



PUBLIC PULSE REPORT -IX-

April 2015

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

The Public Pulse Brief document provides a concise overview of key indicators and results of the Public Pulse Poll. This brief covers the period from November 2014 – April 2015 and follows the tradition of previous reports by examining the evolving situation in Kosovo in the areas of political, economic, security, and development issues. Except these regular key indicators, this number also presents some insights in relation to the recent emigration from Kosovo. Additional data obtained through this poll will be made available through Public Pulse Analysis and Action Paper documents.

Public Pulse Main Indicators

Satisfaction with the Performance of Kosovo Institutions

March 2015 Public Pulse Poll results show a general decrease in people's satisfaction with the work of Kosovo's key executive, legislative, and judicial institutions. One possible explanation for the high dissatisfaction with institutions for November 2014 was the political stalemate which lasted more than 8 months. Nevertheless, the most recent data show that dissatisfaction with institutions remains high, regardless of functioning institutions in place since December last year. Only 21% of Kosovans are satisfied with key Kosovo institutions compared to 46% in April, 2014.

Less than 24% of Kosovans declared to be satisfied with the work of the Prime Minister

(as compared to 34% in November 2014, and 48.5% in April 2014). Only 18% of them declared to be satisfied with the work of the Central Institutions (as compared to 44% in April 2014).

As far as legislative institutions are concerned, only 19% of Kosovans are satisfied with the work of the Parliament, whereas 20% are satisfied with the performance of the Speaker of the Assembly (compared to 46.5% and 58% respectively during April 2014). Although the President enjoys the highest level of satisfaction among citizens, this satisfaction level has also decreased over time. Current polls show that only around 30% of Kosovans are satisfied with the work of the President (compared to 40% in November 2014). The President, the Speaker of the Parliament, the Prime Minister, and the Central Institutions reached the lowest level of citizens' satisfaction since March 2007.

The satisfaction level with the judiciary is no exception in the declining trend with other key institutions. The satisfaction level with the work of Kosovan courts and the Prosecutor's Office has decreased by approximately 6 and 5 percentage points respectively since November 2014. It must be highlighted that the satisfaction level with the judiciary is the lowest compared to all the other institutions, suggesting that loss of trust in the rule of law has influenced the satisfaction level with other institutions and areas as well (see Table 1).

Table 1: Satisfaction level with Kosovo's key executive, legislative, and judicial institutions

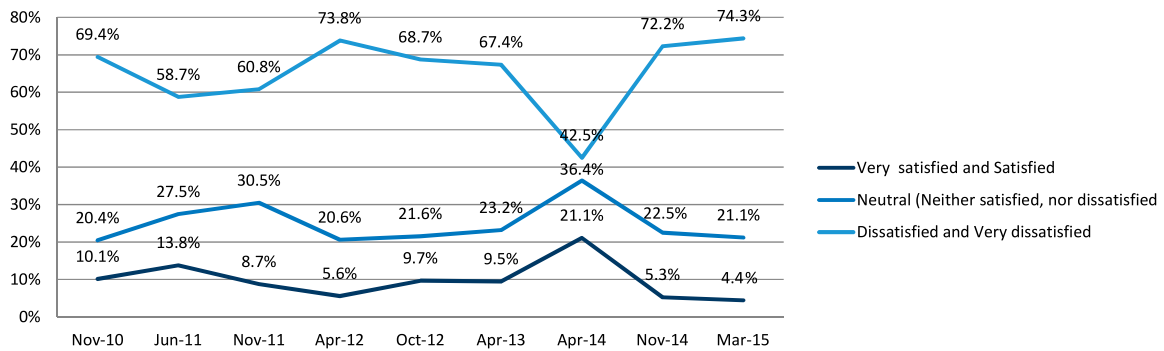
		Mar-07	May-08	Jun-09	Apr-10	Nov-10	Jun-11	Oct-12	Apr-13	Apr-14	Nov-14	Mar-15
Satisfaction with executive government	Central Institutions	30.5%	46.9%	53.1%	29.2%	25.1%	32.6%	27.2%	27.0%	44.2%	19.3%	18.1%
	Prime minister	54.0%	72.0%	53.8%	36.4%	30.7%	37.6%	27.3%	30.4%	48.5%	34.1%	23.6%
Satisfaction with legislative	Parliament	31.0%	51.4%	53.2%	34.1%	32.1%	41.0%	32.1%	32.3%	46.5%	16.1%	19.3%
	Speaker of parliament	35.4%	56.5%	51.6%	36.0%	33.3%	60.9%	44.7%	45.8%	57.8%	23.3%	20.1%
	President	52.0%	74.0%	61.7%	54.9%	30.8%	54.1%	47.1%	45.1%	48.8%	40.7%	30.2%
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%
	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%

Perceptions on Political and Economic Direction

The dissatisfaction of citizens with the work of key institutions is also reflected in the level of satisfaction with the political direction where Kosovo is heading. Slightly more than 4% of Kosovans are either satisfied or very satisfied

with Kosovo's current political direction (compared to 21% in April 2014). The majority of respondents, (74%), report being either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with Kosovo's current political direction (see Figure 1).

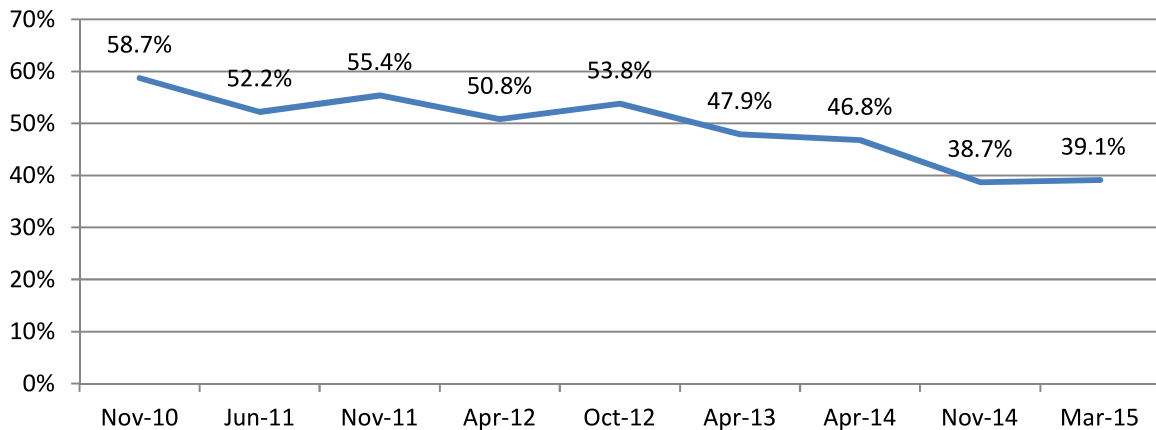
Figure 1: Satisfaction with Kosovo's political direction



Approximately 39% of Kosovans responded positively when asked whether they would be willing to join public protests for political reasons. A slightly higher percentage of K-Albansians (45%) compared to K-Serb respondents

(41%) claimed that they would be willing to join political protests. Only 30% of members of other ethnic groups declared that they would protest against the current political situation (see Figure 2).

