





The leadership and participation of women in politics

The Leadership and Participation of Women in Politics

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Contents

| Disclaimer: | 4 |
|--|----|
| Introduction | 5 |
| Chapter 1: Gender Stereotypes | 7 |
| Chapter 2: Perceptions on Men and Women in Politics | 9 |
| Perceptions on Political Skills | 12 |
| Explaining the "Glass Ceiling" | 14 |
| Determinants of the Favourable Perception of Women Holding Leadership Positions: | 16 |
| Chapter 3: Gender and Education | 20 |
| Chapter 4: Social and Political Participation | 22 |
| Determinants of the Political Participation of Women | 23 |
| Chapter 5: Economic Participation | 25 |
| Women and Men in the Labour Market | 25 |
| Gender and Ownership | 26 |
| Chapter 6: Awareness of Gender Inequality | 28 |
| Chapter 7: Security: Perceptions and Trends | 33 |
| Gender Based Violence | 36 |
| Health: Physical and Psychological Wellbeing | 40 |
| Recommendations: | 41 |
| Annex | 43 |
| References | 44 |
| Methodology for Public Pulse on Gender | 45 |
| Note for Weighting the Totals | 45 |

Disclaimer:

The views expressed in this Report are those of the opinion poll respondents and do not necessarily represent the views of UNDP

Dear Reader,

As part of the project "Enhancing Women's Participation in Peacebuilding and Post-conflict Planning", this is the first Public Pulse report that specifically focuses on Gender Issues. The report chose to focus on women in leadership due to the underrepresentation of women in leadership positions, which is not a problem exclusively faced by Kosovo, but a widespread global challenge.

The focus of the report lies on Women in Leadership, yet; the information provided in the report goes well beyond that, to cover issues of gender inequality more generally, domestic violence, the labour market and so forth.

The below study has a twofold purpose. Firstly, it surveys Kosovars' perceptions regarding women's leadership skills and positions, by collecting and analysing the various factors contributing to these perceptions. Secondly, the study measures women's participation in both social and political activities, and analyses the factors that impact women's participation levels. The results are derived from an opinion poll sample that surveyed 1290 citizens of Kosovo over 18 years of age, of both sexes and from all municipalities of Kosovo, covering both rural and urban areas. The sample included 598 men, and 691 women, of which 832 were Kosovo Albanians (K-Albanian), 230 Kosovo Serbs (K-Serb) and 228 Kosovo non-Serb minorities (namely Turkish, Bosnian, Gorani, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian).

Some of the most important highlights of the report include:

- The general opinion of respondents indicated that men (46%) are better political leaders than women (14%)
- A very high percentage of all respondents, regardless of gender, reported that men are much better political candidates for managing "crime and public safety," "national security and defence," "standing up for what they believe in despite political pressure," "fighting corruption" and "inter-ethnic dialogue." The only area women are perceived as being more skilled political leaders by both men and women respondents is concerning education and health care related issues. In addition to "dealing with education and healthcare," women respondents indicated that women are better at "representing their interests," and "keeping the government honest."
- 45 % of respondents thought that "women cannot be as dedicated to paid work as men".
- 22% of men reporting participation in political party activities in the last six months compared to 8% of women.
- 45% of all respondents associated parliamentary professions with men compared to 3% association with women. There is a similar difference in responses concerning the position of mayor; 67.36% of all respondents associated the position of mayor with men, whereas only 2.87% associated it with women. Responses concerning gender association of directors of banks and larger organizations indicate that 57% of all participants associated these positions with men, compared to 3% who associated these with women. Similarly, 43% of all respondents associated the position of university professors with men and only 2% with women.

Steliana Nedera

Deputy Resident Representative UNDP Kosovo

Introduction

The underrepresentation of women in leadership positions and in decision-making roles remains a widespread global challenge. Developing countries do not exclusively face this problem; rather, it is a prevalent international phenomenon. Notably, women hold only 18% of the parliamentary seats and only 16% of the Ministers positions globally. Thus, the proportion of women acting as leaders of state and government officials is very low at only 5% in 2011. Globally, women are inadequately represented in decision-making positions, and other positions of power, responsibility, and leadership, despite the increasing rates of women's formal employment in the past decades.² Women labour market participation, education of women, and degrees conferred to women do not lag behind men. Keeping this in mind, what is the reason for the underrepresentation of women in leadership positions and what prevents many women from achieving leadership roles?

As shown by a number of studies, there are no significant gender related biological differences in cognitive performance or personality traits.3 Additionally, in an analysis of leadership styles conducted in 2003, Alice Eagly, Mary Johannesen-Schmidt and Marloes van Engen concluded that there is no major difference between the way women and men lead.4 Conversely, they found that there are more similarities than differences in the way women and men lead, and that leadership styles of some women may be more effective than those of men. Thus, the underrepresentation of women in leadership and decision-making roles is not attributable to "natural" and "biological" differences between genders.

Although men and women's abilities do not differ significantly, stereotypical perceptions about the leadership capabilities of men and women suggest otherwise. Many theoretical and empirical studies indicate that women's leadership skills are perceived to be lower than those of men. Jennifer Boldry, Wendy Wood, and Deborah Kashy state that global perceptions suggest that the average woman possesses fewer leadership traits than the average man. 5 Sabine Sczesny's research indicates that the majority of test participants believed women leaders to be much less task-oriented and competent than men leaders.6

Thus, contemporary literature suggests that women are not underrepresented because of a lack of skills, but because of gender stereotypes. Gender stereotypes usually associate characteristics of leadership as "masculine." "Masculine" characteristics included in this stereotype depict men as having superior logical reasoning skills and hence make more successful leaders;8 this associates successful leadership skills with men exclusively. This, in turn, disadvantages women who are perceived as "feminine." Again, most literature states that, while there are no differences in the leadership skills of men and women, there is a debilitating difference in the perception of their respective skills.

¹ See United Nations Protocol and Liaison Service, Heads of State and heads of government, Public List, August 2011.

² Cheryl De la Rey, "Gender, women, and leadership," Agenda 65,(2005), 4-11.
3 See studies by Janet Hyde, "The Gender Similarities Hypothesis." American Psychology 60, no. 6 (2005), 581-592,

http://www.careerpioneernetwork.org/wwwroot/userfiles/files/the_gender_similarities_hypothesis.pdf (accessed 31 Jan. 2014) and Elizabeth Spelke, "ex Differences in Intrinsic Aptitude for Mathematics and Science?" American Psychologist 60, no. 9 (2005).

⁴ Alice Eagly, Mary Johannesen-Schmidt, Marloes van Engen, "Transformational, Transactional, and Laissez-Faire Leadership Styles: A Meta-Analysis Comparing Women and Men, "American Psychology Association 129, no. 4 (2003), 569 –591.

⁵ Jennifer Boldry, Wendy Wood, and Deborah Kashy, "Gender Stereotypes and the Evaluation of Men and Women in Military Training," Journal of Social Issues 57. no. 4 (2001), 689-705.

⁶ Sabine Sczesny, "A closer look beneath the surface: Various facets of the think-manager-think-male-stereotype," Se Roles 49, no. 7 (2003), 353-363. 7 De la Rey (2005).

⁸ Theresa Welbourn, Janine Prime, Nancy Carter, "Women 'Take Care,' Men 'Take Charge:' Managers' Stereotypic Perceptions of Women and Men Leaders," Psychologist-Manager Journal 12 (2009), 25-49.

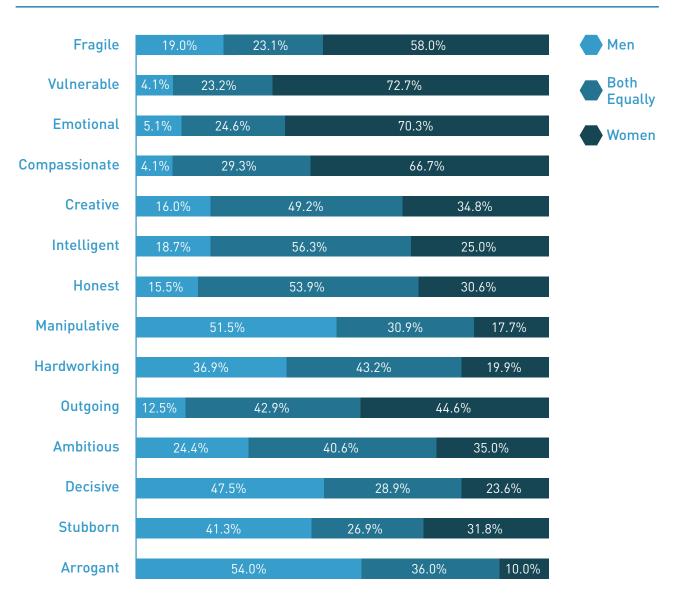
The prevalence of such stereotypes may be due to traditional gender roles that depict men as "breadwinners" and women as "homemakers." These traditional stereotypes are still commonly accepted gender roles in modern societies. Moreover, theory suggests that socializing young children within these traditional roles perpetuates gender specific managerial styles that advantage men pursuing executive careers. Therefore, traditional gender roles encourage men to pursue executive careers and women to pursue domestic activities.

For the aforementioned reasons, the purposes of the current study are twofold. First, the study will survey Kosovars' perceptions concerning women's leadership skills and positions by collecting and analysing the various factors contributing to these perceptions. Secondly, the study measures women's participation in both social and political activities, and analyses the factors that impact women's participation levels. The results are derived from an opinion poll sample that surveyed 1290 citizens of Kosovo over 18 years of age, of both sexes and from all municipalities of Kosovo¹⁰, covering both rural and urban areas. The sample included 598 men, and 691 women, of which 832 were Kosovo Albanians (K-Albanian), 230 Kosovo Serbs (K-Serb) and 228 Kosovo non-Serb minorities (namely Turkish, Bosnian, Gorani, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian)

Chapter 1:Gender Stereotypes

The previous chapter introduced possible negative effects gender role stereotypes might have for women in leadership roles. This section analyses the relationship between personal characteristics and gender to assess stereotypes that Kosovars apply to men and women. Personal characteristics are categorized, based on social perceptions, as positive, negative or neutral. The following personality traits are categorized as positive: decisive, ambitious, outgoing, hard working, honesty, intelligence and creativity. Personality traits categorized as negative are: arrogance, manipulative, vulnerability and fragility. While personality traits categorized as neutral are: stubborn, emotional and compassionate.

