



# **KOSOVO SECURITY BAROMETER**

## **THE VOICES OF KOSOVO: INSIGHTS AND PERCEPTIONS**

*The Kosovo Barometer is a periodic publication of the Kosovo Centre for Security Studies that is based on public opinion polls.*

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# KOSOVO SECURITY BAROMETER

## THE VOICES OF KOSOVO

### 1. SECURITY AND THREATS

The survey presents respondents' satisfaction level with security and justice institutions: Kosovo Police, Kosovo Security Force, Firefighters, Ministry of International Affairs (MIA), Kosovo Intelligence Agency (KIA), Kosovo Courts, Kosovo Customs and international security presence – KFOR and EULEX

### 2. PERCEPTIONS TOWARDS INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS

The survey presents respondents' views over inter-ethnic relations and Prishtina-Belgrade dialogue. This edition presents Kosovans' views over inter-ethnic relations, the risk of inter-ethnic conflict and their perceptions about Thaci-Dacic Agreement.

### 3. ECONOMY AND CHALLENGES

This section summaries Kosovans' perceptions towards the main challenges facing Kosovo, migration, perceptions about economic situation in Kosovo as well as their reports on income and expenditure.

### 4. POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS

The section highlights key concerns regarding the political situation in Kosovo and the state of democracy. The survey measures the trust towards key institutions of democracy including government, Assembly, judiciary and the non-governmental sector. This edition also presents Kosovans' political party preferences ahead of the upcoming elections.

### 5. EXTERNAL RELATIONS

The report also surfaces respondents' perceptions towards regional and neighboring countries. In addition, it also presents the perceptions towards international organisations (NATO, EU, UN, IMF, WB) as well as towards major European Union and global actors.

## KOSOVO BAROMETER

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## KOSOVO SECURITY BAROMETER

The Kosovo Barometer has been designed to serve as a new innovative bi-annual publication aimed at capturing the public opinion trends towards security and justice institutions as well as the key security challenges facing Kosovo. This initiative is similar but quite distinct compared to other competing publications. It differs in significant way for its focus on security and justice, for the independence of the think tank and absence of political constraints in communicating the findings and messages. Secondly, the publication is the first local initiative indicating the importance of donor-driven efforts to create a sustainable civil society in Kosovo. Thirdly, the publication is unique for its methodology – it will probably be the first traditional and periodic publication based on public opinion surveys.

The centre intends to complement earlier similar approaches in providing grassroots inputs to the policy process namely (a) assessment of public opinion towards private security companies and (b) community-based approaches towards security. With this publication the centre shall launch the first local initiative to surface the people' opinions and bring them into the policy-making process and institutional reform. The initiative also corresponds with a period when security and justice are very sensitive areas given the complexities of demographic structure, multi-ethnicity and rather complex relations with some neighboring countries. The impact of the publication can be expected to multiply in the mid-term for a number of reasons including (a) centre's credibility as a neutral think-tank, (b) centre' track record of employing appropriate scientific methods in its products, (c) the importance of local ownership and (d) the professional capacities available at the centre.

# 1.METHODOLOGY

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The report provides a summary of people's perceptions about security in Kosovo, the performance of judicial institutions, the nature of external and internal threats, political stability, economic situation, inter-ethnic relations and perceptions about external affairs. Innovative practices of new public management require a more result-based approach in service delivery. In essence evidence-based policy making requires that the provider be able to progressively receive inputs and measure its performance. Perceptions presented in this report are a summary of information gathered from respondents and it only demonstrates how people percept institutions. It is in no way a conclusive assessment of the quality of the work of institutions subject to this study. It shall serve as an instrument to them for addressing potential shortcomings but also an indicator of the effectiveness of their communication with the people. A more detailed analysis and report will be produced at a later stage.

The Barometer is carried out through face-to-face interviews conducted around Kosovo, and using a questionnaire developed by KCSS. All questions are close-ended, and the majority is in the form of five-point Likert scales. Sampling, piloting and interviews were conducted by KCSS team involving 35 researchers. A national sample was drawn that is representative of the Kosovo population that is 18 years and above and includes 1067 households. The ethnic breakdown of the interviewed respondents is: K-Albanian 89%, K-Serbian 7%, and other K-minorities 4%. The sample frame is based on telephone area codes and includes the regions of Prishtina, Mitrovica, Prizren, Ferizaj, Gjilan, Peja and Gjakova.

Following the first stage of geographical clustering based on the 2012 Kosovo Census Report, the second stage involved clustering samples by municipal area with a stratified rural/urban sample as per the number of households. The selection of households was done using the UPI method – research started at the centre of enumeration area towards a randomly selected direction. Every other settlement in that direction was picked for interviews. The last stage included the selection of persons in the households using the nearest birthday technique. At

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least two attempts were made to contact the household member before a replacement took place. Male respondents were assigned male interviewers while female respondents were assigned female interviewers. Random sampling ensures that each person resident in Kosovo has an equal probability of being chosen for the interview.

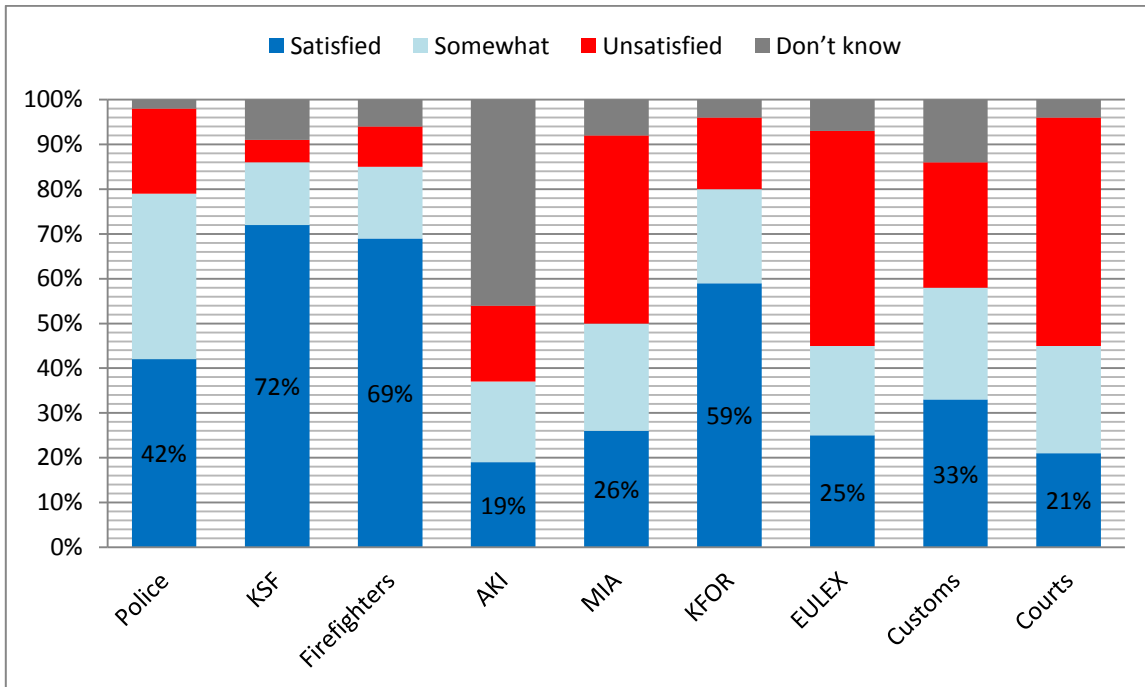
As a representative sample, the result of the survey can be projected onto the Kosovo population as a mirror image of trends in attitudes and perceptions amongst adult Kosovans in general. The margin of error is 3% with a confidence interval of 95%. Prior to the commencement of fieldwork several pilot interviews were conducted to test several new and revised questions. The research team subsequently reported that the pilot was successful, and no problems were encountered with these questions. All interviews were completed between 22 April and 14 May 2013. Data processing has been completed using SPSS software.

