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# POST-ELECTION OPINIONS IN KOSOVO 2008: FINDINGS FROM AN IFES PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY



January 2008 – February 2008

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Post-Election Opinions in Kosovo 2008: Findings from an IFES Public Opinion Survey

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## **A – NOTE ON SURVEY METHODOLOGY**

### **Survey Description**

This report details findings from the IFES post-election public opinion survey in Kosovo. This is the 7<sup>th</sup> public opinion poll IFES conducted in Kosovo since 2000. Fieldwork for this survey was conducted from January 29 to February 10, 2008. The sample was stratified by seven principal regions of Kosovo and by urban and rural localities according to the OSCE database of voters and the Kosovo Office of Statistics population data. A random selection of 1,256 respondents (18 or older) was drawn, of which 996 are Albanians and 260 are non-Serb ethnic minorities.

Serbs were not included in our sample due to the fact the vast majority of Kosovar Serbs boycotted the November 17, 2007, elections. It was also not possible to include Serbs because of heightened ethnic tensions in anticipation of the pending declaration of independence. The decision to exclude Serbs from this post-election survey stemmed from concerns about the quality of responses from Serb respondents given the expected lack of cooperation and reluctance to provide candid responses. At the time of the survey, Kosovar Serbs were under significant pressure due to the volatility of the political situation. They were uncertain and worried about their future if Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia. There were also logistical and security concerns regarding the safety of survey interviewers in Serb-populated areas should Serb respondents get offended when asked about such a sensitive topic as the elections.

Following data collection, the Albanian subset was weighted by age and gender to bring the realized sample in line with the target sample in order to be nationally representative of the adult (18+) population of Kosovo. The data was also weighted by ethnicity to adjust for the purposeful oversample of non-Serb ethnic minorities. The margin of error for a pure random sample of this size is plus/minus 2.77 percentage points within a 95% confidence level. Fieldwork and data processing for the survey was conducted by a Prishtina-based survey firm, Index Kosova, a joint venture with BBSS Gallup. Funding for the survey was provided by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

### **Charts**

For charts and tables where percentages are based on filtered respondents or certain demographic groups, the appropriate unweighted sample base for each percentage is specified in the relevant chart or table (example: n=456). For all other charts or where not otherwise specified, the sample base is the total sample size of 1,256 (n=1,256).

There may be a slight variation between numbers presented in the analysis and the data figures or tables due to rounding. These are only a few cases and the difference is never greater than 1 percent.



## B – EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### Opinions on Political and Economic Situation in Kosovo

About two-thirds of Kosovars<sup>1</sup> (66%) seem to be at least somewhat satisfied with the overall situation in Kosovo. Since survey fieldwork took place during the countdown to Kosovo's declaration of independence, Albanian respondents and respondents belonging to the RAE (Roma, Ashkali, Egyptian) ethnic communities expressed a higher level of satisfaction than other ethnic groups.

Of the one-third dissatisfied, 87% cited unemployment as their principal concern. Indeed, the widespread unemployment in Kosovo is perhaps one of the most serious problems that will haunt Kosovo as an independent state. Not surprisingly, poverty is also cited by half of dissatisfied respondents. Other major problems identified by respondents are the undefined political status of Kosovo (42%), general economic problems (39%), low salaries/pensions (24%) and poor infrastructure (21%).

When asked specifically about the economy, the majority of respondents (53%) judged the economy to be very or somewhat bad. When asked to comment about the financial situation of their family or household, most respondents appear to be facing economic difficulties at home: 35% say they have enough money for food, but buying clothes is difficult. A similar proportion says they have enough money for food and clothes and can save some money, but buying expensive things is difficult. While 20% of respondents say they do not have enough money even for food, 6% say they can afford expensive things and an even smaller 3% can afford anything they want. Despite economic hardships, a sweeping majority of respondents (86%) expect the overall situation in Kosovo to become better one year from now. This sense of optimism largely reflects Albanians' and some non-Serb minorities' expectations that an independent Kosovo will bring about an improvement in the overall situation.

When asked about confidence in select institutions, the Kosovo Police Service (KPS) emerged as the most trusted institution in Kosovo and the courts as least trusted. A majority of Kosovars have a "great deal" of confidence in the KPS (60%), whereas for other institutions, the majority says they have only a "fair amount" of confidence in them. For instance, only 26% of respondents have a great deal of confidence in the newly elected Kosovo Assembly and only 28% have a great deal of confidence in the newly-elected municipal assembly (28%). Twenty-seven percent express a great deal of confidence in the

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<sup>1</sup> **Goranis** are a minority ethnic group living between Albania, Macedonia, parts of Montenegro and Kosovo. In Kosovo, they inhabit the mountainous regions south of Prizren. Goranis speak a Slavic Torlak dialect called Nasinske. Goranis adhere to Islam.

**Bosniacs** are a minority ethnic group living in Bosnia and parts of Serbia and Montenegro, with smaller populations living in Croatia, Kosovo and Macedonia. Bosniacs in Kosovo live in the southern parts of the country, south-east of Prizren. They adhere to Islam and speak a dialect of Nasinke.

The abbreviation **RAE** is used to denote the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian minority communities in Kosovo. The Roma are believed to originate from India. They speak their unique language called Romano and Serb. The Ashkali and Egyptian communities speak Albanian and have mostly Albanian traditions. Geographically, the RAE are spread throughout Kosovo. The Ashkali live in the eastern and central part of Kosovo while the Egyptian reside mostly in the south-west of Kosovo. The origins of these communities are disputed. The Egyptian are not to be confused with nationals of Egypt.

Kosovar **Turks** are a minority ethnic group believed to have their origins in Turkey; however, many are assimilated Albanians and converted Catholics who adopted the Turkish language and adhered to Islam for different reasons. Turks live throughout Kosovo, but are concentrated primarily in Prizren while smaller populations live in Prishtina, Vushtrri and Mitrovica.

media in Kosovo and 21% have a great deal of confidence in political party leaders. The courts in Kosovo are the least trusted institution with only 20% expressing a great deal of confidence in them.

### **Opinions on Politics, Elections, Democratic Institutions**

Sixty-three percent of respondents say they are very or somewhat interested in matters of politics and government. More men than women report being interested in these issues (72% of men vs. 53% of women). There are also many more Albanians (63%) who say they are interested in politics and government compared to other ethnic groups (39%).

Respondents also have a fairly high level of confidence in their ability to influence decisions made by the government. About 63% agree people can influence decisions made by the government. A larger majority (81%) believes voting specifically gives them a chance to influence decision-making in their country. Respondents were, however, more divided on whether increased involvement of citizens in political affairs leads to greater instability: 49% agree greater involvement of people in political affairs will lead to chaos and instability whereas 32% disagree. As for interest in the November 2007 elections, our survey shows high levels of interest in the Kosovo Assembly elections (83%), Municipal Assembly elections (84%) and Mayoral elections (84%).

When presented with different statements and asked to identify what a democracy means to them, most respondents mentioned protection of human rights (60%), freedom of speech (47%), “everyone has work” (46%), no official corruption (41%), fair and consistent enforcement of laws (39%) and freedom of association (36%). The strong association of democracy with the protection of human rights is obvious considering Albanians’ long struggle under the oppressive regime of Slobodan Milosevic. The association of democracy with everyone having work is also an anticipated expectation considering Kosovo’s high rate of unemployment.

A majority of respondents (56%) believe Kosovo is a democracy, while 27% say it is not a democracy. Eleven percent say it is both a democracy and not a democracy. Despite more than a quarter of surveyed respondents saying Kosovo is not currently a democracy, an overwhelming proportion believes Kosovo is moving toward becoming a democracy.

Most Kosovars believe in the necessity and effectiveness of political parties with 89% saying political parties are very or somewhat necessary for democracy in Kosovo and 77% saying they are very or somewhat effective in representing their ideas and principles to the public. The same percentage also believes at least some political parties in Kosovo have clear plans to address the issues facing Kosovo.

Considering many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been visibly conducting development activities, a large majority (82%) of Kosovars believe NGOs are essential (33%) or necessary (49%) for Kosovo. However, less say they are likely to volunteer for one without pay: only 23% say it is very likely, 34% say it is somewhat likely, 8% say it is not very likely and 28% say not at all likely.

### **Opinions on Recent Elections: Voting Day and Voting Procedures**

The future of Kosovo was the most important consideration for voters in recent elections. Almost half the voters (48%) say a better future was their most important consideration when making their decision on who to vote for. Twenty percent say they voted because they wanted to make a change in Kosovo and 11% say their most important consideration was settling the issue of Kosovo’s status. Despite Kosovo’s economic hardships, only 7% mentioned the improvement of the economic situation as an important factor in their voting decision.

The percent of Kosovars who in our survey reported voting in the November 17, 2007, elections is much higher than the official voter turnout figure. Seventy-nine percent of respondents indicate that they voted in the general assembly election, 78% say they voted in the municipal assembly election and 79% say they voted in the mayoral election. This level of participation in the elections is much higher than the 43% official voter turnout figure published by the CEC. Several factors can account towards this discrepancy including the exclusion of Serbs from our sample, the poor state of voter lists in Kosovo and the tendency to over-report participation in elections by survey respondents.

In terms of voters' profiles, men are about 16% more likely to vote than women. Among age groups, voting levels are highest among the 45-54 age group and lowest among the youngest and oldest segments of the voting population. As for voting by ethnic groups, the data shows that Bosniacs have a slightly lower voter turnout than other ethnic groups.

Of those who say they did not vote, over half (52%) wanted to vote but were not able to and 44% chose not to vote. Among non-voters, 32% mentioned disappointment with political leaders as the main reason for not voting. About 9% did not vote due to lack of interest and a further 3% did not vote out of a belief their vote doesn't matter. Reasons cited for the inability to vote, rather than the unwillingness to vote, include health reasons or being ill on Election Day (16%), lack of ID (11%), family commitments or personal issues (11%), being out of the country or out of their city/town on Election Day (8%) and work commitments or lack of time (8%).

According to survey results, polling station procedures were adequately implemented on Election Day and voters did not face any significant difficulties in understanding and following polling station procedures. For all but one of the standard polling station procedures listed in the questionnaire, at least nine in 10 voters say these procedures took place in their polling station.

Similarly, the overwhelming majority of voters (95%) found the open list of candidates to be very or somewhat understandable on Election Day with only 4% saying the list was confusing. This shows that the introduction of open lists for the first time in Kosovo's elections went rather smoothly.

At least nine in 10 voters were satisfied with other aspects of the 2007 elections such as the information voters received on where and when to vote, information on voting procedures and how to mark the ballot and performance of the police and security officials in providing security for the elections.

As for satisfaction with the competency and impartiality of polling station commissioners, a solid majority in each case indicate they are very or somewhat satisfied—88% and 90% respectively. With regards to the facilities and equipment at the polling station, 95% of voters were satisfied.

There is also ample satisfaction with the voter registration process (93%). However, compared to other aspects of the elections, such as information on voting procedures and time and location of polling, the percentage of those who are very satisfied with the voter registration process stood at 57%, which is well below the corresponding percentage for other aspects of the election. Those who are only somewhat satisfied make up more than a third of voters. Voters expressed relatively moderate satisfaction levels with the impartiality in the counting, tabulation and announcement of results: 53% say they are very satisfied and 25% somewhat satisfied. Overall, a sweeping majority of respondents (85%) consider the 2007 elections to be well organized and only 8% deem it not well organized.

Similarly, voters almost universally agree with different statements designed to measure the fairness of the elections and competence of election authorities. Ninety-two percent strongly agree they felt safe in voting however they wished. Nine in 10 voters agree their vote was kept confidential by election authorities in Kosovo (77% strongly agree; 14% somewhat agree). There is also significant agreement (91%) elections were competently administered (72% strongly agree; 19% somewhat agree).

A majority also strongly agrees the presence of non-partisan domestic observers (65%), international observers (60%) and political party observers (57%) had a positive effect on the fairness and legitimacy of the election. Eighty-six percent agree election results accurately reflect the way people voted in the election. Similarly, a solid majority (81%) agrees Kosovo's electoral system provides adequate means to challenge election violations.

As a general assessment of the 2007 elections, a sound 71% of respondents judge the elections to be completely free and fair and a further 20% rate them somewhat free and fair. Only a small fraction of respondents (3%) think the elections were not free and fair.

Most Kosovars were optimistic that the 2007 elections results would bring an improvement in the following six areas: the status of Kosovo (95%), the economic situation (92%), political stability (86%), respect for human rights (86%), relations between different communities in Kosovo (72%) and the fight against corruption (69%).

### **Information, Media, and the Public Information Campaign**

Most of Kosovo's electorate report having enough information to make informed decisions prior to November elections. A majority of voters (89%) say they received enough information to make informed decisions when voting in this election. The three most used information sources on elections are broadcast media (TV, radio) with 95%, followed by friends and family (73%), and voter information provided by the Central Election Commission (59%). Information sources do not vary much between urban and rural areas. Only in the case of print media is there notable variation.

A majority of Kosovars (93%) also found media coverage of election-related issues very informative (58%) or somewhat informative (34%). Eight in ten respondents (80%) say they followed election results on election night. Among those who followed election results on election night, the use of TV was almost universal. This means that a large majority of Kosovars were tuned in on election night and followed live coverage of the parallel vote tabulation sponsored by IFES-Kosovo and the coalition of NGOs, Democracy in Action. Use of other media sources to follow election results is minimal relative to TV use.

According to survey results, the CEC's public information campaign aimed to inform voters about election procedures, dates, registration, etc., was visible to a large proportion of voters. Eighty-four percent say they are aware of the campaign. An overwhelming majority (99%) of those who are familiar with the campaign saw TV ads from the campaign, 70% saw posters, 61% saw leaflets, 46% heard radio spots and 49% saw billboards. Of these materials, most found TV ads to be most useful, followed by radio spots, leaflets, posters and billboards. Survey respondents judge the CEC's campaign to be successful in helping them understand voting procedures and how to mark the ballot before the election.

