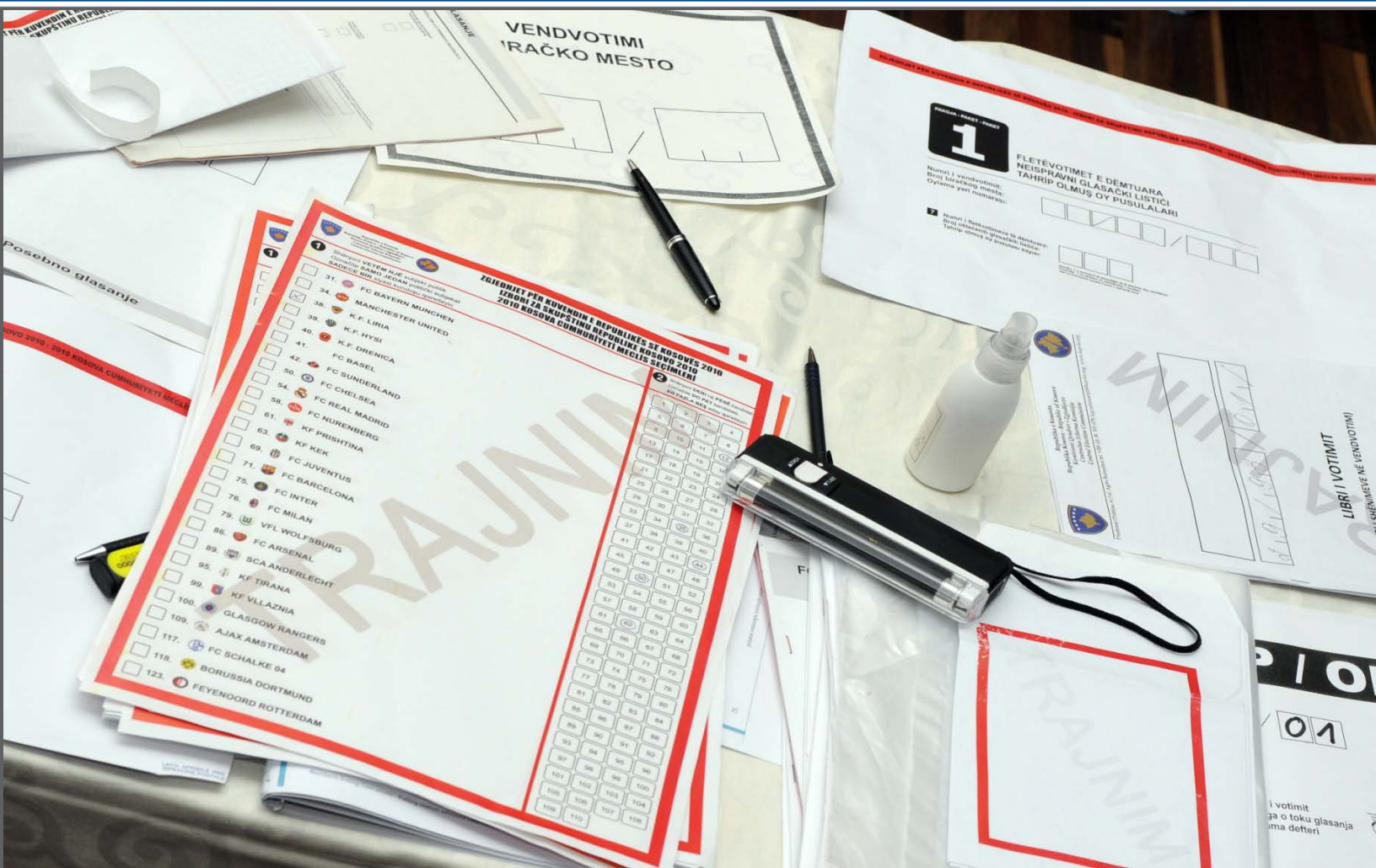




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# Post-Election Public Opinion in Kosovo 2011

Findings from an IFES Survey conducted in February 2011



**February 2011**

This publication was produced by IFES for the U.S. Agency for International Development concerning Associate Award No. 167-A-00-10-00102-00, under Leader Agreement No. DFD-A-00-08-00350-00.





**Post-Election Public Opinion in Kosovo 2011:  
Findings from an IFES Survey conducted in February 2011**

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*Additional analysis by Gavin Weise.*

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Printed in the USA.

ISBN 1-931459-49-5

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## IFES ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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This publication was made possible through the generous support of the American People through the U.S. Agency for International Development, under the terms of Award No. 167-A-00-10-00102-00, under Leader Agreement No. DFD-A-00-08-00350-00.

IFES would also like to recognize the research, editing and publication assistance provided by other members of its staff.

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## SURVEY METHODOLOGY

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**Fieldwork dates:** February 3 - 13, 2011

**Survey firm:** IFES contracted with the Index Kosova to conduct fieldwork and data processing for the survey.

**Funding:** The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) provided funding for this survey.

**Sample size:** 1,224 respondents representing the voting-age population in Kosovo (18 years+).

**Margin of error:**  $\pm 2.8\%$  within a 95% confidence interval, assuming a pure random sample.

**Sample area coverage:** All the administrative divisions of Kosovo; 1,224 observations were allocated proportionately at the national level.<sup>1</sup>

**Weights:** Following data collection, the data was weighted by age, region and gender to bring the realized sample in line with target population parameters in order to be nationally representative of the adult (18+) population of Kosovo. The data has been weighted by population proportion of municipalities, age, gender, and ethnicity to be nationally representative for the adult (18+) population of Kosovo. The sample consists of 903 Kosovo Albanians (K-Albanians) and oversamples of 218 Kosovo Serbs (K-Serbs) and 103 non-Serb minorities (Bosniacs, Turks, Goranis, Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian minority groups). After weighting, the sample breakdown is 92% Kosovo Albanians, 5.3% Kosovo Serbs, and 2.7% non-Serb ethnic minorities.

**Questions asked only of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities:** Of the 68 questions, there were 14 questions not posed to Kosovo Serbs. These questions were tailored only for Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities and were not posed to Kosovo Serbs based on recommendations to limit the number of questions posed due to sensitivities.

**References to Previous IFES Surveys:** Some of the findings from earlier surveys will be referenced in this report. The 2008 Survey was a post-election survey conducted in January 2008 by IFES and Index Kosova. At that time, it was not possible to include Kosovo Serbs in the 2008 sample. Therefore, all references comparing opinions to trend questions from 2008 are between Kosovo Albanians (n=996) and non-Serb minorities (n=260) for a total sample size of 1,256 with a margin of error of  $\pm 2.8\%$ .

The **January 2010 IFES post-election survey** consisted of a nationally representative sample of 1,224 respondents representing the voting-age population in Kosovo (18 years+), including Kosovo Serbs. The margin of error was  $\pm 2.8\%$  within a 95% confidence interval. The sample covered all the administrative divisions of Kosovo, and the 1,224 observations were allocated proportionately at the national level.

---

<sup>1</sup> The K-Serb population was first stratified in two sub-universes, north of Ibar river and south of Ibar river, and further into four regions. The percentage of interviews per region are as follows: Northern (Mitrovica) (46%), Central (Pristina) (27%), Southern (Ferizaj) (11%), and South-Eastern (Gjilan) (16%).

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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### OPINIONS ON SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC SITUATION

- **Satisfaction with Overall Situation in Kosovo:** IFES Surveys have shown that Kosovo Albanian/non-Serb minorities have grown increasingly dissatisfied since 2008. Thirty-nine percent of respondents in 2011 say they are somewhat or very satisfied with the overall situation in Kosovo, while 61% of respondents say they are somewhat or very dissatisfied. By ethnic group, Kosovo Serbs are more dissatisfied with the overall situation in Kosovo (80%) than Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities (61%). However, it is worth noting that Kosovo Serb satisfaction has increased slightly from the 2009 to 2010 survey: from 14% in 2010 to 20% this year.
- **Biggest Problems Facing Kosovo:** Unemployment is identified as the biggest problem facing Kosovo. This concern is the same across ethnic groups, and was also identified as the primary concern in IFES' 2008 and 2010 surveys. Additionally, general economic problems and poverty were identified as concerns for all ethnic groups. Kosovo-Serbs and Kosovo-Albanians differed in responses when identifying other problems in Kosovo: Kosovo-Serbs identify general political problems at triple the percentage of Kosovo-Albanians (39% and 13%, respectively), and lack of security and fear at nine times the percentage of Kosovo-Albanians (27% and 3%, respectively). Poverty, general economic problems, and low salaries/pensions have been among the top five perceived biggest problems facing Kosovo since 2008. In 2011's survey corruption has joined this group and is cited as the fourth most-identified problem facing Kosovo – up from 5% of respondents in 2008 to 34% in 2011.
- **Kosovo Moving toward Economic Prosperity or Decline:** Pessimism also emerges when respondents are asked to predict whether Kosovo is on the path toward economic prosperity or decline. Nearly half of respondents (49%) see Kosovo on the path toward economic decline, one third see it on the path toward prosperity (31%), 11% see it on neither path, and 9% do not know. Sixty-two percent of respondents say they are dissatisfied with the economic situation and 78% of respondents say they are dissatisfied with the corruption in the country. Both of these dissatisfaction levels remain mostly unchanged from last year's data (59% dissatisfied and 76%, respectively), and there is little variation in opinion between ethnic groups.
- **Politics and Human Rights:** Over half of respondents (55%) are dissatisfied with political stability in Kosovo and only 29% are satisfied. In 2010, 36% of respondents said they were dissatisfied with political stability in Kosovo contrasted with 55% in 2011. In terms of respect for human rights, almost half of Kosovo Albanians (49%) and 60% of non-Serb minorities are satisfied with the respect for human rights, but 82% of Kosovo Serbs say they are dissatisfied. These percentages remain unchanged from 2010 data.
- **Support for Dialogue with Serbia:** There appears to be public support, across ethnic groups, for beginning this dialogue in order to normalize relations. Majorities of Kosovo-Albanians (54%), non-Serb minorities (77%), and Kosovo-Serbs (81%) feel it is very or somewhat important for this dialogue to occur.
- **Evaluation of International Assistance:** Asked whether international assistance has been positive or negative, a majority of respondents feel international assistance to Kosovo in the form of humanitarian assistance (71%), economic assistance (59%), and educational assistance (58%) has been definitely or mostly positive. Around half of respondents feel international assistance in the political (50%) and judicial/legal realm (46%) has been positive.

## ASSESSMENT OF DEMOCRACY AND KEY INSTITUTIONS

- **Meaning of Democracy:** When asked to pick five statements that define what democracy means to them, the top five definitions of democracy are protection of human rights (48%), fair and consistent enforcement of laws (45%), no official corruption (44%), freedom of speech (44%) and everyone has work (41%). The percentage who mentions no official corruption as a definition of democracy has increased from 26% in 2010 to 44% this year.
- **Perception of Kosovo as Democracy:** Majorities of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities view Kosovo as a democracy (57%), yet one quarter (27%) do not believe Kosovo is a democracy, 10% see it as having both democratic and non-democratic principles, and 7% do not know. In contrast, 90% of Kosovo Serbs do not believe Kosovo is a democracy, 4% view it as a democracy, 3% say it has tenets of both, and 4% do not know.

Of those who say Kosovo is not a democracy or both democratic and undemocratic, 52% believe the country is moving towards becoming a democracy, 41% do not believe it is moving in this direction, and 8% do not know.
- **Economic Development and Democratic Rights:** Forty-three percent of respondents agree more with the statement, *“It should be a priority for Kosovo to pursue economic development even if it means foregoing some democratic rights,”* 40% of respondents agree more that, *“Kosovo’s priority should be to maintain democratic rights even if this means the economy develops slowly,”* and 17% say they don’t know.
- **Voting as Influence on Government Decision-Making:** When asked whether *“Voting gives people like me a chance to influence decision-making in our country,”* only 40% of Kosovo Albanians strongly/somewhat agree, 39% of Kosovo Serbs agree, but 72% of non-Serb minorities agree. There has been a steady decline in the belief of the power of the vote amongst Kosovo Albanians from 81% in 2008 to 66% in 2010 and 40% in 2011. On the other hand, the percentage of non-Serb minorities agreeing that voting gives people to influence decision-making in their country has increased, while the percentage of Kosovo Serbs who agree has remained the same.
- **Confidence in Institutions:** Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minority respondents express a great deal or fair amount of confidence in four Kosovo institutions: the police (91%), media (81%), municipal assemblies (72%), and the Kosovo Assembly (61%). However, less than half of respondents have confidence in the courts (48%) and political party leaders (45%) (Figure 20). The confidence levels in institutions are nearly identical to 2010 data.

  - Respondents express a great deal or fair amount of confidence in four international institutions: Kosovo Force (KFOR) (91%), United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (65%), Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) (61%), and International Civilian Office (ICO) (55%), while 41% of respondents say they have confidence in European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX) and only 19% have confidence in United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).
  - Kosovo Serbs express less confidence in Kosovo institutions: 42% have confidence in the Kosovo Serb Assembly, 28% have confidence in the municipal assemblies, 24% have confidence in the police, and 23% have confidence in the media.

- **Awareness and Opinions on Central Election Commission:** Eighty percent of Kosovo Albanians have heard a fair amount or great deal about the Central Election Commission of Kosovo (CEC) as have 58% of non-Serb minorities, but only 14% of Kosovo Serbs have. Majorities of Kosovo Albanians (57%) and non-Serb minorities (74%) who are aware of the CEC say they have confidence in the CEC, while only 20% of Kosovo Serbs say they do. Nationwide, confidence in the CEC has increased to 57% this year from 47% in 2010.
- **Responsiveness of National and Local Elected Officials:** The data shows that 71% of respondents believe *nationally* elected officials are mostly non-responsive: respondents say national officials never respond to citizens of Kosovo (33%), rarely (22%), or they only help before elections (16%). Twenty-two percent believe elected officials respond some of the time (20%) or all the time (2%).
  - Similarly, 64% of respondents believe their local elected officials mostly non-responsive: respondents say they never respond to citizens in their area (26%), rarely (24%), or they only help before elections (14%). Still, 29% believe local officials respond some of the time (24%) or all of the time (5%)—slightly more than the perceived responsiveness of national officials.