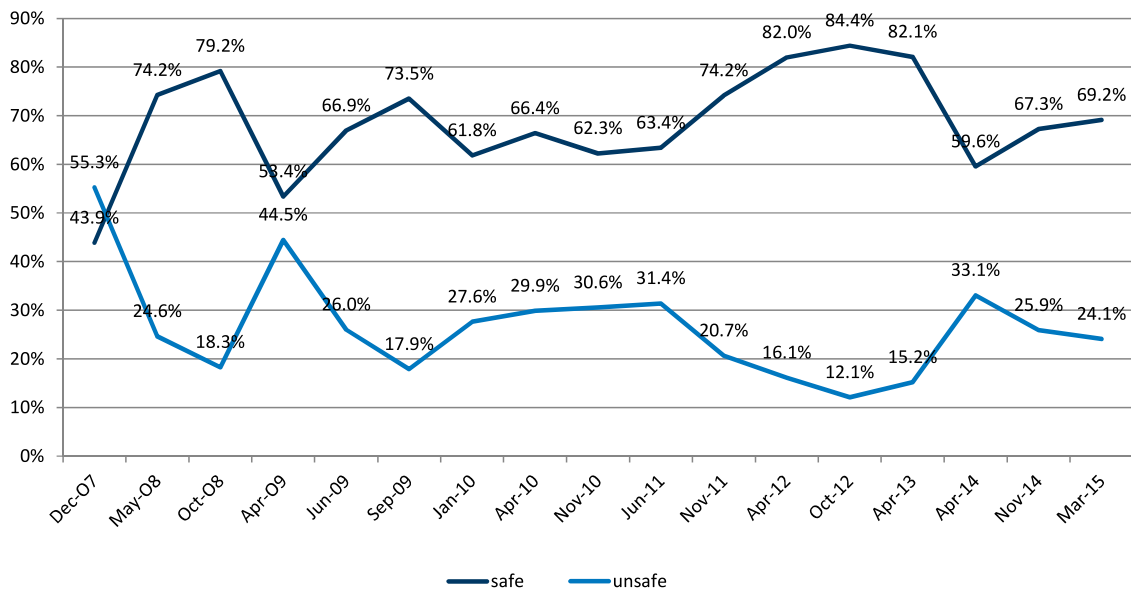
Figure 2: Percentage of respondents who would join public protests against the current political situation



As an indicator for security, the respondents were asked whether they feel safe or unsafe while out on the streets. There is a general positive trend in this regard, the March 2015 data shows that: 69% of Kosovans feel safe when outdoors, whereas about 24% (as opposed to

26% in November 2014) feel generally unsafe. When this data was analyzed on a gender basis, no significant differences were noted between the percentage of women and men that feel safe when out on the streets (see Figure 3).

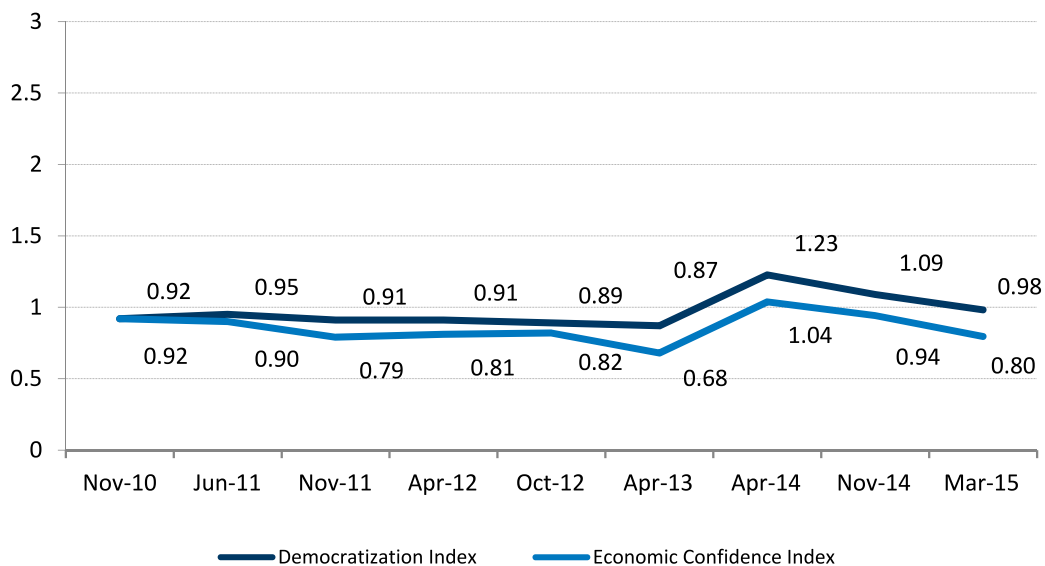
Figure 3: Safety while on the streets



The March 2015 opinion poll results show that the Democratization Index (DI) has decreased by 0.11 points since November 2014 to 0.98. Taking into consideration that the DI ranges from 0 to 3, the current index demonstrates that the majority of people do not have a positive opinion regarding the democratic process-

es in Kosovo. The Economic Confidence Index (ECI) – which also ranges between 0 and 3 – is currently valued at 0.80, showing that Kosovans have an even more pessimistic view of the economic direction than of the democratic processes (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: Democratization and Economic Confidence Indexes²



²See the last page of the document for more information about the calculation of indexes

A trend analysis comparing the values of elements composited to create the DI was conducted in order to determine what factors led to the decrease in the index's value. These results show that there has been a decrease in the values of all the components of the index. The percentage of Kosovans who believe that the elections in Kosovo are democratic and in accordance with international standards experienced the greatest decrease of DI components, from 34% in November 2014 to 26% in March 2015.