The study was developed and implemented carefully so as to ensure that the results accurately represent the views and opinions of the adult population. We must acknowledge that there are some limitations in the process. Some selected households and individuals would not be possible to be interviewed for a number of reasons: abandoned household, failure to be interviewed etc. It is difficult to measure how the replacement procedure affects the overall results. It should also be pointed out that a number of other factors might have affected the results including difficulties in recalling events and thoughts, complexity of answers or concepts, reactivity to sensitive questions or intentional misreporting. Finally, the field researcher discretion is also a factor in the process. All attempts were made to involve only mature interviewers.

## 2. SECURITY AND THREATS

### 2.1 Satisfaction with security and justice institutions

Respondents were asked of how satisfied were they with the work of security institutions and place their own opinion against a rank based on the Likert scale – 1 being very dissatisfied, 2- dissatisfied, 3- somehow, 4- satisfied, 5- very satisfied and 0-no opinion or failed to answer. Respondents were most satisfied with the work of Kosovo Security Force (72%) followed by firefighters (69%) and KFOR (59%). A more moderate satisfaction level was expressed towards Kosovo Police – with only 42% reporting of being satisfied with their work. The least satisfaction levels were expressed towards the work of Customs (33%) and EULEX (25%). Respondents asked to express their satisfaction with the work of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency (KIA) produced inconclusive results as nearly half of those surveyed said they did not have sufficient information to judge them. K-Serbs have generally low satisfaction levels (highest being K-Police with 23%). Majority of K-Serbs seem to be dissatisfied with the work of KFOR and EULEX.



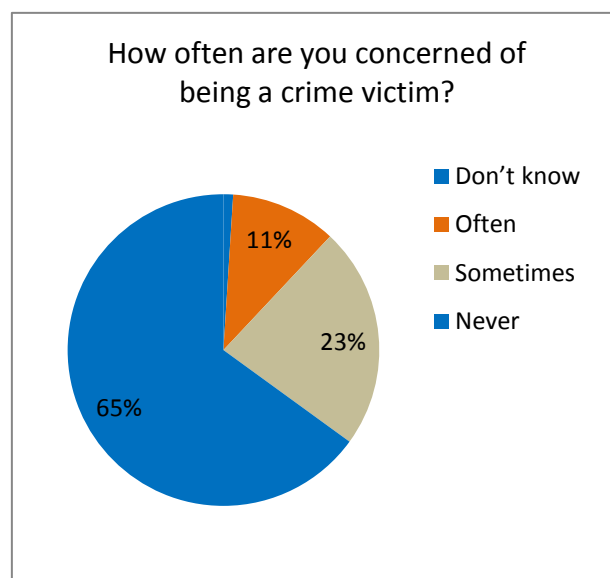
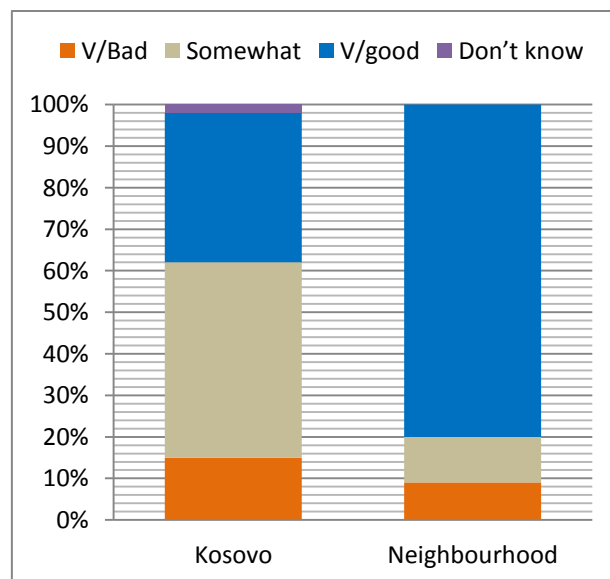
Respondents generally expressed doubts and little trust towards Kosovo judiciary. More than half of those surveyed said they had little or no trust in the judicial system. Their satisfaction with the work of Kosovo courts is quite low (21%).

## 2.2 Perceptions about the security situation

The report revealed that the people of Kosovo percept the safety to be generally average although noting some lingering concerns. Nearly half of those surveyed assessed that security in Kosovo is average. Kosovans' views of security in their neighborhood are significantly better compared to their assessment of overall security situation in Kosovo. About 80% of households assessed the security in their neighborhood as good. Respondents living in urban areas noted significant concerns compared to their rural counterparts. Geographically, people tend to be more concerned about public security in major urban settlements and municipalities bordering Serbia.

About 34% of the respondents felt often or sometimes anxious of being a victim of a crime. Respondents from Skenderaj – a small municipality in central Kosovo had the lowest concerns compared to respondents in Peja and Prishtina where the survey noted some of the highest crime concerns. Women tend to share higher crime concerns that men in almost all regions of Kosovo.

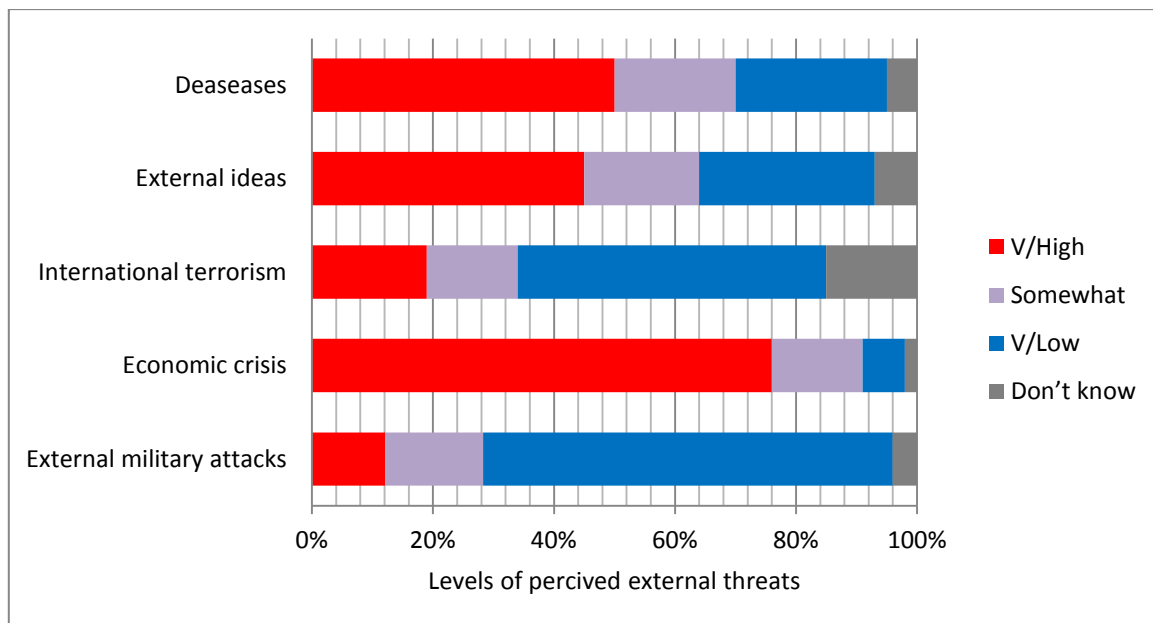
There is a shift in attitudes towards causes of security and crime concerns in Kosovo in recent years. International reports in the post-conflict period have shown that people viewed military threats and inter-ethnic relations as the most pressing security concerns. However, the Barometer in 2013 noted a significant shift in perceptions – people generally view internal factors as poverty, presence of small arms and weakness of rule of law as the main causes of insecurity in Kosovo. A more in-depth analysis of the survey data revealed that there is direct correlation between people's satisfaction with security and justice institutions with low security and crime concerns. On the



