clash between political elite's impacts on European Integration. Despite the fact that Serbia

is a candidate country, political elite still do not show vulnerability to positively react on Eu's policy in terms of development democracy. In this paper Vucic's international decision is widely discussed as well as intention of his electorate. Different Facebook post is widely used in this debate. I accumulate 4 Facebook post, that was shared by his pre-election campaign in 2023, He as a leader of Serbian Progressive Party. Additionally, there is an existence of trolls and bots. Those creates are related to particular politicians who are managed by real person. They intend to express fake information in Facebook and create ideas influenced on ordinary citizens. Therefore, in this scrupulous research it is very challenging to identify real persons who commented on particular facebook post.

The research question that required answer is as follow: Dos Vucic's action regarded as a threat of European Integration (Based on integration theories)? How do people react on his action in pre-election campaign in 2023? In case to answer those questions, quantitative analysis is widely use of different local online resources, as well as analytical reviews in different scientific data.

European integration and state behavior

Existed literature currently is thrilling to find an answer on this permanent question: How do international actors influenced on local decision incumbents? Of course, action of different politicians, probably affects on quality relations between EU and Serbia (in our case). The integration theories that are probably based on reciprocity and common values, as for Moravcsik and Schimmelfenning argue, liberal intergovernmentalism seek to find a solution between interstate actors around the world. The EU, like other international institutions are profited by the action of critical decision makers. The state achieves their goals through intergovernmental negotiation and bargaining rather than intergovernmental negotiation. Centralized actors enforcing political decision. The LI, also assume that actors are egocentrics and they mostly think about cost and benefits. Their action under different environment is easy to predict, sometimes. The agreement to cooperate between international organizations and states are regarded as a collective step for common interdependence. Moreover, Moravcik confirms that the preferences of national interest mostly based on preferences-a common integration against same threats. As for, Post-war integration was recall of economic disadvantages caused by Second World War. However ideological clash sometimes could be notable in integration process, as far as Serbian politician is discussed over there. (Moravcsik A, 2009, pp. 67-70)

As far as it is obvious, EU's enlargement policy is probably based on cost and benefits and bargain. Serbia as an independent post communism country use this power to have more benefits from European Integration, however current government is not vulnerable to overcome main issue, while having obstacles on integration process. Sometimes such challenges are caused by other member states. As for, the issue of British membership in 1960. Moravcik argue, that Britain has a desire to have enough commercial interests' exclusion on trade customs union, while France feared low-price commercial competition. The conventional view that De Gaulle was opposed was based on British attitude having to do with anti-Americanism. With this example, he wants to show that different realpolitikal interest sometimes clash in integration process. (Moravcsik A, 2009, pp. 71-72)

Moravcik's arguments can be acceptable, if we consider general positive effects of integration process, however there is a gap that needs to be fulfilled. Firstly, he is not able to identify how do national interests is formed in direct democratic system. Do people accept EU negotiation process, recalled by their political leaders? In case to answer those questions there is importance to carry on quantitative data analysis covering different case e.g. Serbia's current governmental policy regarding EU integration. It does help us to fill this challenge with appropriate examples. As Moravcik, emblemized only general assumptions among different variable, without arguing about national interest and electoral behavior based on intrastate reciprocity and negotiation.

Some scholars like Mark Pollack and colleagues, argue about new institutionalizations approaching to EU-integration process. However, this theory is not the best to be compatible for this process as a whole. Nevertheless, the patterns that shaped by new institutionalism-like state behavior and endogenous institutional changes can be acceptable for our research either. (Pollak, 2009, pp. 125-130) Those cases are perfectly described in Laitin's and his colleague's work about endogenous institutional changes. They, probably assumed about possible benefits, are most likely to be given in case of mutual cooperation with outside actors. Cooperation with international partners are regarded great plus, for well-being. In our case Serbia is a player that mostly need to identify exact situation how to behave in international environment. The steps that country's authorities may implement can have either negative or positive impacts on country's EU-integration. Sometime they do not have enough information about other players, that's why assigning the correct probabilities, can be highest priority.

