POST-ELECTION PUBLIC OPINION IN KOSOVO 2010

Findings from an IFES January 2010 Survey

January 2010

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SURVEY DETAILS

Fieldwork dates: January 10-24, 2010.

Survey firm: IFES contracted with the Index Kosova to conduct fieldwork and data processing for the survey.

Funding: The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) provided funding for this survey.

Sample size: 1,224 respondents representing the voting-age population in Kosovo (18 years+).

Margin of error: ± 2.8% within a 95% confidence interval, assuming a pure random sample.

Sample area coverage: All the administrative divisions of Kosovo; 1,224 observations were allocated proportionately at the national level. [1]

Weights: Following data collection, the data was weighted by age, region and gender to bring the realized sample in line with target population parameters in order to be nationally representative of the adult (18+) population of Kosovo. The data has been weighted by population proportion of municipalities, age, gender, and ethnicity to be nationally representative for the adult (18+) population of Kosovo. The sample consists of 903 Kosovo Albanians (K-Albanians) and oversamples of 218 Kosovo Serbs (K-Serbs) and 103 non-Serb minorities (Bosniacs, Turks, Goranis, Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian minority groups). After weighting, the sample breakdown is 92% Kosovo Albanians, 5.3% Kosovo Serbs, and 2.7% non-Serb ethnic minorities.

Questions asked only of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities: Of the 55 questions, there were 10 questions not posed to Kosovo Serbs. These questions were tailored only for Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities. Therefore, if breakdowns for Kosovo Serbs are not reported in the related analysis it is because they were not asked these questions or they were not statistically significant.

Questions referring to "the country": Of note, in the questions that refer to institutions, the elections, or any other situation regarding "the country," the interviewers specified to respondents that the questions were asking only about Kosovo.

References to 2008 IFES Survey: Some of the findings from an earlier survey, a post-election survey conducted in January 2008, will be referenced in this briefing paper. However, it must be noted that it was not possible to include Kosovo Serbs in the 2008 sample. Therefore, all references comparing opinions to trend questions from 2008 will only be between Kosovo Albanians (n=996) and non-Serb minorities (n=260) for a total sample size of 1,256 with a margin of error of ±2.8%.

Charts: For charts and tables where percentages are based on filtered respondents or certain demographic groups, the appropriate unweighted sample base for each percentage is specified in the relevant chart or table (example: n=456). For all charts broken down by ethnic group, the sample consists of 903 Kosovo Albanians, 218 Kosovo Serbs and 103 non-Serb minorities. For questions only asked of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities the sample base is 1,004.

[1] *The K-Serb population was first stratified in two sub-universes, north of Ibar river and south of Ibar river, and further into four regions – Northern (Mitrovica), Central (Pristina), Southern (Ferizaj), and South-Eastern (Gjilan).*

Summary of Main Survey Findings

General Perceptions of the Socio-Political and Economic Situation

- **Satisfaction with Overall Situation in Kosovo:** Majorities of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities say they are satisfied with the overall situation in Kosovo (56% and 64%, respectively). For Kosovo Albanians, 52% are somewhat satisfied and 4% are very satisfied. Similarly, 53% of non-Serb minorities are somewhat satisfied and 11% are very satisfied. Kosovo Serbs have a different assessment with 84% saying they are somewhat (33%) and very (51%) dissatisfied with the situation in Kosovo. Satisfaction with the overall situation in Kosovo has dropped since 2008. In 2008, 67% of Kosovo Albanians and 54% of non-Serb minorities were very/somewhat satisfied.

- **Expectation for Situation in One Year:** A majority of Kosovo Albanians (58%) expects the overall situation in Kosovo to be better one year from now, as do non-Serb minorities (77%). A majority of Kosovo Serbs, though, believe the overall situation in Kosovo will be the same as now (58%). In 2008, optimism was slightly higher when Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities expected the overall situation in Kosovo to be better in one year. This sense of optimism likely reflected expectations at the time of the 2008 survey, just prior to when independence was declared, that an independent Kosovo would bring about an improvement in the overall situation.

- **Issues Facing Kosovo:** Across all ethnic groups, economic issues are considered the biggest problems facing Kosovo. Of those who are dissatisfied with the situation in Kosovo, the most-cited problem facing the country is unemployment (91% Kosovo Albanians, 97% non-Serb minorities, 72% Kosovo Serbs), followed by poverty (48% Kosovo Albanians, 48% non-Serb minorities, 29% Kosovo Serbs), general economic problems (29% Kosovo Albanians, 14% non-Serb minorities, 17% Kosovo Serbs), and low salaries/pensions (23% Kosovo Albanians, 21% non-Serb minorities, 23% Kosovo Serbs). These are the same top issues that were cited in the 2008 IFES survey as the biggest problems facing Kosovo. In 2010 there is no longer the concern of undefined political status of the territory which was a big concern at the time prior to Kosovo's declaration of independence. One noted difference between ethnic groups in this survey, however, is that 50% of Kosovo Serbs cite lack of security/fear as the biggest problem facing Kosovo, while 20% of non-Serb minorities cite this and only 3% of Kosovo Albanians do.

- **Assessment of Economic Situation:** When asked specifically to describe the economic situation in Kosovo, 56% of Kosovo Albanians, 70% of non-Serb minorities, and 87% of Kosovo Serbs describe the economy as very/somewhat bad. These percentages are up slightly from 2008 when 53% of Kosovo Albanians and 63% of non-Serb ethnic minorities described the economy as very/somewhat bad.

- **Satisfaction with Specific Situations in Kosovo:** When asked about satisfaction levels with various situations in Kosovo, a majority of Kosovo Serbs are very/somewhat dissatisfied with the political stability of Kosovo (83%), respect for human rights (84%), and relations between different communities in Kosovo (82%). All three ethnic groups were very/somewhat dissatisfied with corruption in Kosovo (76% Kosovo Albanians, 64% non-Serb minorities, and 82% Kosovo Serbs) and the economic situation in Kosovo (57% Kosovo Albanians, 65% non-Serb minorities, and 81% Kosovo Serbs). Majorities of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities are satisfied with respect for human rights (50% and 52%, respectively) and relations between different communities in Kosovo (58% and 63%, respectively). Four in 10 Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities are satisfied with political stability in Kosovo (42% and 42%, respectively).

Opinions on Democracy and Key Institutions

- **Perception of Kosovo as Democracy:** A majority of Kosovo Albanians (63%) believes Kosovo is a democracy, 45% of non-Serb minorities say Kosovo is a democracy, but 91% of Kosovo Serbs say Kosovo is not a democracy. This year more Kosovo Albanians believe Kosovo is a democracy than in 2008 (56%), however this year fewer non-Serb minorities identify Kosovo as a democracy than in 2008 (53%).

  - Of Kosovo Albanians who say Kosovo is not a democracy, 59% say it's moving toward a democracy, 54% of non-Serb minorities say it is moving toward becoming a democracy, but still 82% of Kosovo Serbs say Kosovo is not moving toward becoming a democracy.

- **Meaning of Democracy:** When asked to identify attributes that identify a democracy to them, the most cited response by all three ethnic groups is protection of human rights (56% Kosovo Albanians, 52% non-Serb minorities, and 52% Kosovo Serbs), followed by everybody having work (50%, 51%, and 37%), freedom of speech (46%, 46%, and 53%), fair and consistent enforcement of laws (42%, 25%, and 26%), freedom to vote (35%, 24%, and 40%), no official corruption (28%, 8% and, 10%), freedom of religion (24%, 22%, and 27%), freedom of the press (22%, 14%, and 15%), freedom of association (15%, 10%, and 19%), and system of checks and balances between executive, legislative, and judicial branches (11%, 2%, and 10%). Kosovo Albanians place less emphasis on all ethnic communities enjoying the same rights as an indicator of democracy (20%) than non-Serb minorities (53%) and Kosovo Serbs (39%).

- **Voting as Influence:** A majority (66%) of Kosovo Albanians somewhat (34%) or strongly (32%) agree voting gives them a chance to influence decision-making in Kosovo. A majority (66%) of non-Serb minorities also somewhat (34%) or strongly (32%) agree with this statement. Of note, in 2008, higher percentages of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities agreed voting gave people like them a chance to influence decision-making in Kosovo (81% and 68% somewhat/strongly agree in 2008 compared to 66% and 65% in 2010). A majority (59%) of Kosovo Serbs, however, somewhat (22%) or strongly (37%) disagree with this statement.

- **Confidence in Institutions**: Majorities of Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minorities have a great deal/fair amount of confidence in the Kosovo Police (89% and 78%), the media in Kosovo (79% and 57%), the municipal assemblies (68% and 67%), and the Kosovo Assembly (59% and 55%, respectively). Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minority respondents are more split in their confidence in other institutions. Four in 10 Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minorities have confidence in political party leaders (45% and 47%), the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX) (45% and 36%), and the courts in Kosovo (42% and 57%).A majority of Kosovo Serbs do not have confidence in any of the aforementioned institutions, but 53% of Kosovo Serbs in the North regions and 47% of Kosovo Serbs in the South regions have a great deal/fair amount of confidence in the Kosovo Serb Assembly. Interestingly, three-quarters of respondents across ethnic groups say they have not very much/no confidence at all in UNMIK.

- **Awareness and Perception of Central Election Commission:** Three quarters of Kosovo Albanians say they have heard a fair amount (39%) or a great deal (35%) about the Central Election Commission (CEC) of Kosovo. Most Kosovo Serbs and non-Serb minorities, however, have not heard anything at all about the CEC of Kosovo (56% and 57%). Of those Kosovo Albanians who have heard of the CEC of Kosovo, 9% have a great deal of confidence in the institution, 38% say they have a fair amount of confidence, while 25% say they do not have much confidence, and 22% have no confidence at all.

Opinions on November 2009 Municipal and Mayoral Elections

- **Organization of Elections:** Majorities of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities believe the elections were very well/well organized (79% and 78%, respectively), however, 51% of Kosovo Serbs say they do not know. After the November 2007 elections, 85% of Kosovo Albanians said the elections were well organized, 8% said they were not well organized, and 7% said they do not know.

- **Fairness of Elections:** Majorities of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities believe the elections were completely/somewhat free and fair (80% and 71%, respectively); however, 51% of Kosovo Serbs say they do not know. In 2008 when asked about the fairness of the 2007 elections, more Kosovo Albanians (91%) and non-Serb minorities (81%) viewed the 2007 elections as completely free and fair/somewhat free and fair. Notably, the percentage of Kosovo Albanian respondents viewing the 2009 elections as completely free and fair has dropped significantly compared to the assessment of the 2007 elections (71% in 2008, 42% in 2010).

- **Safety in Voting:** When voters were asked how safe or pressured they felt when voting in these elections, 89% of Kosovo Albanians say they felt very safe and 10% say they felt somewhat safe. Similarly, 97% of non-Serb minority voters felt very safe and 3% felt somewhat safe. For the few Kosovo Serb voters, 35% say they felt very safe, 40% say they felt somewhat safe, 13% felt somewhat pressured and 12% felt very pressured.

- **Procedures at Polling Stations:** Over three-quarters of voters report that various polling procedures took place when they went to vote at their polling station: a polling station official checked fingers for ink (99%), checked identification (99%), and sprayed their right index finger with invisible ink (99%). Voters received their own copy of each of the ballots (96%), they voted in privacy without anybody able to see their ballot (98%), the ballot box where they placed their ballot was sealed so no one could open it (98%), information on how to mark the ballot was posted in their polling station (89%), a brochure of political parties with their Municipal Assembly candidates was placed in the voting booth (77%), and a polling station official gave them instructions on how to fill out the ballot when it was handed to them (73%).

- **Evaluation of Aspects of Electoral Process:** Respondents also have a positive assessment of various aspects of the electoral process. When read a series of statements, majorities of both Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minority respondents agree their vote was kept confidential by election authorities in Kosovo (84%), the results of the election accurately reflected the way people voted (64%), the presence of international observers had a positive effect on the legitimacy of the elections (63%), the election was competently administered (62%), the presence of non-partisan domestic observers had a positive effect on the legitimacy of the elections (62%), the presence of political party observers had a positive effect on the legitimacy of the elections (60%), and Kosovo's electoral system provided adequate means to challenge electoral violations that may have occurred in this election (50%).

    - Similarly, majorities of both Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb respondents are very/somewhat satisfied with the following aspects of the electoral process: information on where and when to vote (87%), information on voting procedures and how to mark the ballots (87%), adequacy of the facilities and equipment at the polling stations (83%), performance of the police and security officials in providing security for the elections (80%), voter registration process (73%), impartiality of the polling station commissioners (68%), and impartiality in the counting, tabulation and announcement of results (51%).

- **Media Coverage of Elections:** Kosovo Albanian respondents found the media coverage surrounding the November elections very (57%) or somewhat (32%) informative. Forty-five percent of non-Serb minorities found the media coverage very informative and 15% found it somewhat informative, while 33% say they do not know or gave no response.

Opinions on the November 2009 Election Information and Get Out the Vote Campaigns

- **Exposure to Election Information Campaign:** When asked whether during October and November they had seen any advertisements, posters, or other sources of information that informed voters how to vote, where to vote, etc., majorities of Kosovo Albanians (59%) and non-Serb minorities (54%) say they had seen this information. Only 18% of Kosovo Serbs say they saw this type of information on the elections. Of those who had seen the information, 83% say they do not know who provided this information, 12% believe it was the CEC and 6% believe it was Democracy in Action.

- **Utility of Messages:** Those who had seen the information campaign characterize the information provided in the campaign as being useful to them as voters. Over three-quarters of Kosovo Albanians (78%) who had seen the campaign say they strongly/somewhat agree that their knowledge about the elections increased as a result of this information, while 67% of non-Serb minorities strongly/somewhat agree, and 48% of Kosovo Serbs strongly/somewhat agree. Over eight in 10 Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities strongly/somewhat agree that this information helped them understand overall voting procedures before the elections (83% and 81%), while 42% of Kosovo Serbs strongly/somewhat agree. Those who had seen the public information campaign also strongly/somewhat agree the campaign helped them understand how to mark the ballot (84% Kosovo Albanian, 90% non-Serb minorities, and 50% Kosovo Serbs).

- **Exposure to *Get Out the Vote* Campaign:** Information or campaigns encouraging people to vote in the November elections in Kosovo, or *Get Out the Vote* material, was seen by 39% of Kosovo Albanians, 25% of non-Serb minorities and 14% of Kosovo Serbs. Of those who saw this motivational voting information, 83% did not know who provided this information, 7% say it was the CEC who provided the information, 5% say it was Democracy in Action (Demokracia ne veprim), and 3% say it was KIPRED.

  - **Impact of Get Out the Vote Campaign:** Of those who saw the motivational information and voted in the November 2009 elections, 42% say it did influence their decision to vote, but 54% say it had no impact on whether they voted.