other hand, regions and municipalities that were economically well-off tend to be less anxious about security and incidence of crimes. Improving economic conditions along with adopting a more inclusive approach in security and justice decision-making probably are the key measures in addressing security and crime concerns in Kosovo.

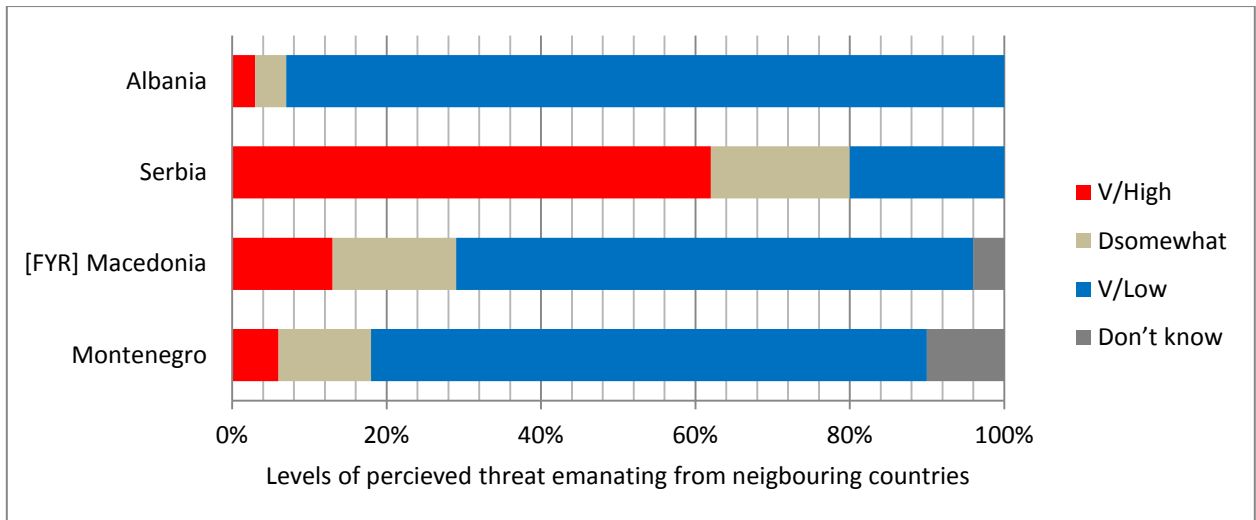
### 2.3 External threats

Our research was interested to capture the level of perceived external threat. The potential impact of economic crisis was the highest external threat that respondents perceived. Interestingly Kosovans view the potential threat from external ideas and lifestyles and diseases as more pervasive than potential external military attacks. No significant differences were noticed in respondents' perceptions when stratified along ethnic lines. Older generations were somewhat more inclined to see the risk of external lifestyles and military attacks higher than younger ones.



When asked to assess the level of threat from neighboring countries, about 62% perceived some level of threat coming from Serbia. The perceived threat from Serbia has declined by 10% compared to last years' survey. Only a negligible percentage had a similar opinion towards Albania, Macedonia or Montenegro.

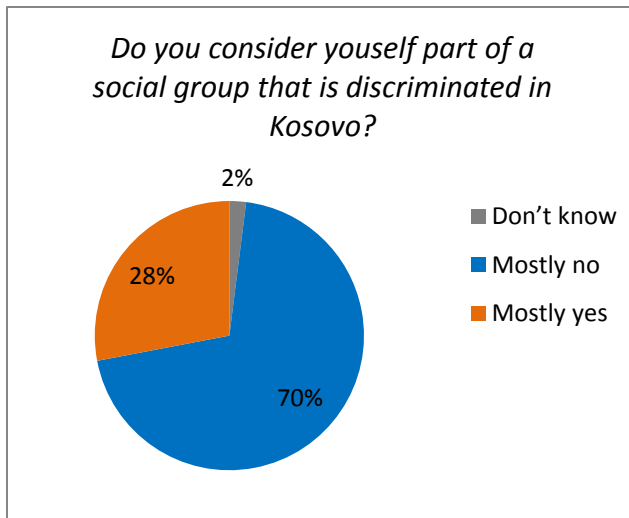




When asked to express their opinion of the best way to ensure Kosovo's security, respondents picked membership in the European Union (31%), NATO membership (29%) and investing in own defense (22%). Making peace and solving disputes with neighbors was the least favorable actions.

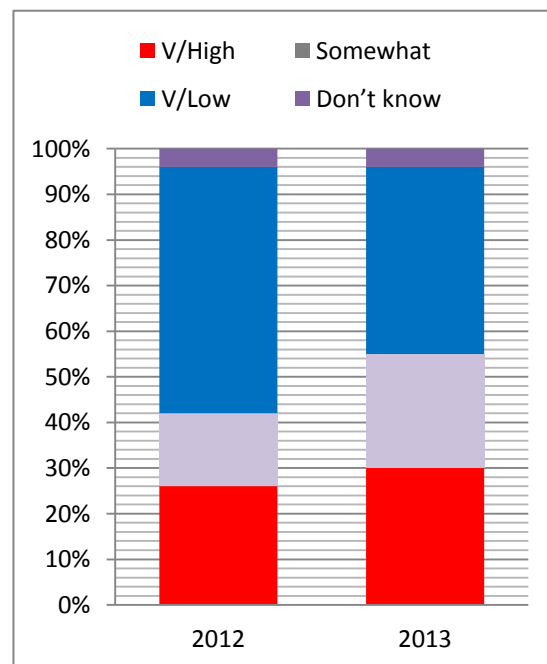
### 3.SOCIAL AND INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS

The purpose of this section is to present an overview of the social dynamics within the Kosovo society. In the previous 2012 survey, the report measured Kosovans' perceptions of inter-generational relations, relations between men and women as well as relations between people from various income statuses. In this edition the research has focused on surfacing social discrimination and the state of inter-ethnic relations in Kosovo. The Barometer has from the outset tracked perceptions towards Prishtina-Belgrade dialogue.