## DECEMBER 2010 KOSOVO ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

- **Visibility and Usefulness of Election Public Information Sources:** TV ads were by far the most visible source for information of voting-age adults (91%) for the December 2010 elections and were found to be the most useful source of information (according to 87% of those who saw TV ads).
- **Organization of Elections:** Most respondents feel the December 2010 elections were very well or well organized (62%). While only 14% of Kosovo Serbs agree, it is worth noting that 62% of Kosovo Serbs say they don't know.
  - Public opinion is more critical of the organization of elections than in previous years. Sixty-two percent agree the 2010 elections were well organized, compared to 75% who said the 2009 elections were well organized, and 85% who said the 2007 elections were well organized.
- **Fairness of Elections:** The perception of the elections as free/fair has been declining since 2007; a similar decline as seen in the data above on the perceived organization of the elections. Sixty-four percent of respondents feel the December 2010 elections were free and fair. This compares to 80% of respondents who felt the 2009 elections were free and fair and 91% felt the 2007 elections were free and fair.
- **Evaluation of Electoral Process:** When read a series of statements, majorities of respondents agree their vote was kept confidential by election authorities in Kosovo (80%), the presence of international observers had a positive effect on the legitimacy of the elections (68%), the election was competently administered (58%), the presence of non-partisan domestic observers had a positive effect on the legitimacy of the elections (58%), the results of the election accurately reflected the way people voted (57%), the presence of political party observers had a positive effect on the legitimacy of the elections (54%), and Kosovo's electoral system provided adequate means to challenge electoral violations that may have occurred in this election (51%). These percentages do not greatly vary from the 2010 data.
  - Respondents are also very/somewhat satisfied with various procedural aspects of the electoral process, such as information on where and when to vote (86%), information on voting procedures and how to mark the ballots (84%), performance of the police and security officials in providing security for the elections (80%), adequacy of the facilities and equipment at the polling



stations (79%), voter registration process (72%), competency of the polling station commissioners (70%), and impartiality of the polling station commissioners (63%). Less than half of respondents are very/somewhat satisfied with the impartiality in counting of results at polling station (47%) and impartiality in the tabulation and announcement of results (44%), however, 34% and 38% say they don't know.

- **Media Coverage of Elections:** While media coverage surrounding the elections was viewed to be informative with 87% of respondents saying it was very (56%) or somewhat (31%) informative, there is a lack of clarity on what proportion of the media is unbiased. One quarter of respondents believe *all* of the media is unbiased, 30% believe *most* of the media is unbiased, 20% believe *some* media is unbiased, 3% say *none* are unbiased, and 21% say they do not know.
- **Ease of Voting:** A majority of voters (98%) say finding the appropriate polling center was easy, and it was easy to understand and follow the procedures at the polling station. Ninety-six percent of voters also say it was very or somewhat easy to follow the procedures at the polling station. Voters also found the lists of parties and candidates easily understandable (82%) or somewhat understandable (15%) and found marking their ballot very easy (82%) or somewhat easy (15%).

## PRE-ELECTION PUBLIC INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS

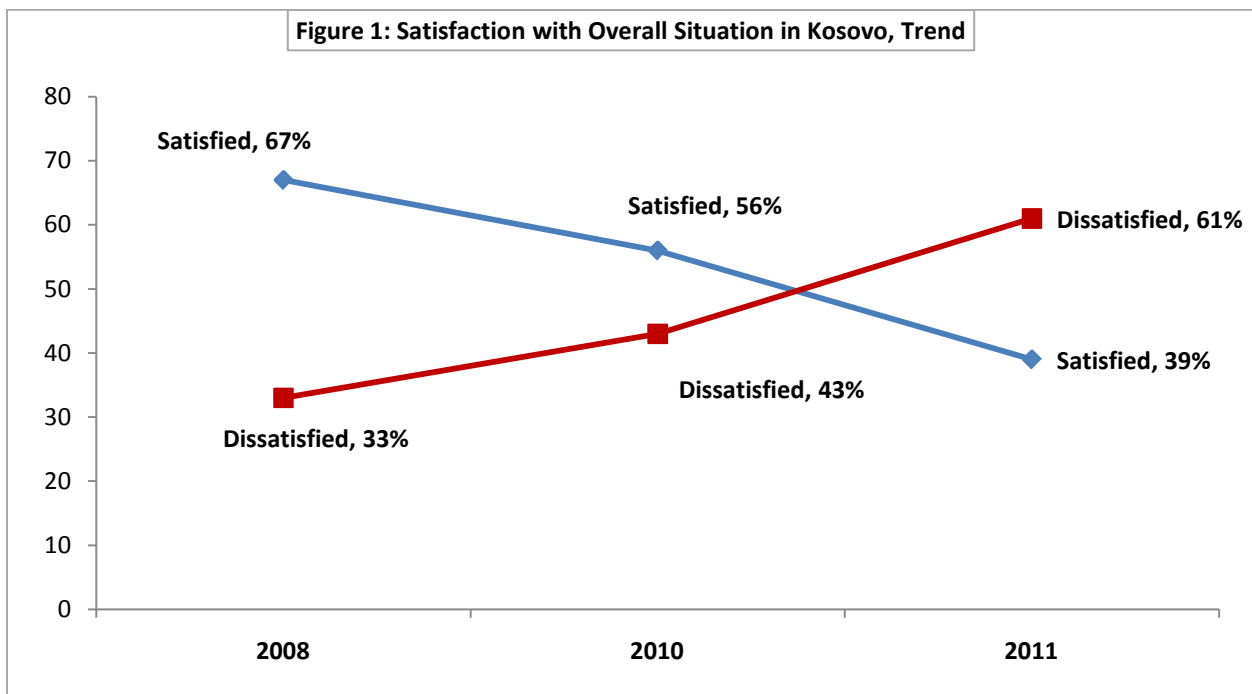
- **Election Information Campaigns:** Sixty percent of voters in Kosovo say they saw some sort of informational campaign telling people how to vote and where to vote. This compares to 25% of Kosovo Serbs who report seeing information of this type. Those who had seen the information campaign characterize the information provided in the campaign as being useful to them. Three quarters (76%) of all respondents who saw information campaigns believe the information increased their knowledge about elections, 82% believe the information helped them understand the overall voting procedures, and 82% believe the information helped them understand how to mark the ballot.
- **Get Out the Vote Campaigns:** Fewer people report seeing the motivational campaigns encouraging people to vote (38%). Of those who saw the campaigns and those who also report voting, 33% say it had an influence on their decision to vote.

## OPINIONS ON SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC SITUATION

### SATISFACTION WITH SITUATION IN KOSOVO

Three years after Independence, more people are now dissatisfied with the overall situation in Kosovo than are satisfied. Thirty-nine percent of respondents say they are somewhat or very satisfied with the overall situation in Kosovo, while 61% of respondents say they are somewhat or very dissatisfied (Figure 1). This is a notable decline since 2008, when 67% of respondents were satisfied and only 33% dissatisfied. It should be noted that 2008 survey was fielded immediately prior to the declaration of Independence, generally considered a time of great optimism and high expectations. Nevertheless, there has been a thirty percentage point drop in satisfaction in only three years.

By ethnic group, Kosovo Serbs are even more dissatisfied with the overall situation in Kosovo than Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities (80% and 61%, respectively). However, while Kosovo Serb satisfaction with the overall situation in Kosovo remains low, it has increased slightly from 14% in 2010 to 20% in 2011.



Despite this majority dissatisfaction with the overall situation, four in ten respondents are optimistic the overall situation in Kosovo will be better one year from now (41%), 17% think it will be worse than it is now, and 37% think it will be the same.

Unemployment is again identified as the biggest problem facing Kosovo by all ethnic groups. General economic problems and poverty are also among the top concerns regardless of ethnic group. Kosovo-Serbs identify general political problems at triple the percentage of Kosovo-Albanians (39% and 13%, respectively) and lack of security and fear at nine times the percentage of Kosovo-Albanians (27% and 3%, respectively). At the same time, the percentage of Kosovo-Serbs identifying lack of security and fear has decreased from 50% in 2010 to 27% (Figure 2).

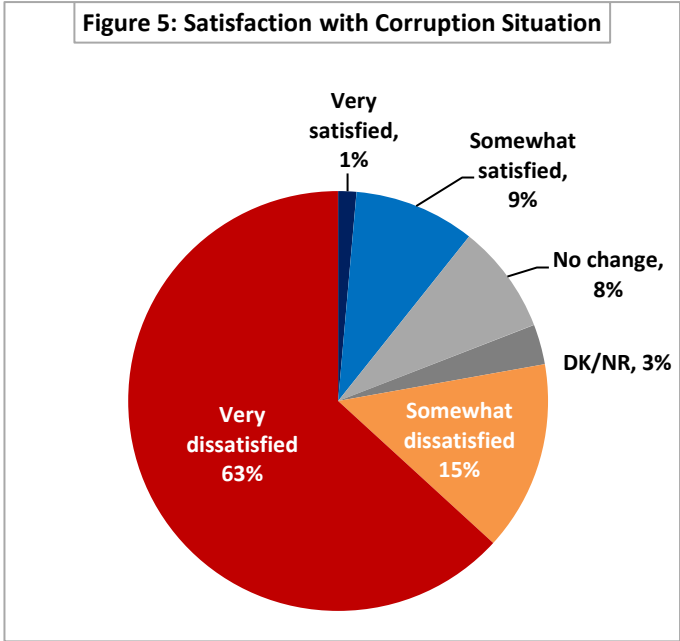
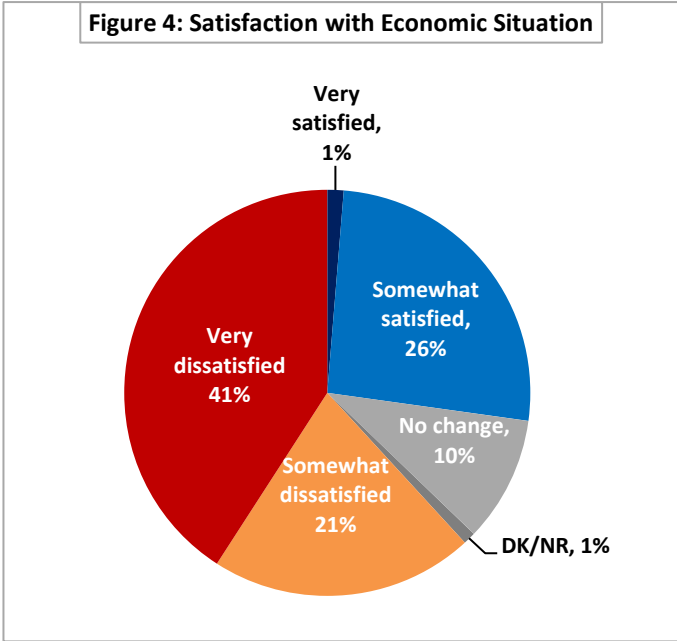
Figure 2: [Of those dissatisfied] <i>“In your opinion, what are the biggest problems Kosovo faces today—that is, the problems which are of most concern to you?”</i>	ALL KOSOVO (n=1,224)	K- Albanians (n=530)	Non-Serb minorities (n=61)	K-Serbs (n=166)
<b>Unemployment</b>	<b>92%</b>	<b>92%</b>	<b>94%</b>	<b>62%</b>
Poverty	50%	49%	69%	29%
General economic problems	37%	37%	42%	42%
Corruption	34%	35%	10%	16%
Low salaries/pensions	22%	22%	21%	25%
Healthcare system	13%	13%	14%	2%
<b>General political problems</b>	13%	13%	4%	<b>39%</b>
Dissatisfaction with legal/judicial system	6%	6%	6%	22%
Infrastructure	3%	3%	16%	7%
Education system	4%	4%	2%	Less than 1%
Privatization	4%	4%	Less than 1%	1%
Discrimination	1%	1%	2%	4%
Lack of security/fear	3%	3%	6%	27%

Looking at data from 2008, 2010, and 2011, economic problems tend to dominate the concerns of citizens. Fifty-nine percent of respondents describe the economic situation in Kosovo as somewhat (24%) or very bad (35%). Only 2% believe the economic situation is very good, 36% think it is somewhat good, 3% say it is neither good nor bad, and 2% don't know. Economic pessimism also emerges when respondents are asked to predict whether Kosovo is on the path toward economic prosperity or decline. Nearly half of respondents (49%) see Kosovo on the path toward economic decline, one third see it on the path toward prosperity (31%), 11% see it on neither path, and 9% do not know.

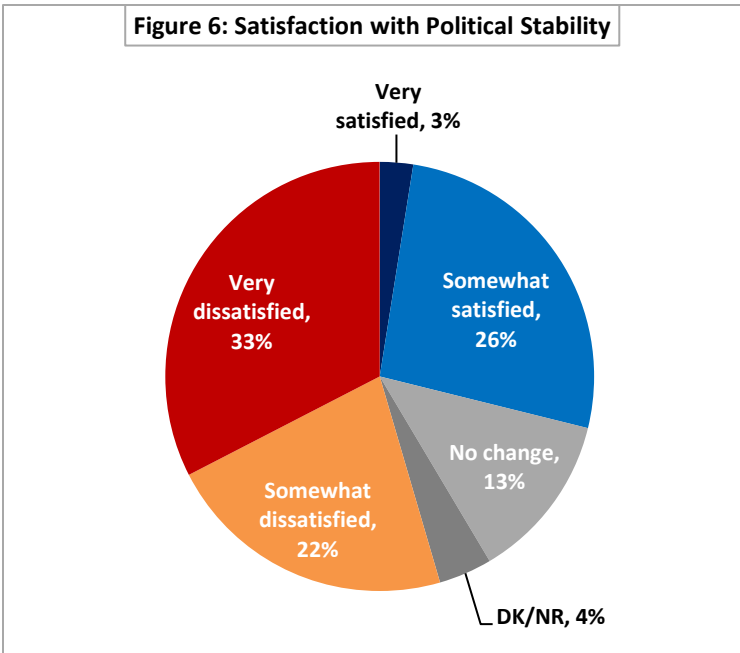
In 2011 corruption has emerged as a leading concern, with 34% of respondents citing it as a problem. Only 5% saw corruption as a problem in 2008. The undefined political status of the territory is now viewed as less of a problem, shown by a decrease from 42% in 2008 to 4% in 2011. Likewise, infrastructure is viewed to be less of a problem than in 2008, as exemplified by the decrease from 21% in 2008 to 3% in 2011 (Figure 3).

