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## **Public Pulse XIV**

June 2018

**Prepared by UNDP Kosovo - *Public Pulse Project team***

Prishtinë/Priština  
*June 2018*

*The views expressed in this document are those of the opinion poll respondents and do not necessarily represent the views of either UNDP or USAID.*

## *Executive Summary*

The Public Pulse provides a brief overview of key indicators measured by the Public Pulse Poll. Among others, this Poll collects data on citizens' perceptions of institutions in Kosovo<sup>1</sup> with a focus on political, economic, security, and development issues. The present Public Pulse covers the period between October 2017 and April 2018 and follows in the tradition of previous briefs by examining the evolving socio-political situation in Kosovo. In addition to the usual key indicators, the present Public Pulse presents insights on voting attitudes among Kosovans.

The poll shows a general decrease in people's satisfaction with the work of most key executive, legislative, and judicial institutions in Kosovo, except with the work of the Assembly and the President which did not change significantly from the Public Pulse XIII. In spite of the reported fluctuations in citizen perceptions, overall satisfaction levels remain rather low, with the exception of performance of the President receiving the highest score at 39%. Half of Kosovars are dissatisfied with Kosovo's current political orientation.

The data shows that majority (67%) of Kosovans feel safe when outdoors. Gender-disaggregated data shows no significant differences in the opinions of men and women regarding safety and security when out on the streets.

The Democratization Index (DI) and the Economic Confidence Index (ECI), which track Kosovars' opinions of democratic processes and perceptions of prevailing economic conditions, respectively, experienced the highest increases since November 2010: the DI was measured at 1.48 and the ECI at 1.42 on a scale of 1 (minimum) to 3 (maximum). However, over 50% of respondents are either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the current political and economic direction of Kosovo.

Public Pulse Poll also inquired about the most pressing problems Kosovo is currently facing. Among others, citizens reported unemployment (29%), corruption (14%), and poverty (8%) as the three paramount issues that impact their social wellbeing.

Finally, the present brief provides data on Kosovans' perceptions on large-scale corruption in national and international institutions, meritocracy in gaining employment in the public and private sector, and attitudes toward voting.

Additional data obtained through this poll will be made available in Public Pulse Analysis and Public Pulse Data Visualization Platform.

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<sup>1</sup> For UNDP, references to Kosovo shall be understood to be in the context of Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999).

## Public Pulse Key Indicators

The April 2018 Public Pulse Poll shows a general decrease in people's satisfaction with the work of most of Kosovo's key executive, legislative, and judicial institutions. Only 32.5% of citizens declared to be satisfied with Kosovo key institutions as compared to 36% in October 2017.

Around 33% of Kosovans declared to be satisfied with the work of the Prime Minister whereas 30% declared to be satisfied with the work of the central institutions.

As far as legislative institutions are concerned, 33% of Kosovans are satisfied with the work of the Assembly, whereas 31.5% are satisfied with the performance of the Speaker of the Assembly. The President enjoys the highest level of satisfaction among citizens as the current poll shows that around 39% of Kosovans are satisfied with the work of the President.

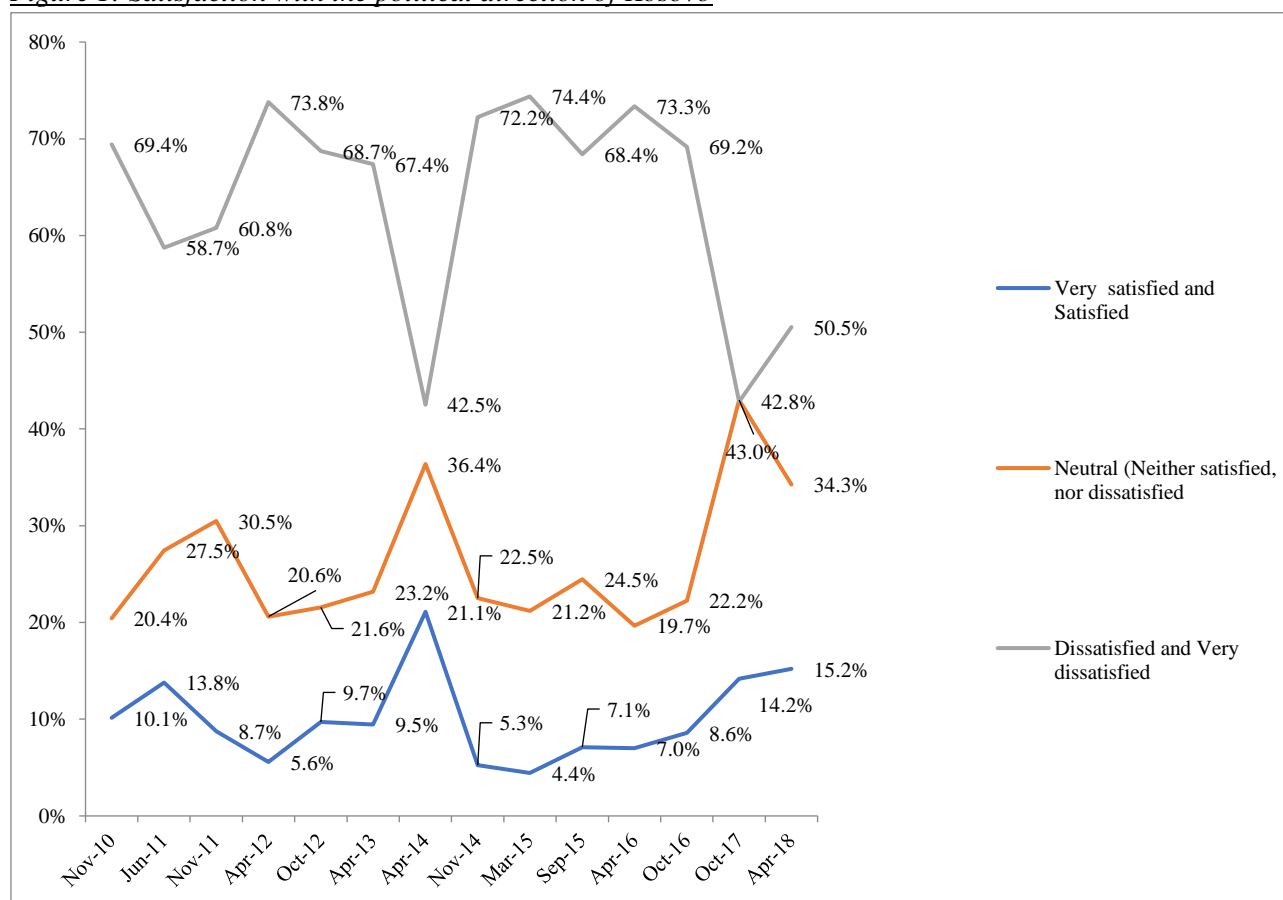
The satisfaction level with the work of the judiciary (the courts and the Prosecutor's Office), has decreased by approximately 6 and 3 percentage points since October 2017, respectively. It must be highlighted that the satisfaction levels with the Prosecutor's Office and central institutions are the lowest when compared to all other institutions. This suggests that loss of trust in the rule of law and governance has influenced the overall satisfaction levels with all other institutions (*Table 1*).