A theory of endogenous can be good explanatory variable for EU-Serbia relations. The signals that are transferred from EU to Serbia's internal politics could be recalled of democratic development. In case of cost and benefits Serbia is able to get as much positive feedback and gifts from EU as possible. The EU is regarded an international actor having ambitions to influenced on local political elites that are set as an institutional rule. Since this organization is an institution that has its own values and traditions either. (change, 2004, pp. 1-20)

To conclude both of those theories -new institutionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism probably fulfill each other's. Their role in international studies is really valuable. However, Moravcik and Laitin among their colleagues do not have vulnerability to identify exactly behavior on interstate actors as well as expectations of their electorates. They only write about general issue that is not enough to understand how state actors react in international policy. Neglected national preferences in this debate, never give in satisfactory results. ¹

Serbia -as a candidate country of EU and general attitude of central government toward EU's enlargement policy

¹ change, A. t. (2004). A theory of Endogenous Institutional Change. *American Political Science Review* , 1-20.

Moravcsik A, S. (2009). Liberal Intergovernmentalism. In D. T. Wiener A, *European INtegration Theory* (pp. 67-71). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pollak, M. (2009). The New Institutionalisms and European Integration. In D. Wiener A, *European Integration Theory* (pp. 125-130). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

To be obvious, in case to understand current issue and obstacles bounded in integration process it is worth interesting to know some historical facts about EU-Serbia relationship. As far as Bazic attitude, this period of integration can be argued in two stages. The first cohort is while being in a process disintegration of Yugoslavia (1991-2000), and second one is related to the neoliberal preferences led by Kostunica. In the first stage EU's influence on conflict resolution was not notable, since this actor was not regarded as a main political stability in Serbia's political life. the second stage (2000-2018) it was one of the most successful periods for Serbian's life, since the massive steps on implementation democratic reforms took place. It began was the process of bringing Serbia closer to the European Union, "which was considered to be the basic prerequisite for "the general stabilization and consolidation of the country". (Bazic, 2019, pp. 303-322)²

Western Balkan has its difficulties either in integration process, as by 2000 they were nominated one of the poorest countries in terms of cooperation with EU's large family. Of course, in such situation political ambition of local leaders were main things to fill the negotiation gap with an appropriate step. However additional procedures that are include economic stability among democratic reforms slow down cooperation process. The dealings are regarded as a whole with all of western Balkan states. Their eagerness in accession process is necessary for development. During 2003 Serbia start negotiation of Copenhagen criteria. In June 2005 a draft version of the National Strategy for Serbia's EU accession was presented. The guidelines, priorities and instructions for the state bodies were given, and the goal of Serbia's integration into the EU were placed a broader framework of Serbia's development. By September 2007 there was an association agreement; however, Serbia's previous government put themselves in to the trouble, since they are asked to show their eagerness to involve in contact groups acquiring Contract Group to recognize Kosovo and Metohija as an independent state. Furthermore, concession was made by the EU for Serbia relations in case to sign to normalization agreement that supports peaceful relations between Serbia and Kosovo. Another integration process started in 2011, when EU commission ordered Serbia to take special measure related to: the mandate to improve Roma integration, cooperating with Hague Tribunal to resolve a case of disputed territory and etc. (Bazic, 2019, pp. 309-310)

Now let's look at general ruling elites within Serbia. Since 2000 most of the representatives from officials massively have worked obviously on Serbia's accession to the European Union. The main purposes of that are to become country very modern and trustful location for outside world. However, Serbia's European path really experienced significant challenges which were frustrated by ruling elites as anti-European narratives. It probably influenced on people's attitude to support EU integration. Before we moved to the next topic, now let's look an opinion polls that was implemented since 2006. It can be noted that attitude towards membership is segmented in three groups: those who support the membership, those are opposed and people who do not have clear attitude. This research is obviously