<b>Figure 3: [Of those dissatisfied] Biggest problems facing Kosovo, Trend</b>	<b>2008 % of cases</b>	<b>2010 % of cases</b>	<b>2011 % of cases</b>	<b>Rankings of 2011 Data</b>
<b>Unemployment</b>	<b>87%</b>	<b>91%</b>	<b>92%</b>	<b>1</b>
Poverty	50%	48%	50%	<b>2</b>
Undefined political status of territory	42%	2%	4%	10
General economic problems	39%	29%	37%	<b>3</b>
Low salaries/Pensions	24%	23%	22%	<b>5</b>
<b>Infrastructure</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>3%</b>	12
Healthcare	n/a	19%	13%	6
General political problems	8%	5%	13%	7
Dissatisfaction with legal/judicial system	7%	12%	6%	8
Lack of security/Fear	7%	3%	3%	12
<b>Corruption</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>34%</b>	<b>4</b>
Privatization	4%	5%	4%	9
Education system	n/a	6%	4%	11
Discrimination	3%	4%	1%	13

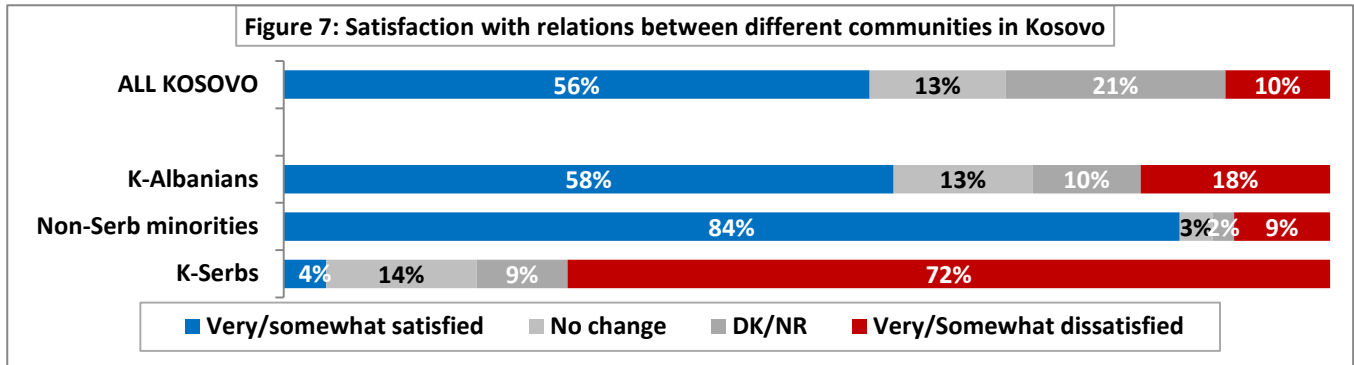
Public dissatisfaction with the economic and political situation and corruption in the country is visible in other findings as well. Sixty-two percent of respondents say they are dissatisfied with the economic situation (Figure 4) and 78% of respondents say they are dissatisfied with the corruption in the country (Figure 5). Such sentiments remain mostly unchanged from last year’s data (59% dissatisfied and 76%, respectively) and there is little variation in opinion between ethnic groups.



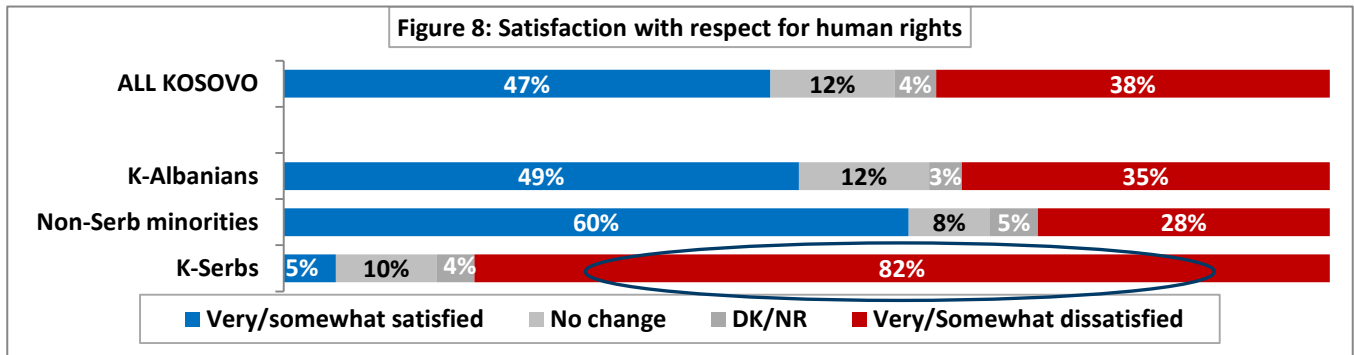
Over half of respondents (55%) are dissatisfied with political stability in Kosovo and only 29% are satisfied (Figure 6). Again, there is little variation between ethnic groups. Dissatisfaction with the degree of political stability has increased from 36% in 2010.



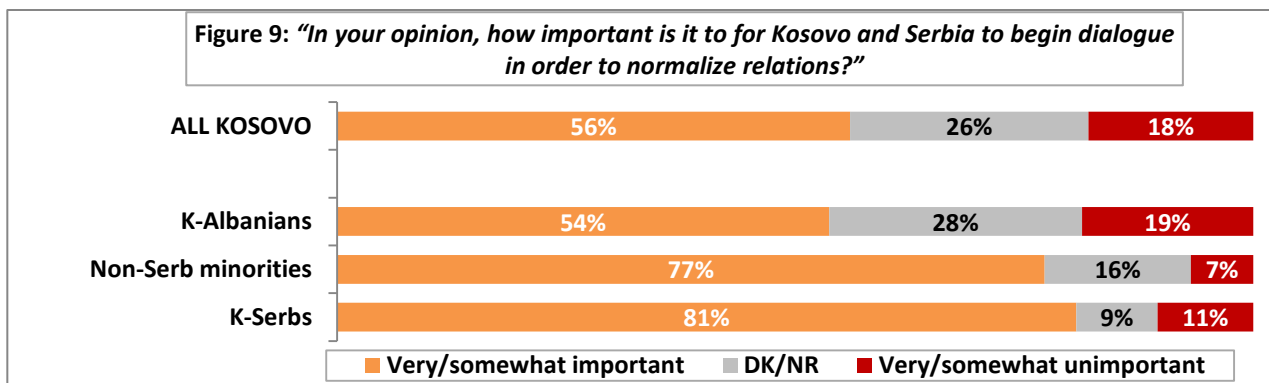
National figures show about half of respondents are satisfied with relations between different communities and respect for human rights, but opinions vary by ethnic groups. While 58% of Kosovo Albanians and 84% of non-Serb minorities are satisfied with relations between different communities in Kosovo, 72% of Kosovo Serbs are dissatisfied. The same percentage of Kosovo Albanians are satisfied with relations between different communities in Kosovo as last year and a higher percentage of non-Serb minorities say they are satisfied this year (84%) than last year (63%) (Figure 7).



In terms of respect for human rights, almost half of Kosovo Albanians (49%) and 60% of non-Serb minorities are satisfied with the respect for human rights, but 82% of Kosovo Serbs say they are dissatisfied (Figure 8). These percentages remain unchanged from 2010 data.

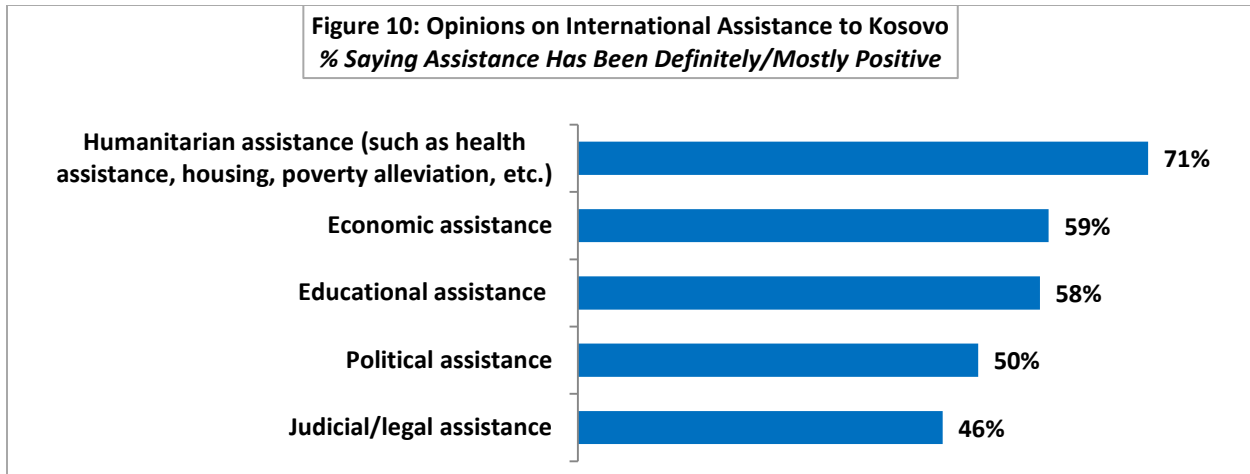


With reference to the September 2010 UN resolution calling for dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia, the survey findings show that there is a majority of public support across ethnic groups for beginning this dialogue in order to normalize relations. Majorities of Kosovo-Albanians (54%), non-Serb minorities (77%), and Kosovo-Serbs (81%) feel it is very or somewhat important for this dialogue to occur (Figure 9).



Among those who feel the dialogue is important, the reasons given vary: to resolve the issue of missing persons (23%); to determine Kosovo’s status (12%); to resolve the issue of Mitrovica (12%); for Serbia to recognize Kosovo as a state (11%), just for the sake of holding dialogue (9%); for borders to be set (8%); and for the good of the country (6%). Those who feel the dialogue is unimportant cite lingering feelings of suffering because of Serbia (40%), the feeling that Serbia will only talk about their interests (11%), or the belief that it won’t accomplish anything (2%).

Respondents were asked to evaluate how positive or negative they believe different forms of international assistance to Kosovo has been. A majority of respondents feel international assistance to Kosovo in the form of humanitarian assistance (71%), economic assistance (59%), and educational assistance (58%) has been definitely or mostly positive. Around half of respondents feel international assistance in the political (50%) and judicial/legal realm (46%) has been positive (Figure 10).



When asked in what timeframe the international community should reduce its role in these five areas of assistance, respondents are split between believing the international community should reduce its role in 1-4 years or five years or longer, with fewer respondents saying the international community should reduce its role immediately. About half of all respondents feel the international community should reduce its role in Kosovo within 4 years in political, judicial/legal and educational spheres; about one-fifth (19-20%) feel it should occur immediately. Receptivity to continued assistance is greatest in humanitarian affairs, with only 42% of respondents believing the international community should reduce its efforts within 4 years. For all types of assistance, about one-fifth of respondents were unable to answer definitively.

## ASSESSMENT OF DEMOCRACY AND KEY INSTITUTIONS

### MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

When asked to pick five statements that define what democracy means to them, the top five definitions of democracy are protection of human rights (48%), fair and consistent enforcement of laws (45%), no official corruption (44%), freedom of speech (44%) and everyone has work (41%) (Figure 11). The percentage who mentions no official corruption as a definition of democracy has increased from 26% in 2010 to 44% in 2011. This increase likely shows both that Kosovo citizens are increasingly associating the absence of corruption with a democratic society, and corruption as a growing problem in Kosovo (see aforementioned data).

Ranking	Figure 11: "Listed on this card are several statements. Please pick any statement or statements that you think accurately define what a democracy means to you. You can choose up to five responses."	% of Cases
1.	Protection of human rights	48%
2.	Fair and consistent enforcement of laws	45%
3.	No official corruption	44%
4.	Freedom of speech	44%
5.	Everyone has work	41%
6.	Freedom to vote	34%
7.	Freedom of association	32%
8.	Freedom of press	20%
9.	Freedom of religion	20%
10.	All ethnic communities enjoy same rights	15%
11.	System of checks and balances between executive, legislative, and judicial branches	9%

All ethnic groups cite protection of human rights as the most-associated definition of democracy. Minority groups are more likely to prioritize "all ethnic groups enjoying the same rights" as a definition of democracy (Figures 12, 13, and 14). For non-Serb minorities, this is the fourth cited definition of democracy (Figure 12), for Kosovo Serbs it is the fifth (Figure 13), and for Kosovo Albanians it is the tenth (Figure 14).

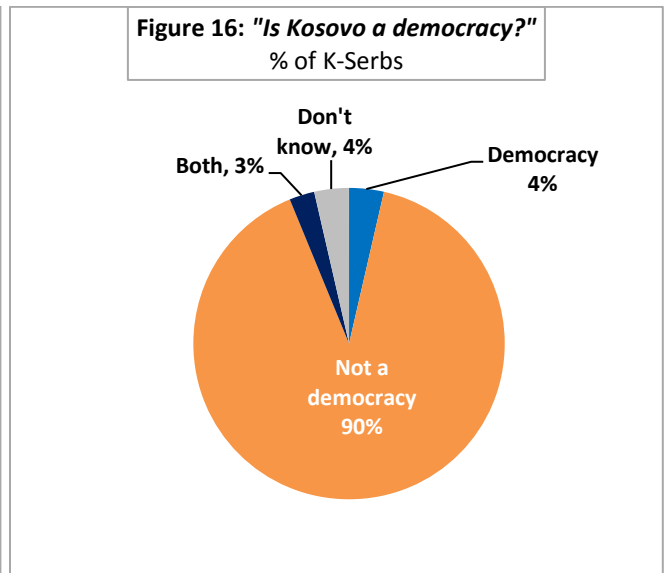
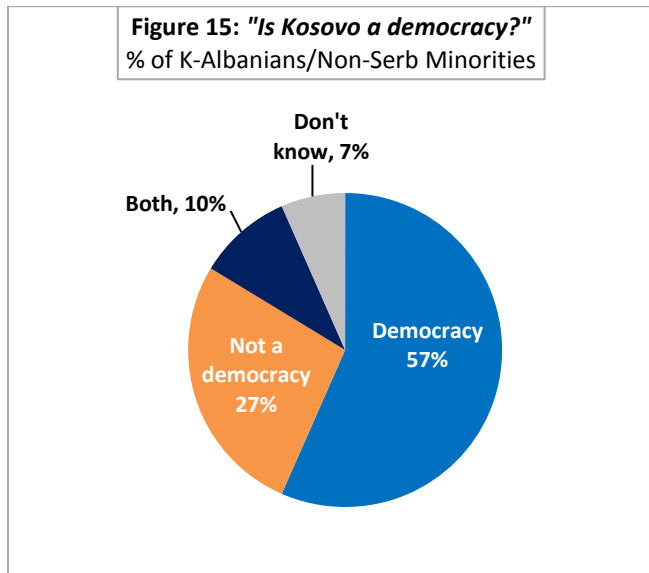


Figure 12: Top 5 Meanings of Democracy	Non-Serb Minorities % of Cases
1. Protection of human rights	57%
2. Everyone has work	50%
3. Freedom of association	41%
4. All ethnic communities enjoy the same rights	45%
5. Freedom of speech	39%

Figure 13: Top 5 Meanings of Democracy	K-Serbs % of Cases
1. Protection of human rights	77%
2. Freedom of speech	58%
3. Everyone has work	51%
4. Freedom to vote	47%
5. All ethnic communities enjoy the same rights	38%

Figure 14: Top 5 Meanings of Democracy	K-Albanians % of Cases
1. Protection of human rights	46%
2. No official corruption	46%
3. Fair and consistent enforcement of laws	46%
4. Freedom of speech	43%
5. Everyone has work	40%