- **Most Used Media Sources for Information on Political Developments:** TV is the most widely-used source of information on political and other developments in Kosovo. Radio, internet, newspapers, and magazines are used less frequently for this type of information.

  - **Television:** Ninety-seven percent of Kosovo Albanians, 87% of Kosovo Serbs, and 84% of other ethnic minorities say they use TV to get information on political and other developments in Kosovo. Fifty-five percent of Kosovo Albanian TV-watchers say they get most of their information from RTK and 44% of non-Serb minority TV-watchers also get information from RTK. For RTV21, 29% of Kosovo Albanians get information from this station, as do 12% of non-Serb minorities. For Kosovo Serb TV-watchers, 29% watch RTS, 25% watch RTS1, 22% watch B92, and 17% watch Pink.
  - **Newspapers:** Thirty-seven percent of Kosovo Albanians, 18% of non-Serb minorities, and 61% of Kosovo Serbs get their information from newspaper. Of Kosovo Albanian newspaper readers, 44% read *Koha Ditore* and 31% read *Kosovo Sot*. Kosovo Serb newspaper readers read *Blic* (38%) and *Vecernje Novosti* (27%).
  - **Radio:** Twenty-two percent of Kosovo Albanians get information on political and other developments in Kosovo from radio, 27% of non-Serb minorities use radio, and 42% of Kosovo Serbs use radio. Twenty-nine percent of Kosovo Albanian radio listeners listen to Radio Dukagjini and 16% listen to Radio Kosova. Thirty-seven percent of Kosovo Serb radio listeners listen to Gracanica and 17% listen to Radio Vitez.

- **Internet:** Ten percent of Kosovo Albanians use the internet for information, 5% of non-Serb minorities do, and 16% of Kosovo Serbs do.
- **Magazines:** Four percent of Kosovo Albanians and 16% of Kosovo Serbs get information from magazines. No non-Serb minorities report using magazines for this type of information.

- **Visibility and Usefulness of Election Public Information Sources:** TV was also the most visible source for Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minority voters for information on the November 2009 elections and was found to be one of the most useful sources. The visibility of other sources and respondents' perceived usefulness of those sources are as follows:

  - **TV advertisements:** Ninety-three percent of Kosovo Albanians saw TV ads and 86% of them found them useful. Fifty-six percent of non-Serb minorities saw TV ads and 84% of them found them useful. Twenty percent of Kosovo Serbs saw TV ads and 62% of them found them useful.
  - **Street banners:** Fifty-five percent of Kosovo Albanians saw street banners and 74% of them found them useful. Forty percent of non-Serb minorities saw street banners and 13% of Kosovo Serbs saw street banners. Of non-Serb minorities who saw street banners, 85% found them useful and of Kosovo Serbs who saw the street banners, 34% found them useful.
  - **Posters:** Thirty-six percent of Kosovo Albanians saw posters and 85% of those respondents found them useful. Forty-four percent of non-Serb minorities saw posters and 86% of them found them useful. Thirty-one percent of Kosovo Serbs saw posters on the elections and 65% found them useful.
  - **Billboards:** Thirty-five percent of Kosovo Albanians saw billboards, 36% of non-Serb minorities saw billboards, and 23% of Kosovo Serbs saw billboards. Seventy-five percent of Kosovo Albanians found them useful, 91% of non-Serb minorities found them useful, and 47% of Kosovo Serbs found them useful.
  - **SMS:** Thirty-two percent of Kosovo Albanians received an SMS on elections and 39% of recipients found them useful. Thirty-seven percent of non-Serb minorities received texts with election information and 50% of those found them useful. Eight percent of Kosovo Serbs had received an SMS with election information and 9% of recipients found them useful.
  - **Leaflets:** Twenty-nine percent of Kosovo Albanians had received leaflets on the elections and 83% of those who received them found them useful. Twenty-two percent of non-Serb minorities received leaflets and 100% of recipients found them useful. Four percent of Kosovo Serbs received leaflets and 42% found them useful.[2]
  - **Radio spots:** Twenty percent of Kosovo Albanians, 25% of non-Serb minorities, and 12% of Kosovo Serbs heard radio spots on election information. Of the Kosovo Albanians who heard radio spots, 79% found them useful. Of the non-Serb minorities who heard radio spots, 88% found them useful and of the few Kosovo Serbs who heard radio spots, 26% found them useful.
  - **Internet:** Ten percent of Kosovo Albanians saw election information on the internet and 94% of them found the information useful. Only 8% of non-Serb minorities saw information and 71% of those found it useful. Only 1% of Kosovo Serbs saw information on the internet and 100% of recipients found it useful.

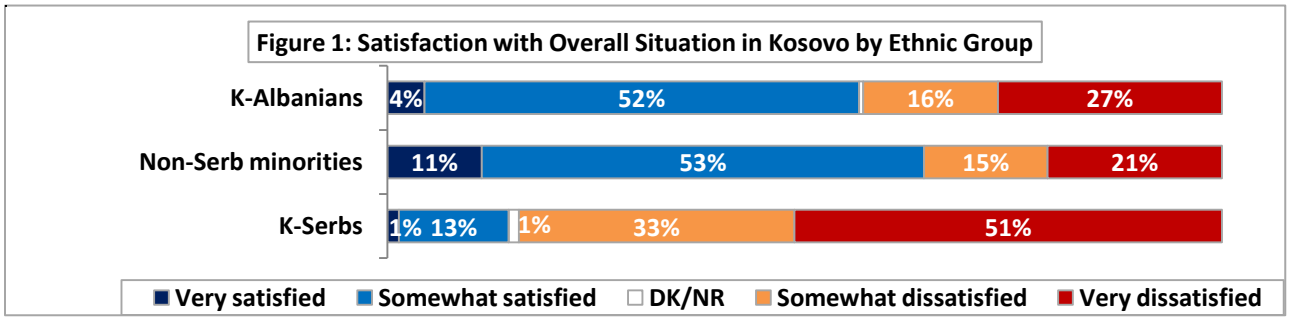
[2] *Please note: the small number of Kosovo Serbs and non-Serb minorities reporting usefulness of SMS, radio spots, leaflets, and the internet may not have the same level of reliability as they would if larger numbers of respondents had seen this information.*

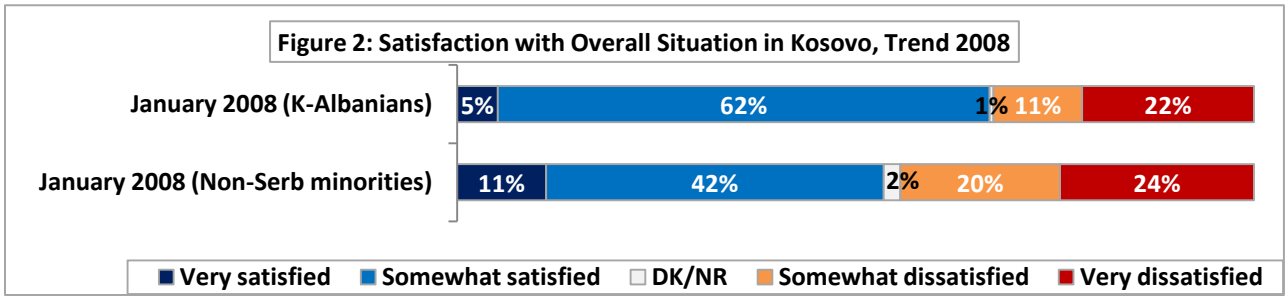
Opinions on the Socio-Political Situation in Kosovo

On November 15, 2009, Kosovo held its first municipal and mayoral elections since declaring Independence in February 2008. This survey finds that two years on from independence Kosovo continues to strive toward gaining its economic and political footing. Kosovo Albanians, Kosovo Serbs, and non-Serb minorities alike view the economy as bad and economic issues as the biggest problems facing Kosovo. The economy and unemployment were also identified as large problems facing residents of Kosovo in IFES' early 2008 survey, indicating this continues to be a major difficulty facing the country. Nevertheless, Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities are satisfied with the overall situation in Kosovo and there is optimism that the overall situation in Kosovo will be better in a year. However, the vast majority of Kosovo Serbs are dissatisfied with the overall situation.

Satisfaction with the Overall Situation in Kosovo

While a majority of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities say they are at least somewhat or very satisfied with the overall situation in Kosovo (56% and 64% respectively).[3] Kosovo Serbs have a different assessment. Eighty-four percent of Kosovo Serbs say they are somewhat (33%) or very (51%) dissatisfied with the situation in Kosovo (Figure 1). This demonstrates the lingering discontent many Kosovo Serbs feel toward Kosovo. Despite majorities of Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minority respondents saying they are satisfied with the overall situation, satisfaction has dropped from 2008. In 2008, 67% of Kosovo Albanians and 53% of non-Serb minorities were very/somewhat satisfied with the overall situation in Kosovo (Figure 2).[4] Satisfaction was most likely higher in January 2008 because it was the period immediately before independence was declared, when expectations were high and people were awaiting certain declaration.





[3] Question text: *"Please tell me how satisfied you are with the overall situation in Kosovo. Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?"*

[4] *Please note: it was not possible to include Kosovo Serbs in the 2008 sample. Therefore, the data is only referencing Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities.*

Despite the drop in satisfaction levels from 2008, Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities are optimistic the situation will improve one year from now.[5] A majority of Kosovo Albanians (58%) expects the overall situation in Kosovo to be better one year from now, as do non-Serb minorities (77%). Kosovo Serbs, though, believe the overall situation in Kosovo will be the same in one year (58%). In 2008, optimism was slightly higher when 85% of Kosovo Albanians and 75% of non-Serb minorities expected the overall situation in Kosovo to be better in one year. Again, this sense of optimism no doubt reflected expectations at the time of the 2008 survey, just prior to independence being declared, that an independent Kosovo would bring about an improvement in the overall situation.

Biggest Issues Facing Kosovo

Those who say they are dissatisfied with the overall situation in Kosovo were then asked to identify which issues they see as being of most concern to the country (Figure 3). Across all ethnic groups, economic issues are considered the biggest problems facing Kosovo. Of those who are dissatisfied with the situation in Kosovo, the most-cited problem is unemployment (91% Kosovo Albanians, 97% non-Serb minorities, 72% Kosovo Serbs), followed by poverty (48% Kosovo Albanians, 48% non-Serb minorities, 29% Kosovo Serbs), general economic problems (29% Kosovo Albanians, 14% non-Serb minorities, 17% Kosovo Serbs), and low salaries/pensions (23% Kosovo Albanians, 21% non-Serb minorities, 23% Kosovo Serbs). Non-Serb minorities and Kosovo Serbs, however, were more likely than Kosovo Albanians to cite a lack of security/fear as the biggest problem facing Kosovo and this is a notable difference of opinion between ethnic groups. Fifty-percent of Kosovo Serbs and 20% of non-Serb minorities cite lack of security/fear as the biggest problem facing Kosovo while only 3% of Kosovo Albanians do.

Figure 3: Biggest Issues Facing Kosovo *(Percentages reflect percent of cases)*	**K-Albanians (n=401)**	**Non-Serb minorities (n=42)**	**K-Serbs (n=190)**
Unemployment	**91%**	**97%**	**72%**
Poverty	**48%**	**48%**	**29%**
General economic problems	**29%**	**14%**	**17%**
Low salaries/pensions	**23%**	**21%**	**23%**
Healthcare system	**21%**	**18%**	**4%**
Corruption	**16%**	**3%**	**1%**
Dissatisfaction with legal/judicial system	**13%**	**1%**	**7%**
Infrastructure	**8%**	**5%**	**13%**
Education system	**6%**	**1%**	**4%**
General political problems	**5%**	**6%**	**16%**
Privatization	**5%**	**7%**	**1%**
Discrimination	**4%**	**18%**	**4%**
Lack of security/fear	**3%**	**20%**	**50%**

[5] Question text: *"You said you are dissatisfied with the situation in Kosovo. In your opinion, what are the biggest problems Kosovo faces today—that is, the problems which are of most concern to you?"*

Unemployment and poverty were also the top two issues cited in the 2008 IFES survey as the biggest problems facing Kosovo. Two notable differences include fewer people citing infrastructure as a problem this year compared to 2008 (21% in 2008, 7% in 2010) and more people citing corruption (5% in 2008 and 16% in 2010). Nonetheless, in 2010 there is no longer the concern of an undefined political status of the territory, which was a big concern in the 2008 survey prior to Kosovo's declaration of independence (Figure 4).

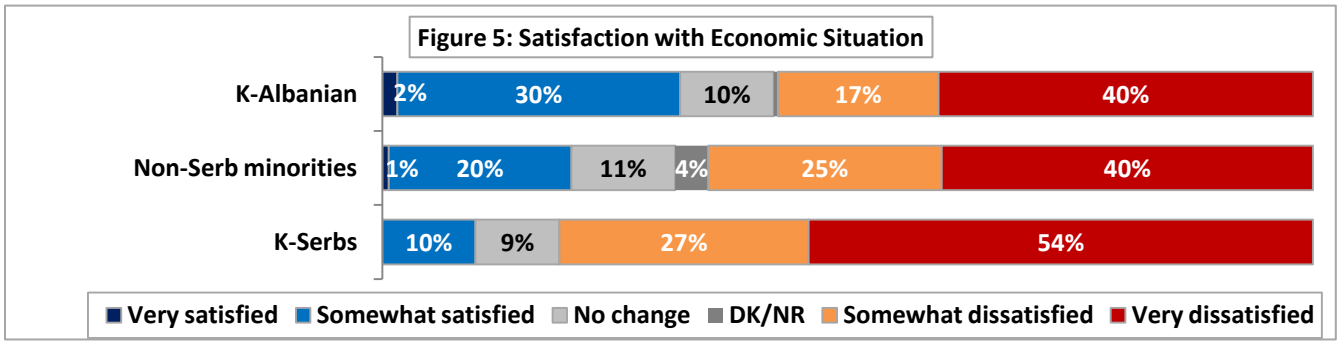
Figure 4: Biggest Issues Facing Kosovo, Trend 2008 and 2010 *(Percentages reflect percent of cases)*	**2008 (n=442)** *(K-Albanians and non-Serb minorities)*	**2010 (n=443)** *(K-Albanians and non-Serb minorities)*
Unemployment	**87%**	**91%**
Poverty	**50%**	**48%**
Undefined political status of territory	**42%**	**2%**
General economic problems	**39%**	**29%**
Low salaries/Pensions	**24%**	**23%**
Infrastructure	**21%**	**7%**
General political problems	**8%**	**5%**
Dissatisfaction with legal/judicial system	**7%**	**12%**
Lack of security/Fear	**7%**	**3%**
Corruption	**5%**	**16%**
Privatization	**4%**	**5%**
Discrimination	**3%**	**4%**

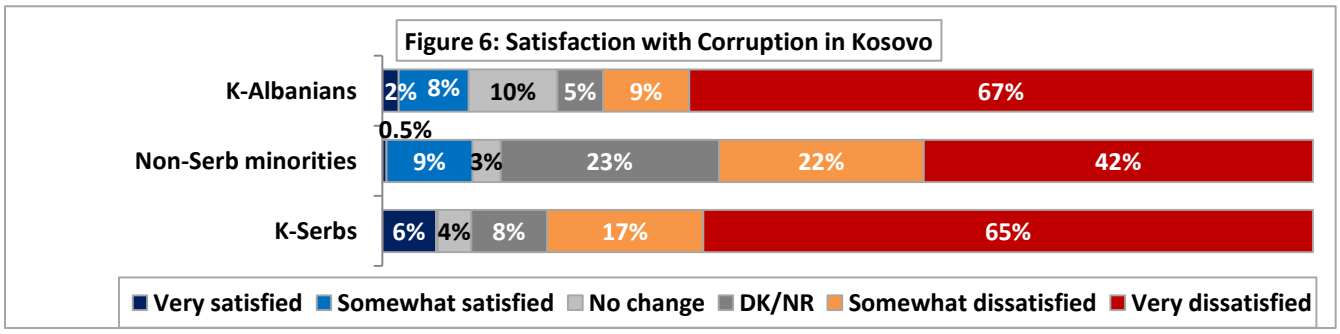
Consistent with the citation of economic concerns such as unemployment and poverty as the main issues facing Kosovo, respondents have primarily negative attitudes toward the economic situation in Kosovo. When asked specifically to describe the economic situation in Kosovo,[6] 56% of Kosovo Albanians, 70% of non-Serb minorities, and 87% of Kosovo Serbs describe the economy as very/somewhat bad. The percentage of respondents describing the economy as bad has risen slightly from 2008 when 53% of Kosovo Albanians and 63% of non-Serb minorities described the economy as very/somewhat bad, highlighting the fact that residents of Kosovo have seen little improvement in the economic situation over the past two years.

