

Voter Turnout Among Youth of Kosovo

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Voter Turnout Among Youth of Kosovo

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Contents

- A. Executive Summary 4**
- B. Introduction..... 5**
- C. Methodology 5**
- D. Findings from the focus groups 7**
 - 1. Reasons for voting 7**
 - 2. Reasons for not voting 9**
- E. Summary of voter turnout statistics..... 12**
- F. Voter turnout in the last four elections, by age group and municipality 13**
- G. Turnout trends for each municipality, by age group and gender..... 34**

A. Executive Summary

The *Voter Turnout Among Youth of Kosovo* report includes an assessment of why youth in Kosovo vote or do not vote in elections, and presents voter turnout data from the past four Kosovo elections broken down by age groups, municipality and gender. The findings presented in this report are based on the feedback from ten focus groups held with youth, and statistical data captured from polling stations on who voted on Election Day.

The main reasons why the vast majority of the focus group participants were motivated to vote were: to make changes in politics and governance, to exercise their civic duty and moral obligation, to receive personal benefits in return, to prevent others from misusing their vote, to exercise the right to vote for the first time, and to vote in response to political and social pressures.

There was a low number of focus group participants who stated that they either had not voted, or would not vote in future. According to participants, some reasons why they or other voters do not vote are: voting does not make a difference, perception of political corruption, disappointment with political processes, perception of electoral fraud, no candidates or political entities to support, disappointment after voting for the first time, and other technical barriers particularly related to inclusion of voters in the voter list in minority areas.

The statistical data shows that in all four elections held between 2009 to 2014, the turnout among youth (18 to 29 year olds) has been either higher than (in 2014, 2013, 2010) or equal to (in 2009) the overall voter turnout. In the four northern municipalities, Zvečan, Leposavić, North Mitrovica, and Zubin Potok, average voter turnout among youth over the past four elections has been very low, influenced before 2013 by election access and boycott issues. Apart from these four municipalities, the lowest average voter turnout of youth over the past four elections has been in the municipalities of Dragash, Deçan, Prizren, Mitrovica, Gjakova, Junik, Rahovec and Peja, all of which had an average turnout between 36 percent and 41 percent.

Voter turnout is highest among 18 to 21-year-old youth in comparison with all other age groups at all four elections. In the 2014 general elections, the turnout among 18 to 21 year olds was higher than overall municipal voter turnout in almost all (36 of 38) municipalities. This finding lines up with the views of some focus group participants who were motivated to vote in elections by the excitement of voting for the first time.

Voter turnout progressively decreases among youth aged 22 to 25 and 26 to 29 years old. In all four elections, turnout of 26 to 29 year olds is below overall voter turnout. Generally, the turnout from the past four elections among youth is lowest among women between 26 and 29 years old. This finding is supported by the views of some focus group participants who expressed they were disappointed after voting for the first time in the elections.

The turnout among women aged 18 to 29 increased significantly from the 2010 general election to the 2013 local elections. Generally, the turnout percentages show that in almost all municipalities and among youth of all age groups, there was a higher turnout of women

than men in the 2013 local elections. In contrast, the turnout was greater among young men than young women in the 2014 general elections. However, men and women participants in focus groups were in general of the view that voting in general and local elections is of equal importance. The only indications from focus groups as to why women voted in larger proportions at the 2013 local elections were views that municipal authorities affect women's daily lives more directly, and that women may have connections with candidates for local elections.

B. Introduction

Voter turnout is defined as the percentage of those voters who were on the voter list for that election who actually cast a ballot at an election. This data for the past four elections in Kosovo (2009 local, 2010 general, 2013 local, and 2014 general), that can be disaggregated by gender, age group, and municipality is held by the Central Election Commission (CEC). A preliminary assessment of the data revealed interesting trends in turnout, particularly among youth and women voters. In order to better understand the trends in turnout among youth, IFES conducted ten focus groups in various municipalities of Kosovo with young people between 18 to 29 years old, mainly to explore the reasons why they vote, or do not vote, in elections.

This report presents a combination of findings from the focus groups and the statistical data on youth voter turnout. Section D of the report describes reasons why young people vote or do not vote in elections. Section F presents charts on voter turnout for the last four elections, by age group (all voters; and 18 to 29, 18 to 21, 22 to 25, and 26 to 29-year-old voters) and municipality, to enable comparison between municipalities of age group turnout at these elections. Section G of the report presents voter turnout trend charts for Kosovo and for each municipality for men, women and all voters in each of the above age groups for each of the last four elections.

The information presented in this report will be of use to the CEC and civil society organizations in developing their election public outreach strategies, particularly in identifying groups of young voters which require more effective targeting and motivation. The report also informs political entities of areas and age groups of young people in which they can target their electoral campaigns to mobilize more electoral support.

This report was prepared by undergraduate students¹ engaged in research internships as part of IFES' U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)-funded 'Increasing Inclusion and Mitigating Violence in Electoral Processes' program in Kosovo, under the guidance of IFES Kosovo staff. This report is one of three reports on research into youth participation issues in Kosovo prepared by IFES in 2016. The other two reports present findings on the role of youth in political entities, and the influence of political hate speech on the youth of Kosovo.

C. Methodology

This report presents a combination of findings from focus groups and statistical data on youth voter turnout. The findings presented in Section D of the report are based on the feedback

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from ten focus groups held in various municipalities of Kosovo with young people aged between 18 and 29 years old. This is the age range used in the definition of youth by the U.S. Agency for International Development. The focus group participants were selected through a snow-ball randomization technique, with a screening process to ensure representation of a broad range of youth from different socio-economic backgrounds and levels of social engagement and rural and urban locations. Overall, the groups were gender balanced and included persons with disabilities and representatives of minority communities. Two of the ten focus groups were held with Serbian minorities in Gračanica and North Mitrovica. One focus group was held only with women participants in Ferizaj, and one focus group was held only with newly eligible voters (18 to 19 years old) in Prishtina.

Sections F and G of the report present figures on voter turnout by municipality, age groups, and gender by compiling data captured in polling stations on who voted in the last four elections and comparing this to data extracted from the civil register and used by the CEC in compiling the voter lists for these elections. The data was provided by the CEC for each municipality by gender in the following age groups: all voters and 18 to 21; 22 to 25; and 26 to 29 years old voters.

There are several important issues in relation to the voter turnout data. The accuracy of civil registry data has been questioned, particularly in relation to the removal of deceased citizens. The relevance of the voter lists to voter turnout has also been questioned, as the civil registry data on which the voter list is based includes voters outside Kosovo who may have no wish to or not be able to participate in Kosovo elections. These two factors may increasingly have an impact on voter turnout percentages as voters get older. This is an issue in most countries that base their voter list on a civil register. While such issues need to be kept in mind when considering the statistical data presented in this paper, the use of voter list data, whatever their flaws, is the international standard for calculating voter turnout. The turnout data in this paper are the most accurate that can be currently established.

A new municipality was established for Partesh prior to the 2010 elections so there is no 2009 election data for Partesh. Elections were formally organized in the northern municipalities of Kosovo (Zvečan, Leposavić, Zubin Potok and the new municipality of North Mitrovica), only in 2013 and 2014, so that the turnout for some of these municipalities was low or zero before 2013. At the 2009 and 2010 elections, Mitrovica municipality included North Mitrovica, which may have affected voter turnout in Mitrovica. Lastly, the turnout data presented in this report may have minor discrepancies with the Central Election Commission's election results as, for example, in general elections it may not be possible to allocate by-mail ballots to the municipalities for which they were cast.

In this report, the elections for the Assembly of Kosovo are referred to as "general" elections, and elections for municipal assemblies and mayors are referred to as "local" elections.

D. Findings from the focus groups

1. Reasons for voting

The vast majority of the focus group participants stated they were motivated to vote in elections. Participants responded with a variety of reasons as to why they vote, or why they think others vote: to make changes in politics and governance, to exercise their civic duty and moral obligation, to receive personal benefits in return, to prevent others from misusing their vote, to exercise the right to vote for the first time, and to vote in response to political and social pressures. These reasons are further elaborated on the paragraphs below.

"It is not the case that one goes to vote for some bigger and idealistic aims, but rather it is for some everyday, mundane personal gain. Everyone who [votes] does so because of some very narrow personal interest"

- Male participant in Gračanica

The most common response among the focus group participants was that voting is the way to make changes in politics and governance. In Vushtrri, most participants stated they had voted in order to bring "changes in politics", "vote for someone who is new in politics", "see new political entities rise to power", "remove the governing parties from their current positions", and "punish the political entities". Participants in Prishtina (18 and 19 years old) widely believed that voting is a way to change the ruling party, referring to changes in Prishtina after the 2013 local elections. Two men in the Gjakova group associated voting to changes in areas other than politics noting "changes in the education, employment, youth and culture sectors and for better economic development".

"Voting makes me feel worthy ... I become part of the change"

- Female participant in Prishtina

Another very common response in the focus groups was that voting is a civic duty and a moral obligation, either personally or for all of society. The focus groups in Vushtrri, Gjiilan and Gjakova placed a greater emphasis on this than those in other locations. Some linked this obligation directly to civic rights. Other participants made a strong link between the act of voting and a moral imperative to be engaged in democracy. These included a woman in the Gjakova group who stated "For me, it is a moral obligation, so that I can participate in the decisions regarding my country's future". In the Peja group one woman answered "this is a democratic country, and we as citizens have a moral obligation [to vote]" when asked why she had voted in the 2014 general elections.

"I vote because it is a civic obligation"

- Female participant in Vushtrri

On the other hand, there were very frequent mentions of personal gain as a motivator for voting. Participants declared that they vote or would be more motivated to vote if they receive a direct benefit in return, mainly related to employment opportunities. Two women in the Gjiilan group stated employment opportunities were the main reasons why they voted in the 2014 general elections, which was echoed in other focus groups, such as in North Mitrovica where a man in the group claimed to have voted in 2014 general elections "for reasons of employment". A man in the Gjiilan group stated he would vote for a candidate he knows personally so that he could obtain a direct profit from voting. In Prishtina, a man in the group said "I expect the Assembly member to find me a job, so that I can secure a living". Generally, participants expressed a "what is in it for me" attitude with regard to voting.

In several focus groups, participants were of the view that such personal-based incentives are the primary source of motivation for other groups of voters. Participants in Gračanica widely agreed that for most people voting is a way to obtain or increase some personal benefit. Generally, participants believed, not necessarily correctly, that elderly voters are more inclined to vote in elections, primarily because the outcome of the elections influences their pensions. According to participants in Peja, public administration employees are more likely to vote in elections because their salaries are affected. In Gjakova, a man in the group was of the view that ruling political parties allocate budget funding to specific groups of voters, such as war veterans, to incentivize them to vote.

A frequent response from the focus group participants, more commonly among women, was that they vote so no one could impersonate them on Election Day and vote using their name on the voters list. For example, a woman in the Gjakova group responded with “I did not want my vote stolen” when asked why she voted in the 2014 general elections.

“I do not want my vote to be misused, even if there is no candidate whom I like, I will go out to vote and make my ballot invalid”
- Female participant in Ferizaj

Several focus group participants recalled the excitement of voting for the first time as a reason as to why they voted in elections. A woman in the Rahovec group and a man in the Peja group both stated “it was my first time voting”, as their reason for voting in the 2014 general election. Similarly, a woman in the Ferizaj group was excited to vote for the first time, and noted “it made me feel more mature”. This finding lines up with the statistical data on voter turnout, which shows that youth of age 18 to 21 years old have the highest turnout compared to other age groups.

Generally, participants in the North Mitrovica group were of the view that voters in North Mitrovica were pressured to participate in elections by outside forces. They claimed that there was pressure or intimidation on people to vote, primarily by political parties, but also from family and employers. A woman in the group stated “new mothers are at risk of having their child allowance cut-off if they do not vote in elections for a particular party”. Some participants mentioned that private companies have encouraged their employees to turn out to vote for a specific political party if they want to keep their jobs.

In addition to these general themes in the focus group discussions, participants responded with numerous other answers as to why they vote: “in order to eliminate corruption” (woman, Ferizaj); “because of a candidate” (man, Prishtina); “because I liked the political program” (man, Podujeva); “I vote because it is fun” (woman, Gjakova); and “support for a particular party” (man, Peja). It was notable that very few participants mentioned their support for a particular political party, candidate or policy as a reason for their voting. Generally, the vast majority of focus group participants felt motivated to vote, and declared that they will vote in future elections. This widespread intention to vote is different from voter turnout statistics for the last four elections, that show less than 50% of youth turning out to vote.

Generally, men and women in the focus groups shared similar views with regard to factors that motivate them to vote. A distinctive view was shared by a woman in the North Mitrovica group who explained that she is more likely to vote on small-scale matters for which she feels her vote will have a greater impact, such as voting on community issues, or voting for student parliament representatives.

"I feel comfortable voting for family issues, community matters or student parliament. But, when there is a big organization [election], where there is a lot at stake, and some people are motivated to undertake whatever is necessary to win, then I just refrain and feel distant from participating in such elections"
- Female participant in North Mitrovica

Generally, men and women participants were of the view that voting for local and general elections is of equal importance. Participants generally felt that voting in general elections gives them an opportunity to influence more important political decisions pertaining to the country's future, and in some instances mentioned that voting is the way in which they influence laws, the budget and the economy.

There was a greater tendency among women participants to acknowledge the relevance of local elections, with some claiming that they vote in local elections because it affects their daily lives and because they feel more comfortable supporting candidates whom they know personally. A woman in the Ferizaj group stated "both elections are important, however, the effects of local elections are more visible". Another perspective added by a woman participant in Gjilan was that she is more likely to vote in local elections because "you may know people who are candidates in the local elections". A woman in the Vushtrri group stated she votes in local elections "because [the candidate] is from our village and we have to vote ... we have to go and vote because of our cousin [candidate], and who knows maybe we will get a job ...".

2. Reasons for not voting

In general, there was a low number of focus group participants who stated they did not vote or are unlikely to vote in future. According to participants, some reasons why they or other voters do not vote are: voting does not make a difference, perceptions of political corruption, disappointment with political processes, perceptions about electoral fraud, no candidates or political entities to support, disappointment after voting for the first time, and other technical barriers particularly among minority communities. These reasons are further described in the paragraphs below.

The most common response among participants in relation to reasons for not voting was that voting does not make a difference. A man in the Prishtina group who had just become eligible to vote was of the view that his vote will not have any influence, which was echoed by another man in the group. A woman participant in Gjilan added "... it is the same, whether I vote or not". Another male participant in North Mitrovica claimed that he did not vote in 2014 general elections because the "voice of the people is not heard".

"I do not think that my vote will have any influence therefore, I am neutral, I do not support anyone"
- Male participant in Prishtina

Some participants lose their motivation to vote because of their perceptions about corruption. A woman in the Rahovec group stated “even though most people vote, there will always be corruption and the biggest ones always win”. A man in the same group declared that corruption is widespread in society in general, and voters sell their votes to political parties, while another said that he felt that his vote was corrupted because of the reporting of electoral fraud in the media. A woman participant in Gjakova stated corruption was the main reason why she had not voted.

*“No political party, program ...
can influence an 18 year-old to
vote, because they think that
everyone is a thief”
- Male participant in Peja*

Some other participants claimed that they feel discouraged from voting because of their perceptions of electoral fraud. In several focus groups participants pointed to inaccuracies in the voters list, witnessing fraud in elections themselves, or hearing reports of electoral fraud in the media. It was common for participants to cite cases in which they had seen names of their deceased family members in the voter list. A woman in the Rahovec group stated “the voting process is always the same, we have seen dead people on the voting list ... and whether you vote or not, your vote is stolen”. Perceptions of electoral fraud were also shared by participants in Gjakova.

There were also participants whose view was that there is no political entity or candidate whom they support, and there are no political platforms that adequately address their interests. A woman participant in Ferizaj responded “there were no parties for me to support” in the 2014 general elections, while one in Rahovec stated

*“There was no one to vote for
[2014 general elections], they
are all the same. I had no
candidate for whom to vote”
- Male participant in Prishtina*

“... no one is worth voting for”. A man in the Peja group stated “candidates are not motivating young people”, making the point that political entities are failing to address issues which concern youth, such as student scholarships. In explaining why he did not vote in the 2014 general elections, a man in the Mitrovica group stated there are the “same people in politics”. This finding lines up with the earlier finding that very few participants mentioned their support for a particular political party, candidate or policy as a reason for their voting.

There was a general disappointment among participants about political processes and state institutions in general, which appeared to discourage some participants from voting. A woman participant in Ferizaj declared “promises are made but not kept, people get disappointed and therefore do not vote”. Another woman participant in Skenderaj did not vote because she does not trust the state institutions, while one from Ferizaj was of the view that young people do not vote because they are not given a role to play in politics. There were also focus groups in which youth claimed to have voted in the past, but are no longer considering voting. A woman in the Gjilan group stated “I do not vote, I voted once while hoping that something better would happen, but my vote was a disappointment and I will never vote again”. This finding lines up with the voter turnout statistics, which indicate that turnout progressively decreases among 22 to 25, and 26 to 29 year olds.

*“I have just voted to see how it
goes, but I will never vote again
because I am convinced that it
does not make a difference, and
that is why there is no reason for
me to vote”
- Female participant in Rahovec*

Generally, the focus group participants did not face technical barriers that would discourage or prevent them from voting. However, several minority participants in North Mitrovica and Gračanica claimed that they were not able to vote in past elections because their names were not included in the voter list. In North Mitrovica, a few participants raised security issues with regard to voting, recalling violence from past elections. Very few participants complained about the distance to their polling center, while one woman in the North Mitrovica group stated she did not vote in the 2014 general elections, because “I was not informed”.

There were some other less frequent reasons for not voting given by focus group participants. Two women in the Rahovec group stated they had not voted in the 2014 election because they were working as election administration staff. A man in the Gjilan group stated “around the last elections, some of my distant relatives would call me to hang out and eventually tell me who to vote for, and now I’m not going to vote anymore”. One out-of-country voter in Prishtina noted that his ballot arrived too late from the Central Election Commission.

Generally, there were similar views among men and women participants as to the reasons for not voting in the elections. Some different perspectives were added by a woman participant in Prishtina, who stated “I don’t feel mature enough to elect someone for the next four years”, and another in Peja who stated women in Peja are less likely to vote because of the patriarchal society in which they live.

For some participants, who were not motivated to vote or stated they would not vote in the future, changes in the political environment and employment opportunities would increase their likelihood of voting. In Gjakova, a woman participant stated she would vote if new political entities contest the elections. Similarly, some 18 to 19-year-old participants in Prishtina were of the view that they would be more likely to vote if there are new candidates, while other participants in Ferizaj and Peja believed that voters would be more inclined to vote if there were better employment opportunities. On the other hand, there were several participants across the focus groups, particularly in Gračanica, who claimed that there are no possible changes that would motivate them to vote.

E. Summary of voter turnout statistics

The turnout among all voters at Kosovo level increased from the 2009 local election through to the 2013 local elections, but then declined at the 2014 general elections to around the same level as in 2009.

Young men have generally had a higher voter turnout than young women. In the 2009 local, 2010 and 2014 general elections, men's turnout was higher than women's for all of the following groups among youth: all youth (18 to 29), 18 to 21, 22 to 25 and 26 to 29 years old. The difference between male youth turnout and female youth turnout was 14 percentage points in 2009, 17 percentage points in 2010, and 12 percentage points in 2014. The 2013 local elections were the only exception in which young women's turnout was higher than young men's, five percentage points higher at 51 per cent.

Among young men, turnout is usually higher for general elections than local elections. The turnout among young men (18 to 29 years old), was higher in the 2014 general than the 2013 local elections, and higher in the 2010 general than the 2009 local elections.

Youth (18 to 29 year olds) voter turnout is generally higher than the overall turnout. In the last four elections, the turnout among youth (18-29) was either equal to (2009) or slightly higher than (2010, 2013 and 2014) the overall voter turnout. The voter turnout is generally highest among youth between 18 to 21 years old in comparison to older youth age groups. This holds in general in each municipality. For example, in the 2014 general elections, the turnout among 18 to 21 year olds was higher than overall municipal voter turnout in almost all (36 of 38) municipalities.

The voter turnout progressively decreases among 22 to 25 year olds and 26 to 29 year olds. In all four elections, the turnout among 26 to 29 year olds is below the average turnout for youth and for all voters. The turnout among 26 to 29 year old women has been particularly low in the 2009 local, 2010 general and 2014 general elections, at 28 percent, 28 percent and 29 percent respectively.

The turnout among youth, and particularly among young women, reached its highest levels in the 2013 local elections. While in the 2013 local elections there were 21 municipalities with 50 percent or higher turnout among youth, in the 2014 general elections this dropped to 11 municipalities. In the 2013 local elections, there was an impressive turnout of 61 percent among young women who were between 18 to 21 years old.

Apart from the four northern municipalities in which the turnout was generally below average due to election boycott and access issues in elections before 2013, the municipalities with the lowest youth turnout from the past four elections are: Dragash, Deçan, Prizren, Mitrovica, Gjakova, Junik, Rahovec and Peja. Those with the highest youth voter turnout over these past four elections are: Hani I Elezit, Mamusha, Glllogvc, Lipjan, Štrpce, Klokot, Skenderaj, Novo Brdo, Obiliq, Kaçanik and Prishtina, all over 50 percent.

F. Voter turnout in the last four elections, by age group and municipality

The following pages present charts on voter turnout in the last four Kosovo elections, by age groups and municipality. For each of the last four elections (2009 local, 2010 general, 2013 local and 2014 general) there are five charts presenting data on the voter turnout for all voters, total youth (18 to 29 years old), and youth 18 to 21, 22 to 25, and 26 to 29 years old. These charts allow for comparison of youth voter turnout for each election by municipality.

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters in 2009 local elections, by municipality

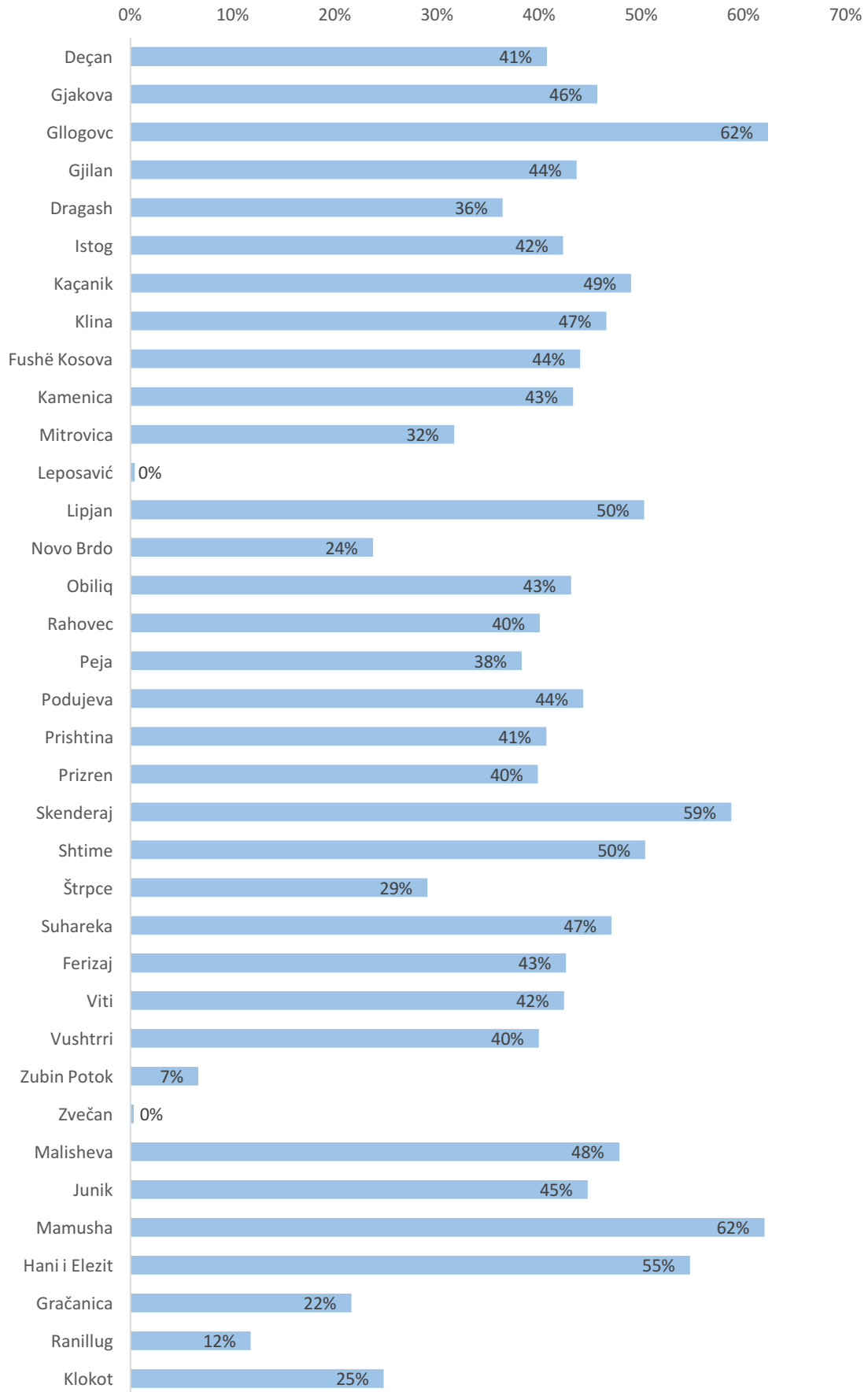


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18-29, in 2009 local elections, by municipality

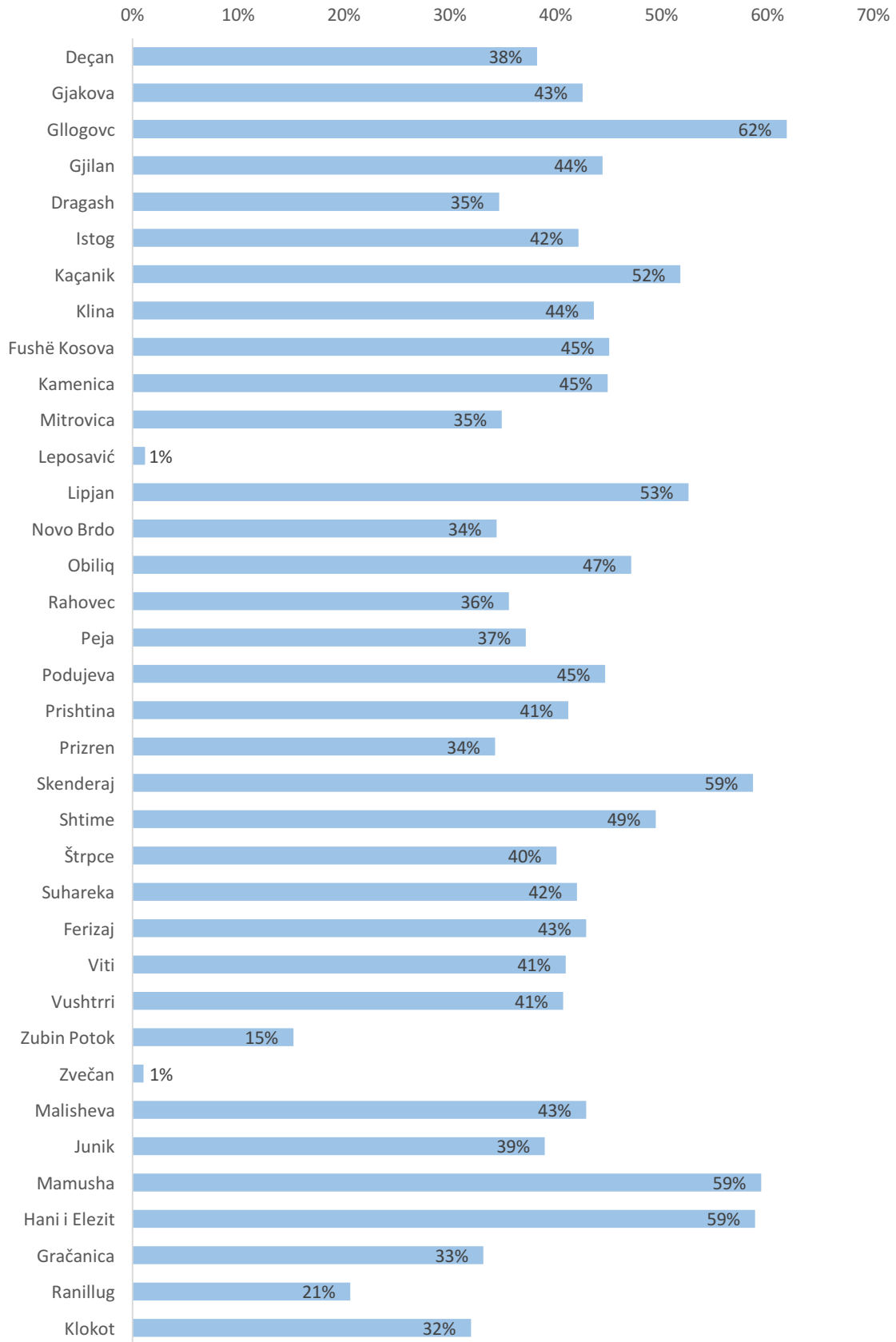


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18-21 in 2009 local elections, by municipality

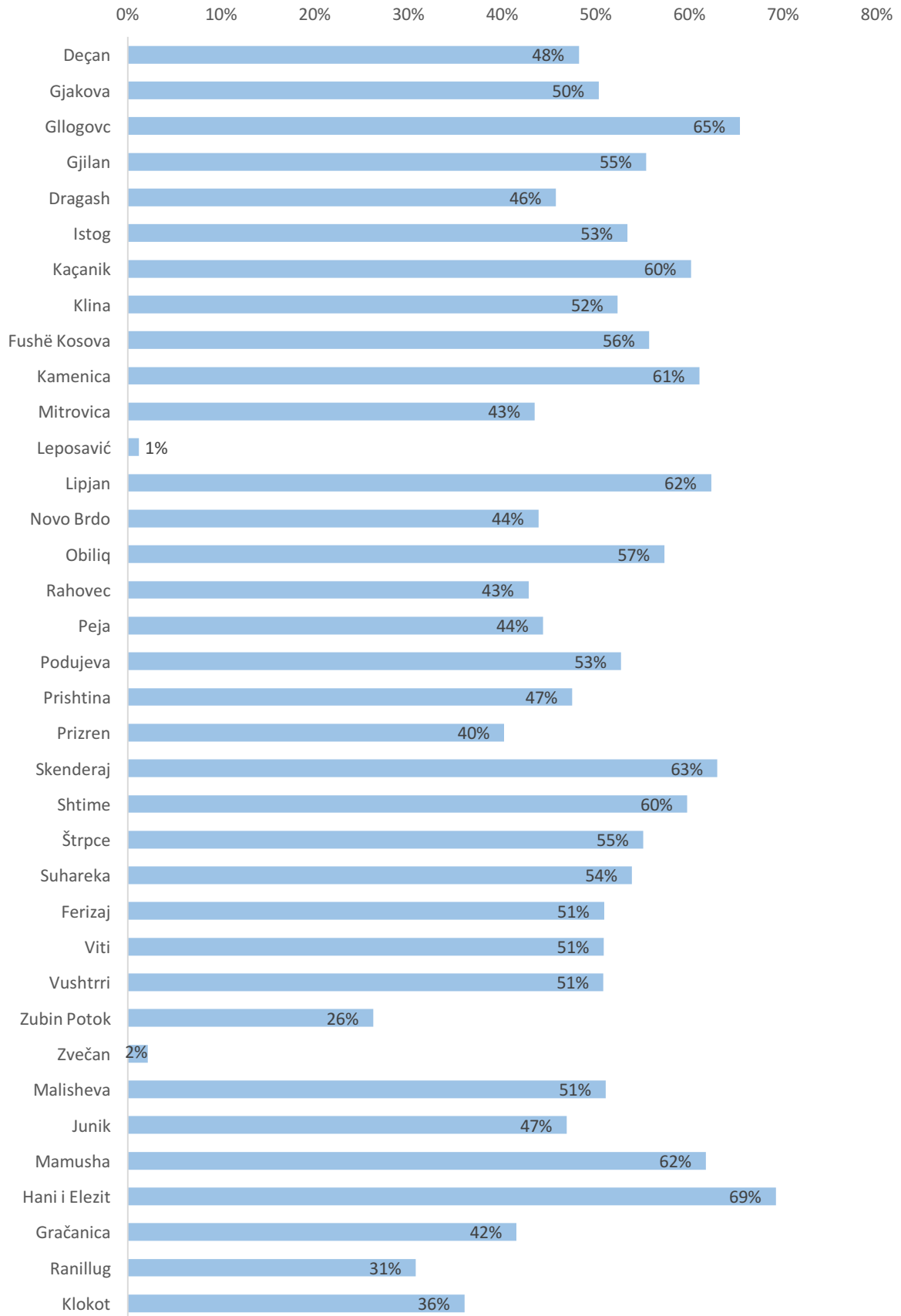


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22-25 in 2009 local elections, by municipality

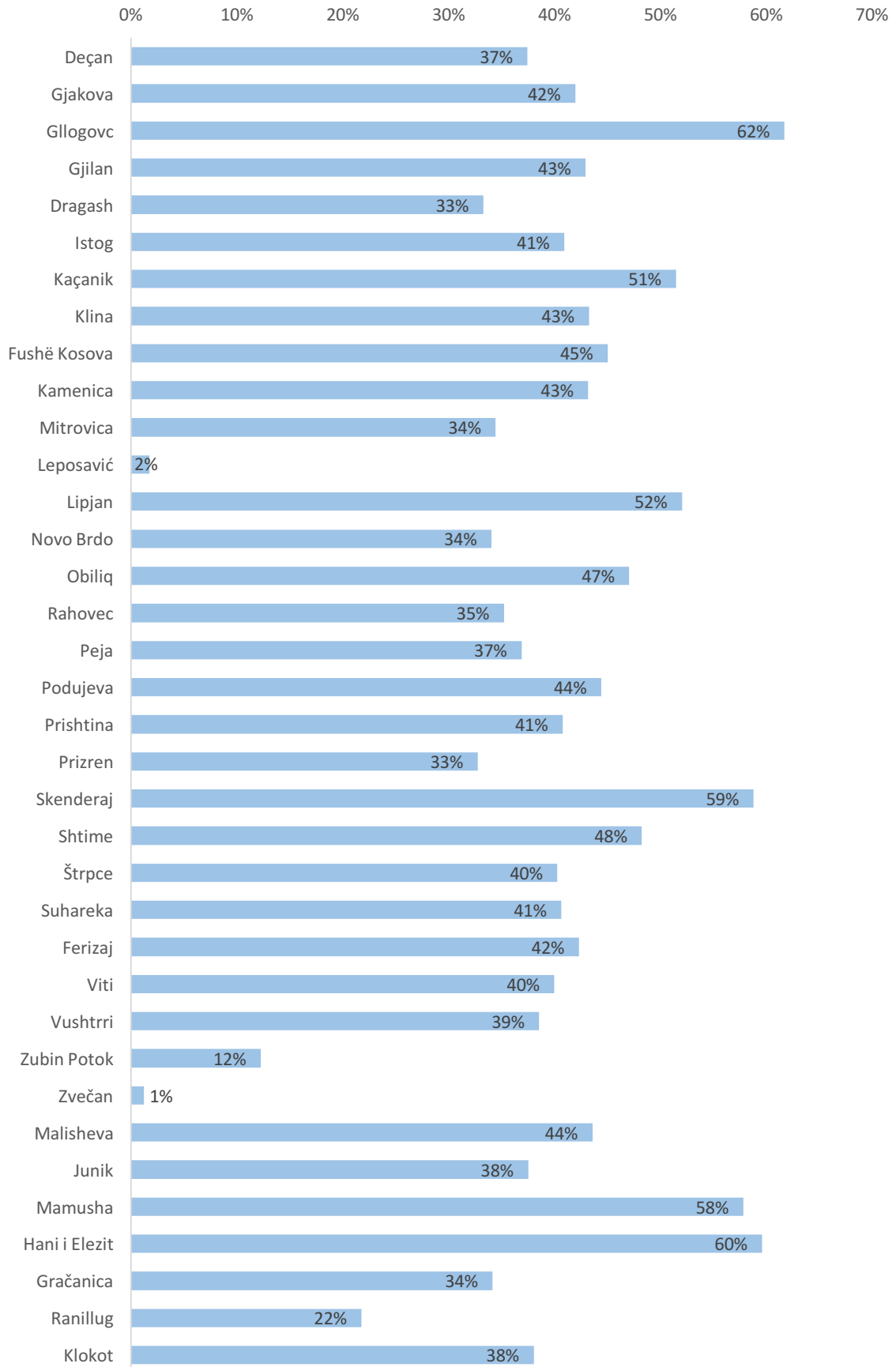


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26-29 in 2009 local elections, by municipality