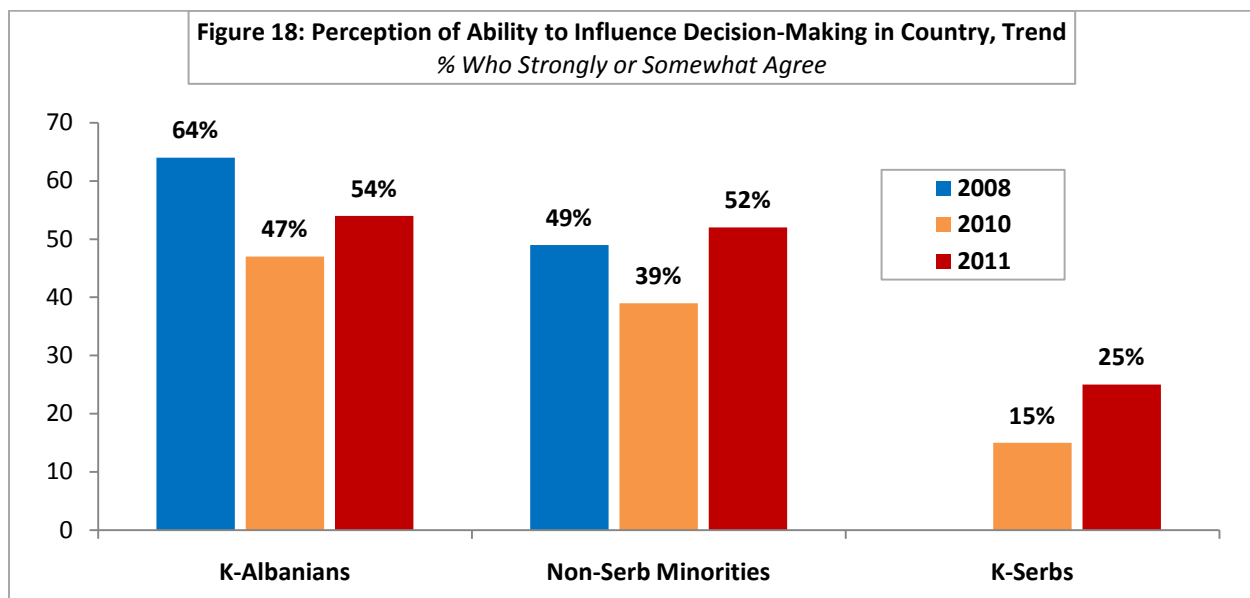
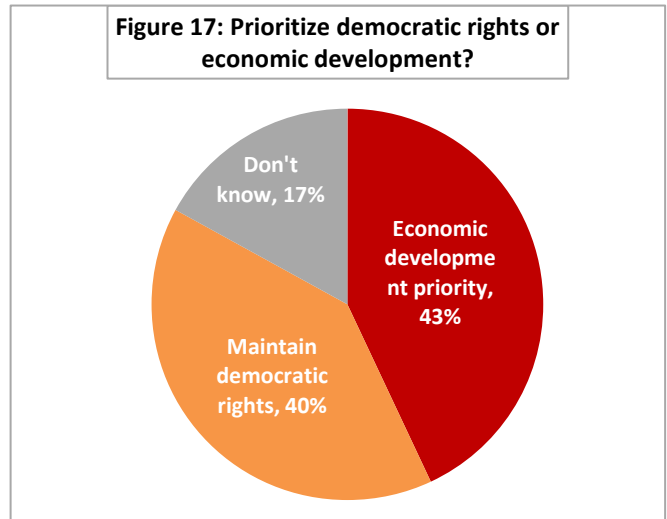
After defining what a democracy means to them, respondents were asked to say whether they believe Kosovo fulfills these democratic ideals or not. Majorities of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities view Kosovo as a democracy (57%), yet one quarter (27%) do not believe Kosovo is a democracy, 10% see it as having both democratic and non-democratic principles, and 7% do not know (Figure 15). In contrast, 90% of Kosovo Serbs do not believe Kosovo is a democracy, 4% view it as a democracy, 3% say it has tenets of both, and 4% do not know (Figure 16). The perception of Kosovo’s democratic status is mostly unchanged from the previous survey. Looking at this perception by age group, younger respondents aged 18-35 are more likely to say Kosovo is a democracy (58%) than respondents over age 65 (40%).



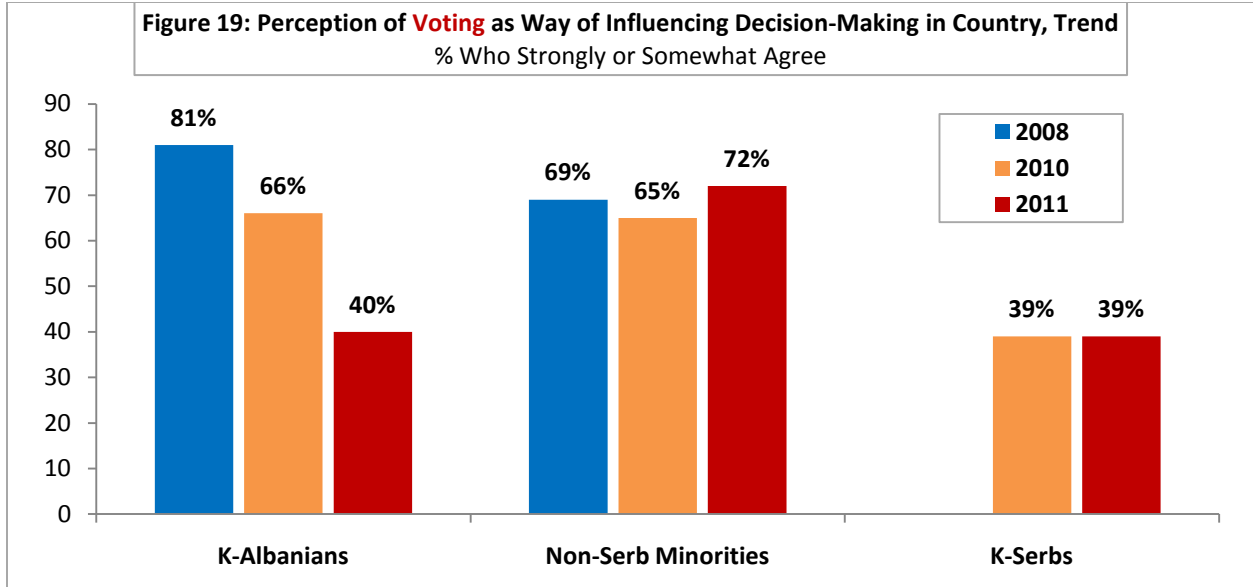
Of those who say Kosovo is not a democracy or both democratic and undemocratic, 52% believe the country is moving towards becoming a democracy, while 41% do not believe it is moving in this direction and 8% do not know.

Forty-three percent of respondents believe *it should be a priority for Kosovo to pursue economic development even if it means foregoing some democratic rights*. At the same time, 40% of respondents believe *Kosovo's priority should be to maintain democratic rights even if this means the economy develops slowly*, and 17% say they don't know.

Respondents were next asked two questions to gauge their perceived ability to influence the government. When asked to agree or disagree with the statement *"People like you can have influence on decisions made by the government,"* slightly over half of Kosovo Albanians (54%) and non-Serb minorities (52%) strongly/somewhat agree they can influence decisions made by the government, however only 25% of Kosovo Serbs agree. Since 2008, the perceived ability to influence government decisions has declined for Kosovo Albanians, but increased slightly for non-Serb minorities and Kosovo Serbs (Figure 18).



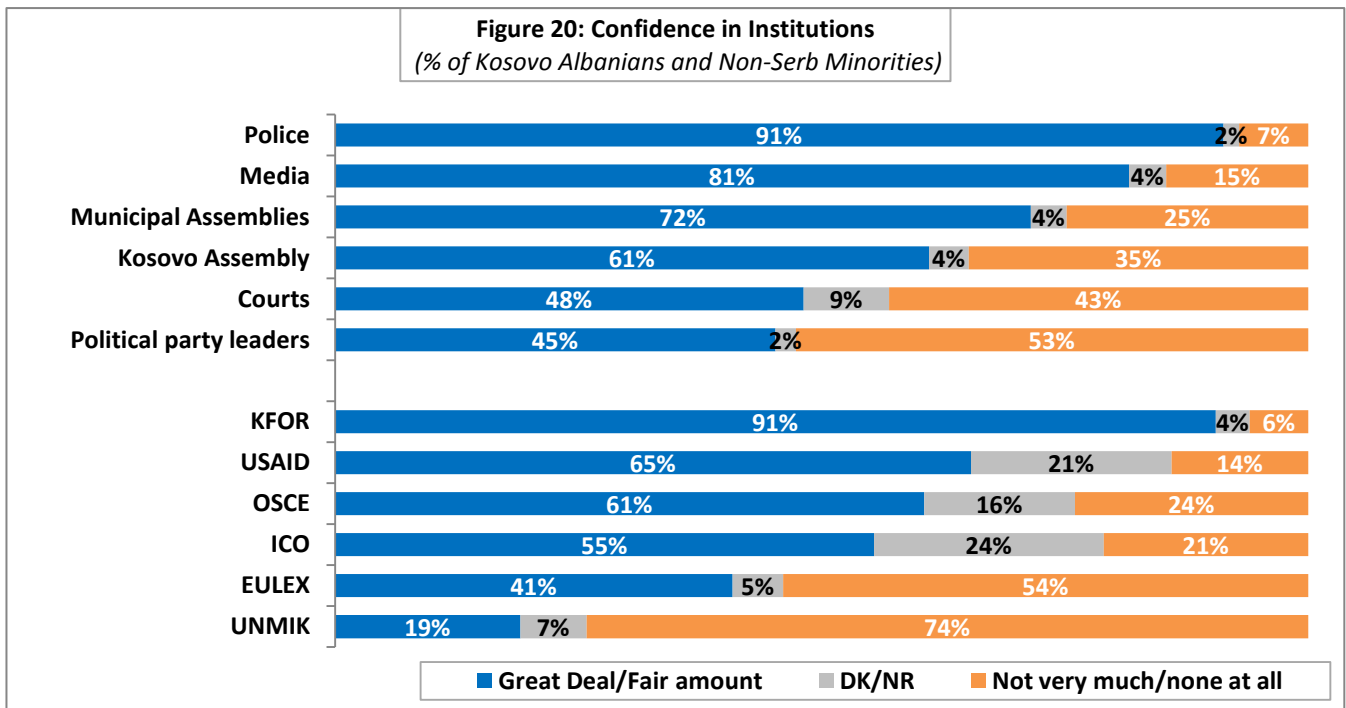
When asked whether *"Voting gives people like me a chance to influence decision-making in our country,"* only 40% of Kosovo Albanians strongly/somewhat agree, 39% of Kosovo Serbs agree, but 72% of non-Serb minorities agree. As with the decreased belief in the ability to influence government decision-making generally, there has been a steady decline in the belief of the power of the vote amongst Kosovo Albanians—from 81% in 2008 to 66% in 2010 and 40% in 2011. On the other hand, faith in voting's influence has increased slightly among non-Serb minorities, while the percentage of Kosovo Serbs who agree with this statement has remained the same since 2010 (Figure 19).



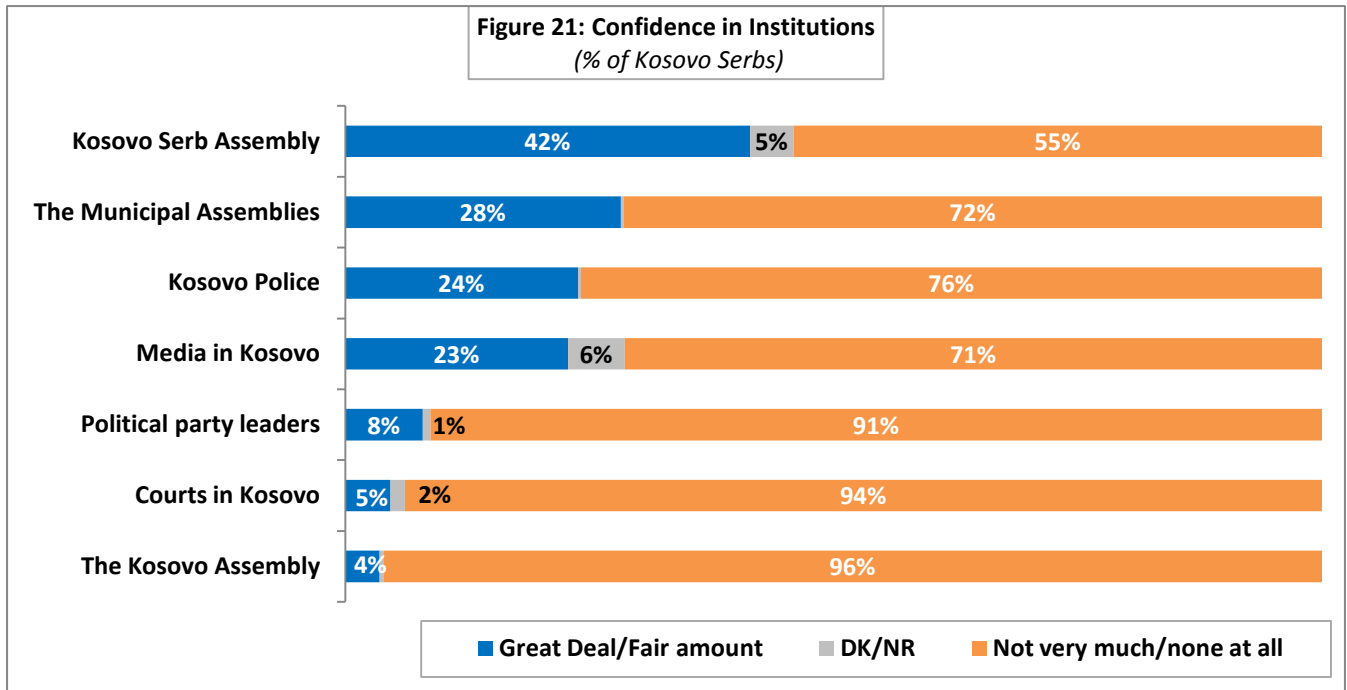
### CONFIDENCE IN INSTITUTIONS AND LEADERS

Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minority respondents express a great deal or fair amount of confidence in four Kosovo institutions: the police (91%), media (81%), municipal assemblies (72%), and the Kosovo Assembly (61%), but less than half of respondents have confidence in the courts (48%) and political party leaders (45%) (Figure 20). The confidence levels in institutions are nearly identical to 2010 data.

