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Public Pulse -VIII-

November 2014

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Prishtinë/Priština
November 2014

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 April to November 2014 and follows the tradition of previous reports by examining the evolving situation in Kosovo in the areas of political, economic, security, and development issues. Additional data obtained through this poll will be made available through Public Pulse Analysis and Action Paper documents.

¹ For UNDP, all references to Kosovo on this document are made in the context of UN Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999).

Public Pulse Main Indicators

Satisfaction with the performance of Kosovo Institutions


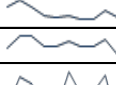



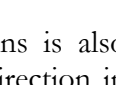
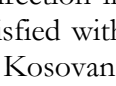
The present Public Pulse Poll results show a significant decrease in people's satisfaction with the work of Kosovo's key executive, legislative, and judicial institutions. Only around 25% of Kosovans declared to be satisfied with the legislative, executive, and judiciary institutions combined.

Between April and November 2014, satisfaction levels with the work of Executive Institutions have decreased by 25 percentage points, reaching their lowest level since March 2007. Less than 20% of Kosovans are satisfied with the work of Kosovo Executive Institutions. In addition, only 34% of Kosovans are satisfied with the work of the Prime Minister compared to 48.5% in April 2014.

The legislative institutions, such as the Parliament and the Speaker of the Parliament, have both seen their levels of satisfaction drop by about 31 and 35 percentage points. These bodies also reached their lowest levels of satisfaction since March 2007. Only 16% of Kosovans are satisfied with the work of the Parliament, whereas 23% are satisfied with the performance of the Speaker of the Parliament. Although the President enjoys the highest level of satisfaction among citizens, this satisfaction level has also decreased over time. Around 41% of Kosovans are satisfied with the work of the President (as compared to 48.8% in April 2014).

The judiciary is no exception to the decrease in the level of satisfaction with its performance. The percentage of Kosovans who are satisfied with the work of Kosovo courts has decreased from 38% to 23% between April and November 2014. A decrease of around 17 percentage points marked the level of satisfaction with the work of the Prosecutor's Office as well, bringing it to an all-time low of 21% of Kosovans (compared to 38% in April 2014) (*see Table 1*).

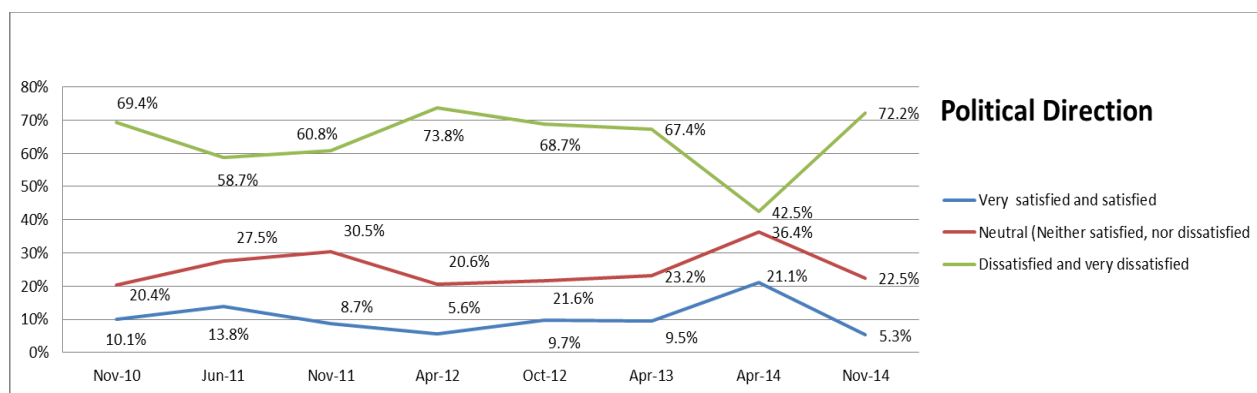
Table 1: Satisfaction level with Kosovo's key executive, legislative, and judicial institutions

		Mar-07	May-08	Jun-09	Apr-10	Nov-10	Jun-11	Oct-12	Apr-13	Apr-14	Nov-14	Trend
Satisfaction with executive government	Executive Institutions	30.5%	46.9%	53.1%	29.2%	25.1%	32.6%	27.2%	27.0%	44.2%	19.3%	
	Prime minister	54.0%	72.0%	53.8%	36.4%	30.7%	37.6%	27.3%	30.4%	48.5%	34.1%	
Satisfaction with legislative	Parliament	31.0%	51.4%	53.2%	34.1%	32.1%	41.0%	32.1%	32.3%	46.5%	16.1%	
	Speaker of parliament	35.4%	56.5%	51.6%	36.0%	33.3%	60.9%	44.7%	45.8%	57.8%	23.3%	
	President	52.0%	74.0%	61.7%	54.9%	30.8%	54.1%	47.1%	45.1%	48.8%	40.7%	
Satisfaction with judiciary	Court	20.0%	21.0%	32.7%	27.2%	18.5%	26.9%	24.3%	16.7%	37.5%	22.8%	
	Prosecutor's office	22.7%	22.7%	31.7%	26.9%	15.1%	20.0%	15.0%	17.7%	38.1%	21.0%	