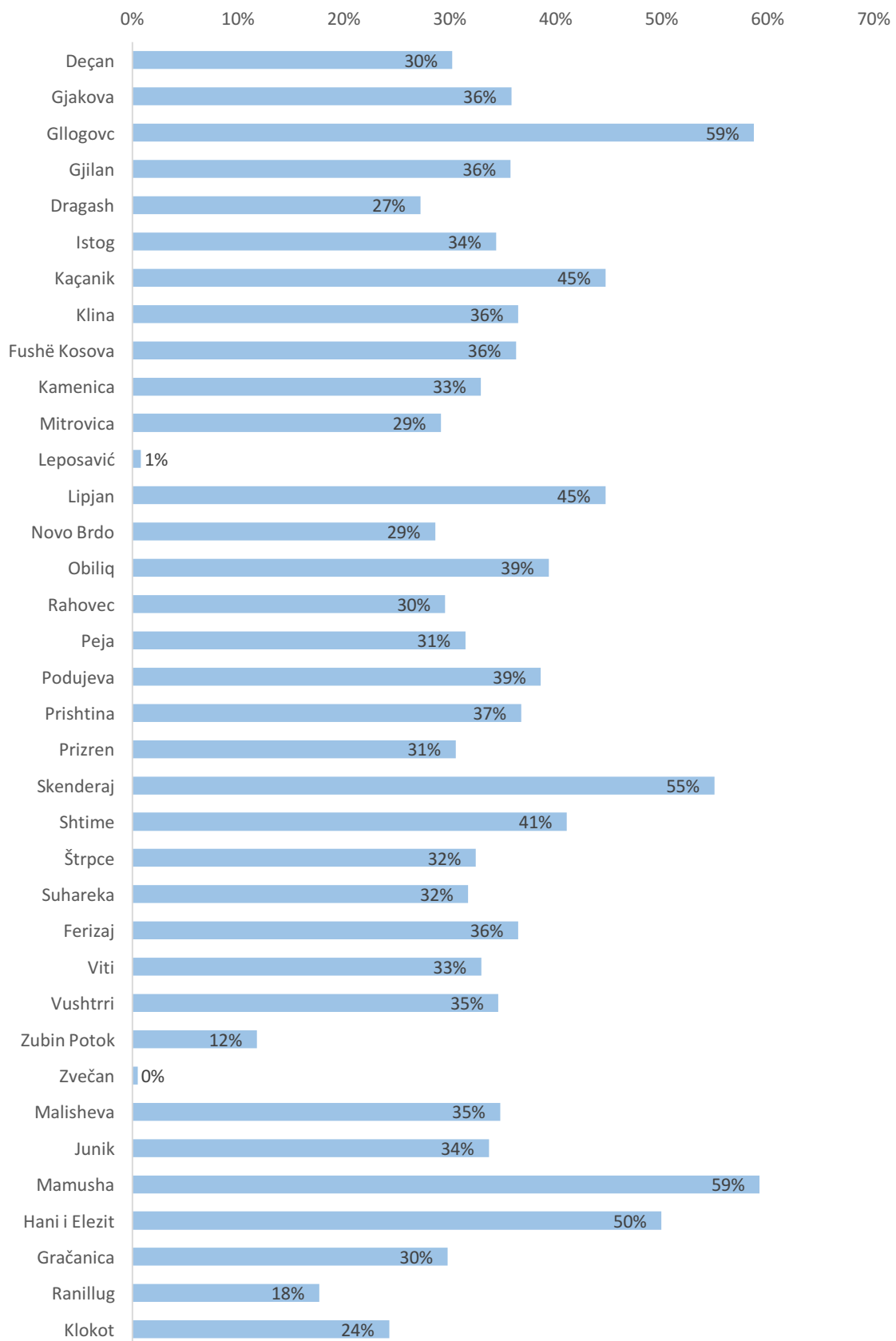


Figure 6: Turnout among all voters in 2010 general elections, by municipality

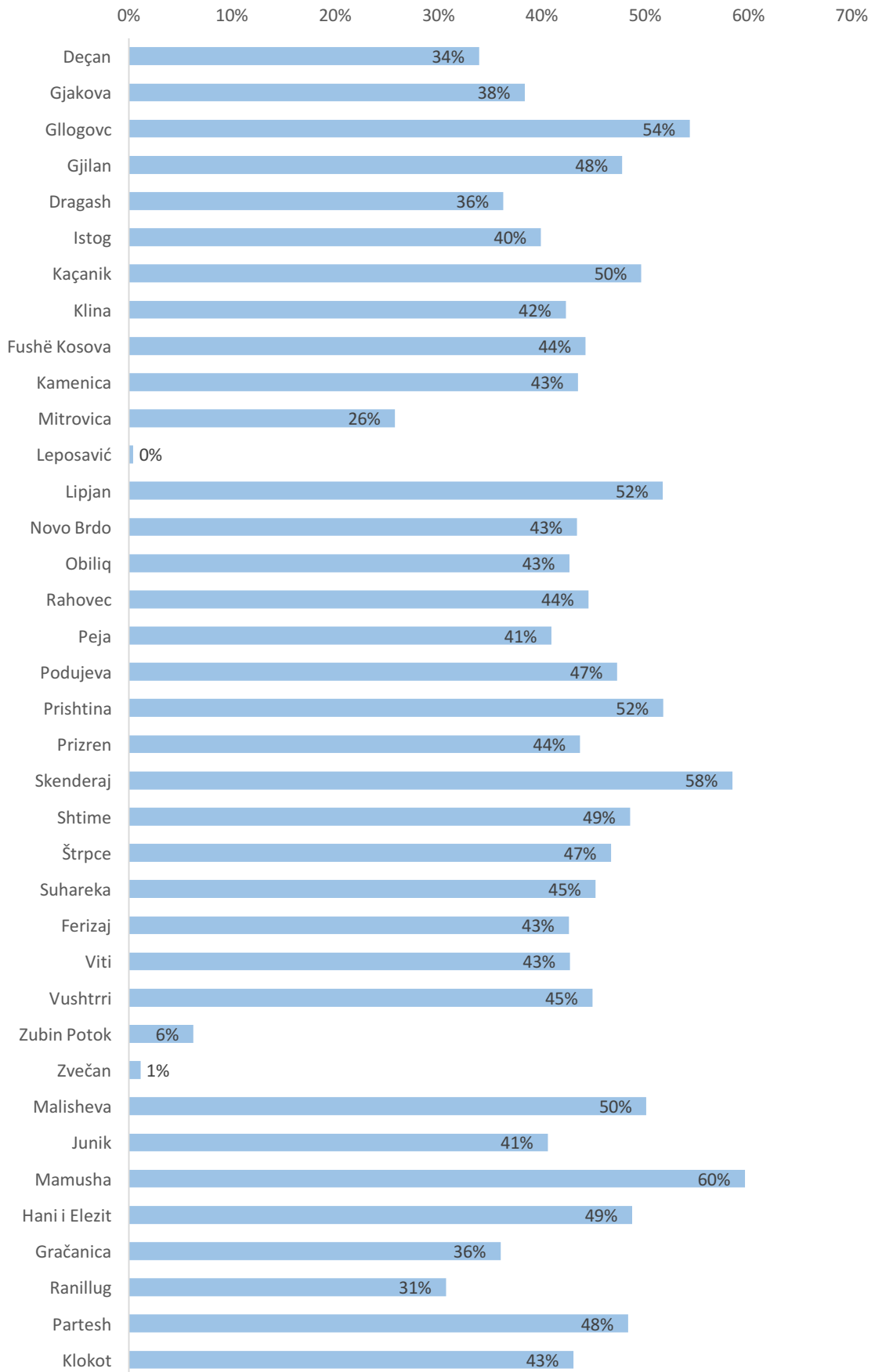


Figure 7: Turnout among youth, age 18-29, in 2010 general elections, by municipality

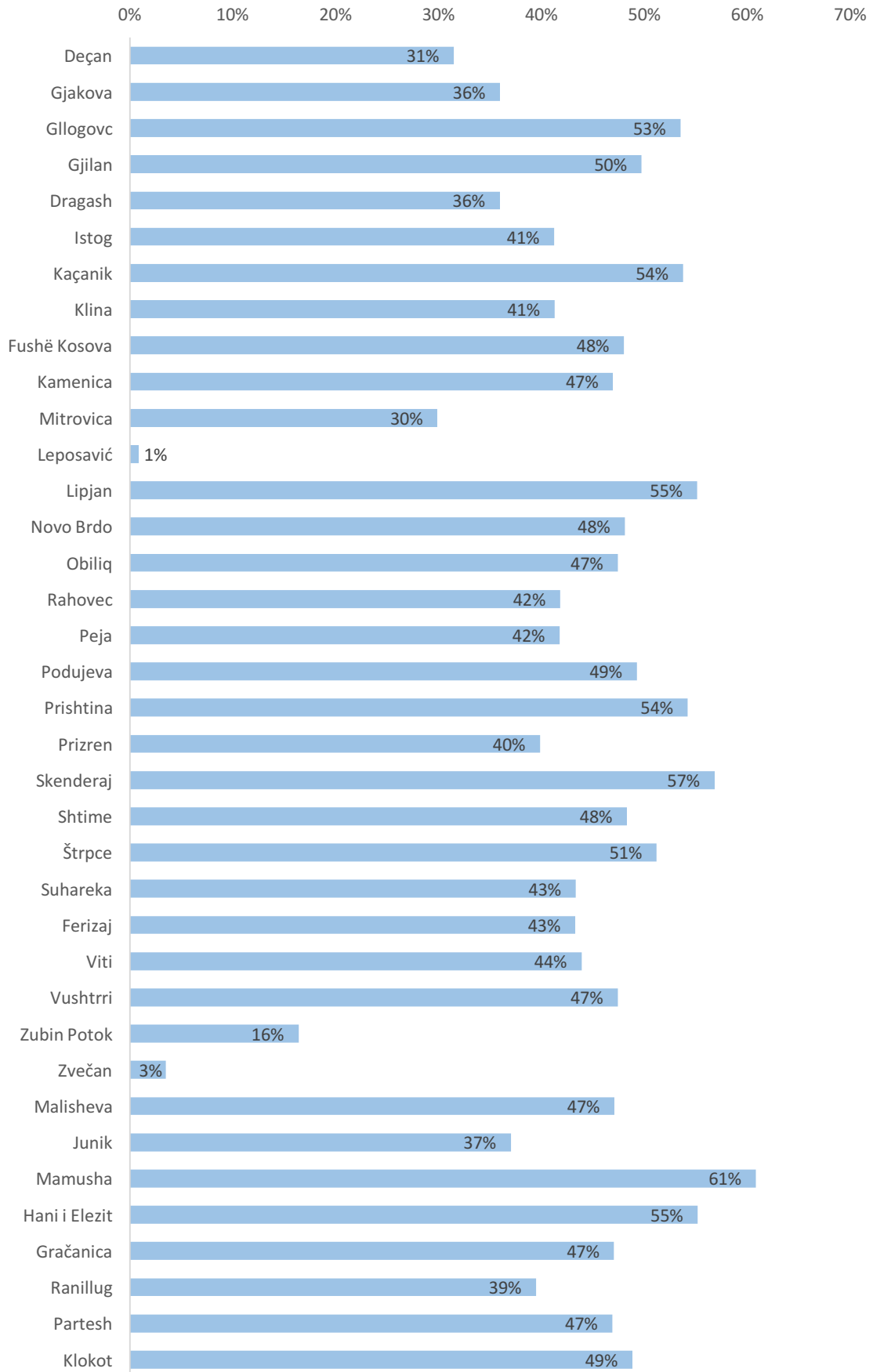


Figure 8: Turnout among youth of age 18-21 in 2010 general elections, by municipality

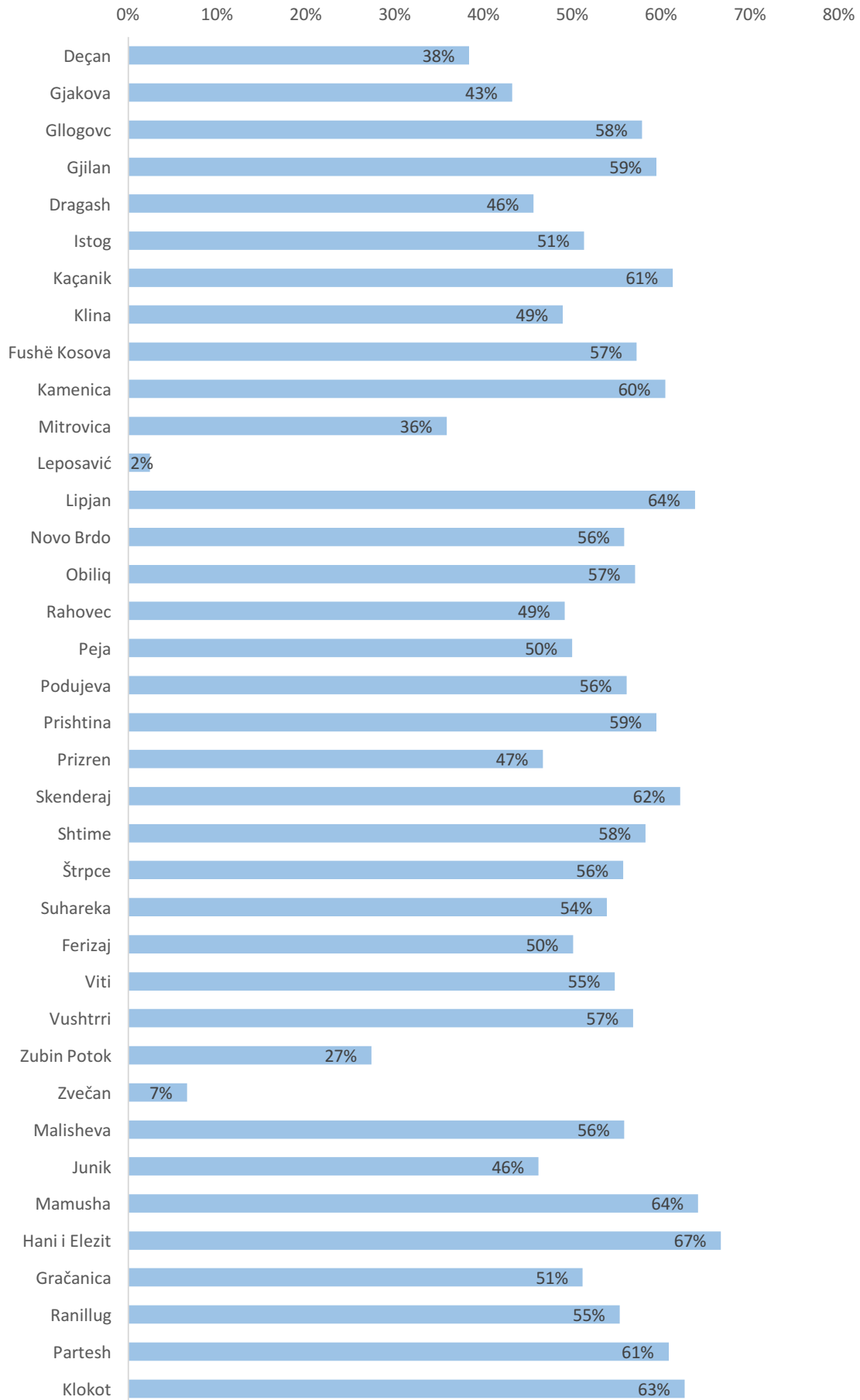


Figure 9: Turnout among youth of age 22-25 in 2010 general elections, by municipality

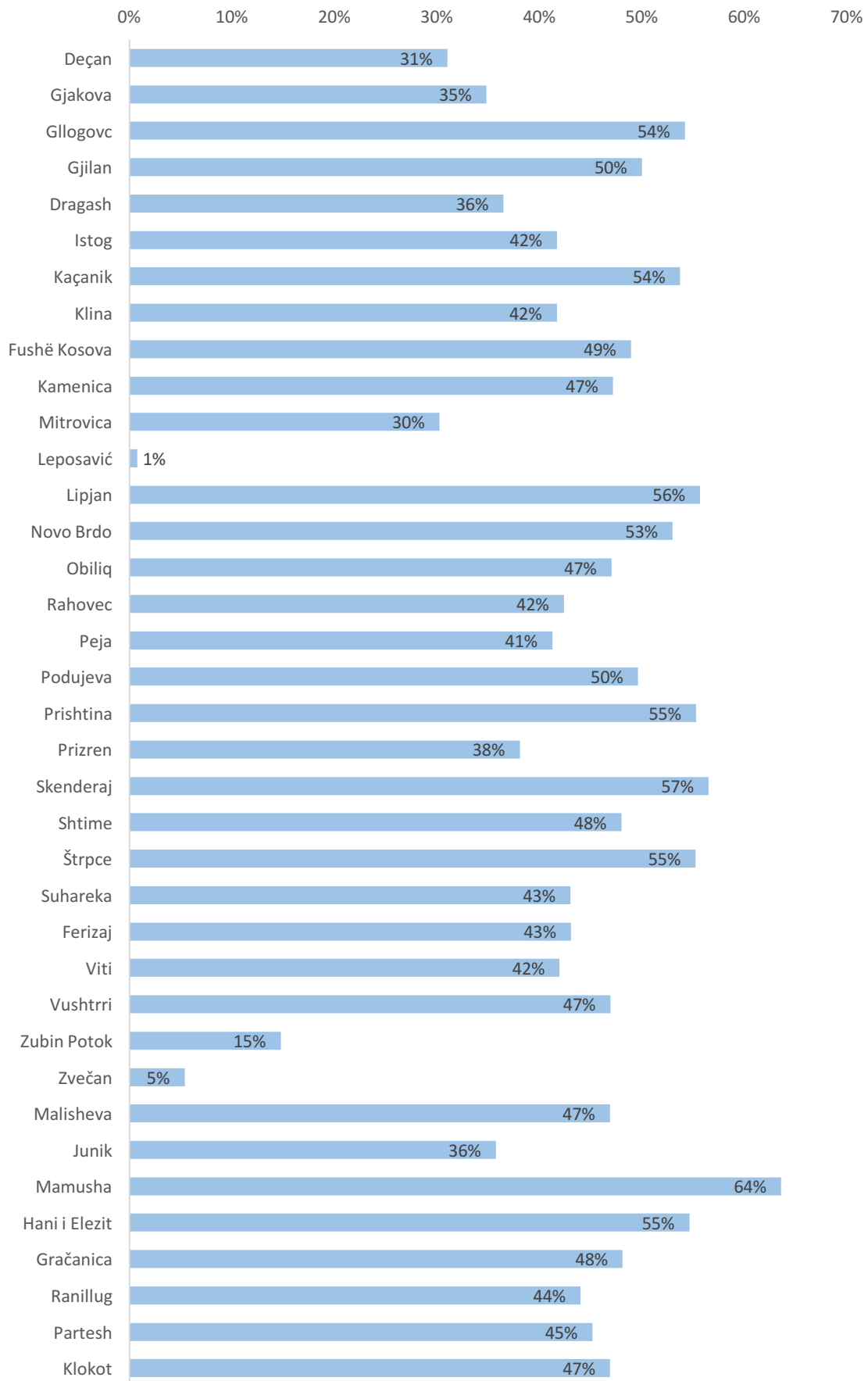


Figure 10: Turnout among youth of age 26-29 in 2010 general elections, by municipality

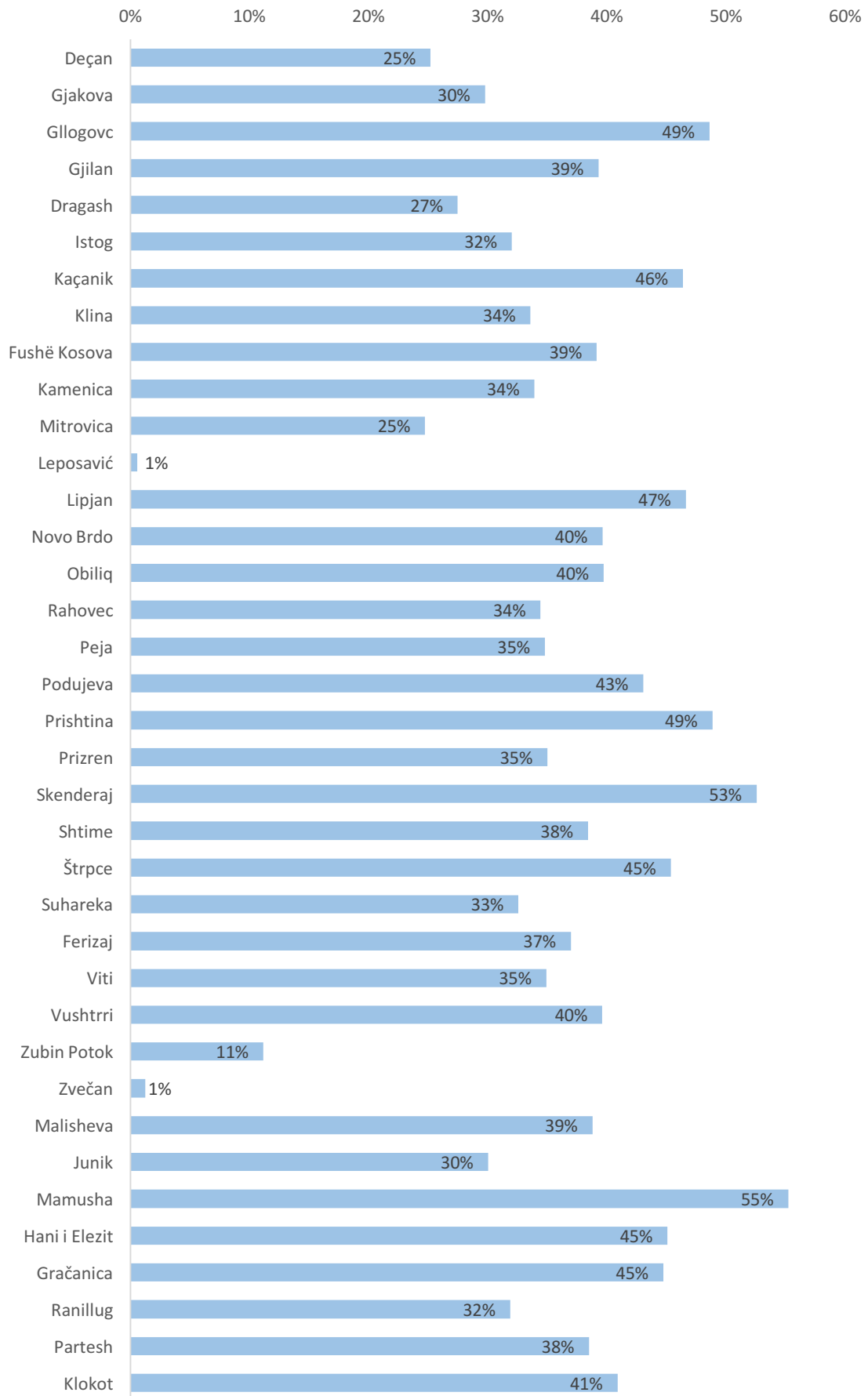


Figure 11: Turnout among all voters in 2013 local elections, by municipality

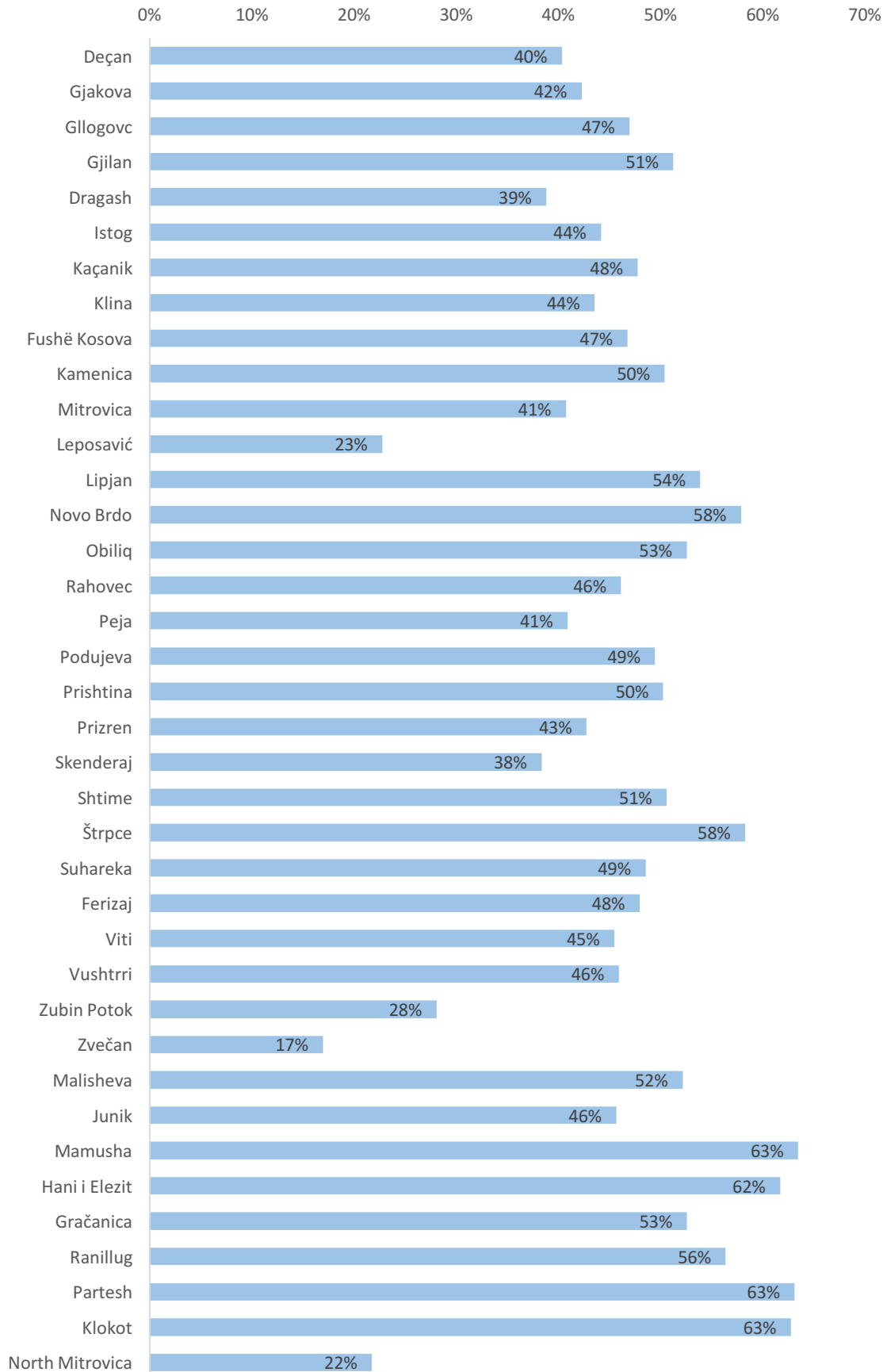


Figure 12: Turnout among youth, age 18-29, in 2013 local elections, by municipality

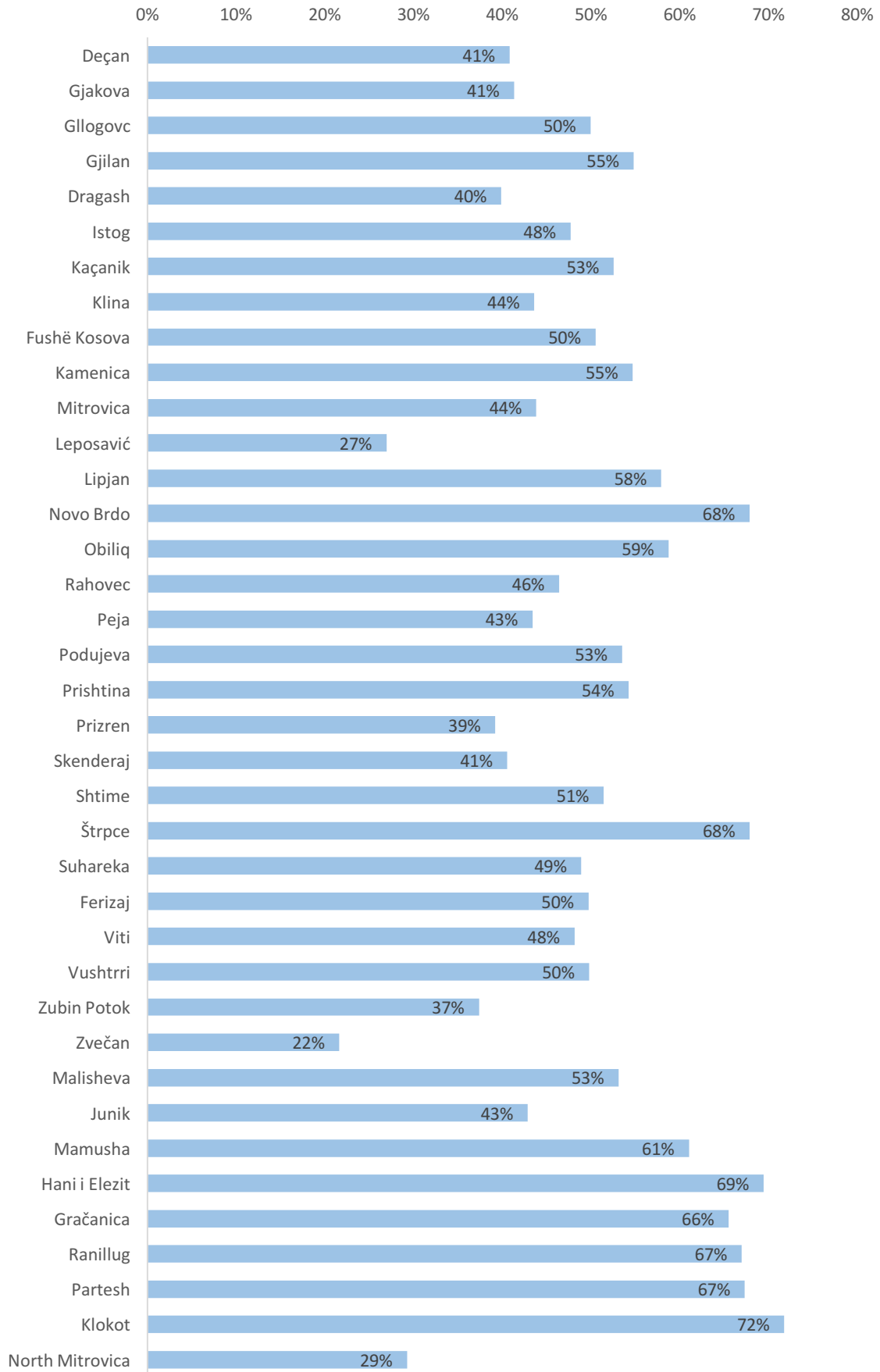


Figure 13: Turnout among youth of age 18-21 in 2013 local elections, by municipality

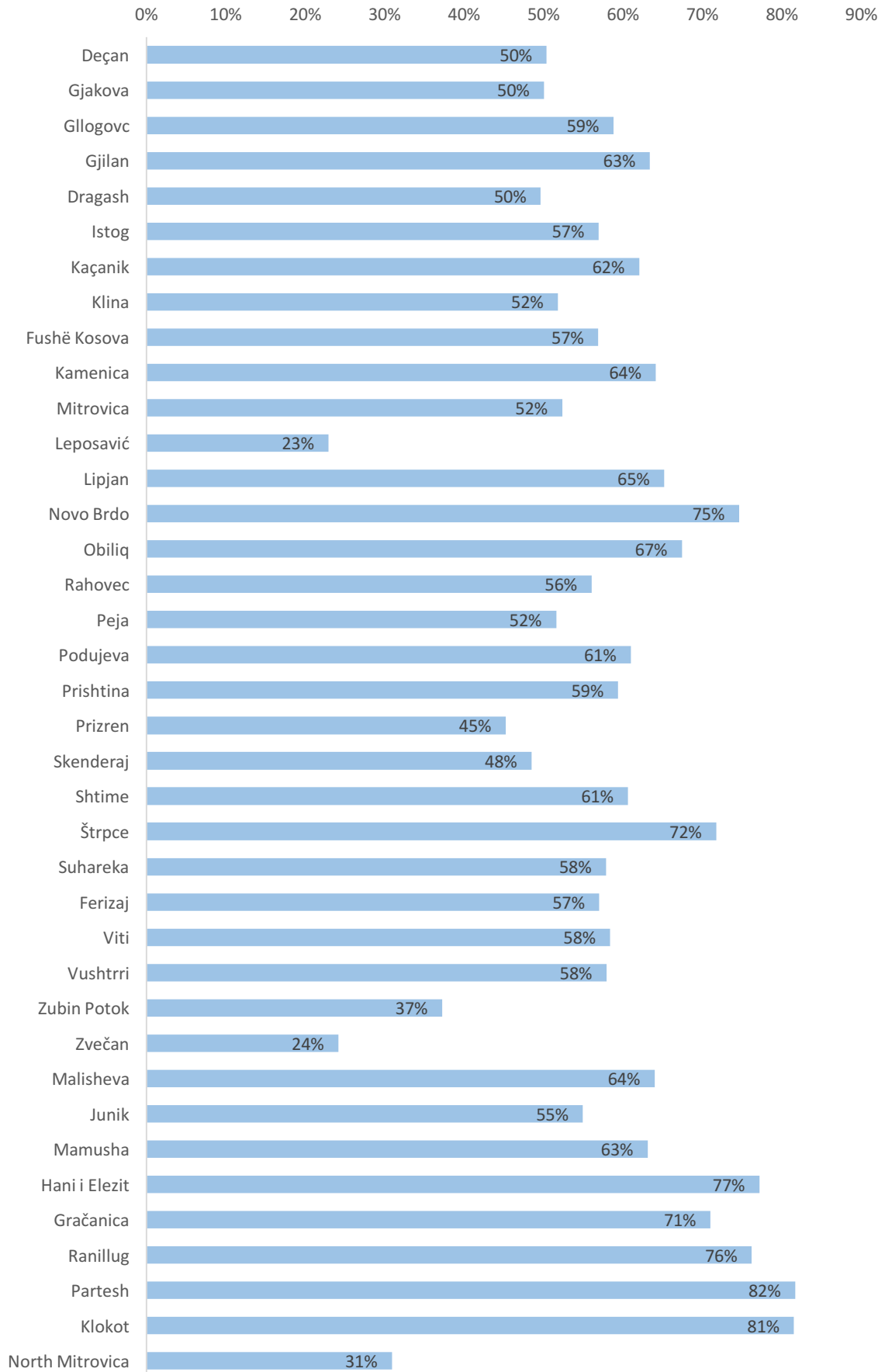


Figure 14: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25 in 2013 local elections, by municipality

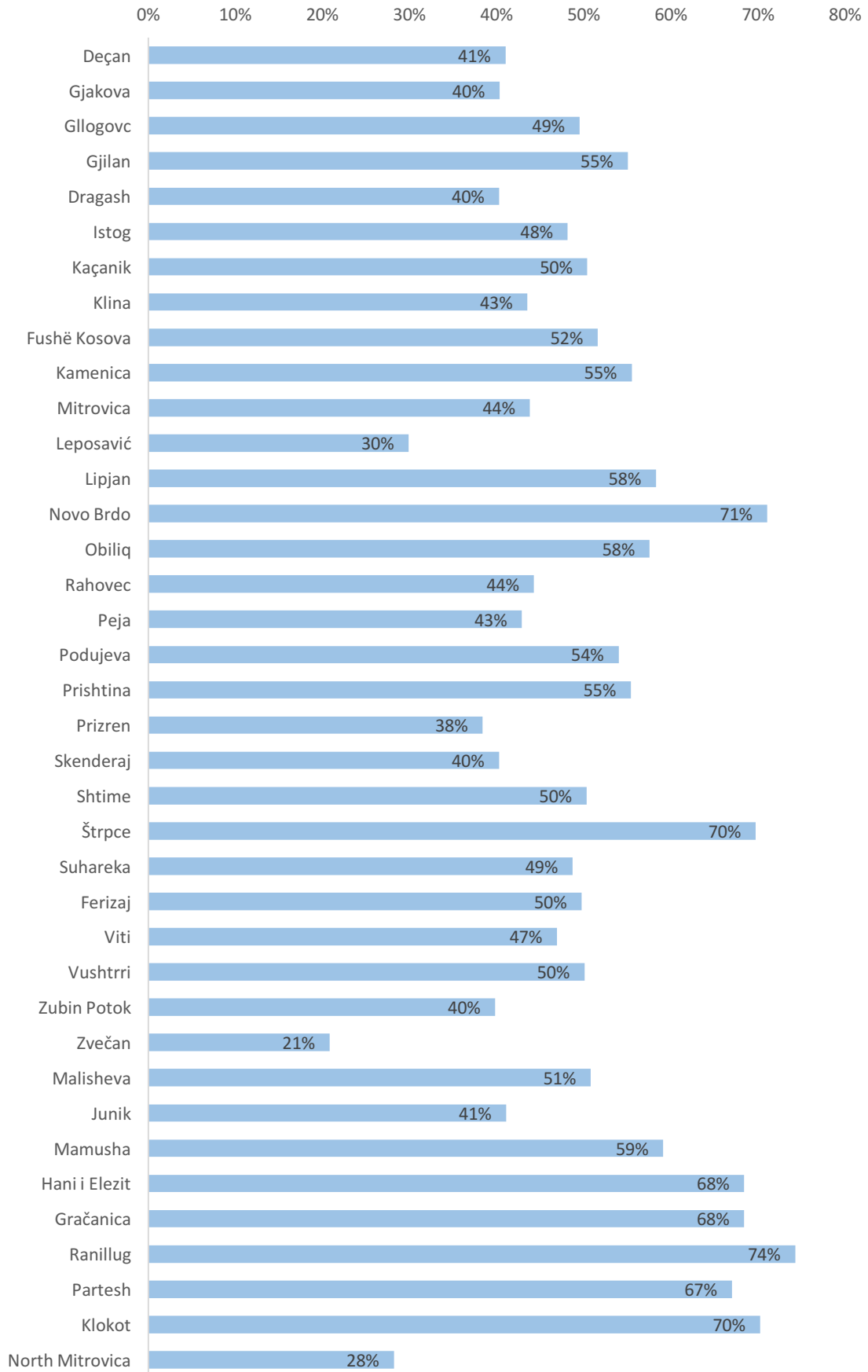


Figure 15: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29 in 2013 local elections, by municipality