*Table 1: Satisfaction levels with the key executive, legislative, and judicial institutions in Kosovo*

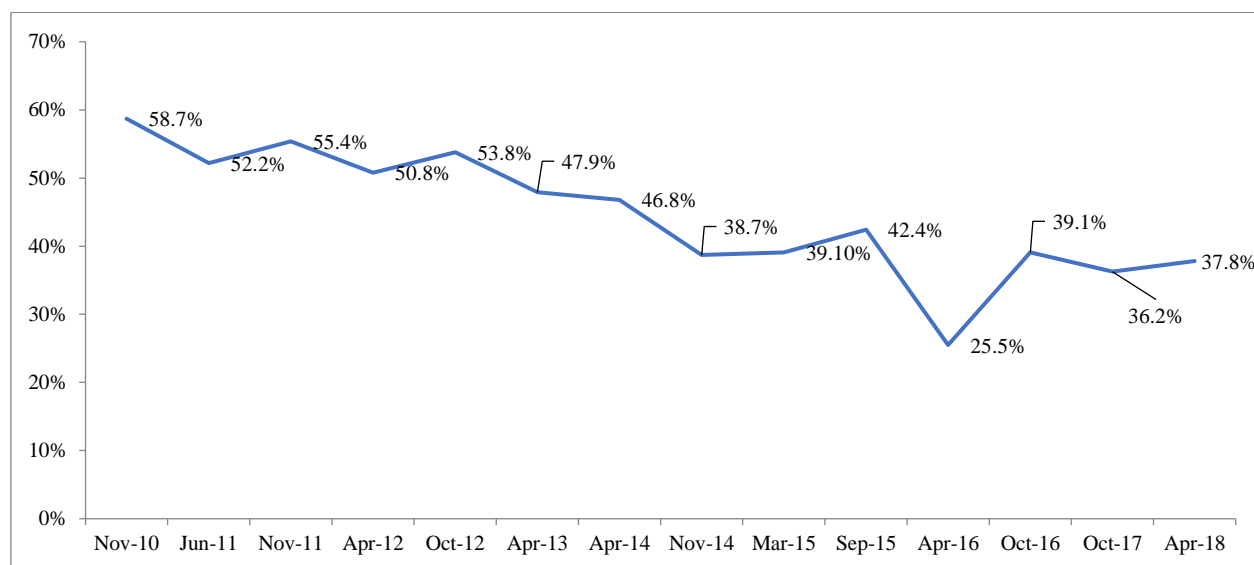
Political Indicators		Mar-07	May-08	Jun-09	Apr-10	Nov-10	Jun-11	Oct-12	Apr-13	Apr-14	Nov-14	Mar-15	Sep-15	Apr-16	Oct-16	Oct-2017	Apr-18
Satisfaction with executive	Central Institutions	30.5%	46.9%	53.1%	29.2%	25.1%	32.6%	27.2%	27.0%	44.2%	19.3%	18.1%	17.3%	17.8%	20.2%	32.4%	30.0%
	Prime minister	54.0%	72.0%	53.8%	36.4%	30.7%	37.6%	27.3%	30.4%	48.5%	34.1%	23.6%	14.6%	18.3%	19.7%	42.3%	33.2%
Satisfaction with legislative	Assembly	31.0%	51.4%	53.2%	34.1%	32.1%	41.0%	32.1%	32.3%	46.5%	16.1%	19.3%	19.9%	17.3%	18.9%	31.7%	32.9%
	Speaker of Assembly	35.4%	56.5%	51.6%	36.0%	33.3%	60.9%	44.7%	45.8%	57.8%	23.3%	20.1%	19.8%	24.3%	24.9%	36.0%	31.5%
Satisfaction with President	President	52.0%	74.0%	61.7%	54.9%	30.8%	54.1%	47.1%	45.1%	48.8%	40.7%	30.2%	30.4%	45.7%	25.5%	37.6%	39.1%
Satisfaction with judiciary	Court	20.0%	21.0%	32.7%	27.2%	18.5%	26.9%	24.3%	16.7%	37.5%	22.8%	17.2%	13.9%	18.4%	22.1%	36.9%	31.2%
	Prosecutor's office	22.7%	22.7%	31.7%	26.9%	15.1%	20.0%	15.0%	17.7%	38.1%	21.0%	17.0%	12.8%	16.9%	16.3%	33.1%	29.9%

**Perceptions on Political and Economic Direction of Kosovo**

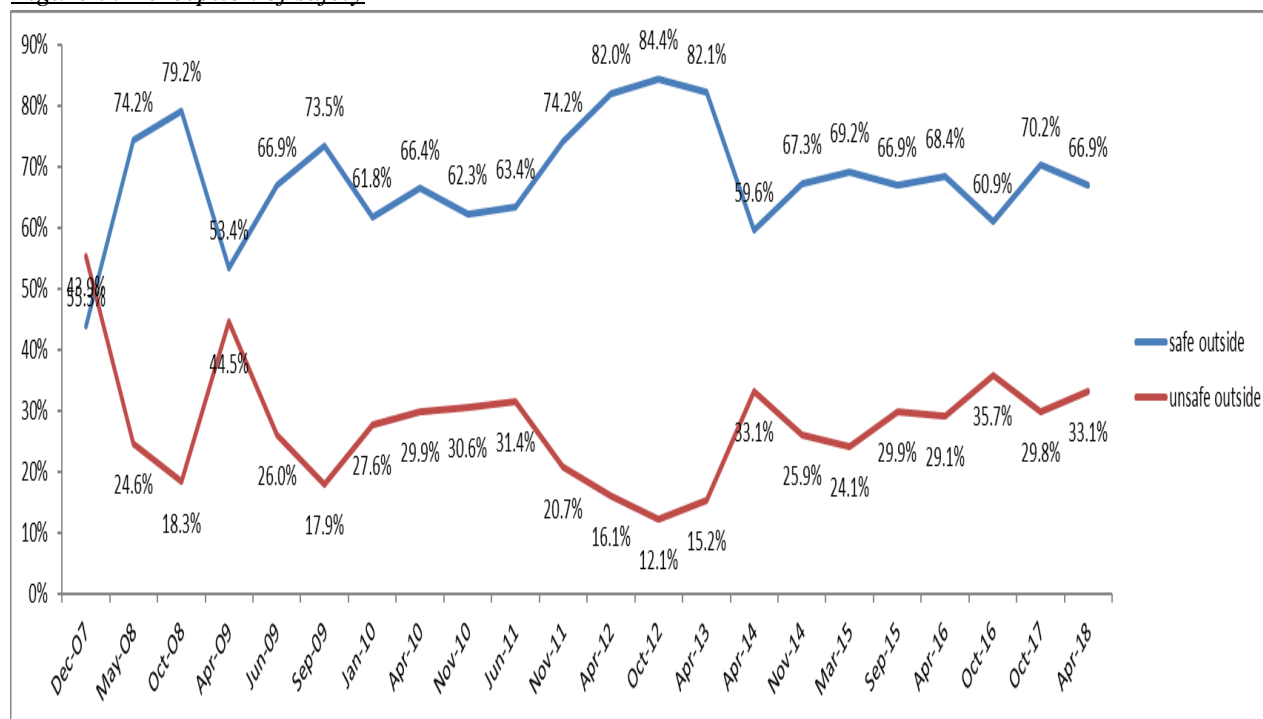
The drop in citizens satisfaction with work of the key institutions is also reflected in respondents' perceptions on the current political direction of Kosovo. Around 15% of Kosovans are either satisfied or very satisfied with the current political direction of Kosovo. Half of respondents (50.5%) report being either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with Kosovo's current political direction whereas the percentage of those that declared to be neutral (neither satisfied nor dissatisfied) on the issue has decreased from 44% in October 2017 to 34% in April 2018 (*Figure 1*).