Figure 1.1: Are the following characteristics truer for men or women?



8 Public Pulse Report

Positive Traits

Based on the results, most traits were perceived as either male or female; only creativity, intelligence and honesty were perceived as traits of both men and women. On the other hand, both sexes believed that women are somewhat more ambitious than men; yet all respondents attributed decisiveness much more to men. All respondents agreed that women are much more outgoing than men (37% by men, 48% by women). Men respondents attributed hard working more to men, and the majority of women respondents attributed it equally to both sexes. All respondents considered honesty to be an equally shared characteristic of both sexes (50% of men and 51% of women), as well as intelligence and creativity.

Disaggregated according to ethnicity, K-Albanians and other minorities attributed positive stereotypes such as decisiveness more to men (47% and 41% respectively), while the majority of K-Serbs (55%) attributed it equally to men and women. On the other hand, ambition was attributed more to men by other minorities, and equally by K-Albanians and K-Serbs. However, there was a significant difference in percentages: 37% of K-Albanians compared to 63% of K-Serbs attributed it equally to both men and women.

The majority of all respondents attributed the characteristic of hard working equally to both genders, irrespective of ethnicity (albeit, much more equally by K-Serbs). Similarly, the vast majority of respondents considered honesty to be an equally shared characteristic across genders.

Negative Stereotypes

There is no specific trend of negative stereotypes (arrogance, manipulative, vulnerability and fragility) Arrogance was attributed more to men by both sexes; while manipulative was attributed to men by the majority of men respondents (40%) and to women by the majority of women respondents (51%). Respondents from both sexes attributed vulnerability and fragility to women.

The attribution of negative stereotypes differs substantially according to respondents' ethnicity. The majority of K-Albanians (50%) and other minorities (44%) attributed arrogance more to men, while the majority of K-Serbs attributed it equally to both sexes (39%). The same was true for manipulative, wherein the majority of K-Serbs (46%) attributed it equally to both genders, while K-Albanians and other minorities (47% and 45% respectively) attributed it much more to men.

All respondents, irrespective of ethnicity and gender, attributed vulnerability and fragility more to women.

Neutral Traits

The results of perceptions the neutral traits of men and women are more straightforward. All respondents, irrespective of sex and ethnicity, perceived men as slightly more stubborn. Largely, all respondents perceived women as being more compassionate (65% compared to 4% who attributed it to men), as well as emotional (69% compared to 5% who attributed it to men). Lastly, all respondents, regardless of ethnicity, thought that women were more compassionate and emotional compared to men.

Leadership traits

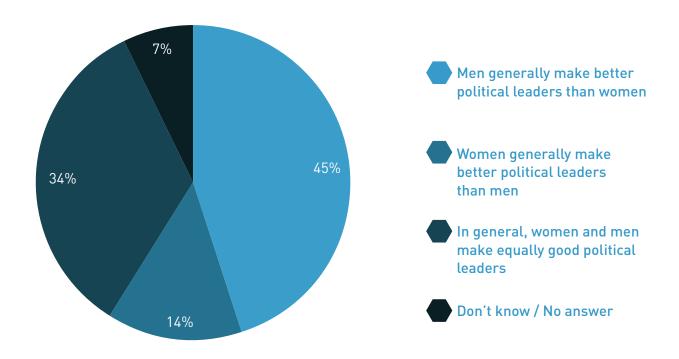
As the above results indicate, the vast majority of respondents attributed the characteristics that are in sharp contrast with leadership traits, such as vulnerability, fragility, emotional and compassion to women. While the positive stereotypes usually associated with successful leadership such as hard working, ambitious, and decisiveness were attributed to men.

Chapter 2: Perceptions on Men and Women in Politics

One important focus of this research is to obtain information surrounding Kosovars' perceptions of men and women in leadership positions within the political sphere. The number of women in decision-making and leadership roles has increased since the UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) established quotas for women in Parliament and local assemblies. Despite increased representation of women in politics in the last decade, the following analysis suggests that the general perception among Kosovars is that men are more capable political leaders.

Responses to questions specifically targeting perceptions of political leadership skills indicate rather skewed perceptions that men are generally better leaders compared to women. The general opinion of respondents indicated that men (46%) are better political leaders than women (14%) while approximately 34% of respondents stated that men and women are equally good political leaders. As Figure 1.1 shows, this opinion did not change with the ethnicity or gender of the respondent. Therefore, the majority of Kosovars perceive men as much more skilled in political affairs than women

Figure 2.1: Opinion on men and women as political leaders.



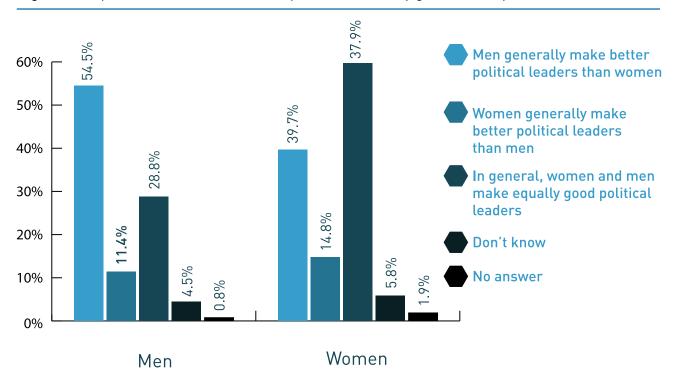


Figure 2.2: Opinion of men and women as political leaders by gender of respondent.

Notably, when asked about their intentions to vote for women and men candidates, the results showed that there were no gender preferences among the respondents. Approximately one in three respondents would vote for equally educated women (32%), men (32%) or did not have preference (33%). However preferences concerning the candidate's gender did differ based on ethnicity: the percentage of K-Albanian respondents who would vote for women is the same as those who would vote for men; K-Serbs would be more likely to vote for men (31%) over women candidates (14%), and the same was true for other minorities (35% would rather vote for men compared to 29% who would vote for women).

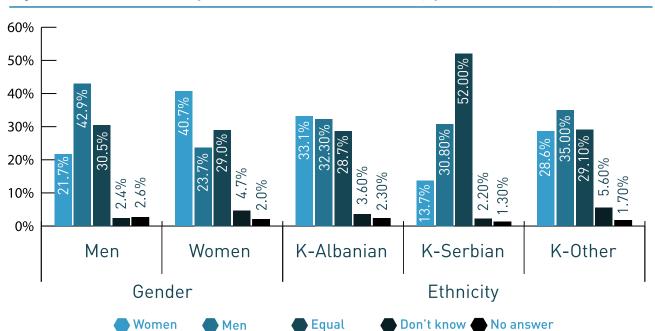
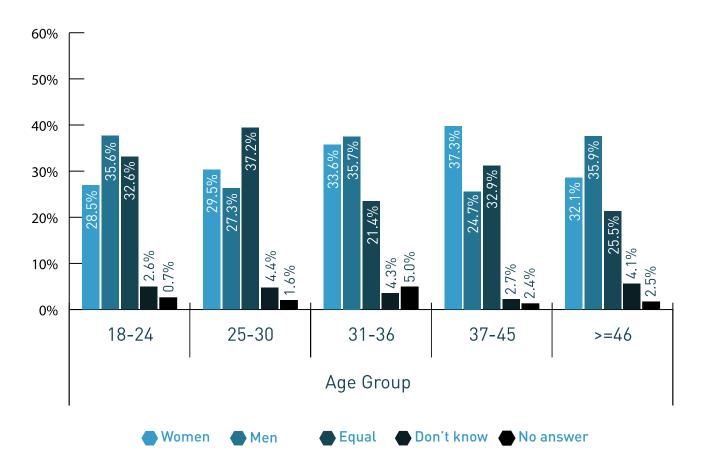


Figure 2.3: Intention of voting for women and men candidates by gender and ethnicity.





Moreover, as illustrated above, the responses differed substantially by gender; the majority of women respondents said they would vote for women (41%), while only 24% said they would vote for men. Conversely, the large majority of the men respondents would vote for the men candidates (43 %), while only 22% would vote for the women candidates.

Furthermore, when respondents were asked what they thought the traits of a good leader were, 33.1% believed that being a man was essential.

The analysis indicates that there are few differences between men and women regarding what is important for good leadership. The most important characteristics selected by both genders were decisiveness, hard working, intelligence and education. More women thought that creativity, outgoing and compassion are important for good leadership. On the other hand, more men respondents emphasized the importance of youth, appropriate age and being male than women respondents.