Democracy in Action's motivational "Get out the Vote" campaign (GOTV) was less familiar to people than the CEC campaign, but is still considered to have reached a substantial proportion of Kosovars. About 46% say they were aware of this campaign. Of those who had heard of the GOTV campaign, most had seen TV ads (94%) more than any other materials associated with it. The next most cited GOTV materials are posters (67%), radio spots (38%), website (18%) and sugar packs (16%). About the same proportion of urban and rural residents report seeing TV ads associated with the GOTV campaign, but visibility of the website and sugar packs was slightly higher in urban areas than in rural areas. A majority (55%) of those familiar with the campaign say it influenced their decision to vote. More women (58%) than men (53%) say this campaign influenced their decision to vote.

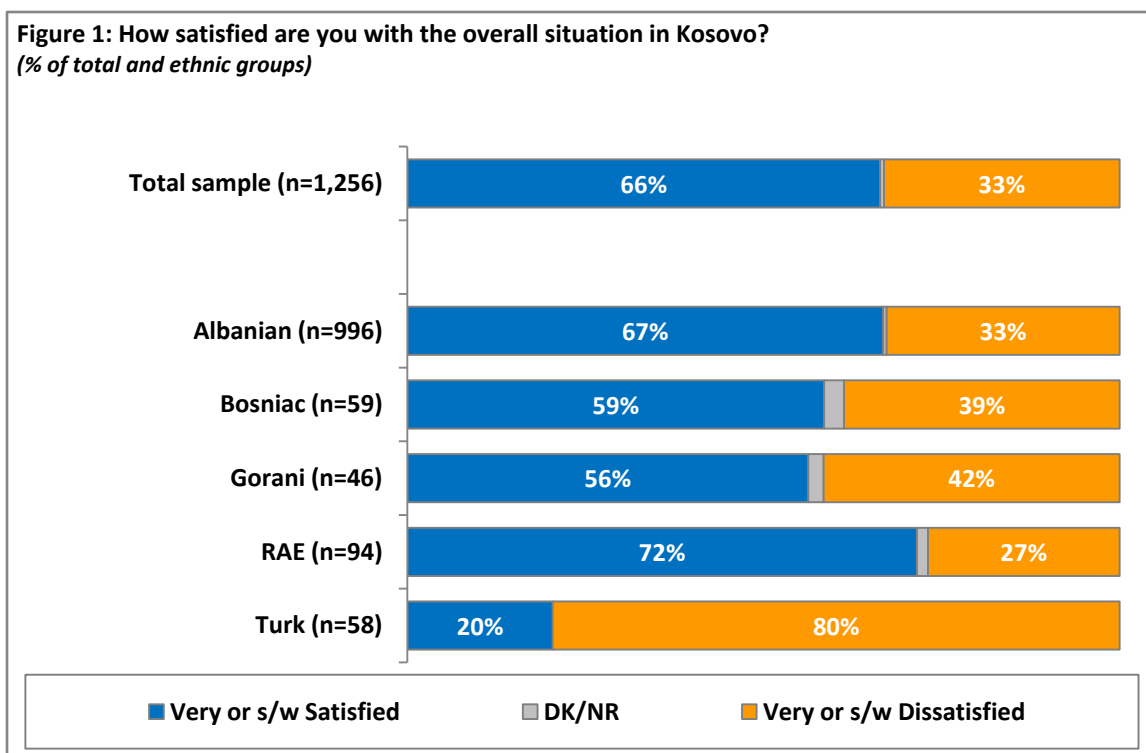
Despite a reasonable awareness level of the GOTV campaign, respondents are not entirely clear who was behind the campaign. Most believe it was political parties (38%), but almost half the respondents (49%) gave no answer. Less than 1% cites Democracy in Action as possibly being behind the campaign.

Of those who heard of the GOTV campaign 47% heard of Democracy in Action and 49% had not. Of those who have heard of Democracy and Action, most believe it is associated with election monitoring (56%) or media coverage on election night (43%), while less associate it with a GOTV campaign (16%).

## I – OPINIONS ON POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION IN KOSOVO

### *Moderate satisfaction with overall situation*

Kosovars express a general feeling of satisfaction with the overall situation in their country. The majority of respondents (61%) say they are somewhat satisfied with the overall situation in Kosovo and a further 5% are very satisfied. This brings the total satisfaction level to 66% versus 33% who are very or somewhat dissatisfied. When breaking down these results by ethnicity, we observe some variation in opinions between different groups. Kosovar Turks are much more likely to be dissatisfied with the overall situation in Kosovo than other ethnic groups: 80% of ethnic Turks say they are very or somewhat dissatisfied. Similarly, satisfaction levels are slightly lower than average among Bosniacs and Goranis with 59% and 56% of them respectively saying they are satisfied versus 66% in the total sample. As for the RAE (Roma, Ashkali, Egyptian) ethnic groups, opinions of the overall situation are more positive with 72% saying they are very or somewhat satisfied. Since Albanians represent the majority ethnic group in Kosovo, their opinions closely reflect the aggregate levels reported above with 67% of Kosovar Albanians saying they are very or somewhat satisfied with the overall situation in Kosovo (**Figure 1**).



*Unemployment tops list of problems cited by survey respondents*

With pervasive unemployment in Kosovo's<sup>2</sup> youth, also the largest segment of the population, it is not surprising that people who are dissatisfied with the overall situation consider unemployment to be the biggest problem facing Kosovo. An overwhelming 87% mentioned unemployment as one of the biggest problems facing Kosovo. Half of the respondents, who are dissatisfied with the overall situation in Kosovo, mention poverty as one of the biggest problems.

During survey fieldwork, many Kosovars and particularly Albanians, were anxiously awaiting declaration of independence which was expected to be announced in early February. As such, when asked about their reasons for dissatisfaction with the overall situation in Kosovo, about four in 10 respondents (42%) cite the issue of the undefined political status of the territory. Meanwhile, 39% mention general economic problems and another 24% mention low salaries/pensions as the reasons for dissatisfaction with the overall situation. Infrastructure is mentioned by 21% of respondents. Other problems cited by fewer respondents are: general political problems (8%), dissatisfaction with legal/judicial system (7%), lack of security/fear (7%), corruption (5%), privatization (4%) and discrimination (3%). **(Figure 2)**

**Figure 2: You said you are dissatisfied with the situation in Kosovo; what are the biggest problems Kosovo faces today—the problems that are of most concern to you?**

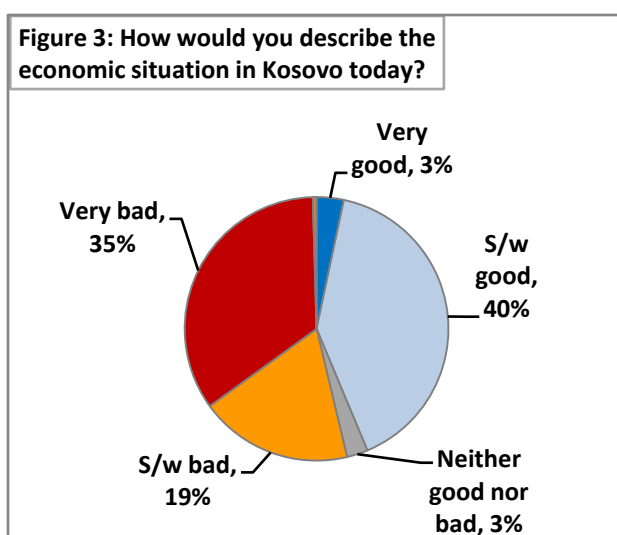
|                                            |     |
|--------------------------------------------|-----|
| Unemployment                               | 87% |
| Poverty                                    | 50% |
| Undefined political status of territory    | 42% |
| General economic problems                  | 39% |
| Low salaries/Pensions                      | 24% |
| Infrastructure                             | 21% |
| General political problems                 | 8%  |
| Dissatisfaction with legal/judicial system | 7%  |
| Lack of security/Fear                      | 7%  |
| Corruption                                 | 5%  |
| Privatization                              | 4%  |
| Discrimination                             | 3%  |
| Other                                      | 2%  |

Multiple response question asked of respondents who are dissatisfied with the situation in Kosovo: n=442. Percentages represent % of cases.

It is noteworthy that the problems that receive the most mention by survey respondents as triggering dissatisfaction with the situation are related to the economy and not to the political situation. This shows the economy is perhaps the biggest challenge confronting Kosovo as a country after it has declared independence on February 17, 2008.

*Majority believes economic situation is bad*

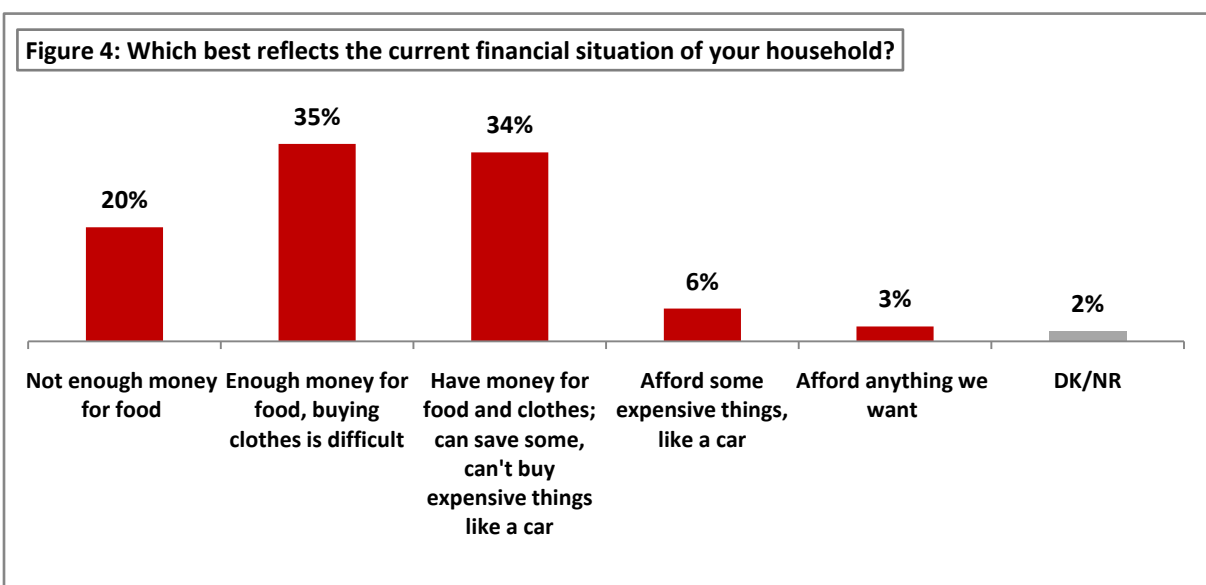
Despite positive opinions of the overall situation in Kosovo, most respondents judge the economic situation to be very or somewhat bad. This assessment reflects economic difficulties Kosovars face in their daily lives including the lack of job opportunities, low incomes, inadequate electricity supply and poor infrastructure. As such, when asked to describe the economic situation in Kosovo, 53% of respondents said it is very (35%) or somewhat (19%) bad versus 44% who said it is very (3%) or somewhat (40%) good. A further 3% of respondents said the economic situation is neither good nor bad. **(Figure 3)**



<sup>2</sup> There are no reliable figures on unemployment in Kosovo; however, the unemployment rate is believed to be well above 40%.

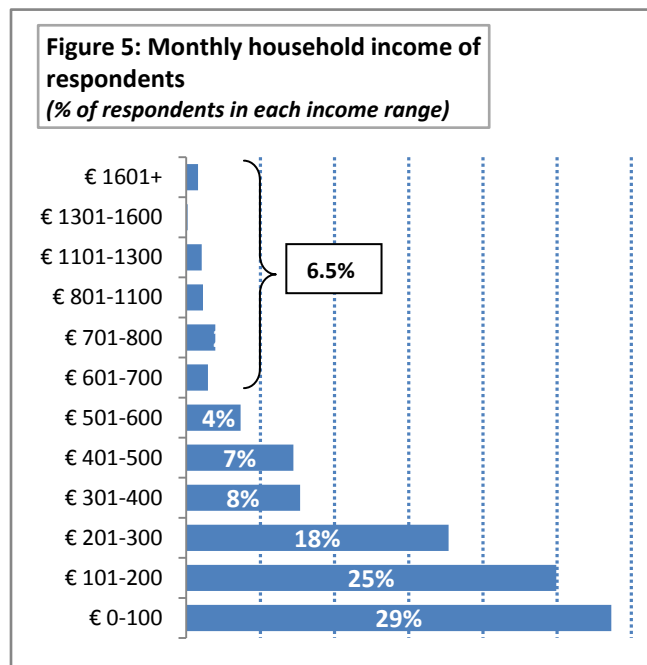
Within the same context, survey respondents were asked to describe the current financial situation of their family or household. Pluralities of respondents (35%) say they have enough money for food, but buying clothes is difficult. A similar proportion of respondents (34%) say they have enough money for food and clothes and can save some money, but buying expensive things, like a car, is difficult. Meanwhile, a sizeable 20% of respondents say they do not have enough money even for food. Those who say they can afford expensive things make up a slim 6% of the total and an even smaller share of respondents (3%) say they can afford anything they want. **(Figure 4)**

Poorer respondents were more likely to say the economic situation is very or somewhat bad as their family's financial situation seems to be influencing their assessment of the economy as a whole. As such, 61% of those who said they do not have enough money even for buying food judged the economic situation to be very or somewhat bad (compared with 53% of the total sample).