Perceptions on Political and Economic direction

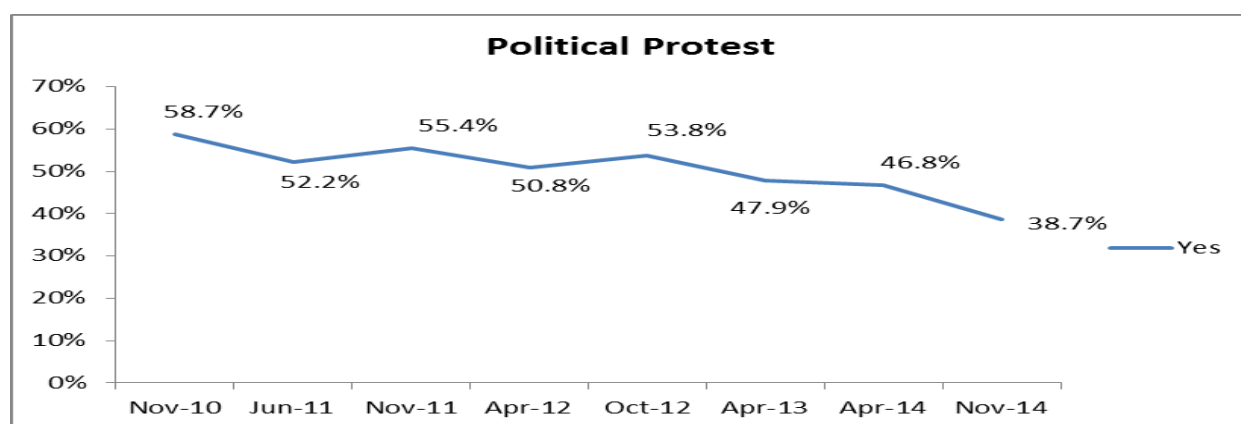
The expressed dissatisfaction of Kosovans regarding the work of the main institutions is also reflected in their responses to questions regarding their satisfaction with the political direction in which Kosovo is heading. Only 5% of Kosovans seem to be either satisfied or very satisfied with Kosovo's current political direction (as compared to 21% in April 2014). The majority of Kosovans appear to be either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with Kosovo's current political direction (72%, as compared to 42.5% in April 2014) (*see Figure 1*).

Figure 1: Satisfaction with Kosovo's political direction



Around 39% of Kosovans responded positively when asked whether they would be willing to join public protests for political reasons. A higher percentage of K-Serbs (49.5%) compared to K-Albanian respondents (39.1%) claimed that they would be willing to join political protests. Only 18.5% of members of other ethnic groups declared that they would protest against the current political situation (see Figure 2).

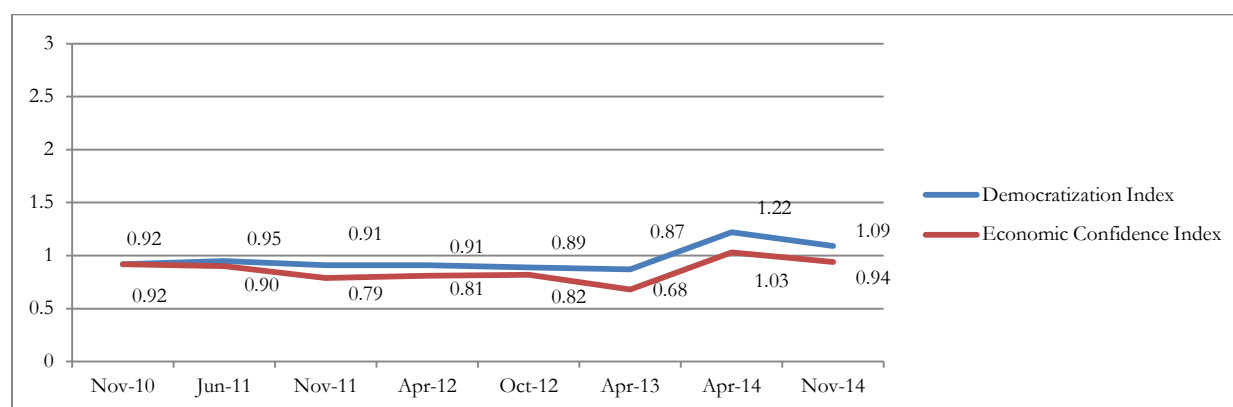
Figure 2: Percentage of respondents who would join public protests against the current political situation



The November 2014 opinion poll results show that the Democratization Index (DI) (1.09) has decreased by 0.12 points since April 2014. 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 processes in Kosovo. Similar to the Democratization Index, the Economic Confidence Index (ECI) – which also ranges between 0 and 3 – and is currently valued at 0.94

shows that the Kosovans do not have an optimistic view of the economy and its current trajectory (see Figure 3).



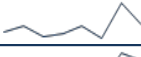






Figure 3: Democratization and Economic Confidence Indexes ²



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. There has been a decrease in the values of all the components when compounded form this index. The percentage of Kosovans who believe that the Constitution and Laws in power are democratic and respect human rights experienced the greatest decrease, from 35% in April 2014 to 24% in November 2014. Other components that showed a significant decrease are the independence of the judiciary system as well as belief that civil society in Kosovo serves as a truthful monitor of democratic developments in Kosovo. In April 2014, 25% of citizens believed in the independence of the judiciary system in Kosovo, whereas the current survey shows that only 16% of them have faith in its independence. Similarly, in April 2014, about 29% of citizens believed that civil society serves as a truthful monitor of democratic developments in Kosovo, while the latest poll shows that only 21% of Kosovans think so. Other democratization indicators for which the Public Pulse poll gathered data also demonstrate a decrease in citizens' trust in media's freedom of expression (40%, as compared to 45% in April 2014), and the parliament's ability to monitor the central institutions' performance (21.5% as compared to 28.5% in April 2014) etc. (see Table 2).





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

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	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%	
Does the Parliament monitor the performance of central institutions?	20.7%	20.7%	19.4%	16.7%	17.7%	17.5%	28.5%	21.5%	
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%	
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%	
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%	
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%	
Are Kosovo institutions working according to priorities of Kosovo citizens?	14.3%	16.1%	14.6%	12.9%	15.3%	16.4%	26.4%	18.2%	
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%	
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%	33.0%	

