KOSOVO PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH
The National Democratic Institute (NDI) conducts public opinion research in Kosovo to ascertain public sentiment on important issues and to share public priorities and views as registered in the research with government, political, and civic leaders. Over the course of 2017, NDI conducted two rounds of research, both polls and focus groups, and below are salient findings. Public sentiment in Kosovo is restive. Citizens desire reforms that will foster social cohesion, economic opportunity, and the rule of law. Tackling corruption cuts across all of these areas and remains at the forefront of citizen priorities. While mindful of external factors shaping Kosovo's prospects for good or for ill—Euroatlantic integration, foreign investment, Russian influence, violent extremism salient among them—citizens train their focus on domestic institutions. Government corruption and partisan conflict continue to drive public political disaffection and a sense among citizens of stagnation. Kosovo's two elections in 2017—parliamentary and municipal—did not significantly re-order political power, nor raise public expectations for change. Kosovars depart 2017 as they entered it: questioning the leadership and integrity of the governing class.
The report covers both polling and focus group research conducted in March and August 2017, a period marked by political uncertainty at the national level, including early parliamentary elections in June, and colored by the impending municipal assembly and mayoral elections in October 2017. The research attempts to plumb the opinions of Kosovar Albanians and Kosovar Serbs in advance of local elections, while appreciating how the national elections and political developments influence people's thinking.
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Research Methodology

Polls
- March, 2017
- August, 2017
- Quantitative research using face-to-face method within household
- Representative national level sample size: 1200
- Margin of error for the full sample is +/- 2.74% at the 95% confidence level

Focus Groups
- Two in each location segregated by gender
- Kosovo Serb - 95 participants
- Kosovar Albanian - 104 participants
- Participants included: employed and unemployed, urban and rural, and identified voting preference.
- Municipalities: Prishtina / Priština, Gjakova / Djakovica, Ferizaj / Uroševac, Peja / Peć, Gjilan / Gnjilane, Mitrovica Veriore / Severna Mitrovica, Gračanica / Gračanica, Shtërpcë / Štrpce, Leposaviq / Leposavić
GENERAL DIRECTIONS AND KEY ISSUES
Nearly 8 out of 10 Kosovars saw the country as either not advancing or going in the wrong direction.

Are things in Kosovo going in the right direction or wrong direction?

- 13% fewer believe Kosovo is heading in the wrong direction than in March 2017.
- 9% more believe Kosovo is heading neither in the right nor wrong direction.
However, nearly one half still hold out for improvements in the economy and political situation

Do you expect that the general economic and political situation in Kosovo will improve, worsen or remain the same as it is today?

45% believe that the political and economical situation will improve in the next year

More than one-third do not expect any improvement.
...this means solving corruption and unemployment are far more important than issues related to terrorism, extremism and inter-ethnic relations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>March 2017</th>
<th>August 2017</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepotism in employment</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massive illegal migration</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political violence</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Border demarcation with Montenegro</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creation of Association of Serbian Municipalities</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious intolerance / extremism</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-ethnic tensions</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is the biggest risk/threat for Kosovo in the near future?

- Supported by polling and focus group discussions
- True among both Albanian and Serb respondents

Corruption is felt at the local level, per focus group participants. They believe corrupt public procurement processes cause low quality local development investments.
People consider important the seizure of illegally acquired assets in fighting corruption and independence of the prosecution and judiciary.

Which of the following statements is the most important in fighting corruption?

- Seize illegally acquired property and assets: 24% (March 2017), 27% (August 2017)
- Ensure the independence of prosecution and judiciary: 20% (March 2017), 34% (August 2017)
- Implement strong rules in fighting nepotism in public sector: 14%
- Implement stronger protections against electoral fraud: 8% (March 2017), 5% (August 2017)
- Ensure transparent process of hiring public servants in public administration: 6% (March 2017), N/A (August 2017)
- Revise the process of privatizing publicly owned companies: 5% (March 2017), 9% (August 2017)
- Implement transparent procedures for public tenders and procurement: 5% (March 2017), 4% (August 2017)
- Regulate the financing of political parties: 4% (March 2017), 10% (August 2017)
- DK/NA: 14% (March 2017), 10% (August 2017)

14% believe strong rules to fight nepotism in the public sector are important, changing their previous preference from ensuring the independence of prosecution and judiciary.
Following corruption, visa liberalization, healthcare, and education are the next most important issues

Which of these is the most important issue, aside from corruption and unemployment, in deciding your vote?