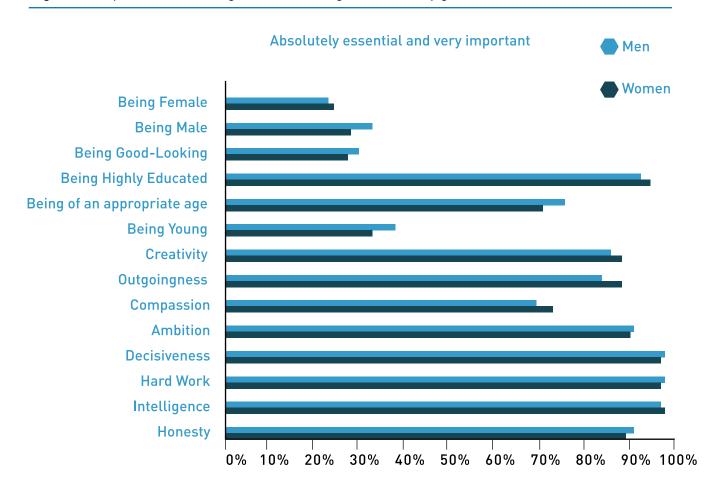


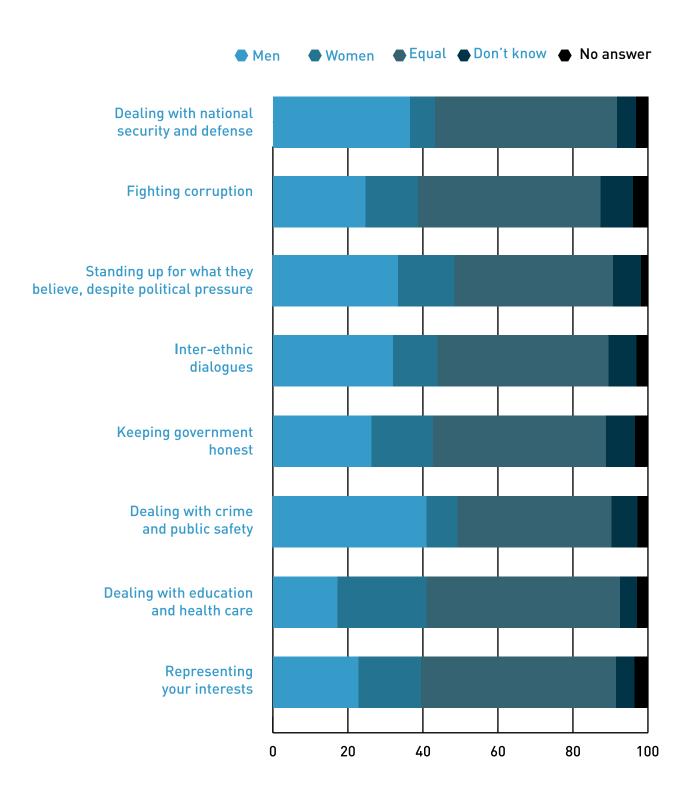
Figure 2.5: Opinions concerning the traits of a "good leader" by gender.

Perceptions on Political Skills

Quotas established by UNMIK guarantee the representation of women in politics; 30% of the assigned seats for the Kosovo Assembly and individual municipal assemblies are reserved for women. Although the gender quota has increased the representation of women in politics, this representation is much more visible at the grassroots level than at leadership levels. As of 2014, only one minister is a woman and only one municipality has a woman mayor. This reflects the conjecture that, in general, the population perceives women to be less skilled in politics compared to men.

Almost all the responses to questions regarding the political skills of men and women imply that men in Kosovo are perceived as more skilled in political affairs than women. A very high percentage of all respondents, regardless of gender, reported that men are much better political candidates for managing "crime and public safety," "national security and defence," "standing up for what they believe in despite political pressure," "fighting corruption" and "inter-ethnic dialogue." The only area women are perceived as being more skilled political leaders by both men and women respondents is concerning education and health care related issues. In addition to "dealing with education and healthcare," women respondents indicated that women are better at "representing their interests," and "keeping the government honest."

Figure 2.6: Perceptions of political skills of women and men.



14 Public Pulse Report

Explaining the "Glass Ceiling"

The "glass ceiling" is a phenomenon referring to the barriers encountered by women seeking senior positions in government, corporations or non-profit organizations. The term "glass-ceiling" was first used in 1986 to "describe an impediment in organizational hierarchies, just below the top management level, that prevents or constrains women from rising into the ranks of senior management.

Men and women respondents agreed that women's abilities are not the reason that men and women do not equally hold high-ranking positions, but depends more on social, cultural and economic factors independent of women's abilities.

The majority of respondents believe that women's lack of attributes, education and skills are not the reason why women do not achieve as high positions as men during their career. Instead, respondents believe that pressure from family, a lack of facilitation by the state to encourage women and the Kosovar tradition inhibits women's achievement of leadership positions. Likewise, a large number of respondents believe the Kosovo business sector to be dominated by men, obstructing women from achieving equally high positions during their career.

The majority of all respondents, regardless of gender, believe that personal choice plays a significant role in fewer women government leaders. Lastly, being a man is thought to be unimportant by the majority of respondents, regardless of sex or ethnicity.

The majority of Kosovars think that outside factors contribute to the smaller percentage of women holding high-ranking positions in politics. All respondents shared this opinion regardless of ethnicity.

Due to the persistence of traditional gender roles, which typically demand more household labour by women and place a higher burden on women, family obligations were perceived as the largest barrier to women achieving top positions in government institutions. Thus, working-women have dual responsibilities, both outside and inside the home; in general, this double-burden of working-women poses a significant barrier to their achievement of high positions in government institutions and politics.

The only difference stated as a reason for fewer women in high-ranking leadership roles, according to ethnicity, was the lower ambition of women in politics compared to men. Thirty-seven per cent of K-Serbs agreed that women lack ambition for politics compared to 16% of K-Albanians and 17% of other minorities. Also, a much higher percentage of K-Serbs believe that family pressures prevent women from achieving higher positions (68% compared to 47% and 48% of K-Albanians and other minorities, respectively).

Notably, a high number of respondents think that "women do not make as good of leaders as men," with more than 48% of men citing this as a major or minor reason for the lack of women in top positions. Although the percentage of women who expressed this opinion is lower, 45% of women think that this is a (major or minor) reason why there are fewer women holding top positions. These results indicate that gender stereotypes related to leadership disfavour women and are shared by both Kosovar men and women.

¹¹ Nancy Lockwood, "The Glass Ceiling: Domestic and International Perspectives," Society for Human Resource Management Research Quarterly (2004). 12 Dreher, 2009

Figure 2.7: Opinions on why fewer women are in top positions in government institutions.

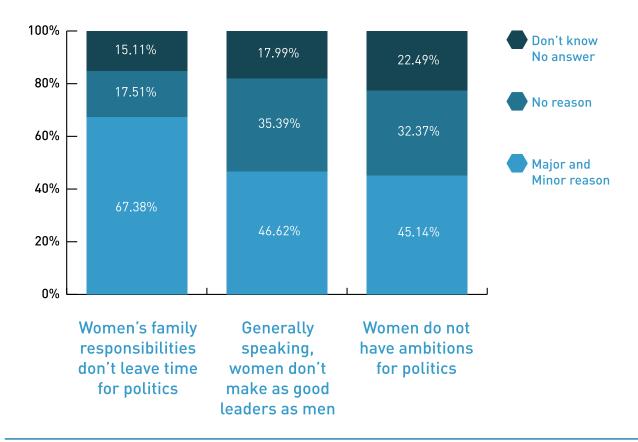
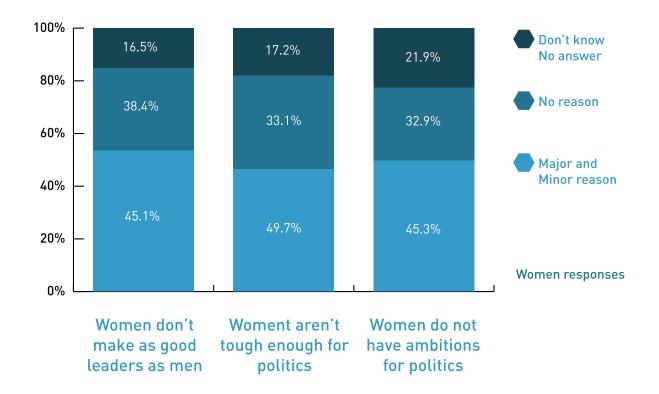


Figure 2.8: Why women do not equally achieve high-ranking positions as men.



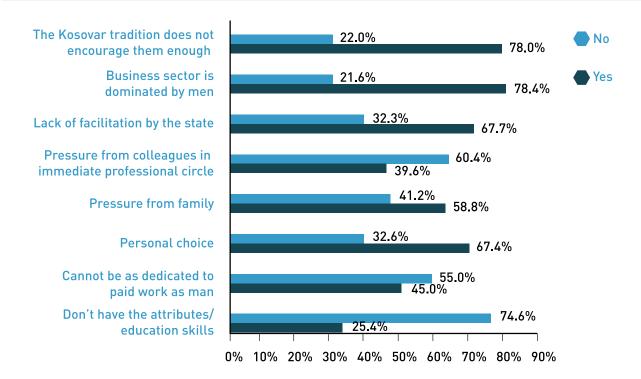


Figure 2.9: The main factors hindering women in their career.

As illustrate in Figure 2.9, respondents cite the Kosovar tradition, the business sector dominated by men, lack of support by the state, pressure from family and personal choice as the main factors hindering women in their career.

Although the majority of respondents thought that attributes, education, skills and dedication are not barriers that limit women's professional ascent, there were a substantial percentage (45%) who thought that "women cannot be as dedicated to paid work as men;" this suggests a high level of prejudice against women.

Positively, a substantial percentage of respondents selected more objective reasons such as tradition, lack of state support, family pressure and the domination of men in business as barriers for women seeking leadership positions.

Determinants of the Favourable Perception of Women Holding Leadership Positions:¹³

An indicator aiming to examine which respondents have a more favourable perception of women in politics was conceptualized and computed by analysing the responses regarding the respondents' perceptions of women holding leadership positions compared to men in leadership positions. Different demographic variables were used to analyse this indicator to determine significant correlations that contribute to favourable perceptions of women holding leadership positions. Some of the most statistically significant correlations in this regard are summarized below:

- Respondents with a higher level of education have a more favourable perception of women in leadership positions. The higher the education level of the respondent, the more likely they were to believe that women are equally, or more capable, than men for leadership positions.
- Women respondents have a much more favourable perception of women in leadership positions compared to men respondents, who generally believed that men are better suited for leadership positions.
- Respondents from other minorities have a less favourable perception of women in leadership positions than K- Serbs and K-Albanians.
- Geographically, respondents from Ferizaj/Uroševac and Gjilan/Gnjilane have the most favourable opinion of women in leadership positions compared to respondents from Prizren and Gjakova/Đakovica, who have the least favourable opinion of women in leadership. In terms of place of residence, respondents from urban areas trust women's leadership skills more than those polled in rural areas.