Survey respondents were also asked to identify the income range that most closely corresponds to the monthly income of their household. Twenty-nine percent of respondents indicated that their household monthly income is between zero and €100 and a quarter said it falls in the €101-200 range. As such, more than half the households covered in our survey (54%) earn less than €200 per month. Some 25% earn between €201 and €400 per month and just 11% of households earn between €401 and €600. Meanwhile, less than 7% of households earn more than €600 per month. **(Figure 5)**

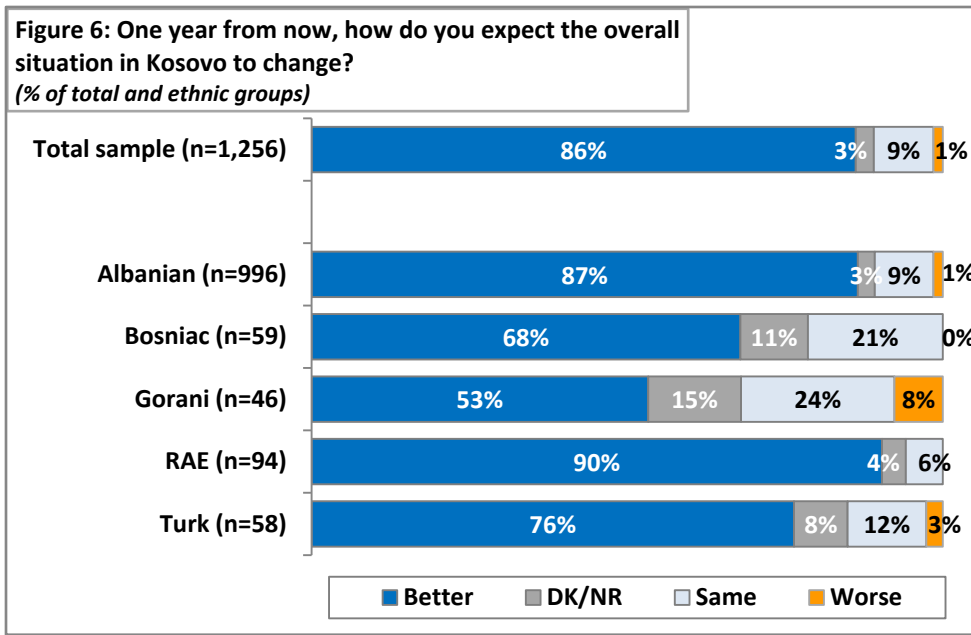




*Strong optimism in the future of Kosovo*

When asked about their outlook on the future of Kosovo, a sweeping majority of respondents (86%) said they expect the overall situation in Kosovo to become better one year from now while 9% expect the overall situation to stay the same and only 1% anticipate a worsening of the overall situation. Since the IFES survey took place during the countdown to independence in Kosovo and as it was virtually impossible to interview Kosovar Serbs during this critical time. This sense of optimism largely reflects expectations of Albanians and some non-Serb minorities that an independent Kosovo will bring about an improvement in the overall situation.

But while a majority in each ethnic group expects the overall situation to become better in one year, this upbeat feeling about the future is more pronounced among Albanian and RAE respondents than among other minority ethnic groups targeted in our survey. For instance, whereas 87% of Albanians and 90% of RAE respondents expect the overall situation to become better in one year, only 53% of Gorani respondents share this opinion. This reflects the Gorani community's closer ties to Serbia as many Goranis are native Serbian speakers and have been politically affiliated with Serbs. Meanwhile, 68% of Bosniacs and 76% of Turks said they expect the overall situation to become better one year from now. **(Figure 6)**



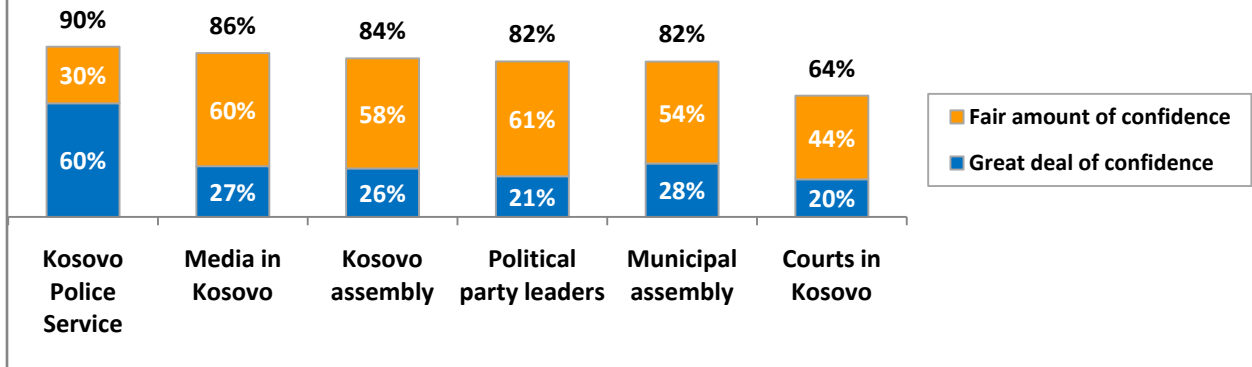
*Kosovo Police Service is most trusted institution in Kosovo*

Respondents were asked about the level of confidence they have in select institutions and individuals in Kosovo. Overall, a large majority of respondents seem to have at least a fair amount of confidence in all institutions listed in our survey. However, it is clear the Kosovo Police Service (KPS) earns the trust of more Kosovars and many more say they have a “great deal” of confidence in the KPS. With other institutions, the majority says they have only a “fair amount” of confidence in them.

Indeed, six in 10 respondents have a great deal of confidence in the KPS and another three in 10 have a fair amount of confidence, bringing the total level of confidence in the KPS to 90%. This most likely reflects Kosovars’ satisfaction with the performance of the KPS and its multi-ethnic composition.

Just over a quarter of respondents (26%) have a great deal of confidence in the newly elected Kosovo assembly and 58% have a fair amount of confidence in this institution. This is comparable to the level of confidence respondents have in the newly elected municipal assembly with 28% saying they have a great deal of confidence and 54% expressing a fair amount of confidence. Two in 10 respondents (21%) have a great deal of confidence in political party leaders and another 61% say they have a fair amount of confidence in these leaders. The media in Kosovo is also fairly trusted with 27% saying they have a great deal of confidence and 60% saying they have a fair amount of confidence. The courts in Kosovo are the least trusted among the select institutions included in our survey. Twenty-percent have a great deal of confidence in them and 44% have a fair amount of confidence. **(Figure 7)**

**Figure 7: Level of confidence in select institutions and individuals**  
 (% of respondents having a great deal or a fair amount of confidence)



## II. OPINIONS ON POLITICS, ELECTIONS, DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

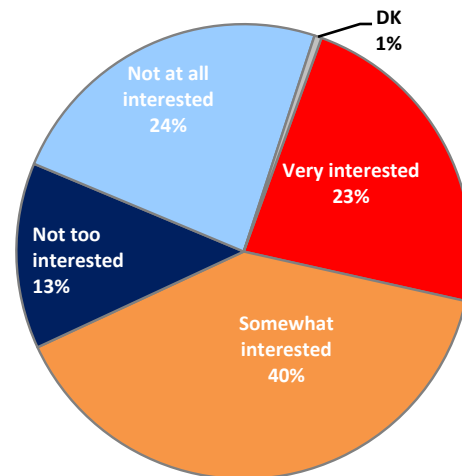
### *Strong interest in matters of politics and government*

For over four decades, Kosovar Albanians have been lobbying for greater autonomy and have engaged in independence movements. Many adult Kosovars have lived through the 1991 referendum that declared Kosovo independent, the repressive measures of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in the early 1990s and then the United Nations' Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) from 1999-2008. Considering this tumultuous political history, it is not surprising that a majority (63%) say they are very (23%) or somewhat (40%) interested in matters of politics and government (**Figure 8**).

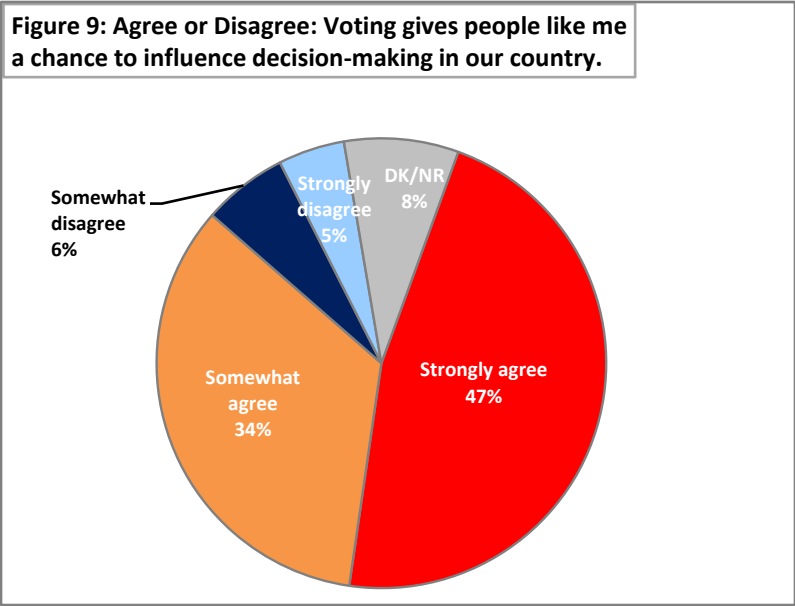
When breaking down these results by gender, 19% more men than women report being interested in matters of politics and government (72% of men vs. 53% of women). This is not surprising considering most women in Kosovo are home bound in their daily activities (over six in 10 women in our sample are housewives).

There is also a much higher percentage of Albanians (63%) who say they are interested in politics and government compared to other ethnic groups (39%). Albanians' greater interest in politics and government could be attributed to the fact that this survey was conducted during the latest push for independence from Serbia, which was mostly supported by ethnic Albanians.

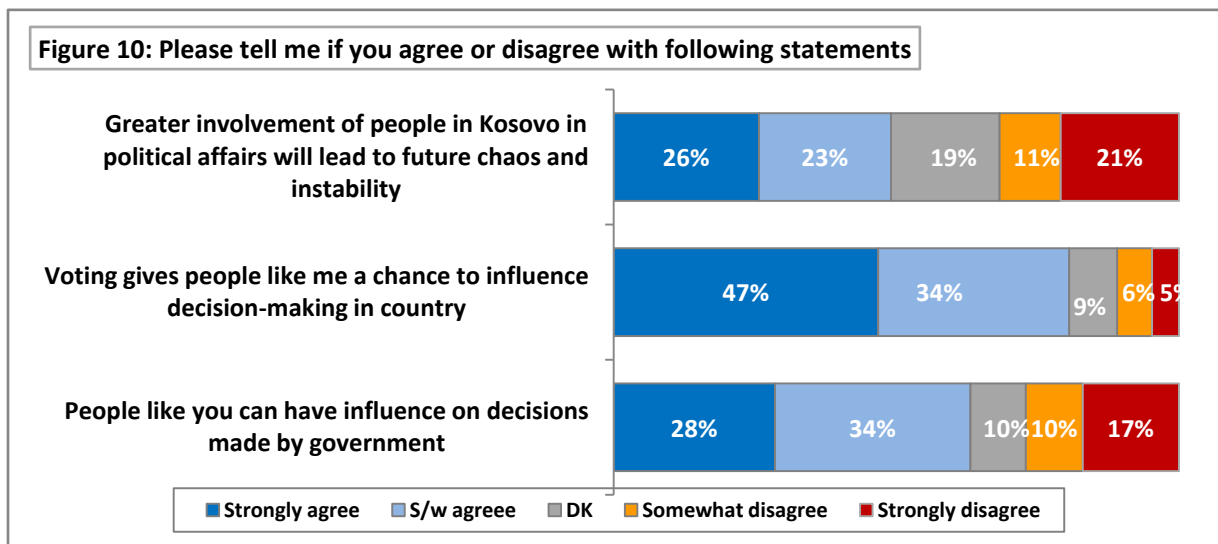
**Figure 8: How interested are you in matters of politics and government?**



Similar to respondents' high level of interest in matters of politics and government, respondents also have a fairly high level of confidence in their ability to have an influence on decisions made by the government. When asked to agree or disagree with the statement that *"People like you can have influence on decisions made by the government"* six in 10 (63%) say they agree with this statement, while only 27% disagree and 10% do not know or refuse to answer. A stronger majority believe that voting specifically gives them a chance to influence decision-making in their country. Eighty-one percent of respondents strongly (47%) or somewhat (34%) agree with the statement *"Voting gives people like me a chance to influence decision-making in our country,"* while smaller percentages somewhat disagree (6%) or strongly disagree (5%). **(Figure 9)** Albanian respondents are more confident that their vote can influence decision-making in Kosovo (81% of Albanians versus 67% of ethnic minorities) however nearly the same proportion of men and women agree that their vote can influence decision-making (51% men; 47% women). Notably, the share of respondents acknowledging the effectiveness of voting is higher than the proportion of respondents saying people have influence on decisions made by the government. This is perhaps a reflection of how most people view the act of voting as a concrete and demonstrable act likely to influence decision-making while they tend to underestimate their power to influence when voting is not involved.



Regarding the relationship between increased involvement in political affairs and whether that leads to greater instability, respondents are more divided. When asked whether they agree or disagree that “Greater involvement of people in political affairs in the future will lead to chaos and instability,” 49% of respondents say they strongly (26%) or somewhat (23%) agree with this statement, compared with 32% who say they somewhat (11%) or strongly (21%) disagree and 18% of respondents who say they do not know. This feeling that participation in political affairs leads to chaos and instability may stem from the fact that most of the adult population has lived through years of repression and war. These experiences may make some citizens less confident that their involvement in political affairs won’t lead to chaos in instability.<sup>3</sup> (Figure 10)



Just as our survey shows a high interest in politics and government, even higher percentages of respondents say they were interested in all three of the November 2007 elections. Eighty-three percent of Kosovars say they were very (48%) or somewhat (35%) interested in the Kosovo General Assembly elections, 84% say they were very (52%) or somewhat (32%) interested in the Municipal Assembly elections and 84% say they were very (58%) or somewhat (26%) interested in the Mayoral elections.