- Visa liberalization: 61% (56% in March 2017, 66% in August 2017)
- Health insurance: 33% (33% in March 2017, 33% in August 2017)
- Quality of education: 31% (27% in March 2017, 34% in August 2017)
- Quality of service in primary health care: 21% (20% in March 2017, 21% in August 2017)
- Water supply: 15% (15% in March 2017, 15% in August 2017)
- Protection of labor rights in the private sector: 14% (13% in March 2017, 14% in August 2017)
- Pensions: 11% (11% in March 2017, 11% in August 2017)
- Respecting the sovereignty of Kosovo: 9% (9% in March 2017, 9% in August 2017)
- Drug use / addiction among youth: 5% (5% in March 2017, 5% in August 2017)
- Neighborhood safety - thefts: 8% (8% in March 2017, 8% in August 2017)
- Availability of kindergarten: 5% (5% in March 2017, 5% in August 2017)
- Electricity supply: 2% (2% in March 2017, 2% in August 2017)
- Waste collection: 1% (1% in March 2017, 1% in August 2017)

see visa liberalization as the most important issue
Kosovars are satisfied with civil registry services, primary education and garbage collection...

How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the public services in your municipalities?

Continues on the next slide...
...while less satisfied with support to business, construction permits and cadastral services.

How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the public services in your municipalities?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Very satisfied + Somewhat satisfied</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Not satisfied + Not at all satisfied</th>
<th>DK/Ref.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Access and service of primary healthcare</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ambulances)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access and nearby location of kindergarten</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayor was responsive to the citizens requests</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper budget management of the Municipality</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transparency and access to information</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efficient services of the cadastral and</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>property</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efficient services on issuing construction</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>permits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efficient services in support to businesses</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kosovars are divided on whether or not the country is a democracy

Which statement do you agree with the most?

- Kosovo is a democracy but there is still room for improvement: 36%
- Kosovo is not a democracy, as it only delivers for a small group of individuals: 22%
- Kosovo is not a stable democracy, and country risks moving towards autocracy: 15%
- Kosovo is a stable democracy and constantly advancing: 13%
- DK/Refuse: 14%

agree that Kosovo is a democracy but there is still room for improvement
Two-thirds form their opinion about corruption through media reports

Which factor most informs your perception of the level of corruption in Kosovo?

- Media reports high levels of corruption: 68% (March 2017) vs. 73% (August 2017)
- During the last six months, your friends or relatives had to pay a bribe: 10% (March 2017) vs. 7% (August 2017)
- During the last six months, you personally had to pay a bribe: 6% (March 2017) vs. 1% (August 2017)
- Don’t know / No answer: 14% (March 2017) vs. 15% (August 2017)
- Other: 1% (March 2017) vs. 4% (August 2017)
Political institutions - executive, parliament, mayors, presidency and local government - continue to be perceived as the most corrupted, followed by judiciary

On a scale of 1 (least involved) to 5 (most involved), to what degree do you think the following are involved in corruption?

- The Government / Executive: 3.64
- Members of Parliament: 3.55
- Mayors: 3.53
- The presidency: 3.48
- Local Government officials: 3.48
- Judges: 3.41
- Prosecutors: 3.41
- Health workers: 3.08
- Media: N/A
- Businesses: 2.99
- Police: 2.87
- Civil Society Organizations: 2.62
- Education workers: 2.85

Citizens perceive the Government /executive as the most involved in corruption.
A plurality believes that corruption should be reported

What would you do if you were asked to pay a bribe by a public official?

- Report to authority: 62% (57% in March 2017, 62% in August 2017)
- Pay the bribe: 5% (4% in March 2017, 5% in August 2017)
- Pay the bribe and report to authority: 15% (8% in March 2017, 17% in August 2017)
- Do nothing: 14% (17% in March 2017, 14% in August 2017)
- DK: 14% (14% in March 2017, 14% in August 2017)

Only five percent claim they would pay the bribe.
Citizens believe politicians have no real will to fight corruption

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

- 64% agree that ordinary citizens have a responsibility to fight corruption.