*Figure 1: Satisfaction with the political direction of Kosovo*

Approximately 38% of Kosovans responded positively when asked whether they would be willing to join public protests for political reasons. A significantly higher percentage of K-Albanians (45%) than K-Serbs (6%) claimed to be willing to join public protests for political reasons. Around 14% of K-others declared to be willing to join public protests for political reasons (*Figure 2*).

*Figure 2: Percentage of respondents willing to join public protests for political reasons*

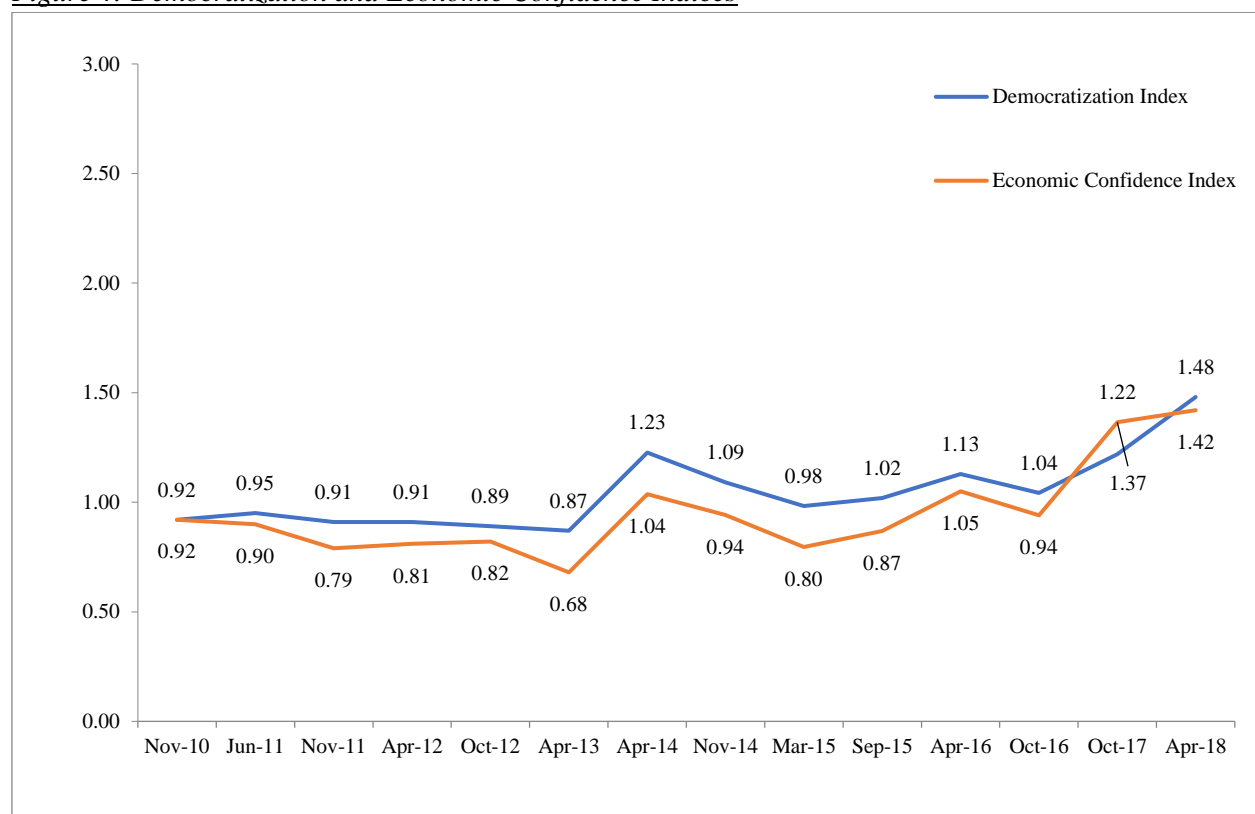
As an indicator of safety and security, respondents were asked whether they feel safe while out on the streets. The data shows that 67% of Kosovans feel safe and that about 33% feel generally unsafe. Gender-disaggregated data shows no significant differences in the opinions of men and women regarding safety and security when out on the streets (*Figure 3*).

*Figure 3: Perception of safety*

## Democratization and Economic Confidence Indices

The April 2018 opinion poll results show that although the DI (1.48) and the ECI indices (1.42) have reached the highest levels since November 2010, they still remain below average (1.5). Gender-disaggregated data shows no significant differences in the opinions of men and women concerning democratization or economic processes in Kosovo. However, taking into consideration that both indices range from 0 to 3, the current indices show that the majority of Kosovans do not have a positive opinion about democratic and economic processes in Kosovo (*Figure 4*).

*Figure 4: Democratization and Economic Confidence Indices*<sup>2</sup>



To determine which indicators impacted the increase of DI, the data from the current survey were compared with those generated over the last eight years. The findings reveal that every single component of the DI, listed in Table 2 below, has seen the highest increase since November 2010. The highest increase is in percentage of Kosovo citizens who believe that Kosovo Constitution and laws are democratic and respect the human rights and that the media in Kosovo enjoys the freedom of expression (53%). Similarly, almost 51% of respondents believe that elections in Kosovo are democratic and conform to international standards and that municipal governments are working according to the priorities of their citizens. A significant increase (44%) is in percentage of Kosovo

<sup>2</sup> See the last page of the document for more information on the calculation of the DI and the EC indices.

citizens who believe that judiciary system in Kosovo delivers its decisions independently. All other DI gathered for the purposes of the present poll also demonstrate increase in citizens' trust toward democratic processes. Almost 47% Kosovans believe that the Assembly monitors the performance of central institutions and 48% consider that civil society organizations in Kosovo serve as a truthful monitor of democratic processes in Kosovo. While 50% of Kosovans believe that their local (municipal) governments work according to the priorities of their citizens, only 40% of them believe so about the central institutions (*see Table 2*).