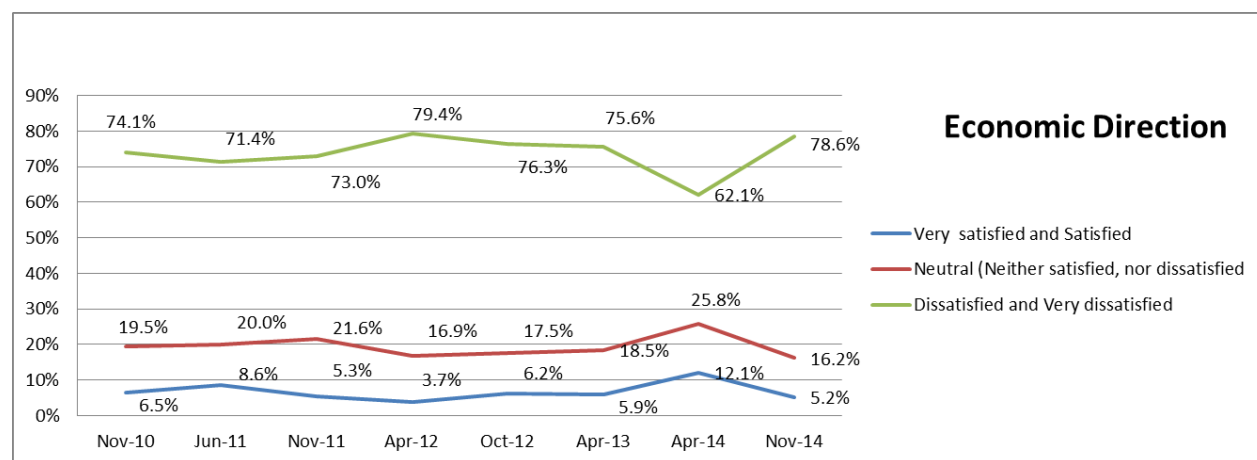
Similar to the DI indicators, the current affirmative responses of the ECI components were also compared with those of April 2014. Here it is also noted that most of the components had a part to play in the general decrease of the ECI. The results reveal that only the percentage of Kosovans who believe that their families' total incomes will increase in the short term (six months) has increased, from 15% in April to 20% in November 2014. Only 8% and 9% of Kosovans hold a favourable opinion of current employment and business conditions, respectively. The percentage of Kosovans with positive expectations regarding employment conditions in the near future (six months) experienced the largest decrease, from 13.7% in April to 7.3% in November 2014 (*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	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%	
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%	
What is your assessment of the current employment conditions?	4.0%	3.3%	3.8%	3.4%	3.8%	5.1%	9.2%	7.7%	
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%	

Public dissatisfaction with Kosovo's economic direction is even higher than dissatisfaction with its political direction: around 79% of all respondents are either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with Kosovo's current economic direction, while only about 5% are satisfied with it. The data collected from the opinion poll indicate that the dissatisfaction of other communities (81%) and K-Albanians (79%) is higher than that of K-Serbs (73%) (see Figure 4).

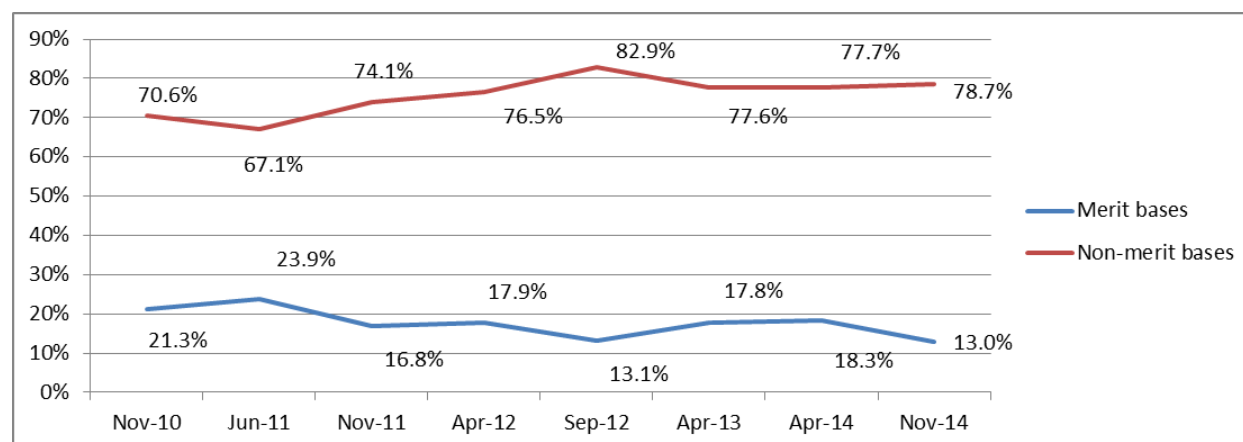
Figure 4: Level of satisfaction with Kosovo's economic direction



Perceived Paramount Problems















According to respondents, the largest problem Kosovo faces is unemployment, followed by poverty (24%) and corruption (5%). Fifty five percent of Kosovans consider unemployment to be the main problem in Kosovo. In addition to this, the respondents also remain unconvinced of merit-based employment in the public sector. The results of the current poll show that 79% of Kosovans believe that family connections, bribes, party alliance and other non-merit bases combined are the most important factors in gaining employment in the public sector. Only 13% of respondents believe that education, professional experience and vocational training combined are important when to gain employment in the public sector (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Perceptions of meritocracy in gaining employment in the public sector



Corruption remains one of the most important problems for Kosovans. A large number of Kosovans think that large-scale corruption is prevalent in many institutions and this figure has even increased compared to April 2014 results. The institutions that are perceived to have the highest prevalence of large-scale corruption include: healthcare providers 56% (as compared to 40% in April 2014), courts 42% (as compared 32% in April 2014), KEC 39% (as compared to 24% in April 2014), the central administration/institutions 37.5% (as compared to 24% in April 2014), the Privatization Agency of Kosovo 35% (as compared to 25% in April 2014), and Customs 33% (as compared to 23% in April 2014) (see Table 4).