10% more in August than March believe that politicians are working to fight corruption.
Private sector job development and increasing women in leadership positions are viewed as favorable ways to combat corruption

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

- **41%**

agree that if more women were in positions of leadership, there would be less corruption

Nearly one half believes that citizens should protest if the government does not control corruption.
INCLUSION OF MARGINALIZED GROUPS
Majority of citizens believe women’s representation in politics is important

Can you please tell us, how important do you think it is that women are represented in politics?

83%

think it is important that women are represented in politics

Focus Groups show Kosovars would not hesitate to vote for women candidates and believe it is clear that efforts to promote women’s political participation have been successful. However, respondents saw tradition and culture as the largest remaining obstacles to women’s participation in political life.
34% believe that active women in politics are held back from men

Why aren’t there more women in the top leadership positions?

- People are not ready to elect women: 39%
- Active women in politics are held back from men: 34%
- Women face discrimination in all areas: 31%
- Women family responsibilities don’t leave time for politics: 18%
- Women have the experience for leadership position: 16%
- Fewer women make as good leaders as men: 12%
- Women aren’t tough enough for politics: 25%
- I don’t know: 28%
Protecting the rights of marginalized groups is seen as critical for Kosovo’s democratic development

How important or unimportant is the protection of marginalized groups’ rights to Kosovo’s democratic development?

Citizens most strongly believe in protecting the rights of marginalized groups, when defined as women, youth and people with disabilities.

This belief is less strongly held as relates to religious or ethnic minorities.

There is significantly lower support for this belief as relates to sexual minorities.
INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS
Most believe Kosovo should change its approach in dialoguing with Serbia

To what extend do you agree or disagree with each statement?

52% agree that Kosovo should amend its approach by creating an all-party negotiation team on the basis of a platform adopted by the Assembly.

In 2016 there was some optimism that the dialogue process was moving to positive resolution of several issues related to mobile phone coverage, freedom of movement, personal IDs, and license plates.

Now focus group participants feel progress was not realized, and that the format of the Brussels dialogue should change.
Optimism that the Brussels Dialogue can improve the quality of life for average citizens has grown 20 percent since March.

Regarding the Dialogue, how confident are you that discussions between the governments of Kosovo and Serbia have the ability to improve conditions in the lives of average citizens?

- Very confident: 4% (March 2017), 9% (August 2017)
- Somewhat confident: 17% (March 2017), 34% (August 2017)
- Not very confident: 30% (March 2017), 26% (August 2017)
- Not confident at all: 33% (March 2017), 19% (August 2017)
- I do not know / Ref.: 15% (March 2017), 13% (August 2017)

43% are somewhat confident that discussions between the governments of Kosovo and Serbia have the ability to improve lives of average citizens.
More now expect ethnic relations to improve overall

Looking ahead a few years, do you expect ethnic relations within Kosovo to improve, worsen or remain the same?

51% expect that ethnic relations will improve

- Improve: March 2017 - 51%, August 2017 - 39%
- Stay the same: March 2017 - 37%, August 2017 - 33%
- Worsen: March 2017 - 12%, August 2017 - 5%
- I do not know / Ref.: March 2017 - 13%, August 2017 - 11%
...and more likewise expect the situation in the north of Kosovo to improve

Looking ahead to the next five years, do you expect the situation in the north of Kosovo to improve, worsen or remain the same?

- Improve: March 2017 - 32%, August 2017 - 46%
- Stay the same: March 2017 - 39%, August 2017 - 35%
- Worsen: March 2017 - 15%, August 2017 - 6%
- I do not know / Ref.: March 2017 - 15%, August 2017 - 13%

14% more citizens expressed optimism that the situation will improve in the north of Kosovo between March and August 2017.
This public opinion research was made possible by the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The opinions expressed herein are those of the citizens and do not necessarily reflect the views of National Democratic Institute (NDI), the USAID or the United States Government.