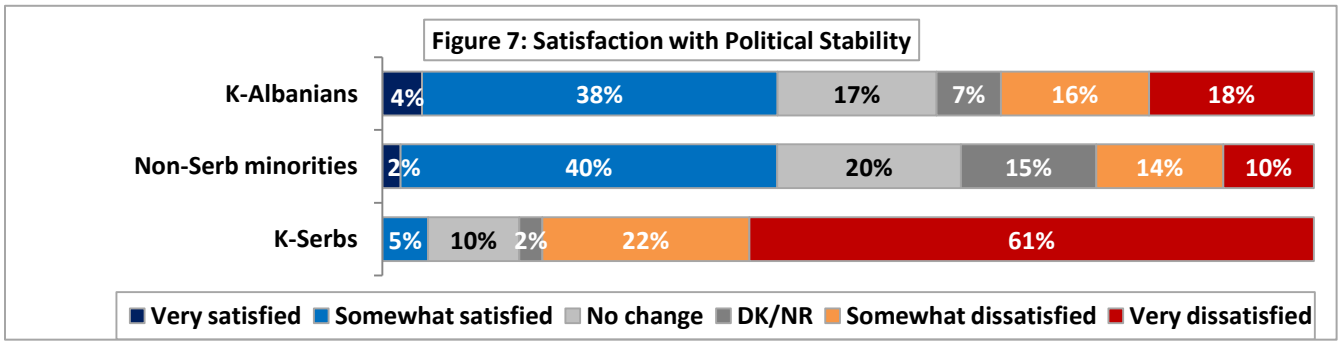
[6] Question text: *"How would you describe the economic situation in Kosovo today? Is it very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad?"*

Assessment of the Socio-Political Situation in Kosovo

When asked about satisfaction levels with various socio-political situations in Kosovo,[7] there is consistency across ethnic groups in expressing dissatisfaction with the economic situation and corruption in Kosovo. Majorities in all ethnic groups are very/somewhat dissatisfied with the economic situation in Kosovo (57% Kosovo Albanians, 65% non-Serb minorities, and 81% Kosovo Serbs) and corruption in Kosovo (76% Kosovo Albanians, 64% non-Serb minorities, and 82% Kosovo Serbs) (Figures 5 and 6). There is lukewarm contentment with the political stability of Kosovo. Four in 10 Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities are very/somewhat satisfied with the political stability in Kosovo (42% and 42% respectively), while fewer are dissatisfied (34% and 24%, respectively). A majority of Kosovo Serbs are very/somewhat dissatisfied with the political stability of Kosovo (83%) (Figure 7).

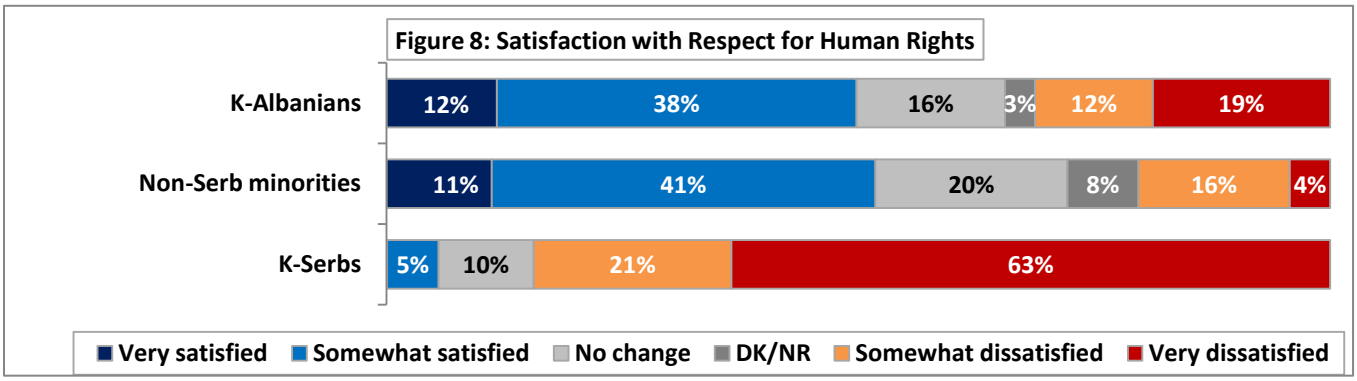


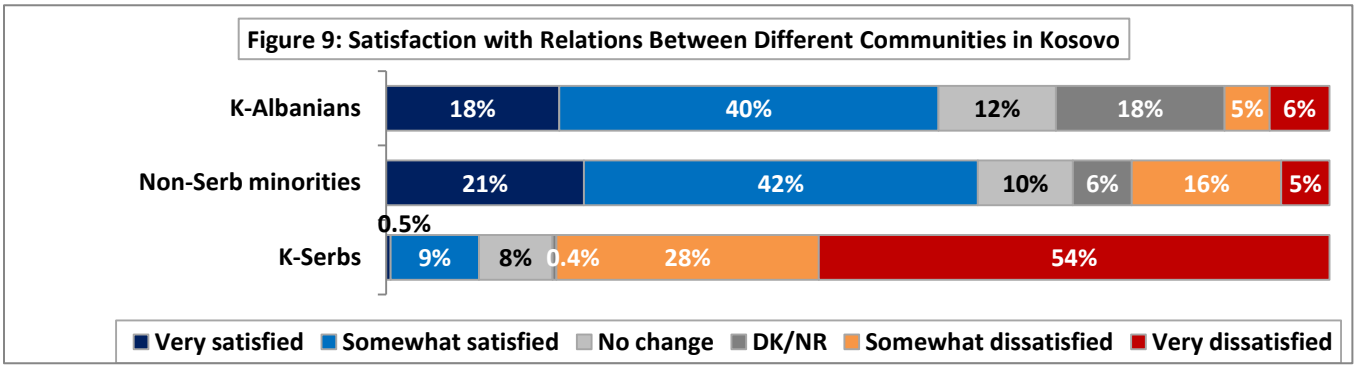




[7] Question text: "*Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with each of the following.*"

There is variation in opinions between ethnic groups, however, when assessing satisfaction with the respect for human rights in Kosovo and relations between different communities of Kosovo (Figures 8 and 9). While half of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities are satisfied with respect for human rights (50% and 52%, respectively) and a majority are satisfied with relations between different communities in Kosovo (58% and 63%, respectively), a majority of Kosovo Serbs are dissatisfied with respect of human rights in Kosovo (84%) and relations between different communities in Kosovo (82%).



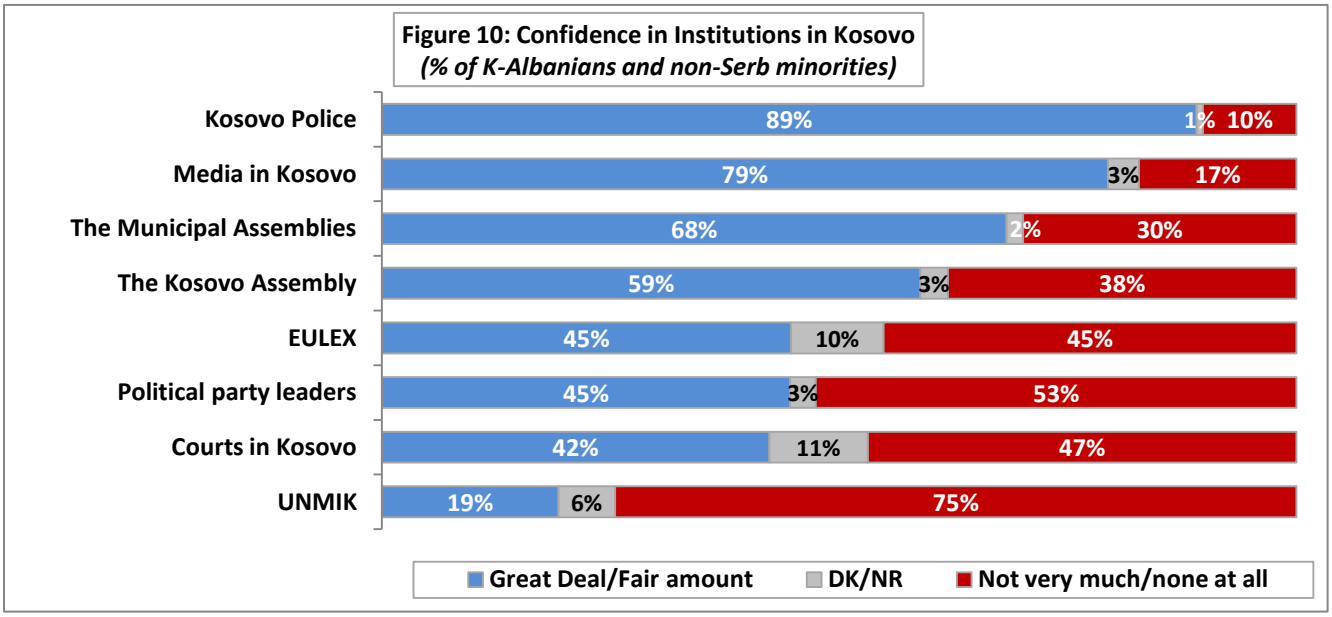


OPINIONS ON DEMOCRACY AND KEY INSTITUTIONS

Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities express confidence in the Kosovo Police, the media, the municipal assemblies, and the Kosovo Assembly. Kosovo Serbs, on the other hand, do not have much or any confidence at all in Kosovo institutions, but they do report confidence in the Kosovo Serb Assembly. All ethnic groups express little to no confidence in UNMIK. The data also shows that while a majority of Kosovo Albanians view Kosovo as a democracy, less than half of non-Serb minorities agree and a majority of Kosovo Serbs do not believe Kosovo is a democracy. Voting is seen by a majority of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities as a way to influence decision-making in the country, however, Kosovo Serbs do not believe voting gives them a chance to influence decisions in Kosovo. This feeling undoubtedly is one factor, among many factors, that impacts the low turnout of Kosovo Serbs in Kosovo elections.

Confidence in Institutions

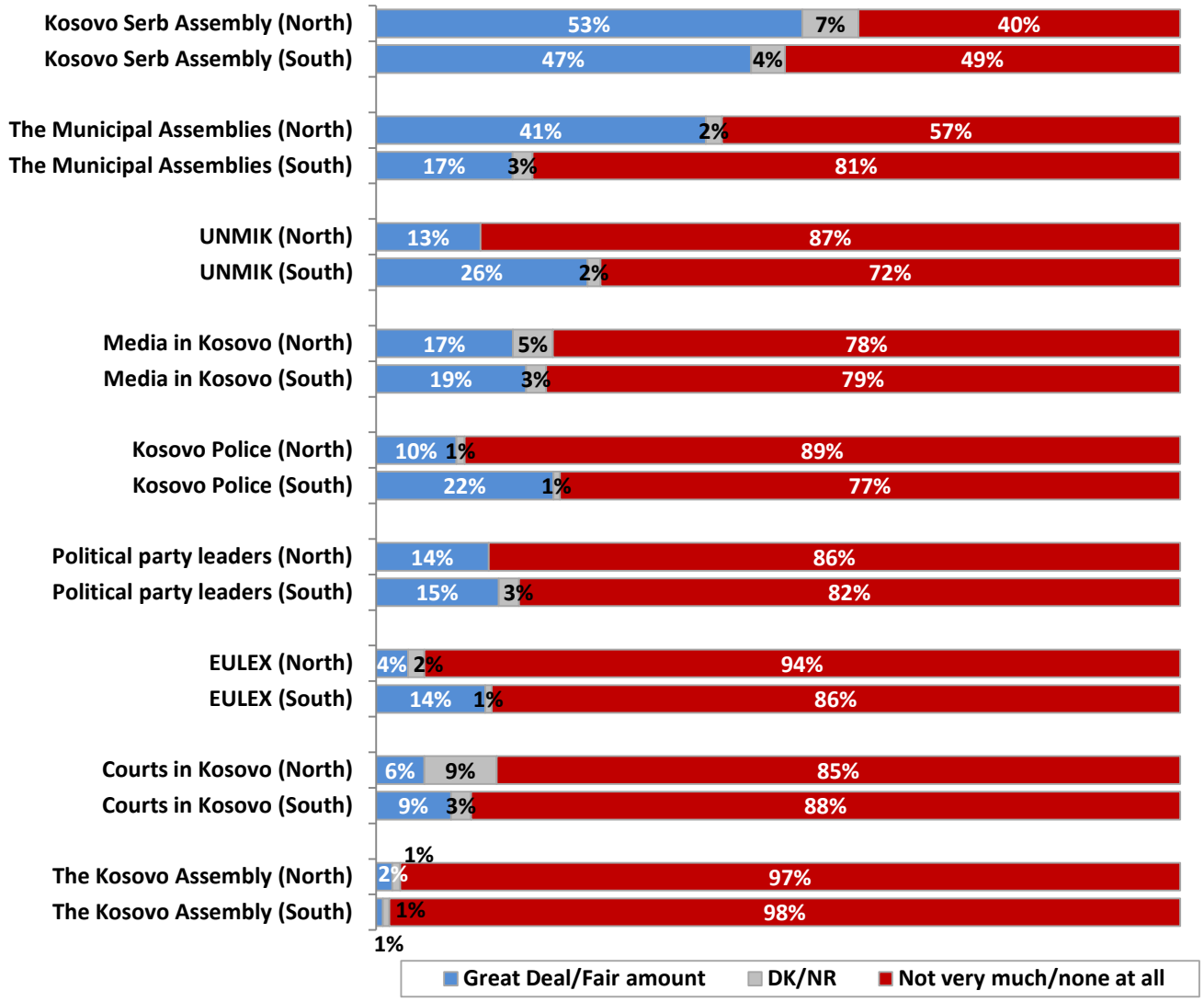
Majorities of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities have a great deal/fair amount of confidence in the Kosovo Police (89%), the media in Kosovo (79%), the municipal assemblies (68%), and the Kosovo Assembly (59%).[8] Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minority respondents are more split in their confidence in other institutions. Less than half of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities have confidence in EULEX (45%) and the courts in Kosovo (42%). Two institutions lack Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minorities' confidence: political party leaders (53%) and UNMIK (75%) (Figure 10).