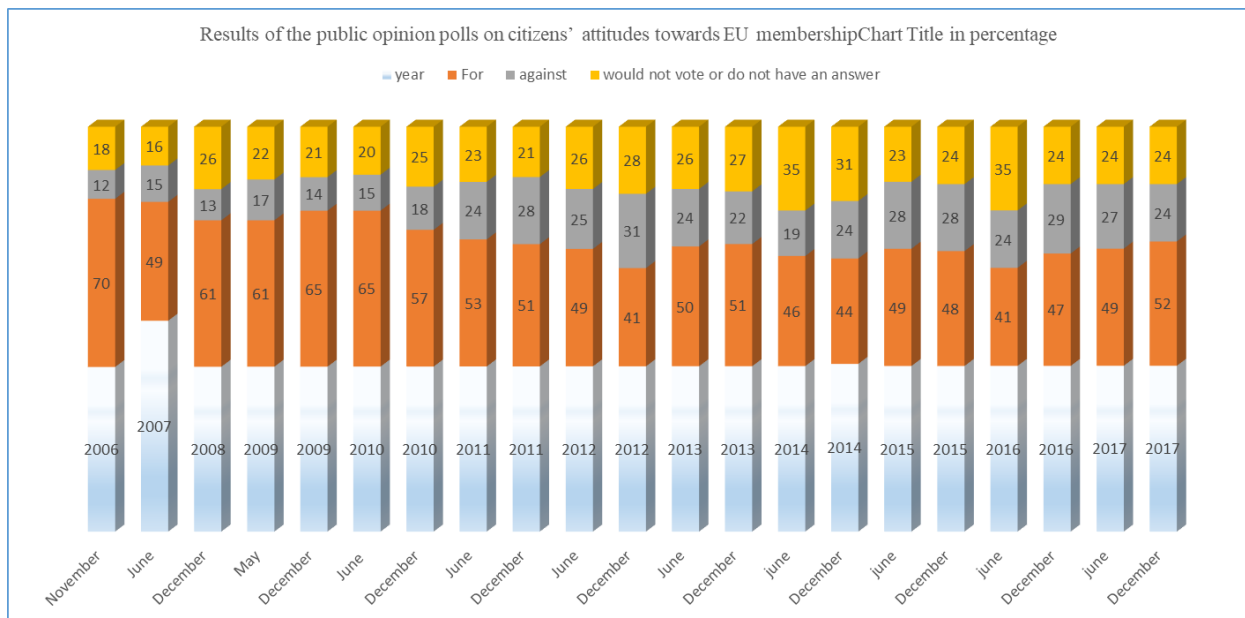
² J, B. (2019). Relationship of Serbia and European Union: Socio-historical determinates and the conteporary political issues. *Nauki o Polytuce* , 303-322.

to identify how politicians and media resources may influence on perception. The poll only is general and covers data from 2006 to 2017.

Here we can clearly find that since the Serbia awarded with a candidate status the supporters of euro-integrators have been decreased. At very beginning of 2006, only 70 percent of respondents supported Serbia's European path, while 12 percent were against. By December 2016 the number of anti-EU increased and reached almost 29 percent. As far as it seemed the politics from the previous government was not satisfactory in terms of EU integrations, as it influenced on citizens perception. Despite the fact that EU integration is one of the highest priorities for Serbia's citizens by 2017 there was a people that skeptically identified opportunity done while being a part of European Union. (Figure N1)

To conclude the country probably experienced massive challenges in terms of integration process. The case of Kosovo was one of the crucial aspects for Serbian politicians in negotiation process. It can be clarified as one of the obstacles that draw back fulfilling EU's recommendation in terms of good governance and rule of law.

Figure N1³



Vucic's -as a leader Serbian Progressive party and foreign policy

Serbia is a country located in Balkan region, as it was a crucial center of Yugoslavia. However current situation is slightly different than it was by the time of conquering by different empires. This small country is regarded an independent institution that intend to join European Union and use self-enforcement to fulfill negotiation process. If we consider it in terms of liberal intergovernmentalism

³ Public opinion polls on Serbian citizens' attitudes towards Serbia's membership in the European Union were conducted for the needs of the Government of the Republic of Serbia. They have been done in precise research periods since 2006, according to a single methodology. Ministarstvo za evropske integracije Republike Srbije, Istraživanje javnog mnjenja, Beograd 2018, at <<http://www.mei.gov.rs/src/dokumenta/nacionalna-dokumenta/istrazivanje-javnog-mnjenja>>.