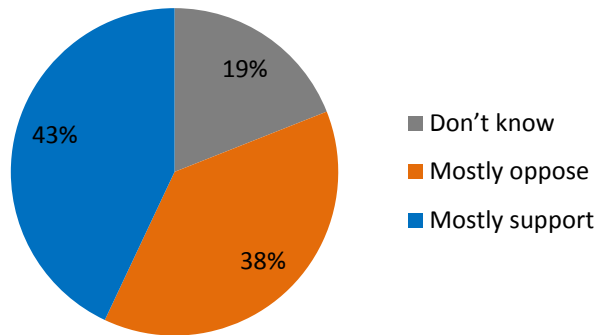


Respondents were asked if they felt that they were part of a social group that is discriminated in Kosovo. About 28% of those surveyed answered yes. Respondents with 54 years and over reported higher percentages of discrimination citing difficulties to accommodate in the labour market. Nearly half of K-Serbs and K-Roma said they saw themselves either politically or socially marginalized in Kosovo.

Most Kosovo citizens do not anticipate another inter-ethnic conflict - proportions of those seeing the risk of inter-ethnic conflict in Kosovo as high vary across communities and geographical areas. About 30% of respondents said the risk of inter-ethnic conflict in Kosovo is high - up from last 2012 survey. K-Serbs seem to be much more concerned than K-Albanians and other communities in Kosovo. Respondents in K-Serb inhabited northern municipalities of Kosovo were most likely to say the risk remained high. Kosovans identify most strongly with ethnicity and less so with their country and religion. About 93% stated that they strongly identify with their ethnicity.



*Do you support or oppose Thaci-Dacic Agreement?*



Kosovans were asked how they felt about the 'Thaci-Dacic Agreement' struck in April with the facilitation of the European Union. The respondents seemed divided over the issue – 43% were in support of the agreement compared to 38% that opposed it. Another 19% did not know what to think or had no answer. K-Serbs were less supportive than K-Albanians. Serbs living in northern Kosovo predominantly oppose the agreement while those in the in other areas predominantly support it. Only 21% of Kosovans thought the agreement was more

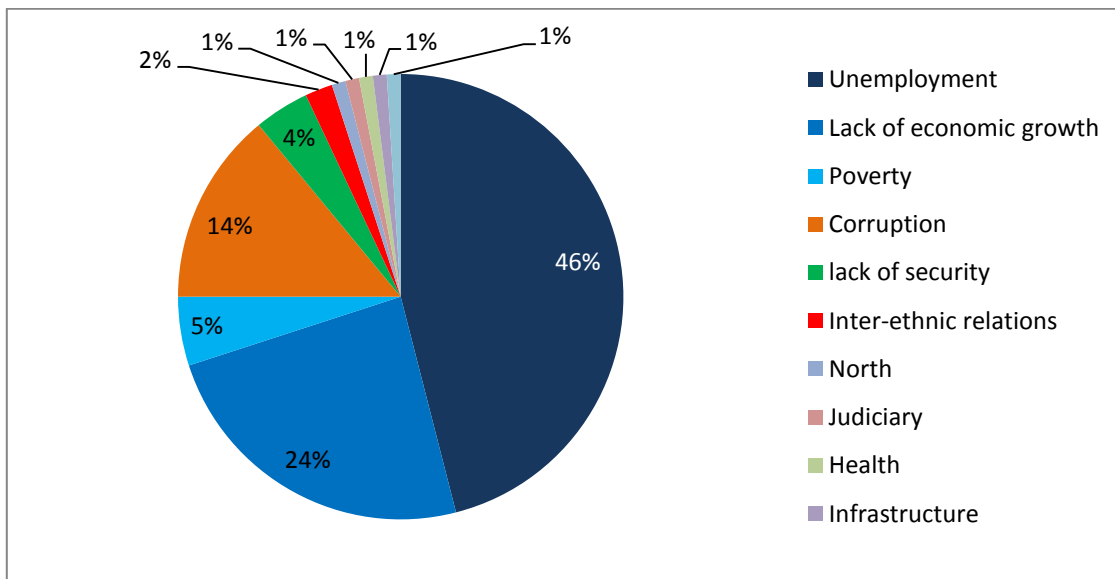
to Kosovo's advantage; about 30% said Serbia would profit, 37% saw both countries profiting from the agreement while the rest had no opinion.

## 4. ECONOMY AND CHALLENGES

The Barometer Economic Security Index was established in 2012 to track people's perceptions towards economy and incomes. It tracks attitudes and opinions about Kosovo's economy and incomes. This is the second edition of the survey and it is difficult to establish tractable trends especially in measuring any potential impact of the European economic and debt crisis. It does however present an overview of perceptions over the dynamics of people's incomes and expenditures. The Barometer surfaces a gloomy sentiment regarding the economic situation in Kosovo – majority respondents assess the economic situation in Kosovo as bad.

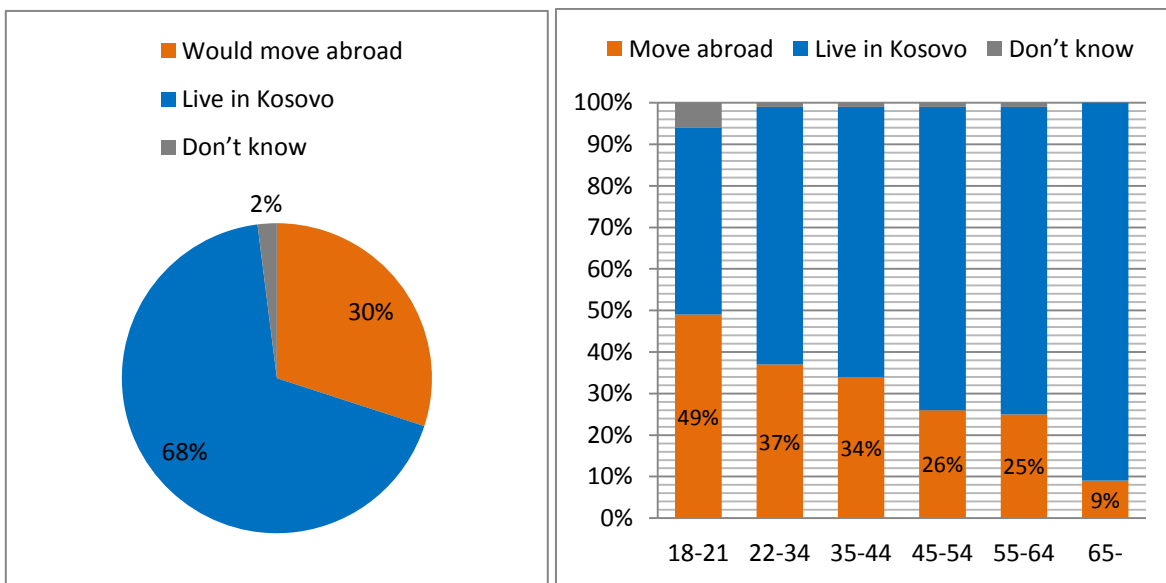
### 4.1 Main problems facing Kosovo

The respondents were presented with an open-ended question to state the main problems that Kosovo is faced with. Majority of answers underlined socio-economic problems – nearly half said that unemployment is the main challenge for Kosovo nowadays. Another 30% highlighted lack of economic growth and poverty. This attests to Kosovans' overall concern with socio-economic rather than political problems. Corruption was stated as the third major problem. Lack of security and inter-ethnic relations and the issue of the northern Kosovo were cited by 7% of the respondents. Dissatisfaction with the judiciary, healthcare and infrastructure were highlighted by 3% of those surveyed.