[8] Question text: *"I will now read to you the names of several institutions. For each, please tell me whether you have a great deal of confidence, a fair amount of confidence, not much confidence, or no confidence at all in these institutions or individuals."*

Kosovo Serbs express a lack of confidence in both Kosovo and international institutions, but when looking at Kosovo Serbs' opinions in Northern municipalities versus Southern municipalities, we see variations in the intensity of opinions for some institutions (Figure 11). A higher percentage of Kosovo Serbs in the North express their lack of confidence in UNMIK, the Kosovo Police, political party leaders and EULEX. Similar percentages of Kosovo Serbs in the North and South express a lack of confidence in the courts in Kosovo and the Kosovo Assembly. Kosovo Serbs in the North, on the other hand, are more likely to express confidence in their local institutions. Over half of Kosovo Serbs in the North (53%) have a great deal/fair amount of confidence in the Kosovo Serb Assembly, however Kosovo Serbs in the South are split between having confidence (47%) and lacking confidence (49%) in this institution. Four in 10 (41%) Kosovo Serbs in the North say they have confidence in municipal assemblies, compared to 17% of Kosovo Serbs in the South. It should be noted, however, we assume that Kosovo Serbs in the North could be referencing the parallel institutions, the Kosovo Serb municipal assemblies, for which there are separate elections.

Figure 11: Confidence in Institutions in Kosovo
(% of K-Serbs in Northern municipalities and Southern municipalities)

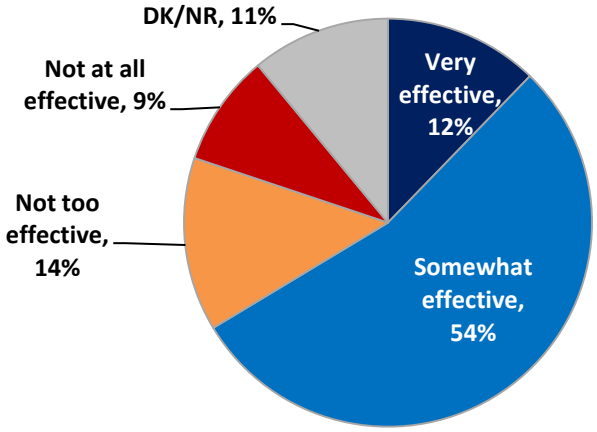


Attitudes toward Political Parties

When asked how necessary political parties are for democracy, three quarters (77%) of Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minority respondents believe they are very (38%) or somewhat (39%) necessary for democracy.[9] Compared to 2008, however, the percentage of respondents who believe political parties are necessary for democracy in Kosovo has dropped. In 2008, 89% of Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minority respondents believed political parties were very (53%) or somewhat (36%) necessary for democracy. This decline could be an extension of the waning satisfaction with political party leaders and opinions of political parties in Kosovo.

Similar to respondents' mixed confidence in political party leaders (Figure 10), when assessing political party performance, Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities express a moderate level of satisfaction with the effectiveness of political parties in communicating their ideas to the public, as well as parties' plans to address crucial issues facing Kosovo. Fifty-four percent of Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minority respondents believe parties are somewhat effective in representing their ideas and principles to the public and 12% believes they are very effective. Twenty-three percent think they are not too effective (14%) or not at all effective (9%) and 11% say they do not know (Figure 12).[10]

Figure 12: Effectiveness of Political Party Communication to Public
(% of K-Albanians and non-Serb minorities (n=1,004))



Respondents express confidence in some political parties' plans to address the issues facing Kosovo, but not all political parties.[11] Fifty-two percent of Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minority respondents say *some* political parties have clear plans to address the issues facing Kosovo, yet only 13% believe *most* political parties have clear plans and 22% believe *none* of the political parties have clear plans. Thirteen percent say they do not know.

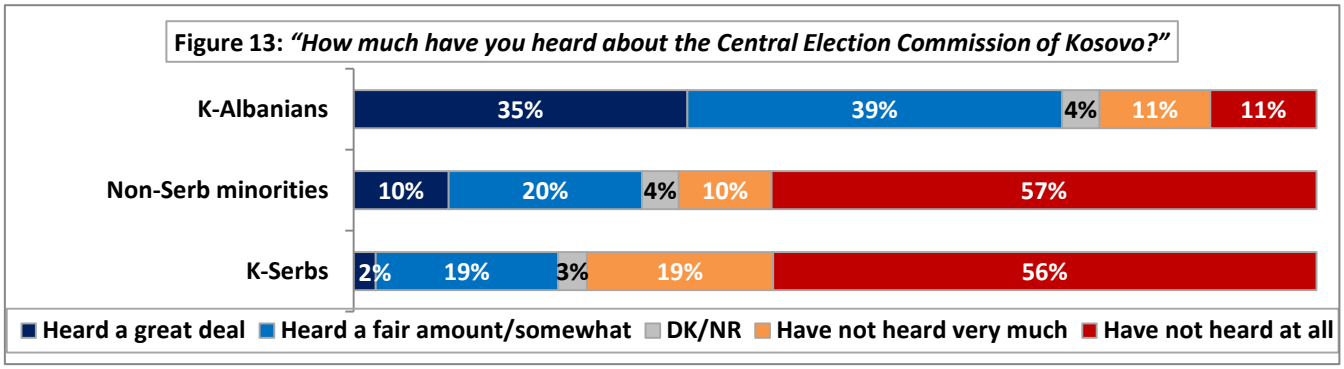
Awareness and Perception of Central Election Commission

Four in 10 Kosovo Albanians say they have heard a fair amount (39%) about the Central Election Commission (CEC) of Kosovo and 35% have heard a great deal about the CEC. Most Kosovo Serbs and non-Serb minorities, however, have not heard anything at all about the CEC of Kosovo (56% and 57%, respectively) (Figure 13). By region, residents of Pristina are more likely to say they have heard nothing at all about the CEC (19%) than residents of Prizren (9%) or Peja (6%). There is not significant variation among age groups of respondents concerning awareness of the CEC.

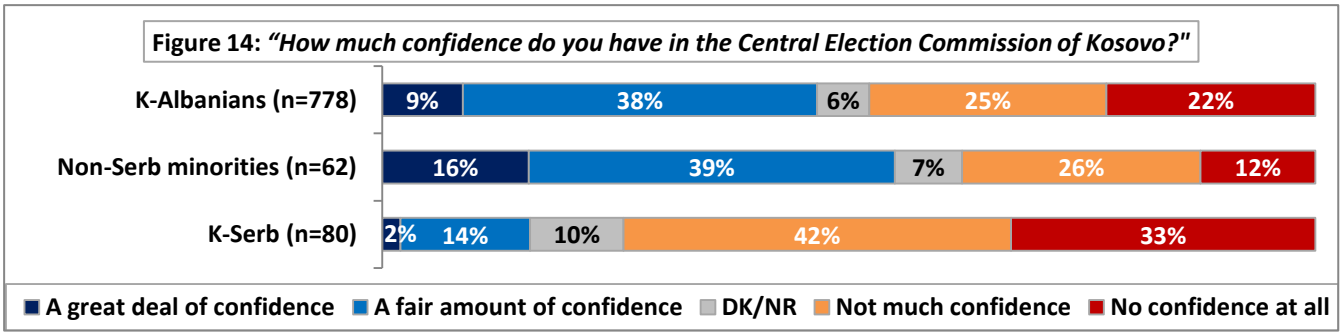
[9] Question text: *"In your opinion, how necessary are political parties for democracy in Kosovo? Are they very necessary, somewhat necessary, not too necessary, or not at all necessary?"*

[10] Question text: *"In general, how effective do you think political parties in Kosovo are in representing their ideas and principles to the public? Do you think they are very effective, somewhat effective, not too effective, or not effective at all in presenting their ideas?"*

[11] Question text: *"In your opinion, do most, some or none of the major political parties in Kosovo have clear plans to address the issues facing Kosovo?"*



Of those Kosovo Albanians who have heard of the CEC, their assessment of the CEC is split between those expressing a great deal/fair amount of confidence and those expressing not much or no confidence at all. Nine percent of Kosovo Albanians have a great deal of confidence in the institution, 38% say they have a fair amount of confidence, while 25% say they do not have much confidence, and 22% have no confidence at all (Figure 14). Fifty-five percent of non-Serb minorities have confidence and 38% do not have confidence in the CEC. Sixteen percent of Kosovo Serbs have confidence in the CEC, but 75% do not have confidence in the CEC of Kosovo.



Of those who say they have only a fair amount or not much confidence in the CEC, respondents cited reasons such as the prolonging of results announcement (15%), belief the CEC is not working as it should (13%), the feeling that the CEC manipulated the election (13%), and political influence (9%) (Figure 15).

Figure 15: Reasons for lacking confidence in the CEC *(% who have a fair amount, not much, or no confidence in the CEC)*	Percent of Cases (n=920)
They failed with prolonging announcement of results	15%
Not working as it should/not doing their jobs	13%
They manipulated the election/stolen votes	13%
Political influence	9%
They are not fair	8%
There is no transparency/do not give the right information	5%
They have shown to not be objective/work for own interest	4%
Corruption	4%
Recent events in Gjilan made me lose trust in them	4%

Perceptions of Kosovo as a Democracy

Most Kosovo Albanians (63%) believe Kosovo is a democracy and four in 10 non-Serb minorities say Kosovo is a democracy (46%), but 91% of Kosovo Serbs say Kosovo is not a democracy (Figure 16, 17, and 18).[12] This year slightly more Kosovo Albanians believe Kosovo is a democracy than in 2008 immediately prior to the independence declaration (56%). In contrast this year, slightly fewer non-Serb minorities identify Kosovo as a democracy than in 2008 (53%). Of Kosovo Albanians who say Kosovo is not a democracy, 59% say it's moving toward a democracy, 54% of non-Serb minorities say it is moving toward becoming a democracy, but still 82% of Kosovo Serbs say Kosovo is not moving toward becoming a democracy.

Figure 16: ***"Is Kosovo a democracy?" (% of K-Albanians)***

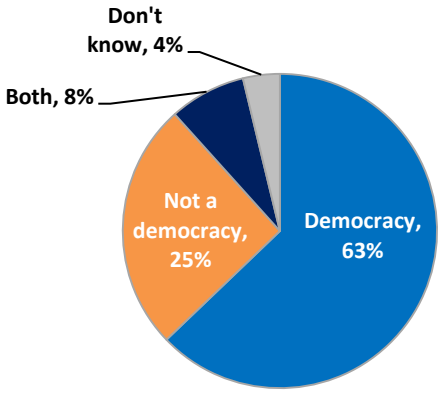


Figure 17: ***"Is Kosovo a democracy?" (% of non-Serb minorities)***

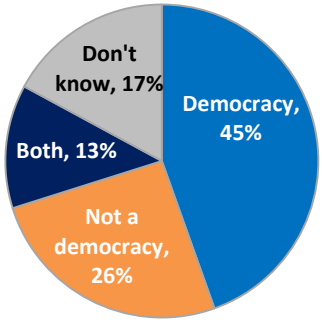
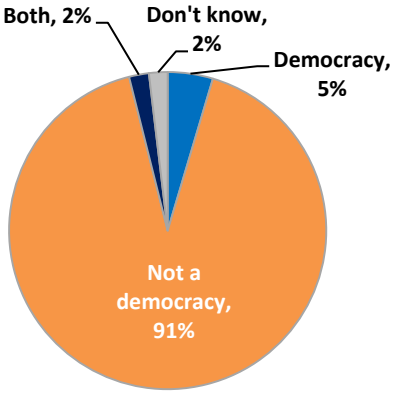


Figure 18: ***"Is Kosovo a democracy?" (% of K-Serbs)***



[12] Question text: "*Is Kosovo a democracy?*"

Meaning of Democracy

When asked to identify attributes that identify a democracy to them,[13] the most cited response by all three ethnic groups is protection of human rights (56% Kosovo Albanians, 52% non-Serb minorities, 52% Kosovo Serbs). Other meanings attributed to democracy include everybody having work (50% Kosovo Albanians, 51% non-Serb minorities and 37% Kosovo Serbs), freedom of speech (46%, 46% and 53%), fair and consistent enforcement of laws (42%, 25% and 26%), freedom to vote (35%, 24% and 40%), no official corruption (28%, 8% and 10%), freedom of religion (24%, 22% and 27%), freedom of the press (22%, 14% and 15%), freedom of association (15%, 10% and 19%) and a system of checks and balances between executive, legislative, and judicial branches. Interestingly, Kosovo Albanians place less emphasis on all ethnic communities enjoying the same rights as a meaning of democracy (20%) than non-Serb minorities (53%) and Kosovo Serbs (39%). Given Kosovo's history, one may have expected Kosovo Albanians to have placed more of an emphasis on this tenet of equal rights among ethnic communities (Figure 19). Still, aside from this disparity, there are not wide variations across ethnic groups in what they expect from a democracy.