*Table 2: Trend analysis of DI components*

Yes Mainly and Yes fully	Nov-10	Jun-11	Nov-11	Apr-12	Oct-12	Apr-13	Apr-14	Nov-14	Mar-15	Sep-15	Apr-16	Oct-16	Oct-17	Apr-18
Are the elections in Kosovo democratic and in accordance with international standards?	31.0%	29.3%	23.1%	17.0%	16.2%	15.0%	36.4%	34.0%	26.2%	23.0%	30.3%	28.0%	44.6%	50.9%
Does the Parliament monitor the Government performance?	20.7%	20.7%	19.4%	16.7%	17.7%	17.5%	28.5%	21.5%	21.2%	21.8%	26.6%	30.8%	36.1%	46.7%
Is Judiciary System in Kosovo independent on its decisions?	13.2%	15.6%	11.3%	12.3%	15.7%	10.6%	24.8%	16.0%	13.6%	17.6%	21.0%	21.6%	31.2%	43.6%
Does media in Kosovo enjoys the freedom of expression?	29.2%	33.9%	33.3%	34.7%	37.3%	24.6%	45.4%	39.6%	35.5%	46.5%	47.3%	42.3%	52.5%	52.8%
Does Civil Society in Kosovo serve as, a truthful monitor of democratic developments in Kosovo?	22.6%	18.9%	20.3%	19.0%	24.4%	18.3%	28.8%	21.3%	19.5%	23.1%	32.1%	30.1%	34.3%	48.3%
Is your Local (municipal) Government working according to priorities of Kosovo citizens?	27.7%	26.7%	29.0%	25.7%	27.3%	26.1%	32.6%	29.5%	23.3%	27.2%	28.9%	30.4%	34.0%	50.2%
Are Central Institutions working according to priorities of Kosovo citizens?	14.3%	16.1%	14.6%	12.9%	15.3%	16.4%	26.4%	18.2%	11.8%	15.5%	18.9%	17.9%	24.7%	39.9%
Is Kosovo Constitution as well as Laws in power democratic and do they respect the Human Rights?	32.6%	27.9%	26.5%	25.9%	26.0%	33.0%	35.3%	24.2%	23.5%	19.8%	31.7%	31.8%	41.4%	53.4%
Regardless of daily politics and looking forward to the future, do you agree that the democratic processes in Kosovo are instituted and are going towards the right direction?	25.6%	24.5%	17.9%	18.1%	18.6%	23.0%	33.0%	19.5%	17.3%	15.4%	23.1%	23.8%	29.7%	46.9%

Similarly, in order to determine which indicators impacted the increase of ECI, the current affirmative responses of the ECI components were compared with those from October 2017. This comparison has shown that the percentage of respondents who provided 'negative' or 'neither

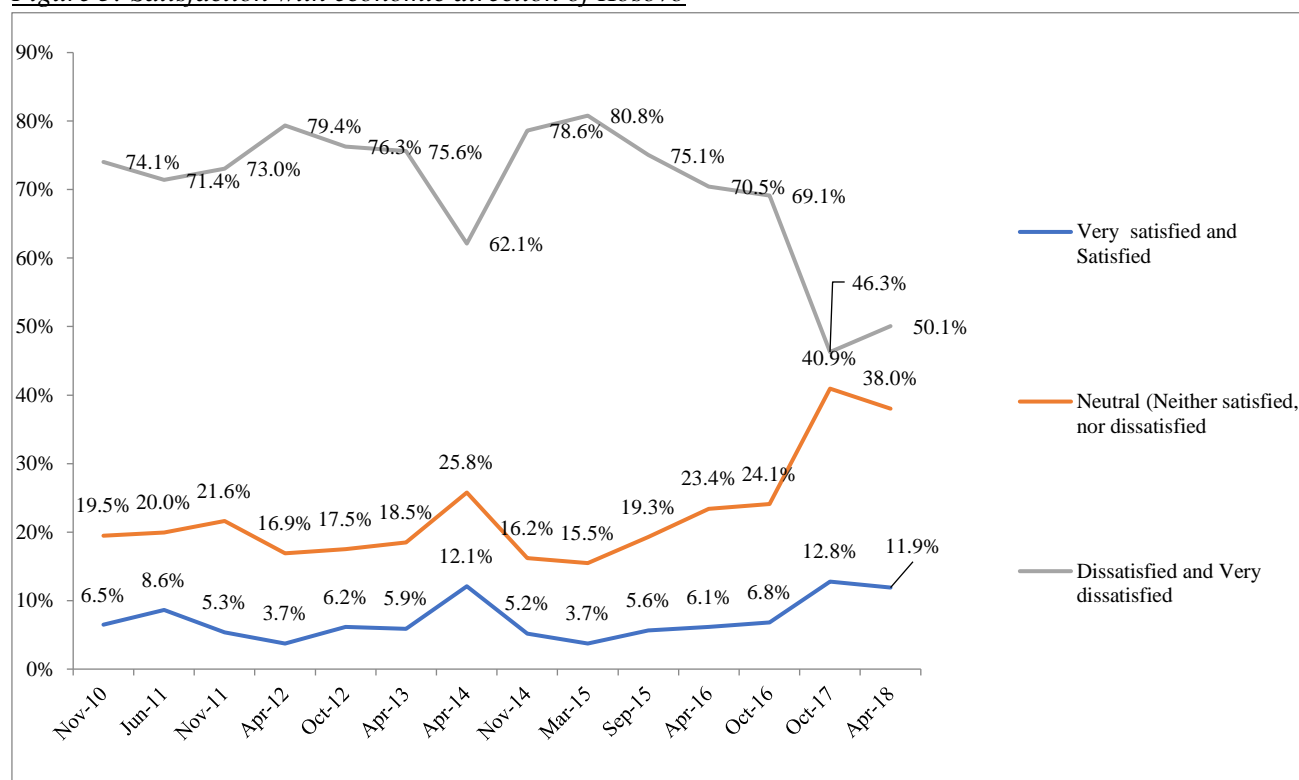
favourable nor unfavourable' responses regarding some ECI components has increased, which influenced the general increase of the ECI.<sup>3</sup> The results reveal that Kosovans' positive short-term expectations (six months) regarding their family's total incomes and employment conditions decreased to 20% and 18% respectively. Kosovans assessment of the current business and employment conditions also decreased to 18.5% and 15% respectively, as compared to October 2017 (*Table 3*).