coverage one of the theories of Euro integration, there is clarification that inner current political elites within Serbia purely determine country's international relations. EU does it best from their side to have good intergovernmental dealings with Serbia and its authority. However current clash is really matter. Unfortunately, current integration theory developed by Moravcik and colleagues do not recognized importance of society in establishing such relations with European Union, because people is a source of the parliament and the government. They elect them every 4 years with a popular vote. Sometime is more likely that international actor's like EU may have some influence on domestic politics as we colleague David Laitin mention. He did not directly identified EU, however he argued that self-reinforcement is important and sometimes some parameters are neglected not influential in negotiation process with international actors. Nevertheless, some institution may benefit from cooperation with outside world as we have here Serbia's recognition by EU's institutions.

As Jovanovic argue, Vucic is regarded as one of the most populist political leaders in Balkan region, as his foreign policy is based on protection national values and massive isolation of the country from outside actors. Nevertheless, only direction that is arisen from his foreign steps, is communication with Russian federation more closely than with EU's institution. Vucic is a political actor based on his preferences that in most case is aware from his electorate. (Jovanovic, 2023, pp. 106-111)

The Ascendance of Aleksandar Vucic to the zenith of Serbian polirics was predicated upon a confluence of domestic and international factors that engage in political spectrum for his meteoric rise. Before there is a clarification about his election campaign, I assume that he is a representative of Progresive party in Serbia. This party SNS was founded in 2008. Their main value is to protect national identity and make the Serbia great again. This national narrative was successful appealing on their ideological tie with other populist political party like Fedez in Hungary. Vucic appear as a reformatory that intends to increase economic discourse of Serbia and release the country from weaken social affairs. Actually, the Serbian Progressive party, under the ruling of Vucic, has played an instrumental role in shaping Serbia's foreign policy at first, to find a balance between country's historical ties with Russia and continuing European integration. (Jovanovic, 2023, pp. 111-123)⁴

⁵Another scientist, Dusan Spajocevic accumulated main arguments regarding Vuci's political party. The professor assumes that SNS ⁶was born as an attribute with pro-European and right-wing party. This party enjoys having pro-market approaching, however maintaining populist elements to attract more electorate and motivate voters. This party developed destructive right-wing europesceptic narratives and regarded as one of the most conservatives in European space. The expert identified the same thing like his colleague Jovanovich, however additionally he adds that this party pretended to be pro-European and having close tie with European Union but in another hand remain friendly relations with Russia. While voting for Ukraine territorial integrity in UN but stop imposing sanctions on Russia. Like other populists in Turkey and Hungary, SNS inherited blame game strategies. At first Vucic and

⁴ Jovanovic, S. (2003). The Evolution of Serbian Foreign Policy Under Vucic: Navigating Between the European Union and Russia. *Perspective Politice* , 106-123.

⁵Spasojevic. (2024, February 6). *theloop.ecpr.eu*. Retrieved April 30, 2025, from <https://theloop.ecpr.eu/from-radical-to-mainstream-the-ruling-populists-in-serbia/>

⁶ In English translation it is: Serbian Progressive party

his counterparts blamed opposition elites suffering from corruption. Furthermore, they oppose independent media and online resources in the country. Above all else, SNS did not care what they wrongly done. As international actors – like Russia, NATO and EU has their acclaimed preferences toward this country.

To conclude, Vucic and his political party does not have life-long experience in political culture in Serbia, however they do have voters who intends to delegate their ruling abilities to them. SNS is regarded as one of the most populist political party in whole Balkan region. Their main goal is to follow their blaming methods as well as maintain same relations either with EU, or Russian Federation. Due to this reason, Vucic is always criticized by European leaders. In upcoming topic, there are content analyses of Vucic election campaign, while identifying some of his facebook posts creating during movement.

Implementation of election campaign of Vucic and voter's behavior

At first glance, Vucic election campain among his counterparts are based on massive gathering of citizens from different region in case to build a bridge. This communication strategy helped him to be the one of the most favorites political leaders by 2023. On December 17 there was one of his pre-election meeting hold in Belgrade's main sporting stadium. More them thousands of people attended his election rally. One of his supporters said that Vucic distribute funds to develop life in villages. During his election campaign as a "gift" he offers some scholarship for unemployed people and pensioners to cover their basic needs. It was regarded as an electoral fraud.