Figure 19: Meaning of Democracy	K-Albanians *% of Cases*	Non-Serb minorities *% of Cases*	K-Serbs *% of Cases*
Protection of human rights	**56%**	**52%**	**52%**
Everyone has work	**50%**	**51%**	**37%**
Freedom of speech	**46%**	**46%**	**53%**
Fair and consistent enforcement of laws	**42%**	**25%**	**26%**
Freedom to vote	**35%**	**24%**	**40%**
No official corruption	**28%**	**8%**	**10%**
Freedom of religion	**24%**	**22%**	**27%**
Freedom of press	**22%**	**14%**	**15%**
All ethnic communities enjoy same rights	**20%**	**53%**	**39%**
Freedom of association	**15%**	**10%**	**19%**
System of checks and balances between executive, legislative, and judicial branches	**11%**	**2%**	**10%**
DK/NR	**6%**	**11%**	**3%**

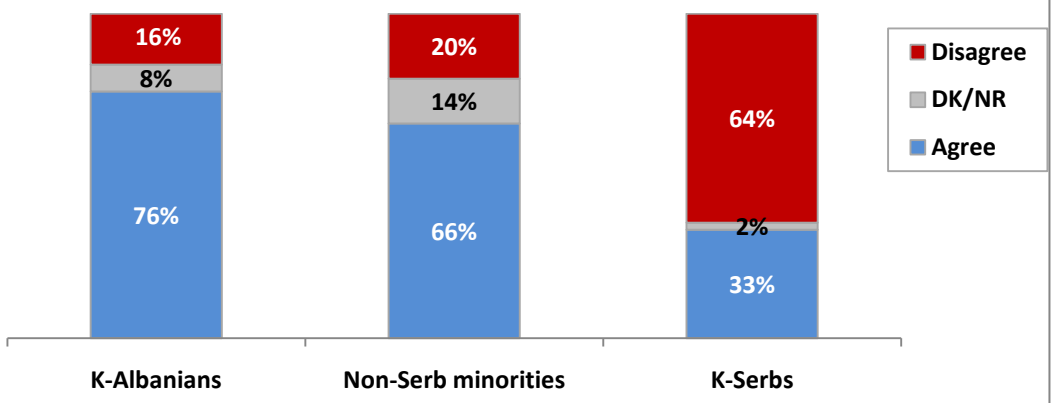
[13] Question text: "*Listed on this card are several statements. Please pick any statement or statements that you think accurately define what a democracy means to you. You can choose up to five responses.*"

Interest in Politics and Perceived Influence on Government

When asked about interest in matters of politics and government, Kosovo Albanians are split with 52% saying they are very/somewhat interested and 47% saying they are not too/not at all interested. Across age groups, respondents report similar interest levels in politics and government. Majorities of Kosovo Serbs and non-Serb minorities, though, say they are not too/not at all interested in matters of politics and government (60% and 63%).

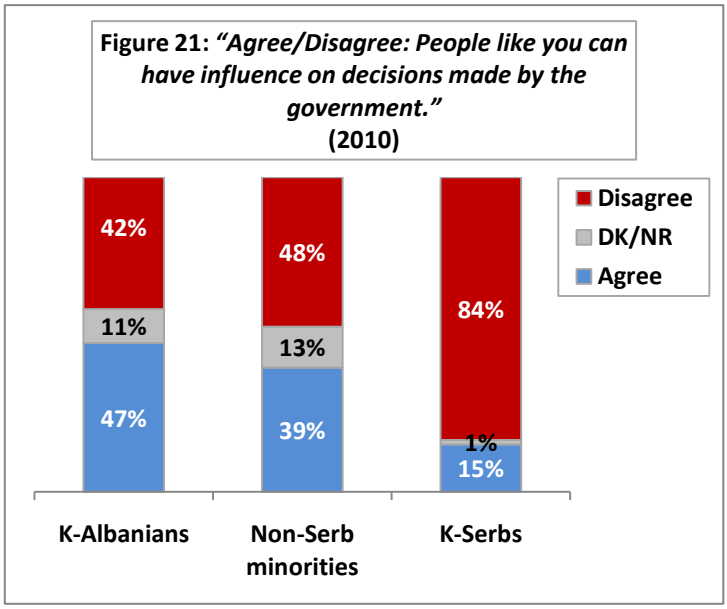
When asked whether they agree or disagree that they receive enough information about political developments and candidates to make wise choices when it is time to vote, three-quarters of Kosovo Albanians and 66% of non-Serb minorities believe they do have enough information (Figure 20). Conversely, a majority of Kosovo Serbs do not believe they receive enough information about political developments and candidates to make wise choices when it is time to vote (64%). The fact that Kosovo Serbs feel they do not receive enough information prior to voting could impact their lack of interest in politics and government and low voter participant rates. By age group, young people age 18-24 are more likely to say they agree they receive enough information prior to voting (81%) than respondents age 45-54 (67%) and age 55-64 (68%). By gender, more men than women agree they receive enough information to make wise choices when it is time to vote (78% men, 69% women).

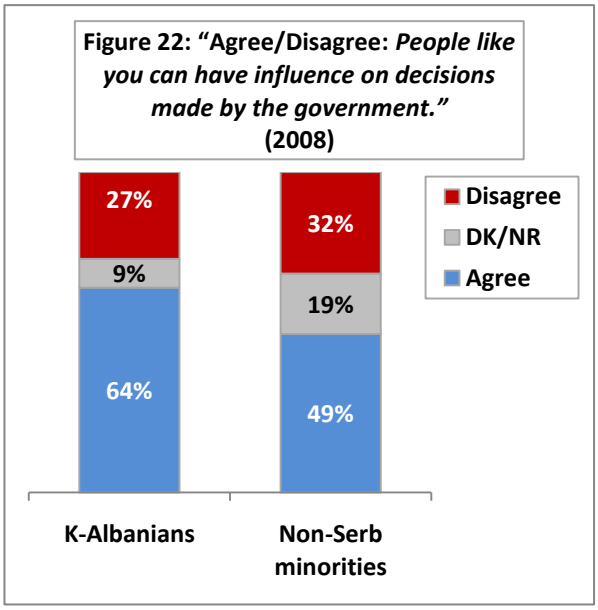
Figure 20: ***"Agree/Disagree: I receive enough information about political developments and candidates to make wise choices when it is time to vote in elections."***



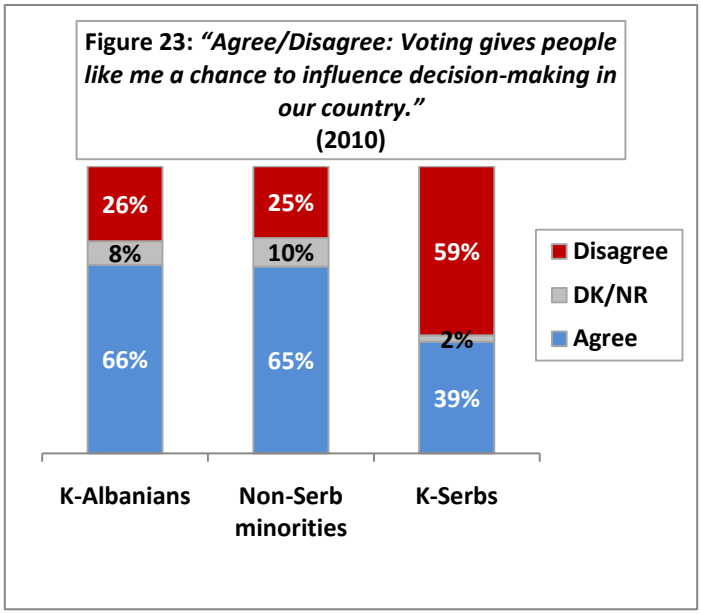
Respondents were also asked a series of questions to gauge their perceived influence on the government. Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minority respondents are split between agreeing and disagreeing that people like them can have an influence on decisions made by the government of Kosovo. Forty-seven percent of Kosovo Albanians strongly/somewhat agree and 42% strongly/somewhat disagree. In the case of non-Serb minorities, 39% strongly/somewhat agree and 48% strongly/somewhat disagree. A majority of Kosovo Serbs, on the other hand, strongly/somewhat disagree they can influence decisions made by the government of Kosovo (Figure 21). By gender, male respondents are more likely to agree they can influence decision-making in the government (49%) than women (42%).

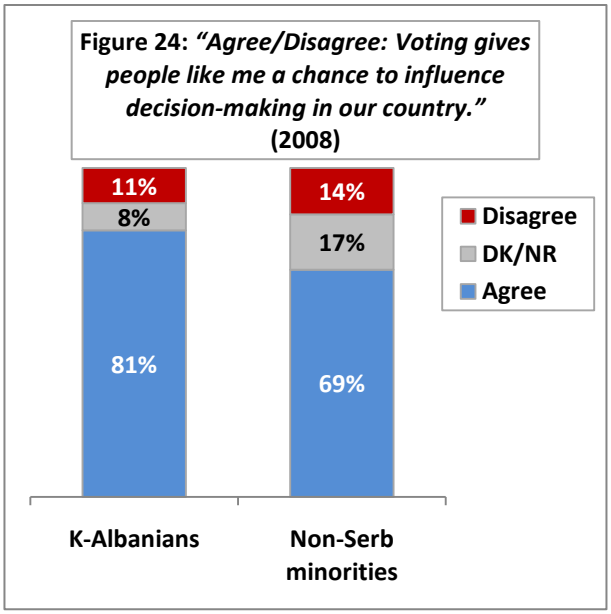
There has been a decline in perceptions that one can influence government decisions among Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities since the 2008 survey. In 2008, 64% of Kosovo Albanians agreed they could have an influence on government decisions compared to 47% in 2010. In 2008, 49% non-Serb minorities agreed they could have an influence on government decisions compared to 39% in 2010 (Figure 22).





When framed in a way that asked if they believe *voting* gives them a chance to influence decision-making in Kosovo, a majority (66%) of Kosovo Albanians somewhat (34%) or strongly (32%) agree voting gives them a chance to influence decision-making in Kosovo. A majority (65%) of non-Serb minorities also somewhat (32%) or strongly (33%) agree with this statement (Figure 23). Of note, in 2008, higher percentages of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities agreed that voting gave people like them a chance to influence decision-making in Kosovo (81% and 69% somewhat/strongly agree in 2008 compared to 66% and 65% in 2010) (Figure 24). More than half (59%) of Kosovo Serbs, however, somewhat (22%) or strongly (37%) disagree voting gives people like them a chance to influence decision-making in Kosovo.[14] By gender, again, male respondents are more likely than female respondents to believe voting gives them a chance to influence decisions made by the government (69% men, 59% women).





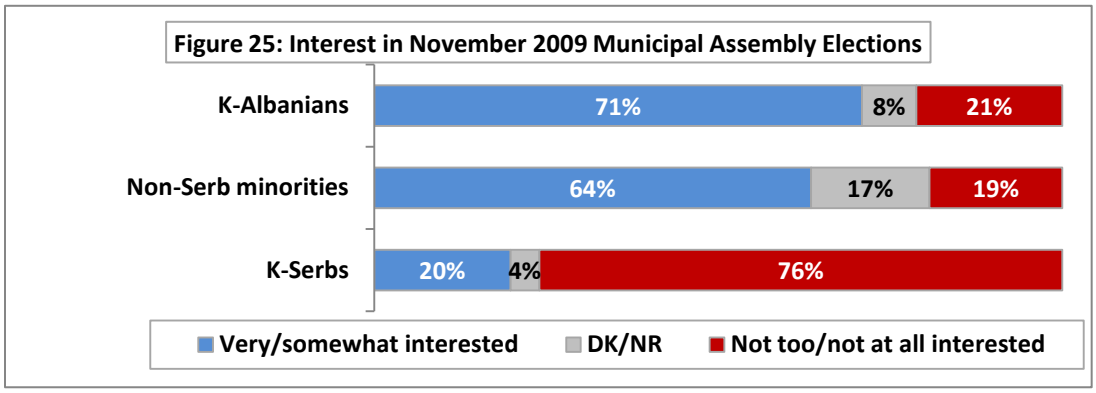
[14] *Please note: interviewers were instructed to reference "Kosovo" as the country being discussed for all questions.*

OPINIONS ON THE NOVEMBER 2009 ELECTIONS

Although sometimes there can be lower interest levels in sub-national elections than in national elections, majorities of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities were interested in the November 2009 municipal and mayoral elections. The survey findings also reveal most Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities are satisfied with the organization of the November 2009 elections and most believe these elections were free and fair. Most Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities also have positive evaluations of various facets of the election process and voters report procedures were followed as expected on Election Day. Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minority voters say they felt informed before the elections and that media coverage of the elections was informative and unbiased. Nonetheless, most Kosovo Serbs were not interested in these elections and are unsure of how to rate its organization and fairness, indicating a general disconnect from these elections.

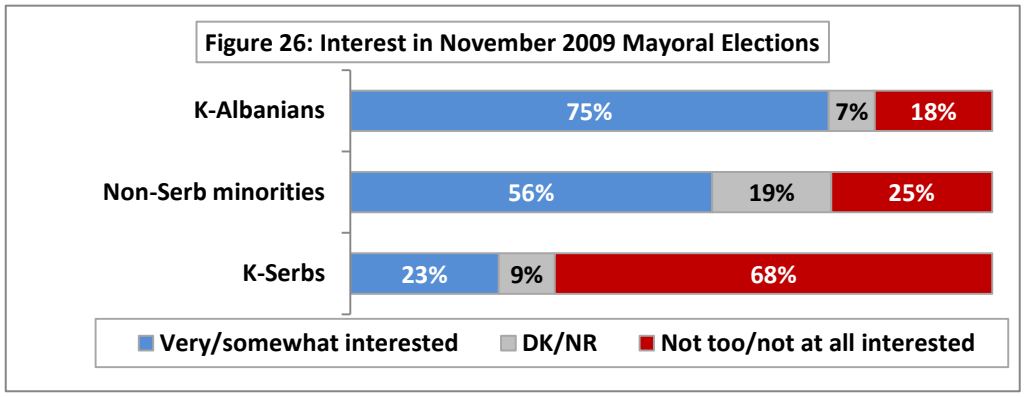
Interest in Municipal and Mayoral Elections

There were mostly high levels of interest in the November 2009 municipal and mayoral elections among Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities, but Kosovo Serbs were not interested in these elections. In regards to the election for the municipal assemblies, among Kosovo Albanians, 71% say they were either very interested (43%) or somewhat interested (28%) in the municipal assembly elections. Of non-Serb minorities, 64% say they were either very (43%) or somewhat (21%) interested in the municipal elections. Seventy-six percent of Kosovo Serbs, however, say they were either not very (12%) or not at all interested (64%) in the municipal assembly elections (Figure 25).



Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities who say they were interested in the municipal assembly elections say it is because the elections bring a better future/better function of the law (37%) or because they live in Kosovo and fulfilled their duty as citizens (7%). Of those who say they were not interested in the municipal elections, 31% of Kosovo Albanians/non-Serb minorities and 11% of Kosovo Serbs say it is because politicians did not fulfill their duties toward the population. Eleven percent of Kosovo Albanians/non-Serb minorities say they had no will to vote; 9% of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities and 2% of Kosovo Serbs say they were disinterested because there was no one they wanted to vote for; 6% of Kosovo Albanian/non-Serb minorities say politicians only had empty promises; and 4% of Kosovo Albanians/non-Serb minorities and 7% of Kosovo Serbs say it is because they are not interested in political issues. Half of Kosovo Serbs (50%) who say they were not interested in these elections say there should be deputies but do not believe Kosovo is their government or they do not recognize Kosovo's elections. Eight percent of Kosovo Serbs say they were not interested in these elections because of Belgrade's appeal that they boycott elections.

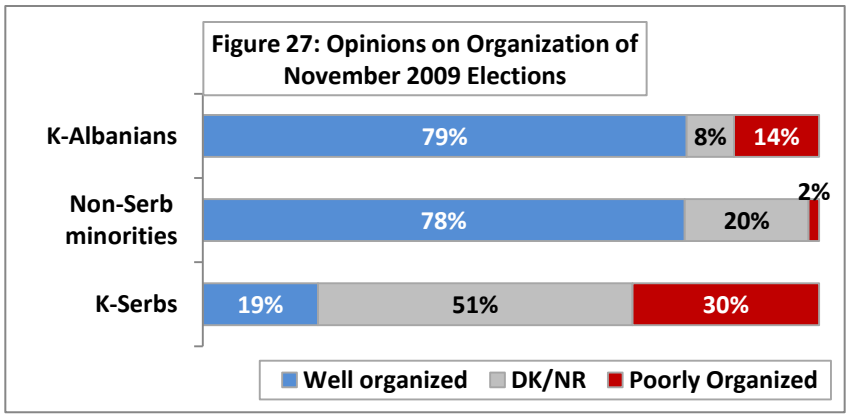
In terms of the mayoral elections, 75% of Kosovo Albanians say they were very (55%) or somewhat (20%) interested (Figure 26). Fifty-six percent of non-Serb minorities say they were very (42%) or somewhat (14%) interested in these elections. As with the election for the municipal assemblies, 68% of Kosovo Serbs say they were not very (9%) or not at all (59%) interested in the mayoral elections in Kosovo (Figure 26). Of those interested in the mayoral elections, 23% of Kosovo Albanians/non-Serb minorities and 27% of Kosovo Serbs say it is because they hope someone will come to power to help them and make improvements; 34% of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities say they were interested because the candidate should be a skilled leader/should make changes/work for their city; 3% of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities and 10% of Kosovo Serbs were interested in the promise of new jobs; 4% of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities say it was their obligation; and 10% of Kosovo Serbs say they were interested so they could ensure a Serbian mayor.



Of those who say they were not interested in the mayoral elections, 19% of Kosovo Albanians/non-Serb minorities say it is because they are dissatisfied with politicians' work until now/not solving unemployment; 19% of Kosovo Albanians/non-Serb minorities and 11% of Kosovo Serbs say they do not feel they get any benefit from the mayor; 16% of Kosovo Albanians/non-Serb minorities and 7% of Kosovo Serbs believe all politicians lie/make empty promises/do not trust them; 12% of Kosovo Albanians/non-Serb minorities and 11% of Kosovo Serbs say they did not want to vote for any of the candidates; 6% of Kosovo Albanians/non-Serb minorities and 5% of Kosovo Serbs say they did not have the will to vote; and 6% of Kosovo Albanians/non-Serb minorities say they were not interested because they believe there was no competition/the winner was already known. Thirty percent of Kosovo Serbs were not interested because they were organized by Kosovo and 6% of Kosovo Serbs say because Belgrade's appeal for them to boycott the elections.

Assessment of Organization and Fairness of Elections

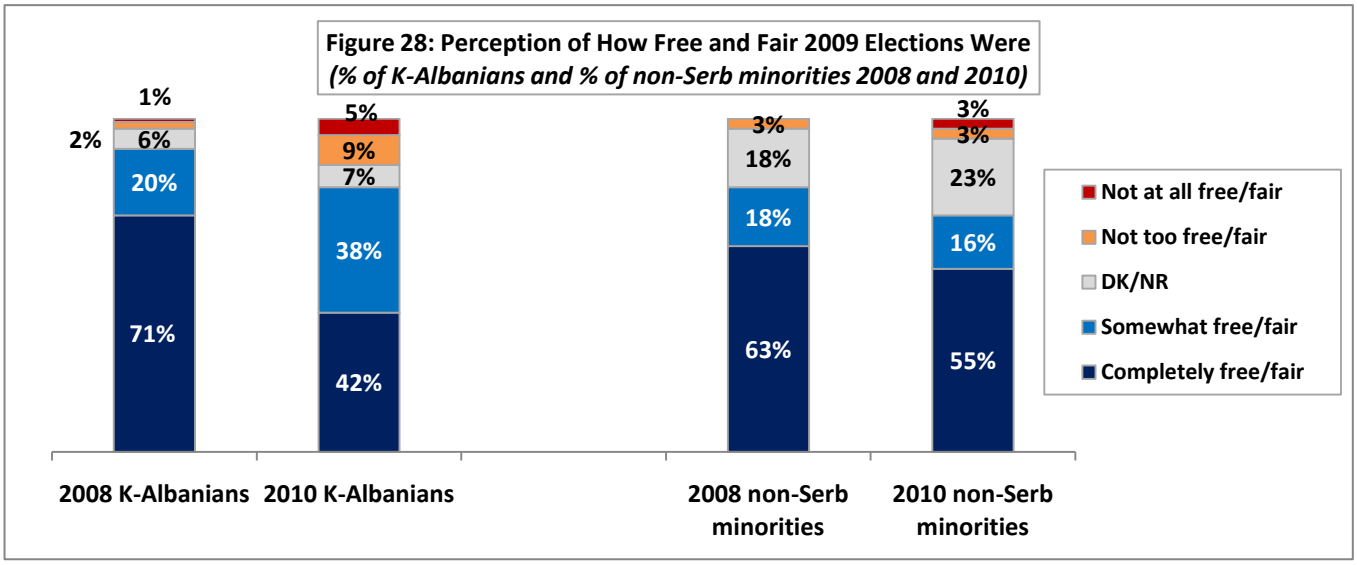
Majorities of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities believe the elections were very well or well organized (79% and 78%, respectively); however, 51% of Kosovo Serbs say they do not know (Figure 27).[15] By region, residents of Prizren are most likely to say the elections were well organized (88%), followed by residents of Gjilan (78%), Pristina, Mitrovica, and Gjakova (75% each), Peja (74%) and Ferizaj (62%). These elections are perceived to have been slightly less well organized than the 2007 elections. After the November 2007 elections, 85% of Kosovo Albanians said the elections were well organized.



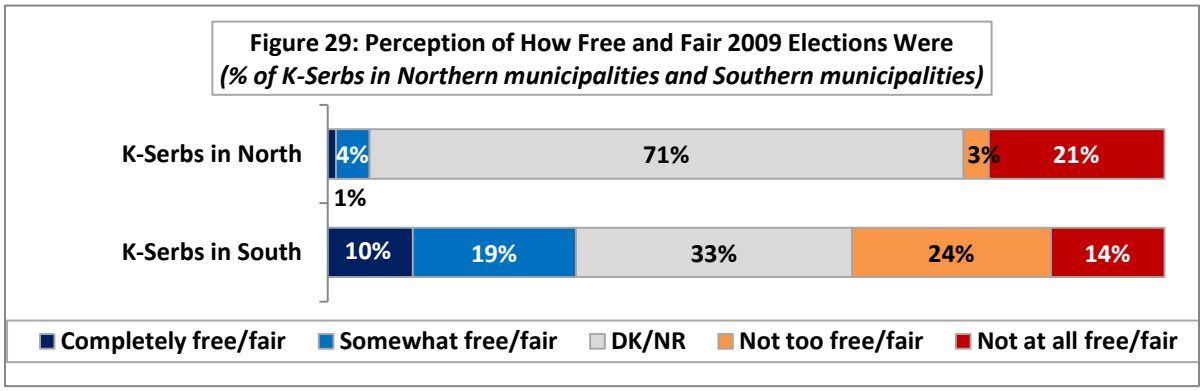
Following on the perception that the

[15] Question text: *"How would you rate the organization of the November 15 elections in Kosovo: very well organized, well organized, somewhat badly organized, badly organized?"*

elections were well organized, most Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities feel the elections were free and fair, albeit less so than the 2007 elections. Regarding the integrity of the November 2009 elections, majorities of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities believe the elections were completely/somewhat free and fair (80% and 71% respectively) (Figure 28).[16] In 2008 when asked about the fairness of the 2007 elections, more Kosovo Albanians (91%) and non-Serb minorities (81%) viewed the 2007 elections as completely/somewhat free and fair. The most striking drop is the percentage of respondents saying the elections were *completely* free and fair. In 2008, 71% of Kosovo Albanians believed the 2007 elections were completely free and fair compared to 42% in 2010. There was a similar drop in the percentage of non-Serb minorities viewing the elections as completely free and fair, but less dramatic of a decline (63% in 2008, 55% in 2010). By region, again residents of Prizren are most likely to say the elections were free and fair (87%), followed by residents of Gajokva (80%), Peja (77%), Pristina (75%), Ferizaj (73%), Mitrovica (69%), and Gjilan (67%).



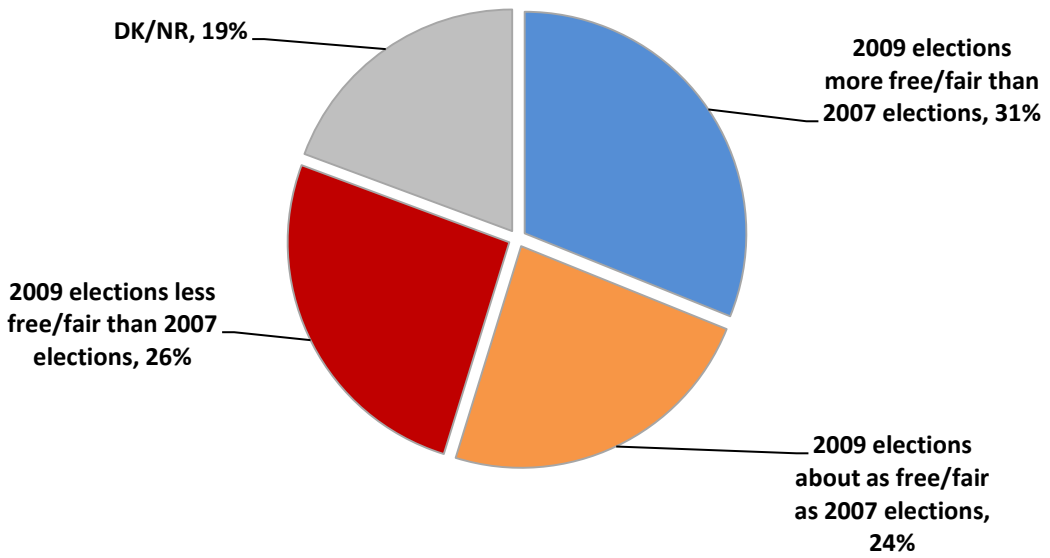
When Kosovo Serbs were asked to rate the integrity of the November 2009 elections in Kosovo, 38% of Kosovo Serbs in Southern municipalities deem them not too (24%) or not at all (14%) free and fair, but 29% of Kosovo Serbs in the South believe they were completely (10%) or somewhat (19%) free and fair. Still 33% of Kosovo Serbs in the South say they do not know or gave no response. Of Kosovo Serbs in the Northern municipalities, only 5% believe the elections were free and fair, 24% believe they were not free or fair, but 71% do not know or gave no response. Again, this illustrates some level of disconnect from these elections on behalf of Kosovo Serbs, most prominently amongst Kosovo Serbs in Northern municipalities.



[16] Question text: *"In your opinion, how free and fair were the 2009 Kosovo elections? Were the 2009 Kosovo elections completely free and fair, somewhat free and fair, not too free and fair or not at all free and fair?"*

When specifically asked to compare these elections to the elections in 2007, Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities are split between saying the 2009 elections were more free and fair than 2007 (31%), less free and fair (26%), or about the same (24%). Nineteen percent do not know (Figure 31).[17] The fact that a plurality considers the 2009 elections to be more free and fair stands in contrast to the data indicating higher positive perceptions of the 2007 election when comparing the individual election data from the two surveys in 2008 and 2009. This may indicate a 'learning' effect among respondents in Kosovo on the elements of free and fair elections and their ability to analyze individual elections based on their experience with elections.

Figure 30: Integrity of 2009 Elections Compared to 2007 Elections
(% of K-Albanians and non-Serb minorities)



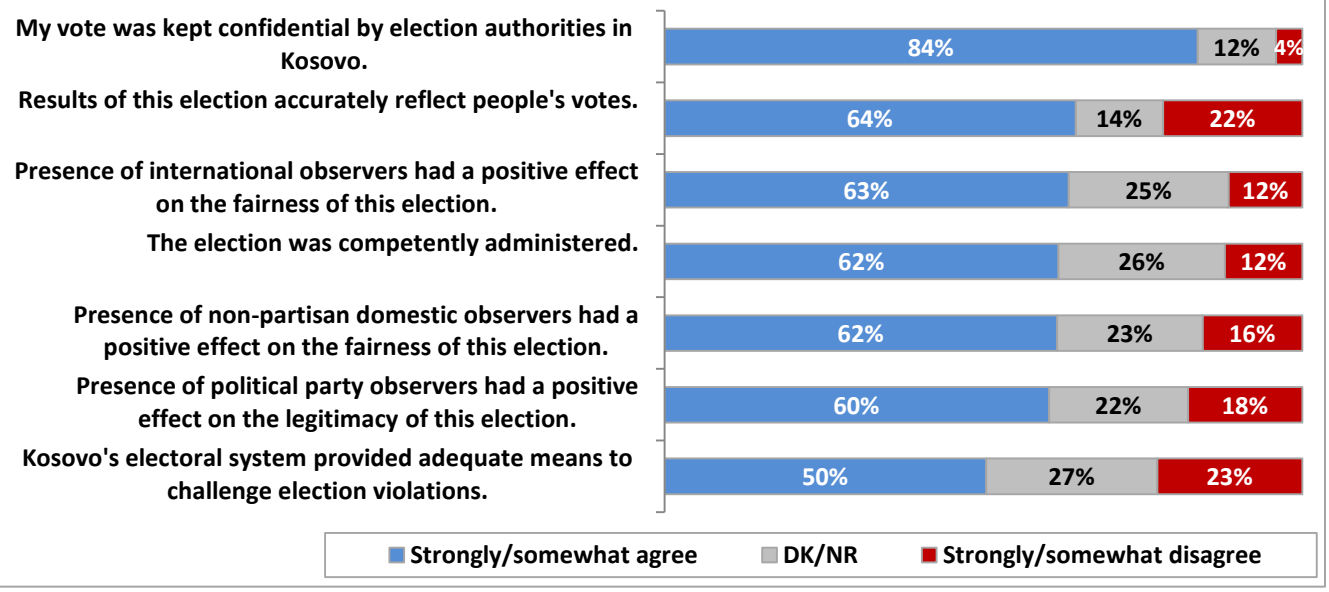
Evaluation of Aspects of the Electoral Process