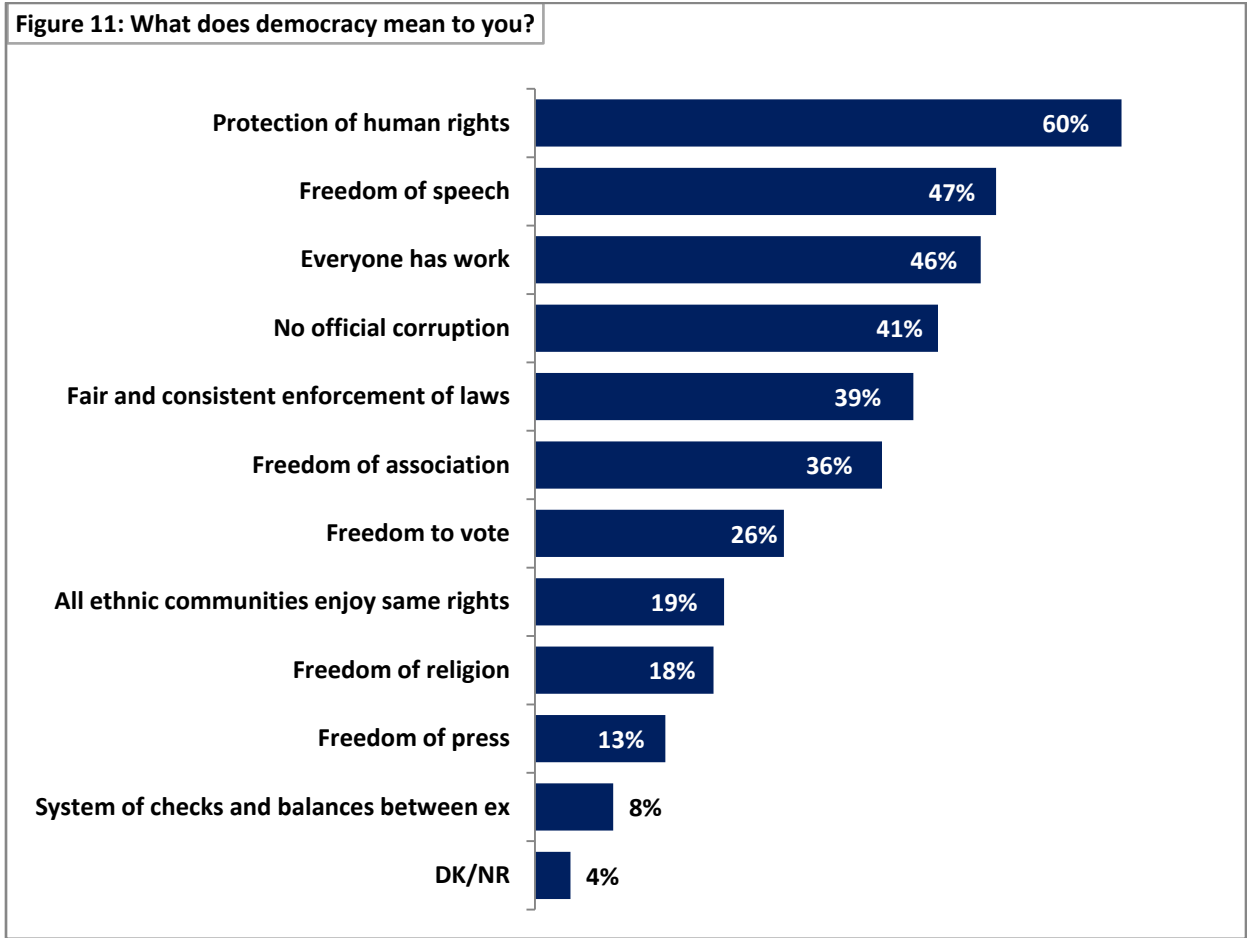
*A majority classify Kosovo as a democracy or moving toward a democracy*

Over the past nine years that Kosovo has been transitioning to an independent nation, its citizens have witnessed the development of their country’s democratic process and have undoubtedly developed opinions about what democracy means to them. When shown a card with 11 statements listed and asked what statements, up to five, they think accurately defines what a democracy means to them, most responses include protection of human rights (60%), followed by freedom of speech (47%), “everyone has work” (46%), no official corruption (41%), fair and consistent enforcement of laws (39%) and freedom of association (36%). The strong association of democracy with the protection of human rights is not surprising considering Albanians’ long struggle under the oppressive regime of Slobodan Milosevic.

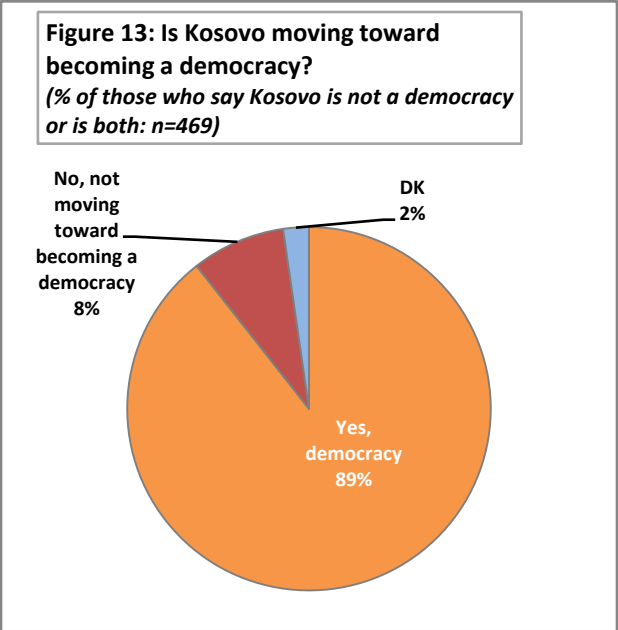
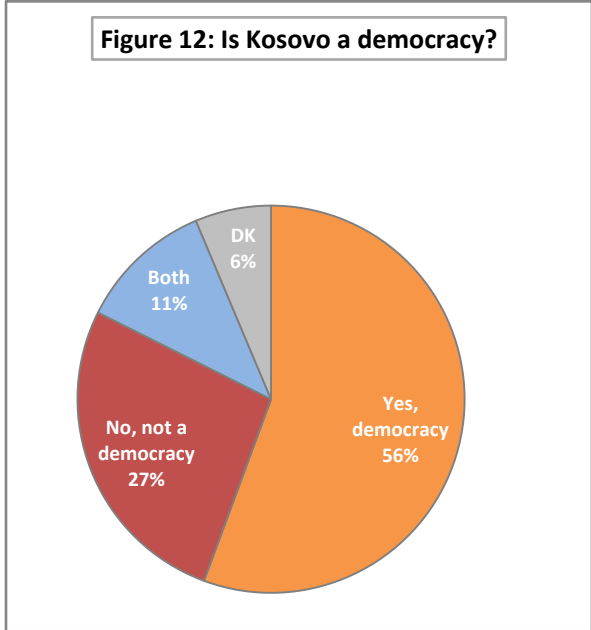
The high percentage of respondents associating democracy with everybody having work is also an anticipated expectation considering Kosovo’s high rate of unemployment. This association may also be

<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that during the observation of survey interviews, several respondents had some difficulty understanding this question.

attributed to remnants of a socialist mentality that expects the system to provide universal employment. This perception of democracy seems to represent not only how they define democracy, but what they hope comes from an independent, democratic Kosovo. Less respondents associate democracy with freedom to vote (26%), “all ethnic communities enjoy the same rights” (19%), freedom of religion (18%), freedom of press (13%), system of checks and balances between executive, legislative and judicial branches (8%) and 4% do not know. **(Figure 11)**



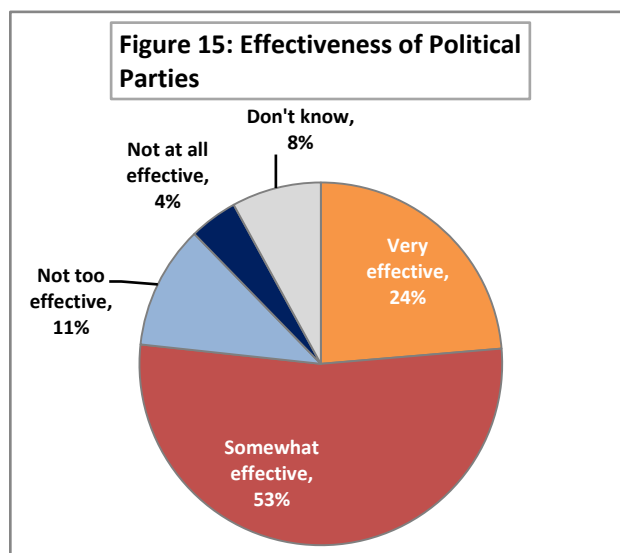
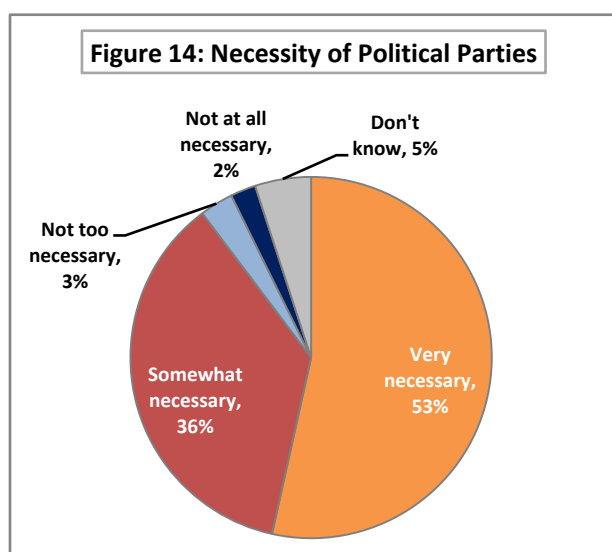
After listing their opinions on what democracy means to them, next respondents were asked whether they believe Kosovo is currently a democracy. At the time of this survey, a few months before Kosovo's declaration of independence, a majority of respondents believe Kosovo is a democracy (56%), while less say it is not a democracy (27%). Eleven percent say it is both a democracy and not a democracy and 6% don't know whether it is a democracy or not (**Figure 12**). Despite that more than a quarter of surveyed respondents say Kosovo is not currently a democracy, there seems to be a sense of optimism as an overwhelming proportion of them (89%) believe Kosovo is moving toward becoming a democracy. Only 8% of respondents who say Kosovo is not currently a democracy also do not believe Kosovo is moving toward becoming a democracy. (**Figure 13**)



*Most Kosovars believe in necessity and effectiveness of political parties and NGOs*

A substantial 89% of survey respondents say political parties are very (53%) or somewhat (36%) necessary for democracy in Kosovo. Only 3% say they are not too necessary or not at all necessary (2%) (Figure 14). This belief in the necessity of political parties may correspond to the Kosovars moderate satisfaction with the effectiveness of political parties.

A solid majority (77%) of respondents believe political parties are very (24%) or somewhat (53%) effective in representing their ideas and principles to the public. Fifteen percent, however, say political parties are not too (11%) or not at all (4%) effective. The same percentage believes at least some political parties in Kosovo have clear plans to address the issues facing Kosovo (77%). Twenty-six percent say most political parties have clear plans, 51% say only some have clear plans, 10% say none of the political parties have clear plans and 13% say they don't know. (Figure 15)



Since the end of the war in 1999, many international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) began working in Kosovo and established a strong presence. In turn, these international NGOs helped strengthen the local NGO sector to accomplish a wide range of development activities, from infrastructure development to food distribution.<sup>4</sup> Considering many NGOs have been visible in crucial development activities, it is not surprising that a large majority (82%) of Kosovars believe NGOs are essential (33%) or necessary (49%) for Kosovo.<sup>5</sup> A small percentage of respondents (9%) say NGOs are not very necessary (7%) or not at all necessary (2%). Despite the belief these types of organizations are necessary, less say they are likely to volunteer without pay. When asked how likely it would be they would volunteer for a civil society organization, only 23% say it is very likely, 34% say it is somewhat likely, 8% say it is not very likely and 28% say not at all likely. This reluctance to volunteer is attributed to the fact that most Kosovars earn low incomes and are thus unable to commit for work without pay. Of the respondents in our survey, 71% report having a monthly household income between €0-300 euro. Indeed, 69% of survey respondents can be classified as part of the lower class.

<sup>4</sup> <http://see.oworld.net/article/view/89781/1/29>  
*UNDP – UNV Executive Report “Volunteerism in Kosovo”*,

<sup>5</sup> <http://go.worldbank.org/H6JVQ8JY50>



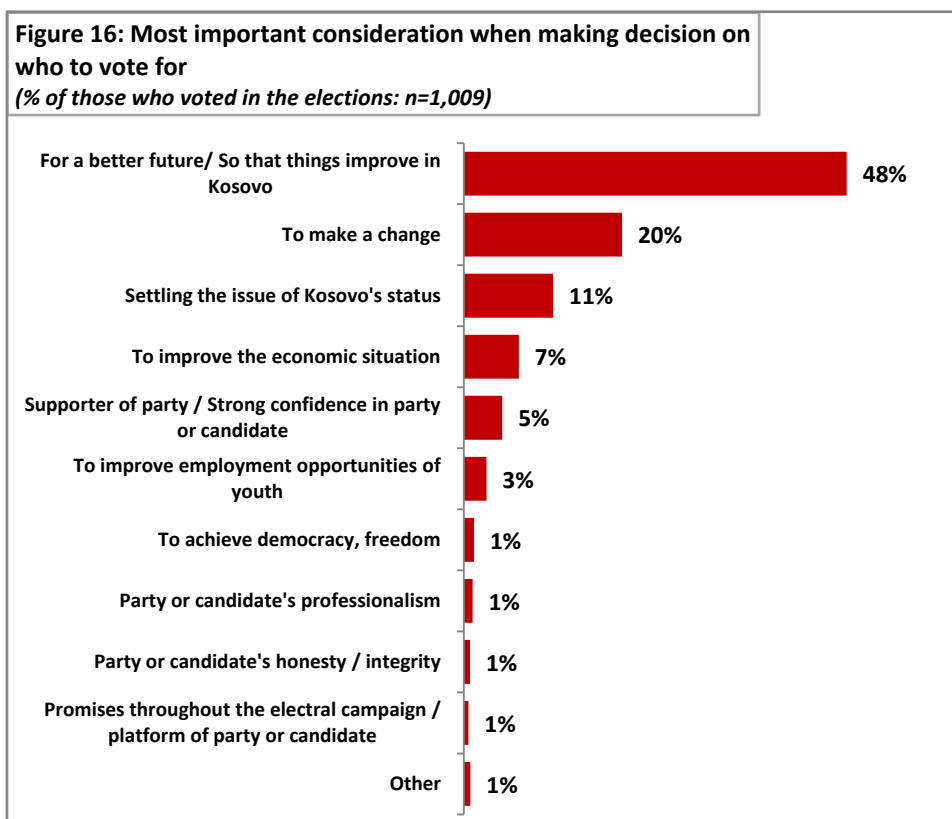
### III – OPINIONS ON RECENT ELECTIONS: VOTING DAY AND VOTING PROCEDURES

#### *A Better Future is most important consideration for voters*

When respondents who voted in the elections were asked what their most important consideration was when making their decision on who to vote for, just under half the respondents (48%) say they wanted a better future and voted for those whom they thought would improve things in Kosovo. Not surprisingly, younger respondents (18-24) had a larger majority (55%) who said this is most important issue when voting.