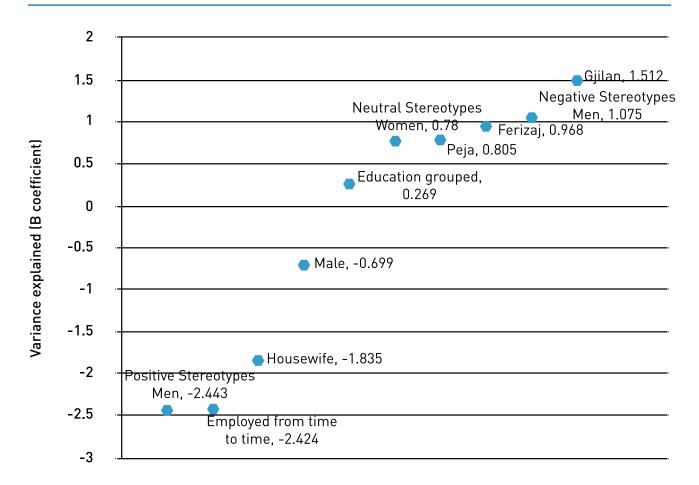
Using a similar methodology, the indicator was analysed for women respondents.

- The results of this analysis show that women respondents who own property are more likely to have a favourable perception of women in leadership.¹⁴
- Related to this, women who have higher levels of education are also more likely to have a favourable perception of women holding leadership positions.
- K-Serbian women, as well as women from Gjilan/Gnjilane, have a more favourable perception of women in leadership compared to others. K-Albanian women, other minorities, and women from Prizren and Gjakova/Đakovica have a much less favourable perception of women in leadership roles.
- Married women have a much less favourable perception of women in leadership compared to unmarried women or women living in a free cohabitation.
- Women who stated that they had positive or neutral stereotypes of other women have a much more favourable perception of women in leadership roles.
- Pensioners and housewives have a less favourable perception of women in leadership.
- Compared to younger respondents, older respondents have a much less favourable perception of women in leadership positions.
- Women respondents holding positive stereotypes for men, have a less favourable perception of women in leadership.¹⁴

¹⁴ Favourable perceptions of women in leadership varies across regions, ethnicities and status of employment. Dummy variables for each of these contributors are included in the model, using Prizren as a reference region, Kosovo Albanians as a reference for ethnicity and married as a base for marital status.

Figure 2.10 shows the effects of demographic and socio economic characteristics on favourable perception of women in leadership, among women respondents. The chart below illustrates statistical significance.

Figure 2.10: The effects of demographic and socio economic characteristics among women respondents.



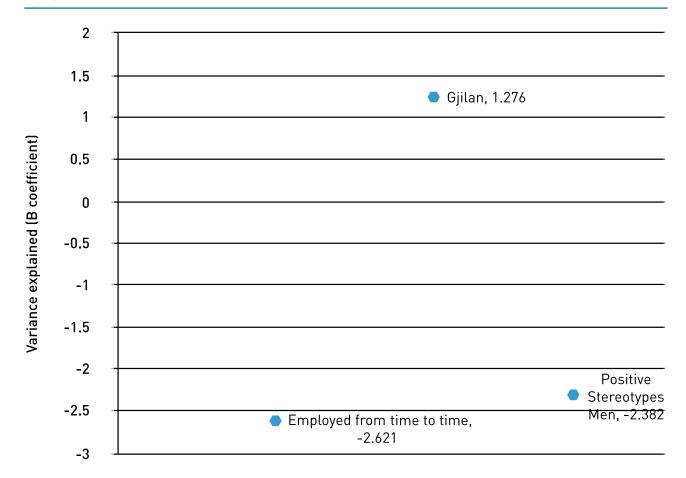
The impact of the statistically significant variables on the indicator can be observed in the chart above. The closer a given variable is to 0, the smaller its impact on the respondent's favourable perception on women. For example, the variable "having positive stereotypes for men" has the largest negative influence, whereas the variable "being from Gjilan/Gnjilane" has the highest positive influence on perceptions of women as leaders. Around 18% of variance of the indicator is explained by this model.

People living in Peja/Pec, Ferizaj/Uroševac and Gjilan/Gnijlane show higher favourable perceptions of women in leadership positions compared to those living in Prizren. Also, in this model, the individual's level of education, gender and status of employment are statistically significant contributors to favourability of women as leaders. Additionally, this analysis shows that respondents who have neutral stereotypes for women and negative stereotypes for men are more likely to favour women in leadership positions.

Initially, some statistical significance was found in the relationship between age and favourable perception of women in leadership. However, as other variables having a statistically significant relationship were added to the model, the contribution of age decreased.

Figure 2.11 shows the effects of demographic and socio-economic characteristics on the favourable perception of women in leadership given by men respondents.

Figure 2.11: The effects of demographic and socio-economic characteristics among men respondents.



When the same analysis was conducted for male respondents, three variables were determined to have a statistically significant effect on the indicator. The closer a given variable is to 0, the smaller its impact on the respondent's favourable perception of women. Keeping this in mind, the results indicate that men respondents from Gjilan/Gnjilane have the most favourable perception of women in leadership roles; while, conversely, the men respondents with sporadic employment have the least favourable perception of women in leadership positions. The third variable concerns the "positive stereotypes for men;" this variable suggests that the respondents who have positive stereotypes for men have a lower favourable perception of women in leadership positions.

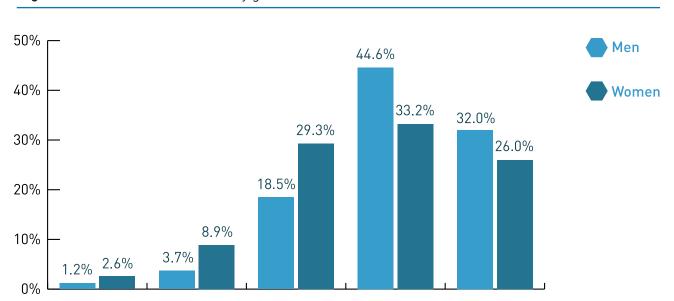
Chapter 3:

Gender and Education

Education is acknowledged as one of the most important factors in empowering women and ultimately achieving gender equality. The importance of education for participation and involvement in politics is undeniable and is recognized and emphasized by many international conventions and conferences. For example, "The Fourth World Conference on Women," that took place in Beijing in 1995, recognized that, "Investing in formal and non-formal education and training for girls and women, with its exceptionally high social and economic return, has proved to be one of the best means of achieving sustainable development and economic growth that is both sustained and sustainable." Furthermore, the Beijing conference acknowledged that increasing women's education and literacy is imperative to empowering women's participation in decision-making positions.¹⁵

Considering the acknowledged importance of education for women's participation in politics, decision-making and leadership, it is a great societal shortcoming that women in Kosovo substantially lag behind men in this area. The Kosovo wide census conducted in 2012, showed that 77% of the 59,624 people above the age of 15, with no formal education, are women and girls in contradistinction to 23% that are men. On the other hand, out of the 75,213 people with bachelor degrees, women accounted for only 39%.

The results of the questionnaire showed that men and boys in Kosovo have higher levels of education than women and girls; this difference is statistically significant. The results are statistically significant for both secondary and tertiary education, though the highest difference is seen at the tertiary level. This shows that men are much more likely to have secondary and tertiary education and women are twice as likely not to have any education whatsoever. For further information, see the graph below.



Secondary

Tertiary

Figure 3.1: Education attainment by gender.

None but

literate

None and

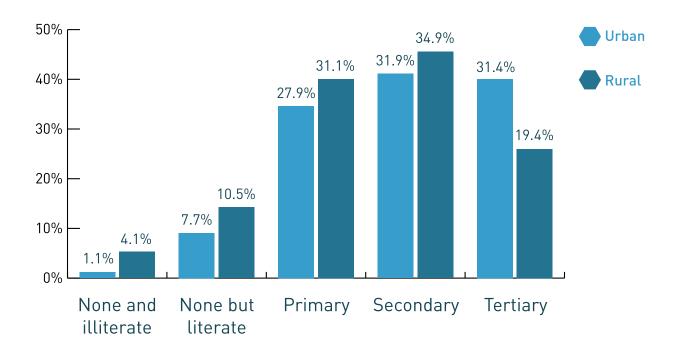
illiterate

Primary

However, there are signs that this educational discrepancy between men and women is decreasing based on the statistically significant observation that younger women respondents have higher education levels.

Additionally, the analysis shows that women living in rural areas are less educated; there is a significant discrepancy between the educational levels of women living in cities opposed to women living in villages. Considering the importance of education for the participation of women in decision-making processes, this further contributes to the disadvantage of women in rural areas.

Figure 3.2: Educational attainment among women living in rural and urban areas.



The figures above illustrate that there are differences on every level of education. Furthermore, women respondents from larger families are less likely to be educated. Theoretically, one can derive that larger families prioritize other household matters over their daughters' education, or the education of their sons is a greater priority than that of their daughters. Another possible interpretation is that larger families overall have lower education levels than smaller families.

Chapter 4:

Social and Political Participation

In addition to the "glass-ceiling" effect, women in Kosovo face many other barriers to participating in public life (social and political).

Generally, the research suggests that men participate much more in public life than women. Men also attested to spending more leisure time outdoors such as: spending time with friends or relatives, engaging in sports or other physical activities, engaging in voluntary work, social and political activities. Concerning participation in political parties, results show greater differences, with 22% of men reporting participation in political party activities in the last six months compared to 8% of women.

Similarly, responses concerning sports and physical activities revealed similar differences of participation according to gender; only 20% of women stated that they participate in such activities often and sometimes compared to 46% of the men respondents.

Furthermore, slightly more men respondents stated that they participated in NGO activities, citizen initiatives, public discussions and community based initiatives in the last six months compared to women respondents.

Political participation

Figure 4.1: Participation in political party activities by gender.