Overall, respondents give favorable assessments of various aspects of the November 2009 elections. Responses indicate Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities have trust in the competency of the election administration, secrecy of the vote, accuracy of results, and the positive influence of domestic, political party, and international observers. Fewer respondents, but still a majority, believe the electoral complaints and appeals system provides adequate means to challenge election violations. As seen in Figure 31, majorities of both Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minority respondents agree their vote was kept confidential by election authorities in Kosovo (84%), the results of the election accurately reflected the way people voted in the election (64%), the presence of international observers had a positive effect on the legitimacy of the elections (63%), the election was competently administered (62%), the presence of non-partisan domestic observers had a positive effect on the legitimacy of the elections (62%), the presence of political party observers had a positive effect on the legitimacy of the elections (60%), and Kosovo's electoral system provided adequate means to challenge electoral violations that may have occurred in this election (50%).[18]

[17] Question text: *"Overall, when you compare the November 15 elections to the elections held in 2007, would you say these recent elections were more free and fair than the 2007 elections, less free and fair, or would you say these recent elections were about as free and fair as the 2007 elections?"*

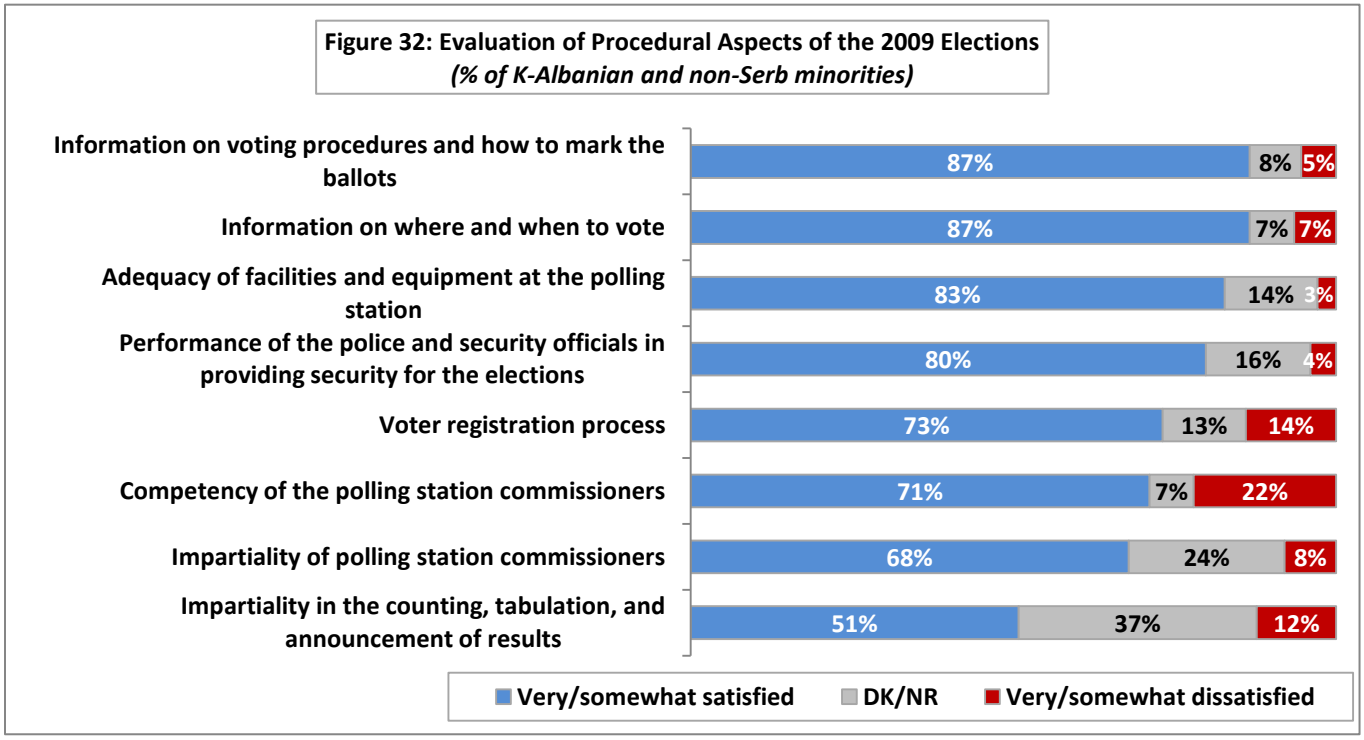
[18] Question text: *"Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements about the November 15 elections."*

Figure 31: Evaluation of Aspects of the 2009 Electoral Process
(% of K-Albanian and non-Serb minorities)



Similarly, majorities of both Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb respondents are very/somewhat satisfied with the following procedural aspects of the elections (Figure 32):[19] information on voting procedures and how to mark the ballots (87%), information on where and when to vote (87%), adequacy of the facilities and equipment at the polling stations (83%), performance of the police and security officials in providing security for the elections (80%), voter registration process (73%), and impartiality of the polling station commissioners (68%). While over half (51%) of Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb respondents are very/somewhat satisfied with the impartiality in counting, tabulation and announcement of results, 37% say they do not know. This uncertainty could point to a general lack of information or understanding of this process.

Figure 32: Evaluation of Procedural Aspects of the 2009 Elections
(% of K-Albanian and non-Serb minorities)



Media Coverage of the Elections

Media coverage is also viewed as having been informative on the November 2009 elections.[20] Nearly nine in 10 (89%) Kosovo Albanians believe the media coverage of the elections was very (57%) or somewhat (32%) informative (Figure 33). Six in 10 non-Serb minorities believe the media coverage of the elections was very (45%) or somewhat (15%) informative, but 33% say they do not know (Figure 34). This may indicate a significant segment of non-Serb minorities did not have access to adequate media sources covering the elections.

Respondents are mostly positive when assessing what proportion of the media was unbiased in covering the November 2009 elections.[21] More than a quarter (27%) of Kosovo Albanian and non-Serb minority respondents say *all* of the media coverage was unbiased. Twenty-eight percent of respondents say *most* of the media was unbiased, 18% say *some* was unbiased, less than 1% say *none* were unbiased, and 26% are unsure. Of those who say only some of the media was unbiased or none was unbiased,[22] 34% believe RTK is biased, 17% mention KTV, 10% mention TV21, 9% mention Epoka e re, 5% mention Bota Sot, 5% mention Kosovo Sot, and 4% mention Koha Ditore. Still, 66% of those who believe the media was biased did not cite a specific source.

Figure 33: *"How informative was the media coverage on the November 15 elections?" (% of K-Albanians)*

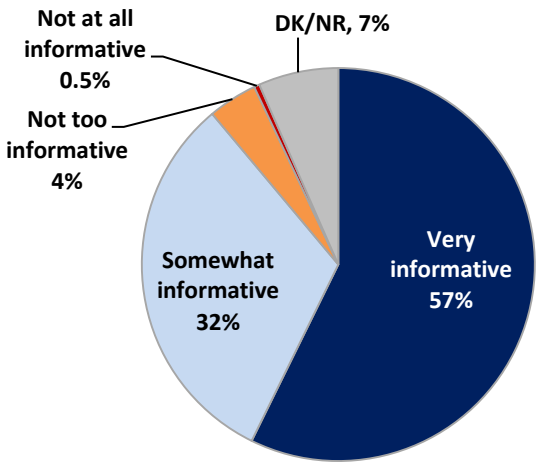
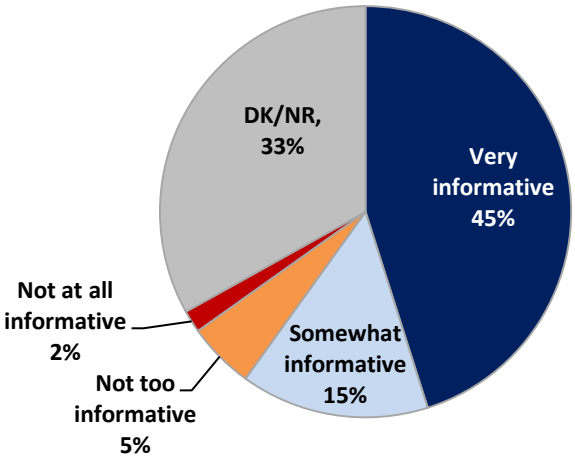


Figure 34: *"How informative was the media coverage on the November 15 elections?" (% of non-Serb minorities)*



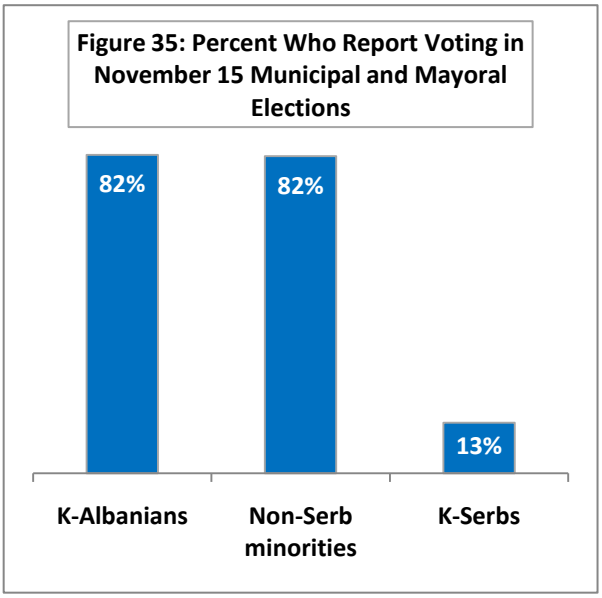
[20] Question text: "*Now, I'd like you to think about media coverage surrounding the November 15 elections. In your opinion, was the media coverage of the election-related issues very informative, somewhat informative, not too informative or not at all informative?"*

[21] Question text: *"What proportion of the media would you say provided unbiased information about the November 15 elections: all of the media, most of the media, only some of the media, or none of the media?"*

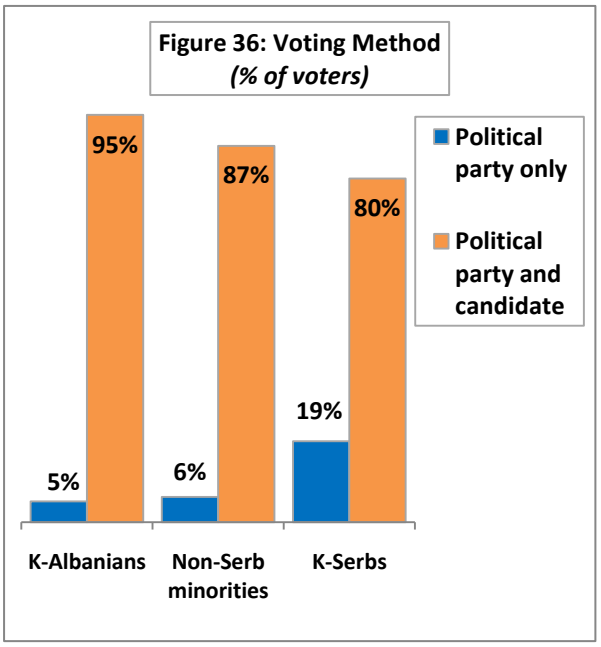
[22] Question text: *"What media sources do you think were biased in the information they provided?"*

Voters' Evaluation of the November 2009 Elections and Election Day

In our survey, more people reported voting than actual turnout percentages report (82% Kosovo Albanians, 82% non-Serb minorities and 13% Kosovo Serbs) (Figure 35).[23] One possible explanation could be attributed to the social desirability effect of survey research, which is the inclination of people to report participation to the interviewer to look favorable even if they did not vote.[24] Of those who say they did not vote, 33% of Kosovo Albanians say they were simply not able to go out or did not have time, 17% say they were not interested/did not have the will to vote, 15% say their vote does not matter, 11% did not have confidence in the candidates/parties, 11% say they lacked documents, 2% were not allowed to vote/were not registered, 2% say it's because their polling station was somewhere else, 2% say they did not know where their polling station was, and 7% gave other reasons.



Of those who report voting, 84% say this was not the first election in which they have ever voted and 16% say this was their first election.[25] Seventy-nine percent of first-time voters are in the 18-24 age group, 8% are in the 25-34 age group, 4% are aged 35-44, 2% are aged 45-54, 1% are aged 55 to 64 and 6% are ages 65 and up.



Voters across ethnic groups say they felt safe when voting in these elections.[26] When asked how safe or pressured they felt when voting in these elections, 89% of Kosovo Albanians say they felt very safe and 10% say they felt somewhat safe. Similarly, 97% of non-Serb minority voters felt very safe and 3% felt somewhat safe. For the few Kosovo Serb voters, 35% say they felt very safe, 40% say they felt somewhat safe, 13% felt somewhat pressured, and 12% felt very pressured.

This election, the way voters marked their ballots for the municipal assembly elections was slightly different than in 2007. This election, voters could vote for one party and one candidate, while in 2007 they voted for a party and up to 10 candidates. Given the change in the voting system this year,

[23] Question text: *"We understand that for various reasons some people vote and some people do not take part in elections. Did you vote in the municipal and mayoral elections that took place on November 15?"*

[24] IFES conducted statistical analysis of the survey data to divide those who reported voting into groups who are strongly likely to have actually voted based on their opinions and attitudes on other issues such as interest in politics and perceived influence of citizens on government decisions. This analysis indicated that those who were identified as strongly likely to have actually voted did not differ much in their reported experience on election day from those who were identified as less likely to have actually voted. This analysis indicates that opinions on election day experiences reported by those who say they voted in the survey are likely to closely reflect actual experiences on election day.

[25] Question text: *"Is this the first election in which you have ever voted?"*

[26] Question text: *"How safe or pressured did you feel voting in these elections? Did you feel very safe or somewhat safe to vote for whomever you wanted or did you feel somewhat pressured or very pressured to vote a particular way?"*

we asked those who report voting if they voted for a political party only or a political party and a candidate.[27] The vast majority of Kosovo Albanian voters (95%), non-Serb minority voters (87%), and Kosovo Serb voters (80%) report voting for a political party and a candidate. Interestingly, 7% of non-Serb minority voters say they do not know (Figure 36). The high percentage of voters who report voting for a party and a candidate show voters are taking advantage of the open-list voting system and going beyond simply voting for a party.