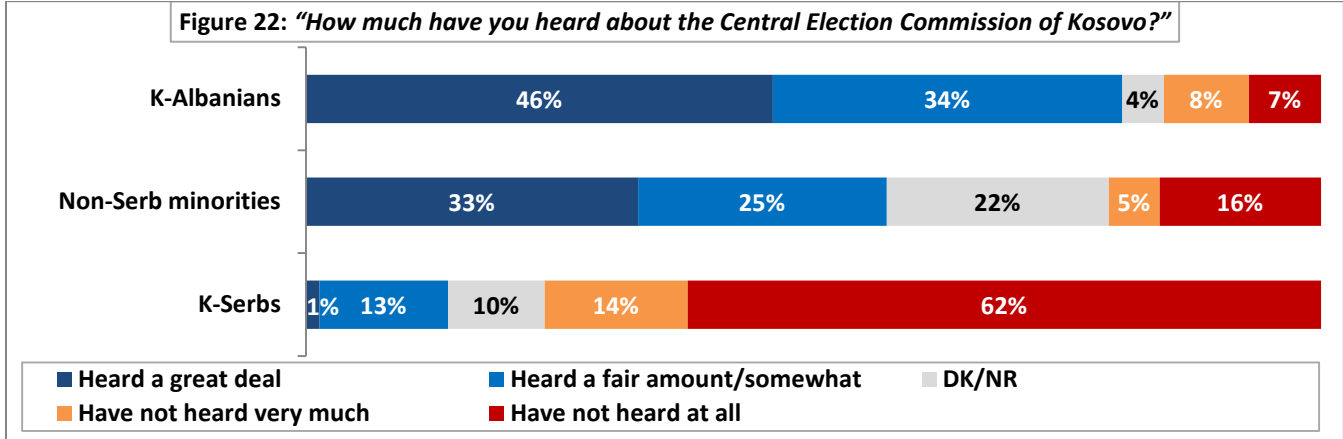
Respondents also express a great deal or fair amount of confidence in four international institutions: KFOR (91%), USAID (65%), OSCE (61%), and the ICO (55%), while 41% of respondents say they have confidence in EULEX and only 19% have confidence in UNMIK.



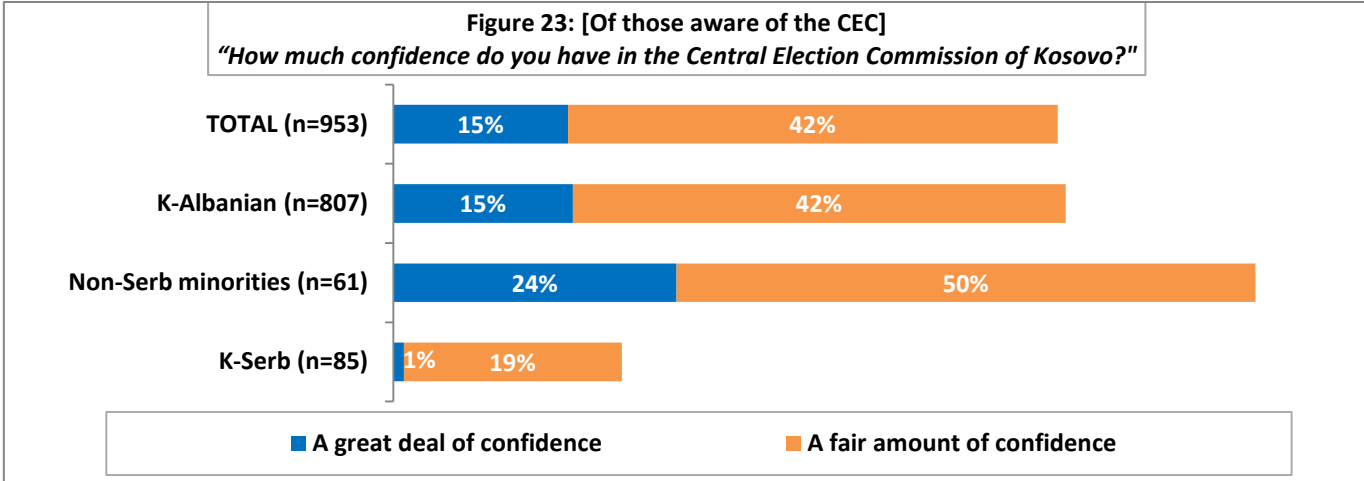
Kosovo Serbs express less confidence in Kosovo institutions, yet 42% have confidence in the Kosovo Serb Assembly, 28% have confidence in the municipal assemblies, 24% have confidence in the police, and 23% have confidence in the media (Figure 21).



In terms of electoral institutions, 80% of Kosovo Albanians, 58% of non-Serb minorities, and 14% of Kosovo Serbs have heard a great deal or fair amount about the Central Election Commission of Kosovo (CEC) (Figure 22).



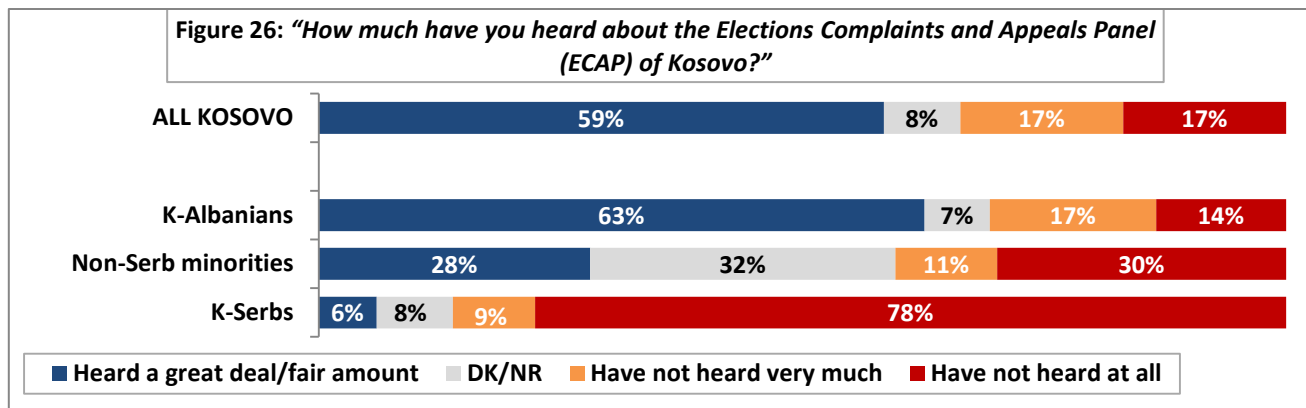
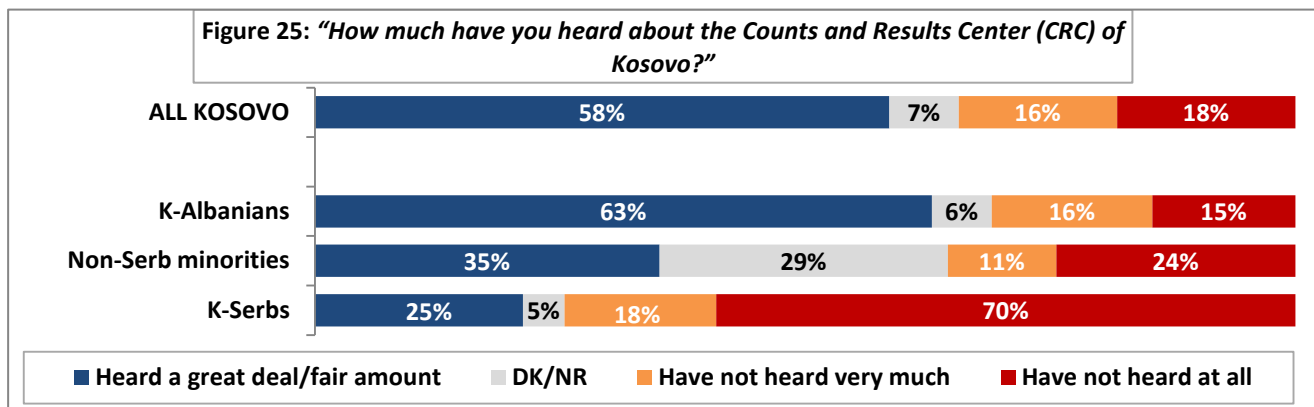
Confidence in the CEC has increased this year, up from 47% in 2010 to 57% in 2011. Majorities of Kosovo Albanians (57%) and non-Serb minorities (74%) who are aware of the CEC say they have confidence in the CEC, while only 20% of Kosovo Serbs say they do (Figure 23).



Reasons cited for lacking confidence in the CEC include perceived inaccuracies with election results (30%), perceived manipulations/government influence (28%), the belief the CEC is not working properly/not fair (20%), perceived influence of political parties (14%), perceived corruption in the CEC (14%), or a general distrust of the CEC (3%) (Figure 24).

In addition to the CEC, 59% of all citizens have heard of the CEC’s Count and Results Center (CRC) and the Election Complaints and Appeals Panel (ECAP), with respondent figures for non-Serb minorities and Kosovo Serbs substantially lower than that for Kosovo Albanians (Figures 25 and 26).

Figure 24: Why lack confidence in CEC? (% of those who said they had a fair amount, not much or no confidence)	% of Cases (n=352)
Inaccurate with results/Irregularities after elections	30%
Manipulations/deception/influenced by government	28%
Not working as it should/not fair	20%
Influenced by political parties	14%
Corruption	14%
General distrust of CEC	3%

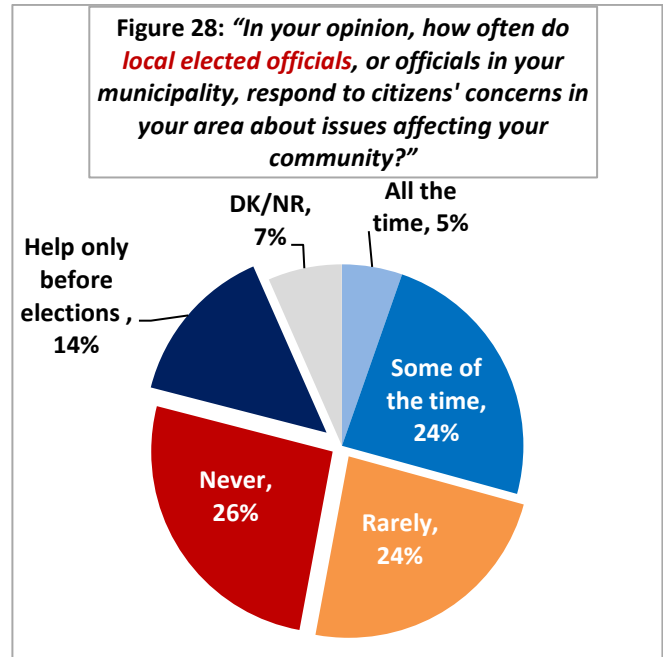
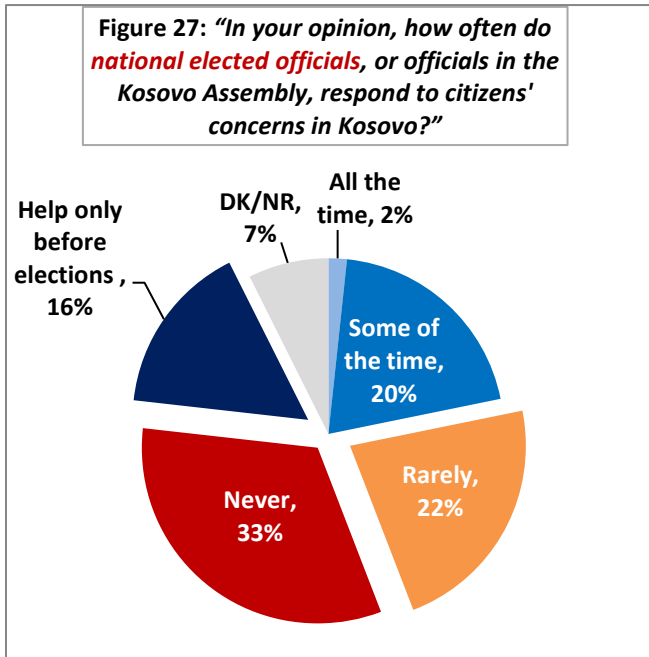


Majorities of respondents aware of CRC and ECAP express confidence in these institutions. Of those aware of the CRC, 58% of respondents have a great deal (10%) or fair amount (48%) of confidence in the CRC. Of those aware of ECAP, 57% of respondents have a great deal (13%) or fair amount (44%) of confidence in ECAP.

## RESPONSIVENESS OF NATIONAL AND LOCAL ELECTED OFFICIALS

An important aspect of a democratic system is the perception of how responsive citizens believe their elected officials are to constituents. Respondents were therefore asked how often they believe their national elected officials and local elected officials respond to citizens’ demands. Twenty-two percent of respondents believe elected officials respond some of the time (20%) or all the time (2%). Seventy-one percent of respondents believe *national* elected officials mostly non-responsive: respondents say national officials never (33%) or rarely (22%) respond to citizens of Kosovo, or they only help before elections (16%) (Figure 27).

Similarly, only 29% of those interviewed believe local officials respond some of the time (24%) or all of the time (5%)—slightly more than the perceived responsiveness of national officials. Sixty-four percent of respondents believe their **local** elected officials mostly non-responsive: respondents say they never (26%) or rarely (24%) respond to citizens in their area, or they only help before elections (14%) (Figure 28).

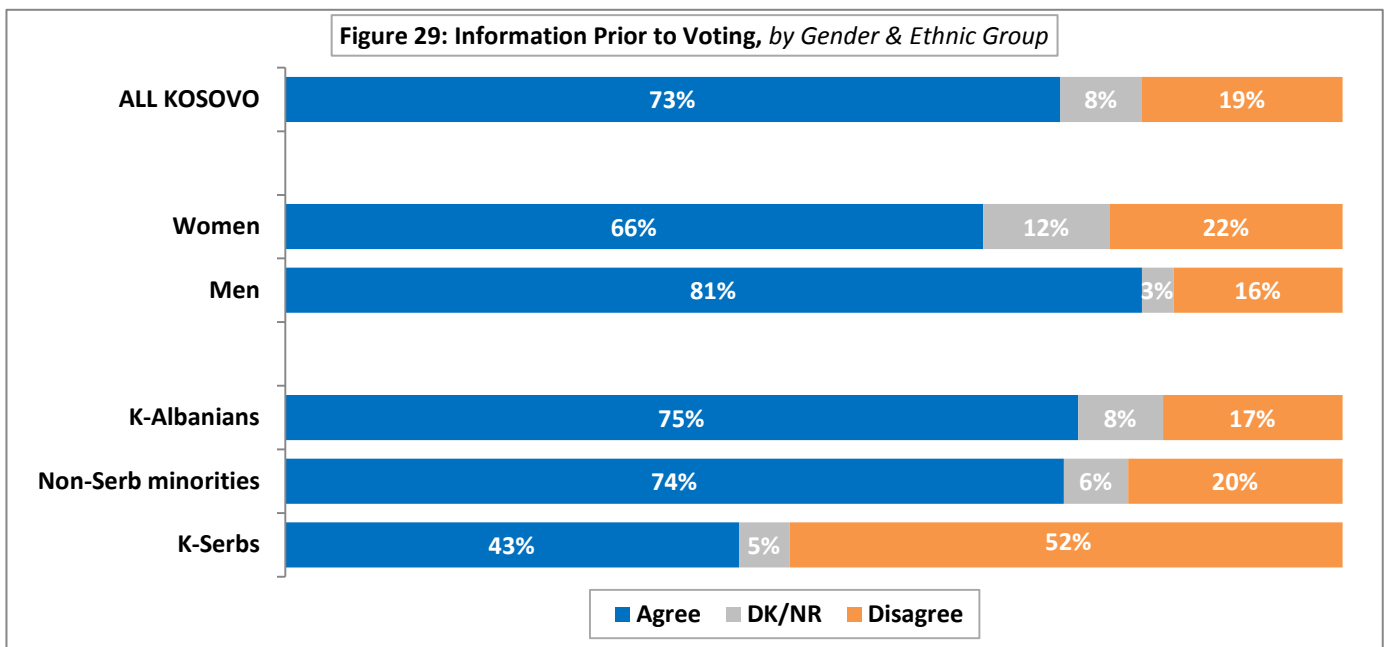


## DECEMBER 2010 KOSOVO ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

### INFORMATION SOURCES AND MEDIA

There is a moderate yet demonstrable level of interest in matters of politics and government. Half of respondents say they are very (13%) or somewhat (38%) interested, 28% say they are not too interested, and 21% say they are not at all interested. Women responded as less interested in politics than men (43% and 59%, respectively).