Another component which showed a significant decrease is Kosovans' belief that their central and local institutions are responding to their citizens' needs and priorities. In Novem-

ber 2014, 18% of respondents believed that the Kosovan Central Institutions is working according to the priorities of Kosovan citizens, and 29.5% of respondents thought the same of their Municipal Governments. The latest survey shows that each of these two components have decreased by six percentage points.

Kosovans have also lost trust in the freedom of expression of the Media and independence of the judiciary system. Only 35.5% of the respondents claimed that they believe that Media in Kosovo enjoy freedom of expression compared to 40% in November 2014, whereas 16% compared to 13% in November 2014 claimed to believe in the independence of the judiciary system (see Table 2).

Table 2: Trend analysis of Democratization Index components - Percentage of affirmative responses to Democratization Index questions (percent of respondents that "fully agree" or "mainly agree")

Yes Mainly and Yes fully	Nov-10	Jun-11	Nov-11	Apr-12	Oct-12	Apr-13	Apr-14	Nov-14	Mar-15	Trend
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%	
Does the Assemble monitor the performance of Central Institutions?	20.7%	20.7%	19.4%	16.7%	17.7%	17.5%	28.5%	21.5%	21.2%	
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%	
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%	
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%	
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%	
Are Central Institutions working according to the priorities of Kosovo citizens?	14.3%	16.1%	14.6%	12.9%	15.3%	16.4%	26.4%	18.2%	11.8%	
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%	
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%	

ECI components were also compared to November 2014 results to understand what specific factors lead to its decline. The data show that all the components of the index experienced a decrease compared to the previous poll. The percentage of Kosovans who believe that their families' total incomes will increase in the short term (six months), has seen the largest decrease compared to other economic confidence indi-

cators; from 20% in November 2014 to 15% in March 2015 (see Table 3). Only 8% of Kosovans hold a favourable opinion of current business conditions, while 5% hold a favourable opinion of current employment conditions. The share of Kosovans who have positive expectations about employment in the near future has reached the lowest level since November 2010 (see Table 3).

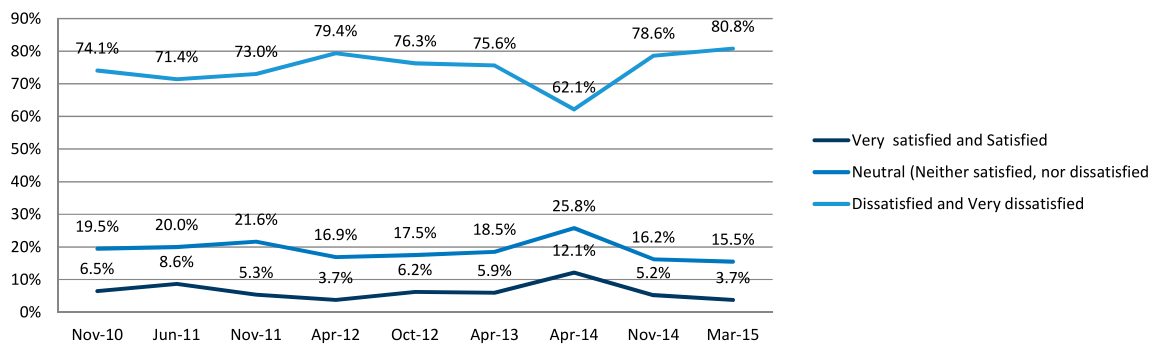
Table 3: Trend analysis in percentage of affirmative responses to ECI component questions (percent of respondents who deem them "favourable")

Favourable	Nov-10	Jun-11	Nov-11	Apr-12	Oct-12	Apr-13	Apr-14	Nov-14	Mar-15	Trend
What are your expectations regarding your family's total income six months from now	16.8%	12.1%	8.5%	9.9%	9.6%	7.6%	17.0%	19.7%	15.1%	
What is your assessment of the current business conditions	10.7%	9.7%	6.0%	7.9%	6.7%	4.8%	11.6%	8.8%	8.1%	
What is your assessment of the current employment condition	4.0%	3.3%	3.8%	3.4%	3.8%	5.1%	9.2%	7.7%	5.0%	
What are your expectations regarding employment condition six months from now	14.3%	12.4%	8.0%	7.6%	7.4%	6.4%	13.7%	7.3%	6.0%	

Public dissatisfaction with Kosovo's economic direction is even higher than dissatisfaction with its political direction: around 31% of all respondents are either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with Kosovo's current economic di-

rection, while only about 4% are satisfied with it. The number of those who are dissatisfied is higher among other communities (93.5%) compared to K-Albanians (79%) and K-Serbs (76%) (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Level of satisfaction with Kosovo's economic direction

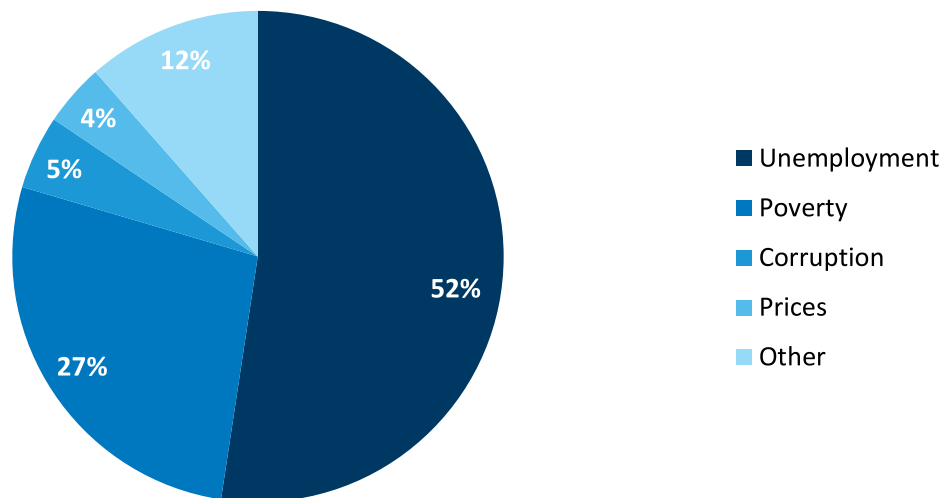


Perceived Paramount Problems

More than three quarters of Kosovans – 79% – think that the largest problems that Kosovo faces today are related to their socio-economic conditions. Fifty-two percent of the respondents selected unemployment as the biggest problem, followed by 27% who selected poverty. Corruption is ranked the

third on this list; 5% of Kosovans think that it is the most major problem in Kosovo. These figures partially explain the reason for the low satisfaction level with Kosovo's economic direction, the low Economic Confidence Index. In addition to this, the respondents remain unconvinced that merit-based employment is being practiced in the public sector (see figure 6).