The opposition never believed in his attitude regarding people. As far as they probably blamed him on having radical view regarding European integration. He has close ties with the mafia and deeply corrupted. In this particular rally meeting he said that Serbia was one of the few countries that has independent agenda without integration outside power. So, this young politician was proud of to make Serbia great again. As his populist narratives deeply appealing on his single world, said in election meeting. However, opposition is still unable to make any huge challenges. Cvijic, a local political scientist from Serbia told that "the opposition has stopped making the country's EU accession a campaign promise, in part because the process takes it too long."

While on being electoral fight, only few billboards can be seen in its streets and some ads was offered for television and facebook users. Because of that most people were suffering from information vacuum. They did not well understand what this political party does, when they come in to the power. However most of the famous local actors called on citizens to cast ballot on December 17 to rise their voice for pro-democratic movement. Around 170, 000 people signed on petition. ⁷

Vucic's arguments regarding foreign policy were openly cleared at very beginning of April 2023. In one of the meeting held between Ana Brbabic and President (By that time the primer was Ana Brbabic). After this meeting he said that there would have been fundamental changes to Serbia's foreign policy.

⁷ Spasojevic. (2024, February 6). *theloop.ecpr.eu*. Retrieved April 30, 2025, from <https://theloop.ecpr.eu/from-radical-to-mainstream-the-ruling-populists-in-serbia/>

One of the main changes was regarded about Kosovo's disintegration in outside world. As Vucic was grateful for everyone that votes against Kosovo's application to join Council of Europe.

He was quite angry about Serbia's anti-constitutional narratives arose from some countries that vote for Kosovo's application joining Council of Europe. As he identified such politicians, were enemy of Serbia's territory integrity and required responsive measures in diplomatic way. Serbia should have their security strategy without stepping out of the framework of reciprocity in foreign policy.⁸

Vucic as a political figure was actively involved in political life in 2014 as a president. Three years later he earned a reputation for effortlessly playing side of any situation. He usually convincing voters that he treated as an average person in independent way. However, it is purely fake treatment. He usually persuaded his voters that he was doing something special to establish good relations with EU. It is really unusual that, differ from other populist politicians like Orban, Vucic's strategy is sometimes hard to understand. Courted at once by the Chinese, Americans, Russians and the European Union, all of who see Serbia as one of the key players in Balkans, he has managed to convince international actors that he is either on their side or looking forward some help either. In one of his election meetings held in 2023 in Serbia, he said that he was very proud of his close relationship with Chinese President Xi Jinping who frequently visited Serbia by the time of Vucic's presidential time.

Considering his position on Russia, he is happy to join EU and implement democratic reforms in Serbia, however at the same level intend to maintain close relationship with Vladimir Putin. His gratitude to Russia is reflected on his decision regarding sanction on Moscow for occupying Ukraine. At this same time, he was willing to sell weapons to western countries to ship them to Ukraine. Usually he really proud that meeting with Putin was implemented at least 20 times a year. Therefore, it not secret for voters, that he understands Putin's behavior better than other leaders. He does not hesitate to credit when it aligns with Serbia's foreign policy goals. As he accused European leader for indifferent attitude toward his opinions. As mentioned, his relations with EU institution are still complicated.⁹

¹⁰Serbian Democratic Party's leader Vucic is very open-minded person in terms of meeting with his supporters. However, blaming on opposition regarding unsuccessful events happening in this country is too natural for this party leader. The rate of youth unemployment is one of the highest in this country, therefore he always direct wrongly to opposition because they did not show vulnerability to take care about local's problems. On May 26, 2023 he gold the largest rally ever with his supporters. The event was held at Republic square in Belgrade.