Most citizens feel they have enough information about political developments and candidates to make wise choices when voting in elections (73%), but men feel that they are more informed than women do (81% and 66%, respectively). These numbers are about the same as reported after the 2009 elections. By ethnic group, 75% of Kosovo Albanians and 74% of non-Serb minorities feel informed; compared to 43% of Kosovo Serbs (Figure 29). Additionally, those who report having voted in the 2010 elections overwhelmingly believe they had enough information to make informed decision when voting in these elections (93%).



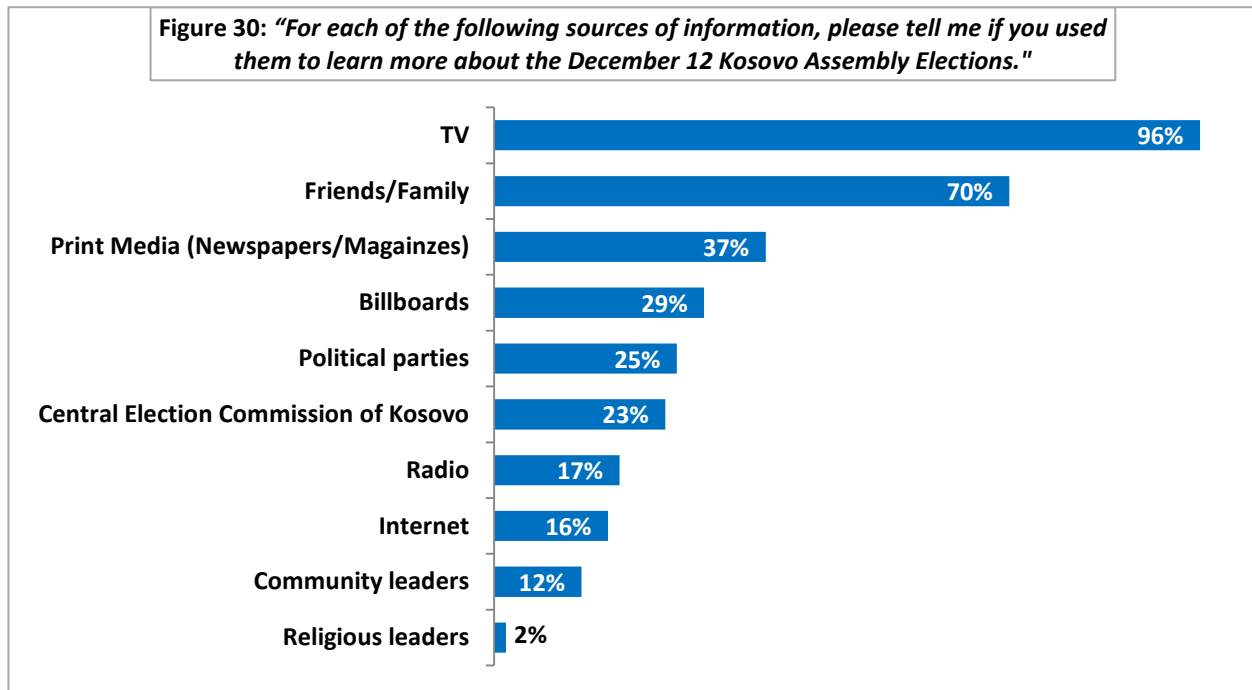
In terms of media, TV is the most-used source of information for political and other developments in Kosovo, with 96% of respondents saying they used TV in the past month for this type of information. The percentages of citizens who say they used each form of media in the past month and the most-used source within that category are as follows:

- TV 96% (53% of who view RTK)
- Newspapers 35% (47% of who read Koha Ditore)
- Magazines 3% (38% of who read Kosovarja)
- Radio 16% (27% of who listen to Dukagjini)
- Internet 14% (31% of who visit Telegrafi.com)

To learn more about the December 2010 Kosovo Assembly Elections specifically, most respondents say they actively consulted TV, friends and family, and print media (newspapers/magazines). Ninety-six percent say they viewed TV for



this information, 70% consulted family and friends, 37% relied on print media, 29% relied on billboards, 25% on political parties, and 23% on the CEC (Figure 30).



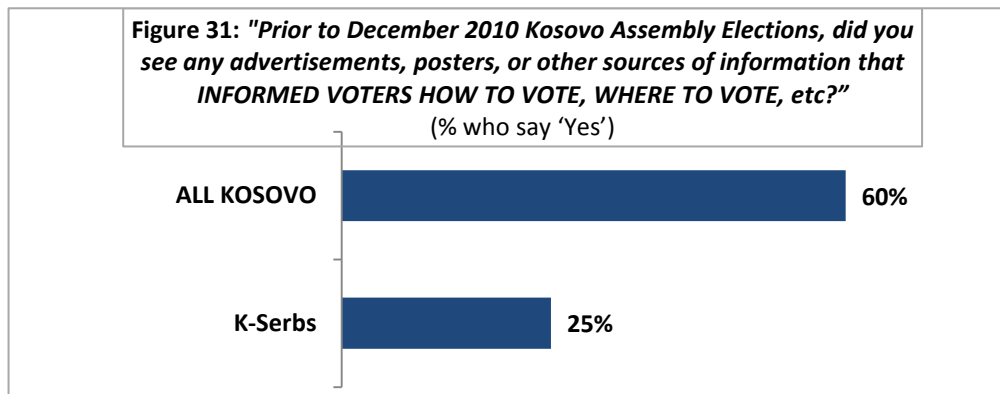
While media coverage surrounding the elections was viewed to be informative with 87% of respondents saying it was very (56%) or somewhat (31%) informative, there are some doubts on the impartiality of the media. Over half of all respondents believe that all or most of the media is unbiased, while just under a quarter of respondents believe only some (20%) or none (3%) of the media is unbiased. Twenty-one percent say they do not know.

Asked which particular sources they saw with information on the December 2010 elections, TV ads were the most visible source of information and the one rated most useful.

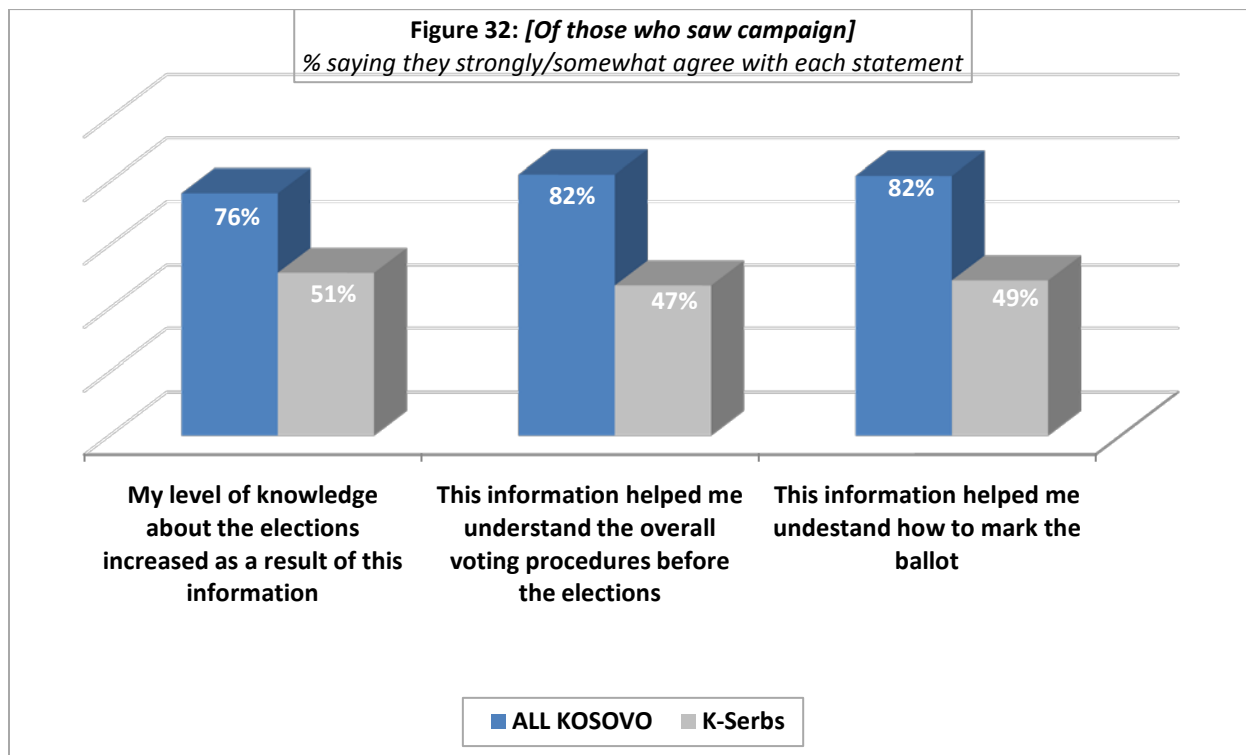
- Ninety-one percent of respondents saw **TV ads** and 87% of those who saw the TV ads found them useful.
- Thirty-six percent of respondents saw **posters** and 69% of those who saw the posters found them useful.
- Thirty-three percent of respondents saw **billboards** and 65% of those who saw billboards found them useful.
- Twenty-nine percent of respondents received **leaflets**, 82% of whom found them useful.
- Twenty-five percent of respondents saw **newspaper ads**, 78% of whom found them useful.
- Nineteen percent of respondents received an **SMS** on elections and 43% of recipients found it/them useful.
- Sixteen percent of respondents heard **radio spots** of election information. Of those who heard radio spots, 76% found them useful.
- Thirteen percent of respondents saw **newspaper inserts** and 71% of those who saw the inserts found them useful.
- Thirteen percent of respondents saw election information on the **internet**, 80% of whom found it useful.

## PRE-ELECTION PUBLIC INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS

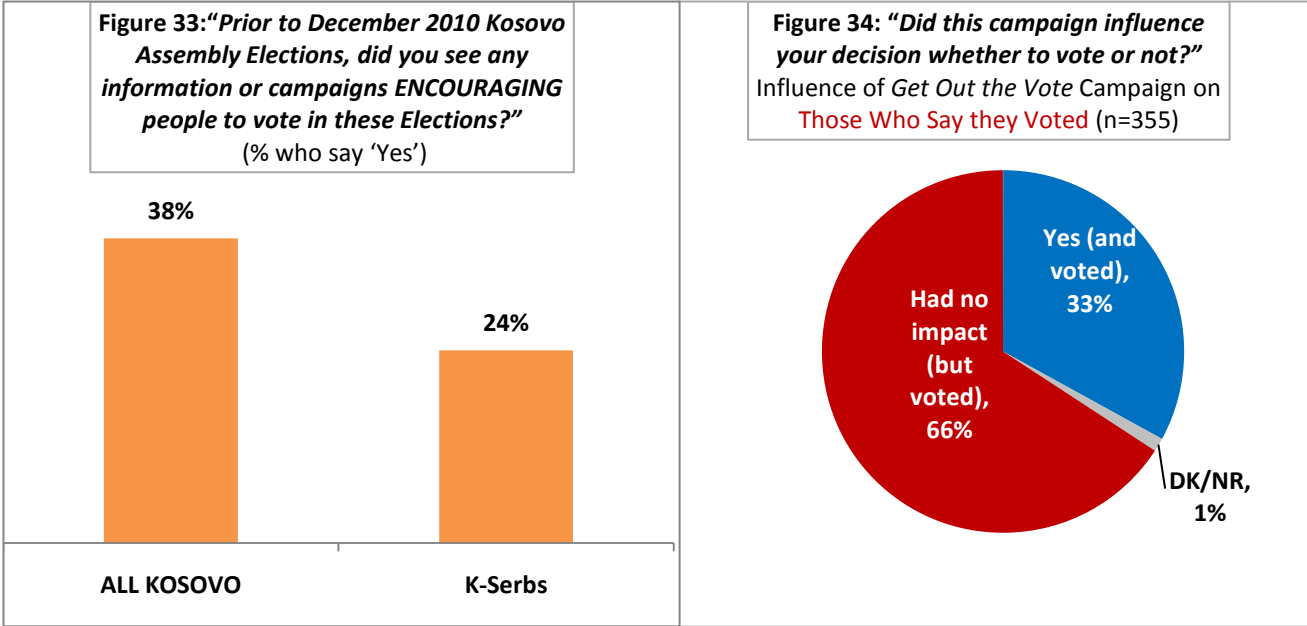
Sixty percent of voters in Kosovo say they saw some sort of informational campaign telling people how to vote and where to vote. This compares to 25% of Kosovo Serbs who report seeing information of this type (Figure 31). Of those who saw the information, 12% believe the Central Election Commission provided this information, 7% say political parties, 5% say Democracy in Action (or Demokracia në Veprim), but the majority of people do not know who provided this information (74%).



To try and assess the impact of these informational campaigns on voter knowledge, respondents were read a series of statements and asked to agree or disagree. The data shows three quarters (76%) of respondents who saw information campaigns believe the information increased their knowledge about elections, 82% believe the information helped them understand the overall voting procedures, and 82% believe the information helped them understand how to mark the ballot. Kosovo Serbs who saw the information campaigns are less enthusiastic about the impact it had on them, yet almost 50% agree with each statement (Figure 32).