About 20% of voters say they voted because they wanted to make a change in Kosovo. In the same context, 11% of voters say their most important consideration was settling the issue of Kosovo's status. Interestingly, while respondents realize the serious problems with Kosovo's economy, as seen in section I, only 7% of voters mentioned the improvement of the economic situation as an important factor in their voting decision. Another 3% mentioned the improvement of employment opportunities for the youth as the most important consideration.

Meanwhile, 5% of voters say their decision on who to vote for was driven by their support or loyalty to a party or a strong confidence in a party or candidate. Other less cited factors include achieving democracy or freedom, the professionalism of a party or candidate, the honesty/integrity of a party or candidate and platform of party or candidate and promises throughout the electoral campaign. Each of these factors was cited by approximately 1% of voters. **(Figure 16)**



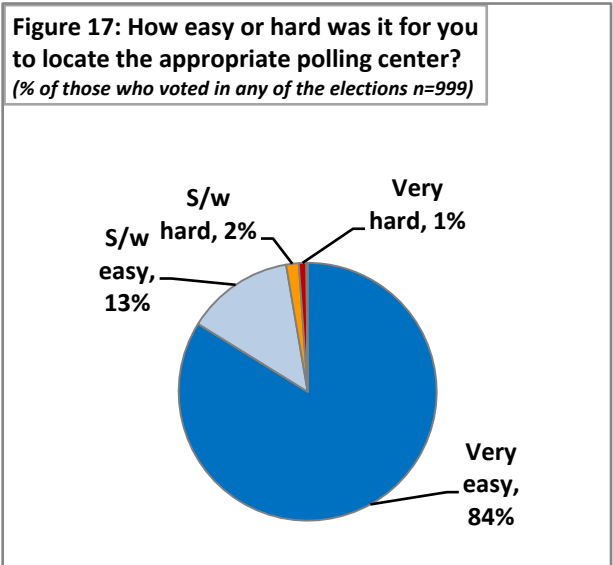
Women voters were slightly more likely than men to mention the hope for a better future in Kosovo as their main consideration when choosing who to vote for in the elections: 52% of women mention the future of Kosovo versus 44% of men. Younger voters (18-24) were also more likely to mention the future of Kosovo (55%) as their principal consideration than older voters.

Meanwhile, about twice as many men (24%) than women (14%) mentioned change as their most important consideration when voting. Women were slightly more likely than men to mention the improvement of the economic situation as the principal factor in their voting decision (9% of women vs. 5% of men) whereas men were more likely than women to mention the issue of the status of Kosovo (14% of men vs. 8% of women). Kosovar Albanians were also more likely to mention the status of Kosovo as their principal consideration when compared to ethnic minorities targeted in our survey (11% of Albanians vs. 7% of ethnic minorities).

*No reported difficulties in locating polling centers on Election Day*

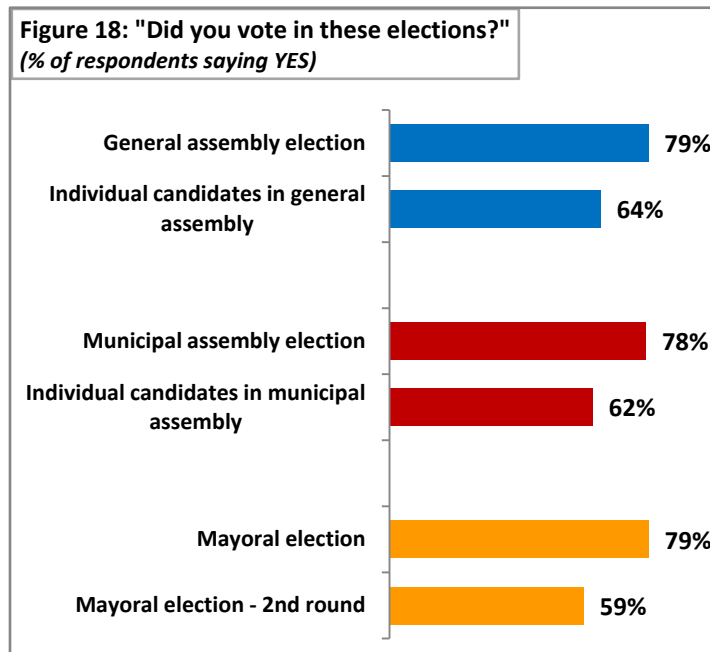
Kosovar voters did not have difficulty locating their appropriate polling station centers on Election Day. Eighty-four percent of voters report that it was very easy to locate their appropriate polling center and another 13% say it is somewhat easy. Only 3% of voters report facing difficulties locating their polling center. **(Figure 17)**

When asked if all household members were assigned to vote in the same polling station as the survey respondent, 74% said yes. Around a quarter (24%) said no, since one or more household members were assigned to vote in different stations.



*Most survey respondents say they voted in the elections*

According to the IFES survey, the percent of Kosovars who voted in the November 17, 2007, elections is relatively high. Seventy-nine percent of surveyed respondents indicate they voted in the general assembly election. In the 2007 elections, open lists were introduced to Kosovo's proportional election system whereby each voter had the option to elect up to 10 individual candidates within a party list. As such, survey respondents were also asked if they selected individual candidates from the open party lists. In the Kosovo assembly election, 64% of respondents report electing individual candidates from open lists. The level of participation in the municipal assembly election is similar with 78% saying they voted in this election and 62% saying they voted for individual candidates from the open party lists. In the first round of the mayoral election, 79% of respondents say they voted in this election. Meanwhile, 59% of respondents declare taking part in the second round held on December 8. **(Figure 18)**



The level of participation in the general assembly, municipal assembly and mayoral elections that took place on November 17 is quite elevated at 78%-79%. Ideally, this should be consistent with official figures published on voter turnout in Kosovo which estimate it at 43%<sup>6</sup>. However, survey results are not strictly comparable with official figures on voter turnout as there are several factors leading to this discrepancy:

- Voter lists used to calculate official voter turnout include eligible Serb voters whereas our sample has only targeted Albanians and non-Serb minorities. As such, our base is smaller and leads to a higher reported turnout based on this survey data.
- Voter lists are not completely reliable for calculating voter turnout as they include names of dead individuals who are counted as non-voters in the final tally. Consequently, the voter turnout figure published by the CEC is likely to be lower than the true figure for voter turnout.
- Some respondents are likely to say that they have voted even if they have not. This is known as the social desirability effect which is often observed in self-reported voting data. This means that this survey may be over-reporting voter turnout.

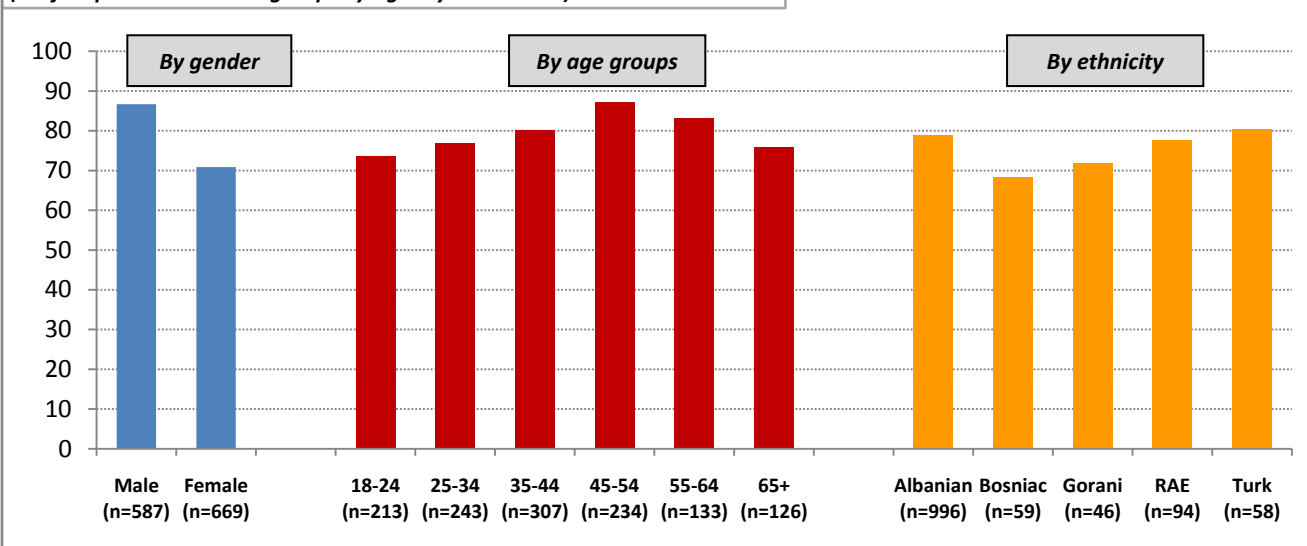
#### *Voting in Kosovo assembly by demographics*

When breaking down respondents who declared they have voted in the Kosovo assembly election by demographics, we observe men are about 16% more likely to have voted in the general assembly election than women.

Among age groups, voting levels are highest among the 45-54 age group with 87% of respondents in that group saying they have voted in the general assembly election. Voting levels are lowest among the youngest and oldest segments of the population: 73% of those 18-24 and 76% of those 65 or older said they have voted in the general assembly election. As for voting by ethnic groups, the data shows that Bosniacs have a slightly lower voter turnout level than other ethnic groups. **(Figure 19)**

<sup>6</sup> According to the Central Election Commission in Kosovo, voter turnout in Kosovo is 42.8%. Total voter turnout which includes those registered but residing outside of Kosovo is 40.1%. The low voter turnout is partly attributed to the boycott of the elections on behalf of Kosovar Serbs.

**Figure 19: Voting in Kosovo assembly by gender, age and ethnicity**  
 (% of respondents in each group saying they have voted)



*Disappointment in political leaders is main deterrent for voting*

In order to closely examine attitudes towards voting, we asked respondents who did not vote in any of the November 17 elections whether they did not vote out of choice or if they wanted to vote but could not. Of those who said they did not vote, over half (52%) wanted to vote but were not able to and 44% chose not to vote. Respondents were then asked to specify why they did not or could not vote in the elections. A plurality of respondents (32%) expressed a lack of trust or disappointment with political leaders as the principal factor that discouraged them from voting in these elections. These respondents explained that they do not have a candidate they could vote for as they believe that no party is worth their vote. More respondents in the 35-44 (50%) and 55-64 (43%) age groups mention the issue of disappointment with political leaders compared with respondents in other age groups.

Similarly, about 9% of respondents did not vote out of lack of interest and a further 3% did not vote out of a belief that their vote doesn't matter. Reasons cited for the inability to vote, rather than the unwillingness to vote, include health reasons or being ill on Election Day (16%), lack of ID (11%), family commitments or personal issues (11%), being out of the country or out of their city/town on Election Day (8%) and work commitments or lack of time (8%). Other reasons that received fewer mentions include voting center location too far from respondent's home (4%), lack of transport (4%)<sup>7</sup> and problems with the voting list or lack of information or notification on eligibility to vote (2%). **(Figure 20)**

<sup>7</sup> A few respondents who cited lack of transport as the reason for not voting explained that the special team organized by the Central Election Commission that was supposed to provide them with transportation from their home to the polling center never replied to their request.

| <b>Figure 20: Why did you not vote in the elections? What influenced your decision not to vote?</b>                                            |            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>Lack of trust/disappointment/dislike of political leaders</b>                                                                               | <b>32%</b> |
| <b>Health reasons</b>                                                                                                                          | <b>16%</b> |
| <b>Lack of ID</b>                                                                                                                              | <b>11%</b> |
| <b>Family commitments/Personal issues</b>                                                                                                      | <b>11%</b> |
| <b>Not interested</b>                                                                                                                          | <b>9%</b>  |
| <b>Out of country/out of city</b>                                                                                                              | <b>8%</b>  |
| <b>Work commitments/lack of time</b>                                                                                                           | <b>8%</b>  |
| <b>Voting center too far</b>                                                                                                                   | <b>4%</b>  |
| <b>Lack of transport</b>                                                                                                                       | <b>4%</b>  |
| <b>My vote doesn't matter</b>                                                                                                                  | <b>3%</b>  |
| <b>No notification/lack of info on voting/name not on voter list/problems with voter list</b>                                                  | <b>2%</b>  |
| <b>Other</b>                                                                                                                                   | <b>6%</b>  |
| Multiple response question asked of respondents who did not vote in any of the November 17 elections: n=247. Percentages represent % of cases. |            |

Younger voters (18-24) were much more likely than any other age group to say they did not vote because of a lack of an ID: 29% of non-voters aged 18-24 did not vote because they don't have an ID. Respondents aged 65 or older were much more likely than any other age group to cite health issues or lack of transport as reasons for not voting.