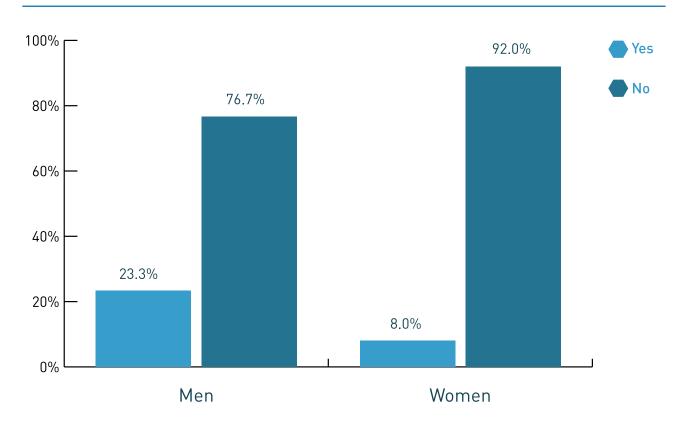
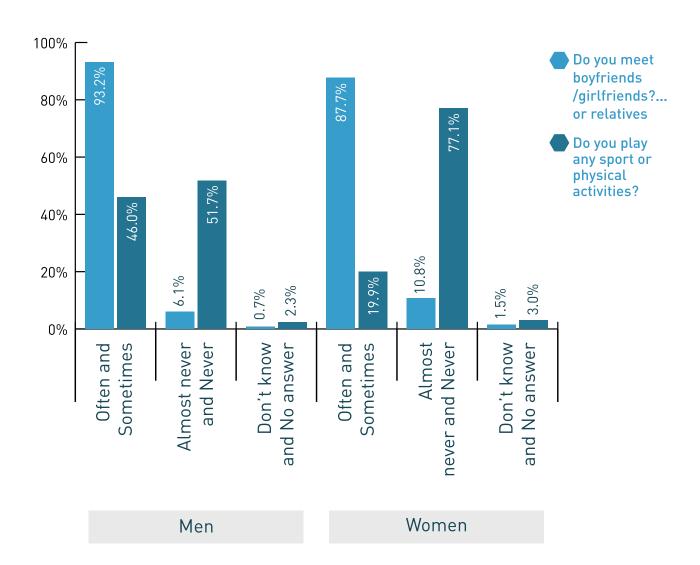


Figure 4.2: Participation in activities out of home by gender.



Furthermore, results indicate that educated women are more likely to participate in both social and political life.

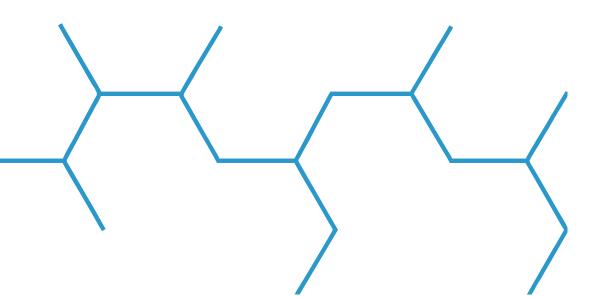
Determinants of the Political Participation of Women

Women's political participation was computed by deriving the sum of the responses regarding their participation in social and political events, gatherings and organizations. The questions assessing political participation of women included questions regarding respondents' participation in political party activities, civil society activities, public discussions and citizens' initiatives. This indicator was analysed together with demographic and other psycho-social variables to determine significant correlations and factors interrelating women's participation in these activities. Some of the more statistically significant correlations are summarized below:

- Notably, the respondents who participate in social activities (such as going out, meeting friends, doing sports) are more likely to participate in political activities as well (membership of political parties, attending political events, projects implemented by government, citizens' initiatives, public discussions).
- Women respondents with higher levels of education were much likelier to participate in both social and political activities compared to women with lower levels of education.

Levels of participation were analysed with consideration of the stereotypes held by each respondent.

- Results indicated that with increased party membership by women, the likelihood that these women had positive stereotypes for men decreased, and, at the same time, the likelihood of having positive stereotypes for women increased. Notably, results suggest that women holding positive stereotypes of men have lower levels of political participation.
- Additionally, women students are more likely to engage in political and social activities, followed by women employed in the public sector. Analysed according to ethnic groups, results show that K-Serb women are the most active in both political and social life compared to other ethnic groups.
- Married women have lower levels of political participation compared to unmarried women.



Chapter 5: Economic Participation

Women and Men in the Labour Market

Large gender disparities in Kosovo's labour market persist despite the recent economic development of the country. The labour force survey published in 2013 shows that only 25.6% (302,844) of the working age population were employed.¹⁷ The employment rate¹⁸ was much higher for working age men than women; 39.9% for men compared to 10.7% of working age women.¹⁹

Furthermore, the survey shows that only 17.8% of women of working age are active²⁰ in the labour market compared to 55.4% of men.²¹

Respondents indicated that they associate certain professions with gender. Generally, the results suggested that many respondents associated men with leadership positions, not just in politics, but in other professional areas as well. To systematize the responses, they were divided into three distinct groups, based on whether they are traditionally held more by men or women.

Professions Traditionally Held by Men

Concerning more "traditionally male" professions historically practiced much more by men than women (i.e. armed force officers, taxi drivers, electricians or plumbers, pilots, construction workers, security guards, etc.), participants mostly associate these professions with men.

Professions Traditionally Held by Women

The same is also true for "traditionally female" professions that have been historically held by women (i.e. nurses, primary school teachers, hairdressers and cleaners). They are still associated with women more than with men by all participants, irrespective of sex, ethnicity and age.

Traditionally Neutral Professions

The results were more equally dispersed regarding traditionally perceived neutral professions. Professions associated equally with men and women included pharmacists, secondary school teachers, economists and journalist.

Decision Making/Managerial Positions

All leadership, managerial and decision-making positions were associated much more with men than with women; these include marketing directors, business consultants, judges, politicians, members of parliament, mayors, surgeons, doctors, information technology staff, university professors, directors of banks and larger organizations.

Analysis of the responses concerning gender and parliament officials show very significant differences; approximately 45% of all respondents associated parliamentary professions with men compared to 3% association with women. There is a similar difference in responses concerning the position of mayor; 67.36% of all respondents associated the position of mayor with men, whereas only 2.87% associated it with women. Responses concerning gender association of directors of banks and larger organizations indicate that 57% of all participants associated these positions with men, compared to 3% who associated these with women. Similarly, 43% of all respondents associated the position of university professors with men and only 2% with women.

¹⁷ A table of the key labour market indicators of Kosovo can be found in the annex.

¹⁸ Employment rate refers to people employed as a percentage of the working age population (15-64).

¹⁹ Kosovo Labor Force Survey, 2012.

²⁰ Activity in the labour market refers to people either holding, or searching for jobs.

²¹ See "Key Labour Market Indicators" in Annex for a more detailed description of the Labour force participation in Kosovo.

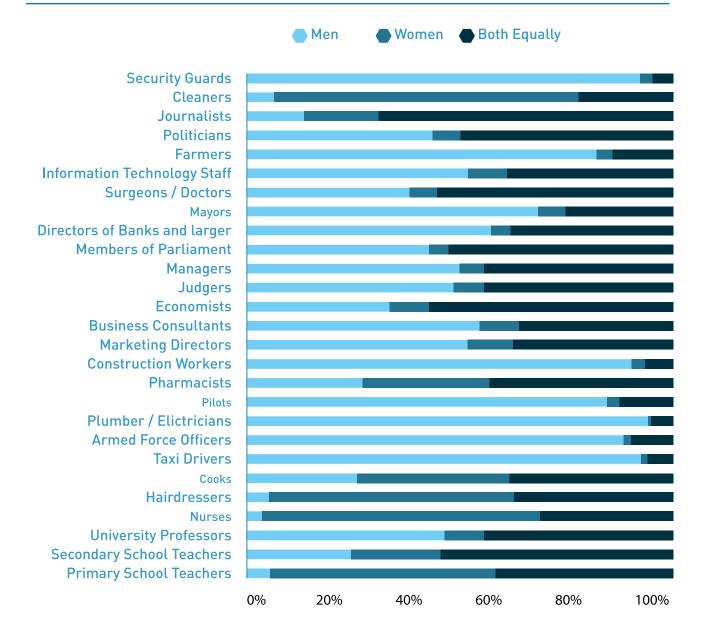


Figure 5.1: Do you associate the following occupations more with men, women or both equally?

Gender and Ownership

Laws and legislation in Kosovo, such as the gender equality law, property law and family law guarantee equality for women and men in property ownership.²² However, the reality looks quite different; in terms of property rights and ownership, women in Kosovo, regardless of ethnicity and age, fare rather poorly when compared to men. In most cases, women do not inherit property as often as men. ²³ This problem is a result of a number of interconnected causes, the most prominent of which is the persistence of patriarchal implementation of the customary law. Since patriarchal practices perceive women as family members who will become a member of another family through marriage, this may lead families to not invest in their daughter's education and economic empowerment. This, on the

other hand, hinders their capacities to voice and enforce their property rights during inheritance contributing to the perseverance of this problem, which may have grave political, social and economic repercussions for the status of women in Kosovo.

The results of this study mirror the aforementioned assumptions; a higher percentage of men own property, residences and other material goods than women respondents. Responses showed that a much higher number of men respondents own businesses, houses, flats, shops, land, vehicles and laptops compared to women respondents.

Figure 5.2: Land and house possession by gender.

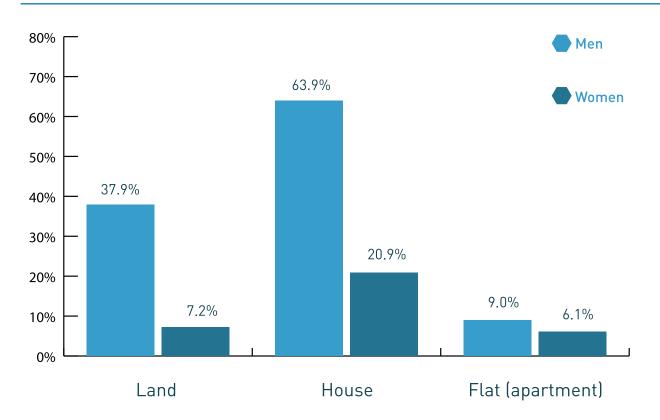


Figure 5.2 shows that property in Kosovo is disproportionally distributed among men, with men owning the majority of land, houses and flats. Although many respondents indicated that they believe that women enjoy property rights, the next chapter addresses men and women's unawareness of the reality of women's property ownership.