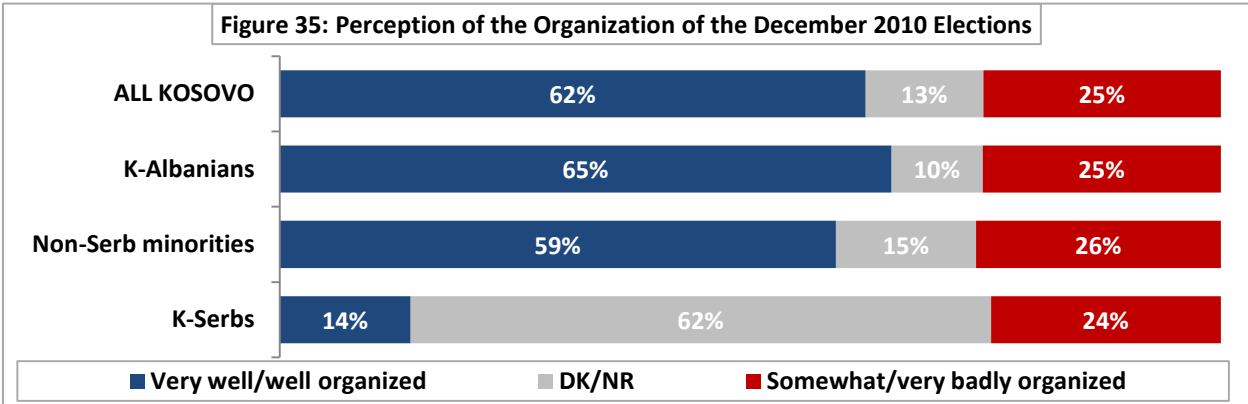
Fewer people report seeing the motivational campaigns encouraging people to vote: 38% of all respondents and 24% of Kosovo Serbs say they saw these campaigns (Figure 33). Of those who saw the campaigns and those who also report voting, 33% say it had an influence on their decision to vote, yet 66% say it had no impact (Figure 34).



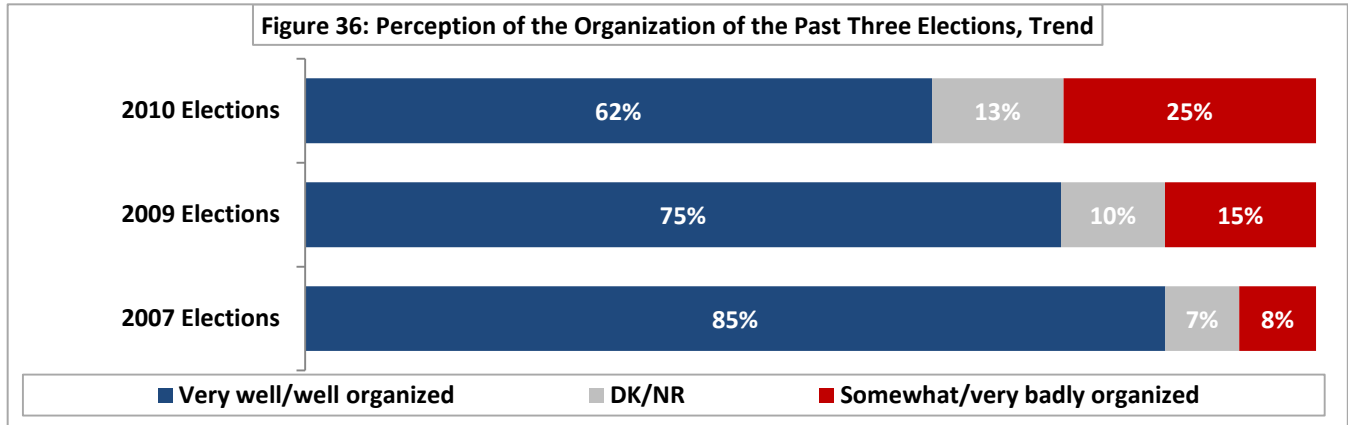
### OVERALL PERCEPTIONS OF THE DECEMBER 2010 ELECTIONS

Sixty-two percent of Kosovo citizens were at least somewhat or very interested in the December 2010 Kosovo Assembly elections; 34% were not too interested or not at all interested. Respondents were then asked to state why they were or were not interested in these elections. Some of the reasons stated for interest in the elections include: the belief it is one of the ways to improve their lives (49%), and because it is viewed as an obligation (12%). Thirty-six percent stated they were not interested in these elections because they don't believe they get anything from elections, 14% say they don't trust institutions, 6% believe votes were stolen, and 3% say they have lost the will to vote because they have voted so many times.

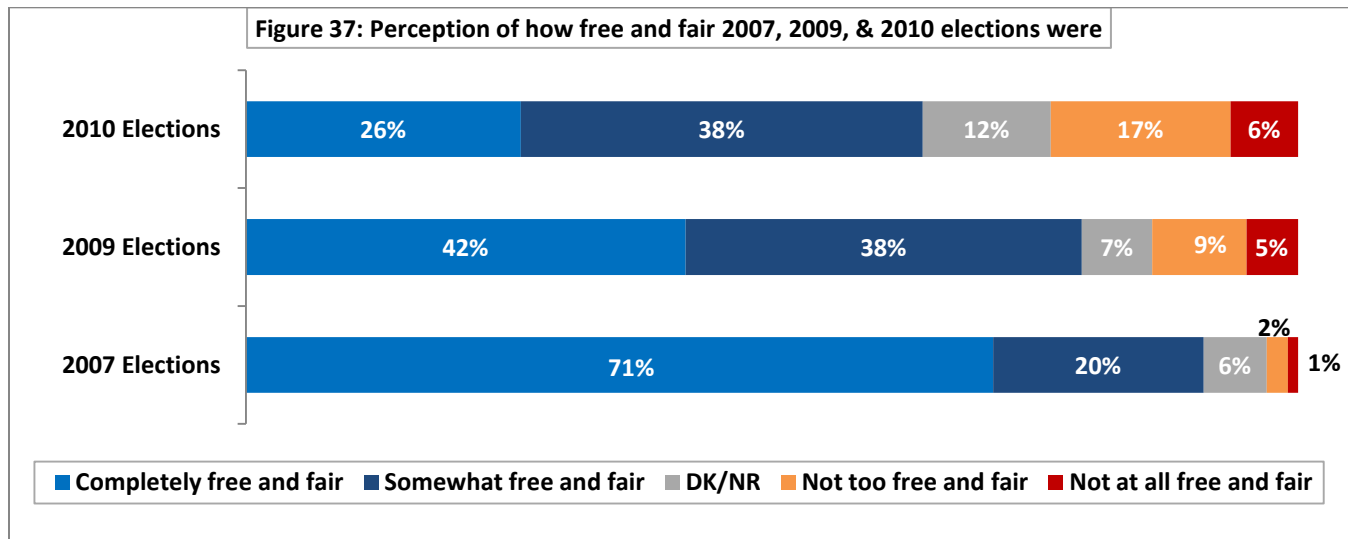
Most respondents feel the December 2010 elections were very well or well organized (62%). While only 14% of Kosovo Serbs agree, it is worth noting that 62% of Kosovo Serbs say they simply don't know (Figure 35). The percentage of respondents who feel the elections were somewhat or very badly organized almost identical across ethnic groups (from 24-26%).



The 2010 elections are perceived to be slightly less well organized than the 2009 and 2007 elections. Sixty-two percent agree the 2010 elections were well organized compared to 75% that said the 2009 elections were well organized, and 85% that said the 2007 elections were well organized in previous IFES Surveys (Figure 36). While this is a significant downward trend, the root cause is not clearly identifiable (see Conclusion).

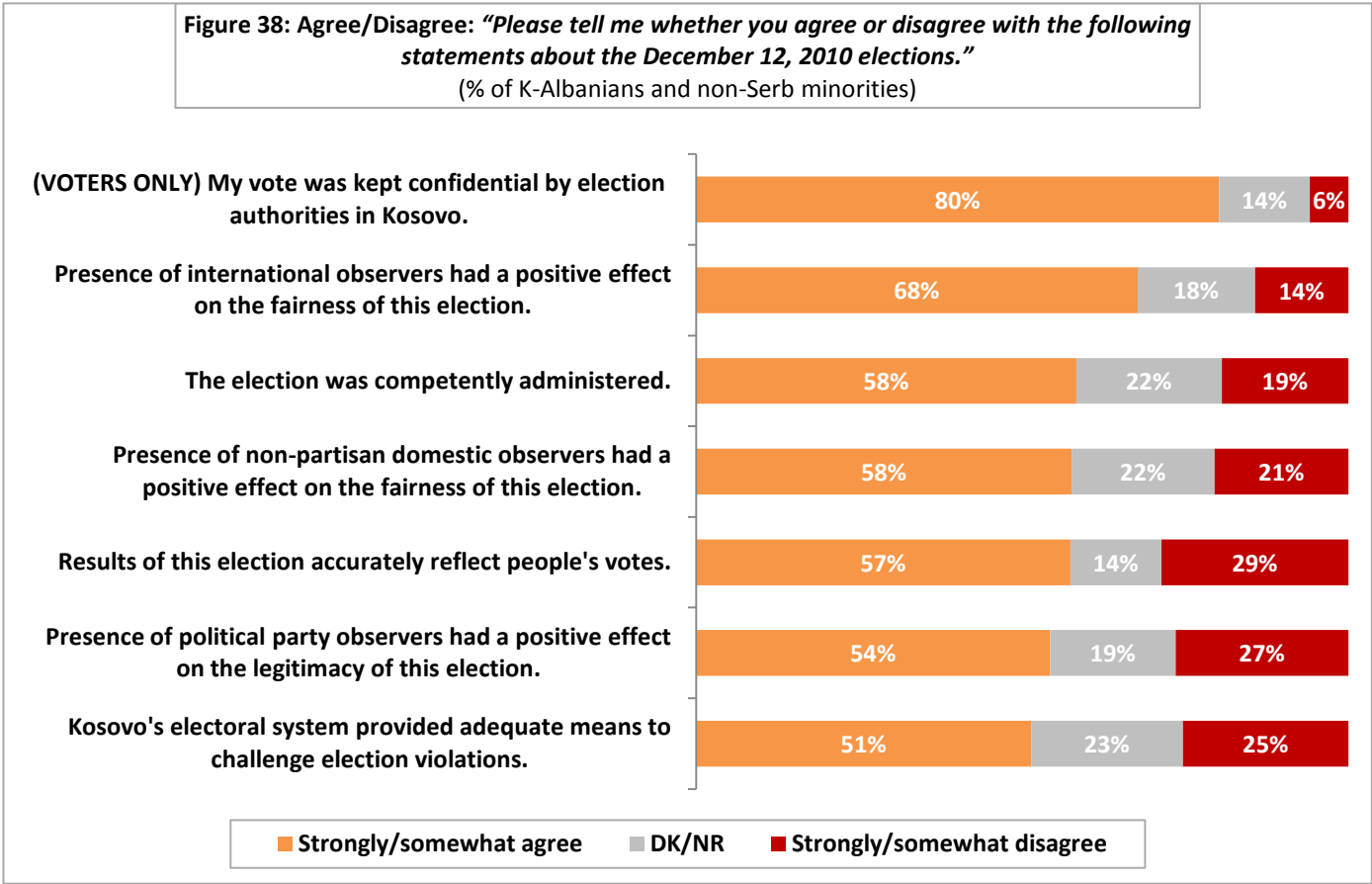


Similarly, sixty-four percent of Kosovo citizens feel the December 2010 elections were completely or somewhat free and fair. The perception of the elections as free/fair has been declining since the 2007 elections (Figure 37); a similar decline as seen in the data above on the perceived organization of elections. Again, there could be several conceivable reasons for this decline.

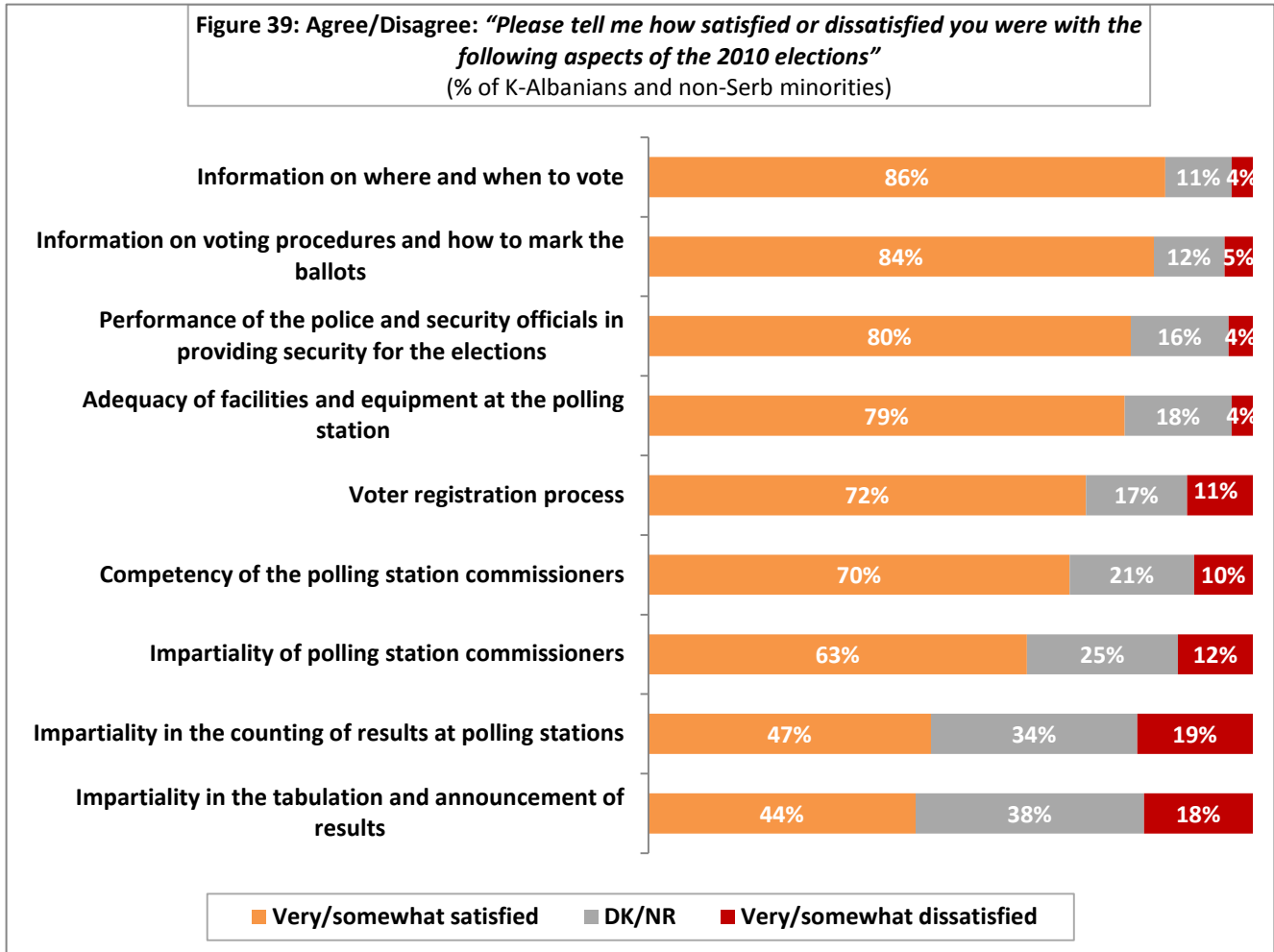


## ASSESSMENT OF SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF THE DECEMBER 2010 ELECTIONS

Most respondents also hold positive assessments of particular aspects or processes within the 2010 election. When read a series of statements, majorities of respondents agree their vote was kept confidential by election authorities in Kosovo (80%), the presence of international, non-partisan domestic, and political party observers had a positive effect on the legitimacy of the elections (68%, 58% and 54%, respectively), the election was competently administered (58%), the results of the election accurately reflected the way people voted (57%), and Kosovo’s electoral system provided adequate means to challenge electoral violations (51%) (Figure 38). These percentages do not greatly vary from the 2010 data.