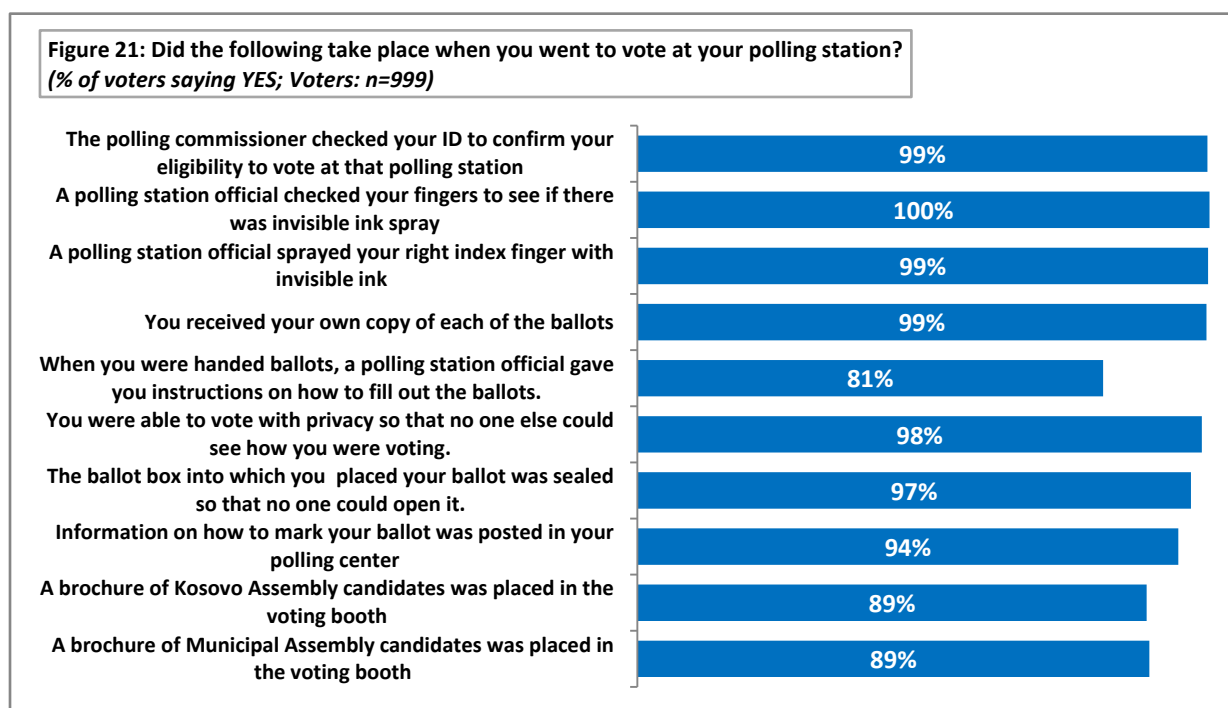
*Voting by conditional ballot very limited*<sup>8</sup>

Survey respondents who said they voted in one or more of the November 17 elections were asked if their name was on the voters' list in the polling station where they were assigned to vote. An overwhelming majority of voters (97%) indicated that their name was on the voters' list. Of the 3% of voters whose names were not on the voters' list, the majority voted by conditional ballot while only a handful voted in a different polling station. Overall, our survey shows that only 2% of voters voted by conditional ballot whereas the official percentage published by the CEC stood at 5%.

<sup>8</sup> In cases when the right of a person to vote is questionable, he or she may be allowed to cast a conditional ballot. In that case, the ballot enclosed in an envelope to protect its secrecy, is qualified as conditional and the same is counted later if it is determined that the person is eligible voter. (Source: [www.democracy2007.net](http://www.democracy2007.net) )

*Polling station procedures adequately implemented on Election Day*

As **Figure 21** shows, the survey indicates that the standard polling station procedures that are supposed to take place were adequately followed on Election Day. For all but one of the polling station procedures listed in the questionnaire, at least nine in 10 voters say these procedures took place in their polling station. Only one of the listed procedures—whether they were given instructions by a polling station official on how to fill out the ballot—had a lower percentage of voters saying that it took place: 18% said no versus 81% of voters who said yes. While this is a high percentage in absolute terms, it still implies that this was not as consistently implemented as other standard polling station procedures. It may be that only voters who had questions about how to mark the ballots were subsequently given instructions by a polling station official.



While a large majority in each region indicated that standard polling procedures took place, in some regions, the percent of voters saying they did is lower than other regions. For instance, in Prizren, Gjilan and Ferizaj, 70%, 73% and 77% respectively of voters said that a polling station official gave them instructions on how to fill out ballots; this is lower than the total sample average of 81%. In Peja and Prizren, voters are 5% less likely to say the ballot box was sealed compared with the national average. In Prizren, fewer voters are likely to say that the information on how to mark the ballot was posted in their polling center: 86% in Prizren versus 94% for the total sample. Similarly, 79% of voters in Gjilan and Prizren said a brochure of the Kosovo Assembly candidates was placed in the voting booth versus 89% in the total sample.

In another question aimed to examine how easy or hard it was for voters to follow polling station procedures, 94% of respondents say it was very (69%) or somewhat (25%) easy compared with only 5% who judge the procedures to be very or somewhat hard to follow. This shows that voters did not face any significant difficulties in understanding and following polling station procedures on Election Day.

Similarly, the majority of voters found the list of candidates to be very or somewhat understandable on Election Day. Indeed, two-thirds of voters (68%) say the list of candidates was very understandable and 27% indicate it was somewhat understandable with only 4% saying the list was confusing. This shows the introduction of open lists for the first time in Kosovo's elections went rather smoothly as voters were generally clear about how to vote for candidates from open party lists.

*Voters largely satisfied with different aspects of the 2007 elections*

Respondents who voted in the elections were also presented with a set of statements designed to measure voter satisfaction with various aspects of the 2007 elections. Overall, voters seemed very satisfied with most aspects of the elections and election procedures. For instance, levels of satisfaction with the information voters received on where and when to vote is very high at 97% with eight in 10 voters very satisfied and two in 10 somewhat satisfied. Voters were equally satisfied with information on voting procedures and how to mark the ballot (97%) and with the performance of the police and security officials in providing security for the elections (93%).

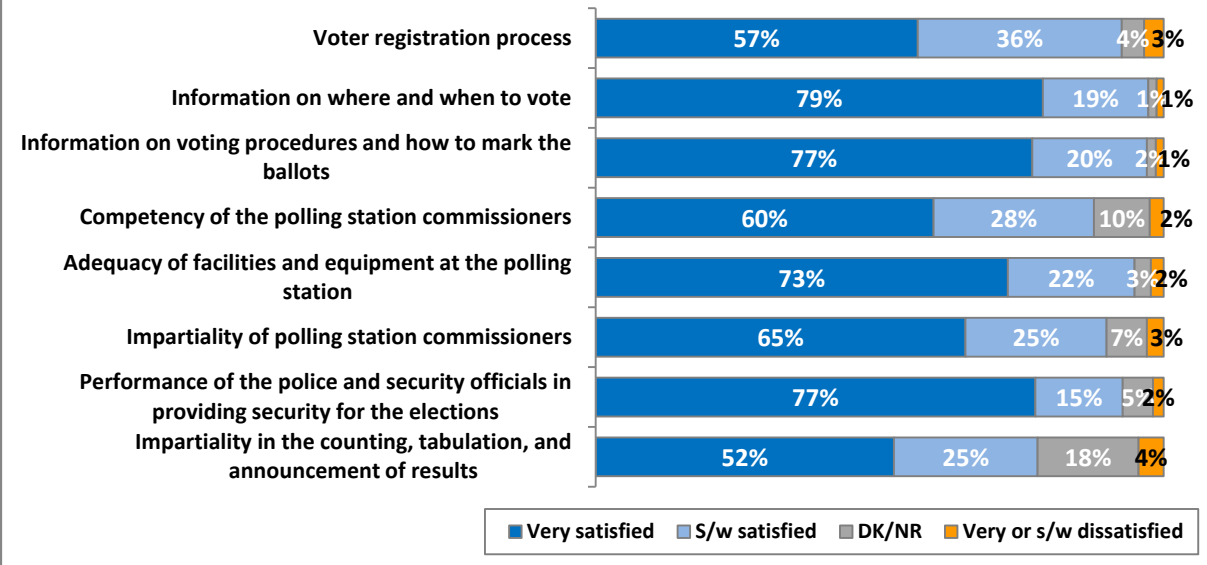
As for satisfaction with the competency and impartiality of polling station commissioners, a solid majority in each case indicate they are very satisfied—60% and 65% respectively—bringing the aggregate satisfaction level to 88% and 90% respectively. With regards to the facilities and equipment at the polling station, 95% of voters were very (73%) or somewhat (22%) satisfied with them.

In general, there is ample satisfaction with the voter registration process at 93%. However, compared to other aspects of the elections, the percentage of those who are very satisfied stood at 57%, which is well below the corresponding percentage for other aspects of the election. Those who are only somewhat satisfied make up more than a third of voters (36%).

Voters expressed relatively moderate satisfaction levels with the impartiality in the counting, tabulation and announcement of results: 53% say they are very satisfied and 25% somewhat satisfied; this brings the total satisfaction level in this aspect of the election to 78%. This relatively lower satisfaction rating might be partly the result of more voters saying they “don't know” rather than a direct reflection of lower satisfaction with this aspect of the election. In fact, as much as 18% of voters say they don't know if they are satisfied or dissatisfied with the impartiality in the counting, tabulation and announcement of results (**Figure 22**). Overall, a sweeping majority of respondents (85%) consider the 2007 elections to be well organized. Only 8% deem it not well organized and 7% don't know.

Opinions of these aspects of the elections did not depict a particular regional pattern with the exception of slightly lower satisfaction levels in Gjilan with the competency (74%) and impartiality of election commissioners (70%) when compared to the average satisfaction levels. We also observed higher than average satisfaction levels in Mitrovica with the impartiality of polling station commissioners (99%) and counting tabulation and announcement of results (92%).

**Figure 22: Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with following aspects of 2007 elections**  
 (% of those who voted in the elections: n=1,009)



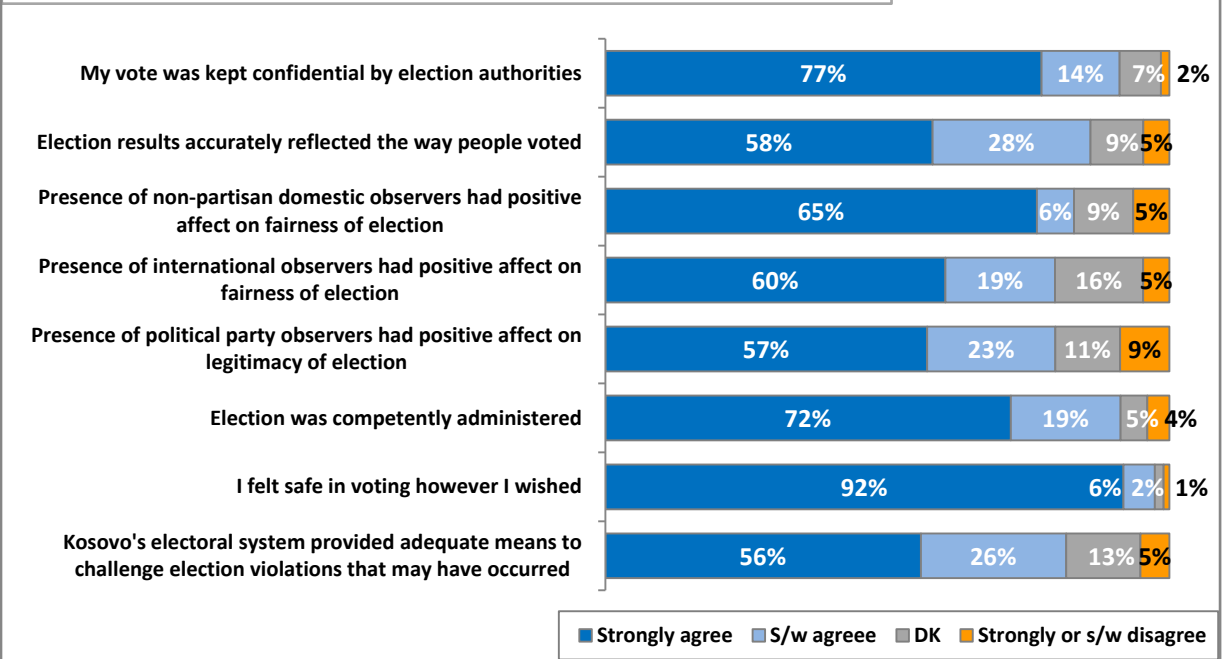
*Voters satisfied with the fairness of the elections*

When asked about various facets of the Kosovo 2007 elections, voters almost universally agree with different statements designed to measure the fairness of the elections and competence of election authorities. An overwhelming majority of voters (92%) strongly agree that they felt safe in voting however they wished. Nine in 10 voters strongly (77%) or somewhat agree (14%) that their vote was kept confidential by election authorities in Kosovo. There is also significant agreement that elections were competently administered with 72% strongly agreeing to this statement and another 19% somewhat agreeing. **(Figure 23)**

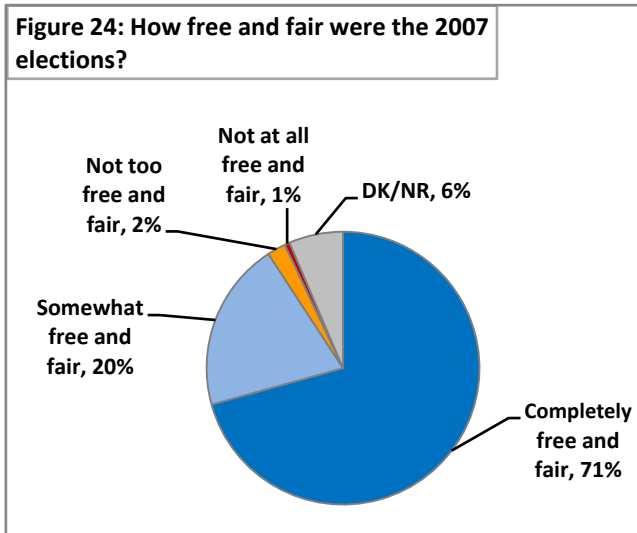
A majority also strongly agrees that the presence of non-partisan domestic observers (65%), international observers (60%) and political party observers (57%) had a positive effect on the fairness and legitimacy of the election. On whether election results accurately reflect the way people voted in the election, 86% strongly (58%) or somewhat (28%) agree with this statement. Similarly, a solid majority (81%) strongly or somewhat agree that Kosovo’s electoral system provides adequate means to challenge election violations that may have occurred in this election. Nevertheless, it must be noted that on this last statement, field observers noticed that survey respondents had difficulty understanding what was meant by the question and interviewers often had to repeat the question to respondents.