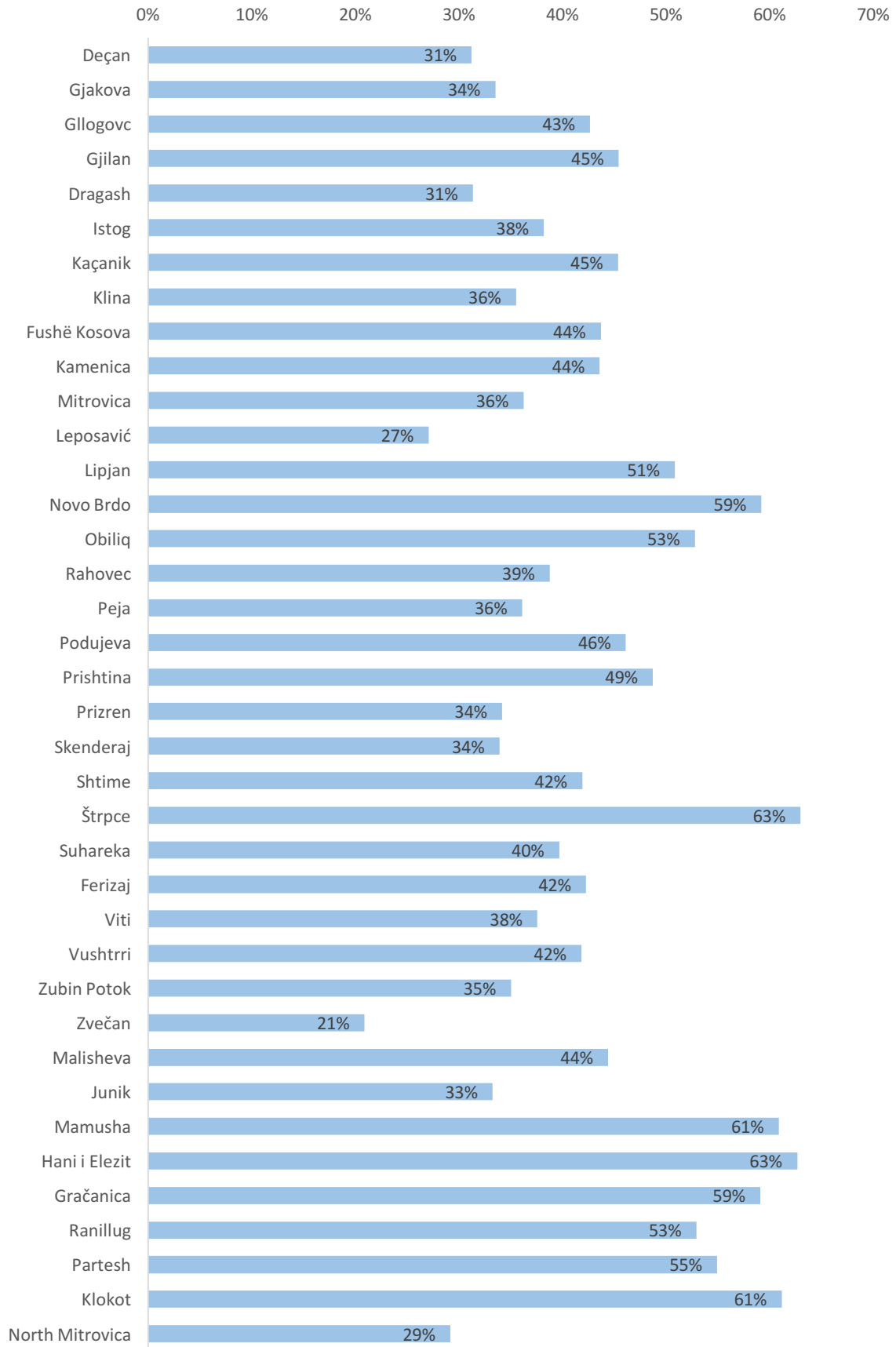


Figure 16: Turnout among all voters in 2014 general elections, by municipality

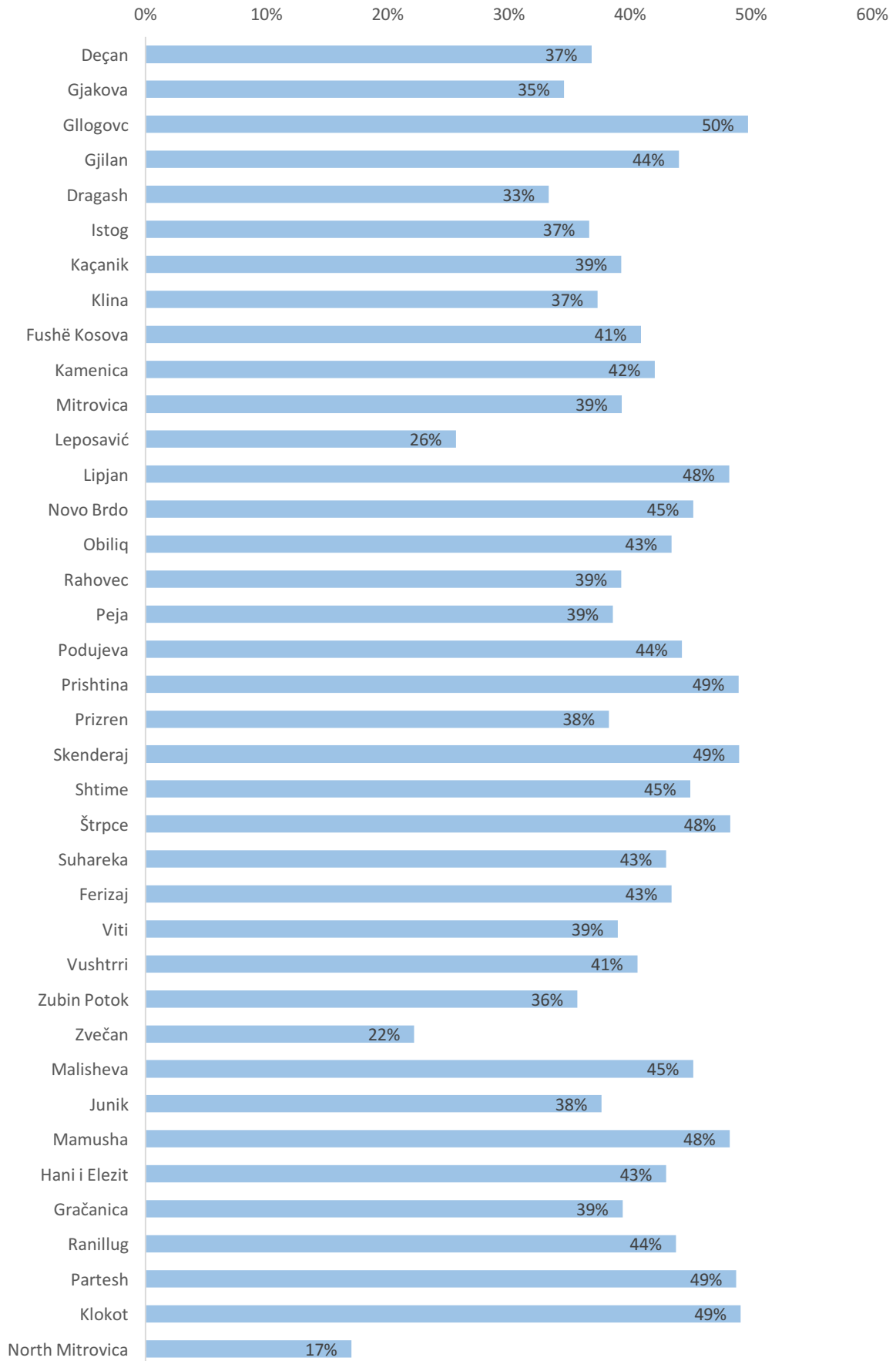


Figure 17: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, in 2014 general elections, by municipality

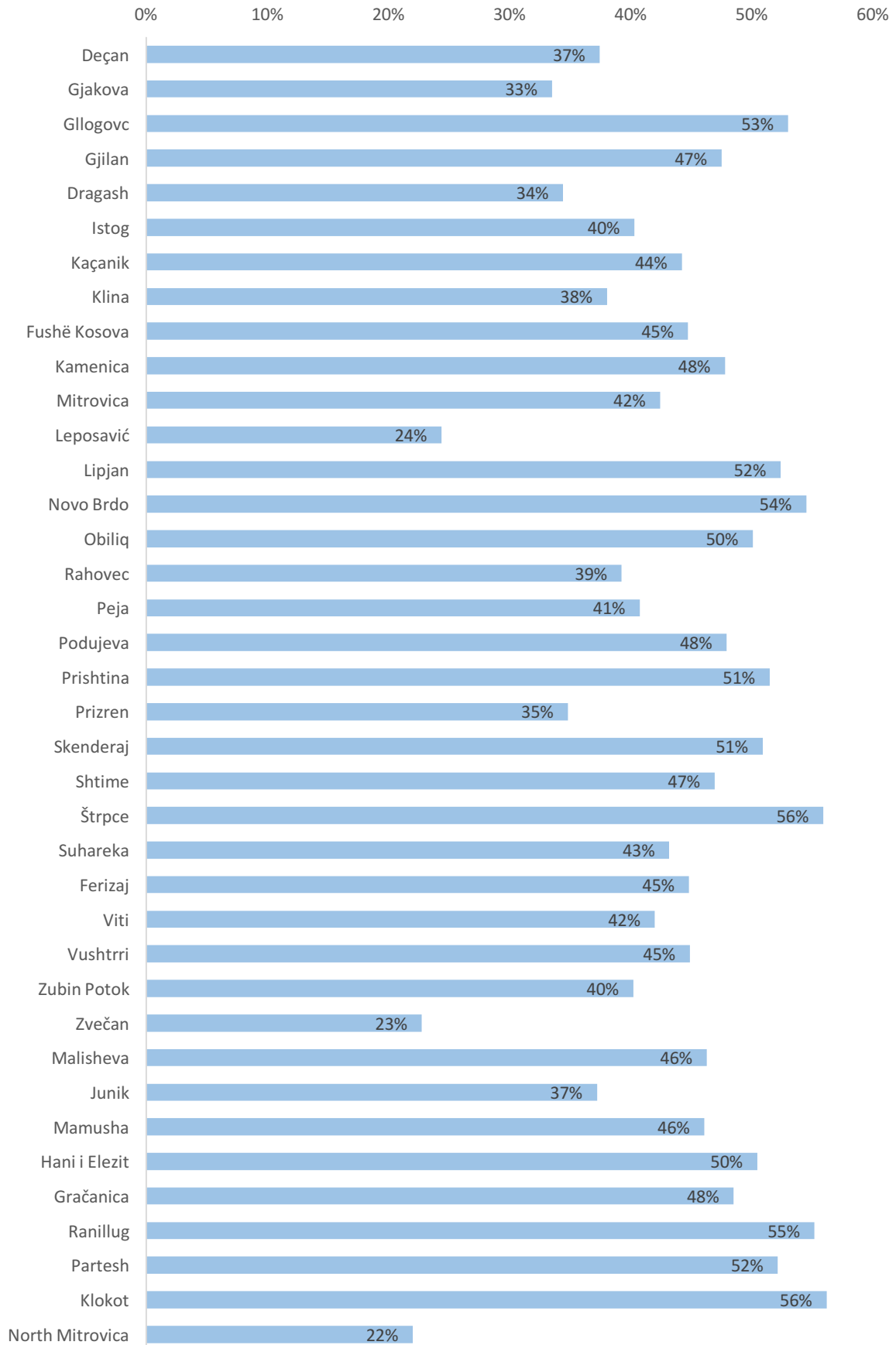


Figure 18: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21 in 2014 general elections, by municipality

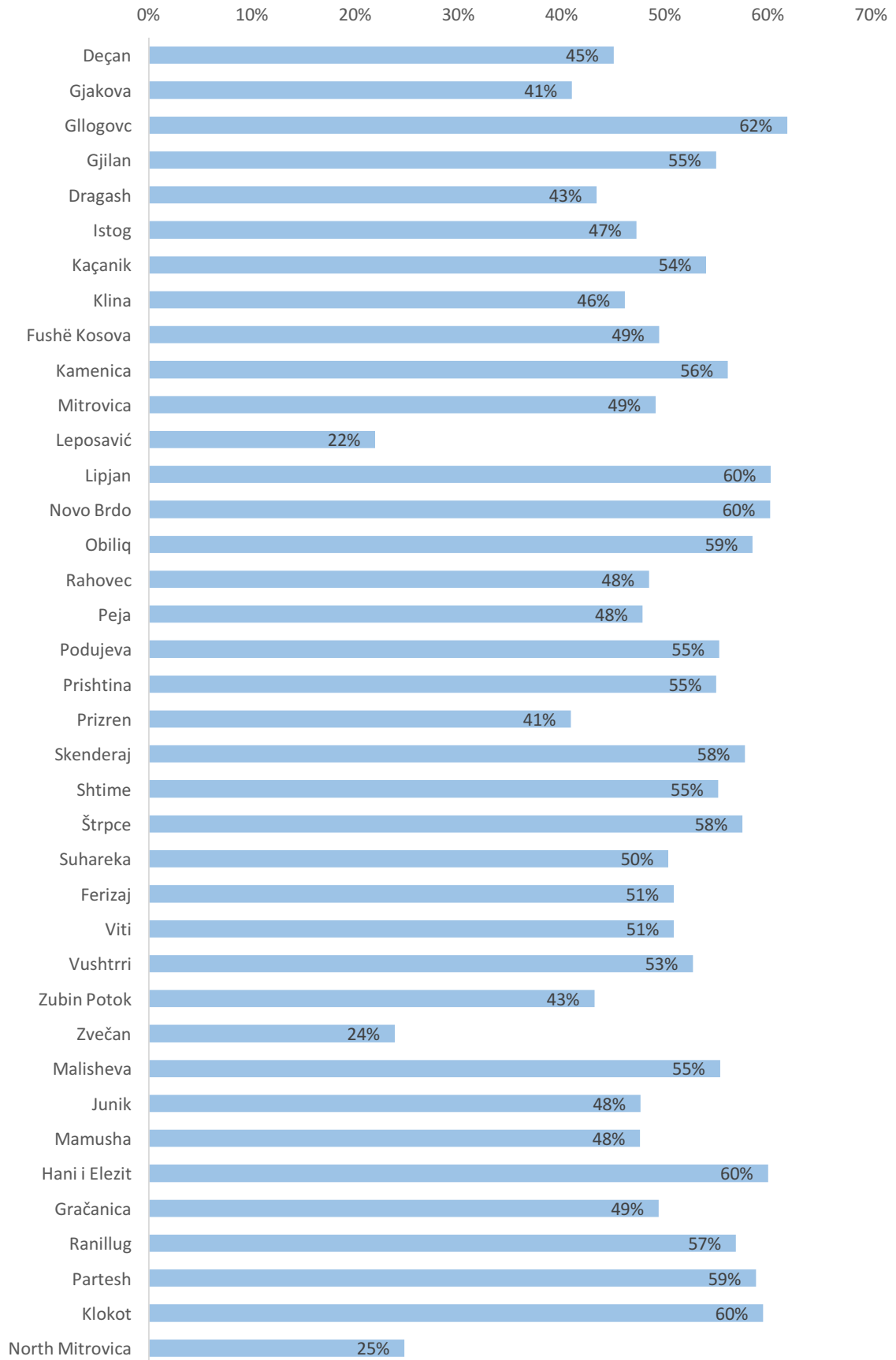


Figure 19: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25 in 2014 general elections, by municipality

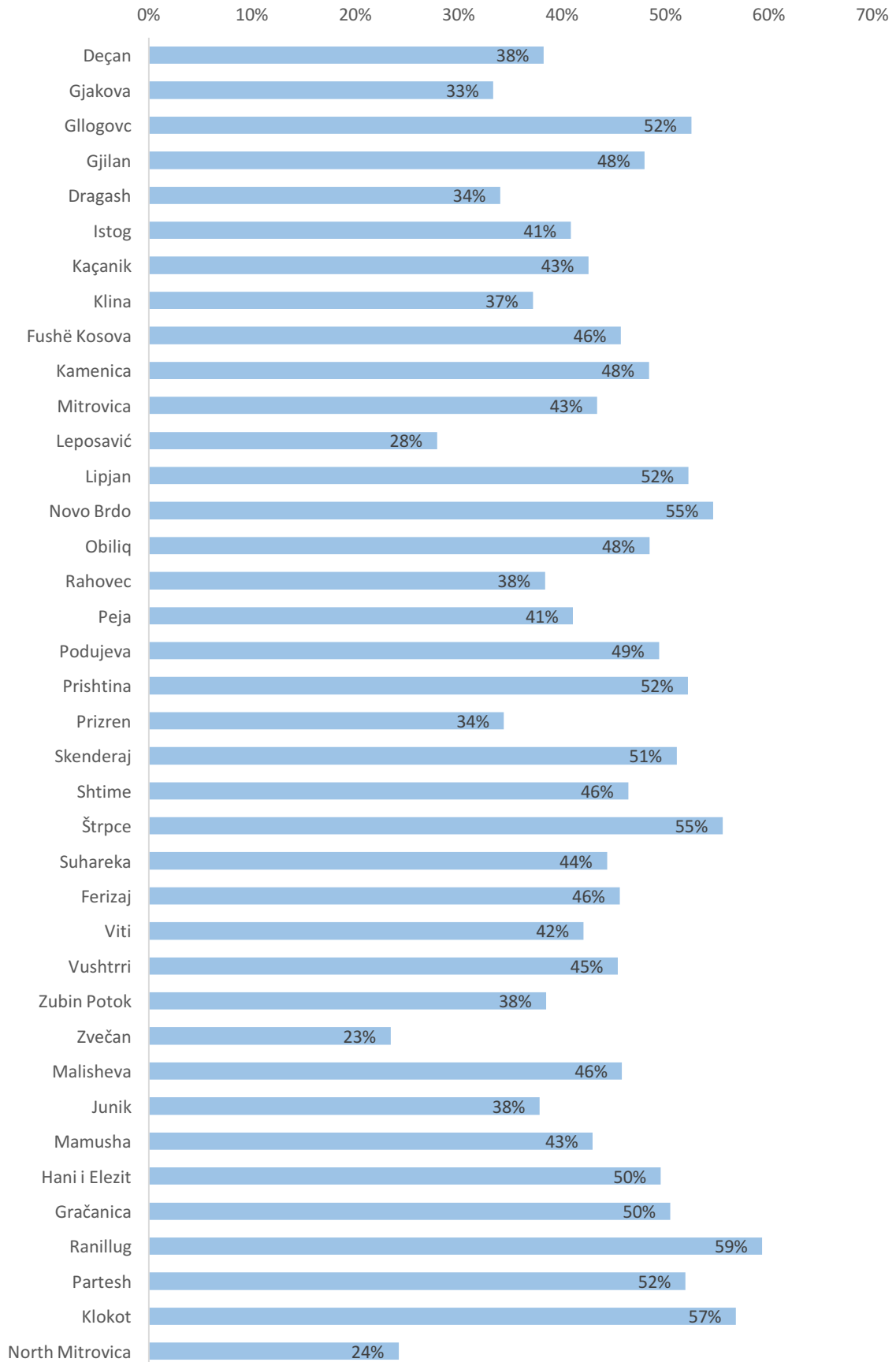
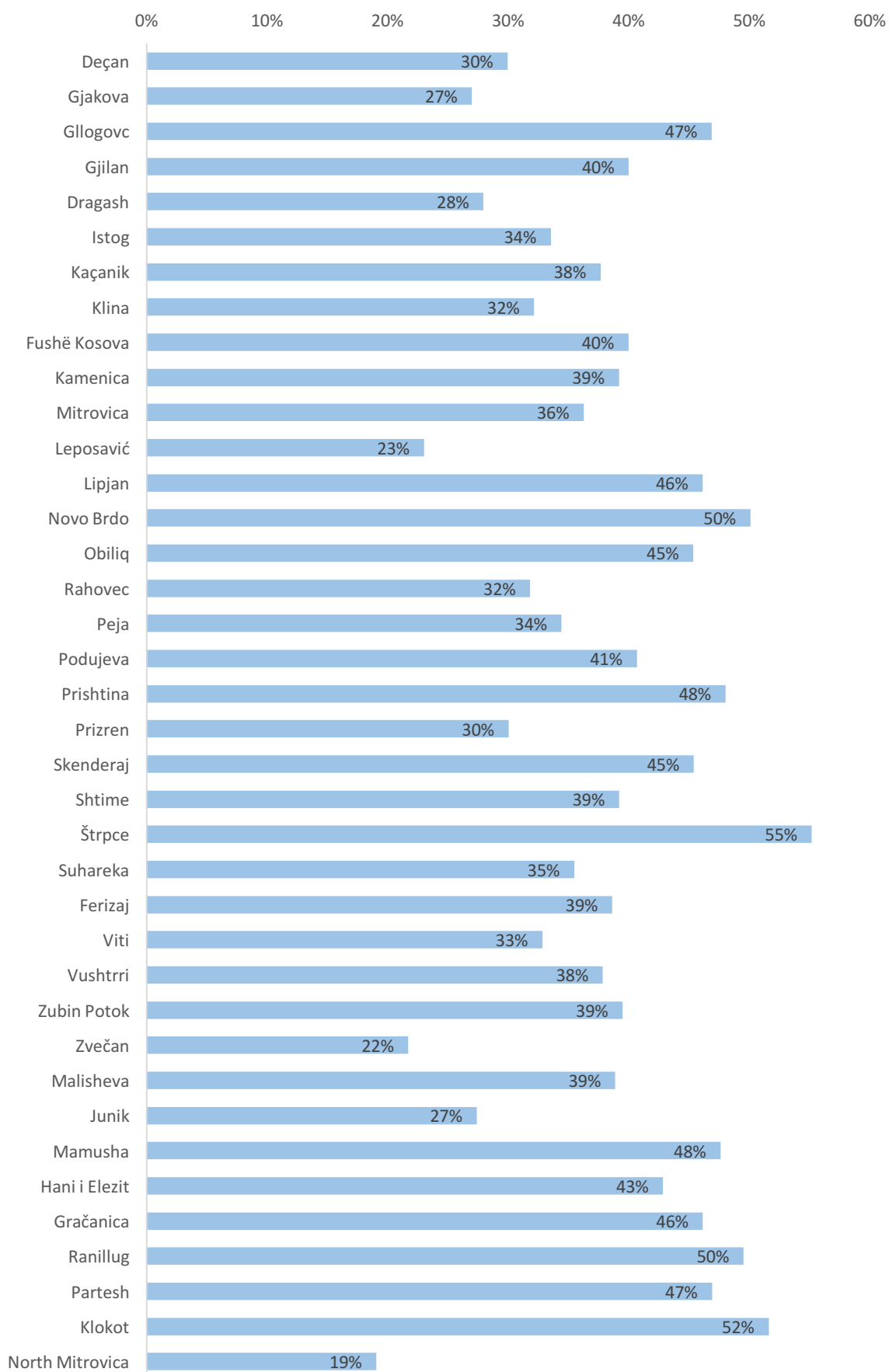


Figure 20: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29 in 2014 general elections, by municipality



G. Turnout trends for each municipality, by age group and gender

The following charts show voter turnout trends for Kosovo and in each municipality between the 2009 and 2014 elections, broken down by gender, for all voters, for total youth (18 to 29 years old), and for youth 18 to 21, 22 to 25, and 26 to 29 years old.

ALL VOTER TURNOUT – KOSOVO LEVEL

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

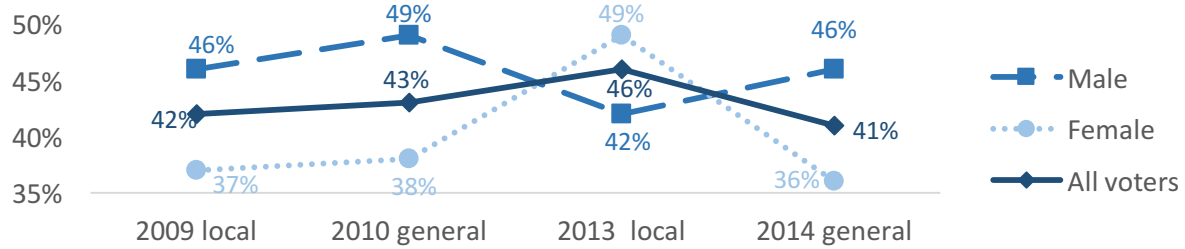


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

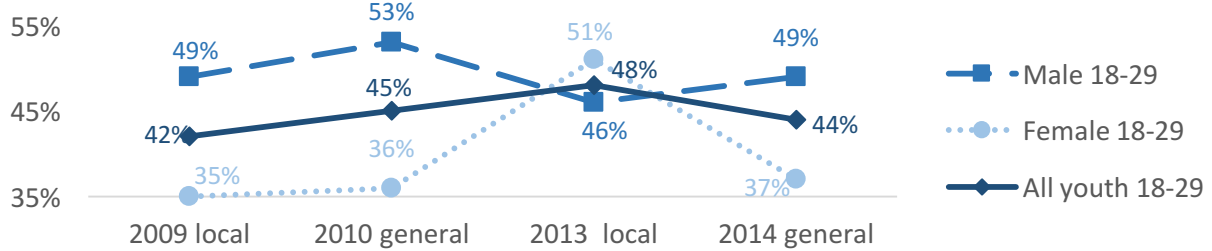


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

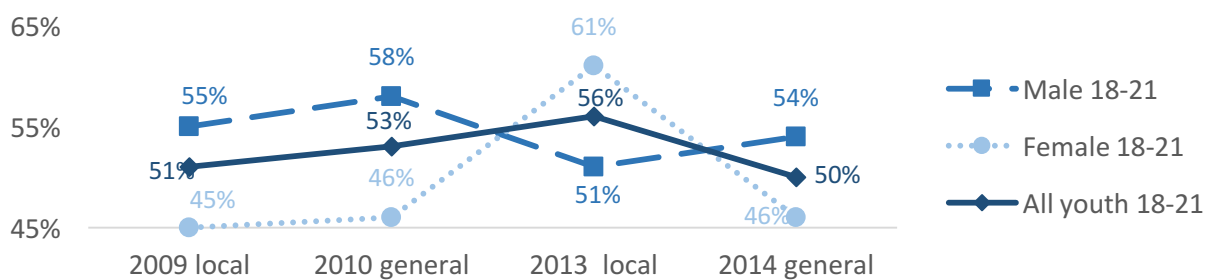


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

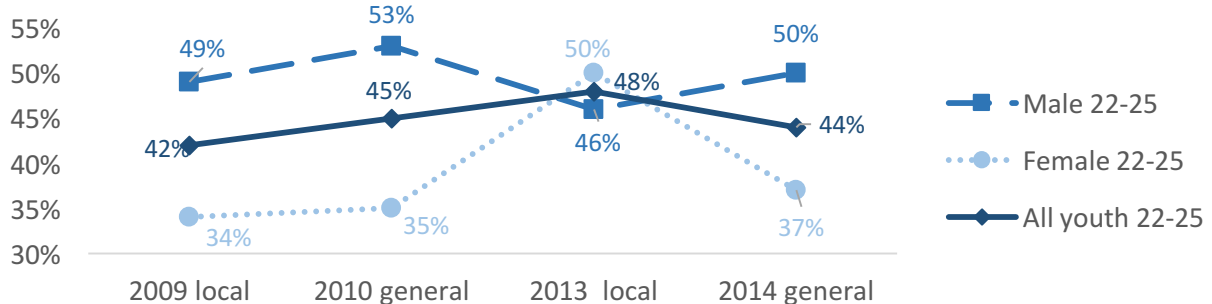
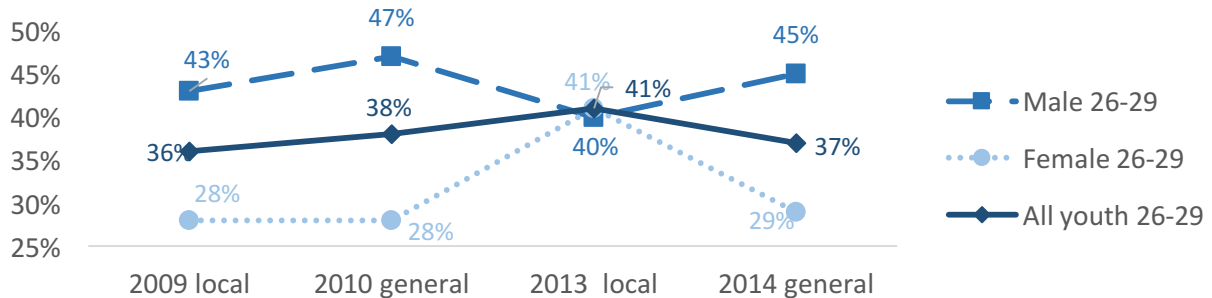


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



1. DEÇAN

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

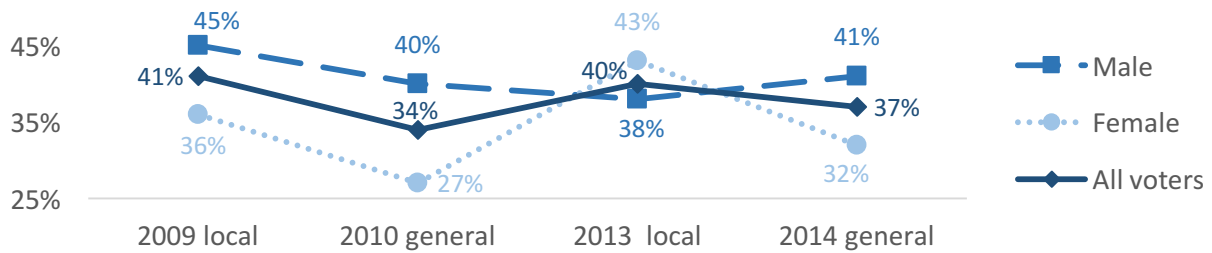


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

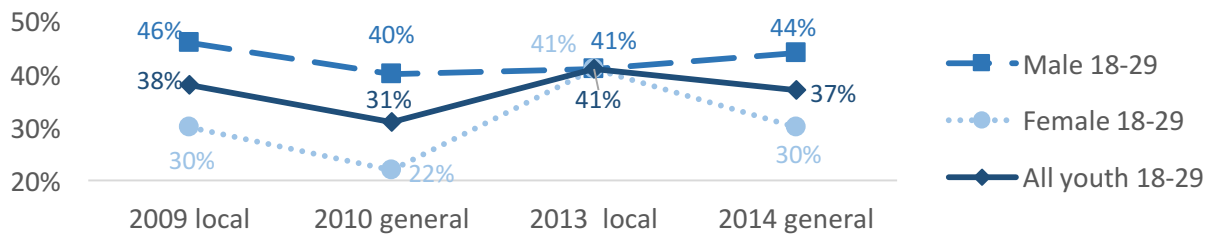


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

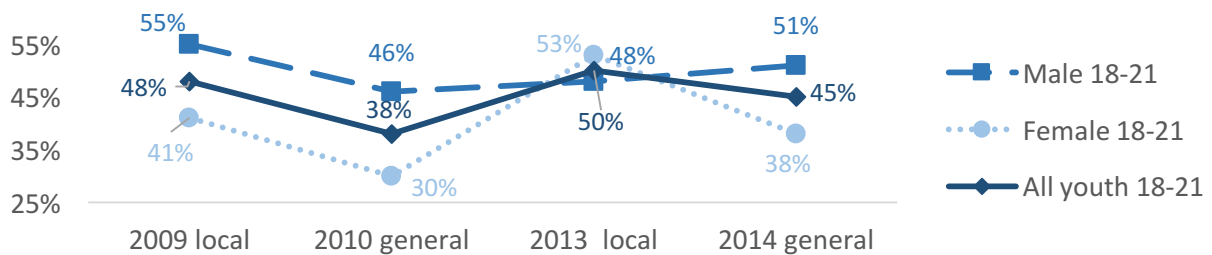


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

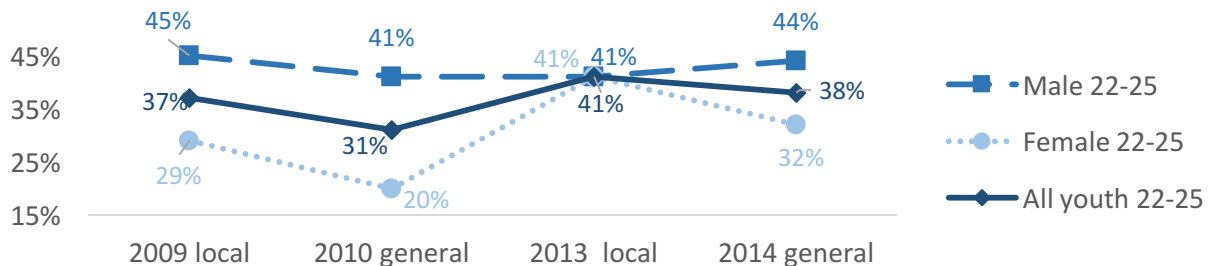
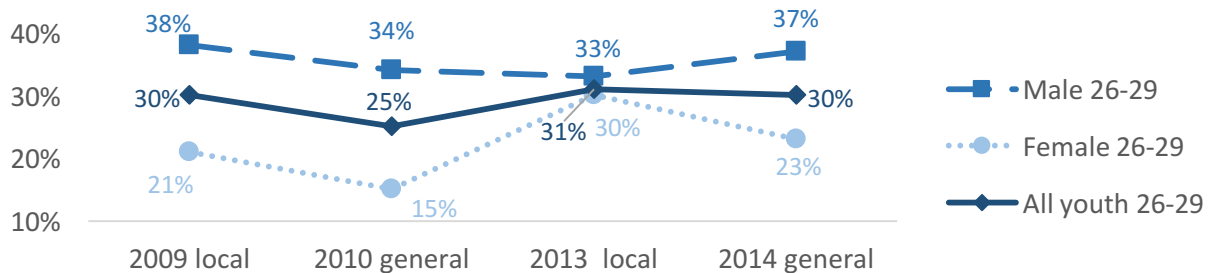


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



2. GJAKOVA

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

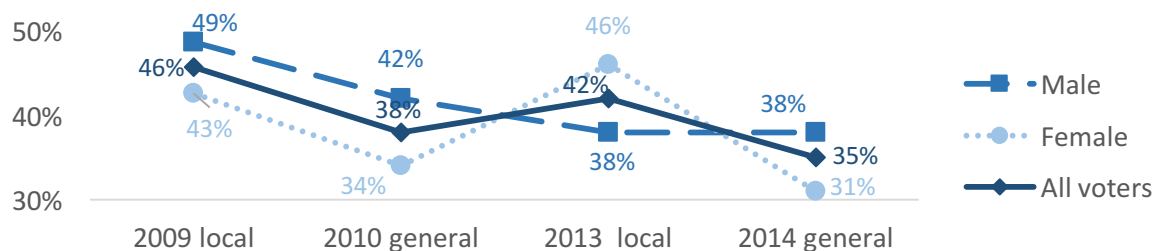


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

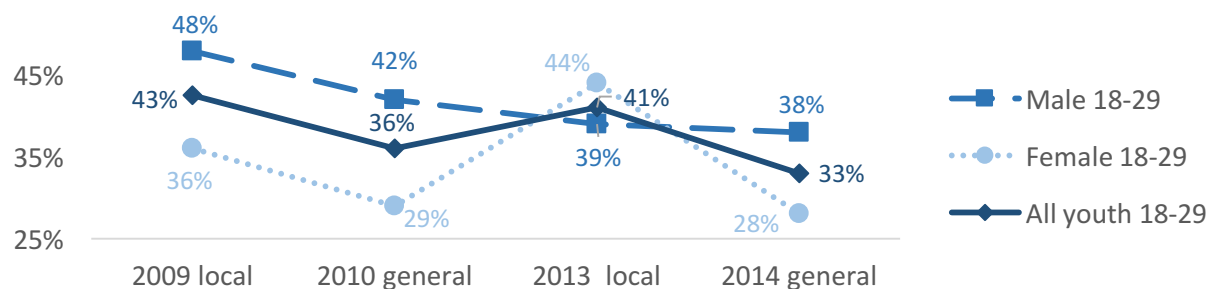


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

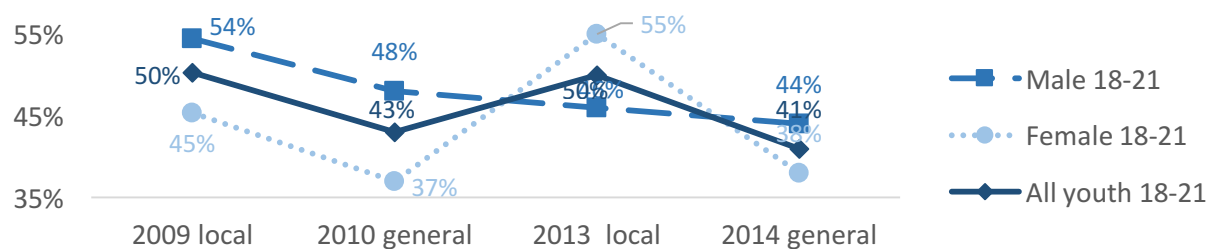


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

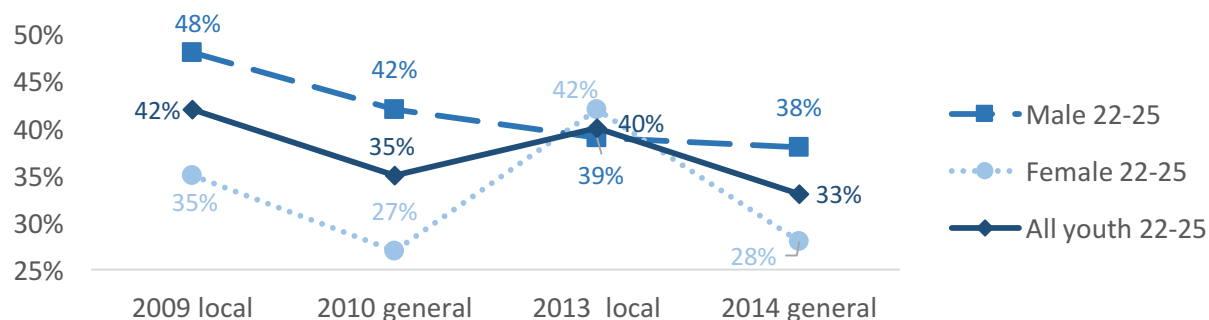
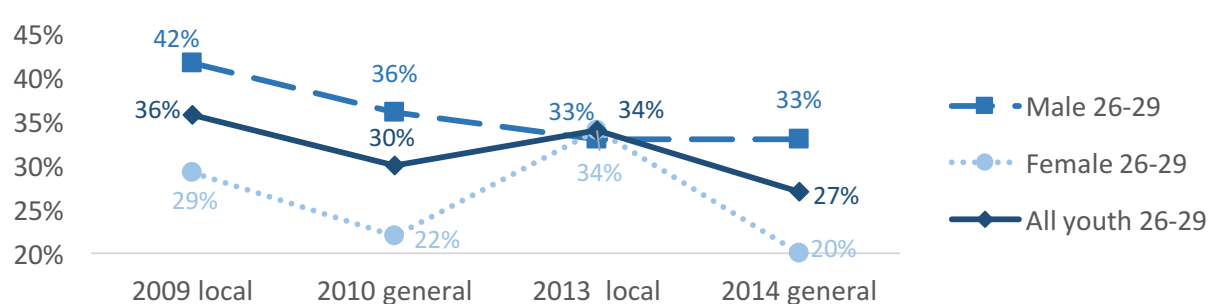