Chapter 6:

Awareness of Gender Inequality

The previous chapters demonstrate that gender inequality persists in Kosovo. Thus, a crucial section of the questionnaire aimed to assess the awareness of existing inequalities amongst the Kosovar population.

The majority of all respondents believe that men and women are not considered equal in society (intellectually nor physically). However, the percentage of women respondents with this opinion was higher than that of men (38% to 32%). Responses concerning the perceptions of intellectual and physical equality of men and women by ethnicity are as follows: 31% of K-Albanians reported that the genders are considered equal, while only 11% of K-Serbs and 23% of other minorities share this opinion.

Although the majority of both men and women respondents believe that men and women have equal access to education, men respondents believe so to a much higher extent. Both men and women respondents believe that men would be more likely to be employed amongst men and women of the same age and with the same background. Similarly, when asked who would be more likely to be fired amongst men and women with the same education and skills, the majority of all respondents believe that women would more likely be fired. Generally, when asked about equality of opportunities in politics and general societal equality of men and women, the majority of men respondents believe that men and women are treated equally, whereas the majority of women respondents believe that men are favoured. Overall, the data show that there is awareness that women are not treated equally in all areas of life, but this awareness is much greater amongst women.

The majority of women respondents believed discrimination against women to be a major reason why there are fewer women in top positions in governmental institutions (43%), while only 27% of the men respondents agreed. Similarly, the majority of women respondents (31%) believed that "women who are active in political parties get held back by men" to be a major reason why there are fewer women in high-ranking positions within governmental institutions. The majority of men respondents believed that this is only a minor reason (32%), while only 4.6% believe it is a major reason.

Figure 6.1: Women who are active in political parties get held back by men.

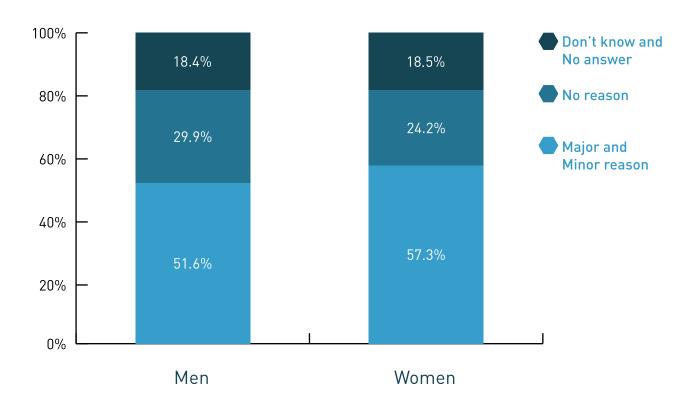
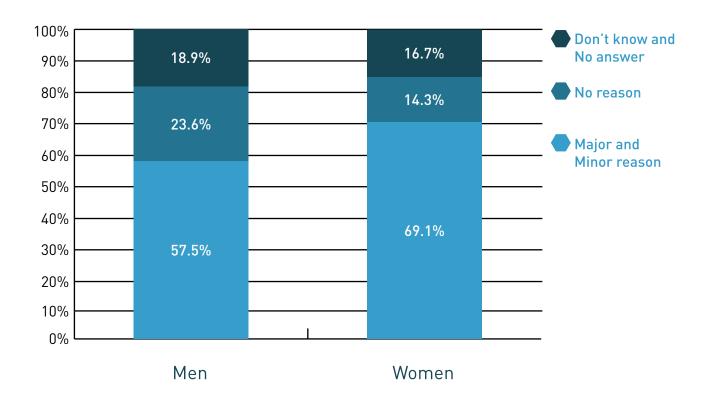


Figure 6.2: Women face discrimination in all areas, politics is no exception.



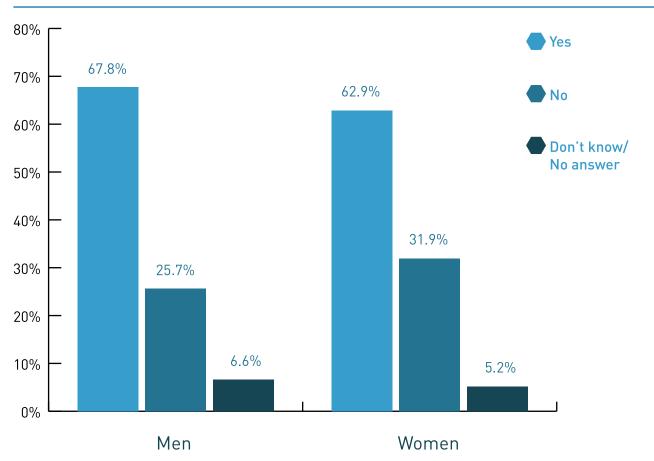


Figure 6.3: Do women in your society enjoy property inheritance?

As illustrated in Figure 6.3, the majority of men and women respondents believe that women in Kosovo enjoy property inheritance. Yet, the above chapter established that property ownership is disproportionally biased towards men.

The results differ somewhat by ethnicity. K-Serbs and other minorities show more awareness of gender inequality compared to K-Albanians. Fifty-three per cent of K-Albanian respondents believe that both genders are treated equally, 41% of other minorities and 32% of K-Serbs believe so.

Figure 6.4: Are men and women treated differently in your society?

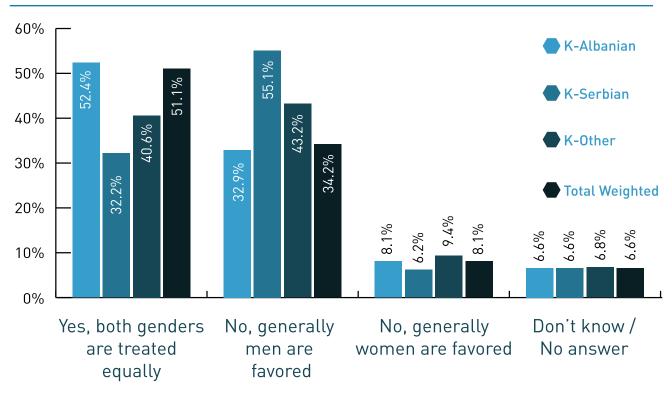


Figure 6.5: If both (men and women) have the same age and education, who will have higher chances of getting employed?

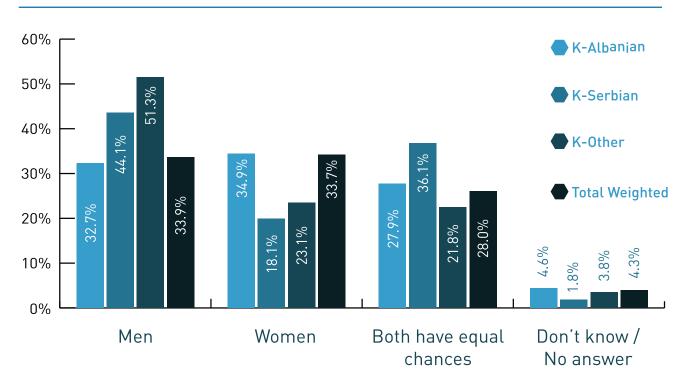
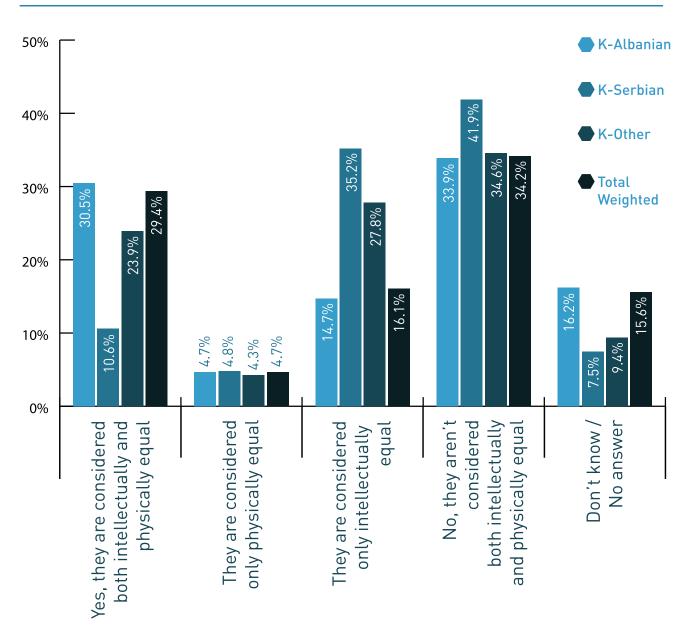


Figure 6.6: Do you think that men and women are considered intellectually and physically equal in your society?



Chapter 7:

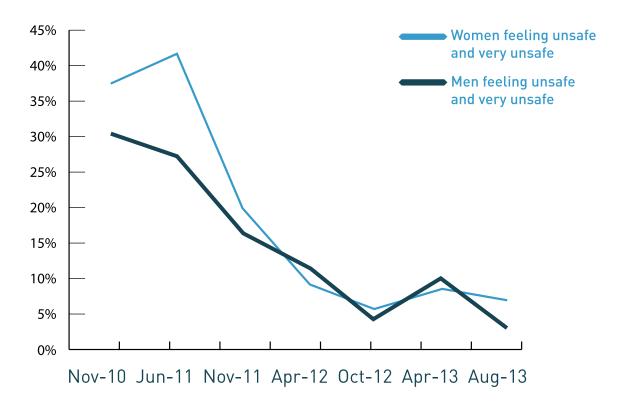
Security: Perceptions and Trends

This chapter provides an analysis on perceptions of safety and security according to gender. The analysis will try to identify differences in the perceptions of women and men regarding security, describe experiences and trends of security issues, and determine factors that influence perceptions and opinions on security. By analysing women respondents' responses to questions pertaining to security issues, this chapter will try to identify factors that impact feelings of security and examine factors that make women vulnerable to violence.