**Figure 23: Please tell me if you agree or disagree with following statements**  
 (% of those who voted in the elections: n=1,009)

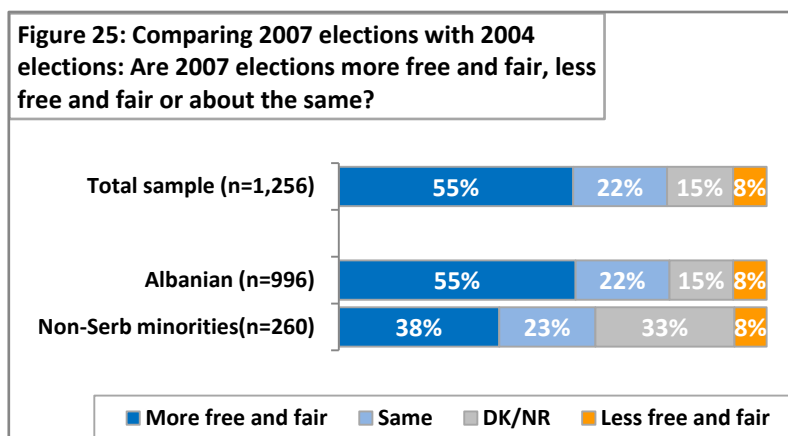


As a general assessment of the 2007 elections, a solid 71% of respondents judge the elections to be completely free and fair and a further 20% rate them somewhat free and fair. Only a small fraction of respondents (3%) think the elections were not free and fair. (Figure 24)



When asked to compare the fairness of the 2007 elections with the 2004 elections, 55% of respondents consider the recent elections as more free and fair than the 2004 elections while 22% believe the recent

elections are about as free and fair as the 2004 elections. Those who think recent elections were less free and fair than in 2004 did not exceed 8% of total respondents. When breaking down these results by ethnicity (Albanian vs. ethnic minorities), we notice that Albanians are more likely to judge the 2007 elections to be more free and fair than the 2004 elections than other ethnic minorities (55% vs. 38% respectively). Notably, this discrepancy does not translate into more negative assessments on behalf of ethnic minorities. In fact, both groups have negligible proportions of respondents who say that the recent elections are less free and fair than the 2004 elections. Yet there are about twice as many respondents from ethnic minorities in Kosovo than Albanians (33% vs. 14%) who say they don't know if the recent elections were more free and fair than the 2004 elections. This perhaps reflects a hesitation on behalf of these respondents to give a candid opinion about what they truly think about the elections. **(Figure 25)**

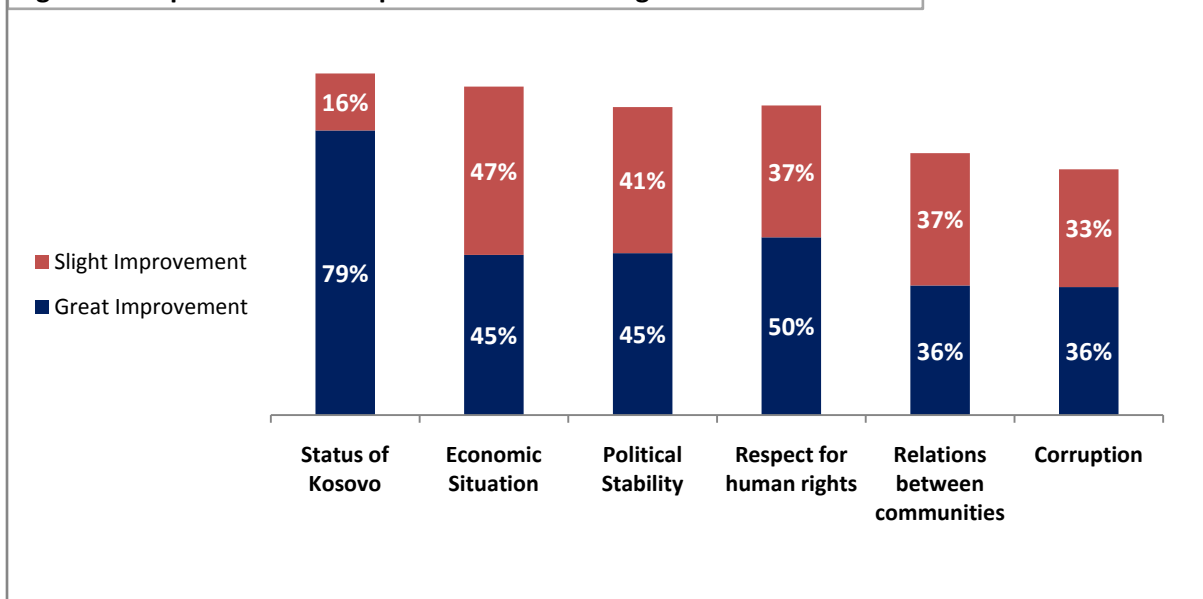


#### *Optimism for improvement following 2007 election results*

Surrounding elections, citizens develop certain expectations for improvements or declines in various aspects of their societies. In this survey, most Kosovars are optimistic the 2007 elections results would bring an improvement in all six areas listed in the survey questionnaire: economic situation, political stability, respect for human rights, relations between different communities in Kosovo, corruption and the status of Kosovo.<sup>9</sup> An overwhelming 95% of respondents expect the 2007 elections to bring about a great (79%) or slight (16%) improvement in the status of Kosovo. This survey was conducted before Kosovo declared itself an independent state, but respondents' optimism was most likely due to the fact that while independence was not yet declared, it was already considered certain to occur soon. Meanwhile, most respondents (92%) believe that based on the 2007 election results, the economic situation in Kosovo will show a great (45%) or slight improvement (47%). Similarly, eight in ten respondents believe there will be an improvement in respect for human rights (86%) and political stability (86%). A solid majority (72%) of respondents also believe there will be a great (36%) or slight (37%) improvement in the relations between different communities in Kosovo. Nearly seven in ten (69%) respondents also believe that after the 2007 election results and over the next two years, they will see a great (36%) or slight (33%) improvement in the fight against corruption. **(Figure 26)**

<sup>9</sup> Question wording: "Based on the results of the 2007 elections in Kosovo, what kind of change do you expect in the following areas over the next two years? Economic Situation, political stability, respect for human rights, relations between different communities in Kosovo, corruption, status of Kosovo."

**Figure 26: Expectations for Improvements Following 2007 Election Results**



Many more Albanians (92%) than ethnic minorities (74%) expect a slight or great improvement in the economy based on election results whereas ethnic minorities are more likely to expect “no change” in this area.

Meanwhile, more men than women (89% vs. 83%) and many more Albanians than ethnic minorities (86% vs. 68%) expect an improvement in political stability. This sense of optimism is shared by younger respondents aged 18-24 as 90% of them expect an improvement in political stability versus a much lower share of respondents aged 65 or older (76%).

More men (90%) than women (82%) expect an improvement in the respect for human rights following the recent elections. Among age groups, the 25-34 are more likely than other age groups to expect an improvement in this area (93% for the 25-34 vs. 87% for the total sample). As for relations between different communities, more men (77%) expect an improvement than women (69%).

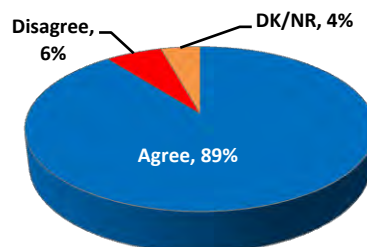
In terms of the expected change in the areas of corruption and the status of Kosovo following the elections, Albanians are more optimistic than ethnic minorities: 69% of Albanians versus 49% of ethnic minorities expect an improvement in the fight against corruption and 96% of Albanians versus 69% of ethnic minorities expect an improvement in the status of Kosovo following the elections.

#### IV. INFORMATION, MEDIA AND THE PUBLIC INFORMATION CAMPAIGN

##### *High level of information prior to November elections*

To ensure a representative and inclusive electoral process, it is crucial the electorate is well-informed prior to the elections. It is thus good news that most of Kosovo’s electorate report having enough information to make informed decisions prior to the November elections. A majority of voters (89%) report they received enough information to make informed decisions when voting in this election and only a small fraction (6%) disagrees (**Figure 27**). More men than women say they received enough information to make informed decisions prior to the election (85% men; 77% women).

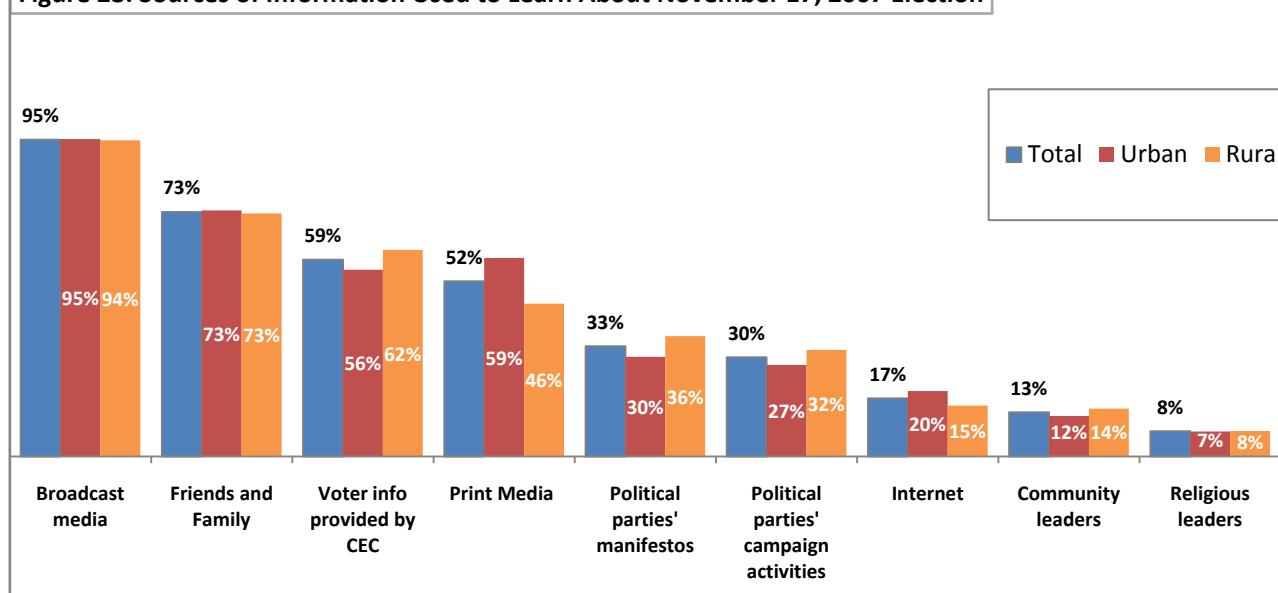
**Figure 27: Agree or Disagree: Did you have enough information to make informed decisions when voting in these elections?**



To obtain information on the November 17 elections, an overwhelming majority (95%) report using broadcast media (TV, radio), followed by friends and family (73%) and voter information provided by the Central Election Commission—TV ads, posters, leaflets, etc—( 59%) as the top three most-used sources of information for the November elections. Less often cited sources of information include: print media—newspapers/magazines—(52%), political parties’ manifestos (33%), political parties’ campaign activities (30%), the internet (17%), community leaders (13%) and religious leaders (8%). (**Figure 28**)

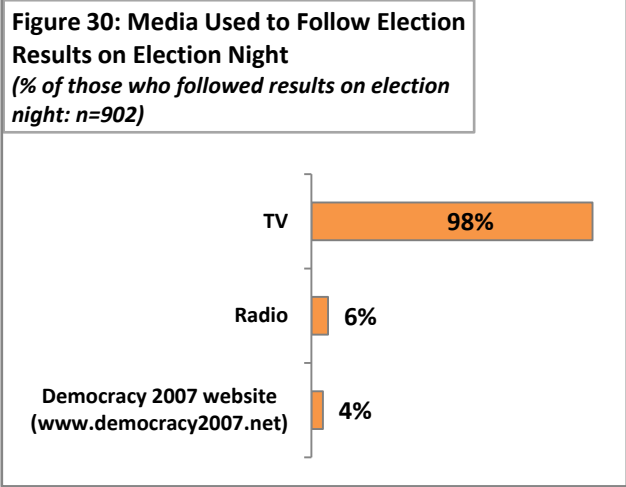
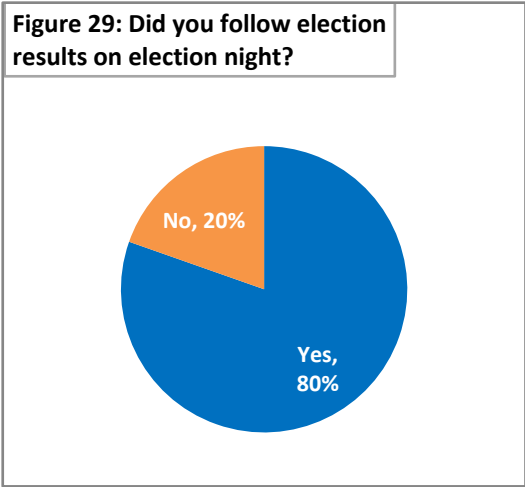
It is interesting to note the sources used to obtain election information do not vary much between urban and rural areas. Only in the case of print media is there notable variation between urban (59%) and rural (46%) respondents.