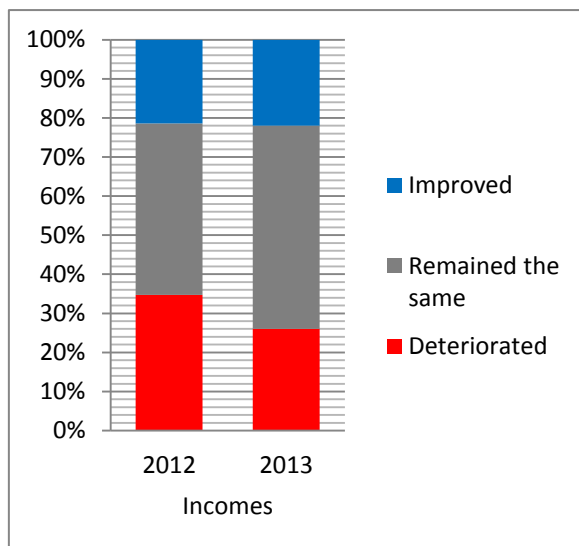


## 4.2 Migration

Roughly one third of the respondents stated that they would prefer moving abroad to living in Kosovo. The high level of respondents seeing limited opportunities in Kosovo translates into high willingness to move abroad. Majority of those willing to migrate had stated unemployment as the main problem facing Kosovo. Willingness to migrate relates to age and ethnicity. K-Serbs (50%) and K-others (45%) were much willing to move abroad than K-Albanians (15%). On the other hand, willingness to move abroad seems to decrease with age. About half of young people of 18-21 ages would rather move abroad than live in Kosovo. A significant proportion (37%) of people of 22-34 ages would also be willing to migrate.



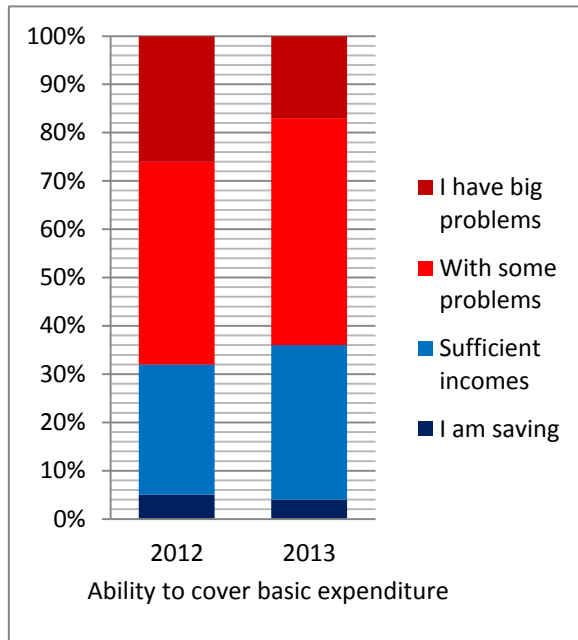
## 4.3 Perceptions about the economy and incomes



Kosovans' general view is that their economic situation was not getting any better. Nearly half of respondents stated that the economic situation has deteriorated compared to that of last year. However the percentage of those feeling that their income has deteriorated has dropped compared to the last 2012 survey (see figure) – suggesting there might be a halt in the pace of negative impact of recent economic crisis. Over

50% reported that their income in 2013 has remained the same as in 2012. The rest were almost equally split between those that reported an improvement and deterioration of incomes.

Slight improvements were also noted in people's assessment of their struggle to cover their expenditure. While 73% reported to have big or some problems in meeting their ends, it should be noted that percentage of those reporting to have sufficient incomes has slightly increased compared to 2012 survey. About 17% of Kosovans felt that they faced great difficulties in covering their basic expenditure followed by another 47% that reported some difficulties. Some 32% of those surveyed said they had sufficient income while 4% said they also managed to save in addition to covering their basic expenditure.

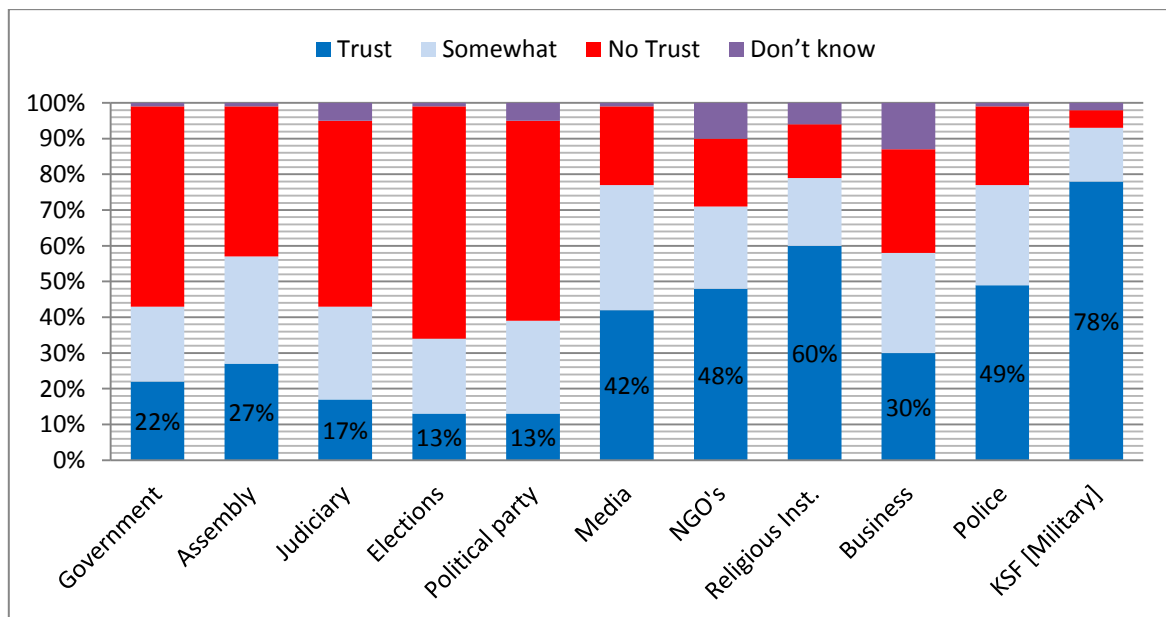


## 5.POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS

In the path to become of functioning democracy it is essential that national institutions instill confidence and win the trust of the citizens. It is the aim of the Barometer to surface perceptions of trust towards the executive, legislative and judicial branches of democracy as well as other important institutions that enable democratic expression, rule of law and social wellbeing.