*Table 3: Trend analysis of ECI components*

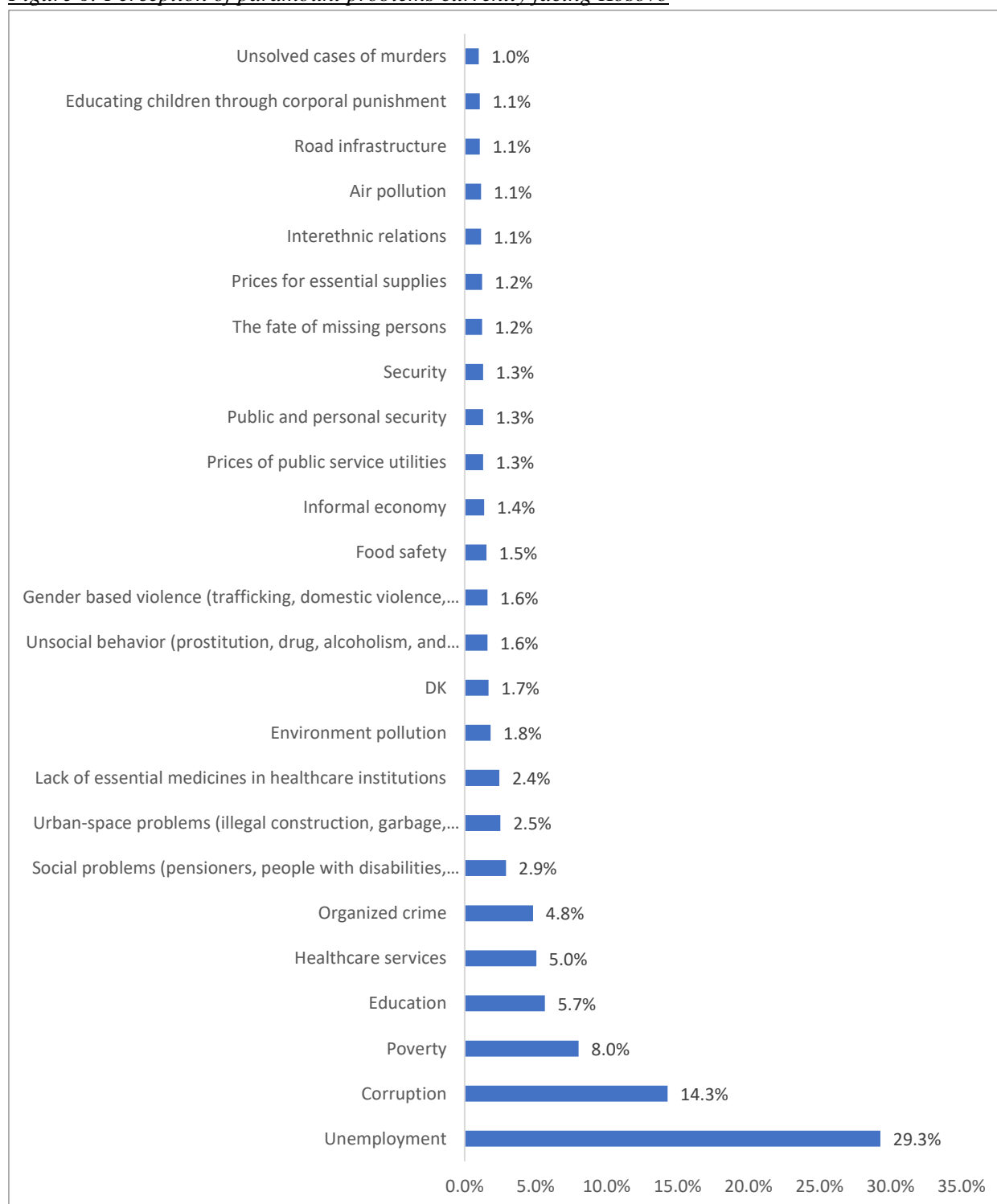
Favourable	Nov-10	Jun-11	Nov-11	Apr-12	Oct-12	Oct-16	Oct-17	Apr-18
What are your expectations regarding your family's total income six months from now	16.8%	12.1%	8.5%	9.9%	9.6%	18.0%	22.4%	19.9%
What is your assessment of the current business conditions	10.7%	9.7%	6.0%	7.9%	6.7%	13.1%	17.9%	18.5%
What is your assessment of the current employment condition	4.0%	3.3%	3.8%	3.4%	3.8%	7.7%	17.1%	15.4%
What are your expectations regarding employment condition six months from now	14.3%	12.4%	8.0%	7.6%	7.4%	10.7%	18.7%	17.8%

Even though there is a slight increase in the ECI, the findings highlight similar dissatisfaction with the economic and political direction of Kosovo. Fifty percent of respondents are either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the current economic direction of Kosovo, while only about 12% are satisfied. Ethnicity-disaggregated data shows the proportion of dissatisfied K-Albanians (51%) remains higher than that of K-Serbs (46%) and K-other communities (40%) (*Figure 5*).

<sup>3</sup> The respondents could select the following options to respond to questions from the ECI: unfavorable, neither favorable nor unfavorable, favorable, don't know/no answer. Only the 'favorable' responses are presented in Table 3. However, the increase of ECI as compared to the previous survey was not affected by the affirmative responses, but by the rise in the number of respondents selecting the neutral options. For more information on calculation of indices, please refer to the section on Methodology.

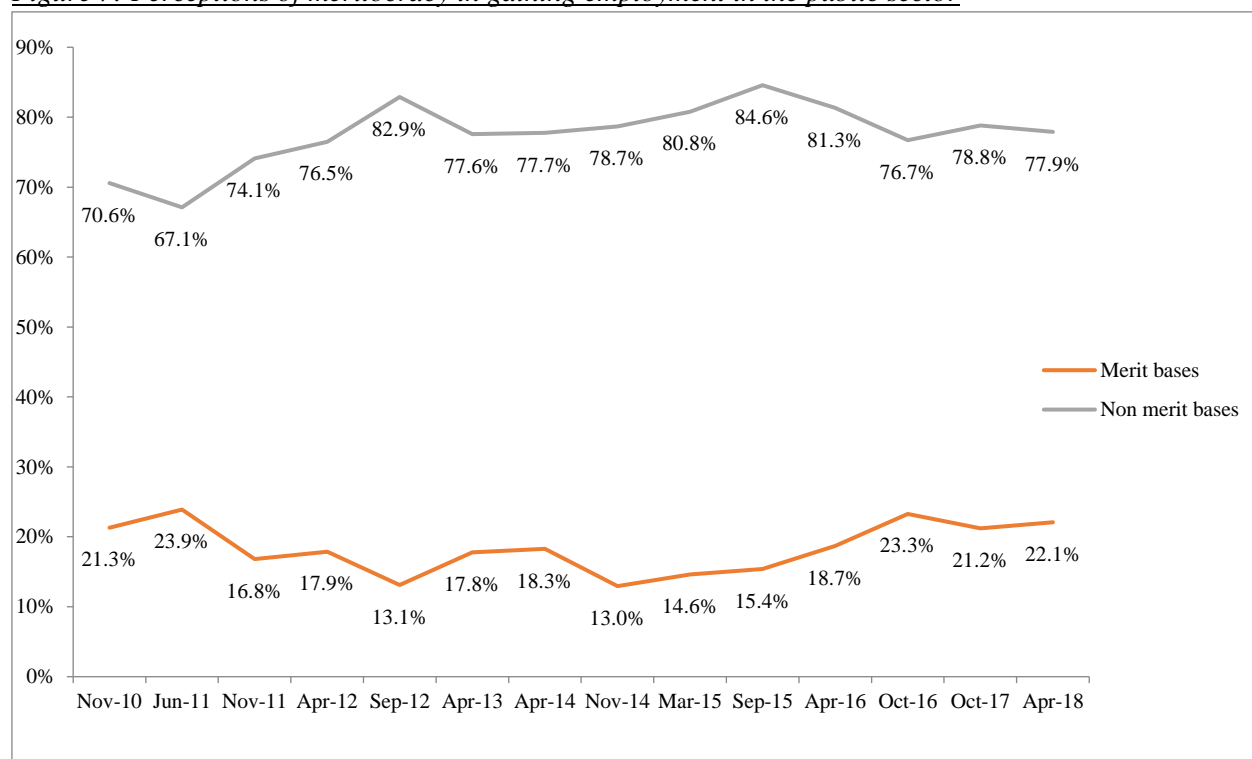
**Figure 5: Satisfaction with economic direction of Kosovo****Perception of Paramount Problems Currently Facing Kosovo**

Kosovans were also asked for their opinions on paramount problems currently facing Kosovo. Twenty nine percent of respondents selected unemployment (as compared to 40% in October 2017). This decrease could be explained by this year's intense application of active labour market measures by the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, in close collaboration with the private sector, through an open call for applications for skills and employment opportunities. Fourteen percent of respondents cited corruption (as compared to 17% in October 2017), and 8% selected poverty as the three paramount issues that impact their social wellbeing. It is worth mentioning that unemployment, poverty, and corruption remain the biggest problems for Kosovans as they feature in most Public Pulse surveys that have been conducted over the past years. This poll also showed that 6% respondents consider education to be the paramount issue, while approximately 5% Kosovans consider organized crime and healthcare services as their most pressing concerns in Kosovo. Gender-disaggregated data showed no significant differences in opinions of men and women regarding the paramount problems facing Kosovo (*Figure 6*).