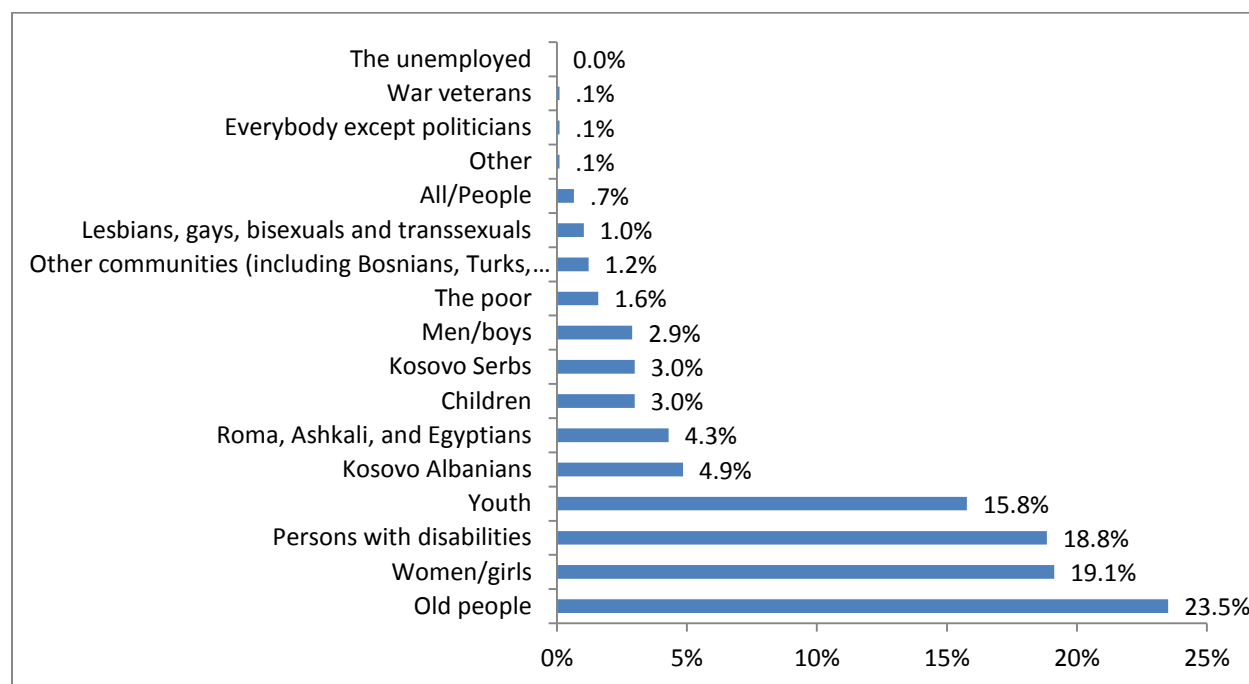
Table 4: Perceptions on prevalence of large-scale corruption in institutions in Kosovo

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

Perceptions on Discrimination

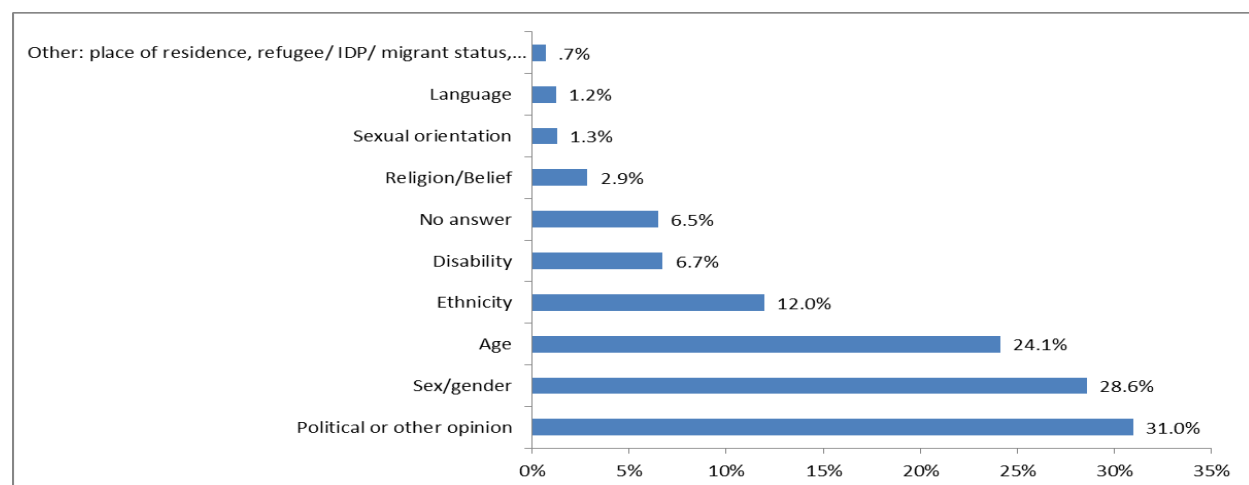
Respondents were also asked to express their opinions about which groups are most subject to discrimination in Kosovo. The majority of respondents identified the following: the elderly (23.5%), women/girls and individuals with disabilities - including those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments (19% each) (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Groups perceived as most commonly subject to discrimination in Kosovo



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. The current poll results show that Kosovans feel discriminated against for the following top reasons: political or other opinions (31%) sex/gender (29%) and age (24%). A lower number of respondents declared that ethnicity (12%), disability and (7%) and religious beliefs (3%) are the most common bases for discrimination in Kosovo (see Figure 7).

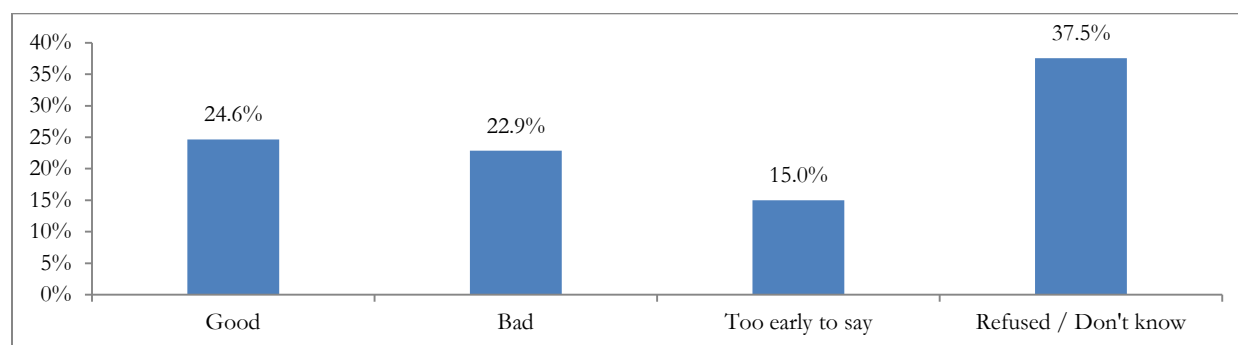
Figure 7: Bases of discrimination among respondents who felt discriminated in the near past