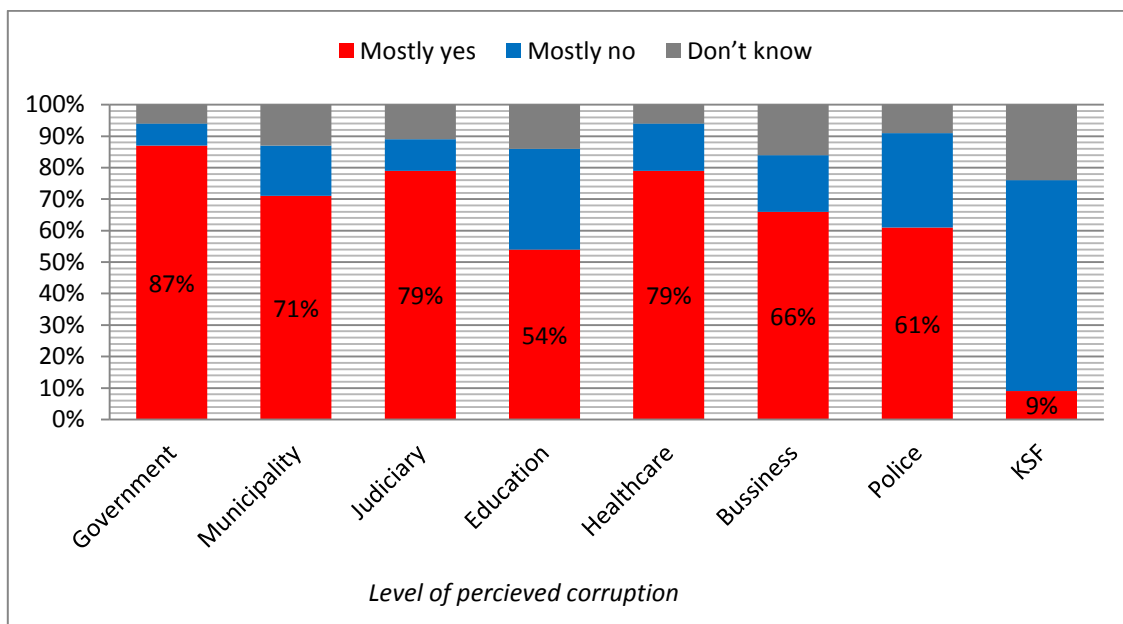
### 5.1 Trust in the institutions of democracy

Kosovans generally have trust in Kosovo Security Force (78%) and religious institutions (60%). Somewhat lower but moderate levels of trust were expressed towards Kosovo Police, non-governmental organizations (48%) and the media (42%). The trust in business sector stands at 30%. The majority of respondents remain distrustful towards Kosovo Assembly, Government and judiciary. The trust in the electoral system and political parties is worryingly low (13%). The survey reveals that key institutions of democracy have a long way to go in winning the trust of Kosovo people. Addressing these concerns remains a crucial priority in channeling citizens' democratic preferences and strengthening the legitimacy of institutions. Trust levels among the K-Serb population were in stark contrast to K-Albanians. Only religious institutions had the confidence of the majority of respondents. All other Kosovo institutions had low levels of trust.



## 5.2 Levels of perceived corruption

Nearly 9 in 10 respondents reported that Government corruption was widespread in Kosovo. The percentage of respondents assuming that there is widespread corruption in the judicial sector and healthcare remains high (80%). Somewhat lower but still significant percentages of those surveyed had similar views towards local government private sector and education system. The vast majority of respondents said they relied on the media and discussions with family and friends for information on corruption. Few however said they based their perception on their personal experience.

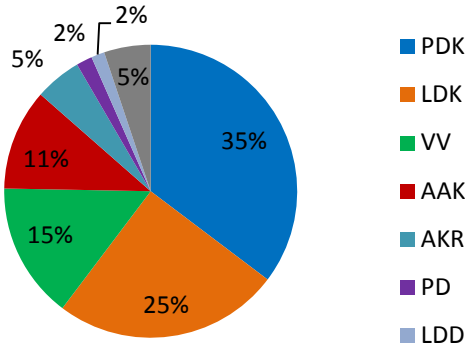


## 5.3 Elections and support for political parties in Kosovo

Kosovans remain generally distrustful of Kosovo electoral system. About 65% of those surveyed said they do not have trust in elections. Only 33% said they trust or somewhat trust in electoral system. When asked they planned to vote in the next Kosovo elections 45% said they will be certainly voting and 20% said they will probably vote. The rest of 35% said they will certainly or probably not vote. No notable differences in the willingness to vote were observed among age or gender. The ethnic breakdown however revealed that only 24% of K-Serbs planned to vote in the next Kosovo elections. K-serbs living in northern Kosovo were predominantly certain not to vote.

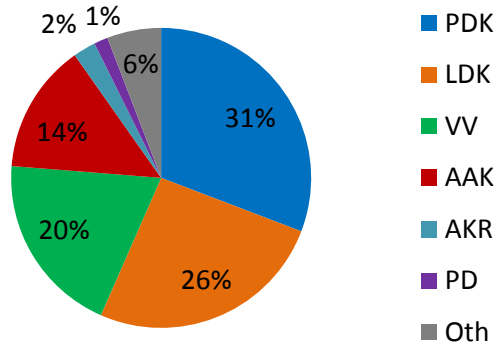


Which party did you vote in the last parliamentary elections?

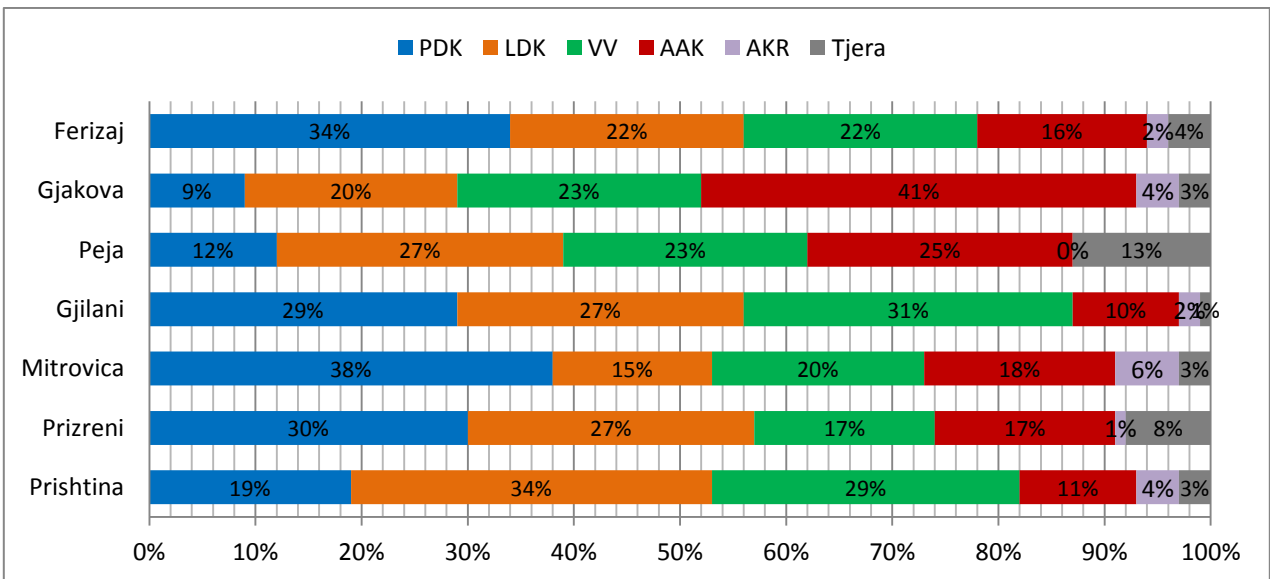


Respondents that answered positively in the question of whether they voted in the last parliamentary elections were presented with an open-ended question to name the political party which they voted. About 35% said they voted for Kosovo Democratic Party (PDK), followed by Kosovo Democratic League (25%), Vetevendosje (VV) Movement (15%), Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK)-11%. About 5% said they voted for AKR, 2% for Justice Party (PD) and 2% for LDD. The rest of 5% of respondents said they chose some other political parties.