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



3. GLLOGOVC

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

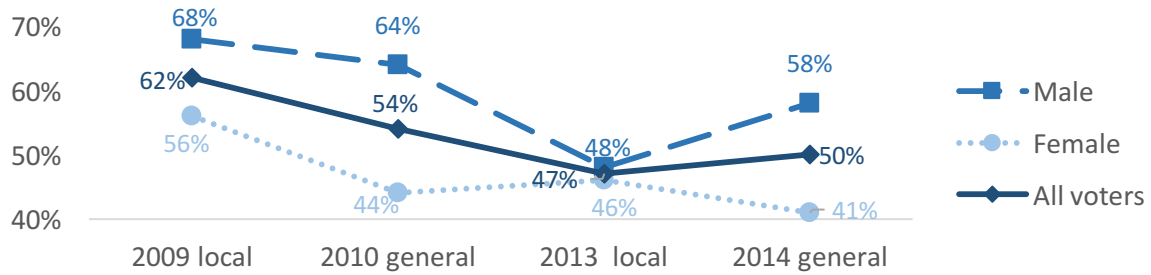


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

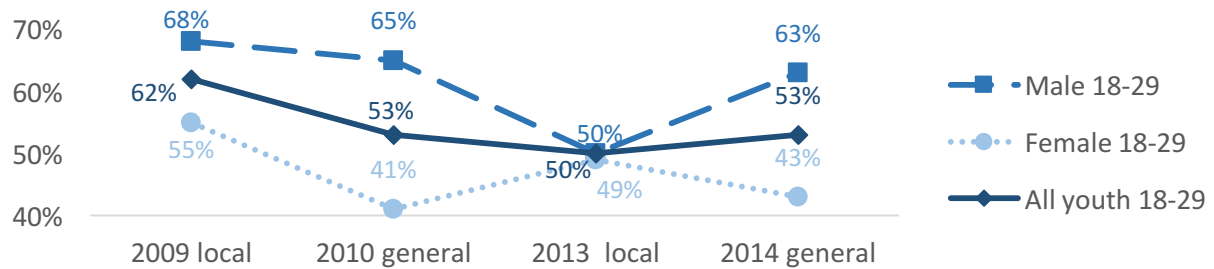


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

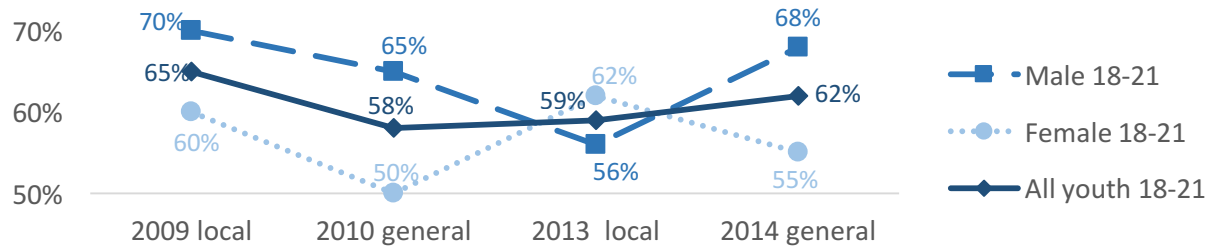


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

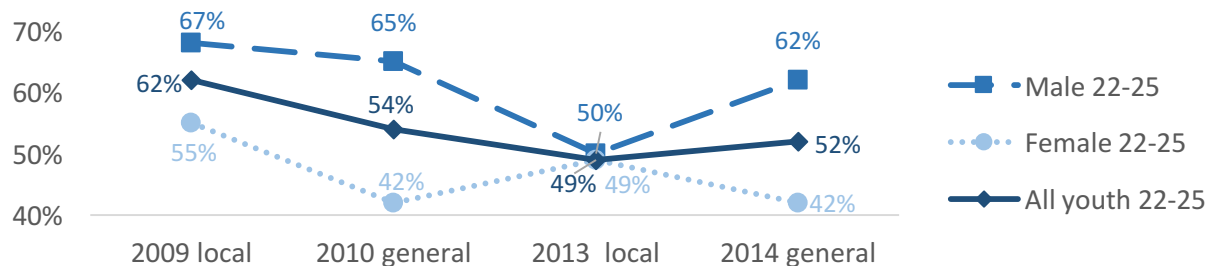
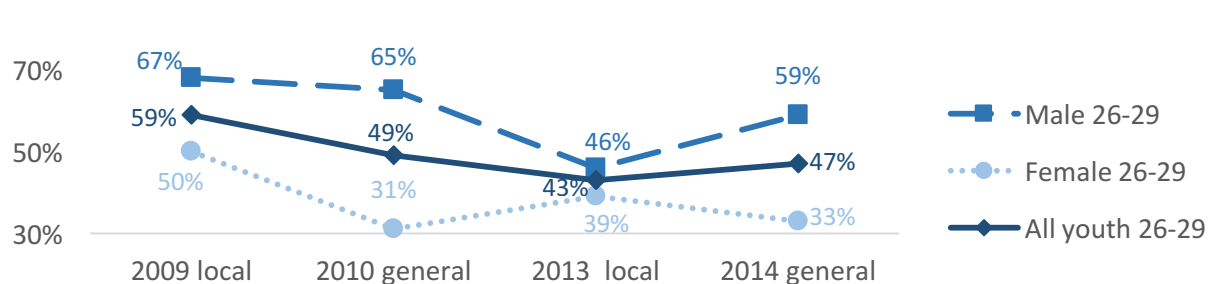


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



4. GJILAN

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

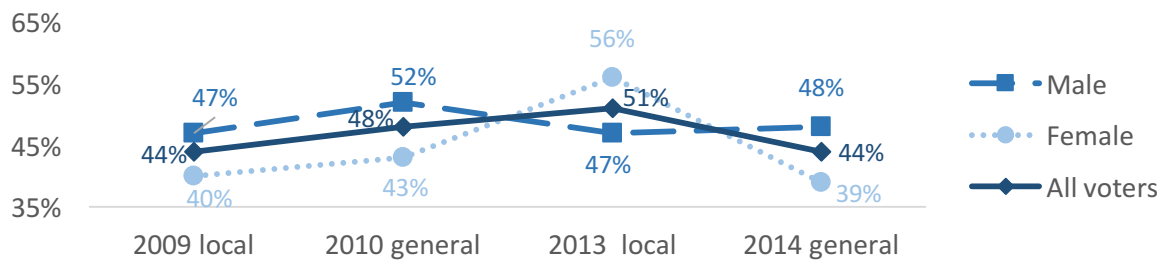


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

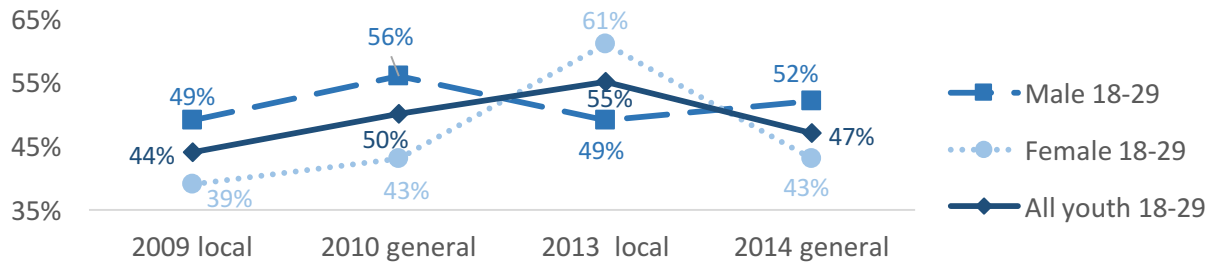


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

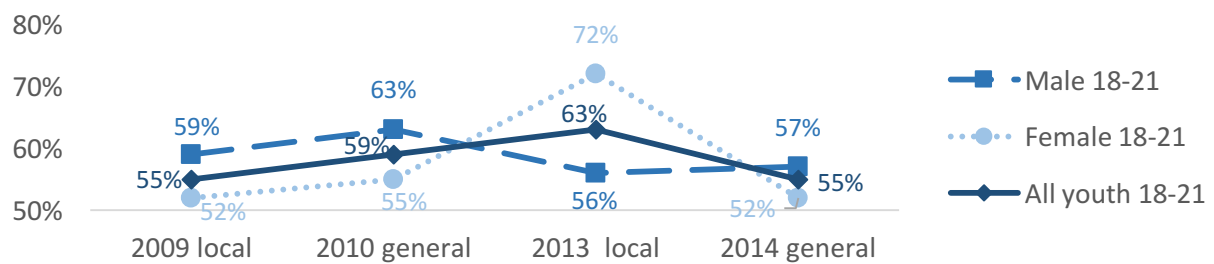


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

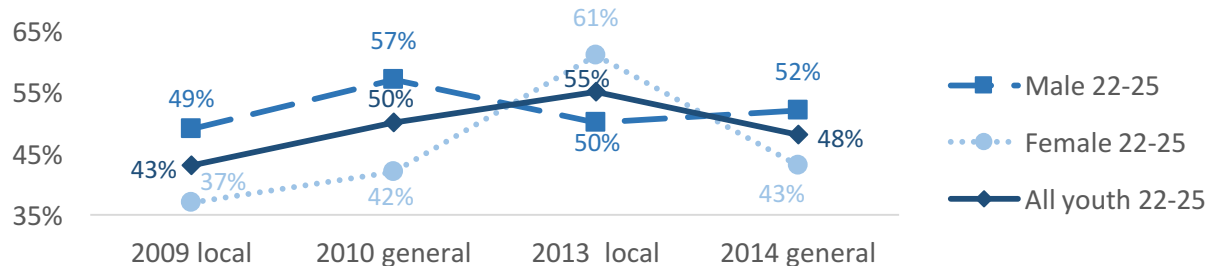
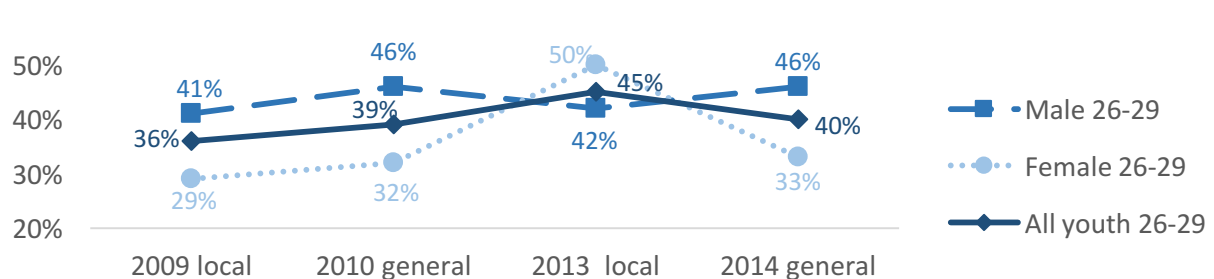


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



5. DRAGASH

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

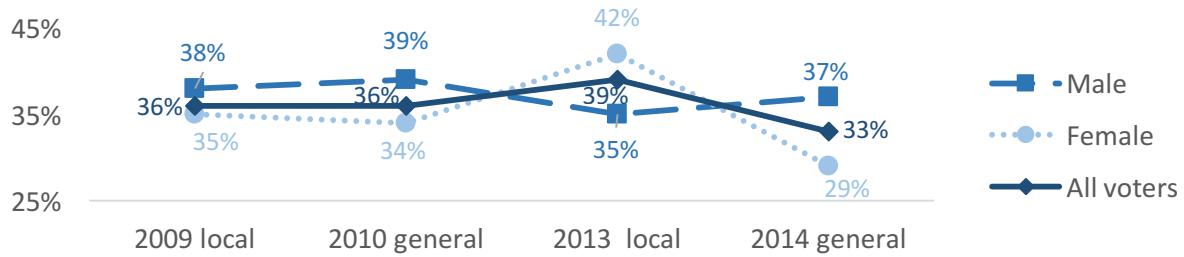


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

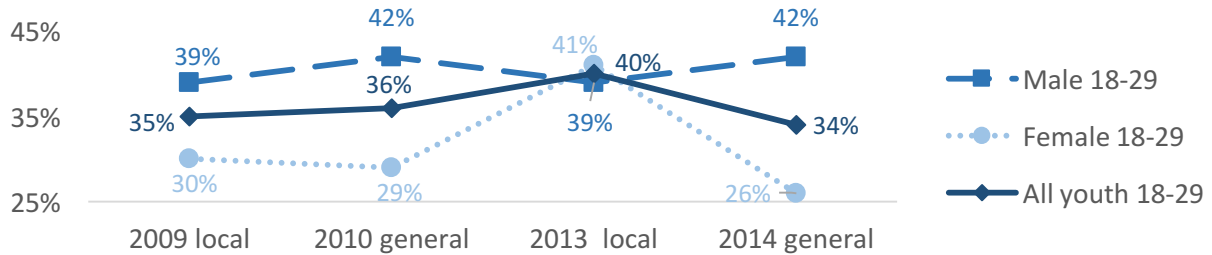


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

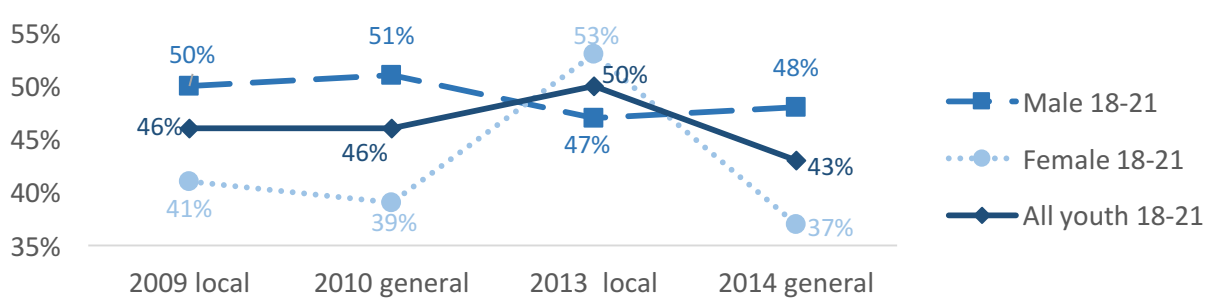


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

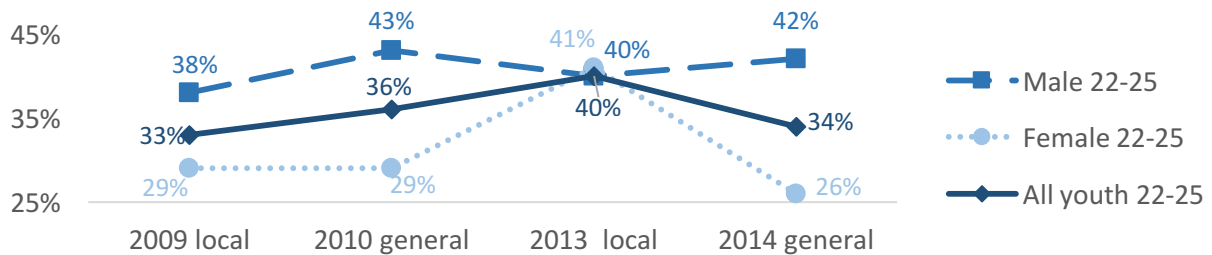
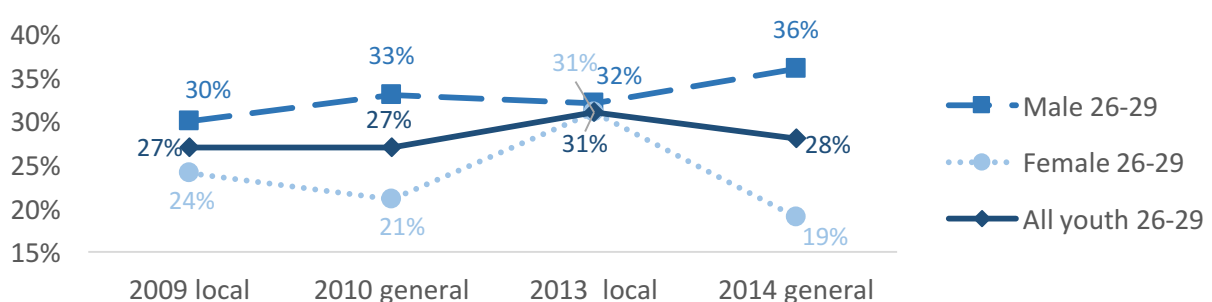


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



6. ISTOG

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

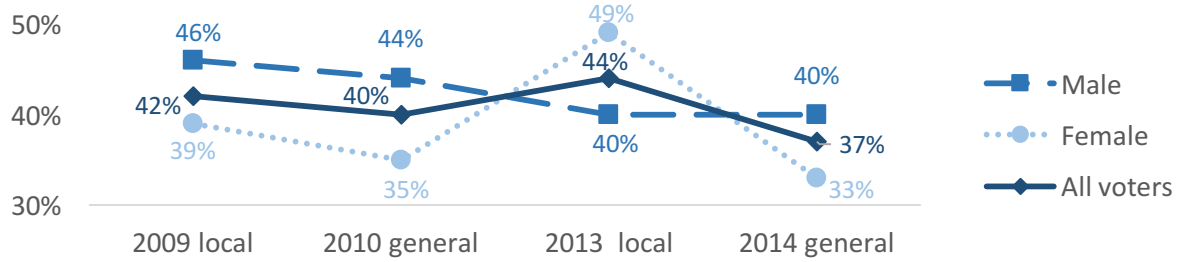


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

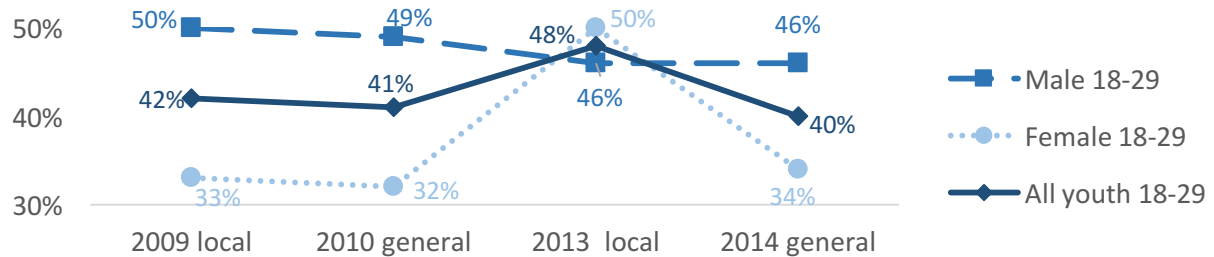


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

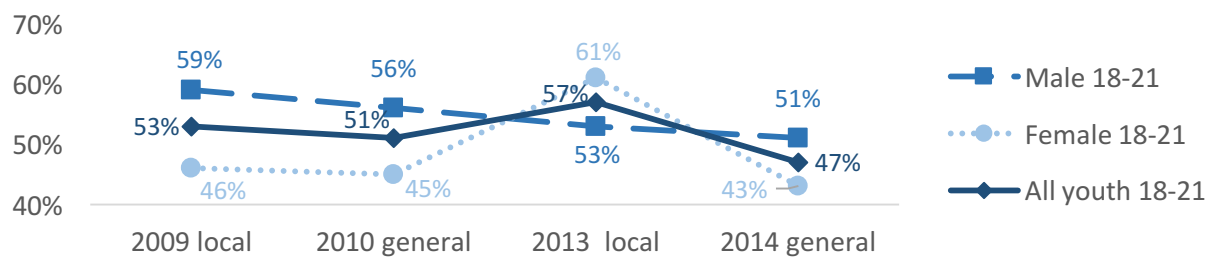


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

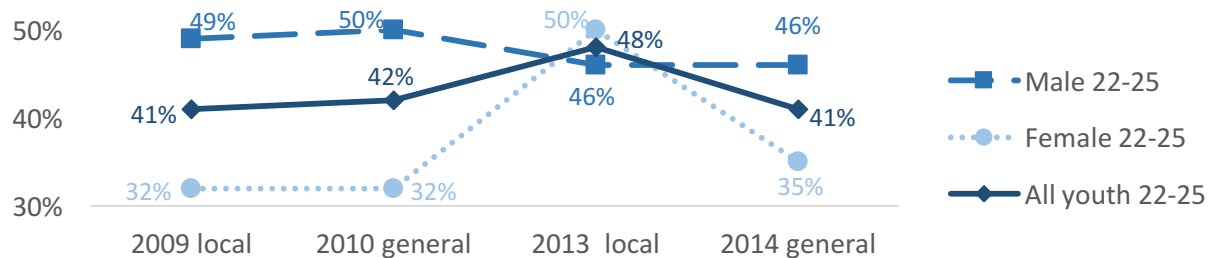
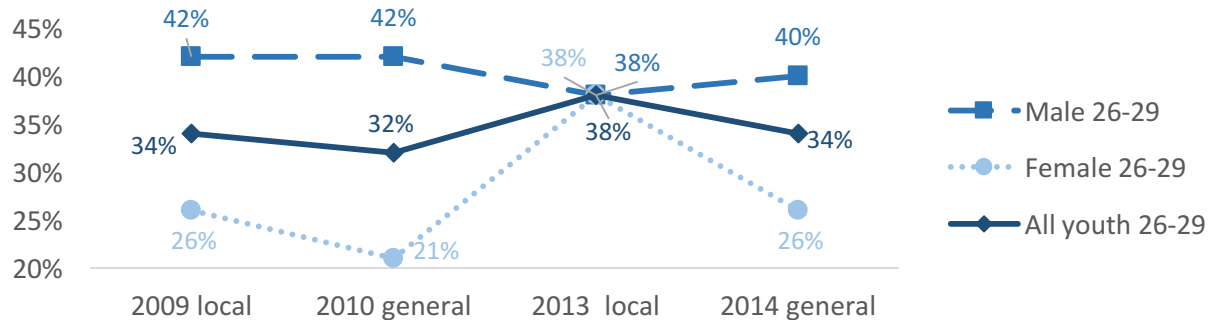


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



7. KAÇANIK

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

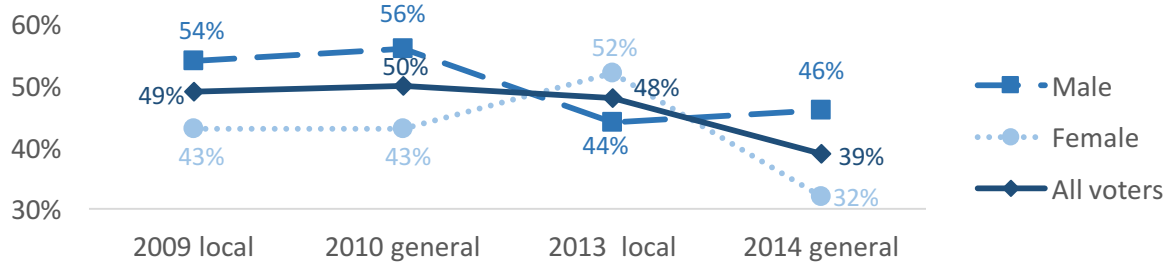


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

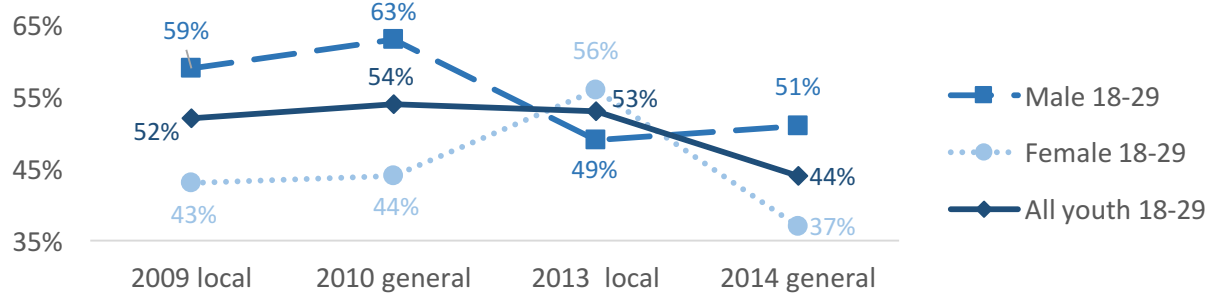


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

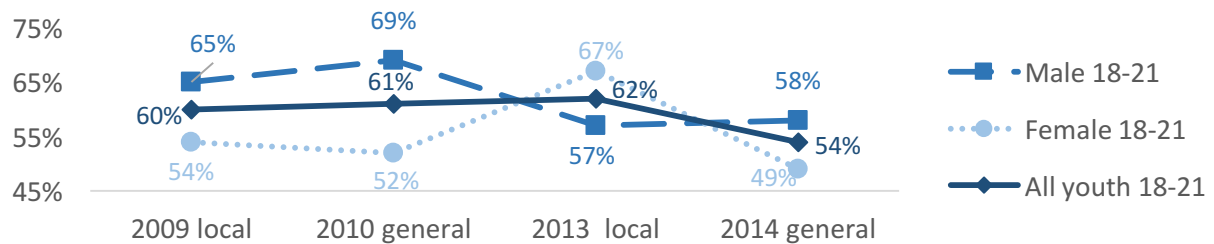


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

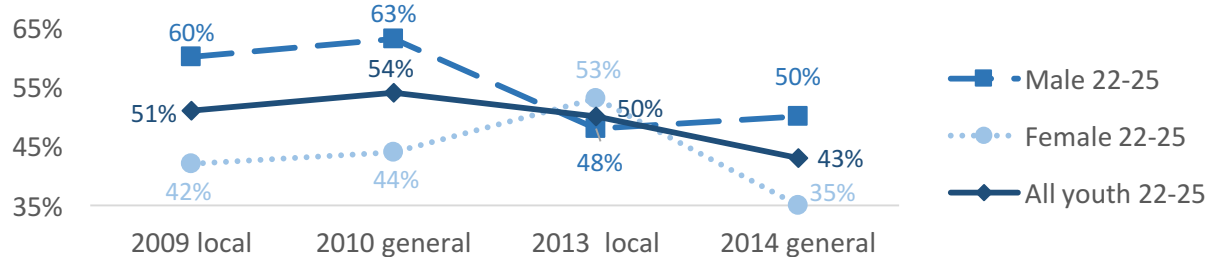
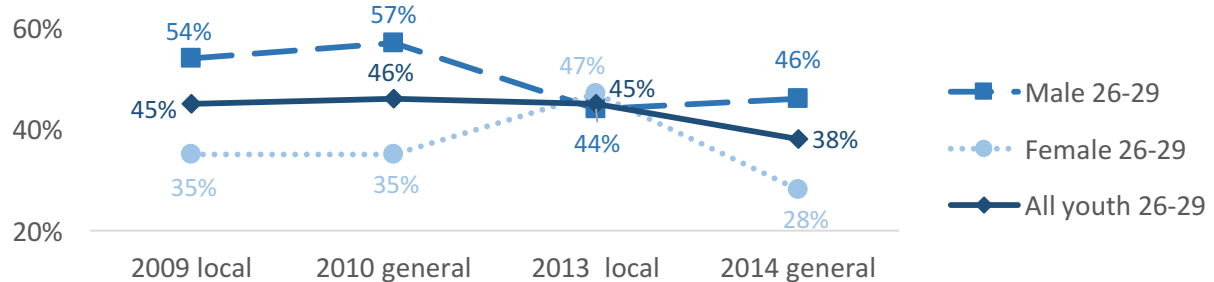


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



8. KLINA

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

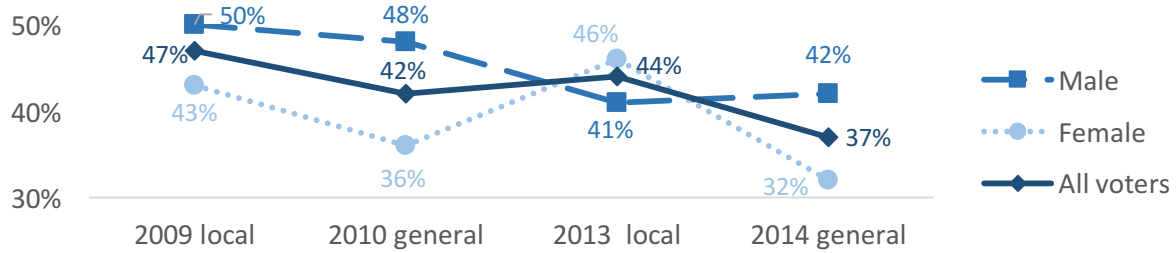


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

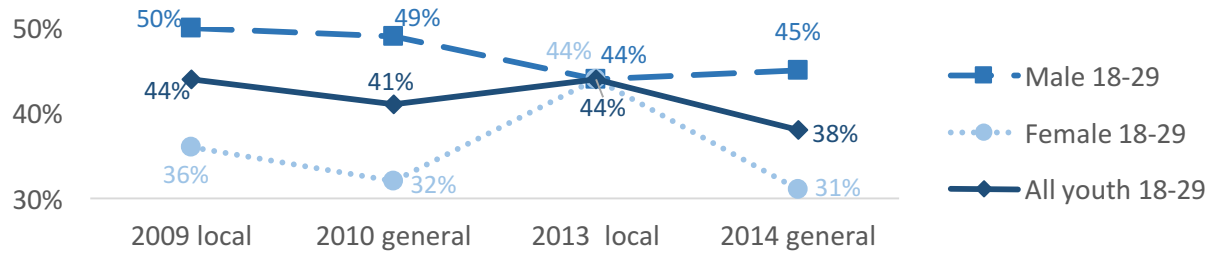


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

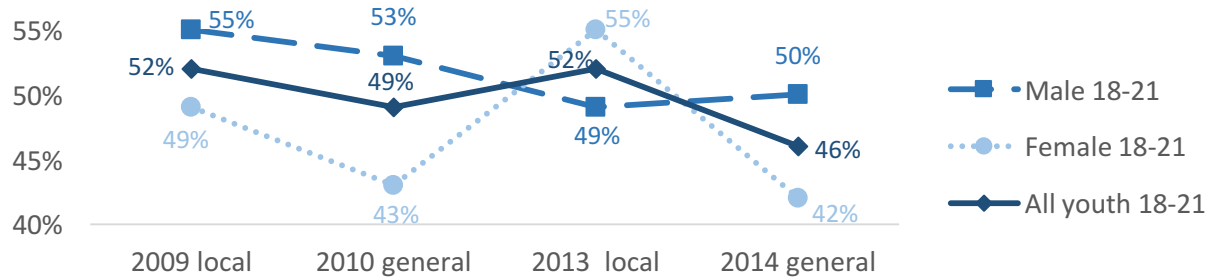


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

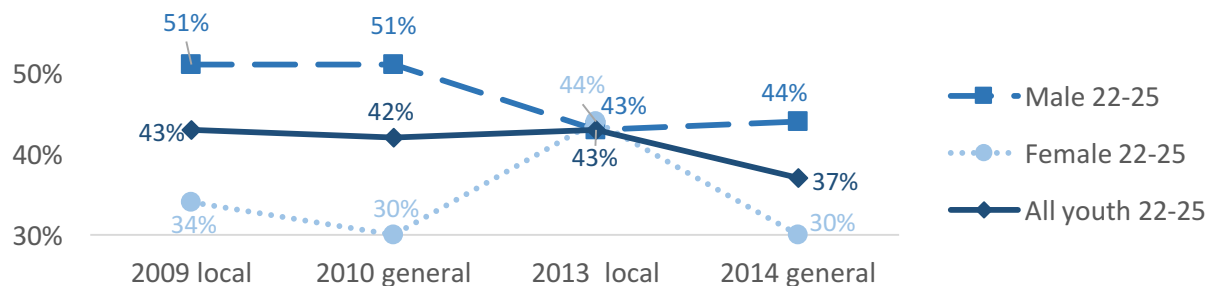
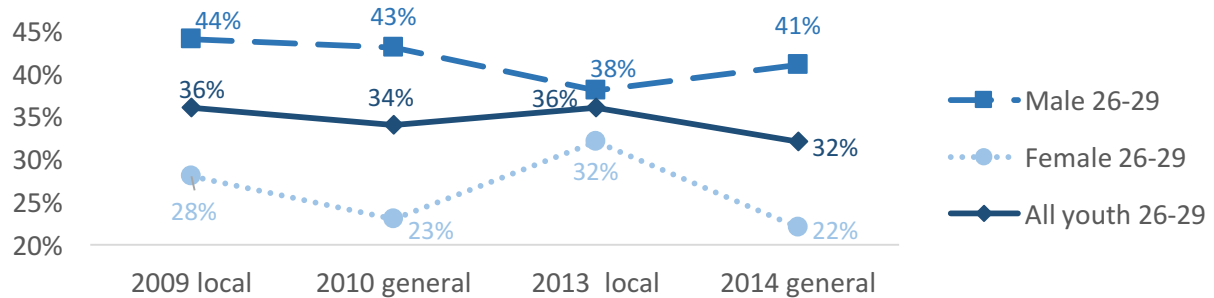


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



9. FUSHË KOSOVA

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

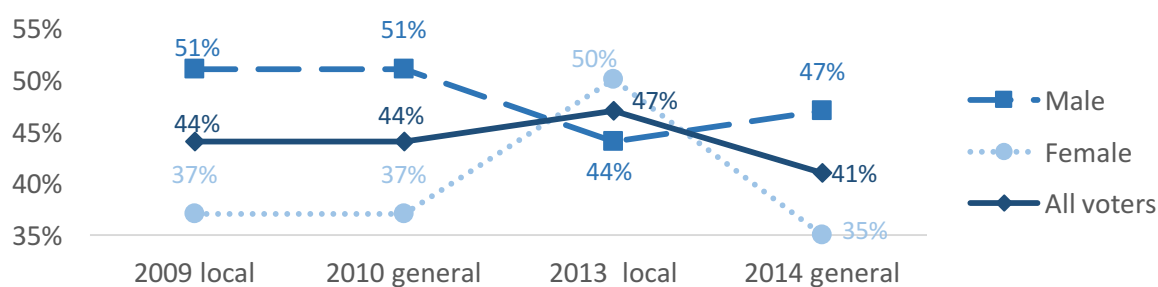


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

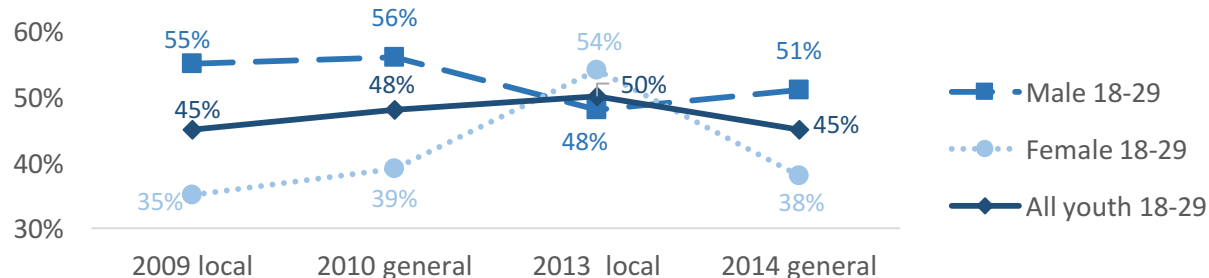


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

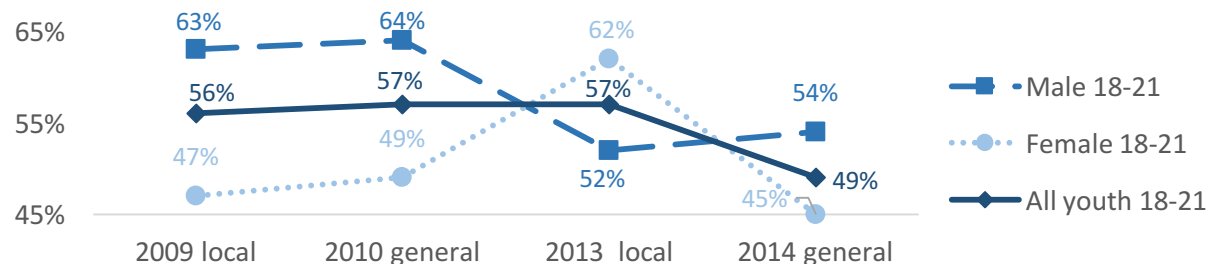


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

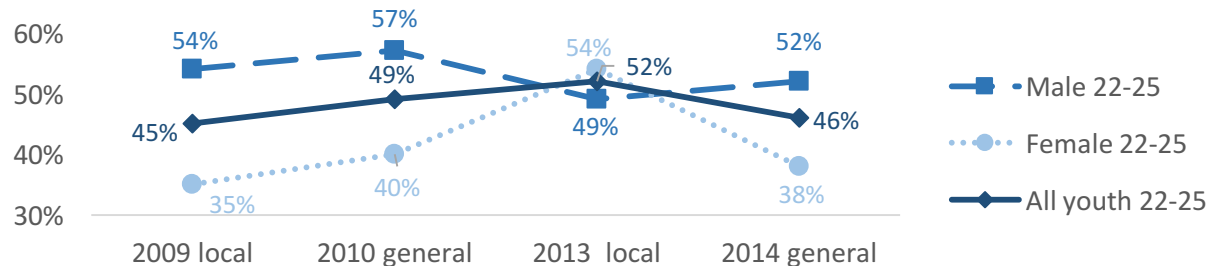
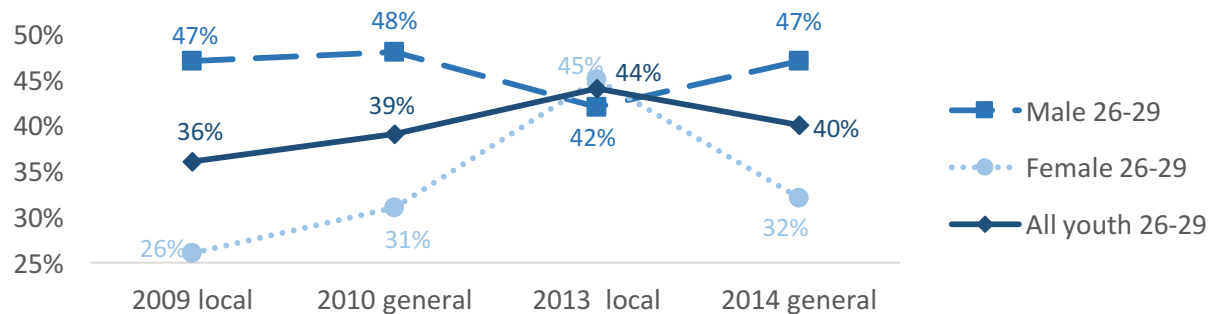