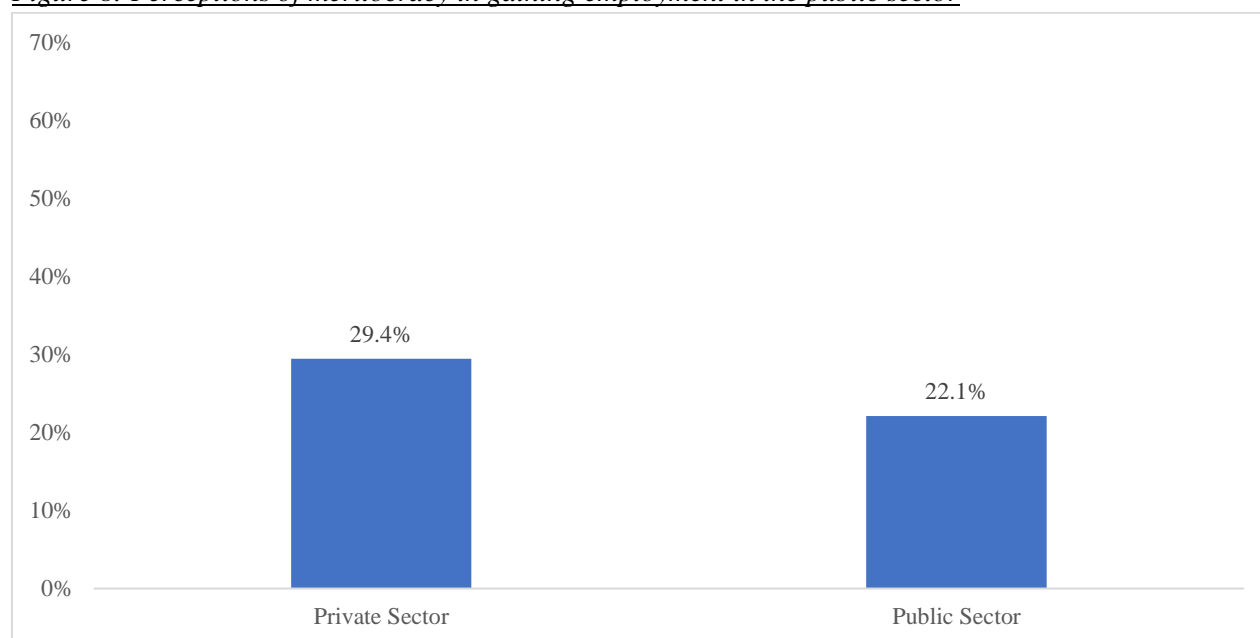
*Figure 6: Perception of paramount problems currently facing Kosovo*

Although there is a 11% drop in the number of respondents who perceive unemployment as the biggest problem in comparison to October 2017, the respondents to the April 2018 Public Pulse Poll were asked about their opinions about the merit-based employment in the public sector. Majority of Kosovans remain sceptical about merit-based employment in the public sector as the majority of Kosovans (78%) believe that family connections, bribes, party alliances, and other non-merit based factors are the most helpful factors in gaining employment in the public sector. Only around 22% of respondents believe that education, professional experience, and vocational training help to effectively gain employment in the public sector. Gender-disaggregated data showed no significant differences in opinions of men and women regarding the issue (*Figure 7*).

*Figure 7: Perceptions of meritocracy in gaining employment in the public sector*



In general, Kosovans remain sceptical about merit-based employment in the private sector, as well, although findings reveal that perceptions on merit-based employment in the private sector stand better. This survey shows that 29% (as compared to 34% in October 2017) of respondents believe that professional experience, vocational training, and education are important for obtaining employment in the private sector. Overall, perceptions on merit-based employment remain low for both private and public sectors. Gender-disaggregated data showed no significant differences in opinions of men and women regarding the issue in private or in public sector (*Figure 8*).

*Figure 8: Perceptions of meritocracy in gaining employment in the public sector*

Corruption continues to be a concern for Kosovan society. The Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) has shown a positive trend of +3 points over the last two years (2016, 2017); Kosovo jumped ten places in the CPI. However, according to the Public Pulse data, in terms of large-scale corruption, the overall percentage of citizens who perceive that this type of corruption is present in various institutions has increased (31% in April 2018 as compared to 20% in October 2017). This may indicate that the CPI registered an improvement in the anti-corruption prevention framework. However, people feel that large-scale continues and that this type of corruption is beyond the remit of anti-corruption authorities. The perception about the prevalence of corruption in different Kosovo institutions varies from the lowest 24.5% (international organizations) to the highest 39% (customs). The biggest changes in citizen perceptions of corruption are observed in the following institutions: customs (39% in April 2018 as compared to 23% in October 2017), courts (39% in April 2018 as compared to 25% in October 2017), banks (27% in April 2018 as compared to 13% in October 2017), and international organizations (24.5% in April 2018 as compared to 11% in October 2017). Although the percentages have generally increased for the Kosovo Police as well (26% in April 2018 as compared to 15% in October 2017), they still remain one of institutions with the least perceived large-scale corruption (*Table 4*).

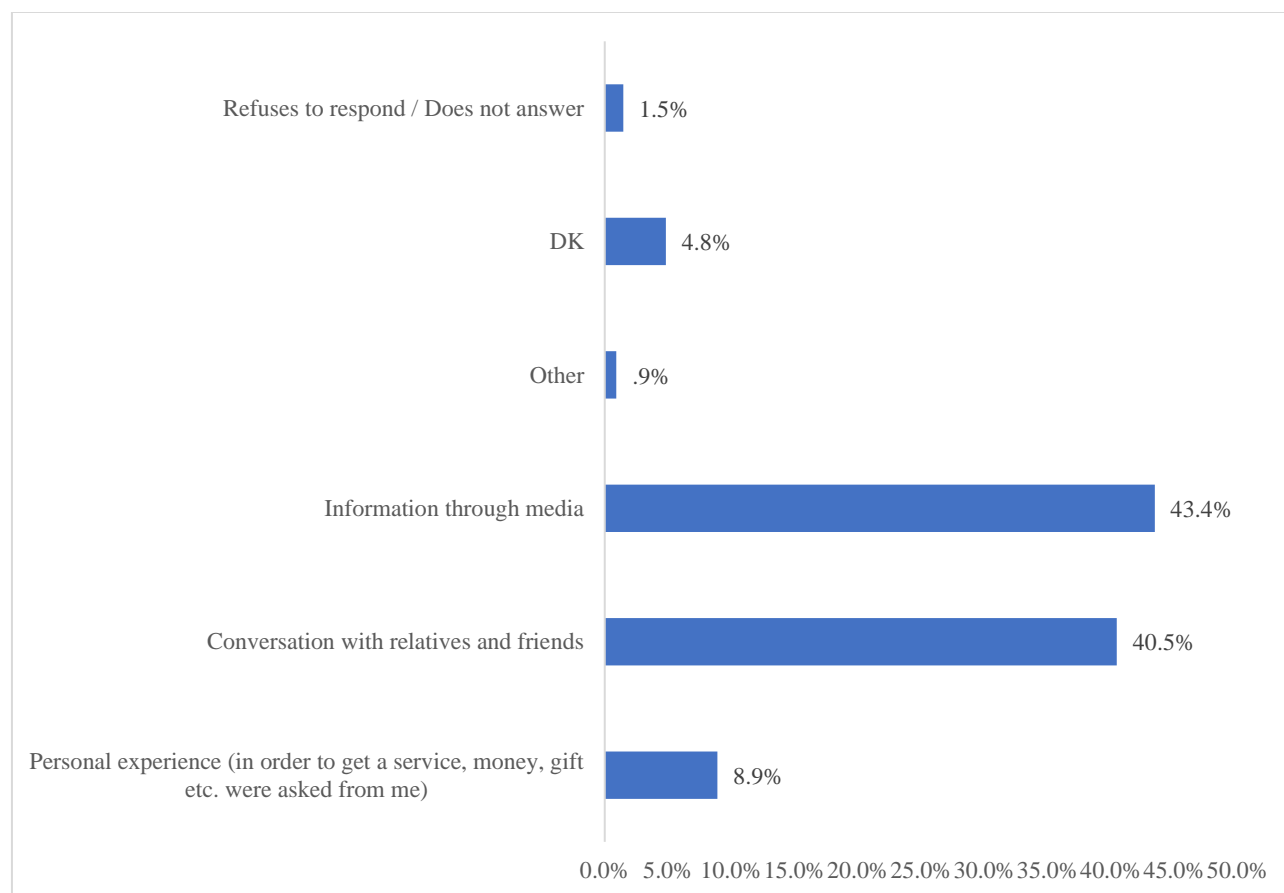
*Table 4: Perceptions of the prevalence of large-scale corruption in national and international institutions in Kosovo*