Which political party will you vote in the next parliamentary elections?



The respondents were also presented with the second open-ended question 'If Kosovo elections were held today which political party would you vote for? Slightly over 31% said they would vote for PDK, followed by LDK with 26%, Vetevendosje Movement with 20%, AAK with 14%, AKR with 2% and PD with 1%. The other 6% named other political parties or civic groups. Those that said they will be voting for PD, Vetevendosje Movement and PDK were more likely to answer they will be certainly or probably voting.

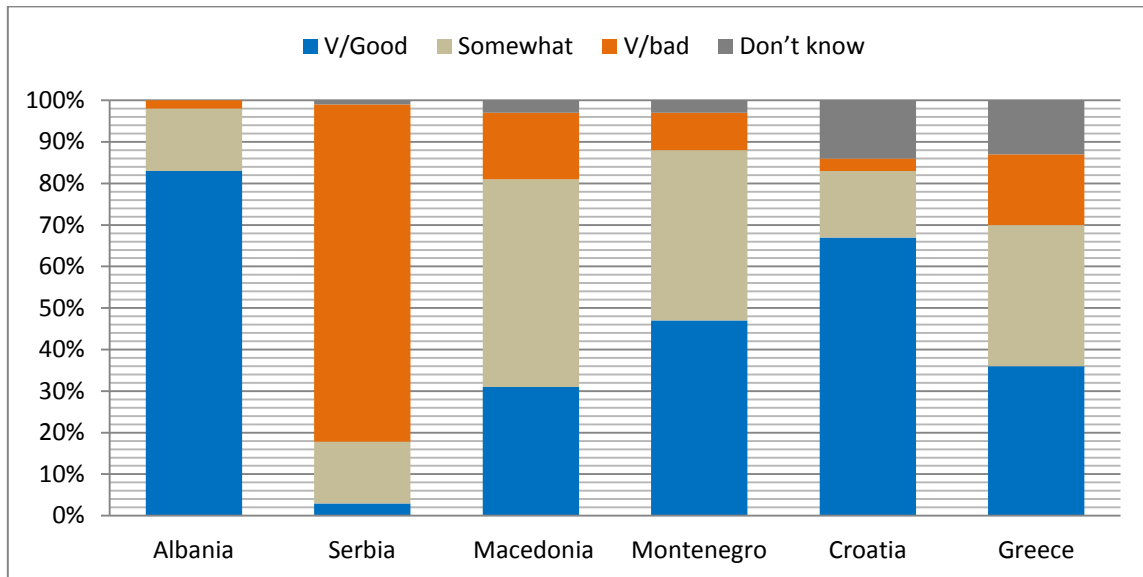


## 6.EXTERNAL RELATIONS

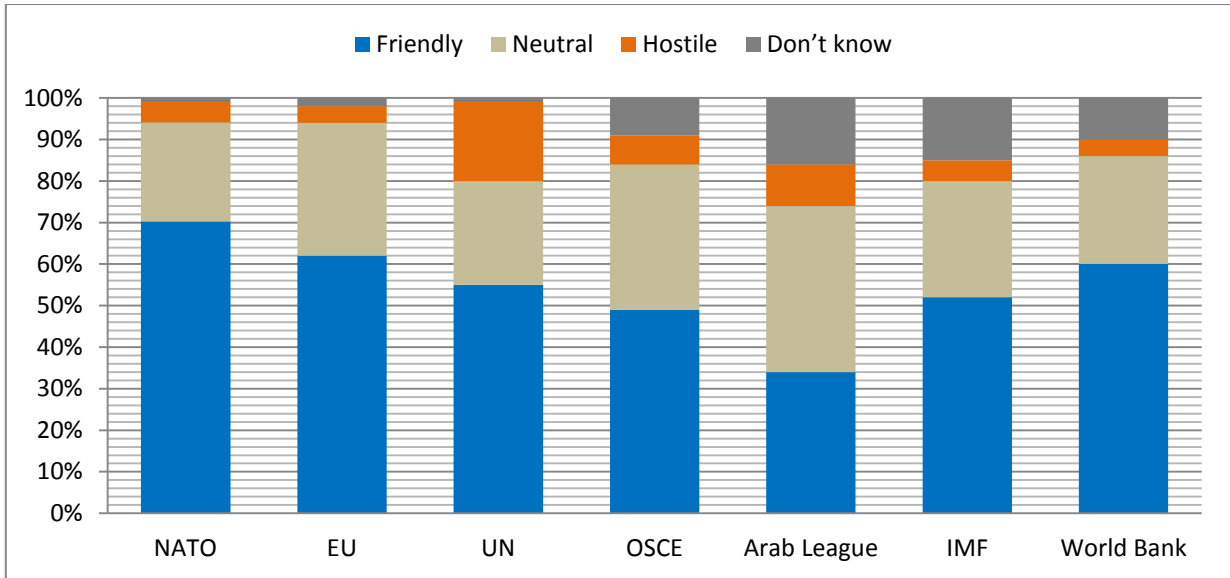
The Barometer has since 2012 started to track Kosovars' perceptions towards regional countries and relations, their knowledge and attitudes towards international organizations involved in Kosovo as well as their perceptions towards major global actors.