⁸ Rujevic. (2023, December 16). *Dw.com*. Retrieved May 14, 2025, from <https://www.dw.com/en/as-serbia-prepares-to-vote-vucics-party-dominates-campaign/a-67726250>

⁹Politico.(2023).*Politico.eu*. Retrieved May 1, 2025, from <https://www.politico.eu/article/aleksandar-vucic-diplomacy-a-la-carte-serbia-china-russia-west>

¹⁰Aljazeera. (2023, May 9). *balkans.aljazeera.net*. Retrieved May 9, 2025, from <https://balkans.aljazeera.net/news/balkan/2023/5/9/vucic-pozvao-gradjane-na-skup-26-maja>

As he said Serbia would have been always ready to fight for peace and show reciprocity regarding protection of human right in every corn of the issue. The party itself was ready to discuss about everything with people and opponents either. In case to find acceptable solution. However, opposition denies to talk with them because as he thought they did not have any arguments to stay stronger against challenges. Differ from them, Vucic and other members of SNS were ready to talk directly in all media channels. The opposition pretended to segregate society in to different political groups and influence on their opinions.

Vucic as political incumbents announced in one of his postcast that in casing of election, he would be able to increase affordability of labor markets and increase. The Serbians watched him attentively in this video, however sometimes negative attitudes are expressed. On this Facebook post there are 72 comments. Most of them are negative because potential electorate has difficulty to understand his message box. There are numbers of reasons, however the most commonly people are too skeptical regarding his motivation to create new working places, that stop illegal migration abroad. Some people even do not believe that people attending his election cmpaing on their own. Because there is mass mobilization of public resources to attract more and more citizens on his rally. One young lady commented, that Vucic required support of psychologists due to his unbelievable acts. Another electorate, who is a migrant in Australia, wrote that unprofessional people were working everywhere that's why Serbia is not developed. To summarize on May 2023, people still had skepticism regarding Vucic's decision.

The Serbian Progressive party and Vucic had another massive rally on 23 the of May 2023 thousand of citizens openly expressed their positions regarding Vucic's upcoming regime. However, people on Facebook comments sometimes are able to identify those movement's differently. Here I assume general overview by analyzing one young local commented that international actors mostly were able to decide Serbia's future. Since the SNS party member are too radical, they would not have been able to perform well in front of electorate. In this comment, we can argue that most of the citizens are well updated regarding country's European future. It not unusual that most of comments were positive to them, while half of the users, said that isolation and talking only about national identity, would not be thoughtful for locals. So furthermore, in most case ideas are split up like 50/50. As it usual the supporters and opponents widely expressed their ambitions to fulfill Vuvic's values.

In one of Vucic's election campaign that was held on December 11, 2023 he enjoyed with massive supporting ambitions from his supporters on this particular facebook post. There are 500 comments approximately while most people offer him huge supports, as ideological backgrounds motivate citizens to follow him in every walks of career path. Nevertheless, skepticism is still be felt from those facebook comments. Almost 300 users blamed him for unsuccessful integration measure of local ethnic groups with each other. In addition to this, Vucic's intention to declare Kosovo's further integration with European family is neglected by people. As he promised stability and European values among good friendship with Russian president, is somehow challenging to make.

As conclusion Vucic as a leader of Serbias Progressive party is very interesting politician. He intends to attract more voters as appealing on national identity and protection tradition. He never hides ambition

to have combined relations either with EU, or Russian Federation. As it seems playing in two level is hardly to be acceptable for local citizens. His political message box usually included populist narratives while blaming international actors that influenced on happening in Serbia.

Main findings and Conclusion

This current research aiming to fill the gaps that still existing among scholars of international relations. They are not vulnerable to directly identify main backgrounds that still stay behind all decision makers. Theories of European Integration-especially liberal intergovernmentalism only assume relations between state actors, while pushing outside citizen's participation in this movement. The case study Is Serbia in terms of analyzing election campaign of Serbia's progressive party's leader Vucic. As he was very active in 2023 to meet preferences of his voter's. Analytical review of secondary literature and Facebook comments in this micro research. That show that people mostly appealing on incumbent's decision and they are well-informed regarding international relations of Serbia.

Intergovernmental relations of course are headed by politicians and their supporters; however, citizen's interests never been neglected so far. Additionally, the research question that keen to identify Vucic step against European values, as well as people's perception, is clearly showed in this paper. Since analytical review of facebook post's helps us to understand how people reacted on his message box.

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