	Nov-10	Jun-11	Nov-11	Apr-12	Oct-12	Apr-13	Apr-14	Nov-14	Mar-15	Sep-15	Apr-16	Oct-16	Oct-17	Apr-18
<b>Healthcare (hospitals and family healthcare centers)</b>	47.9%	40.7%	49.8%	43.3%	51.6%	50.4%	40.4%	56.2%	52.6%	51.5%	37.9%	49.7%	25.5%	32.5%
<b>KEDS</b>	52.4%	47.9%	61.2%	47.8%	53.8%	48.8%	24.4%	39.1%	44.7%	35.6%	31.1%	31.4%	20.5%	33.0%
<b>Courts</b>	49.7%	41.6%	55.6%	44.5%	47.5%	56.4%	32.2%	42.1%	42.9%	46.9%	42.3%	49.3%	24.9%	38.6%
<b>Customs</b>	45.1%	42.3%	53.7%	43.2%	49.9%	58.9%	22.5%	33.4%	38.7%	41.3%	32.3%	45.2%	22.7%	39.1%
<b>Central administration/government</b>	47.5%	41.4%	43.3%	39.5%	35.7%	46.1%	24.0%	37.5%	38.5%	36.0%	36.6%	49.2%	30.7%	34.7%
<b>PAK (Privatization Agency of Kosovo)</b>	52.0%	40.5%	51.9%	49.4%	46.4%	48.7%	24.6%	34.8%	37.1%	38.3%	39.2%	45.7%	24.9%	34.5%
<b>Municipalities (local government)</b>	32.9%	30.4%	31.9%	30.1%	32.2%	38.9%	20.6%	33.2%	33.8%	28.6%	30.0%	40.2%	25.5%	29.0%
<b>EULEX police (CIVPOL)</b>	22.9%	26.2%	27.1%	28.3%	28.7%	38.3%	11.1%	16.5%	32.2%	35.2%	28.8%	34.1%	20.9%	29.9%
<b>Education (schools, University)</b>	14.4%	13.1%	17.3%	26.2%	23.5%	31.6%	13.0%	24.3%	29.3%	29.0%	17.5%	31.0%	16.3%	26.2%
<b>TAK (Tax administration of Kosovo)</b>		24.9%	36.5%	38.1%	33.6%	42.5%	16.5%	28.0%	28.1%	25.0%	18.2%	32.5%	17.4%	28.9%
<b>PTK</b>	34.0%	32.4%	46.6%	41.8%	45.1%	41.4%	15.4%	21.3%	25.9%	25.2%	18.4%	29.6%	17.0%	27.8%
<b>Banks</b>	14.4%	14.9%	22.0%	20.5%	22.8%	37.5%	12.0%	17.0%	24.3%	23.3%	23.1%	24.4%	13.1%	27.3%
<b>International organizations</b>	14.7%	12.3%	20.3%	19.3%	20.8%	24.8%	10.8%	16.2%	20.4%	22.9%	16.0%	28.0%	10.8%	24.5%
<b>Kosovo Police (KP)</b>	15.2%	15.5%	19.5%	19.4%	28.0%	30.3%	11.5%	16.1%	20.4%	19.0%	13.6%	21.1%	14.9%	25.7%

To understand what shapes perceptions of Kosovans regarding the presence of large-scale corruption in local and international institutions in Kosovo, the respondents were asked about the sources and channels of information on this issue. Findings reveal that the majority of respondents formed their opinions through print and electronic media (43%) and conversations with friends and

relatives (40.5%). Only 9% of respondents declared that they formed their opinions based on personal experiences where they were asked for money, gifts or other favours in order to receive certain services (*Figure 9*).

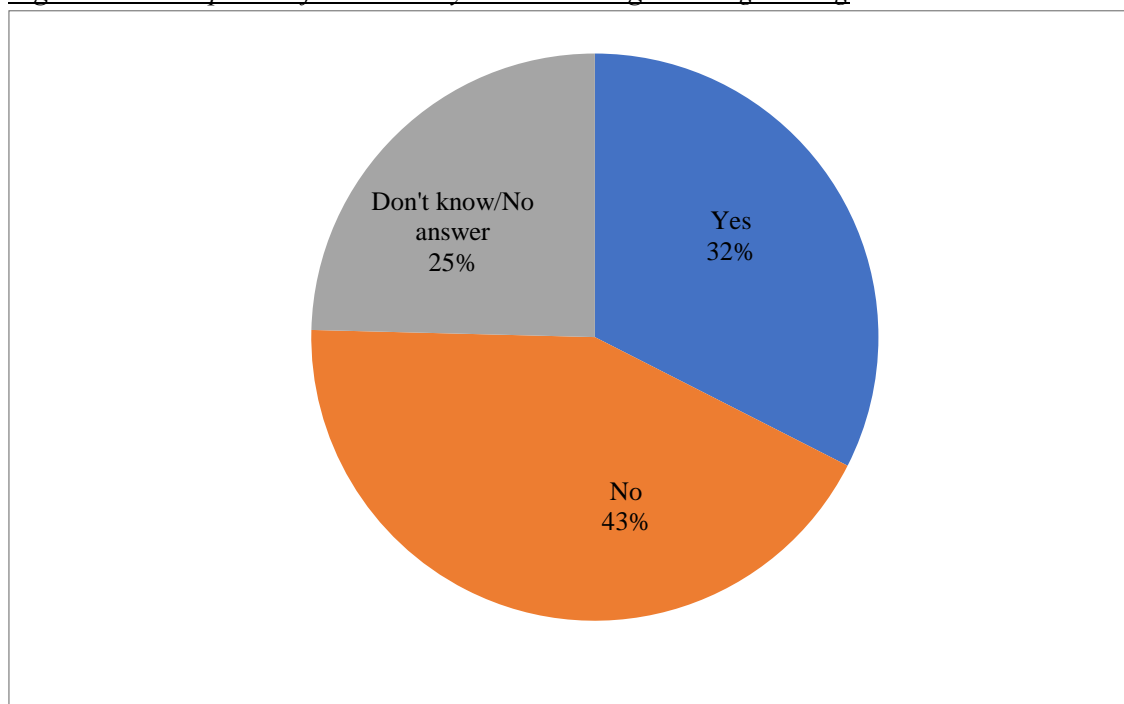
*Figure 9: On what do you base your evaluations about the extent of large-scale corruption?*