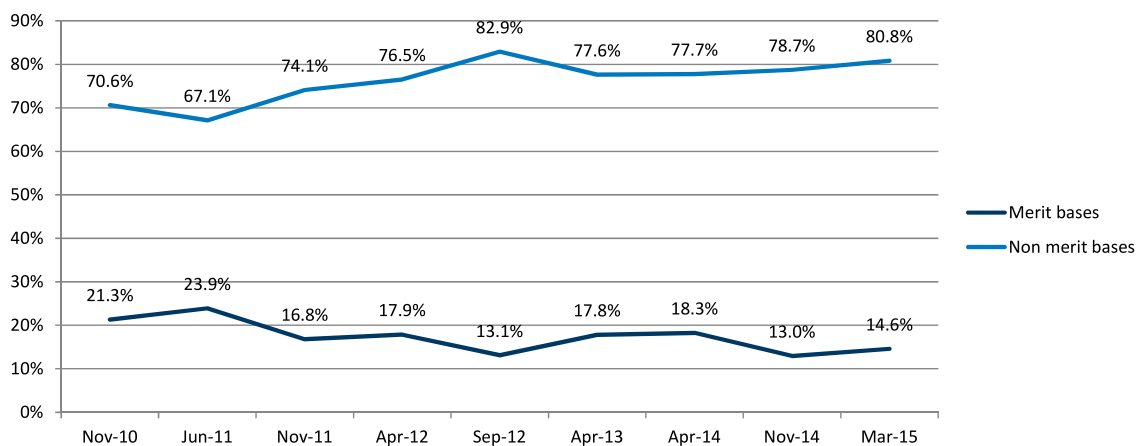
Figure 6: Perceived paramount problems facing Kosovo



Having in mind that the public sector is the largest employer in Kosovo, this figure explains why the respondents are so pessimistic about finding employment in the next 6 months (ECI above). The majority of Kosovans (81%) believe that family connections, bribes, party alliance

and other non-merit factors are the most important in gaining employment in the public sector. Only about 15% of respondents believe that education, professional experience and vocational training combined help in getting a job in the public sector (see Figure 7).

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



Corruption remains one of the top three most important problems for Kosovans. A large number of respondents think that large-scale corruption is prevalent in many institutions. The institutions that are perceived to have the highest prevalence of large-scale corruption include: healthcare providers 52% (compared to 56% in November 2014), Kosovo Electric Corporation 45% (compared to 39% in November 2014), Courts 43%, Customs 39% (compared

to 33% in November 2014), the central administration/institutions 38.5%, the Privatization Agency of Kosovo (37%) etc. Kosovo Police, International Organizations and banks are perceived to be the least corrupt institutions. Twenty percent of Kosovans believe that large-scale corruption is present in the Kosovo Police and International Institutions, whereas 24.3% (compared to 17% in November 2014) think that it is present in banks (see Table 4).

Table 4: Perceptions on prevalence of large-scale corruption in institutions in Kosovo

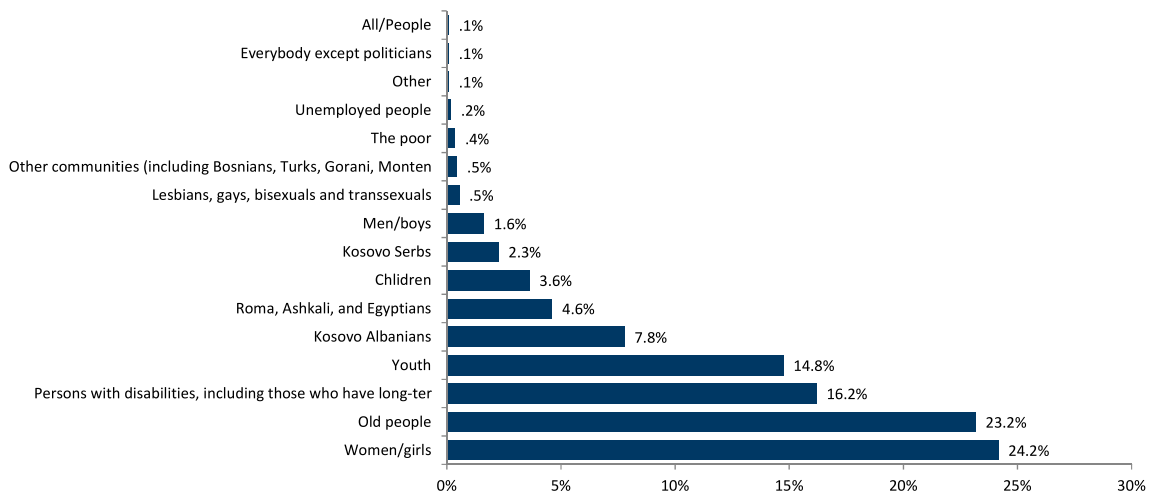
	Nov-10	Jun-11	Nov-11	Apr-12	Sep-12	Apr-13	Apr-14	Nov-14	Mar-15	Trend
Healthcare (hospitals)	47.9%	40.7%	49.8%	43.3%	51.6%	50.4%	40.4%	56.2%	52.6%	
KEC	52.4%	47.9%	61.2%	47.8%	53.8%	48.8%	24.4%	39.1%	44.7%	
Courts	49.7%	41.6%	55.6%	44.5%	47.5%	56.4%	32.2%	42.1%	42.9%	
Customs	45.1%	42.3%	53.7%	43.2%	49.9%	58.9%	22.5%	33.4%	38.7%	
Central Institutions	47.5%	41.4%	43.3%	39.5%	35.7%	46.1%	24.0%	37.5%	38.5%	
PAK (Privatization Agency of Kosovo)	52.0%	40.5%	51.9%	49.4%	46.4%	48.7%	24.6%	34.8%	37.1%	
Municipalities (local government)	32.9%	30.4%	31.9%	30.1%	32.2%	38.9%	20.6%	33.2%	33.8%	
EULEX police (CIVPOL)	22.9%	26.2%	27.1%	28.3%	28.7%	38.3%	11.1%	16.5%	32.2%	
Education (schools, University)	14.4%	13.1%	17.3%	26.2%	23.5%	31.6%	13.0%	24.3%	29.3%	
TAK (Tax administration of Kosovo)		24.9%	36.5%	38.1%	33.6%	42.5%	16.5%	28.0%	28.1%	
PTK	34.0%	32.4%	46.6%	41.8%	45.1%	41.4%	15.4%	21.3%	25.9%	
Banks	14.4%	14.9%	22.0%	20.5%	22.8%	37.5%	12.0%	17.0%	24.3%	
International organizations	14.7%	12.3%	20.3%	19.3%	20.8%	24.8%	10.8%	16.2%	20.4%	
Kosovo Police (KPS)	15.2%	15.5%	19.5%	19.4%	28.0%	30.3%	11.5%	16.1%	20.4%	