### 6.1 Perceptions about regional relations

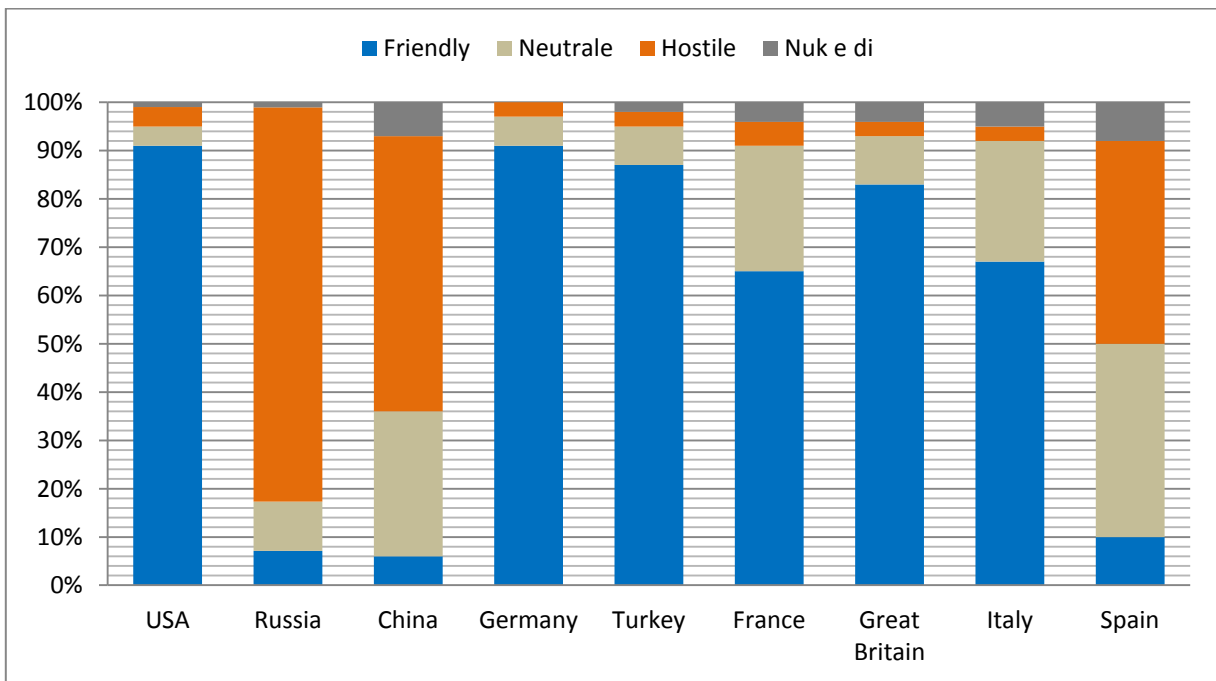
Kosovans generally seem to view Kosovo's relations with Albania and Croatia as good while the opposite being with Serbia. Their views towards relations with Montenegro, Greece and Macedonia are more balanced.



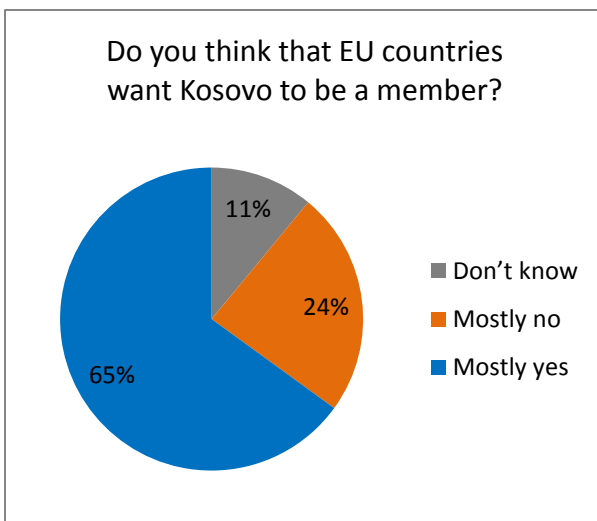
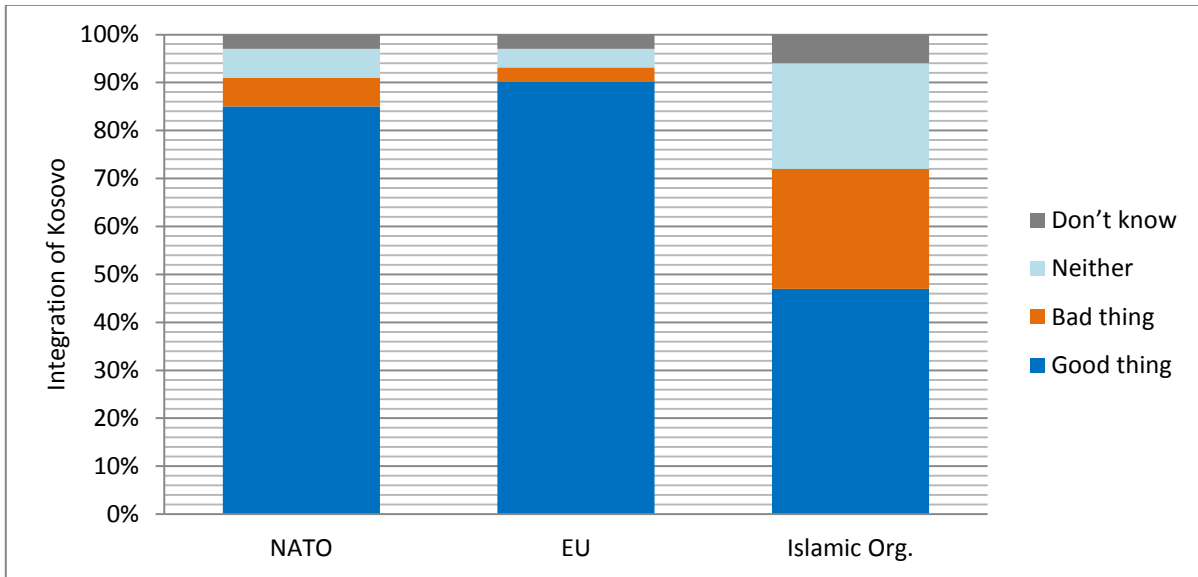
The post-conflict period saw an extensive involvement of various international organisations in Kosovo. In the context of inter-ethnic disputes, many organisations have found it difficult to balance their need for active involvement in Kosovo while at the same time walking along a tight political line. Kosovans generally perceive NATO, EU, UN, IMF and World Bank as friendly organisations. K-Serbs continue to have a negative opinion of NATO and a more balanced perception towards the EU. A significant percentage of respondents had a less friendly attitude towards OSCE. Knowledge of the Arab League is low – people often associated it with the various Arab countries.



The United States of America (US), Germany, Turkey and Great Britain are perceived as very friendly countries towards Kosovans. Both France and Italy are seen as friendly countries but a significant percentage (30%) had reservations. Russia and China are generally seen as unfriendly towards Kosovo. Our research team included Spain in view of its stance towards Kosovo political status and its importance as a key EU member – respondents were almost equally split between those who saw Spain as hostile and neutral. The percentage of those who see it as friendly is insignificant compared to the overall friendly attitudes of Kosovans towards Western countries. It should be noted that K-Serbs view both Russia and China as their greatest friends and US as being predominantly unfriendly.



Respondents were asked to assess whether integration in NATO and EU was a good thing, a bad thing or neither good nor bad. The vast majority of Kosovans believe that both EU and NATO integration are a good thing for Kosovo. Respondents were much more reserved when asked to assess if membership in Islamic organisations is a good thing for Kosovo.



Majority of Kosovans (65%) believe that the existing EU members want Kosovo to be one of their members. The respondents' enthusiasm and support for EU integration remains very strong despite an often cited EU enlargement fatigue.

## Disclaimer

Perceptions presented in this report are a summary of information gathered from respondents and it only demonstrates how people perceive institutions. It is in no way a conclusive assessment of the quality of the work of institutions subject to this study. It shall serve as an instrument to them for addressing potential shortcomings but also an indicator of the effectiveness of their communication with the people. A more detailed analysis and report will be produced at a later stage.

*The views presented in this report are perceptions of the respondents and do not necessarily represent views of Kosovo Centre for Security Studies at this stage. The center will be able to outline its views and analysis only after having completed focus groups and discussions with key informants.*

*Opinions expressed in this report do not necessarily represent the views of National Endowment for Democracy (NED).*

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