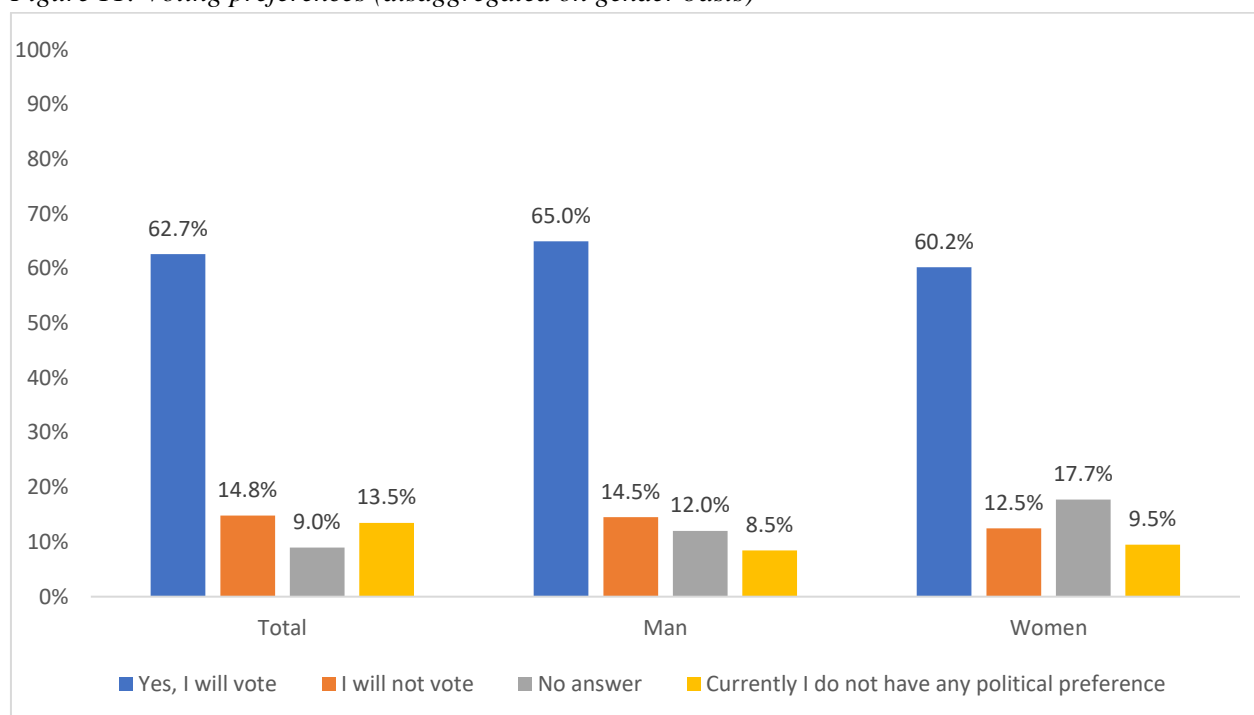
### **Attitudes towards voting**

A significantly high number of respondents believe that their vote cannot change the situation in Kosovo (43% in April 2018 as compared to 38% in October 2017), or do not know whether their vote can change it (25%). Only 32% of potential voters (as compared to 38% in October 2017) believe that their vote can change the situation in Kosovo. Gender-disaggregated data showed no significant differences in opinions of men and women regarding the issue (*Figure 10*).

*Figure 10: Perceptions of one's ability to make changes through voting*



The Public Pulse survey also inquired about respondents voting preferences. Findings indicate that 63% of respondents (as compared to 71% in October 2017) would vote for a specific political party, or a coalition, if central elections were to take place in the near future, while 13.5% of respondents did not have any political preferences. Furthermore, there is a significant percentage of those who stated that they will not vote during central elections (15% in April 2018 as compared to 8% in October 2017), while the percentage of those that did not answer this question has reduced (9% in April 2018 as compared to 27% in October 2016). Gender-disaggregated data showed that there is a significantly higher percentage of women who refused to respond to this question (18%) or those who declared that they will not vote during central elections (10%) (figure 12).

*Figure 11: Voting preferences (disaggregated on gender basis)*

## Methodology

The findings presented in this brief are based on an opinion poll which surveyed 1,306 Kosovan citizens over the age of 18. The sample included both men and women from all Kosovan municipalities and regions, covering both rural and urban areas. Specifically, the sample included 896 Kosovo Albanians, 210 Kosovo Serbs, and 200 Kosovo non-Serb minorities (namely Turkish, Bosnian, Gorani, and Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian (RAE) communities). The survey was based on a multi-staged random probability sampling. The sample is representative of households in Kosovo. The survey was conducted in the late April 2018. Additional data obtained through this poll will be made available through Public Pulse Analysis and Data Visualization Platform.

### **Note for Weighting the Totals**

Public Pulse surveys oversample minorities in order to disaggregate data by ethnicity. However, when calculating total numbers, the team weighed data by actual population figures.

Since 2002, we have used the following percentages for weighing the totals for Kosovo population:

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

According to the latest registration of the population and official data from the Kosovo Agency of Statistics, the current ethnic composition in Kosovo is following:

Ethnicity	Population	Percent
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

If we were to follow the above figures for our surveys, the weighting would be as follows:

- 93% K-Albanians,
- 2% K-Serbs, and
- 5% K-others.

Taking into consideration that K-Serbs in the northern Kosovo did not participate in the population census, along with the general observation that the participation rate of K-Serbs in the rest of Kosovo was lower, we have estimated a need to add another 34,000 K-Serbs, bringing the total to around 61,532. This also increases the total Kosovo population to 1,779,825.

When these changes were taken into consideration, the weighting in our surveys was applied in the following manner:

- 92% K-Albanians,
- 4% K-Serbs, and
- 4% K-others (Bosnians, Turks, Gorani, RAE).

### **Calculation of Indexes**

*The Democratization Index is a composite average based on the evaluation of the respondents' level of agreement or disagreement regarding developments in the following processes in Kosovo: extent of free and fair elections, Assembly monitoring, the performance of central institutions, independence of the judiciary system, freedom of expression and media, existence of a watchdog civil society in Kosovo, operation of institutions based on the priorities of citizens, constitution and*

*laws based on human rights, and whether local governments work according to the priorities of citizens. This Index is a continuous measure which can range from 0 -3 (maximum), where a score of 0 means that none of the respondents consider democratization on the right track, and a score of 3 means that all respondents fully agree that democratization is on the right track.*

***The Economic Confidence Index*** is a composite average which is calculated based on respondents evaluation of favourable or unfavourable prevailing economic conditions in Kosovo. Specifically, respondents evaluate the following conditions: expectations regarding their family's total income and employment conditions in the next six months, and an assessment of the current business and employment conditions. The values can range from 0 (minimum) to 3 (maximum) where the range of 0-1.5 indicates unfavourable assessment of the economic situation and the range 1.5-3 indicates mostly favourable assessments.