Perceptions on Discrimination

Respondents were asked to express their opinions about which groups are most subject to discrimination in Kosovo. The majority of re-

spondents identified the following: women/girls (24%), the elderly (23%), persons with disabilities (16%), and youth (15%) (see Figure 8).

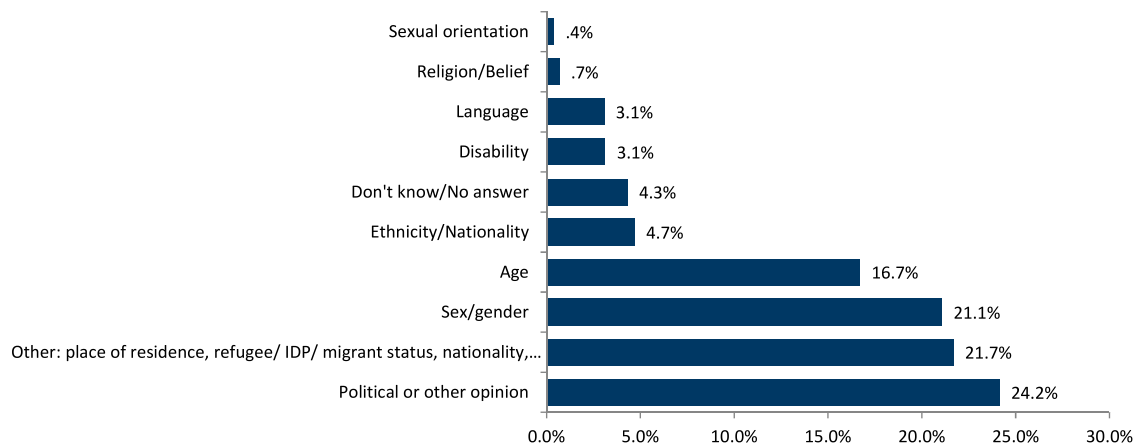
Figure 8: Perceptions on the tripartite coalition's plans to form the new Kosovo Institutions



The opinion poll also asked respondents whether they have felt discriminated against at any point in the recent past, and if so, on what basis. Kosovans feel discriminated against for the following top reasons: political or other opinions (24%), other reasons which include: place of residence, refugee/IDP/migrant status,

social status, health status, etc. (22%), sex/gender (21%), and age (17%). A lower number of respondents declared that ethnicity (5%) and disability and language (3% each) are the most common bases for discrimination in Kosovo (see Figure 9).

Figure 9: Bases of discrimination among respondents who felt discriminated in the near past

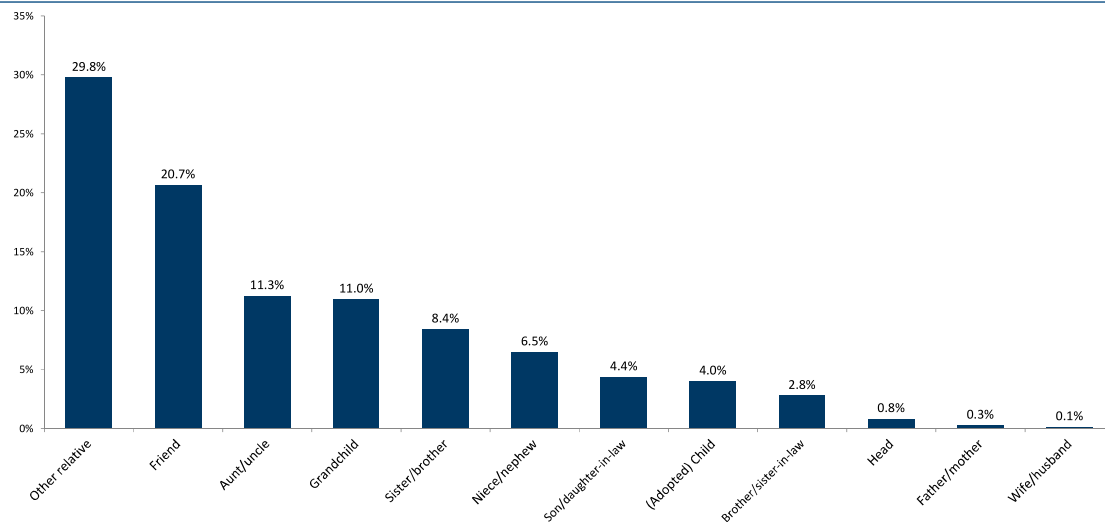


Latest Migration Wave in Kosovo

Emigration has traditionally been a coping mechanism for Kosovans, therefore nearly half of the households (47%) report that they have a family member abroad. However, during the last six months, Kosovo experienced another, unexpected emigration wave. More than half (50.5%) of the latest Public Pulse Poll respondents claimed that at least one of their relatives or friends has left Kosovo in the past six

months, while 49.5% reported that at least one of their close family members (spouse, parent, child, sibling, aunt/uncle, grandchild, family in law) migrated during this time period (see Figure 10). When disaggregating the figures of those that left by gender, the data show that 75% of them were men, whereas only 25% were women.