Political stalemate and voting behaviour

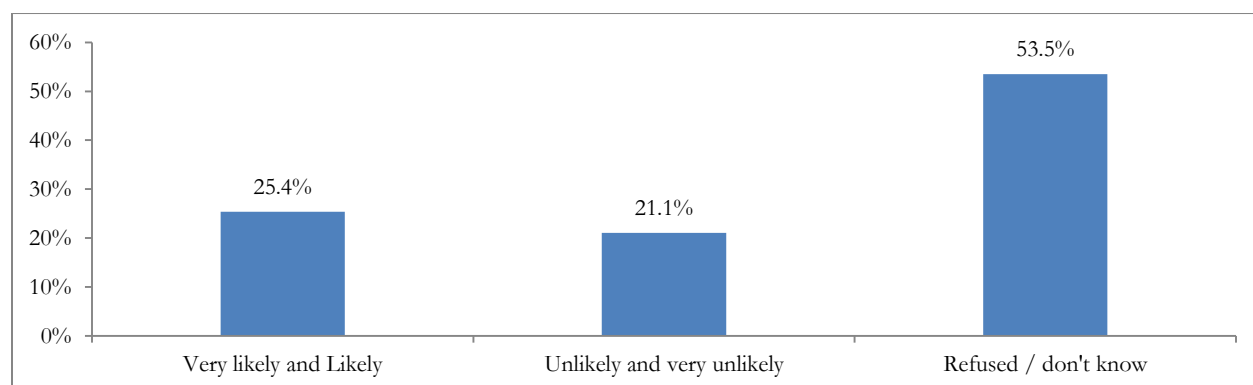
Almost six months on from the elections, the pressure grows to end Kosovo's political stalemate. When asked about whether the new tripartite coalition - intended to form the new Kosovo Institutions - would be good or bad for Kosovo, a large share of respondents (37.5%) refused to answer or declared that they do not know. On the other hand, 25% of Kosovans believe that if the coalition comes into power it will be beneficial for Kosovo, while 23% believe the opposite. Fifteen percent of those surveyed consider it to be too early to have an opinion on the coalition (see Figure 8).

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



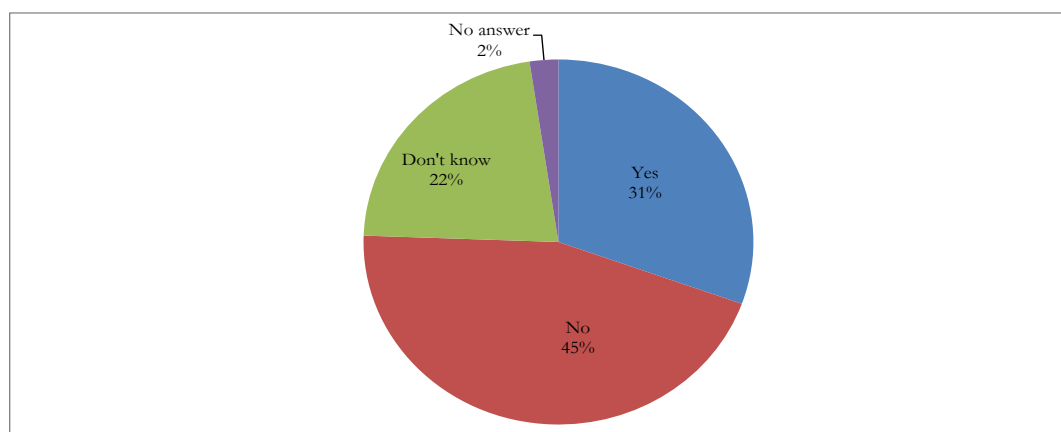
Over 53% of Kosovans did not know or refused to answer when asked whether – if formed by this tripartite coalition – Kosovo Institutions would be able to serve a full mandate until the next elections. Twenty five percent of the respondents declared that such Institutions are likely or very likely to serve a full mandate, while 21% believe the opposite (see Figure 9).

Figure 9: Perceptions on the abilities of the new Kosovo Institutions formed by the tripartite coalition to serve a full mandate until next regular elections



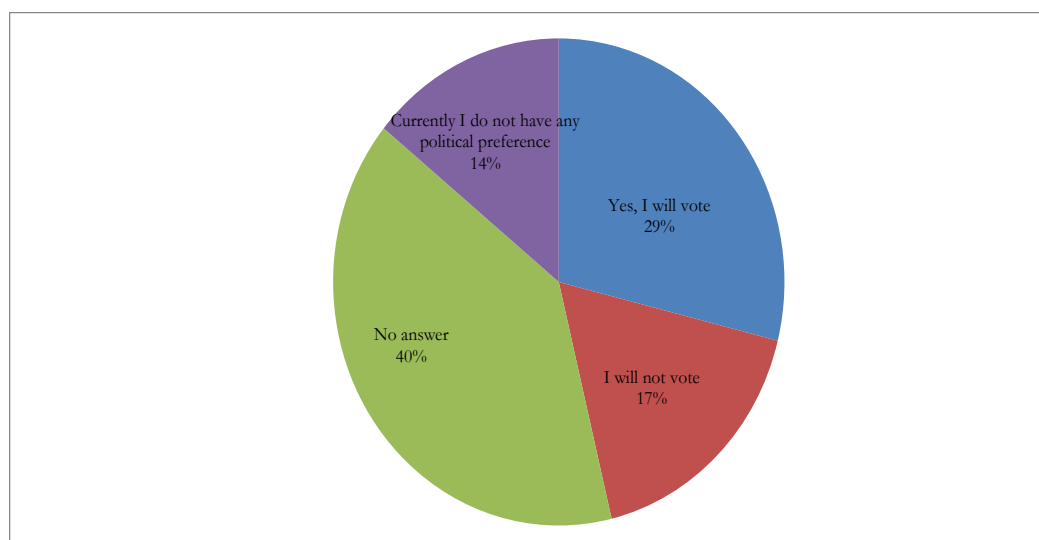
As the elections are also considered to be a viable solution to the current political crisis in Kosovo, citizens were also asked about their voting attitudes. The latest survey shows that voting attitudes among Kosovans are pretty pessimistic, with a significantly high number of respondents believing that their vote cannot change the situation in Kosovo (45%, as compared to 37% in April 2014), or do not know whether their vote can change it (22%, as compared to 16% in April 2014). Only 31% of potential voters (as compared to 47% in April 2014) believe that their vote can change the situation in Kosovo (see Figure 10).

Figure 10: Perceptions on the power of voting as a mean of changing the current political situation in Kosovo



Public Pulse also asked Kosovans about their voting preferences in case of elections, and findings reveal that only 29% of them (as compared to 54% in April 2014) declared that they will vote for a particular political party or coalition if elections take place, while 14% of them stated they have no political preferences. Furthermore, what stood out in this line of questioning was the high percentage of those who stated that they will not vote (17%, as compared to 13% in April 2014), and those that did not answer the question at all (40%, as compared to 21% in April 2014) (see Figure 11).