Public Pulse Reports use the feeling of security while in public streets as an indicator for assessing feelings of security.²⁴ This question was replicated for the current survey. Based on the results, the majority of respondents feel safe outdoors. However, around 13% of respondents feel unsafe or very unsafe when outdoors. When analysed by gender, this feeling of insecurity is more widespread among women (14%) than men (11%).

When analysing feelings of insecurity over the past four years, there is a steady declining trend. The percentage of those who felt unsafe in 2010 averaged 33%, in 2011, 20% reported feelings of insecurity, while the last polling indicates a significant decline in reported feelings of insecurity (13%). The positive trend was more evident for women respondents; the percentage of women who feel unsafe outdoors has decreased from 36% (2010) to 14% (2013).

Figure 7.1: Feeling unsafe while outdoors by gender.



When the feeling of security was analysed across different demographic groups, results indicate that women residing in urban areas felt less safe than those residing in rural areas. In terms of employment status, students felt the least secure (30%), followed by those who were unemployed and looking for work (27%) and those working in the private sector (27% feeling unsafe). On the other hand, housewives and women working in public sector felt the safest.

Results interpreted according to age indicate that younger respondents expressed more feelings of insecurity; thus, younger women felt less secure. Interestingly, feelings of insecurity analysed according to education levels, suggest that more respondents with higher levels of education felt unsafe in the streets than those who felt safe. It may be deduced that education increases the awareness of threats to women. Additionally, it is possible that women with higher education are more likely to be employed and may face different obstacles while outdoors, and hence, decrease their feelings of safety. Housewives, who typically have lower education than other groups, indicate that they felt safer than women in all other categories.

For assessing security issues, respondents were asked to select threats that they thought are the most threatening to their family. Derived from the results, thefts were perceived as the biggest threat both by women (28%) and men (29%) followed by poverty and traffic accidents. Issues where differences were observed were environmental degradation (6% of women and 4% of men), robberies (5% of women and 6% of men) and organized crime (1.5% of women and 3% of men). Notably, less than 1% of both women and men selected human trafficking as the biggest threat to their family. These aforementioned results show no major differences in perceptions of threats between men and women.

Based on analysis by place of residence, there were no differences between women in rural and urban areas perceptions of the biggest threats to the family; thefts were perceived as the biggest threat followed by poverty and traffic accidents. However, more women in urban areas selected thefts as the biggest threat to the family, while more women in rural areas deemed poverty as a bigger threat.

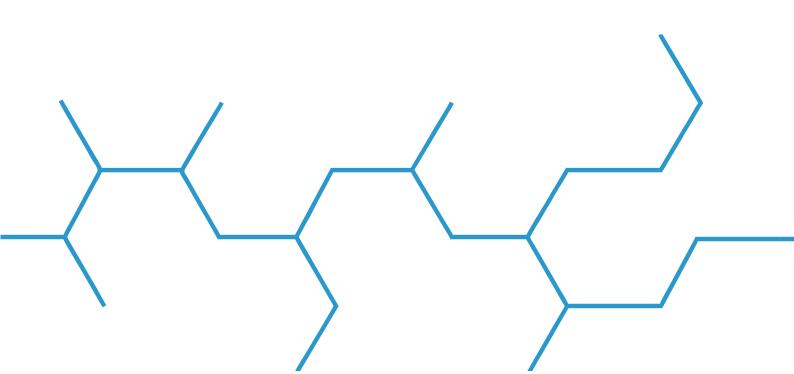


Figure 7.2: Security threats to families by gender.

| From the following security threats which is the | Gen | | |
|--|-------|-------|-------|
| most threatening to your family? | Women | Men | Total |
| Roberies | 4.7% | 5.7% | 5.2% |
| | | | |
| Thefts | 28.1% | 29.2% | 28.7% |
| Kindappings | 1.1% | 0.9% | 1.0% |
| Murders | 2.0% | 2.1% | 2.1% |
| Traffic Accidents | 6.1% | 6.8% | 6.5% |
| Organized Crime / Mafia | 1.5% | 2.7% | 2.1% |
| Human / Women Trafficking | 0.7% | 0.7% | 0.7% |
| Home Accidents | 0.9% | 1.3% | 1.1% |
| Fires | 0.8% | 0.7% | 0.7% |
| Poverty | 18.5% | 17.9% | 18.2% |
| Infectious Diseases | 0.6% | 0.9% | 0.7% |
| Drugs | 1.0% | 1.0% | 1.0% |
| Racketeering | 0.2% | 0.3% | 0.2% |
| Possesion of small arms | 0.6% | 0.6% | 0.6% |
| Enviromental Degradation | 5.7% | 4.4% | 5.0% |
| Other | 5.3% | 4.8% | 5.0% |
| Don't know | 9.4% | 8.8% | 9.1% |
| NA | 12.8% | 11.3% | 12.0% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% |

To assess perceptions of discrimination, respondents were asked to identify the basis for discrimination, if any. Based on the responses, the majority of respondents (31%) selected factors such as place of residence, refugee status, health and social status as the basis for discrimination. Notably, 24% of women selected gender as the basis for discrimination compared to 6% of men. These results suggest that a higher percentage of women experience gender based discrimination.



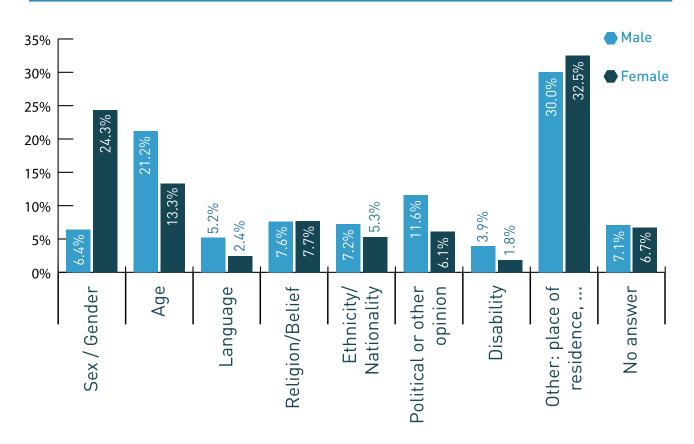


Figure 7.3: Basis for discrimination

To assess the experience of violence, several questions were asked concerning experiences of physical violence and experiences of threat with violence. Around 11% of men and 9% of women reported experiencing at least one of the above. In this regard, across most of the categories, more men reported experiences of violence.

Gender Based Violence

Although the majority of respondents reported that they oppose violence against women, whereby 93% of respondents thought that it is never acceptable to hit women, 91% of men and 95% of women shared this opinion. The percentage of those who agreed that it is ok to hit a woman sometimes (or always) was highest among those aged 46 or above, followed by the youngest age group (18 to 24 years of age). On the other hand, the age group that reported the least acceptance of gender violence was 37-45 years of age.

Table 7.1: Acceptance of violence against women by gender.

| Do you think it is acceptable | Ger | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| for men to hit women? | Women | Men | Total |
| Yes always Yes in certain situation No it is never acceptable | 0.9% 2.8% 90.9% | 0.4% 5.0% 94.5% | 0.6% 6.4% 92.9% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% |

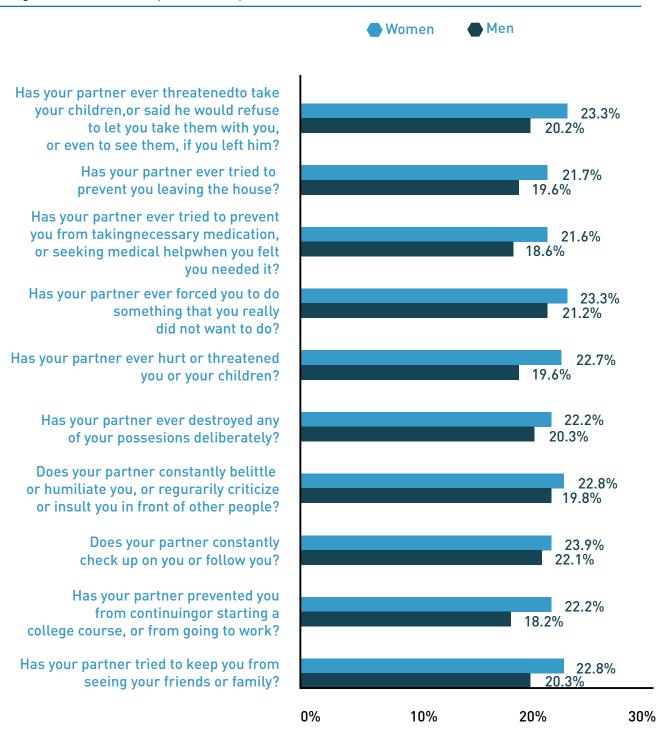
Table 7.2: Acceptance of violence against women by age.

| Do you think it is acceptable | Age Groups | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| for men to hit women? | 18-24 | 23-30 | 31-36 | 37-45 | > =46 | Total |
| Yes always Yes in certain situation No it is never acceptable | 0.8% 5.8% 93.4% | 1.7% 3.4% 94.9% | 0.7% 4.3% 95.0% | 3.6% 96.4% | 0.5% 10.1% 89.4% | 0.6% 6.4% 93.0% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

When asked about experiences of gender-based violence, a higher number of women and men reported having experienced psychological violence (pressure, threats) compared to physical violence. Specifically, in a set of questions assessing the experience of pressure, threats or violence from partners, women reported more and denied fewer experiences of these events.²⁵ As illustrated in Figure 7.4, out of the respondents who were married, cohabitated, divorced or widowed, around 22% of women reported one or more experiences of violence compared to 19% of men. Twenty-four per cent of women reported that they were "constantly checked up and followed by their partner;" this response was selected by the highest percentage of respondents.

²⁵ Respondents who responded affirmatively to different questions as well as those who did not deny these experiences were grouped together as those who might have experienced violence.