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



10. KAMENICA

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

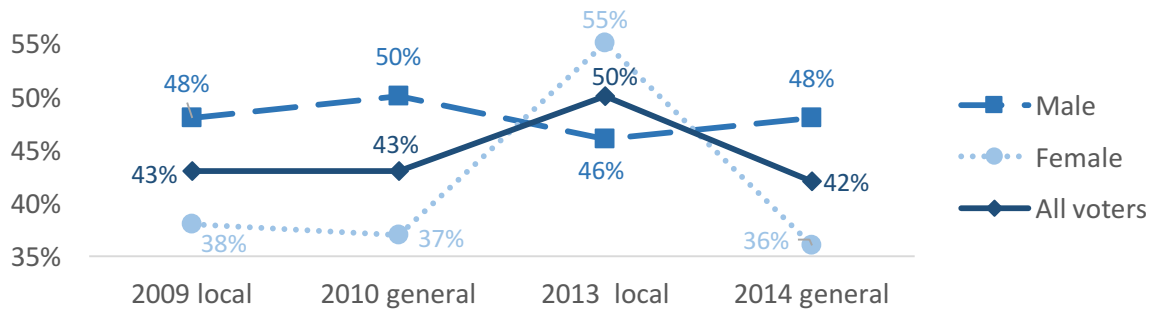


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

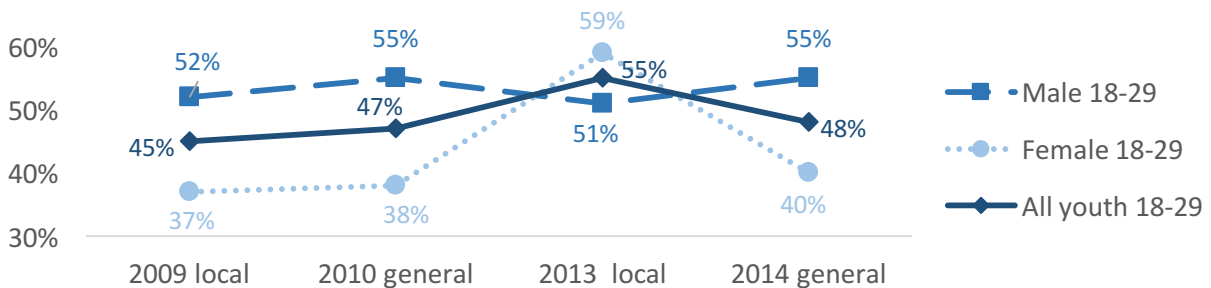


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

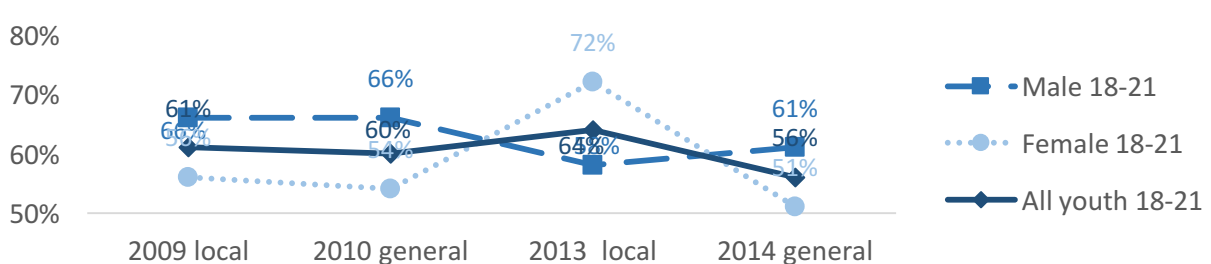


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

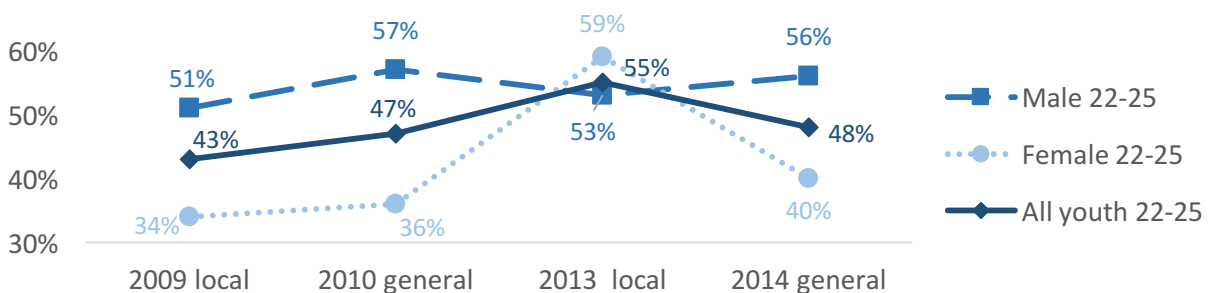
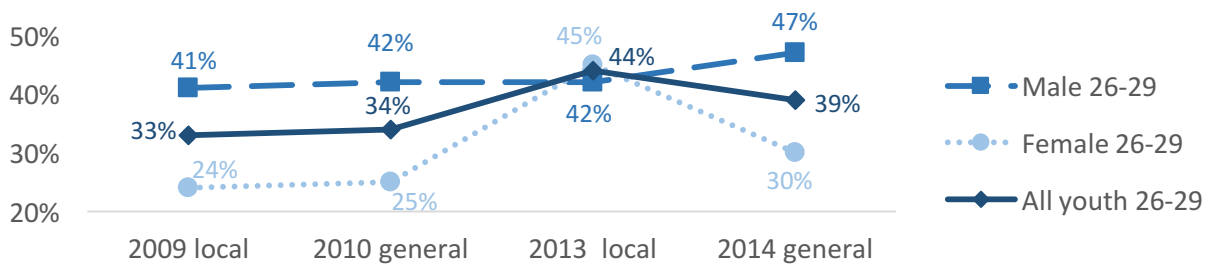


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



11. MITROVICA

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

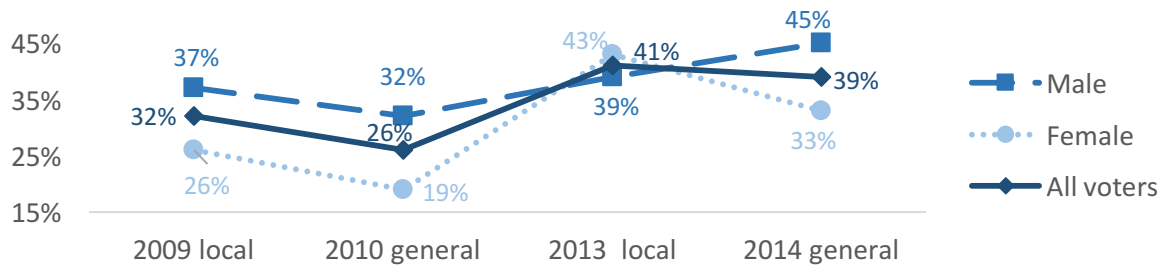


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

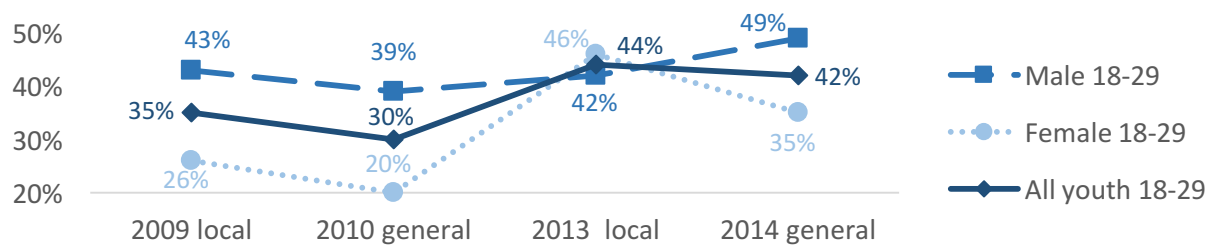


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

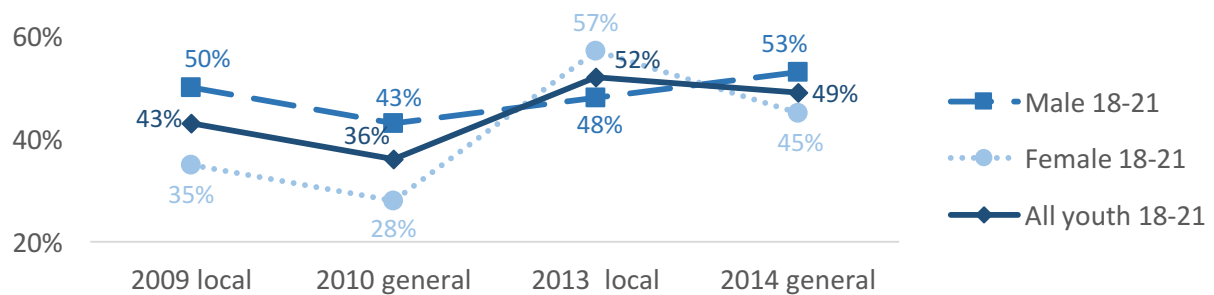


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

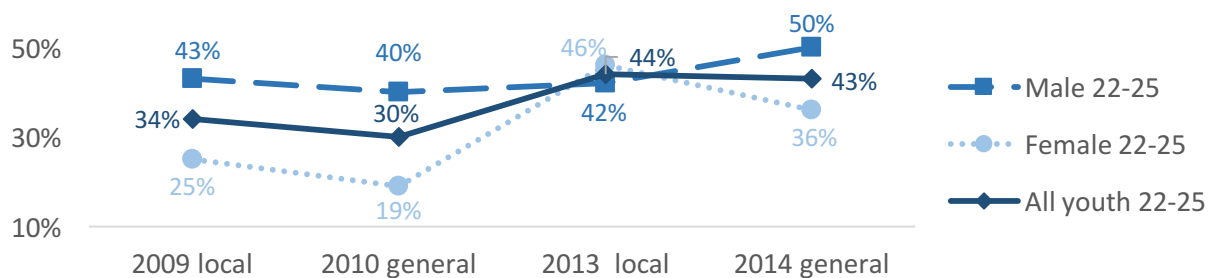
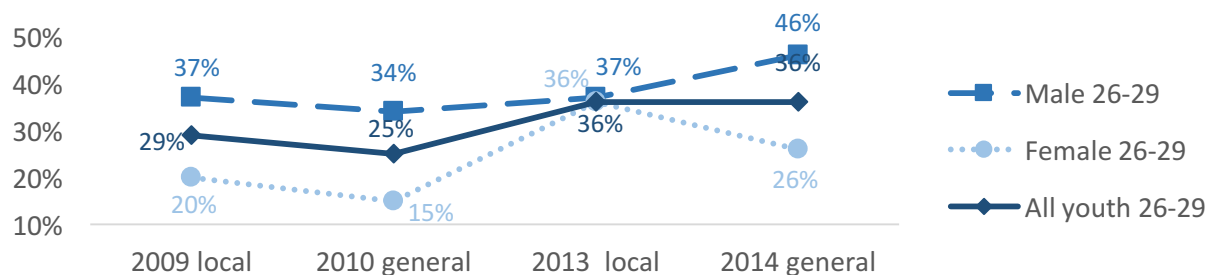


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



12. LEPOSAVIČ

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

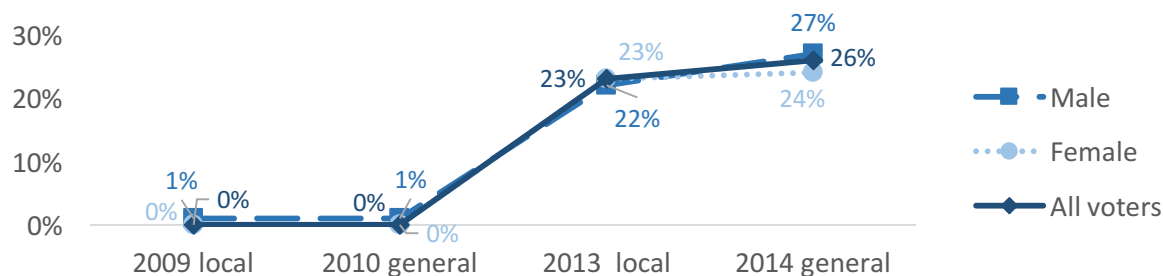


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

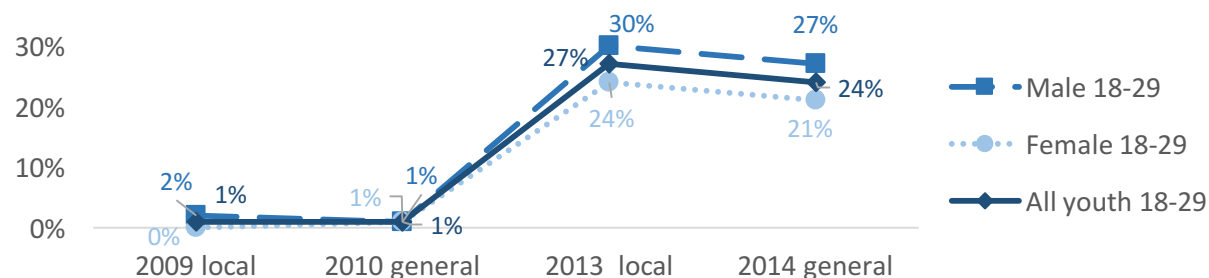


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

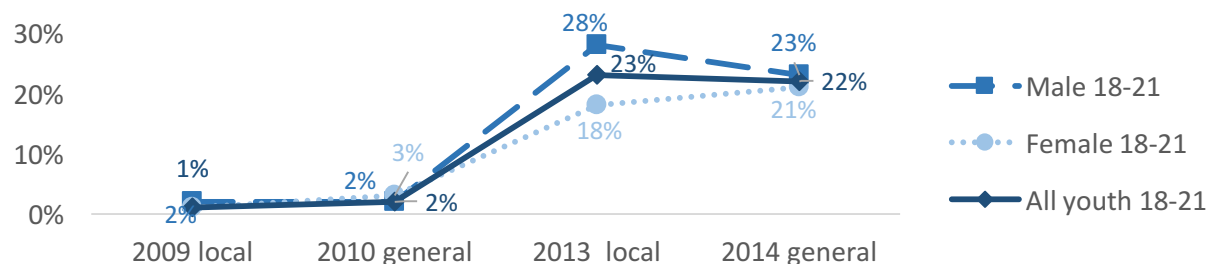


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

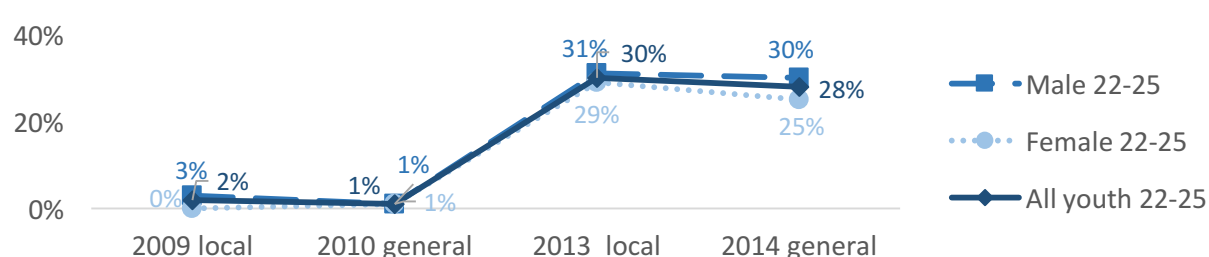
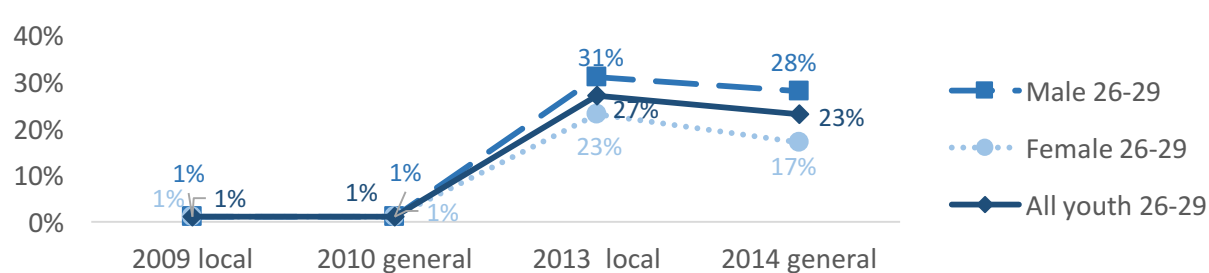


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



13. LIPJAN

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

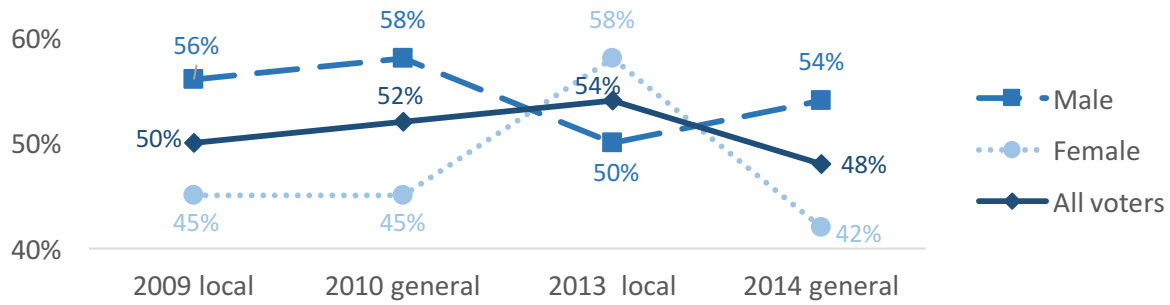


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

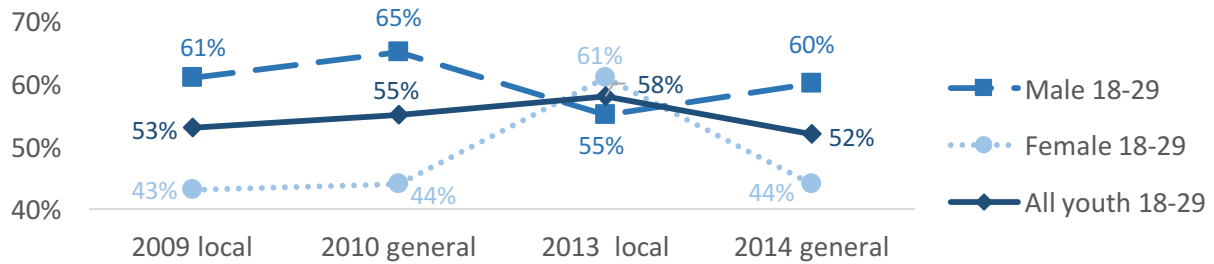


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

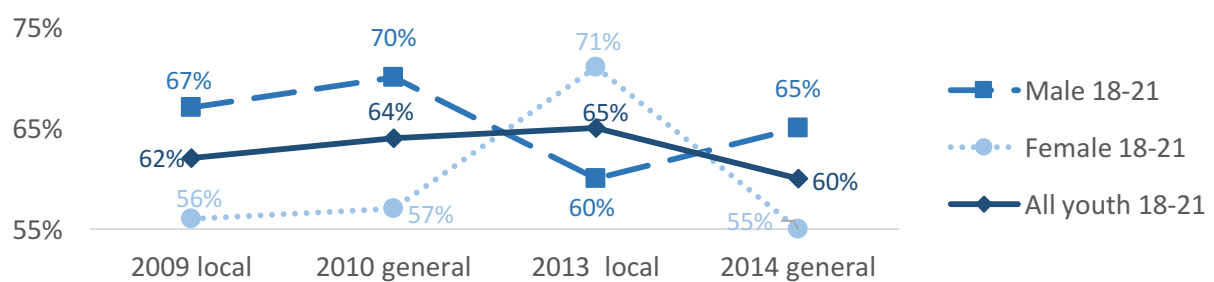


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

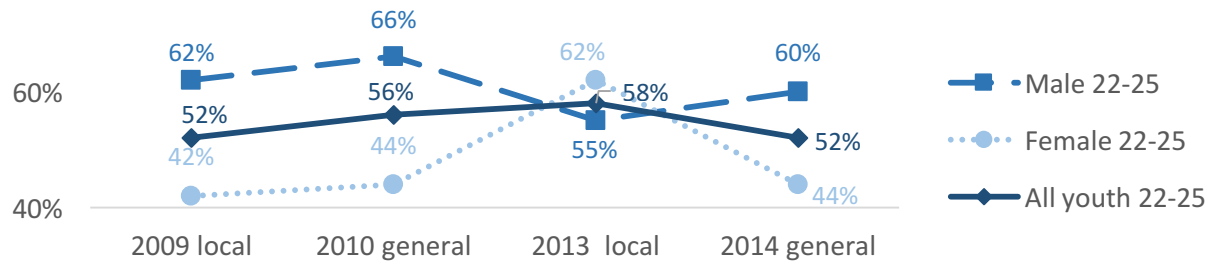
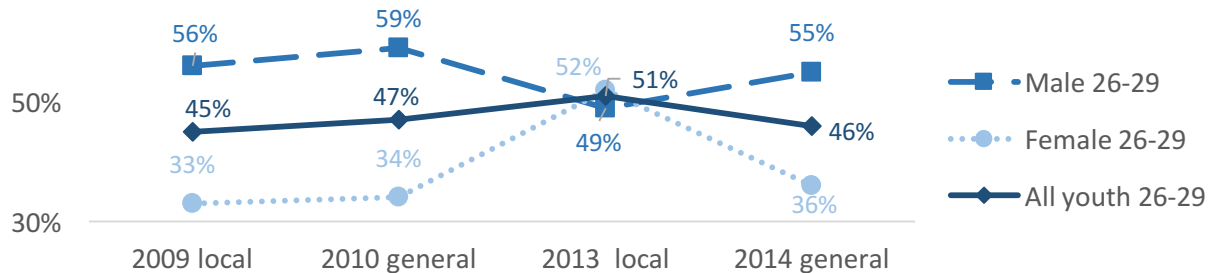


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



14. NOVO BRDO

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

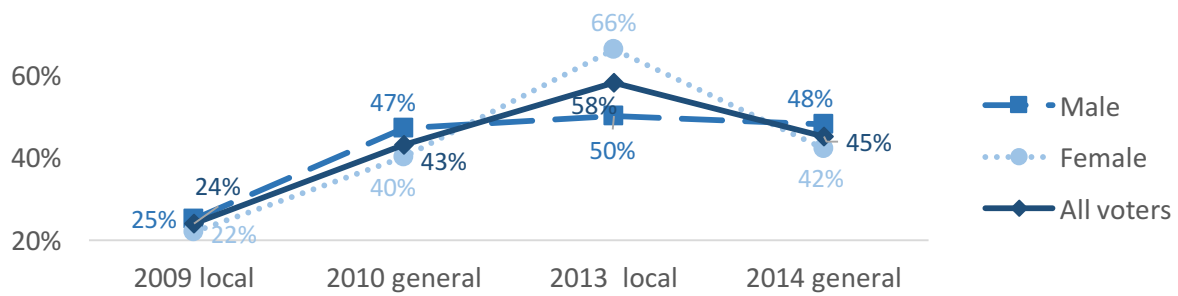


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

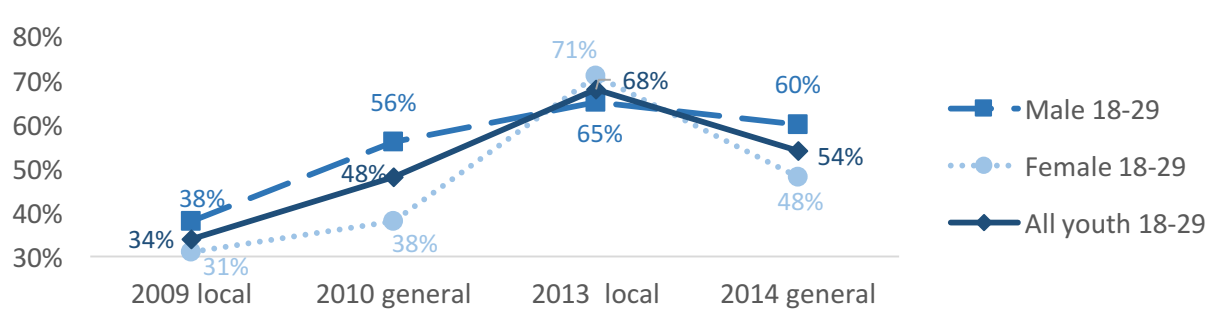


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

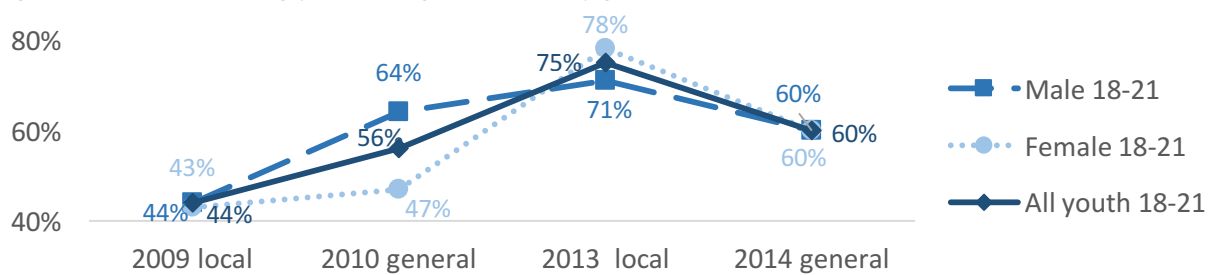


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

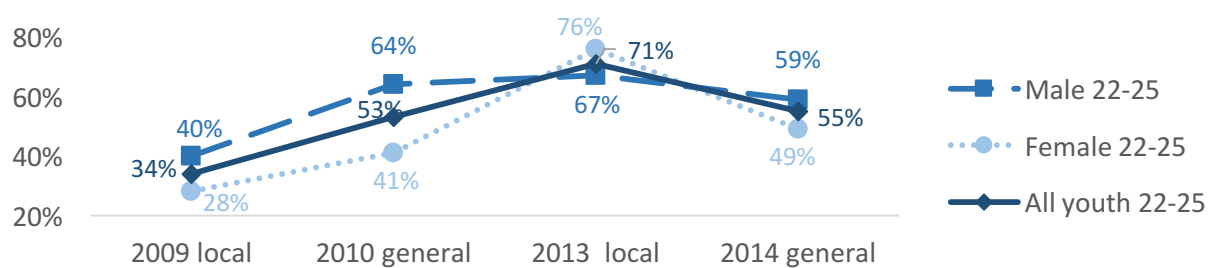
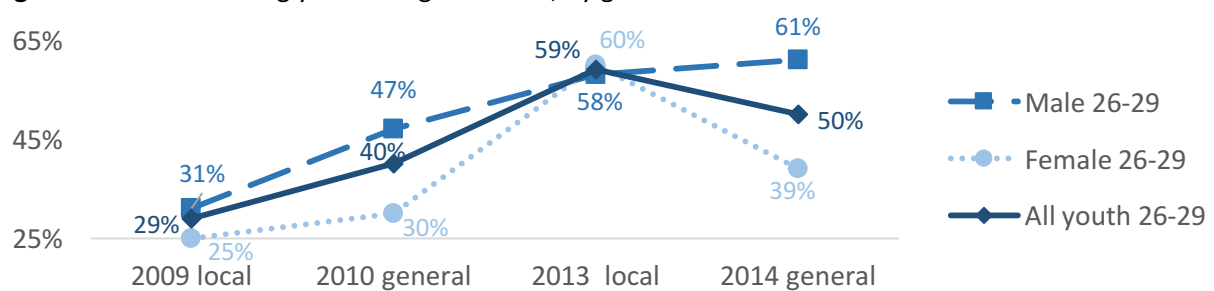


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



15. OBILIQ

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

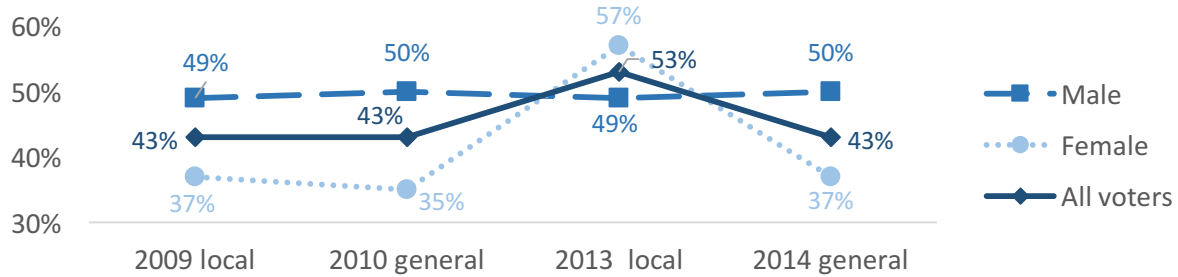


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

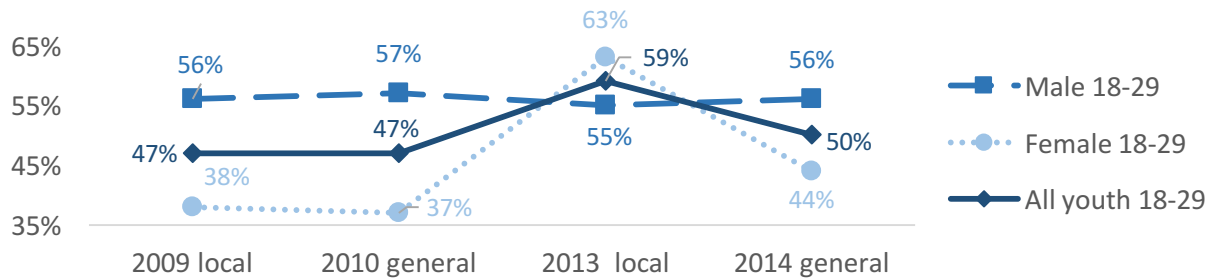


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

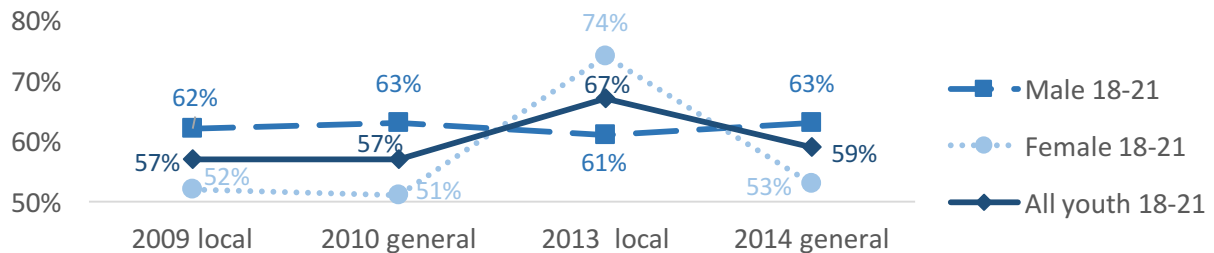


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

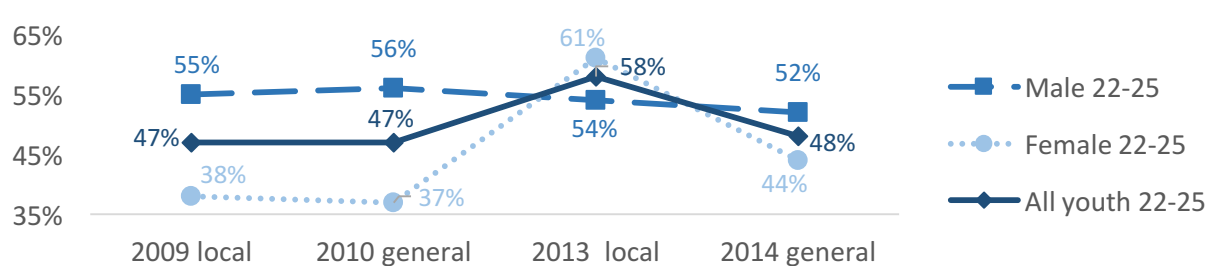
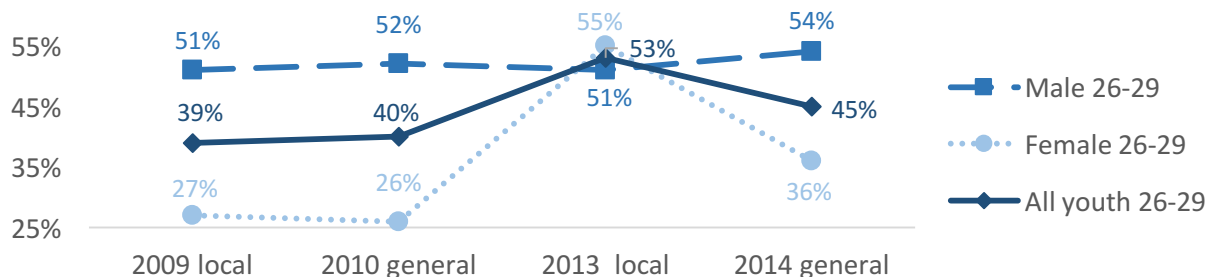


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



16. RAHOVEC

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

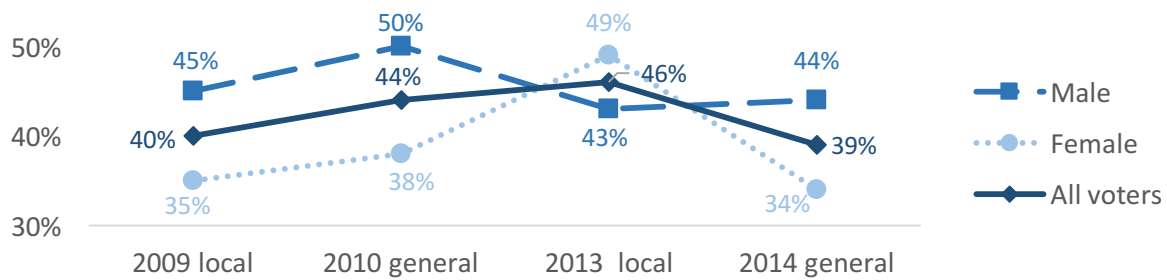


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

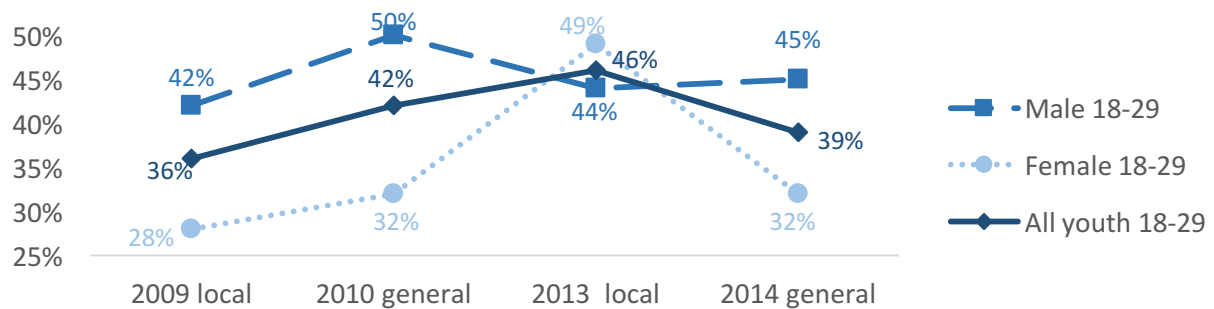


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

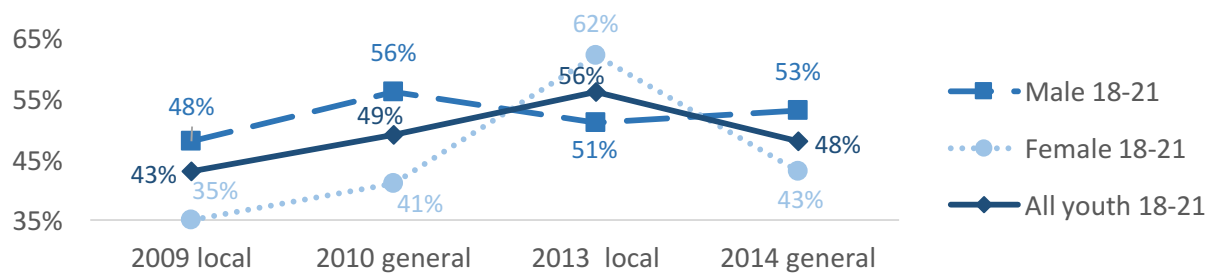


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

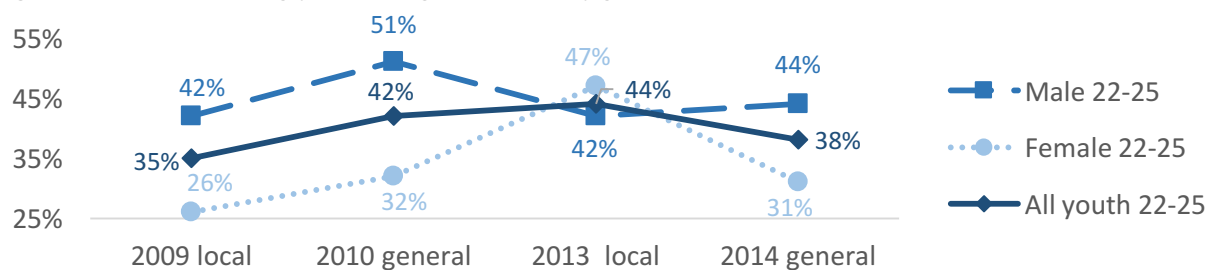
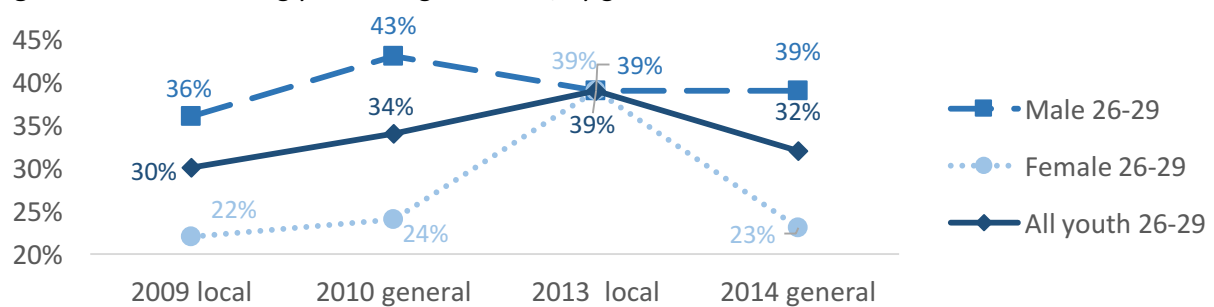