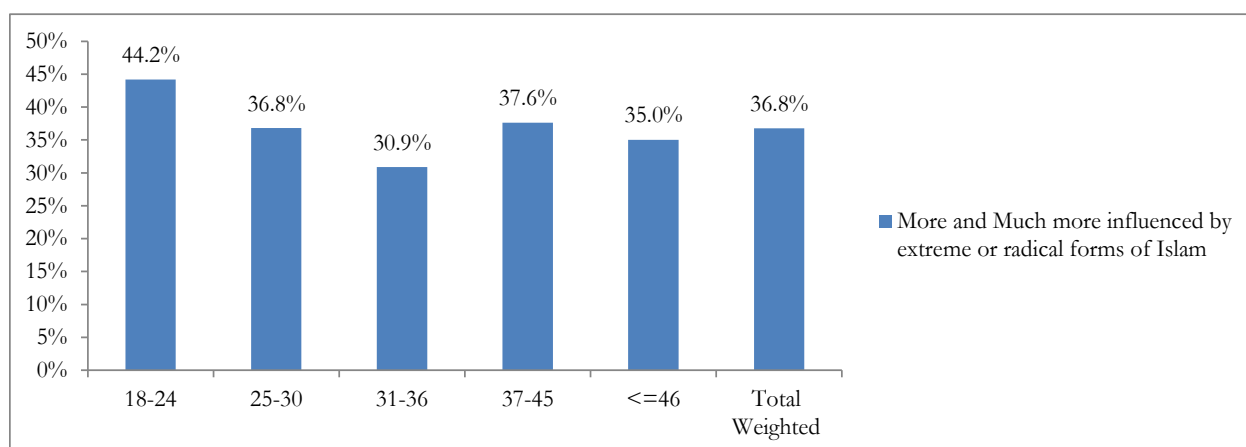
Figure 11: Voting preferences



Perceptions on religious radicalism

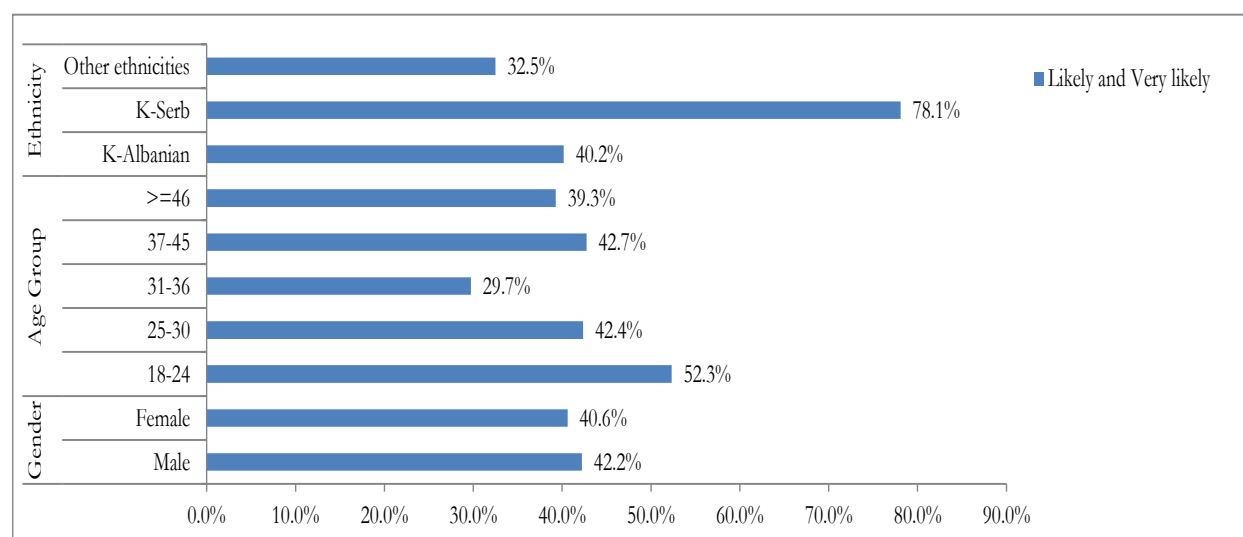
Thirty-seven percent of Kosovans think that the Muslims in Kosovo have become much more or somewhat more influenced by extreme radical forms of Islam during the last two years. On the other hand, 33% of respondents declared that they do not know or simply refused to give an answer to this question. While only 16% of respondents declared that these levels of influence have remained the same, 14% stated that during the last two years Muslims in Kosovo have become much less or somewhat less influenced by extreme or radical forms of Islam (*see Figure 12*).

Figure 12: Percentage of respondents who think that Muslims in Kosovo have become More and Much more influenced by extreme or radical forms of Islam, by age groups



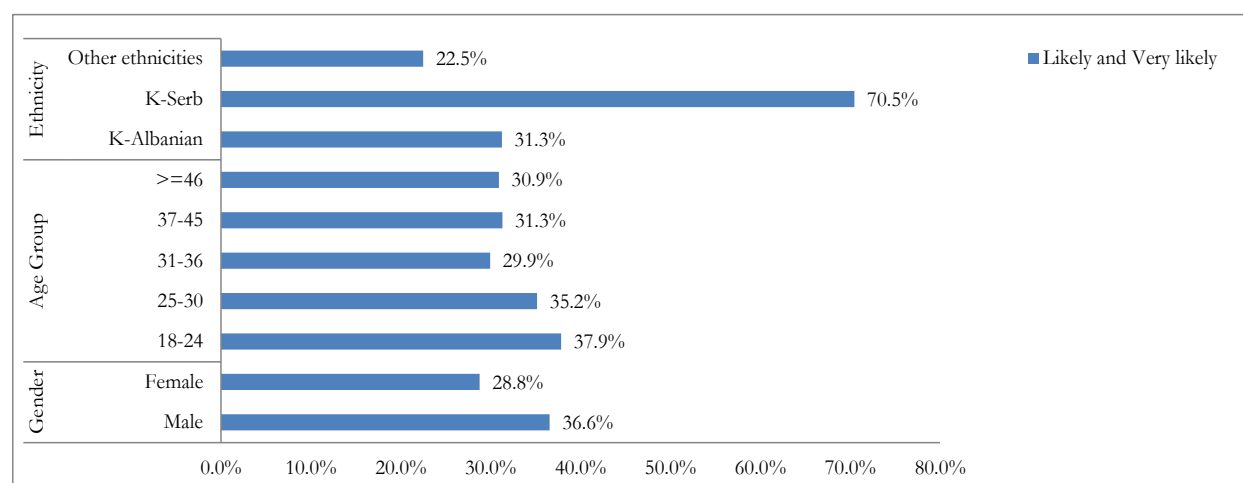
When analysed on ethnical basis, the results reveal that a higher percentage of K-Serbs (78%) believe that Kosovans are likely or very likely to be influenced by radical religious groups compared to K-Albanians (40%) and K-Others (32.5%). The findings also show that 52% of those who consider Kosovans as likely to be influenced by radical religious groups belong to the age group of 18-24 year-olds (*see Figure 13*).