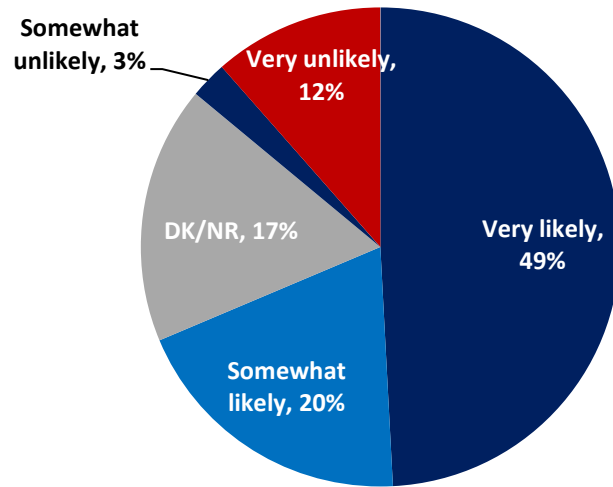
Respondents are also very/somewhat satisfied with various procedural aspects of the voting process, as reflected in the numbers found in the chart below (Figure 39). With regards to “impartiality of counting at polling stations” and “impartiality in the tabulation of results”, there are slightly higher percentages of respondents who indicated a dissatisfaction and unfamiliarity with these processes.



In a separate question, three-quarters of respondents have heard at least a fair amount (33%) or a great deal (41%) about complaints filed about irregularities during the 2010 election. Thirty-nine percent believe most or all complaints were valid, while 26% believe only some or a few were valid. Thirty-three percent don’t know. Almost half of respondents have confidence that the electoral authorities would handle these complaints in a fair and timely manner, 20% lack confidence, and 31% did not know.

Finally, given the concern of election fatigue, respondents were asked to say how likely they would be to vote if new elections were called in 2011. Despite holding elections in 2007, 2009 and 2010, 49% of respondents would be very likely and 20% would be somewhat likely to vote if new elections for the Kosovo Assembly were called in 2011 (Figure 40). Of those unlikely to vote, 33% say it is because they are disappointed with the government/empty promises, 16% say it is because they suspect manipulations with votes, and 13% believe that elections are often nonsense.

**Figure 40: "If new elections for the Kosovo Assembly are called in 2011, how likely would you say you are to vote in these elections?"**



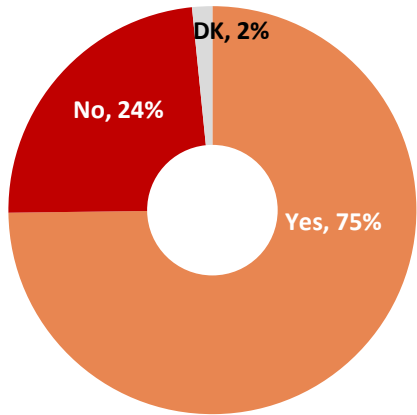
## VOTING IN THE DECEMBER 2010 ELECTIONS

Respondents who reported voting in the December 2010 elections were asked a series of questions about their voting experience. The reader should note that 75% of survey respondents said they voted in these elections, a much higher percentage than official turnout figures. The social desirability of voting may be one of many reasons for the higher than actual reporting of voting. The reader should note that IFES has observed similar patterns in previous post-election surveys in Kosovo, and further statistical analysis by IFES concluded that the reported voting experience of those who were actually likely to have voted (based on responses to other political engagement questions) did not differ significantly from the overall sample.

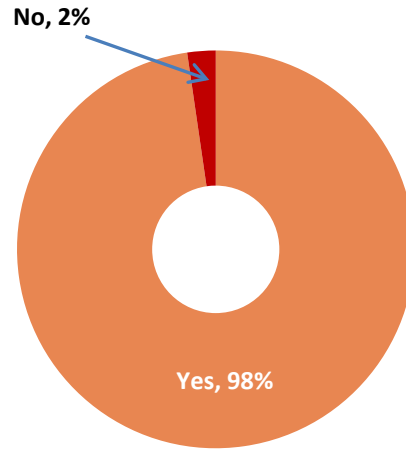
Almost all voters felt safe when voting. Eighty-five percent felt very safe, 13% felt somewhat safe, and less than 1% felt somewhat or very pressured.

Ninety-eight percent of voters say their name was on the voter's list in the polling station where they first went to vote (Figure 41). Many voters (75%) say everybody in their household was assigned to vote in the same polling station as them; however, a sizable number of voters (24%) report other household members were assigned to different polling stations (Figure 42). These figures correlate with previous surveys done by IFES in Kosovo.

**Figure 41: "Was everybody in your household assigned to vote in the same polling station as you or was one or more household members assigned to vote in different stations?"**  
(% of all voters)



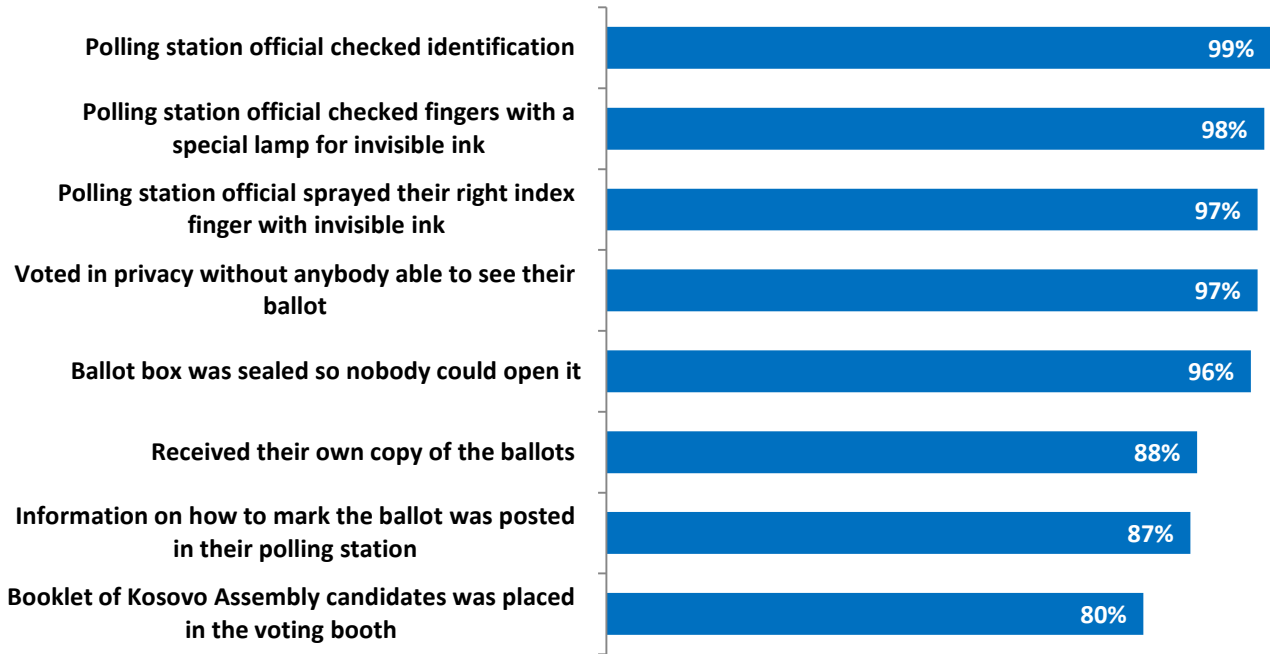
**Figure 42: "Was your name on the voters' list in the polling station where you first went to vote?"**  
(% of all voters)



Most respondents report that most appropriate procedures took place at the polling station, such as checking identification, checking fingers for ink, spraying fingers with ink, voting in privacy, sealed ballot box, received their own ballot, information on how to mark the ballot was posted, and booklet of candidates was in voting booth (Figure 43). This data indicates a perception on the part of voters that the basic procedures of election administration were followed at the polling stations.



**Figure 43: “Please tell me whether this took place or did not take place when you went to vote at your polling station.”**  
(% of voters who said “Yes, it took place”)



### EASE OF VOTING

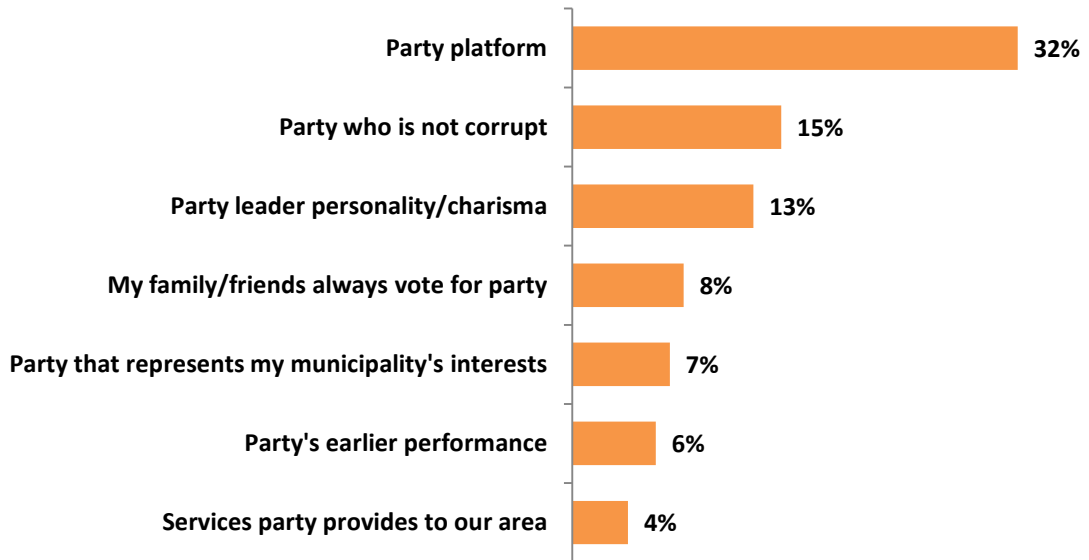
Given the fact new voting procedures were introduced in the 2010 elections, respondents were asked how easy or hard they found certain aspects of voting. A majority of voters believe finding the appropriate polling center was easy and it was easy to understand and follow the procedures at the polling station. Ninety-eight percent of voters stated it was very easy (90%) or somewhat easy (8%) to locate their appropriate polling center. Ninety-seven percent of voters also stated it was very or somewhat easy to follow the procedures at the polling station, understand the lists of parties and candidates, and mark their ballot.

### VOTING BEHAVIOR

Asked how exactly they marked their ballot, 93% of voters selected a party and a candidate/candidates, 6% selected a party only, and 1% don't know.

In an attempt to better understand voting behavior, respondents were asked what factors they consider when choosing political parties to support. One third of respondents claim their main consideration is the party platform (32%). Other respondents' main consideration is a party that is not corrupt (15%), the party leader personality/charisma (13%), the party their family/friends always vote for (8%), the party that represents their municipality's interests (7%), the party's earlier performance (6%), or services the party provides to their area (4%) (Figure 44).

**Figure 44: “When you consider political parties to support, what is your main consideration when deciding which party best represents your views?”**



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## CONCLUSION

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Concerns over the economy in Kosovo continue to prevail and there are growing concerns over corruption in the country. Additionally, an increased majority of respondents are also dissatisfied with political stability in the country. Kosovo Serbs are considerably more dissatisfied than Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities with relations between different ethnic communities and the respect for human rights in Kosovo. Yet majorities in all ethnic groups agree it was important for Kosovo and Serbia to begin dialogue in order to normalize relations.

A slight majority of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities view Kosovo as being a democracy; yet nine in ten Kosovo Serbs do not define Kosovo as a democracy. Protection of human rights remains at the top of the list of how Kosovo citizens define democracy; however, the percentage expecting no official corruption increased this year and is now the fourth most-associated definition of democracy. This increase seems to show that citizens are increasingly dissociating corruption with a democratic society, and at the same time they perceive corruption as a growing problem in Kosovo.

While a majority of citizens believe the December 2010 elections were well organized and free and fair, these sentiments have been declining after each election since 2008. Whether this due to an actual decrease in the quality of election administration, an increase in electoral fraud, the perceived (and real) decrease in internationals' role in organizing elections, or merely an increase in public awareness of elections and election processes, it cannot be definitively said from the survey data alone. What is certain is that as Kosovo continues to claim ownership of its own electoral processes, it is important to continue building confidence in the organization and integrity of the Central Election Commission and other institutions responsible for administering elections.

The belief in the ability to influence government decision-making generally has also declined from 2008. Similarly, confidence in the power of the vote has steadily dropped over the span of the 2007, 2009, and 2010 elections. Many respondents also do not believe their local or national leaders are responsive to citizen concerns. Efforts to educate leaders on being responsive to constituents' needs, and constituents on how to hold their leaders accountable, could be beneficial.

Nevertheless, the survey reveals many positive assessments of the electoral process. Majorities of respondents have confidence in the Central Election Commission and confidence has increased since 2010. Public information efforts, whether to educate voters or motivate them, seem to have had a positive effect. An overwhelming majority of voters feel they have enough information to make choices about political leaders and parties. At the same time, one third of respondents indicate a party's platform helps them identify their ultimate party affiliation, suggesting there is value in parties reaching out to the electorate during a campaign.

Most respondents also believe their vote was kept confidential by election authorities in Kosovo, the presence of international and domestic observers has a positive effect on the elections, and that they felt safe when voting. Majorities of respondents also were satisfied with information on how to vote, the voter registration process, the performance of security officials at polling stations, and the competency of polling station commissioners. Voters found the appropriate polling center easily, it was easy to follow the procedures at the polling station, and the lists of parties and candidates were easily understandable. As electoral reform continues in Kosovo, care should be taken to ensure voters are made aware of and comprehend any changes to the electoral system or procedures, as they appear to be well-versed in the current system and process.