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



17. PEJA

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

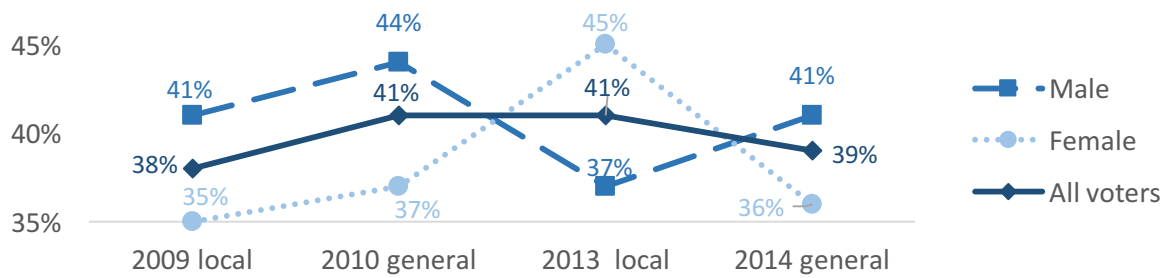


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

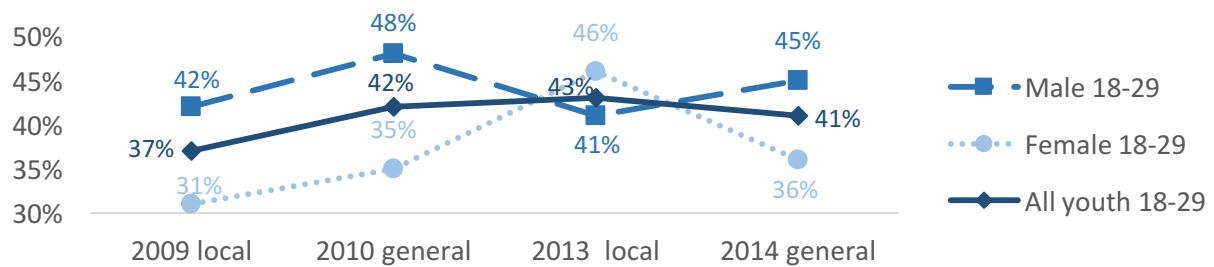


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

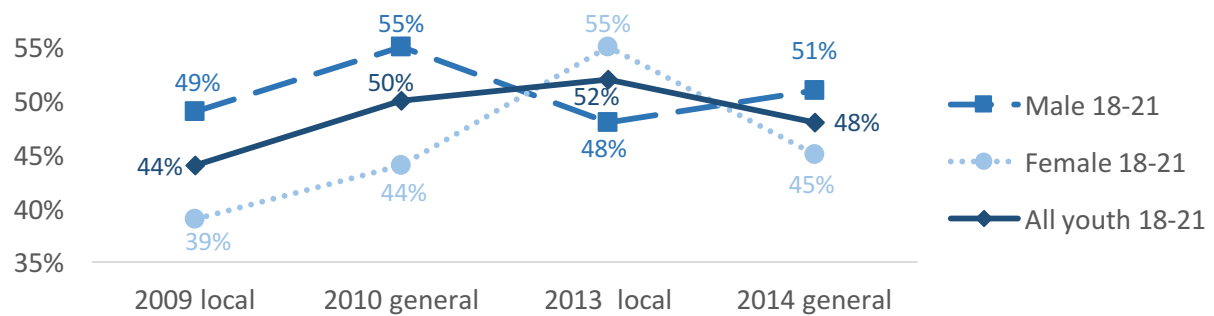


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

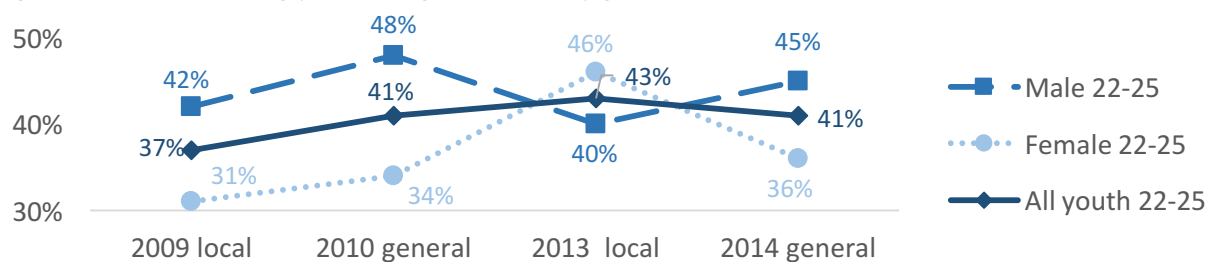
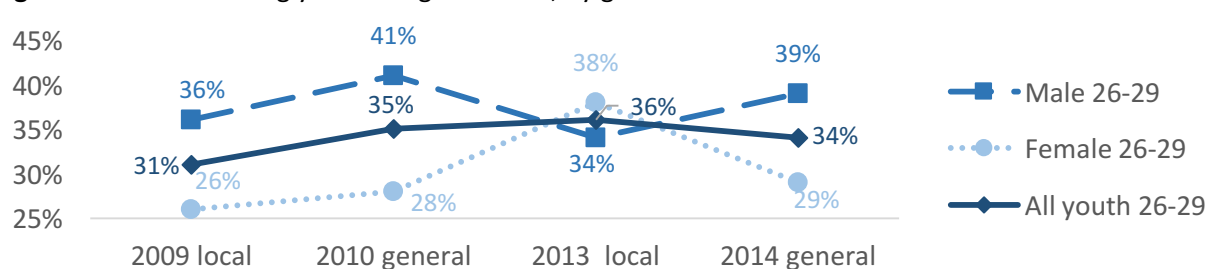


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



18. PODUJEVA

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

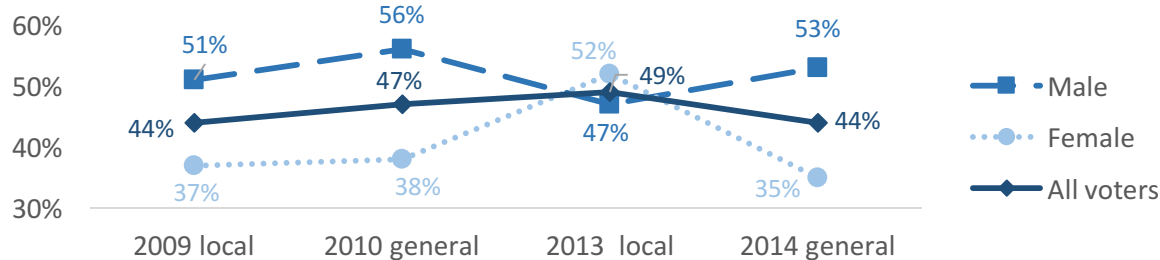


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

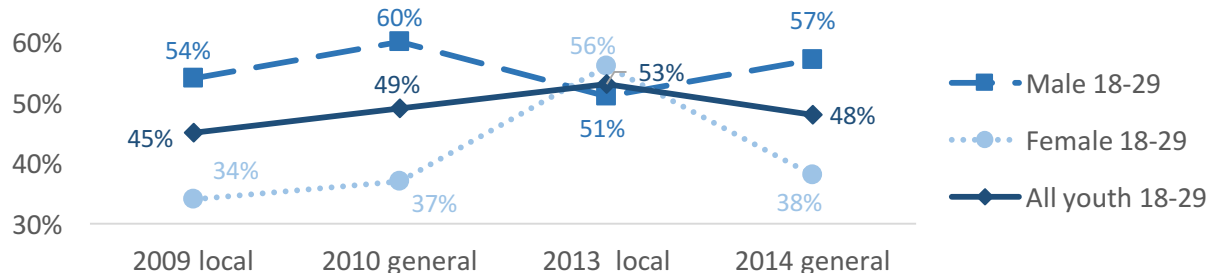


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

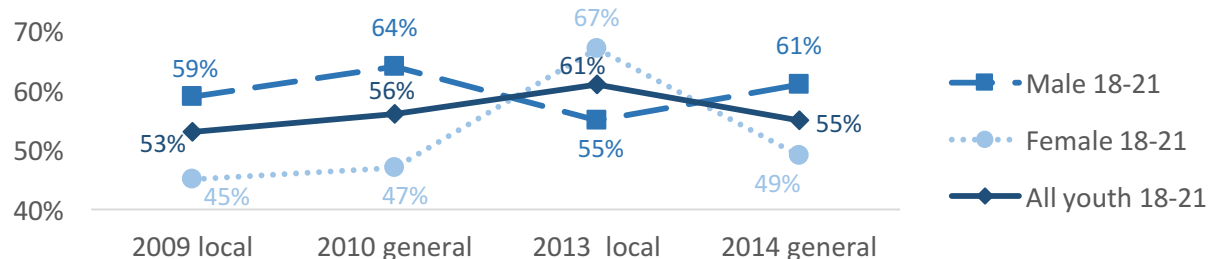


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

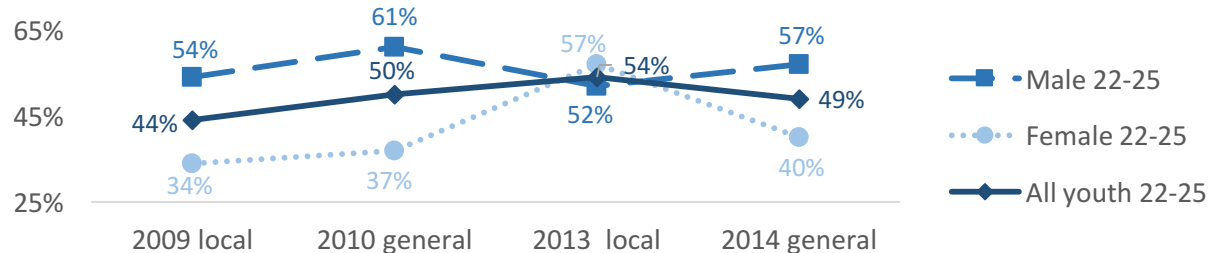
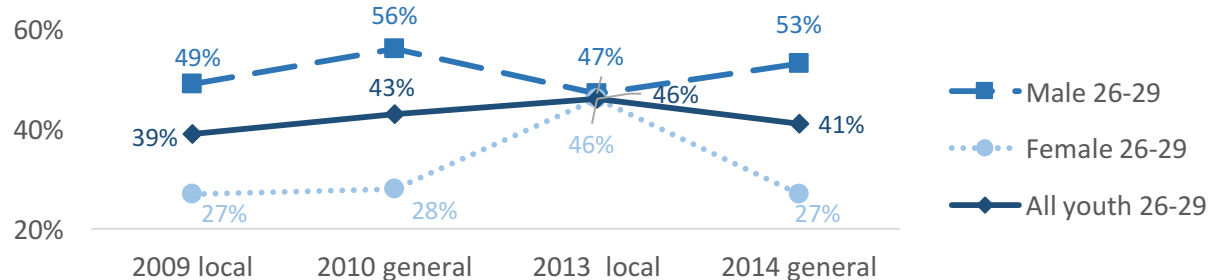


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



19. PRISHTINA

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

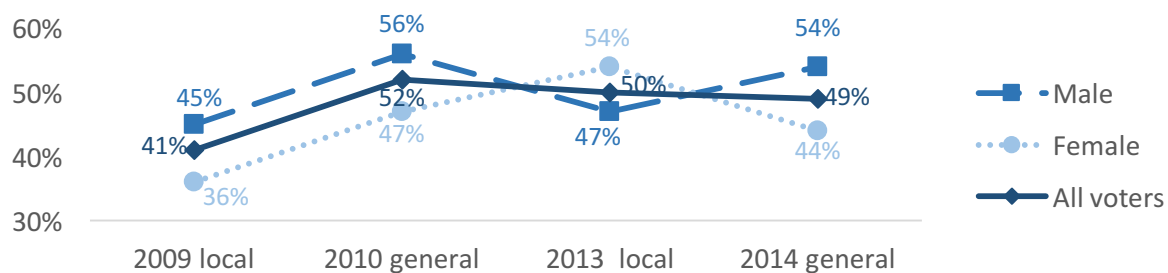


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

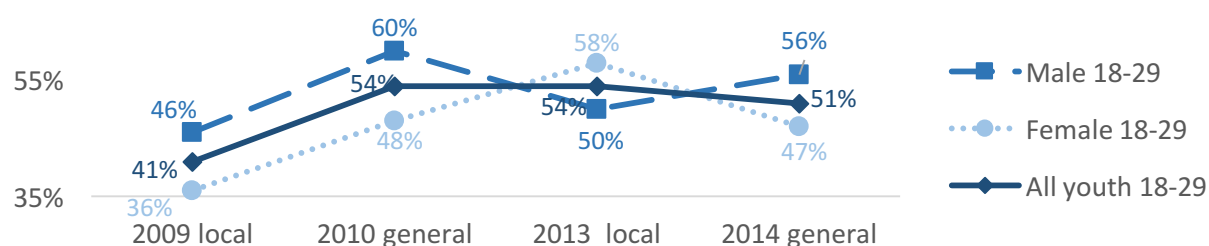


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

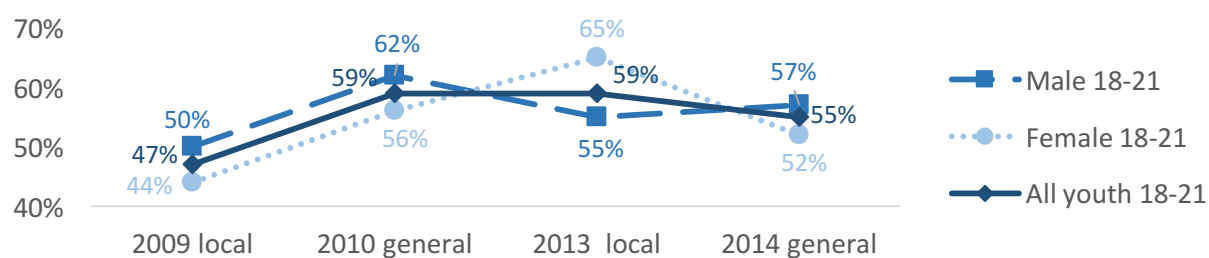


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

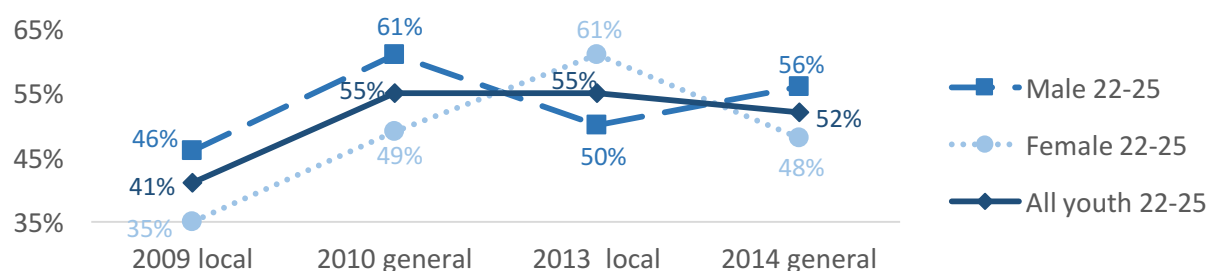
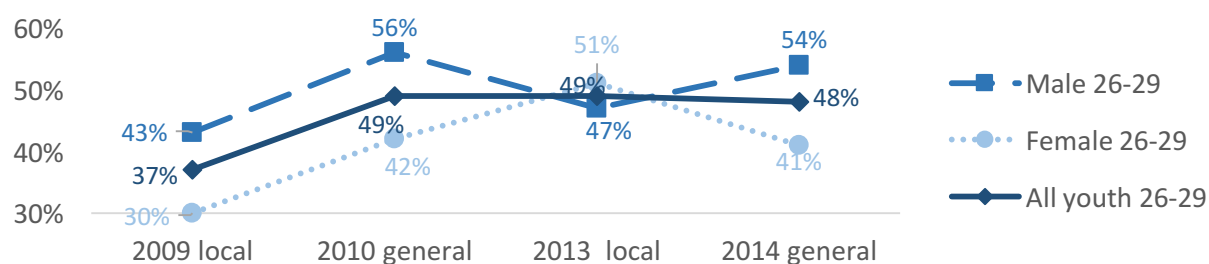


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



20. PRIZREN

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

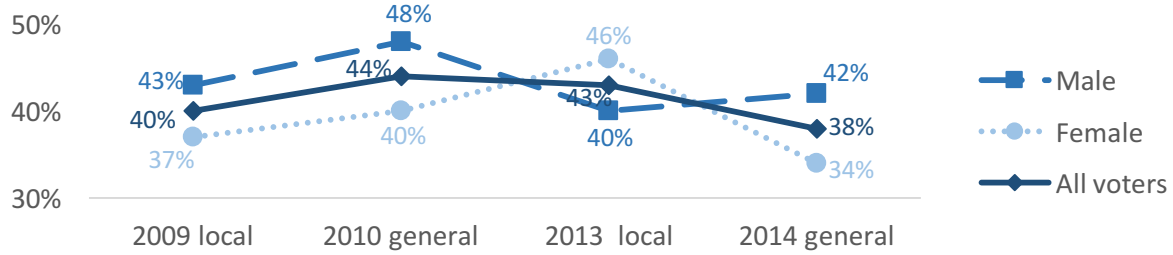


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

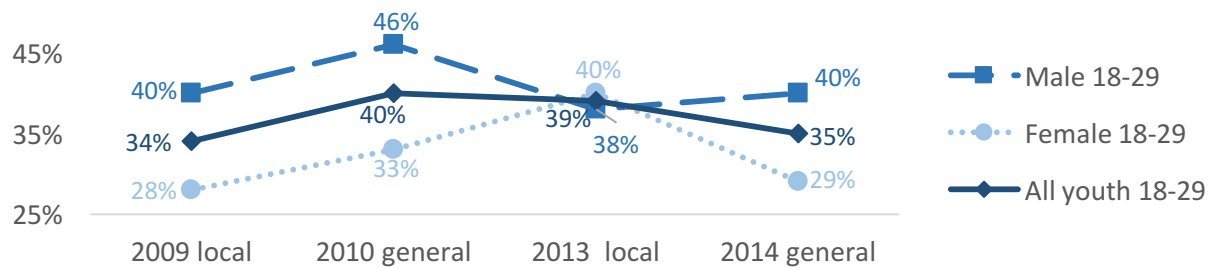


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

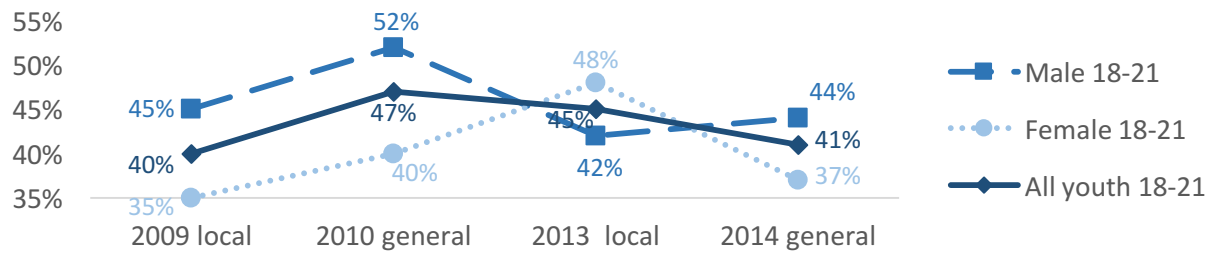


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

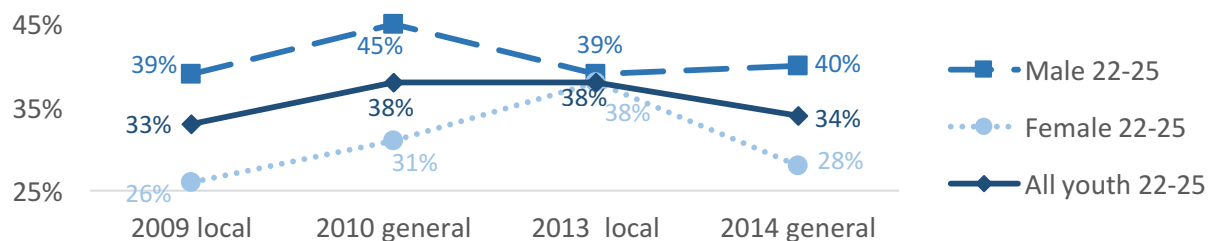
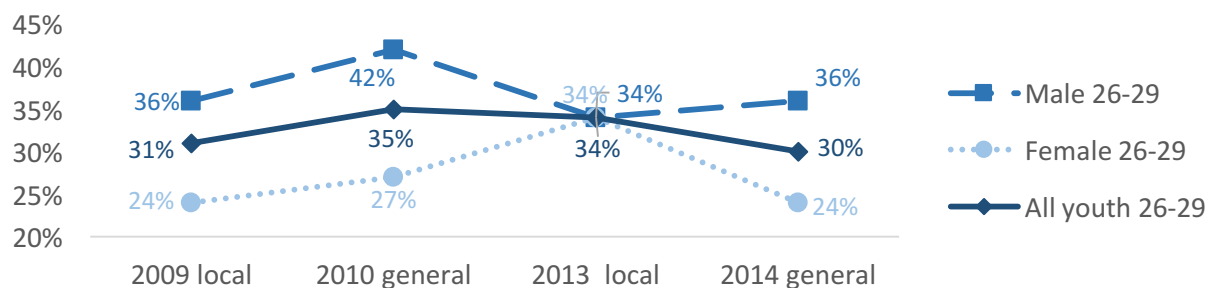


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



21. SKENDERAJ

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

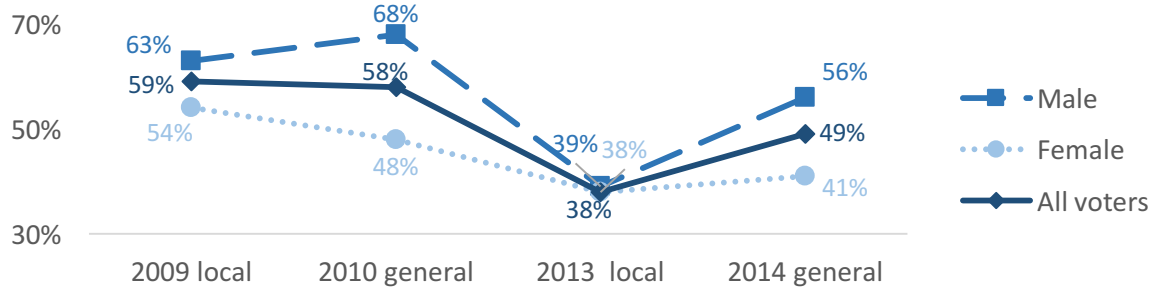


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

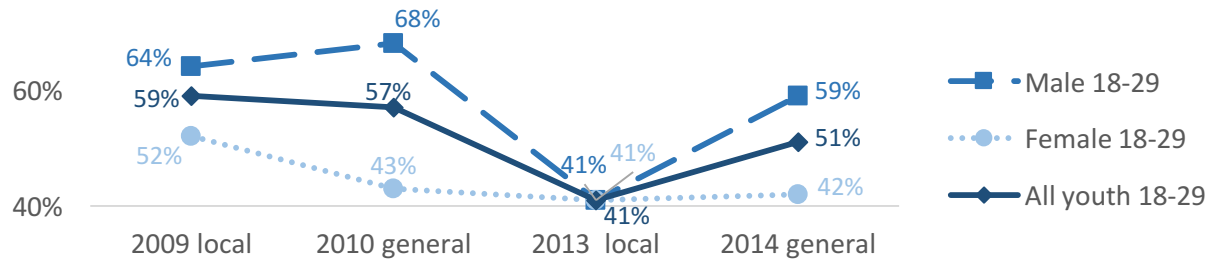


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

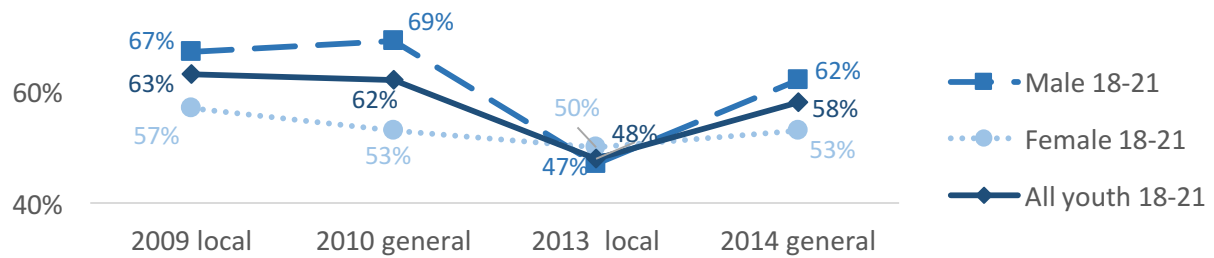


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

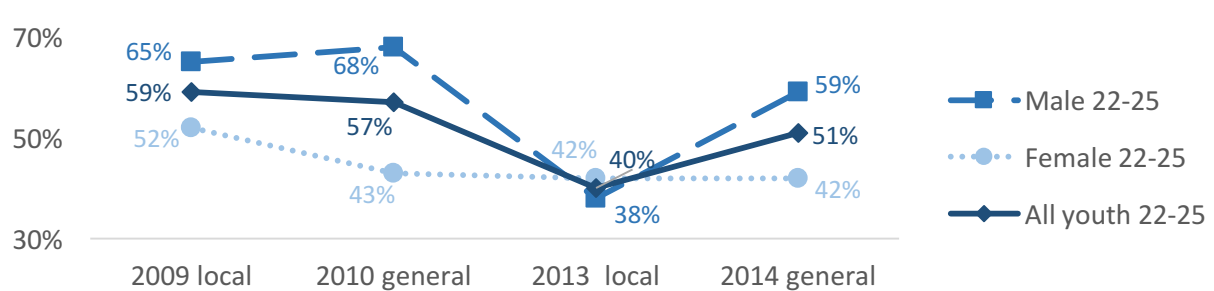
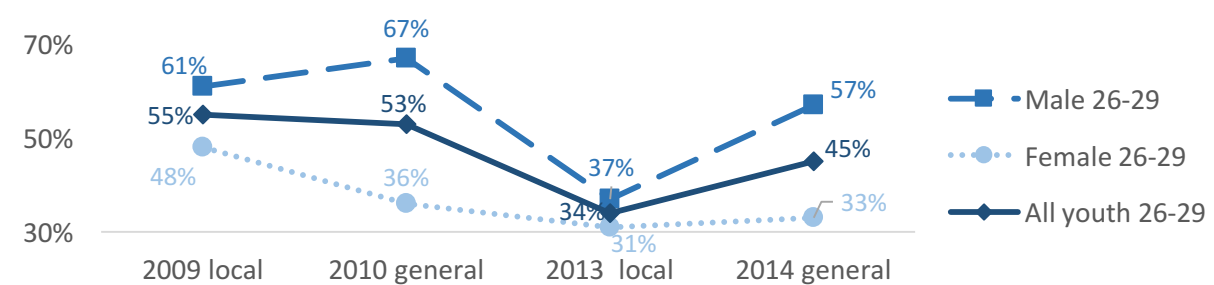


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



22. SHTIME

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

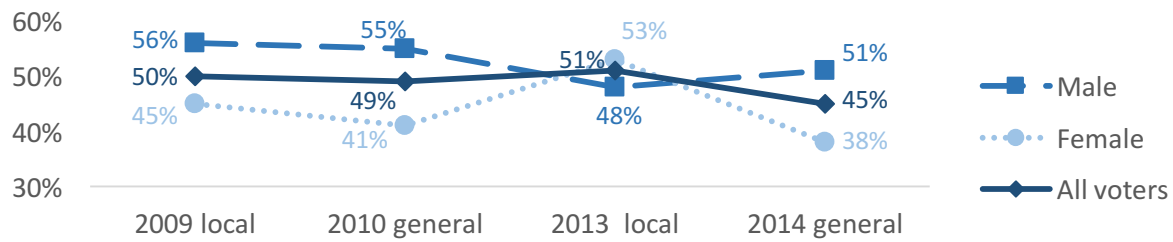


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

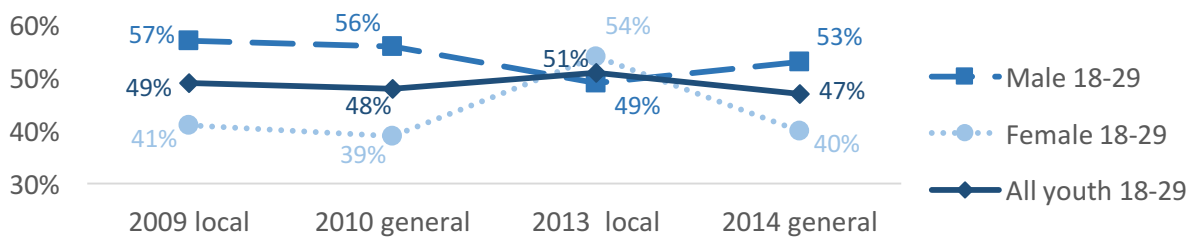


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

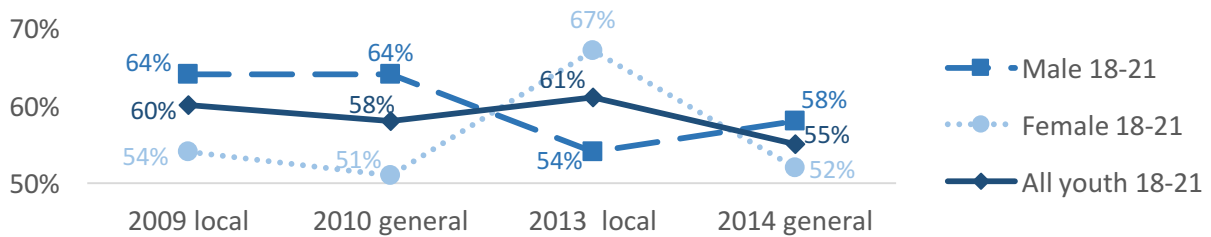


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

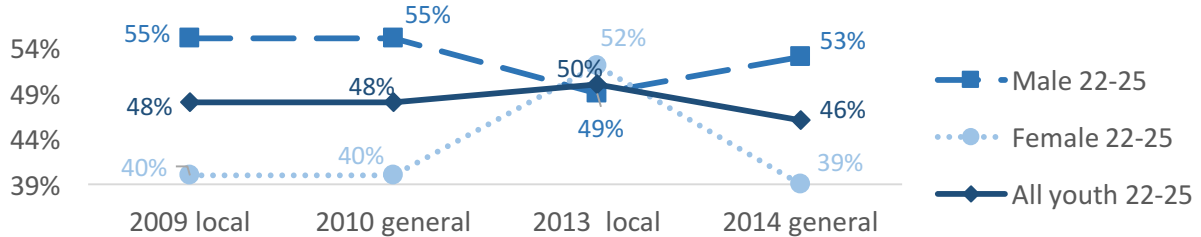
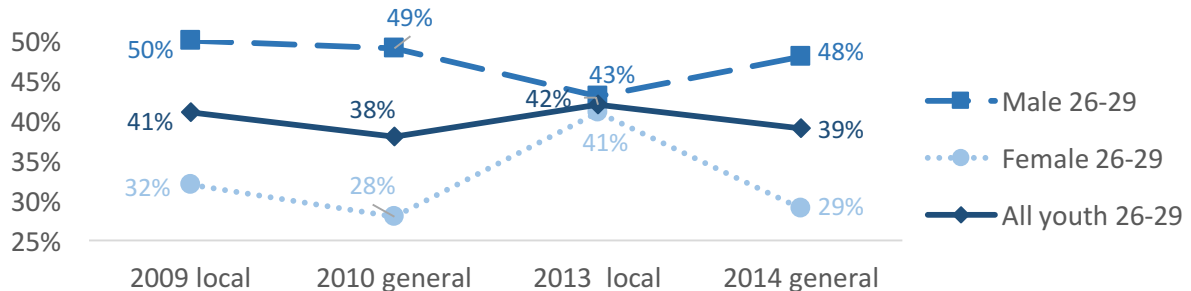


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



23. ŠHTRPCE

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

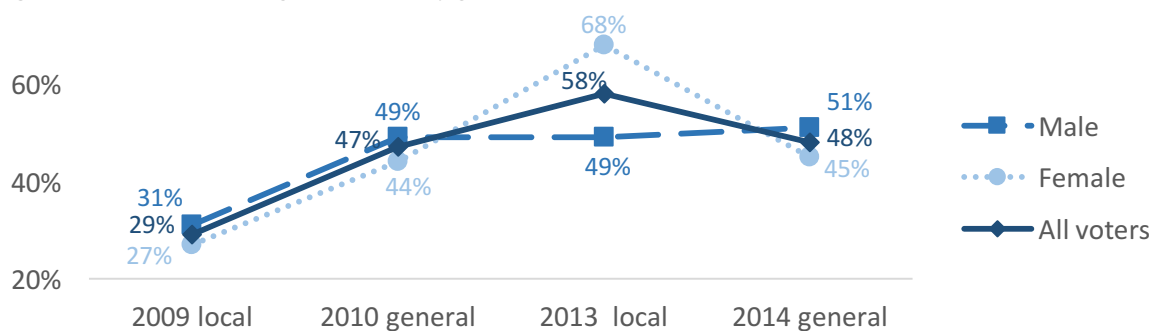


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

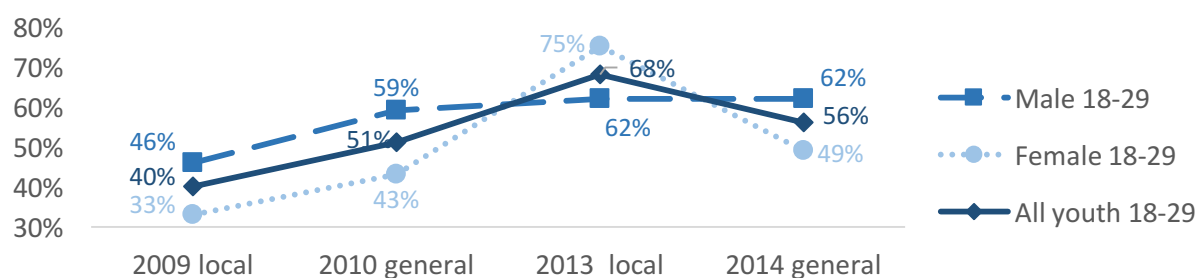


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

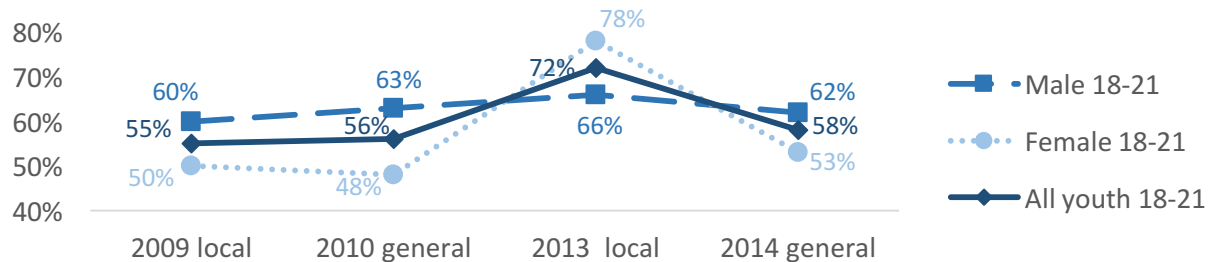


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

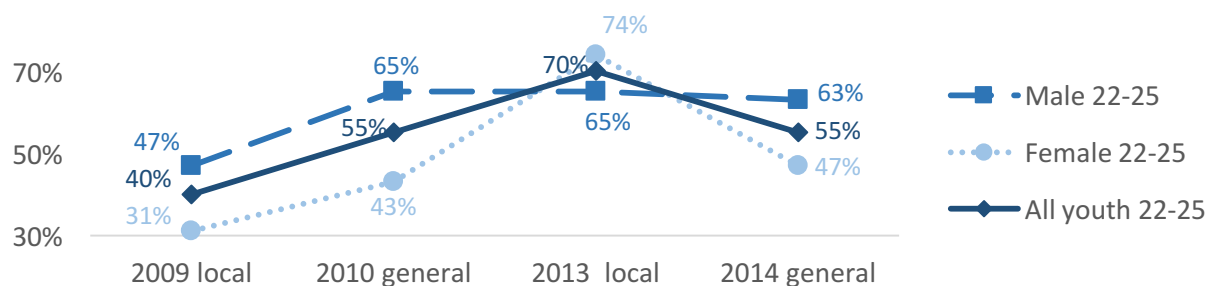
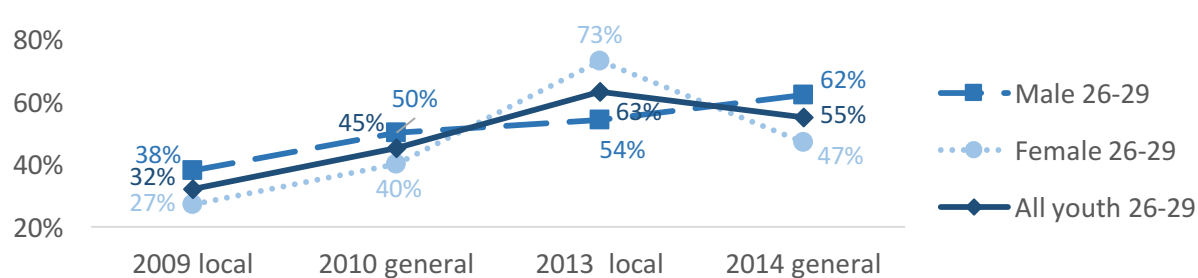