**Figure 28: Sources of Information Used to Learn About November 17, 2007 Election**



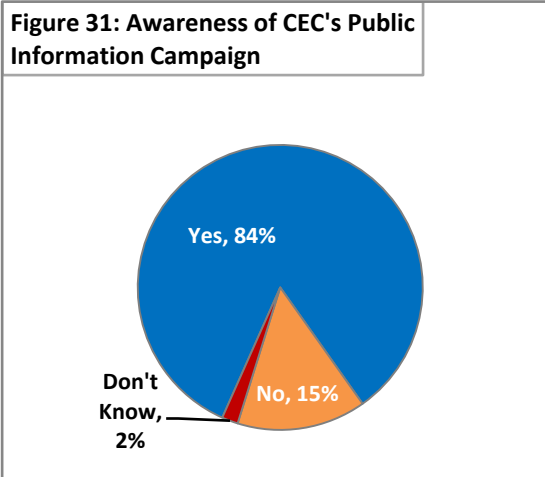
*Significant majority followed election results on election night*

A majority of Kosovars (93%) also found media coverage of the election-related issues very informative (58%) or somewhat informative (34%). As many as eight in ten respondents (80%) also say they followed election results on election night, with only 20% saying they did not (**Figure 29**). Of those who say they followed results on election night, slightly more were urban residents (83%) compared to rural residents (77%). Among those who followed election results on election night, the use of TV was almost universal with 98% saying they followed the results on TV. This means that a sweeping majority of Kosovars were tuned in on election night and followed the live coverage of the parallel vote tabulation sponsored by IFES-Kosovo and the coalition of NGOs, Democracy in Action. However, as will be shown in the next sections, most Kosovars do not know that Democracy in Action was behind this initiative. Use of other media sources to follow election results is minimal relative to TV use. Only 6% reported using the radio and 4% report using the Democracy 2007 website ([www.democracy2007.net](http://www.democracy2007.net)). This website, also sponsored by Democracy in Action, was instantly updating election results online (**Figure 30**). Even if a few respondents did not follow election results on election night, nearly nine in ten (87%) say it is important that this information was available to the general public on election night. Only seven percent say it is not important and six percent say they don't know.



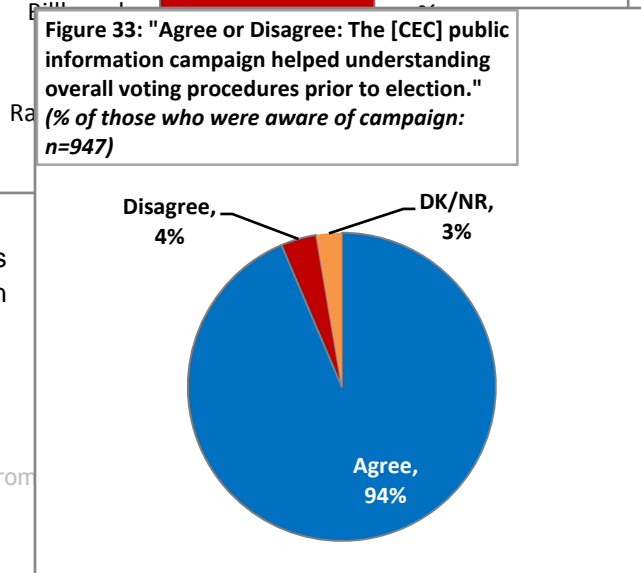
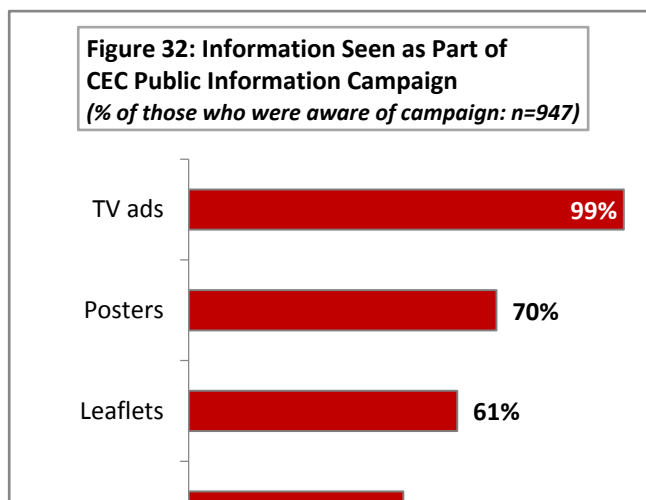
Central Election Commission's public information campaign informed voters on election procedures

Prior to the elections, the CEC launched a voter education campaign to inform voters about voting procedures, date of the election, how to register, how to vote, where to vote, how to mark the ballot and other polling station procedures. The CEC used TV, radio, newspaper advertisements, billboards, posters and leaflets in order to inform voters about voting procedures.<sup>10</sup> According to our survey, this campaign was visible to an impressive proportion of voters. Eight in ten respondents (84%) say that they were aware of the CEC's public information campaign, while only 15% were not and 2% say they do not know (Figure 31).



Voters who are aware of the CEC's public information campaign learned about it through advertisements from the campaign itself: all of those who are familiar with the campaign say they learned about it through its formal ads. Some 38% also heard about the campaign through friends or family and 4% learned of it through the media. Roughly two percent learned about the campaign through other ways, such as the internet, training held by the CEC, party/political meetings, at work or NGOs.

Those who had heard of the CEC's public information campaign were then asked which materials they saw as part of the campaign. An overwhelming majority (99%) of those who are familiar with the campaign saw TV ads from the public information campaign, 70% saw posters, 61% saw leaflets, 46% saw radio spots and 49% saw billboards (Figure 32). Of these materials, most say they found the TV ads most useful (97%), followed by radio spots (92%), leaflets (91%), posters (87%) and billboards (87%). If we include those who are not aware of the public information campaign in our base, the visibility of various campaign materials drops as a percent of the total sample, yet for some materials, visibility remains high such as TV ads (83%), posters (59%) and leaflets (51%), whereas for billboards and radio spots, visibility is lower (41% and 38% respectively).



According to survey respondents, the CEC's public information campaign was successful in

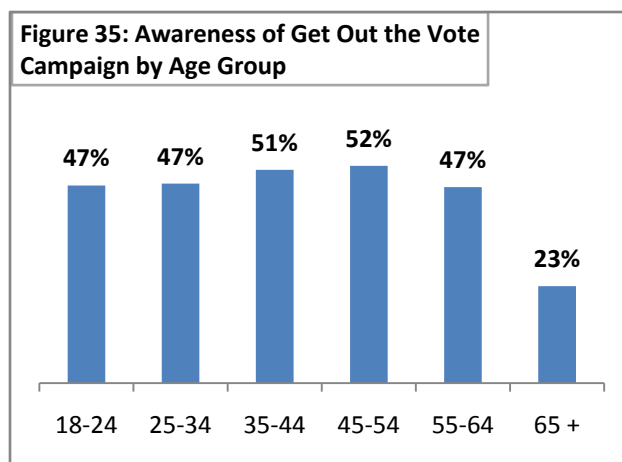
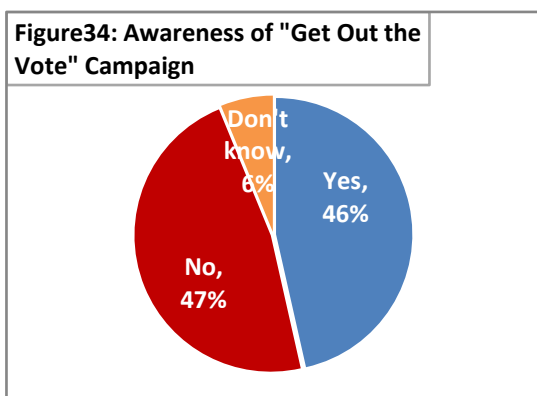
<sup>10</sup> <http://www.osce.org/item/27943.html?print=1>

helping voters understand the overall voting procedures and how to mark the ballot before the election. A strong majority (94%) of those aware of the CEC's public information campaign strongly (70%) or somewhat (23%) agree that it helped them understand the overall voting procedures before the elections and only 4% disagree. Similarly, 94% of those aware of the CEC's public information campaign strongly (74%) or somewhat (21%) agree that the public information materials helped them understand how to mark the ballot, with only 4% disagreeing. **(Figure 33)**

*Democracy in Action's "Get Out The Vote" campaign encouraged people to vote*

In the few months preceding elections, Democracy in Action, a coalition composed of ten Kosovar NGO's<sup>11</sup>, also carried out a public information campaign, or a "Get out the Vote" campaign (GOTV).<sup>12</sup> This campaign informed voters on why they should participate in the voting process and worked to motivate them to participate in the elections.

Over four in ten (46%) respondents say they were aware of this campaign and roughly the same percentage say they were not aware of the campaign (47%).<sup>13</sup> All age groups, with the exception of those 65 or older, report roughly the same level of awareness of this campaign **(Figures 34 & 35)**.

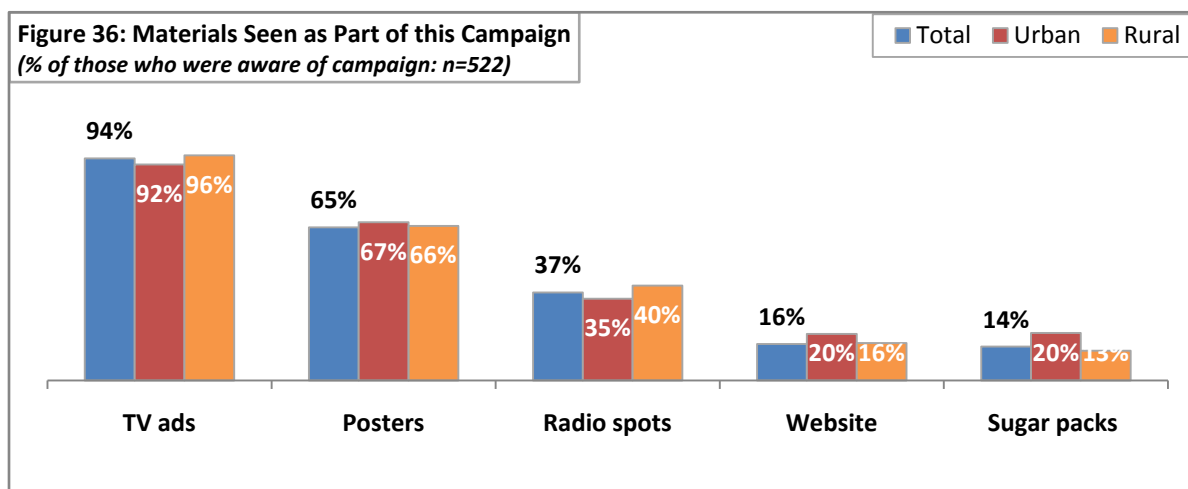


<sup>11</sup> Member organizations include: Community Building Mitrovica (CBM); Communication for Social Development (CSD); Center for Civil Society Development (CCSD); Developing Together (DT); Forum for Democratic Initiatives (FDI); Initiative for Progress (INPO); Kosovo Center for International Cooperation (KCIC); Kosovo Democratic Institute (KDI), Mother Theresa Association; Kosovar Institute for Policy Research and Development (KIPRED); Eye of Vision.

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.democracy2007.net/en/index.html>

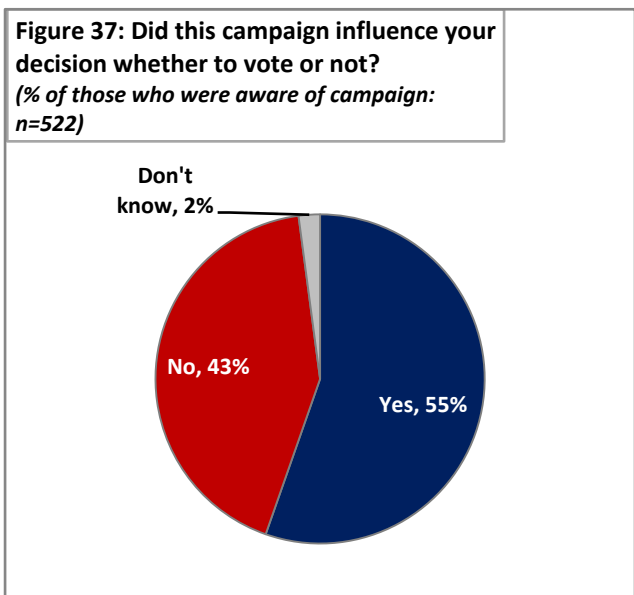
<sup>13</sup> Question wording: "As you may know, there was also a campaign during the elections that was encouraging people to get out and vote. Were you aware of this public information campaign encouraging people to vote, other than what the Central Election Commission was doing?"

While fewer voters were aware of this campaign compared to those familiar with the CEC’s campaign, this is still a relatively high level of awareness. Of those who had heard of the GOTV campaign, most had seen TV ads (94%) more than any other materials associated with this campaign. The next most cited materials seen as part of this campaign is posters (67%), radio spots (38%), website (18%) and sugar packs that were distributed in coffee shops with motivational messages for voting (16%). Similar to the assessment of the CEC’s campaign materials, there is very little variation between which campaign materials urban and rural residents saw. Similar proportions of urban and rural residents reported to seeing TV ads, showing the widespread reach of TV across all areas. However, there is slightly more visibility of the website and sugar packs in urban areas than in rural areas (website: 20% vs. 16%; sugar packs: 20% vs. 13% respectively). This is due to higher internet penetration rates and a higher concentration of coffee shops around cities and towns. Meanwhile, slightly more respondents in rural rather than urban areas (40% vs. 35%) heard radio spots with the GOTV campaign. **(Figure 36)**



In assessing the effectiveness of the campaign in influencing people to vote or not, a majority (55%) of those who were familiar with the campaign say it influenced their decision to vote and 43% say it did not influence their decision to vote or not **(Figure 37)**. More women than men say this campaign influenced their decision to vote (58% women; 53% men).

Despite the 46% awareness level of this campaign, respondents familiar with the campaign are not entirely clear who was behind it and could not tell that “Democracy in Action” was behind the GOTV campaign. Most believe it was the political parties (38%), but almost half the respondents (49%) gave no answer. Smaller percentages of respondents say other groups were behind the campaign such as: young students’ organization/youth (4%), NGOs (3%), government (3%), OSCE (3%) and the media 1%. Less than 1% cite Democracy in Action, civil society, UNMIK, or the Kosova Action Network (KAN) as possibly being behind the campaign.





Responses were mixed when those familiar with the campaign were asked if they have heard of the coalition “Democracy in Action”: 47% have heard of it and 49% have not (**Figure 38**). When asked in which context or how they have heard of Democracy in Action, most believe it is associated with election monitoring (56%) or media coverage on election night (43%), while less associate it with a Get Out the Vote campaign or word of mouth (16%).