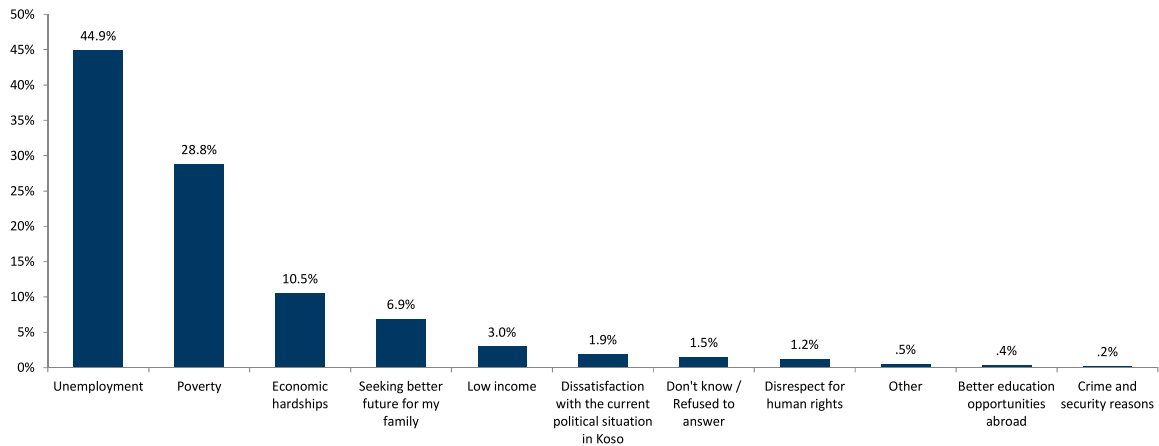
Figure 10: Relationship of respondent with migrant



The overwhelming majority of the respondents believe that the main reasons for migration from Kosovo during the past six months are related to poor socio-economic conditions. Forty-five percent believe that unemployment

is the main reason, 29% selected poverty, 10.5% economic hardships, whereas 10% responded that Kosovans are migrating to pursue better futures for their families with low incomes (see Figure 11).

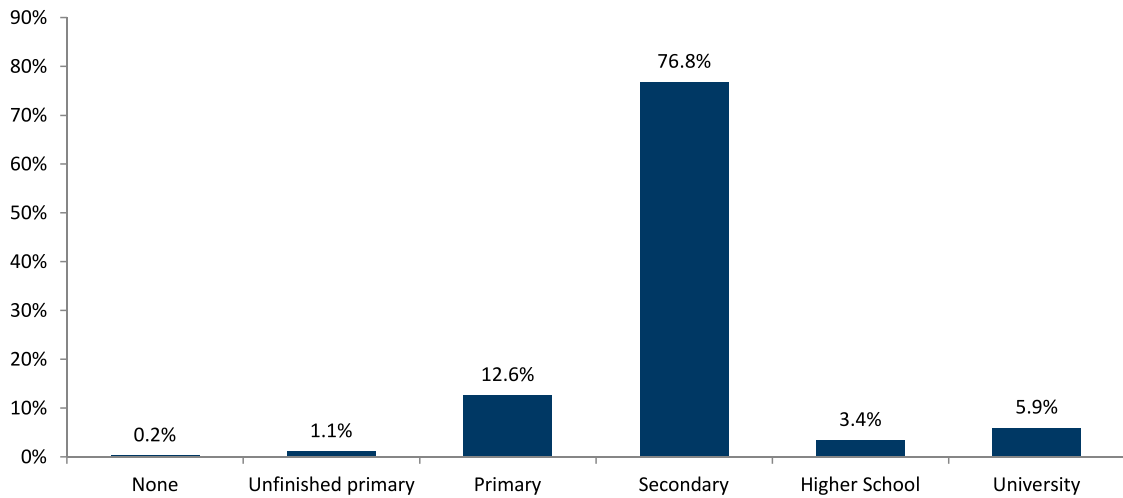
Figure 11: What in your opinion is the main reason people are emigrating during the last six months?



In order to gain insight on the profile of those that migrated, respondents were asked about education level, employment and living conditions of their family, relatives and friends that migrated during the last six months. The data show that the majority of them³ (77%)

completed secondary school, followed by those that had only completed primary school (13%). Only about 10% of those that migrated - according to their friends, relatives and family members - had a University or Higher education degree (see Figure 12).

Figure 12: Migrants' highest education level attained (aged 18 years or older)

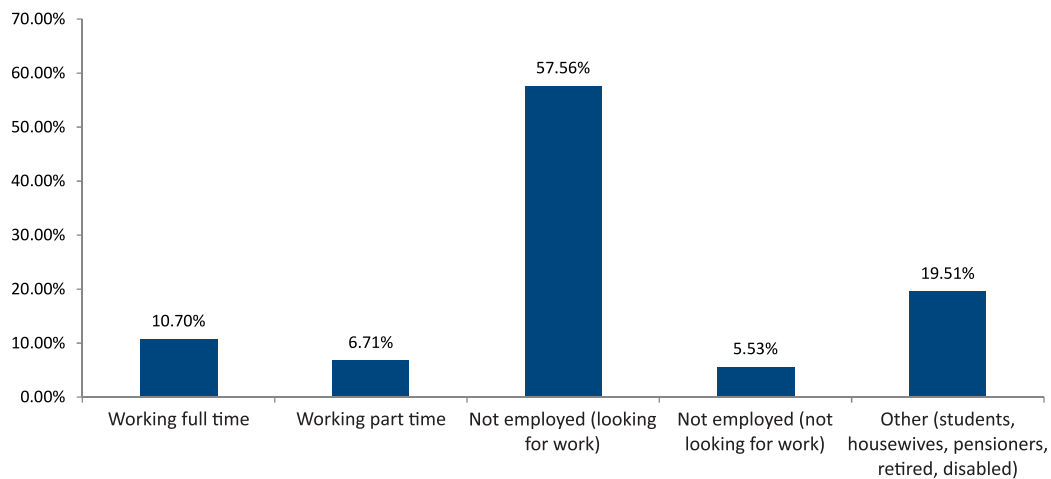


We have also asked the respondents about the employment status - while living in Kosovo - of those that migrated. According to their responses, the majority of them were not employed and looking for jobs (58%), followed by almost 20% of those who are students, house-

wives, pensioners or disabled. About 11% of the respondents whose family, relatives or friends migrated reported that they were working full-time before they migrated, whereas 7% part-time (see Figure 13).

³Figure calculated for migrants aged 18 years or older.