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



24. SUHAREKA

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

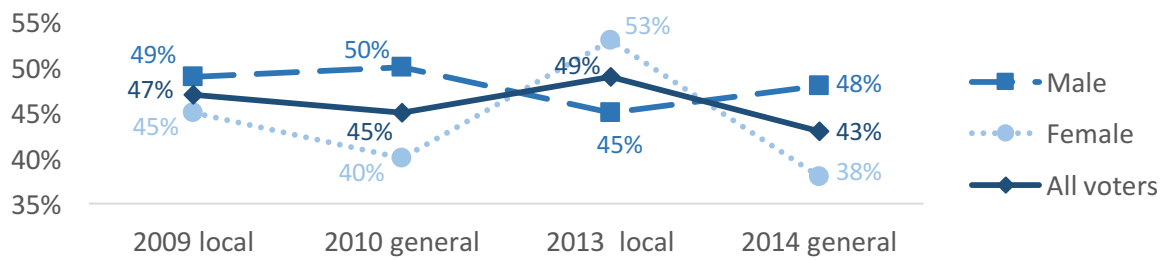


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

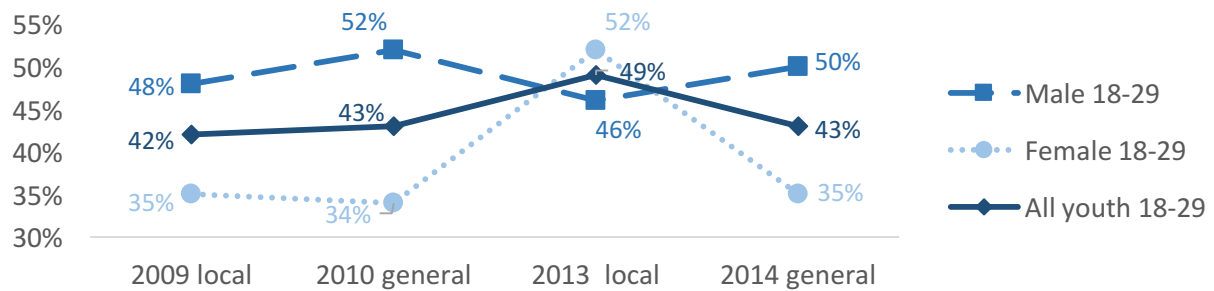


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

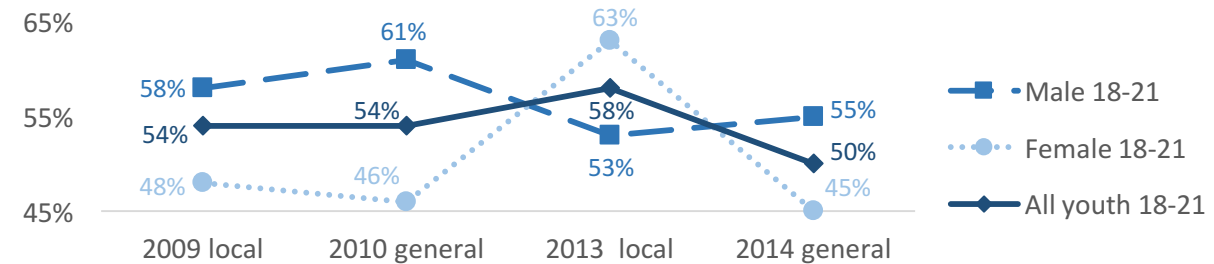


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

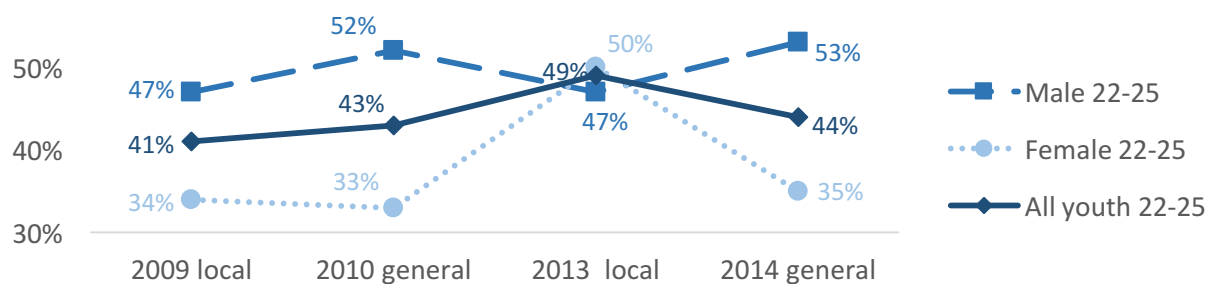
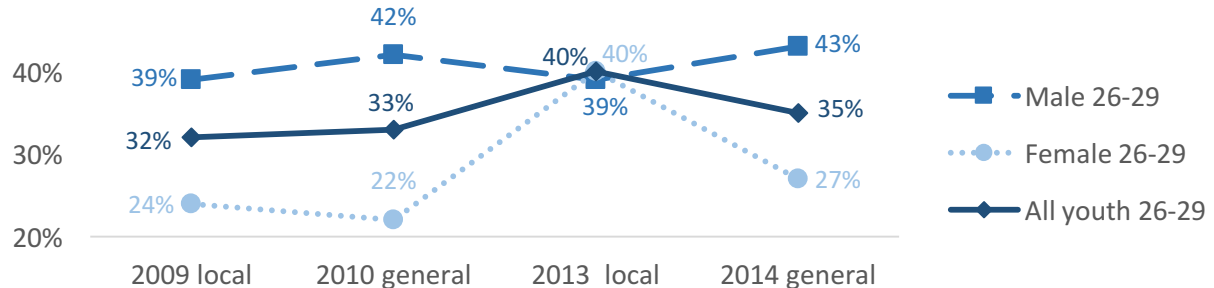


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



25. FERIZAJ

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

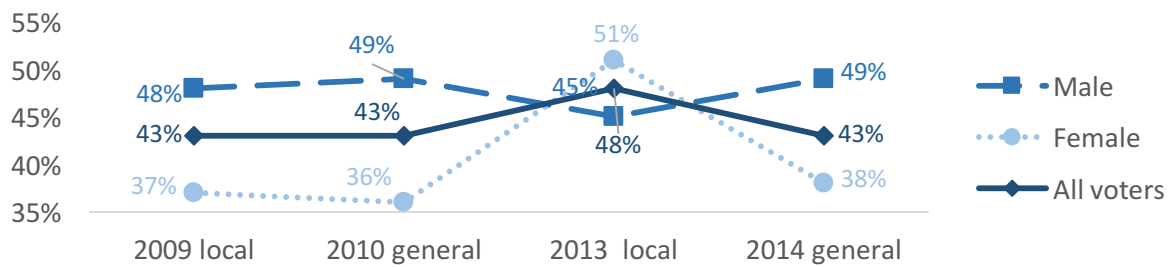


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

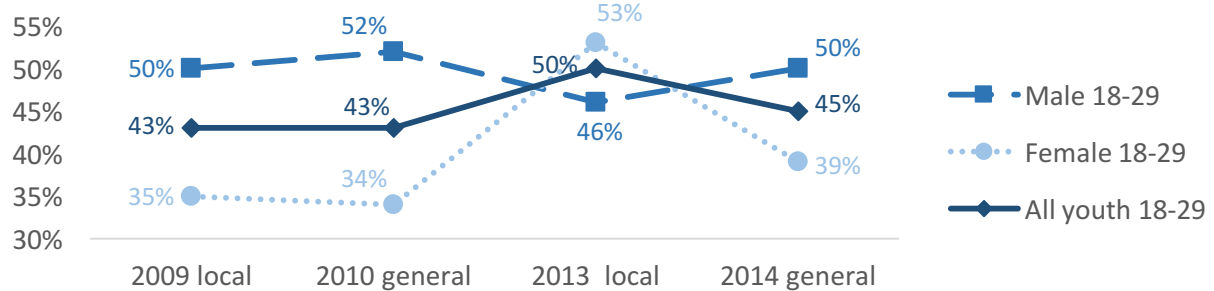


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

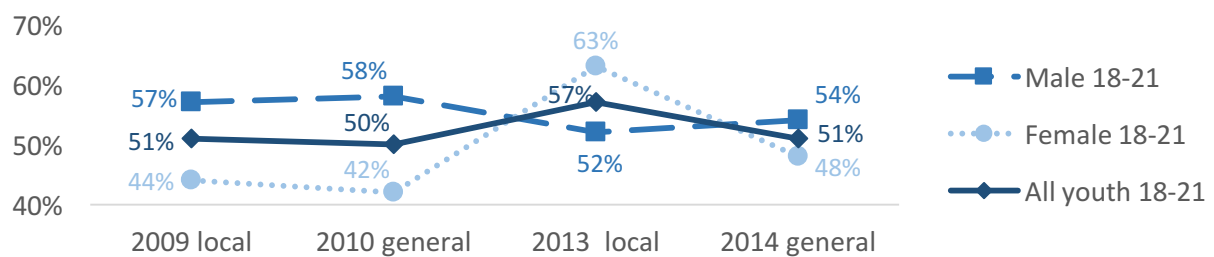


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

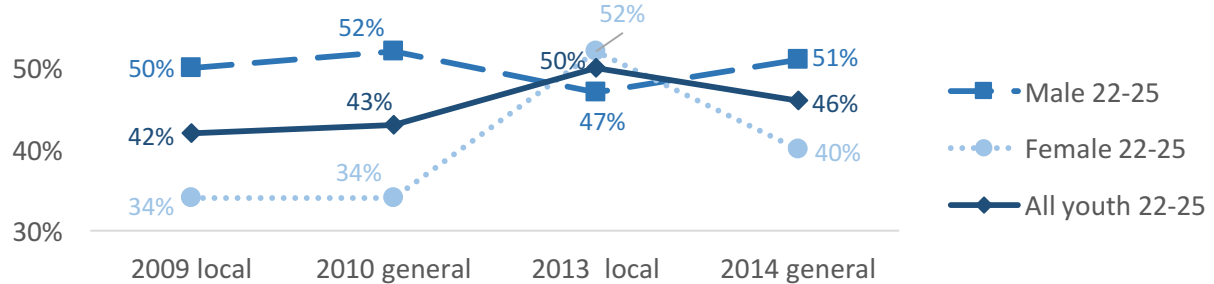
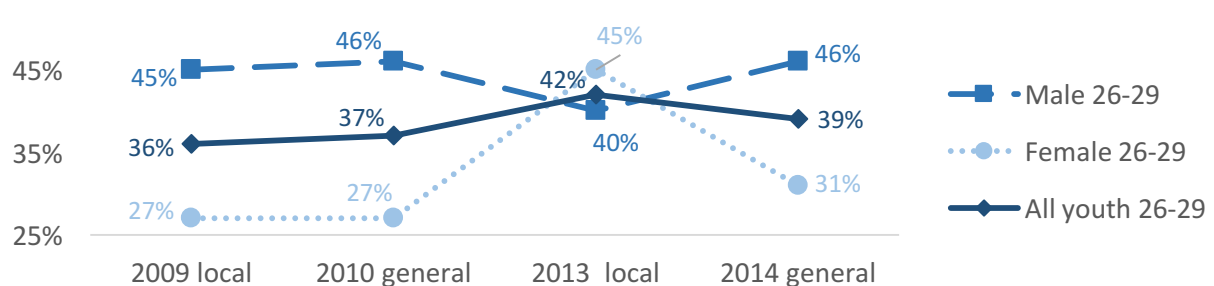


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



26. VITI

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

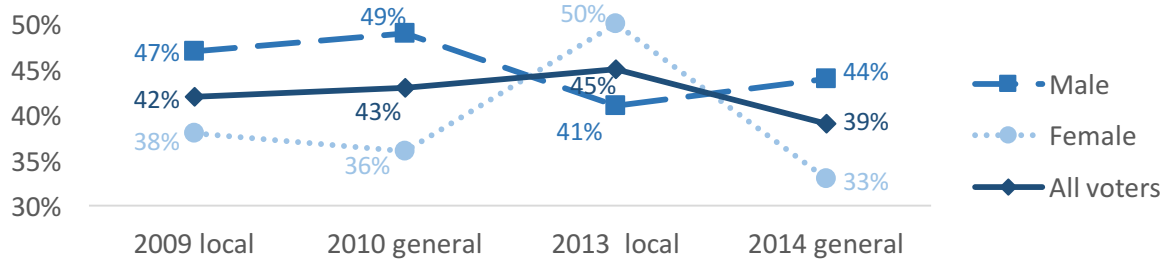


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

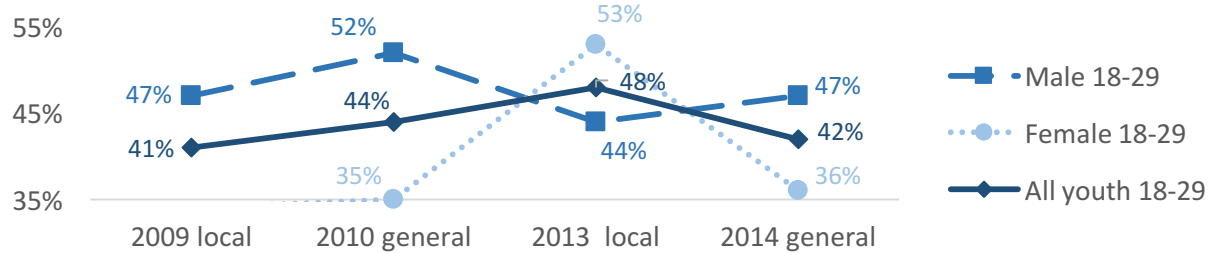


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

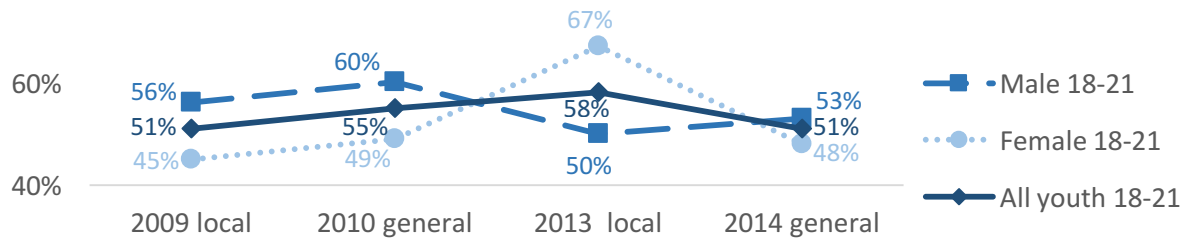


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

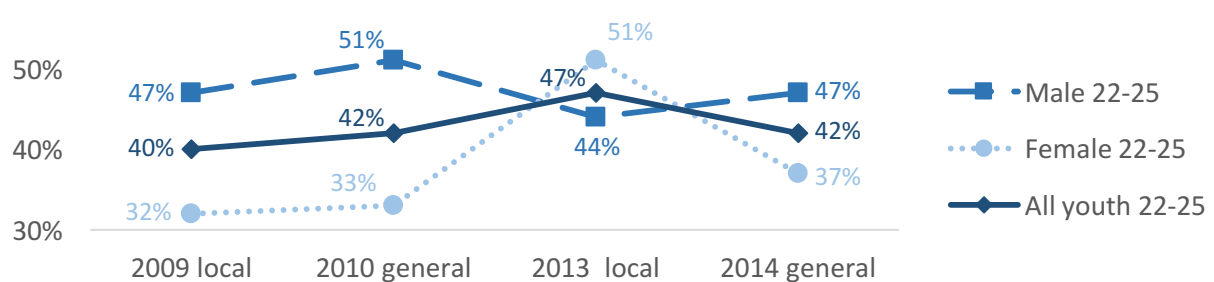
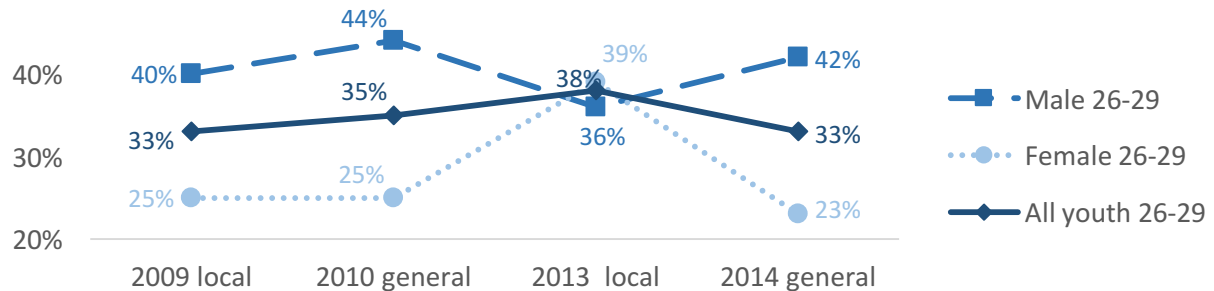


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



27. VUSHTRI

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

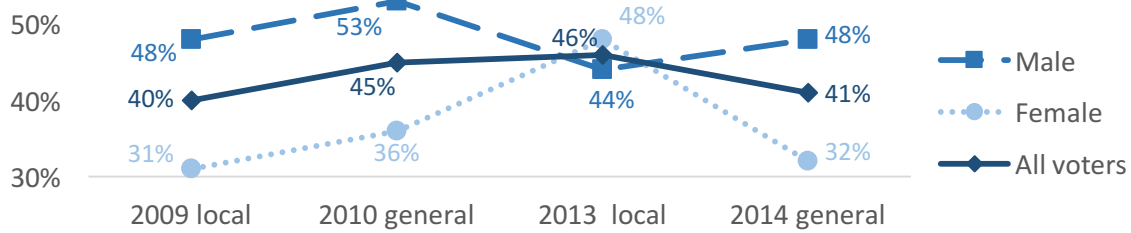


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

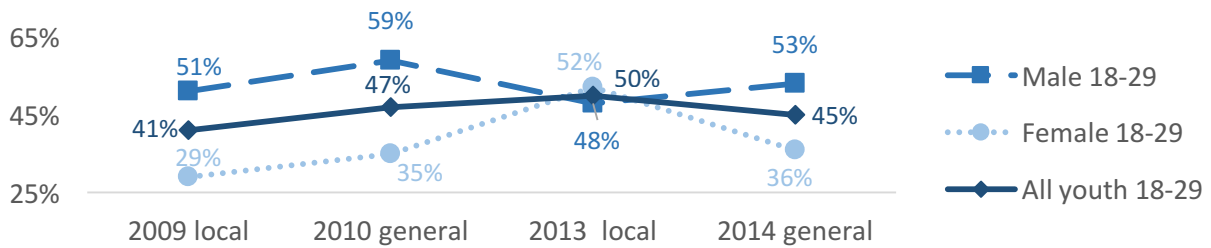


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

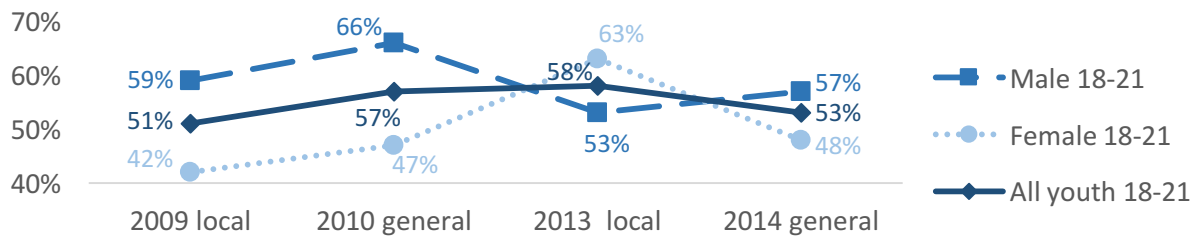


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

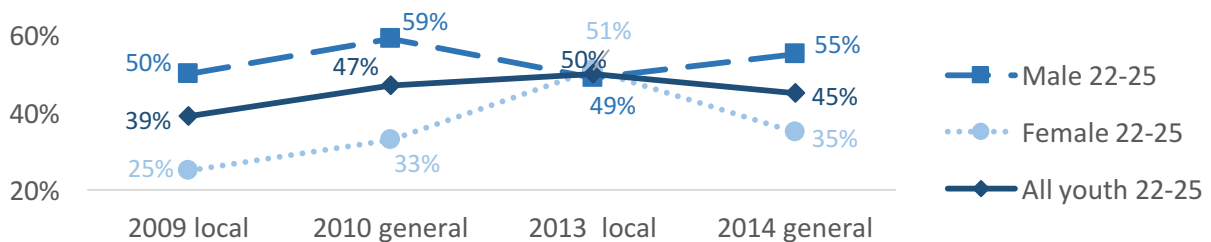
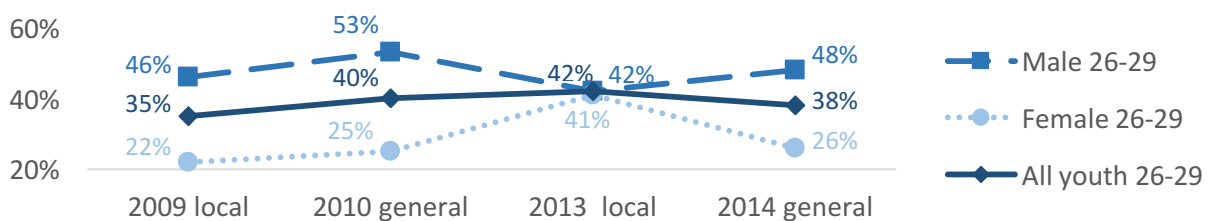


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



28. ZUBIN POTOK

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

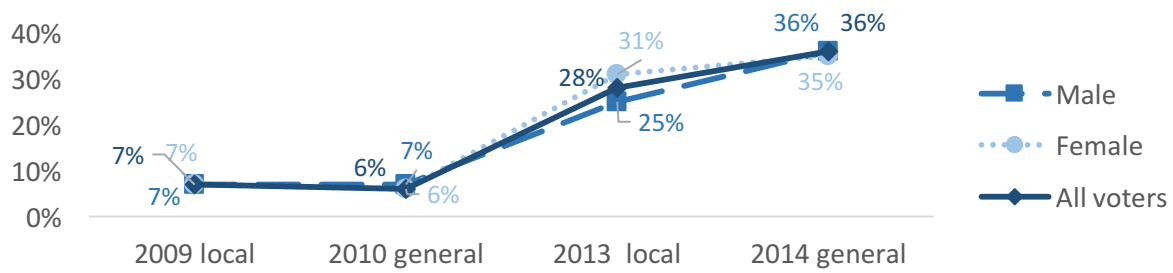


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

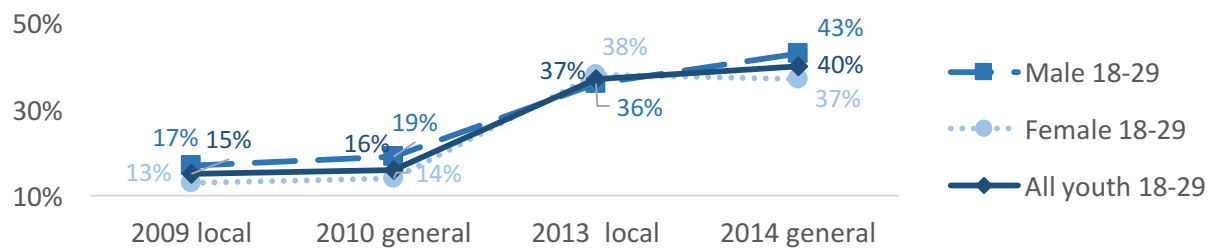


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

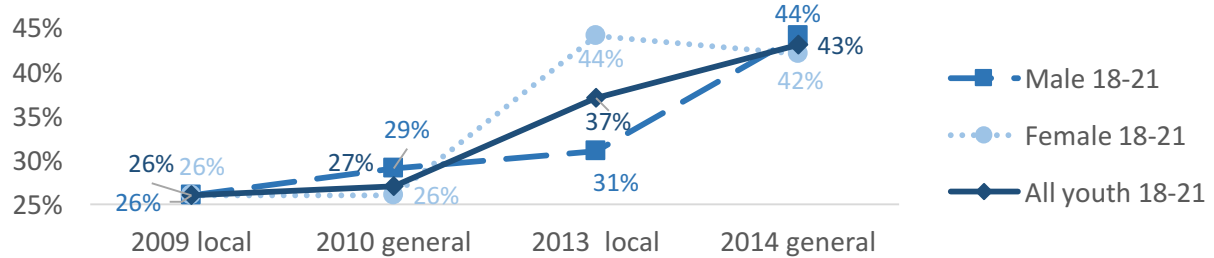


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

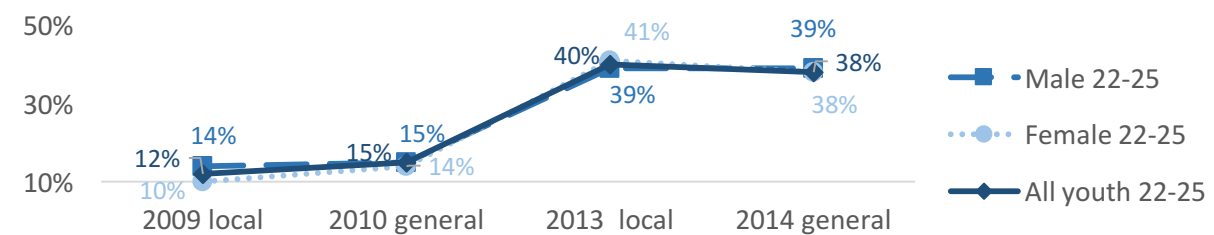
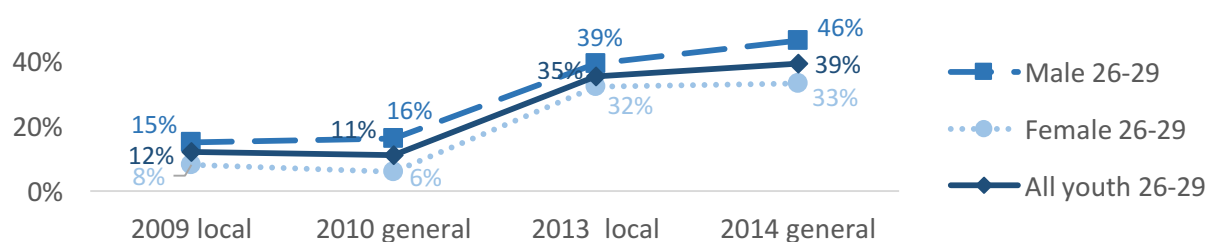


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



29. ZVEČAN

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

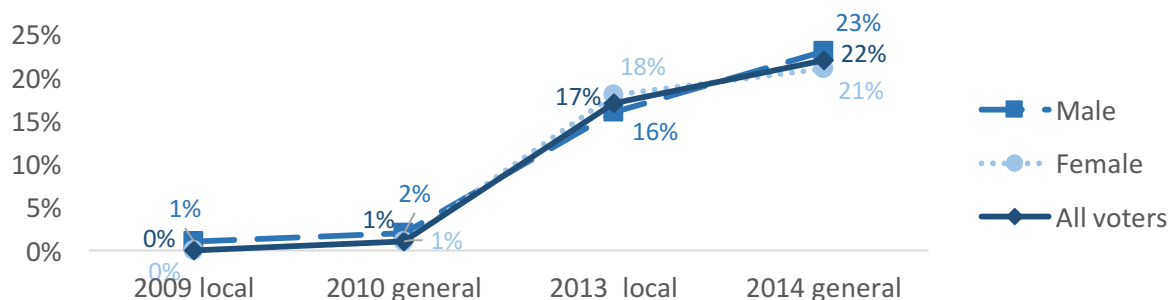


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

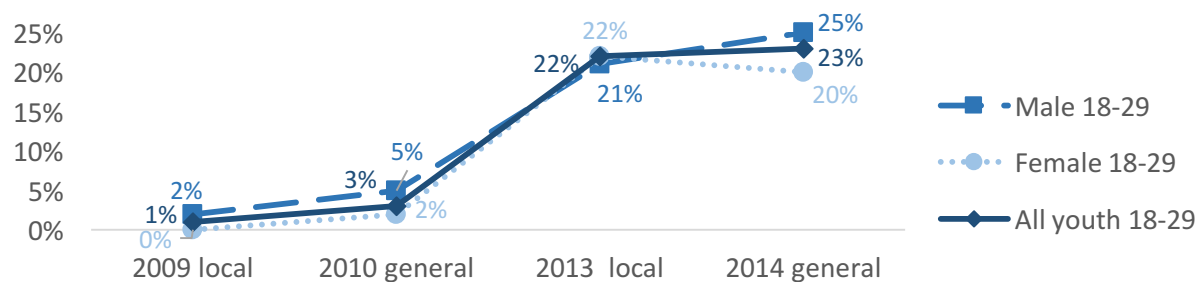


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

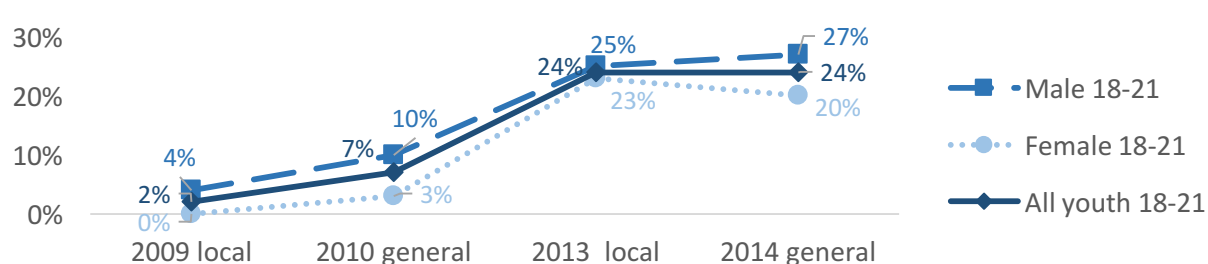


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

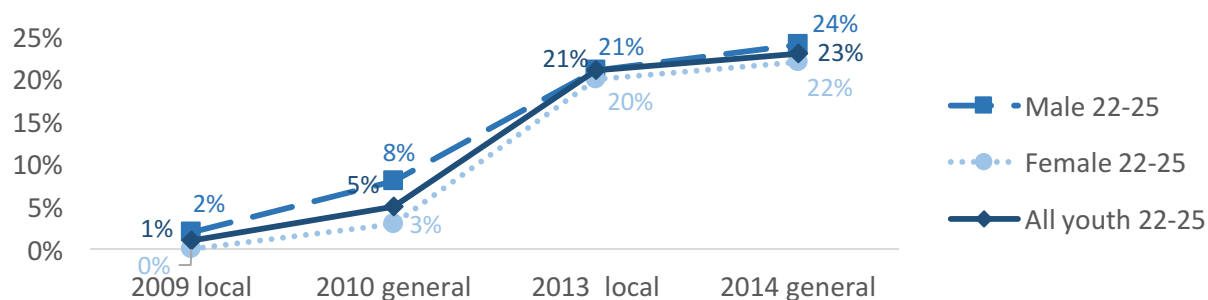
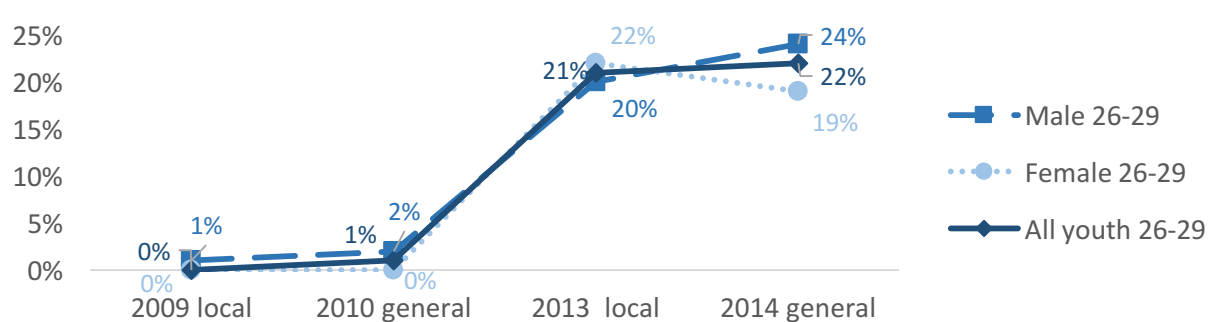


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



30. MALISHEVA

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

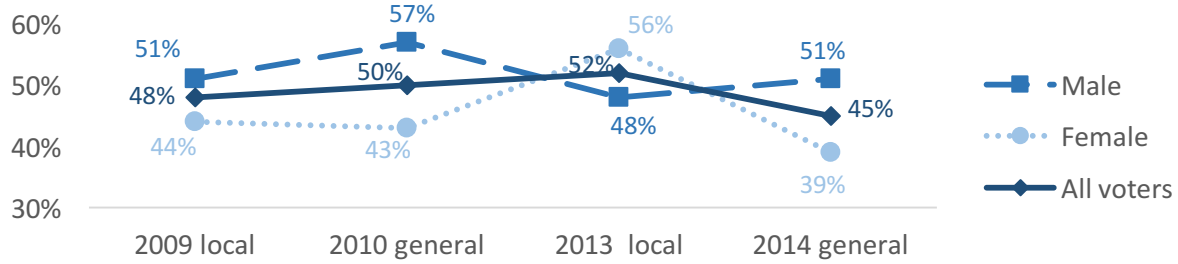


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

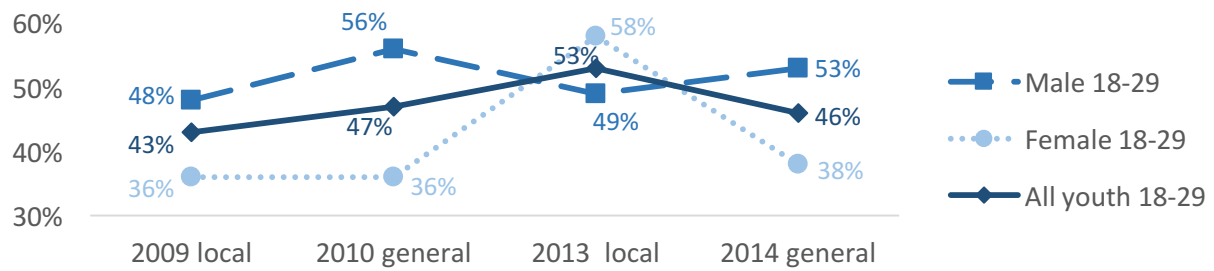


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

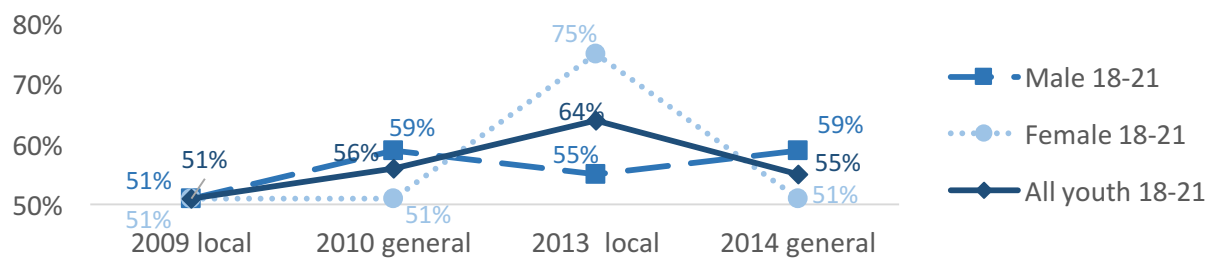


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

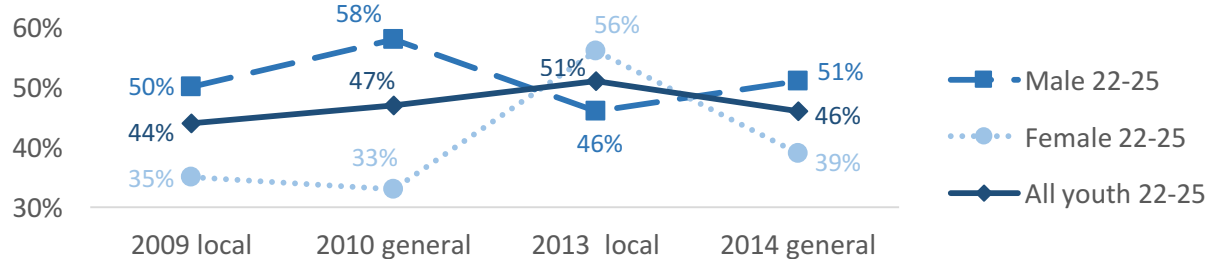
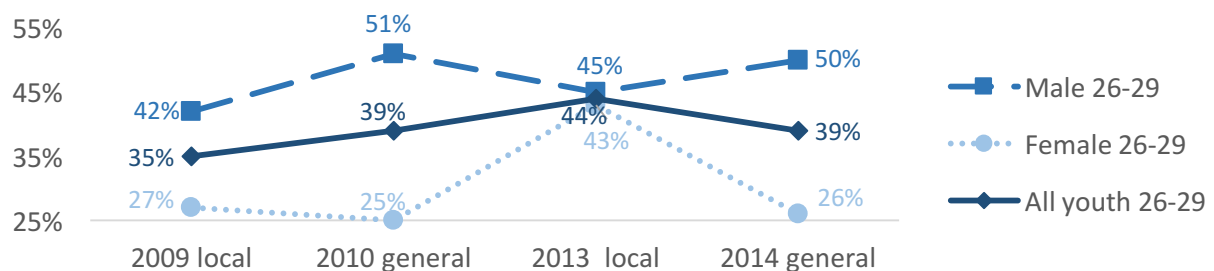