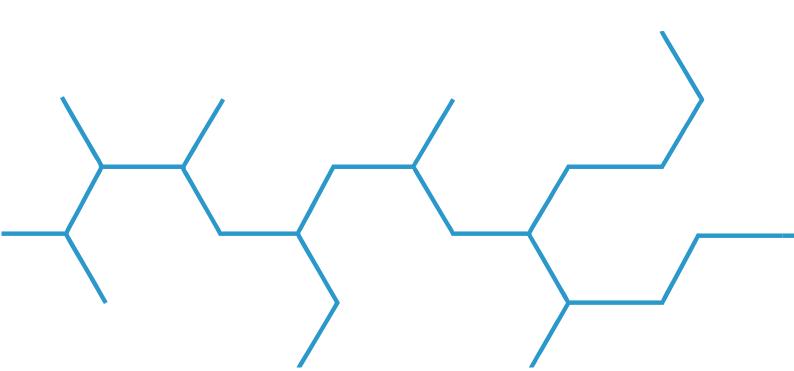
Figure 7.4: Positive responses to experiences of domestic violence



Regarding reported experiences of violence, around 9% of men and 7% of women reported experiences of physical violence. These percentages are lower than percentages reported in other studies, including a 2013 UNICEF Study of Domestic Violence, which states around 17% of women in Gjilane/Gnjilane, Dragash/ Dragas and Gjakove/Djakovica reported experiences of physical violence by their partners.

To identify factors that increase the vulnerability of women to psychological violence, an analysis was conducted to asses the correlation between experiences of psychological violence and the following factors: place of residence, region of residence, age, income, education and working status. Based on this analysis, the following correlations were determined to be significant:

- There was a significant positive correlation between age and experience of violence: older women were much more likely to have experienced violence than younger women.
- There was a significant negative correlation between income and experience of violence; women who had higher incomes were less likely to experience this kind of violence.
- There was a significant correlation between experience of violence and the regions of Gjilan/ Gnjilane and Prishtina/ Pristina. Specifically, women living in the Prishtina/ Pristina region were much less likely to experience violence compared to other regions. On the other hand, women living in Gjilan/ Gnjilane were more likely to experience violence than women in other regions.
- Results according to employment status indicated that women pensioners were much more likely to experience violence than other groups.
- Finally, there was negative correlation between education and experiences of violence; those with higher education were less likely to experience violence than to those with lower education.



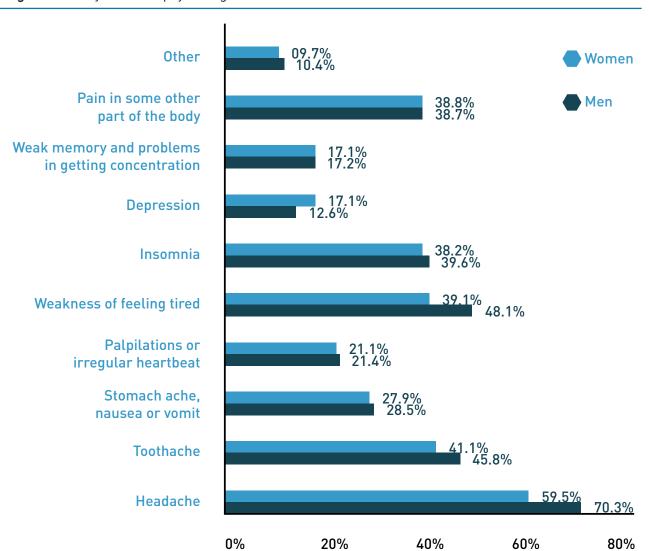
Health:

Physical and Psychological Wellbeing

To assess overall wellbeing, the survey asked questions pertaining to physical and psychological health. The most frequently reported health issue was "headache," which was reported by more than 65% of respondents, followed by "feeling weak and tired" (44%) and "toothache" (slightly less than 44%).

According to the results, women were more likely to suffer from headache, toothache, stomach ache (nausea or vomiting), and feeling tired and weak. On the other hand, problems with depression were reported more among men respondents than women respondents. There were no other gender differences reported for palpitations (irregular heart beat), problems with memory and concentration, insomnia and pain in other parts of the body. These results indicate that women report more physiological health problems while men respondents report more psychological health problems.

Figure 7.5: Physical and psychological health.



Recommendations:

1) The results of this study show that gender stereotypes persist among the Kosovar population. Thus, different campaigns to combat gender stereotypes ought to be taken:

- Review the representation of gender roles in children's books and primary, middle and high school curricula. The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology should conduct a study to review the stereotypical representation of women and men in children's books and school texts, and take action to rewrite or delete problematic parts with the aim of decreasing instances of this stereotypical representation.
- Include chapters on gender equality/gender stereotypes in the curricula of Civic Education at all levels of schooling.
- 2) The results show that awareness on gender inequality is much lower among men respondents. This calls for actions targeting men and boys. This may include:
 - The equal representation of men and women in gender-equality related roundtables and discussions, which are currently overwhelmingly attended by women only.
 - Including more men in the Gender Equality Agency, municipal gender equality offices and ministerial gender equality offices.
 - Awareness campaigns on gender inequality and sexism targeting men.
- 3) The results show that professions are still perceived through gender lenses; some professions are perceived exclusively as "male professions" and others as "female professions."
 - Launch a "Careers Have No Gender" campaign depicting real life men and women doing "non-traditional" jobs, such as: women construction workers, men cleaners, men nurses, women armed force officers, etc.
- 4) The results show that "lack of facilitation by the state" is seen as one of the main factors hindering women in their career. State institutions need to take more action to encourage women to follow their careers.
 - Establish flexible working hours for mothers.
 - Increase the number of public kindergartens and day care facilities.
 - Public-Private partnerships Municipalities offer benefits to private kindergartens/day carefacilities: such as free plot, free building, tax exemptions or subsidies, free electricity, etc.
 - Ensure a hiring process in state institutions that is not gender biased.
 - Research the impact of the implications of the maternal leave provisions in the labour law, and if necessary, take appropriate measures after the research.
- 5) Results show that women own less property than men.
 - The Ministry of Justice should increase its capacities to monitor the implementation of the Inheritance Law.

- Ensure the implementation of legal provisions stating that property acquired during marriage is registered under the name of both spouses; it currently lacks proper implementation.
- Raise awareness of the general public, and in particular of municipal officials in the Civil Registry Offices in charge of issuing death certificates, on the provisions of the inheritance law.

6) Other Recommendations:

- Publically highlight the achievements of women in leadership positions –ensure higher visibility for already successful women.
- Set up leadership programs for women aid young women in acquiring skills to become more confident and assertive.
- Establish gender quotas for leadership of parliamentary commissions/ gender quotas for representation within commissions.
- Implement actions to encourage victims of domestic violence to report their cases. Results show that the vast majority of respondents hesitated to answer questions on domestic violence, considering the topic a taboo.
- Conduct awareness raising campaigns on gender-based violence- what it is, its consequences, how it can be prevented and reported. This should also be included as a topic in the formal education curricula.
- The government should oblige municipalities, ministries and public companies to measure and publish key gender equality figures and use them as indicators.
- Create programs for networking, mentoring, grants and other incentives that encourage women's entrepreneurial representation.
- Set up micro-credit programs that target women entrepreneurs.

Annex

Favourable perception of women in leadership indicator:

This indicator is a composite sum based on the following favourable perception of respondents regarding participation of women in leadership positions:

- 1. Women as political leaders
- 2. Readiness to vote more for women/man or equally, when both are equally educated
- 3. Having the experience for these positions
- 4. Women making as good of leaders as men
- 5. Being tough enough for politics

This indicator is a continuous measure, which ranges from 0 (min) to 16 (max). A 0 value means that none of the respondents have a favourable perception of women in leadership positions, while a value of 16, means that all have a favourable perception of women related to the above mentioned options.

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Methodology for Public Pulse on Gender

These results are based on an opinion poll sample that surveyed 1290 Kosovo citizens over 18 years of age, from both sexes and from all municipalities and regions of Kosovo, covering both rural and urban areas. The sample included 832 Kosovo Albanians, 230 Kosovo Serbs and 228 Kosovo non-Serb minorities (namely Turkish, Bosnian, Gorani, Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian). The sample is representative of three subpopulations as selection was conducted through Multistage Random Sampling Method. The survey was conducted by ENCOMPASS (Prishtine) Pristina) during July 2013.

Note for Weighting the Totals

The surveys that Public Pulse conducts, oversample the minorities in order to be able to disaggregate data by ethnicity, however when calculating the numbers for totals it is necessary to weight data by actual population figures.

The following percentages for weighting the totals for Kosovo in our surveys have been applied since 2002:

- K-Albanians 88%
- K-Serbs 6%
- Others (Bosnians, Turks, Gorani, RAE) 6%.

However, per the registration of population and official results from Agency of Statistics, the ethnic composition is following:

| Ethnicity | Population | Per cent |
|------------|------------|----------|
| K-Albanian | 1,616,869 | 92.93 |
| K-Serb | 25,532 | 1.47 |
| K-Turk | 18,738 | 1.08 |
| K-Bosnian | 27,533 | 1.58 |
| Roma | 8,824 | 0.51 |
| Ashkali | 15,436 | 0.89 |
| Egyptian | 11,524 | 0.66 |
| Gorani | 10,265 | 0.59 |
| Others | 2,352 | 0.14 |
| Total | 1,739,825 | 100.00 |

Based on the above, weighting for Public Pulse surveys should be as follows:

- 93% Albanians
- 2% Serbs
- 5% others.

Taking into consideration that K-Serbs in northern parts of Kosovo did not participate in the registration and the general observation that participation rate of K-Serbs in the rest of Kosovo was lower, we have estimated that we should add another 40,000 for K-Serbs, totalling 65,532. This also increases the total Kosovo population to 1,779,825.

When these changes are taken into consideration, the weighting for Public Pulse surveys will be done in the following manner:

- 92% K-Albanians
- 4% Others (Bosnians, Turks, Gorani, RAE).

The le and partic many in p