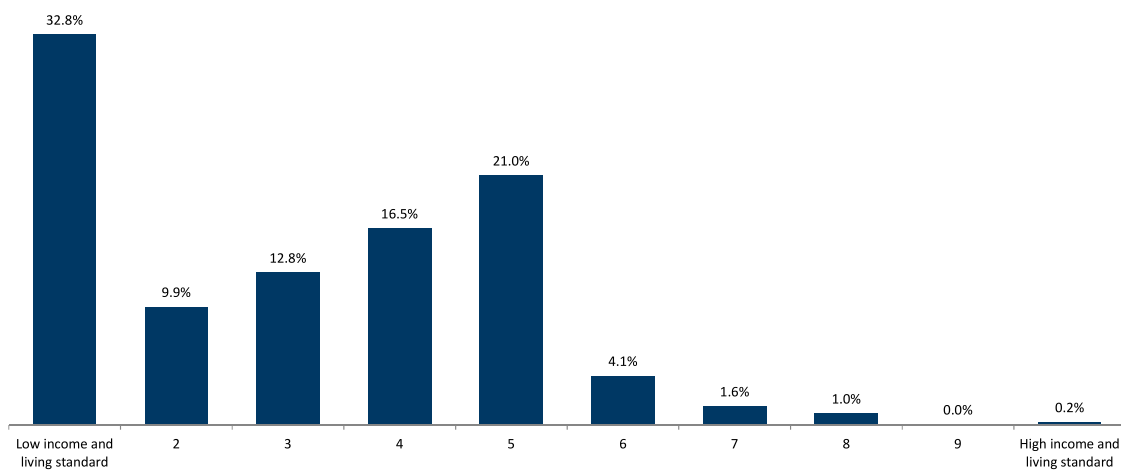
Figure 13: Employment status before emigrating



The respondents were also asked about the living standards of their relatives, friends or family members before they left Kosovo. Through the figure below which ranges between 1 (indicating the lowest income and living standards) to 10 (highest income and living standards), we can report that more than half of those that mi-

grated during the last six months (55.5%), had low income and living standards (rated as 1, 2 or 3), while living in Kosovo. This group was followed by about 42% of those that had middle income and living standards (rated as 4, 5 and 6) (see Figure 14).

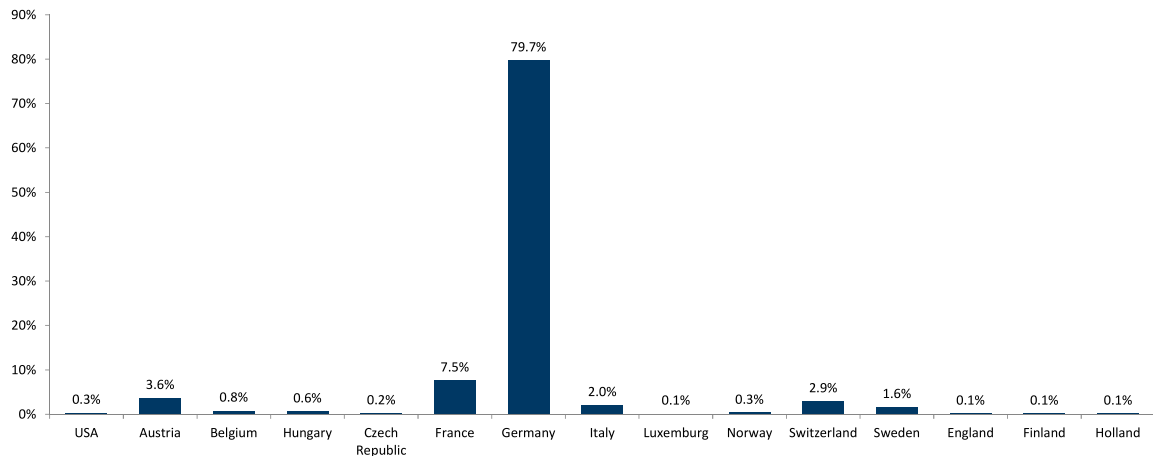
Figure 14: Emigrant living standard before leaving



When asked about the destination country of those that migrated, 80% of the respondents who claimed to have family, relatives and friends that migrated, reported that they head-

ed to Germany, followed by 7.5% of those that headed to France and about 3% that preferred Austria or Switzerland as the countries of their destination (see Figure 15).

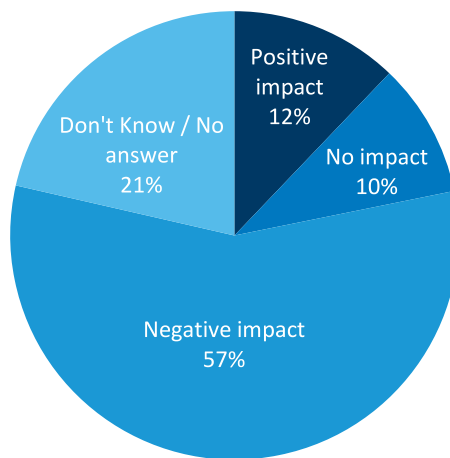
Figure 15: What is his/her/their destination country?



Public Pulse respondents were also asked about their perception on the impact of the latest wave of migration on Kosovan society. The findings show that more than half (57%) of Kosovans think that the overall impact is negative, followed by 21% who did not answer the question or declared that they didn't know

what kind of an impact it would have. A smaller proportion of respondents (12%) thinks that this wave will have a positive impact, and only 10% of them consider that the recent migration wave will not have any impact in Kosovo's society (see Figure 16).

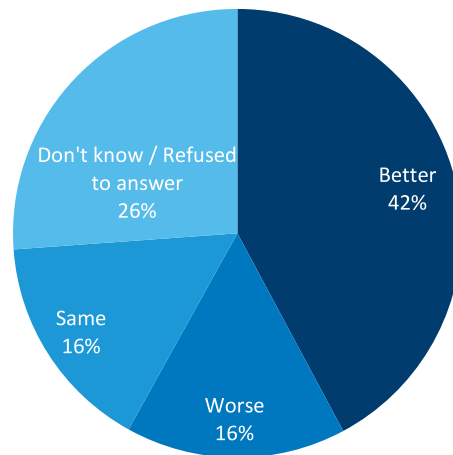
Figure 16: Recent migration's impact in Kosovo society



On the other hand, a relatively high share of Kosovans (42%), believe that the emigrants' living standard abroad will get better as compared to their earlier status in Kosovo. However, there are 16% of respondents that believe that the liv-

ing standards of the migrants will get worse or remain the same in the countries where they migrated. Twenty-six percent of respondents did not have an opinion related to the possible future status of emigrants (see Figure 17).