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



31. JUNIK

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

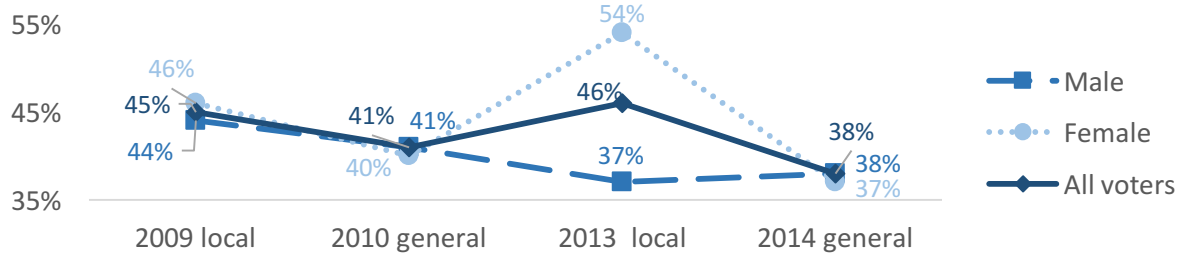


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

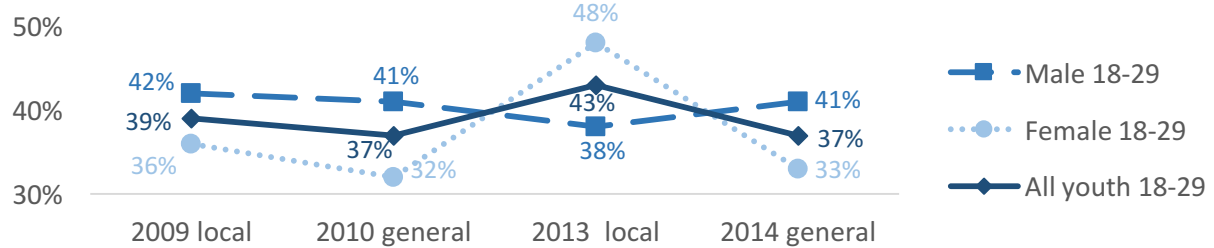


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

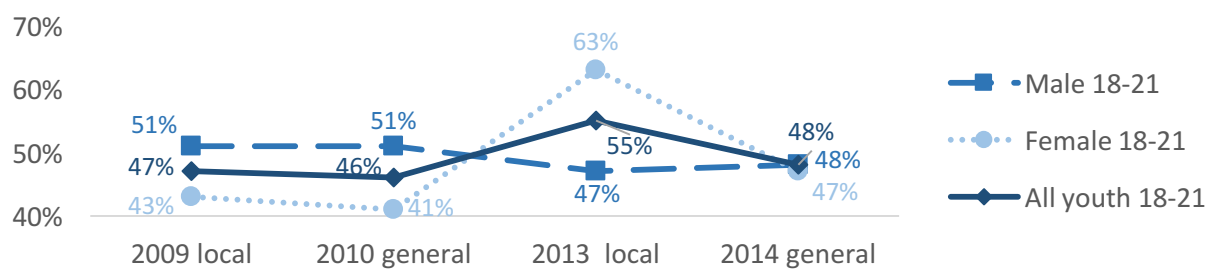


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

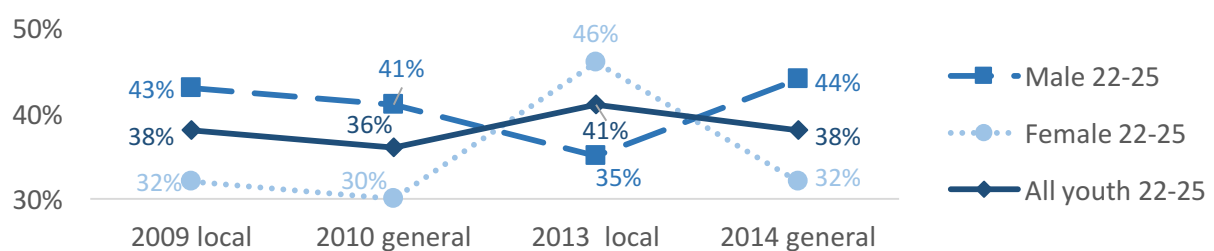
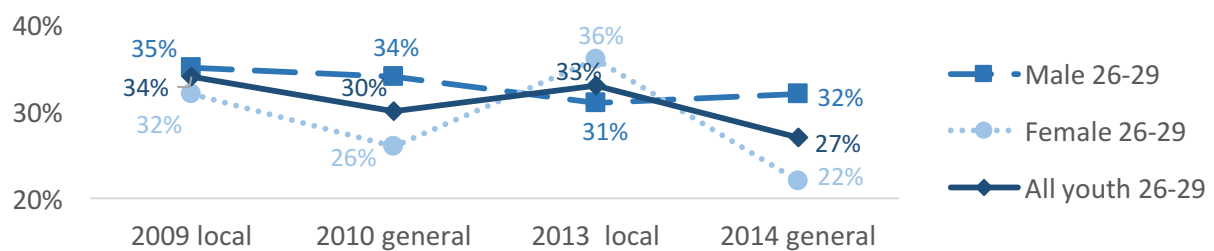


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



32. MAMUSHA

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

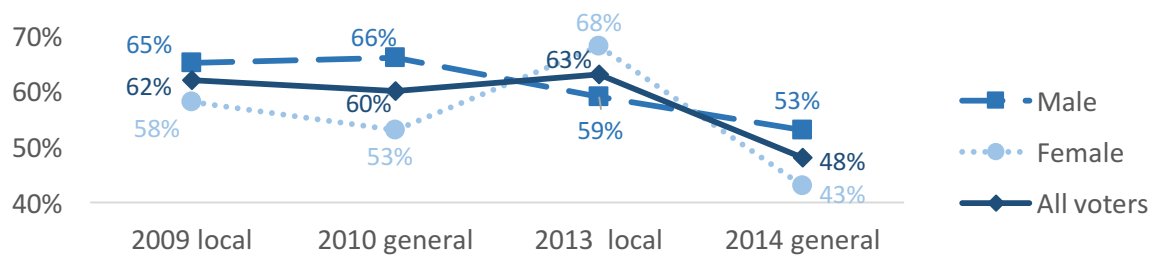


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

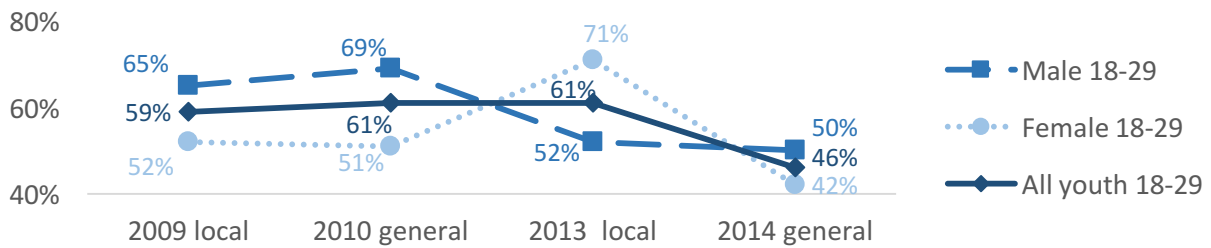


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

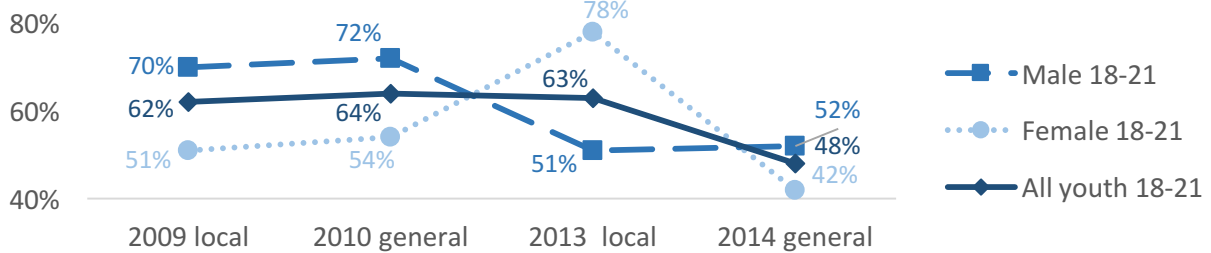


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

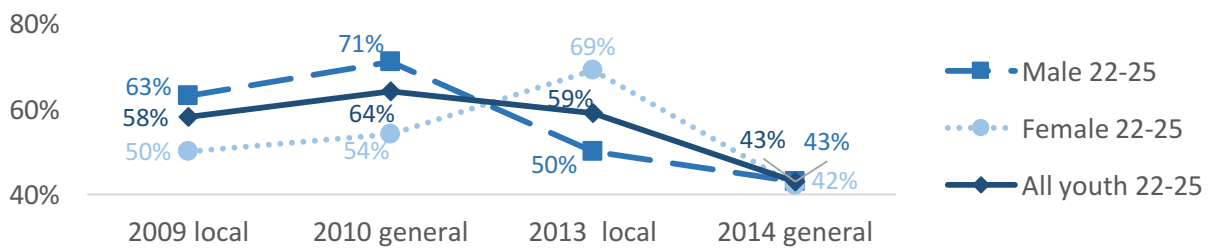
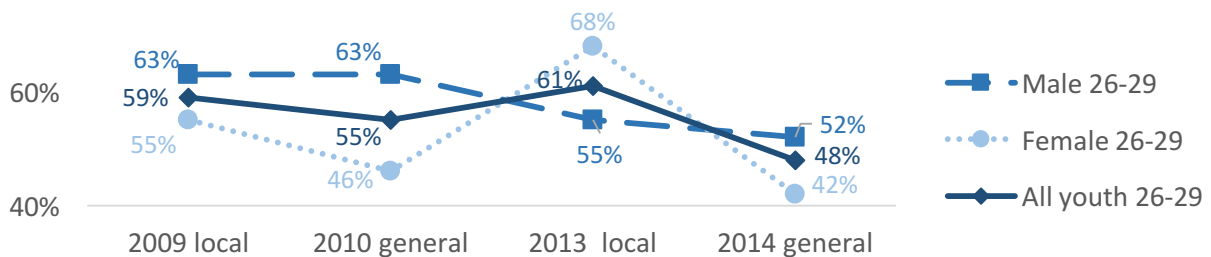


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



33. HANI | ELEZIT

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

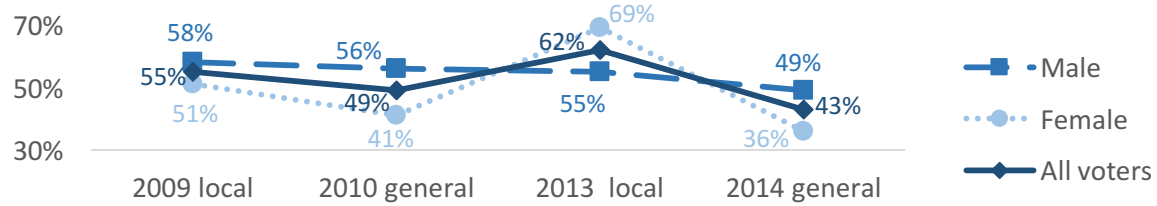


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

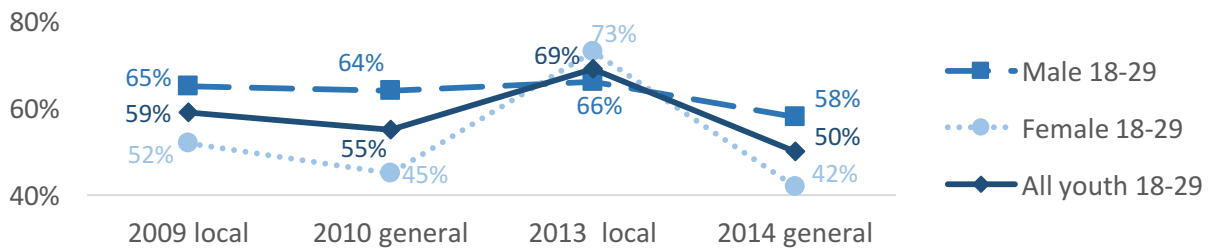


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

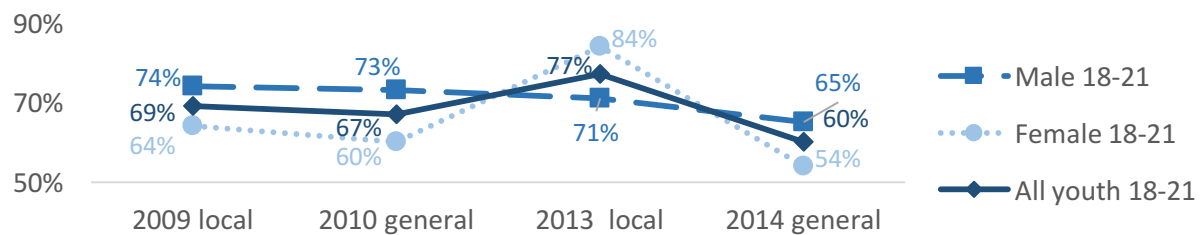


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

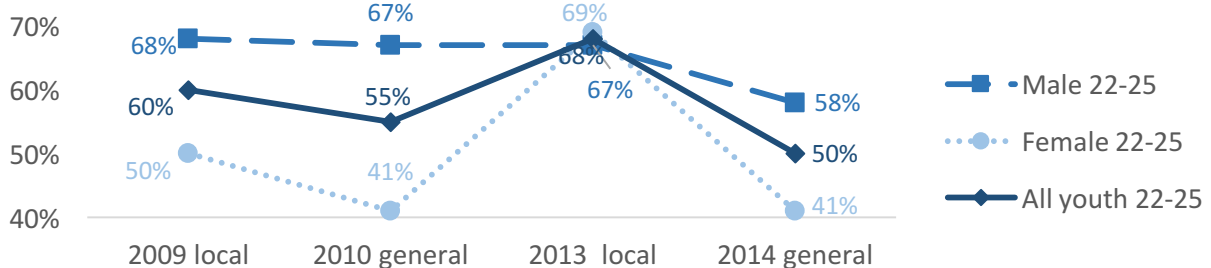
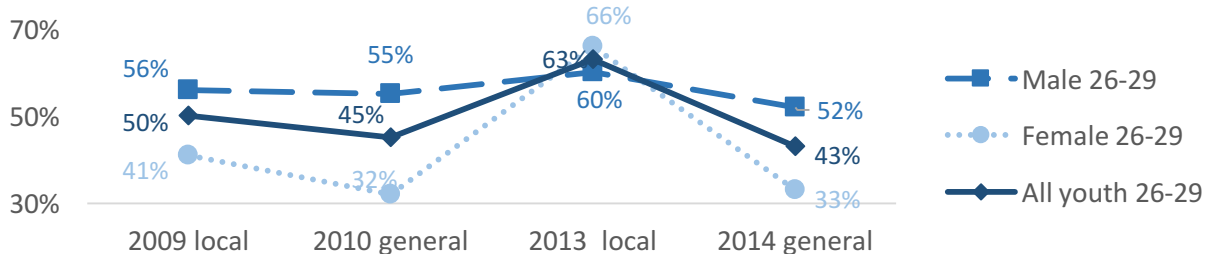


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



34. GRAČANICA

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

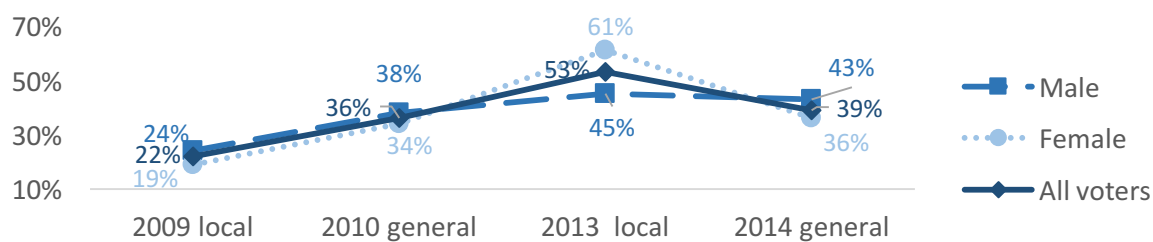


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

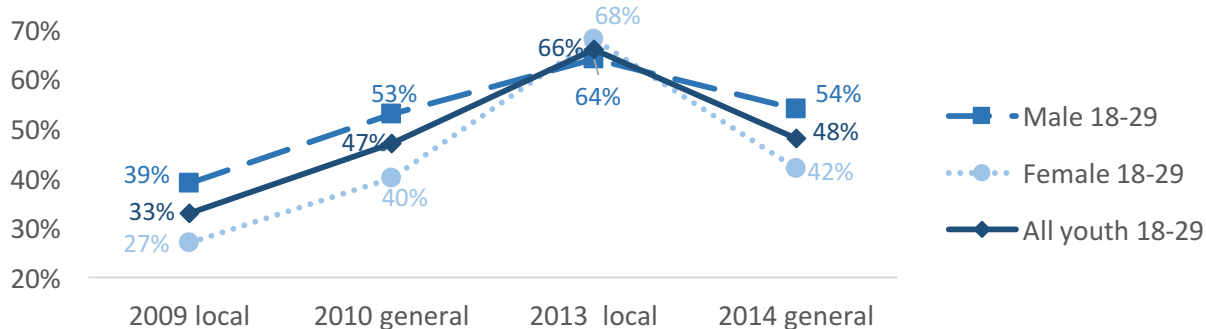


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

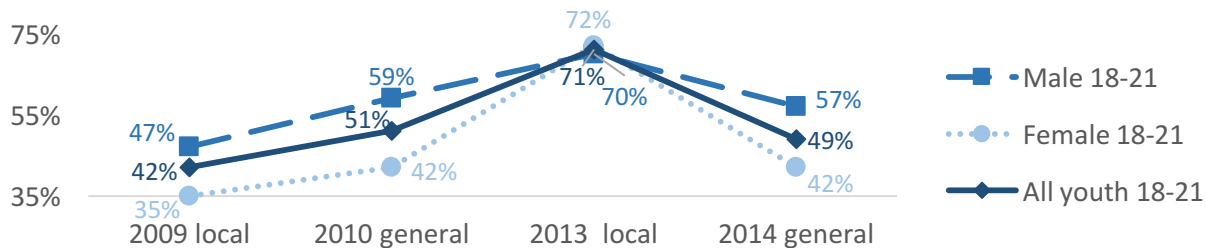


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

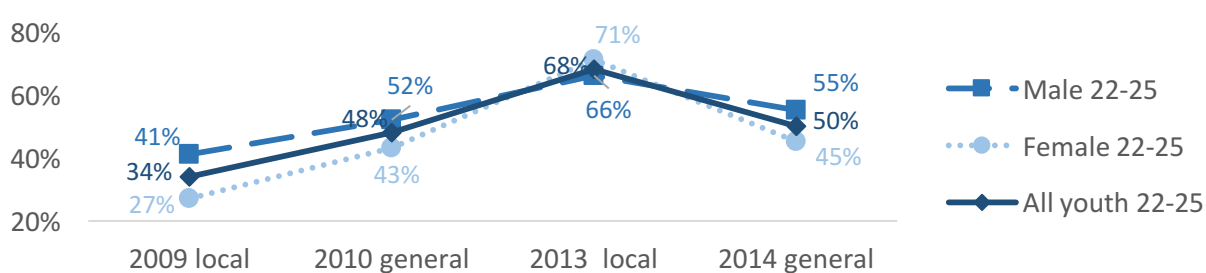
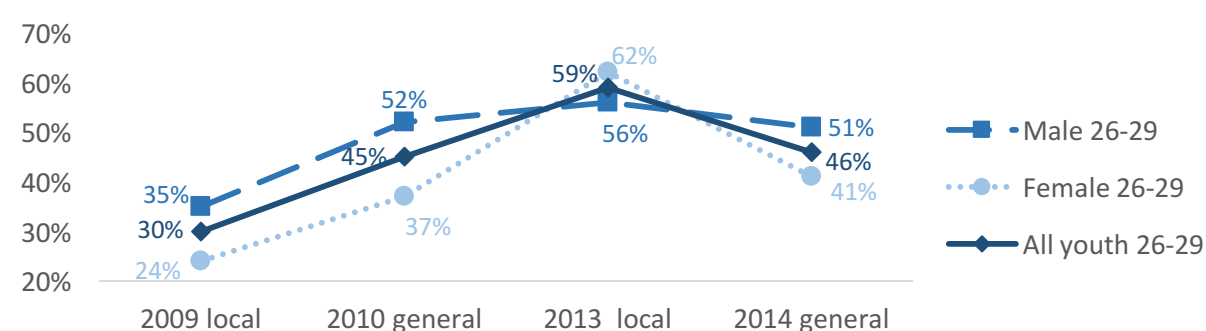


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



35. RANILUG

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

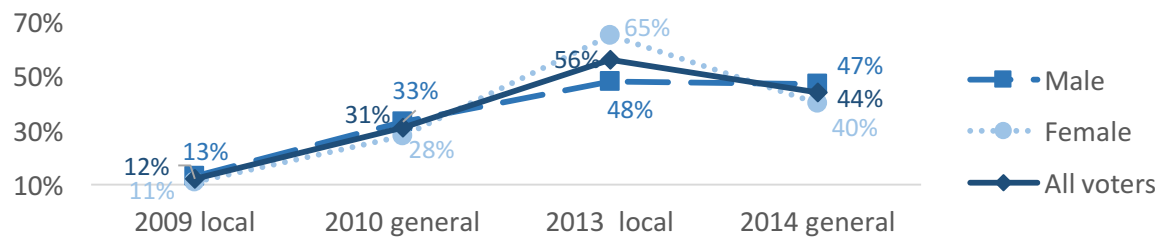


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

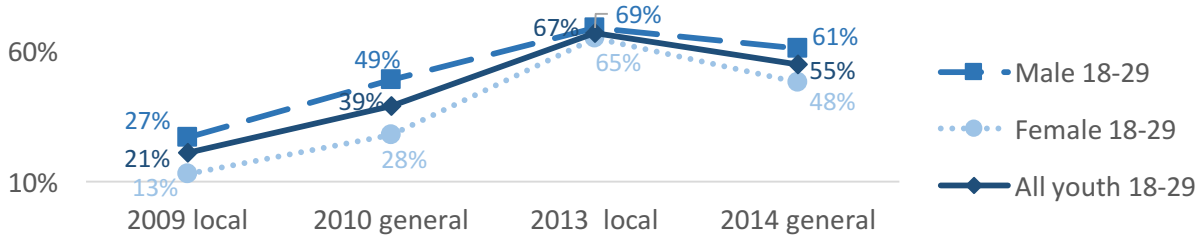


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

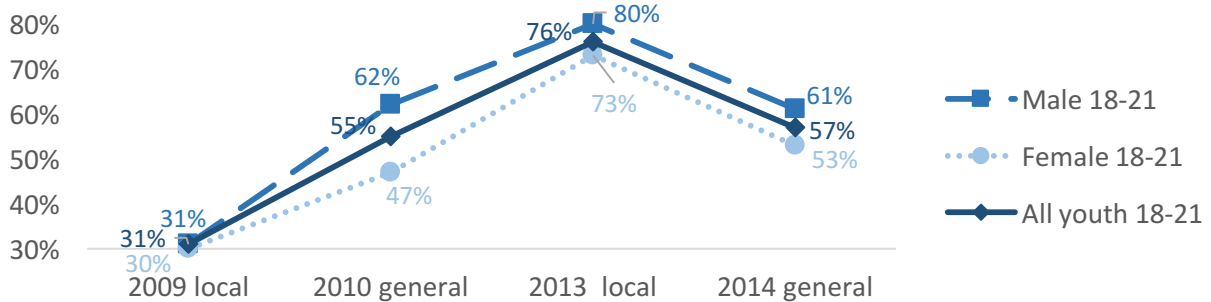


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

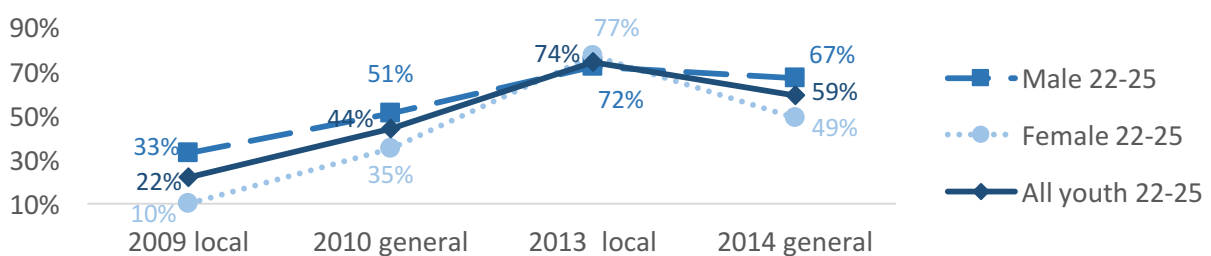
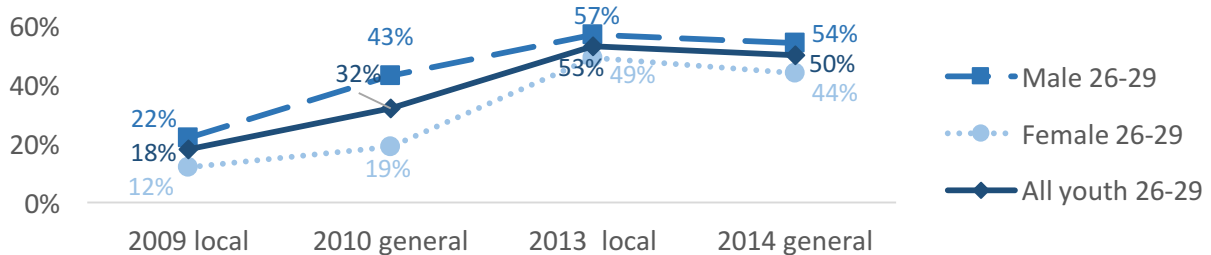


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



36. PARTESH

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

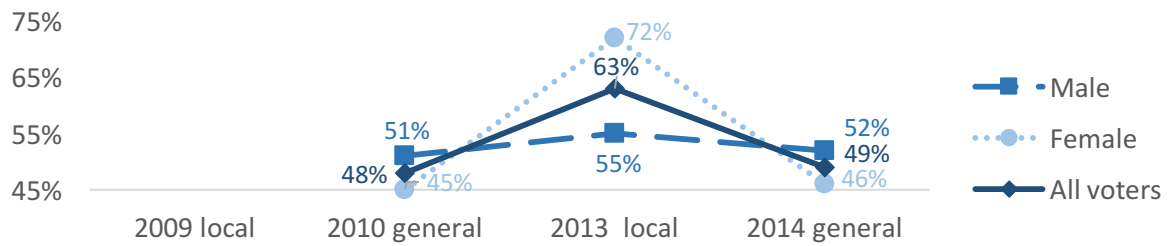


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

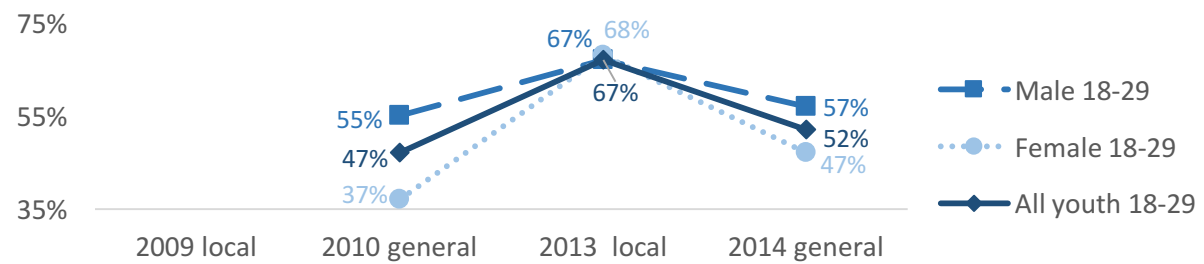


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

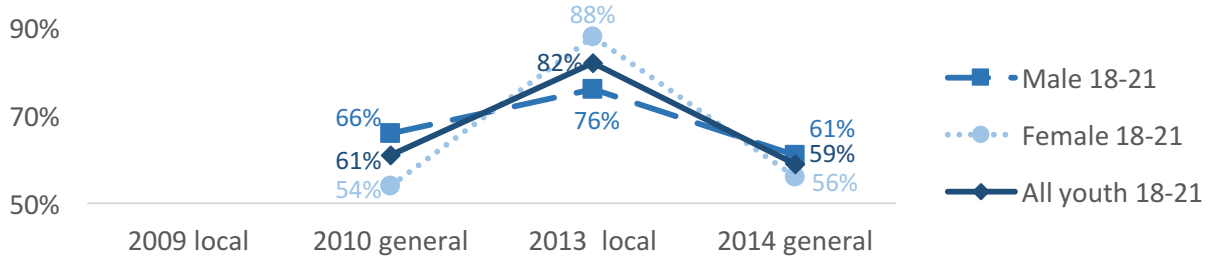


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

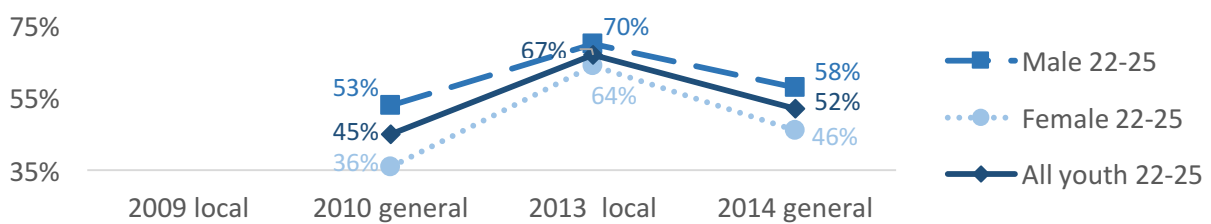
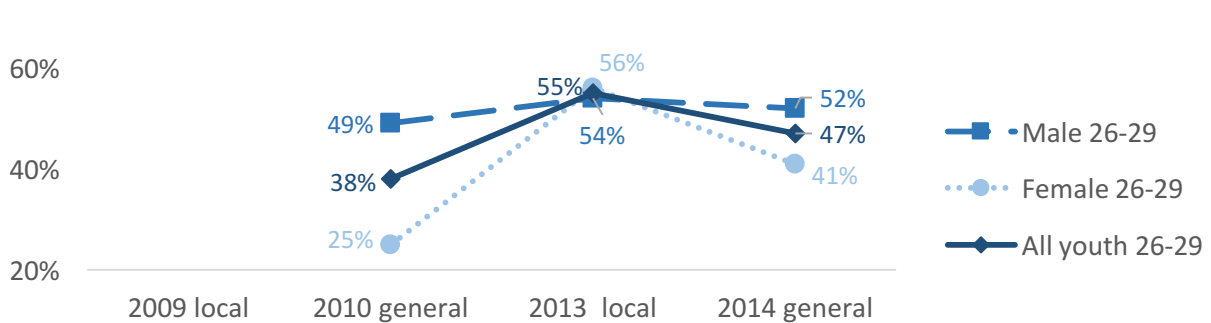


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



37. KLOKOT

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

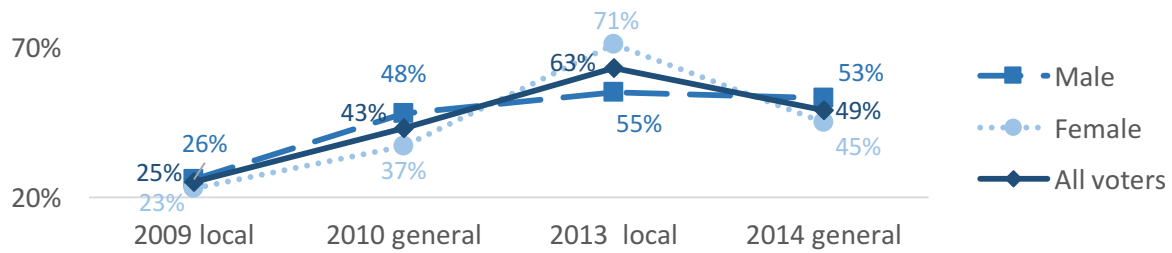


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

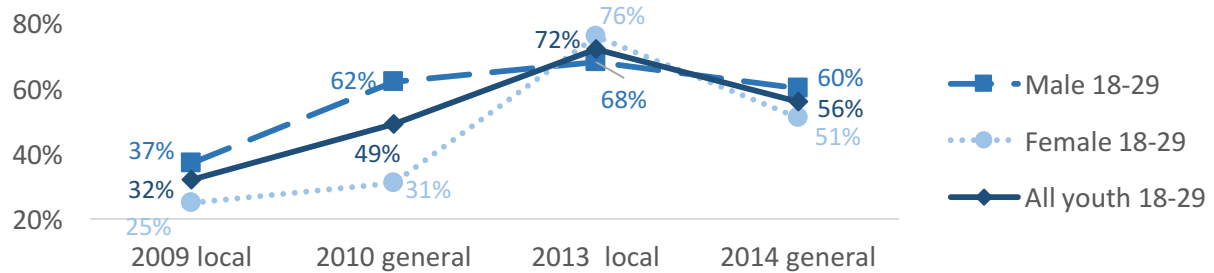


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

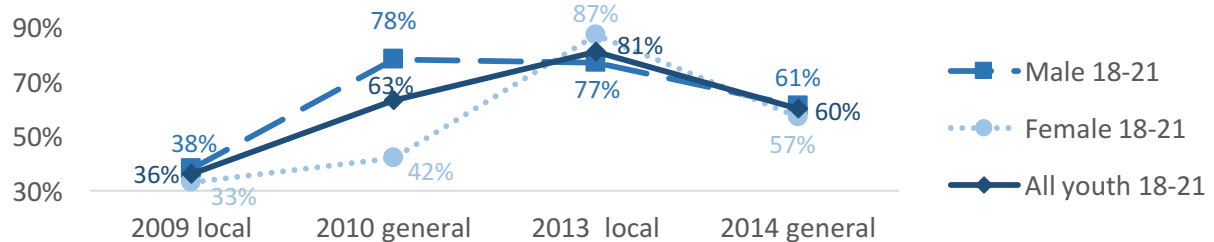


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

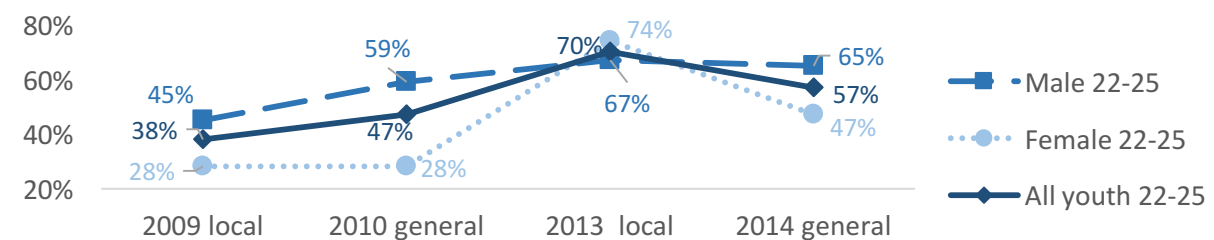
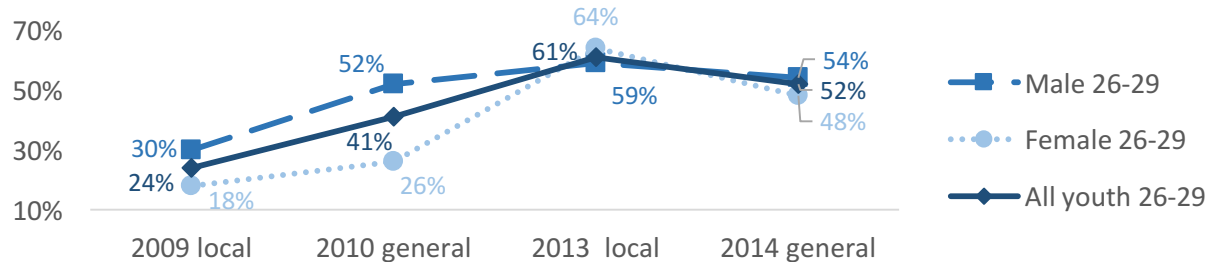


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender



38. NORTH MITROVICA

Figure 1: Turnout among all voters, by gender

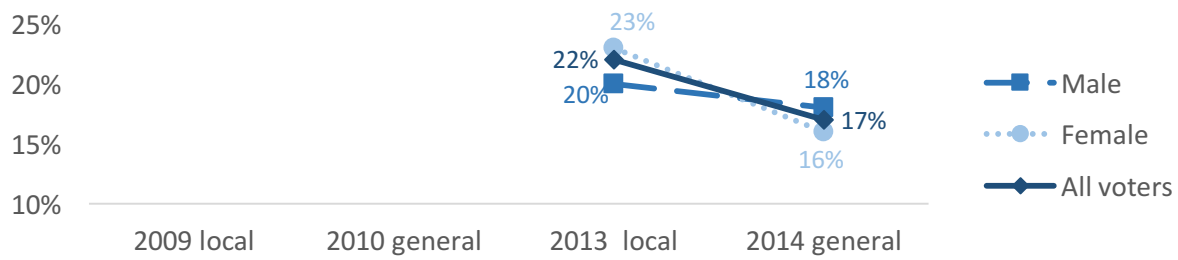


Figure 2: Turnout among youth, age 18 to 29, by gender

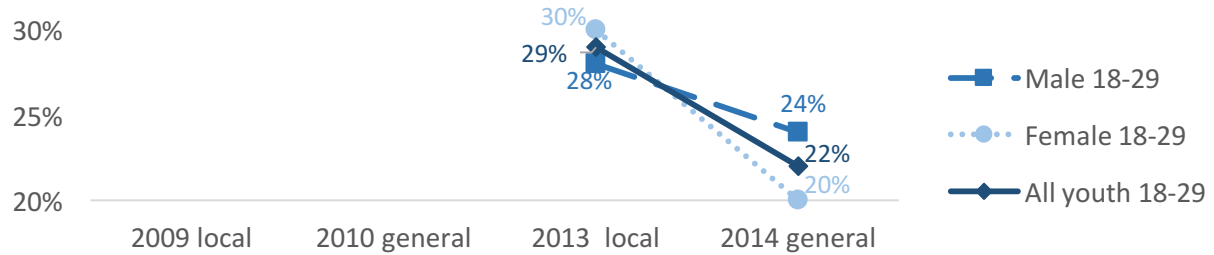


Figure 3: Turnout among youth of age 18 to 21, by gender

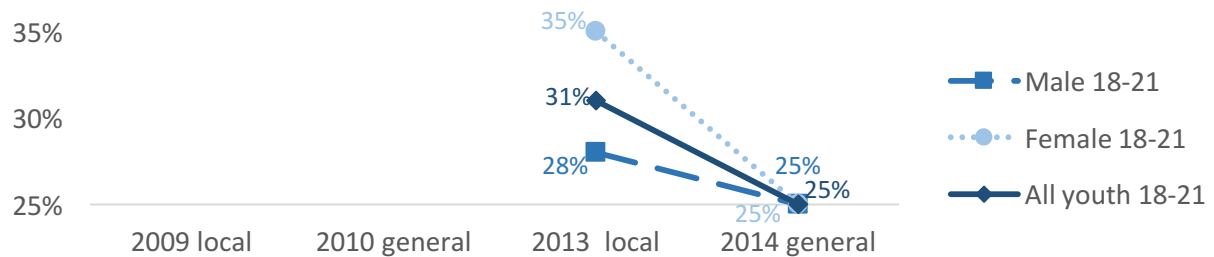


Figure 4: Turnout among youth of age 22 to 25, by gender

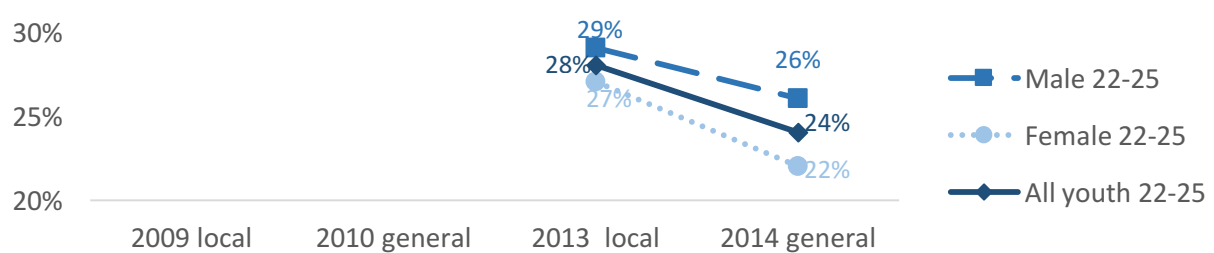


Figure 5: Turnout among youth of age 26 to 29, by gender