Figure 13: Perceptions on influence by religious radical groups, by ethnicity, age group and gender



Kosovans were also asked about their opinions related to the likelihood of Kosovo to become a target of terrorist attacks. The findings reveal that a large share of Kosovans (42%) considers it very unlikely or unlikely that Kosovo will become a target of terrorist attacks. However, there is also a large portion of those (32.5%) who consider it likely for Kosovo to become a target of terrorist attacks. Disaggregation of results by gender shows that a higher percentage of men (37%) compared to women (29%) think that Kosovo is likely to become a target of terrorist attacks. Ethnically disaggregated data shows that the majority of those who think that Kosovo is likely to become a target of terrorist attacks are K-Serbs (70.5%), followed by K-Albanians (31%) and then K-Others (22.5%) (see Figure 14).

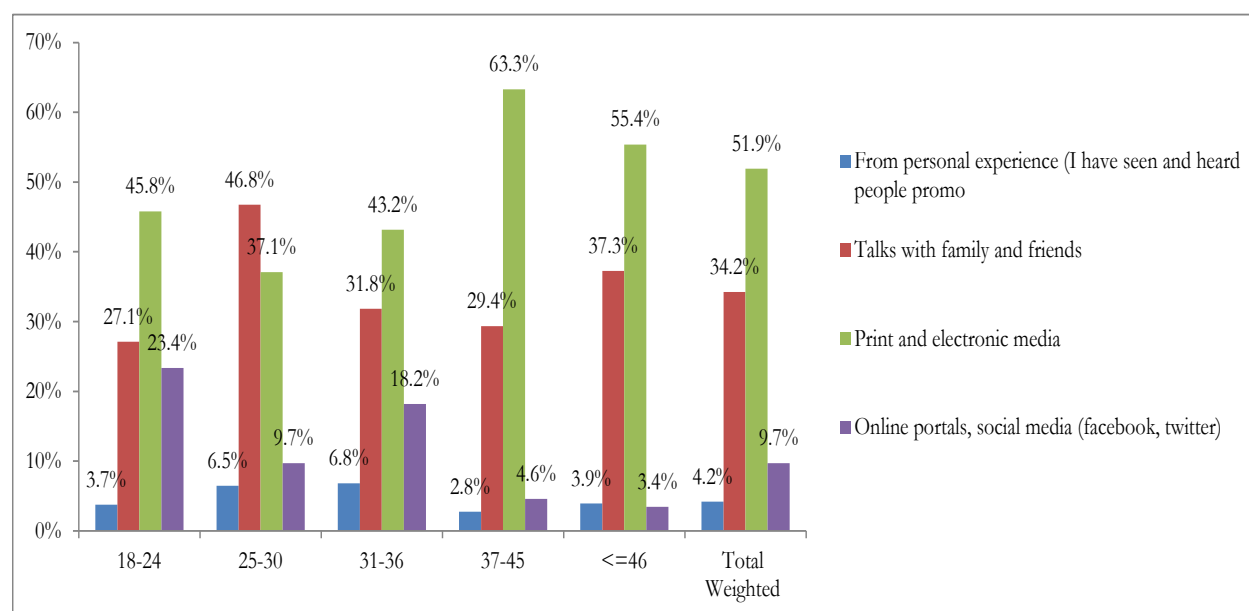
Figure 14: Percentage of respondents who believe that Kosovo is Likely or Very likely to become a target of terrorist attacks, by gender, age group and ethnicity



In order to understand what has shaped the perceptions of Kosovans regarding religious extremism, the respondents were asked where they obtained information on this issue. The findings reveal that almost an absolute majority (93.5%) of them formed their opinions through: print and electronic media (52%), conversations with friends and relatives (34%) and online portals as well as social

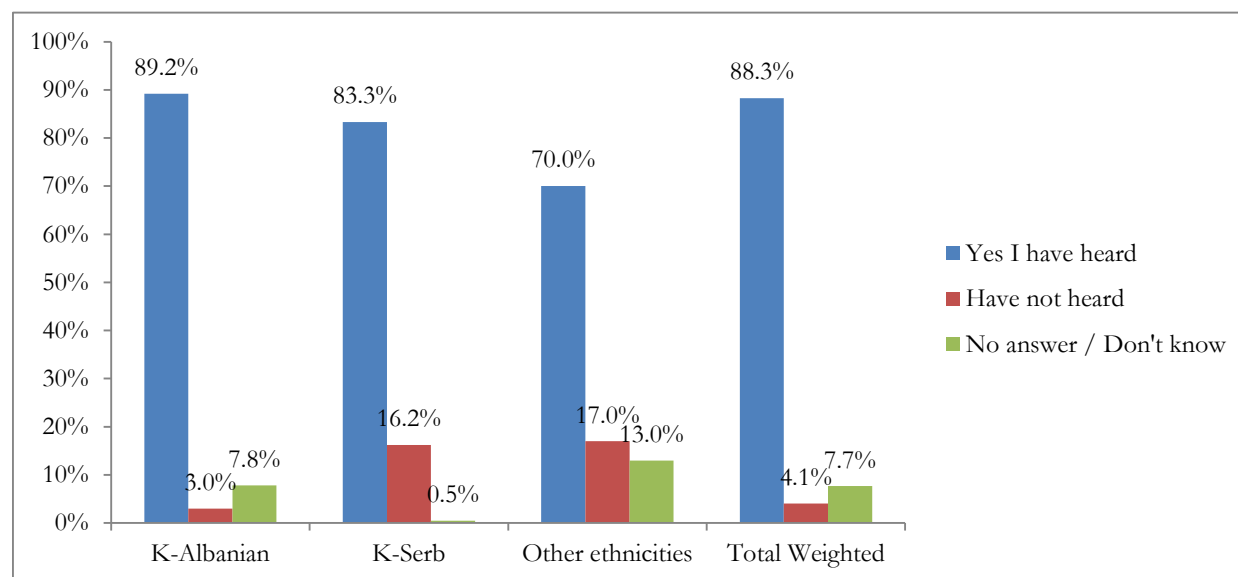
media sites such as Facebook and Twitter (10%). However, 4% of respondents declared that they formed their opinions based on personal experiences – seeing or hearing people promote extremism and religious teachings. Disaggregation of results by age group shows that a comparably higher share of respondents belonging to the age groups 25-30 years and 31-36 years (7% each) have formed their opinion on religious extremism based on personal experiences (see Figure 15).