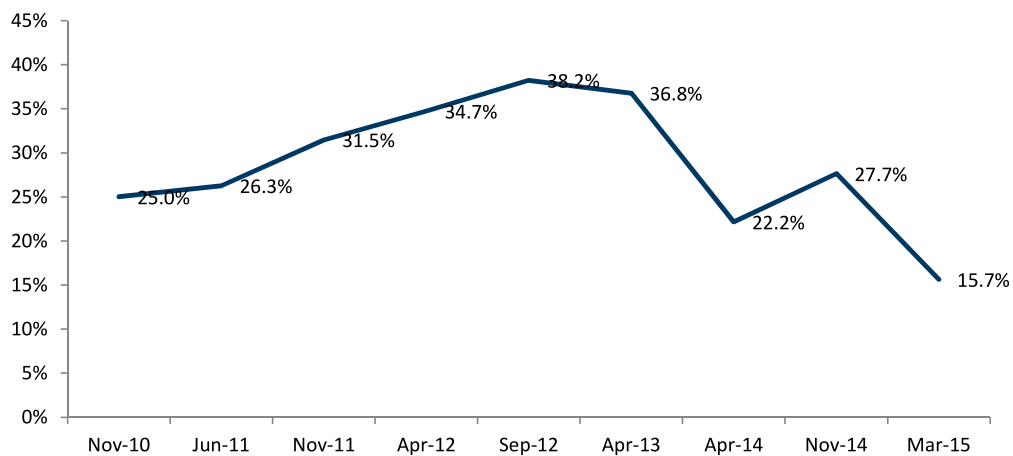
Figure 17: Perceptions related to the living standards of the emigrants themselves



As migration is again becoming a topic of concern – especially considering its push factors and repercussions due to illegality - citizens were asked if they have any plan to migrate from Kosovo. Findings reveal a rather meagre proportion of respondents who plan to do so

– 16% compared to 28% in November, 2014 – reaching the lowest level since November, 2010. This figure suggests that those that had plans to migrate earlier either did so, or the portion of Kosovans who plans to migrate has decreased during the last six months (see Figure 18).

Figure 18: Migration plans

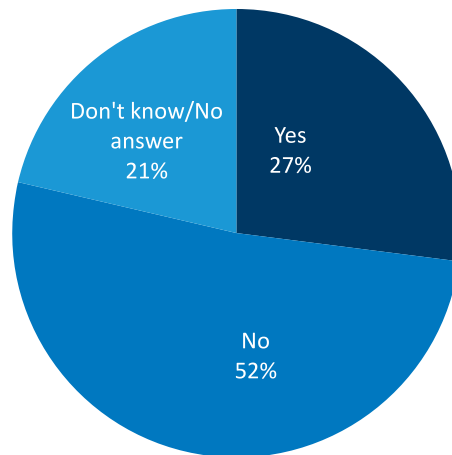


Voting behaviour

Considering the duration of the stalemate and the impact that it had on the perception of citizens on the political and economic direction, the citizens were also asked about their voting attitudes. The latest survey shows that attitudes towards voting among Kosovans are pretty pessimistic, with a significantly high number of

respondents believing that their vote cannot change the situation in Kosovo (52% compared to 45% in November 2014), or do not know whether their vote can change it (21%). Only 27% of potential voters (compared to 31% in November 2014) believe that their vote can change the situation in Kosovo (see Figure 19).

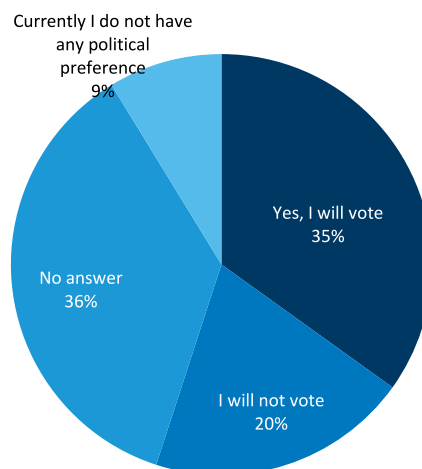
Figure 19: Perceptions on the power of voting as a mean of changing the current political situation in Kosovo



Public Pulse also asked the respondents about their voting preferences, and findings indicate that 35% of respondents (compared to 29% in November 2014) declared that they will vote for a particular political party or coalition if elections take place, while 9% of them stated they have no political preferences. Another

result that stands out in this question is the high percentage of those who stated that they will not vote (20%, as compared to 17% in November 2014), and those that did not answer the question at all (36%, as compared to 40% in November 2014) (see Figure 20).

Figure 20: Voting preferences



Methodology

These results are based on an opinion poll sample that surveyed 1,306 citizens of Kosovo of over 18 years of age, of both sexes and from all municipalities and regions of Kosovo, covering both rural and urban areas. The sample included 896 Kosovo Albanians, 210 Kosovo Serbs and 200 Kosovo non-Serb minorities (namely Turkish, Bosnian, Gorani, Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian). The survey's method is multi-staged random probability sampling. The sample is representative of households in Kosovo. The survey was conducted by Index-Kosova (Prishtinë/Pristina) during the end of March 2015.

Note for Weighting the Totals

Public Pulse surveys oversample minorities in order to be able to disaggregate data by ethnicity, however when we have to calculate the numbers for totals we have to weight data by actual population figures.

Since 2002, the following percentages for weighting the totals for the Kosovo level in our surveys have been used:

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

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

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% Albanians
- 2% Serbs
- 5% others.

Taking into consideration that K-Serbs in northern parts of Kosovo did not participate in the population registration, along with the general observation that the 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 to 65,532. This also increases the total Kosovo population to 1,779,825.

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

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

Calculation of Indexes

The Democratization Index is a composite average based on the evaluation of the respondents of their level of agreement or disagreement regarding the development of the following processes in Kosovo: free and fair elections, Assembly monitoring the performance of central institutions, an independent judiciary system, freedom of expression and media, existence of a watchdog civil society in Kosovo, institutions operating based on the priorities of citizens, constitution and laws based on human rights, and whether local governments work according to the priorities of citizens. The index is a continuous measure which can range from 3 (maximum), meaning that all respondents fully agree that democratization is on the right track, to 0 (min) meaning, that all respondents disagree that democratization is on the right track.

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