Figure 15: Reported sources of information that have shaped the opinions of Kosovans on religious extremism in Kosovo, by age groups



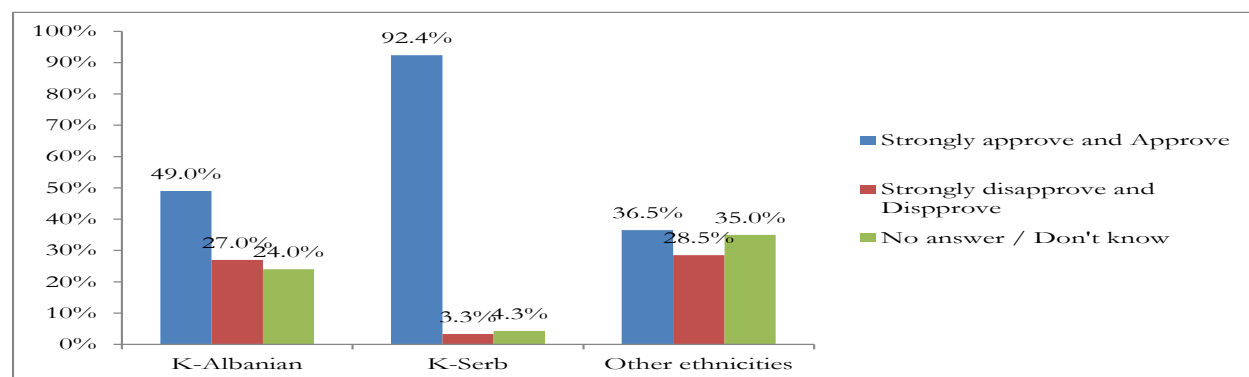
When asked about the recent police operations in Kosovo which involved arrests of a number of Imams as well as individuals who were suspected of engaging in conflicts in the Middle East and supporting terrorist organizations, the majority of Kosovans (88%) declared that they had heard a lot, some or at least little about these arrests in Kosovo. Only about 8% of those surveyed did not know or declared that they did not hear about these arrests. Ethnically disaggregated data confirms that a higher percentage of K-Others (17%) and K-Serbs (16%) compared to K-Albanians (3%) had not heard about these arrests (see Figure 16).

Figure 16: Information on the recent arrests of Imams in Kosovo, by ethnicity



Half of the respondents who have heard of these arrests declared that they approve or strongly approve of the arrests of these groups of Imams regardless of how much information they have on them. When analysed on an ethnical basis, the results reveal that about 92% of K-Serbs approved or strongly approved of these arrests, followed by 49% of K-Albanians and 37% of K-Others. On the other hand, 26% of respondents disapproved or strongly disapproved of these arrests no matter how much information they had on the issue. It must be noted that almost one fourth of respondents did not know or simply refused to give an opinion related to this question (see Figure 17).

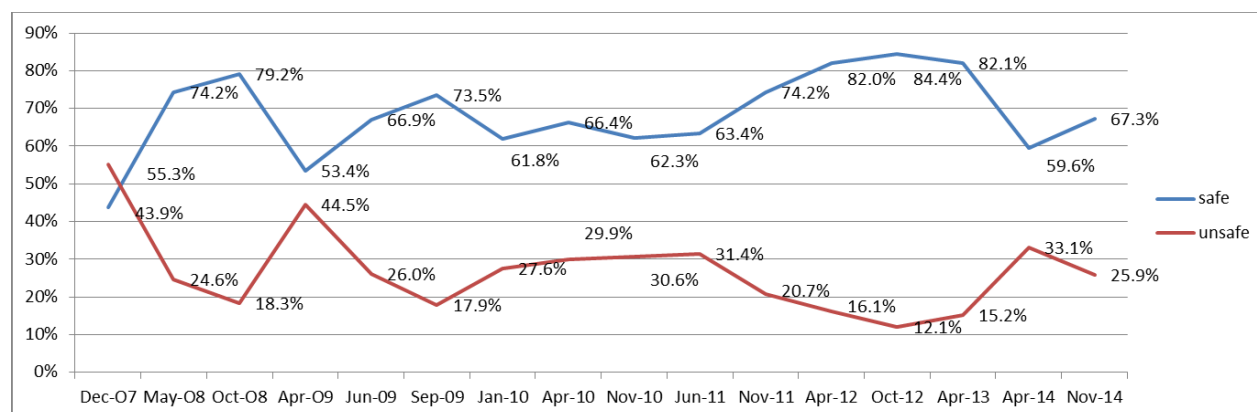
Figure 17: Perceptions on recent arrests of Imams in Kosovo, by ethnicity



Perceptions on safety and security in Kosovo

As an indicator for security, the respondents were asked whether they feel safe or unsafe while out on the streets. Even though there is a generally positive trend in this regard, the November 2014 data show that: 67% of Kosovans feel safe when outdoors, whereas about 26% (as opposed to 33% in April 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 18).

Figure 18: Safety while on the streets



Methodology

These results are based on an opinion poll sample that surveyed 1,306 citizens of Kosovo 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/Prishtina) during the end of October and beginning of November 2014.

Note for Weighting the Totals

The surveys that Public Pulse conducts 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 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, parliament 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.*