Voters also pronounce feeling informed prior to making their voting decisions.[28] Majorities of voters across all three ethnic groups somewhat/strongly agree they had enough information to make informed decisions when voting in these elections (95% of Kosovo Albanian voters, 91% of non-Serb minority voters, and 80% of Kosovo Serb voters) (Figure 37). Voters across ethnic groups also believe the lists of parties and candidates were easily understandable (Figure 38).[29]

Figure 37: ***"In general, do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree that you had enough information to make informed decisions when voting in these elections?" (% of voters)***

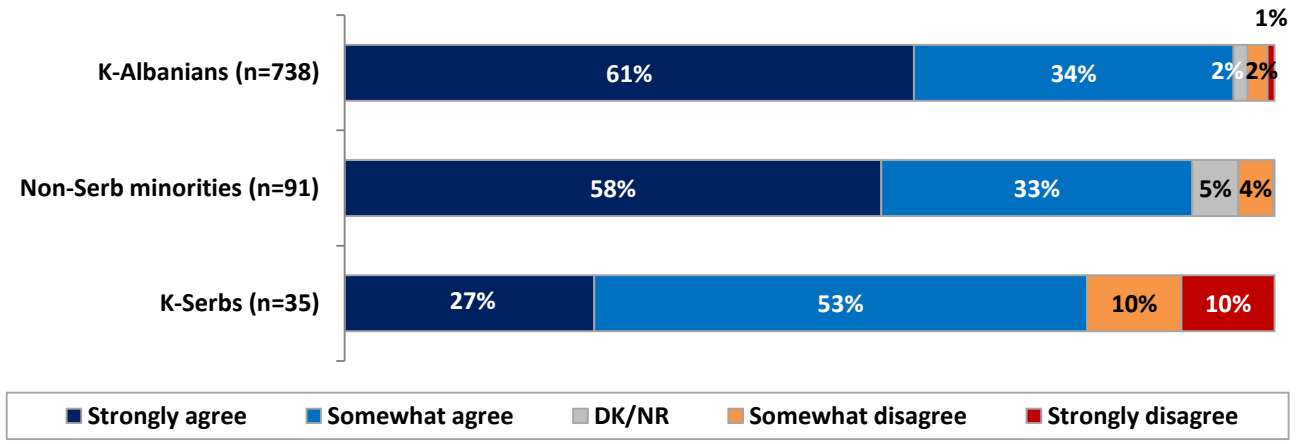
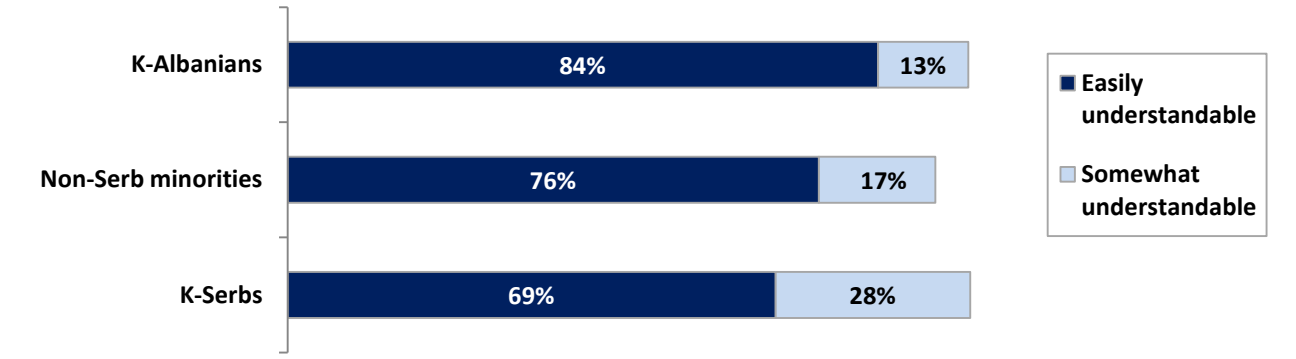


Figure 38: ***"How understandable or confusing were the lists of parties and candidates for you as a voter?" (% of voters)***



[27] Question text: *"As you may know, voters had the choice of voting for only a party for the municipal election or for voting for a party and a candidate. Did you vote for a political party only or did you also select a candidate for the municipal election?"*

[28] Question text: "*In general, do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree that you had enough information to make informed decisions when voting in these elections?"*

[29] Question text: *"How understandable or confusing were the lists of parties and candidates for you as a voter?"*

Voters' Experience with the Voters' List

Ninety-six percent of reported voters say their name was on the voters' list where they first went to vote, while 4% say their name was not on the voters' list where they first went to vote (Figure 39).[30] These figures remain unchanged from 2008. Of those who were not on the voters' list, 92% went to the Help Desk[31] in the polling center to find out where to vote, then 43% eventually voted by conditional ballot and 57% voted in a different polling station.[32] Three-quarters (75%) of all voters say everybody in their family was assigned to vote in the same station as them, but nearly a quarter (24%) say some members of their family were assigned to vote in different stations (Figure 40).[33] These figures also remain unchanged from 2008.

Figure 39: ***"Was your name on the voters' list in the polling station where you first went to vote?"***
(% of all voters (n=864))

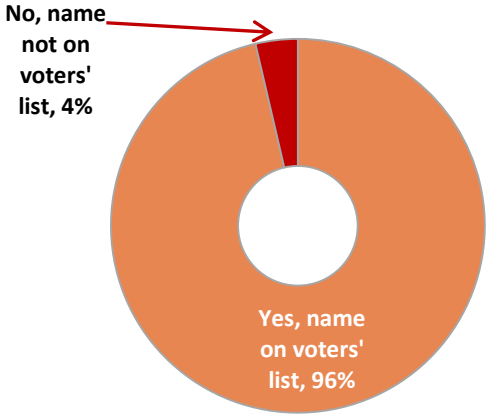
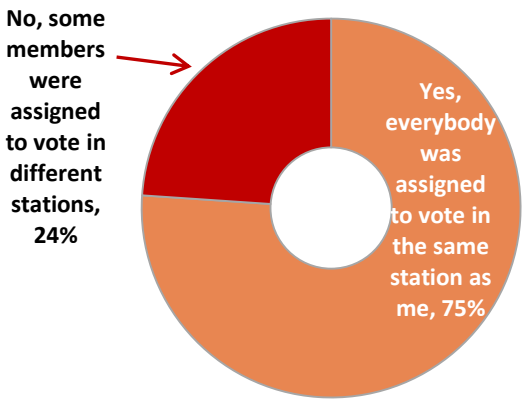


Figure 40: ***"Was everybody in your household assigned to vote in the same polling station as you or was one or more household members assigned to vote in different stations?"***
(% of all voters (n=864))



Election Day Procedures

According to voters, their experience on Election Day went mostly as planned and most voters report various polling procedures took place when they went to vote at their polling station. Over nine in 10 voters say a polling station official checked fingers for ink (99%), a polling station official checked identification (99%), a polling station official sprayed their right index finger with invisible ink (99%), they received their own copy of each of the ballots (96%), they voted in privacy without anybody able to see their ballot (98%), and the ballot box where they placed their ballot was sealed so no one could open it (98%). More than three-quarters of voters say information on how to mark the ballot was posted in their polling station (89%), a brochure of political parties with their Municipal Assembly candidates was placed in the voting booth (77%), and a polling station official gave instructions on how to fill out the ballot when it was handed to them (73%) (Figure 41).

[30] Question text: *"Was your name on the voters' list in the polling station where you first went to vote?"*
[31] Question text: *[If name not on voters' list] "Did you go to the help desk to find out where you should go to vote?"*
[32] Question text: *"Did you eventually vote by conditional ballot or did you go to a different polling station?"*
[33] Question text: *"Was everybody in your household assigned to vote in the same polling station as you or was one or more household members assigned to vote in different stations?"*

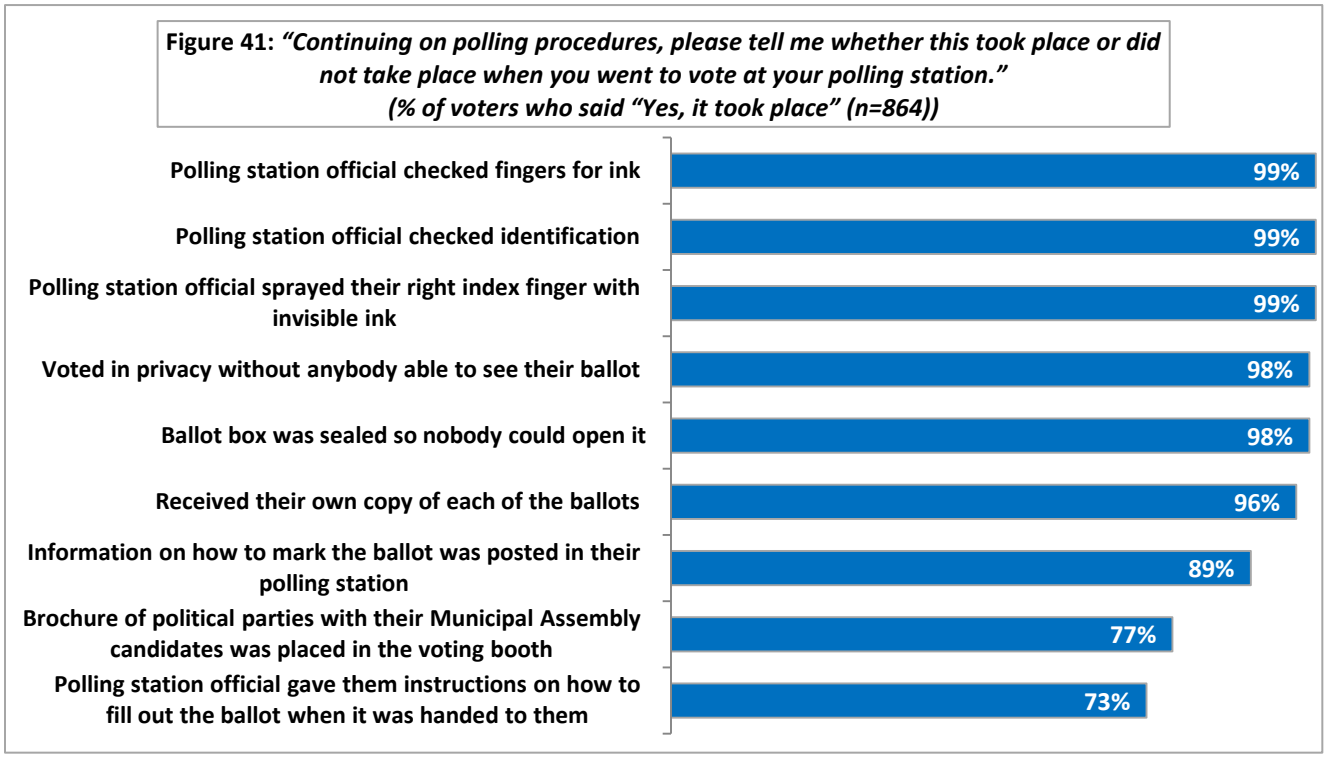


Figure 41: ***"Continuing on polling procedures, please tell me whether this took place or did not take place when you went to vote at your polling station." (% of voters who said "Yes, it took place" (n=864))***

Voters also say they found locating the appropriate polling center very or somewhat easy and found the procedures easy to follow at the polling station. Majorities of Kosovo Albanians, non-Serb minorities and Kosovo Serb voters say it was very/somewhat easy to locate the appropriate polling center (99%, 100%, and 97%) (Figure 42). Similarly, 98% of Kosovo Albanians, 96% of non-Serb minority voters, and 95% of Kosovo Serb voters say it was very/somewhat easy to follow procedures at the polling station (Figure 43). By age group, younger voters were more likely to say it was very easy for them to understand and follow the procedures at polling stations. Ninety-four percent of 18-24 year olds say it was very easy, compared to 91% of 25-34 year olds, 91% of 35-44 year olds, 87% of 45-54 year olds, 73% of 55-64 year olds, and 69% of those 65 and older say it was very easy for them to understand and follow the procedures at polling stations.

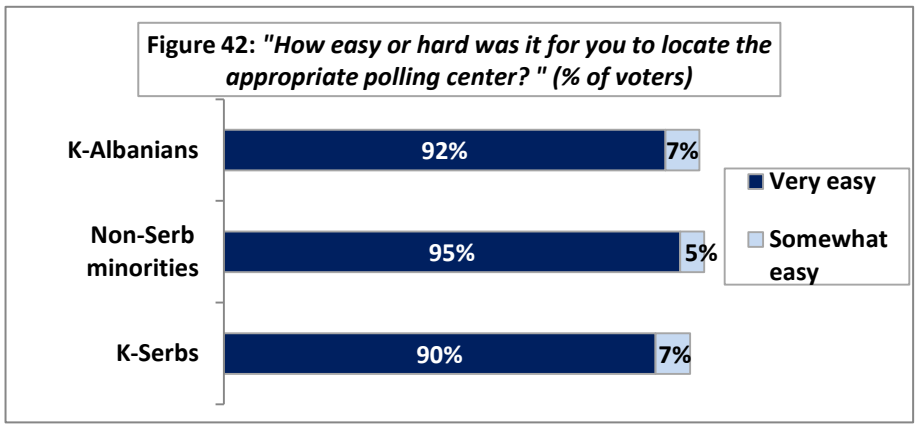


Figure 42: ***"How easy or hard was it for you to locate the appropriate polling center? " (% of voters)***

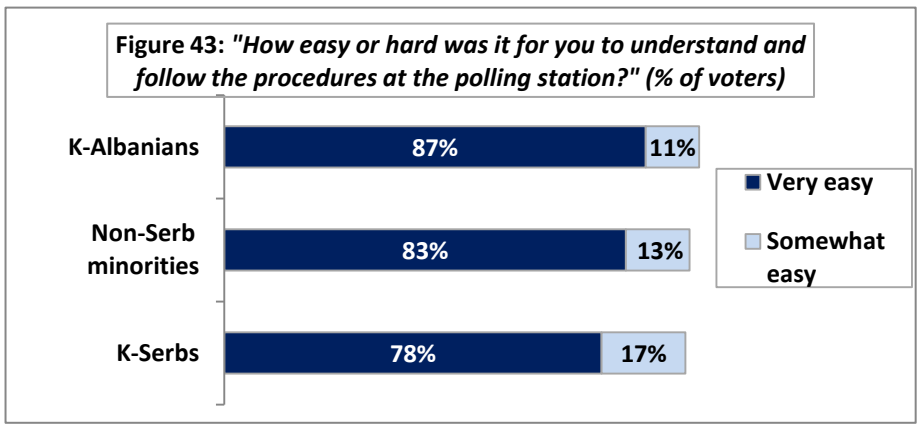
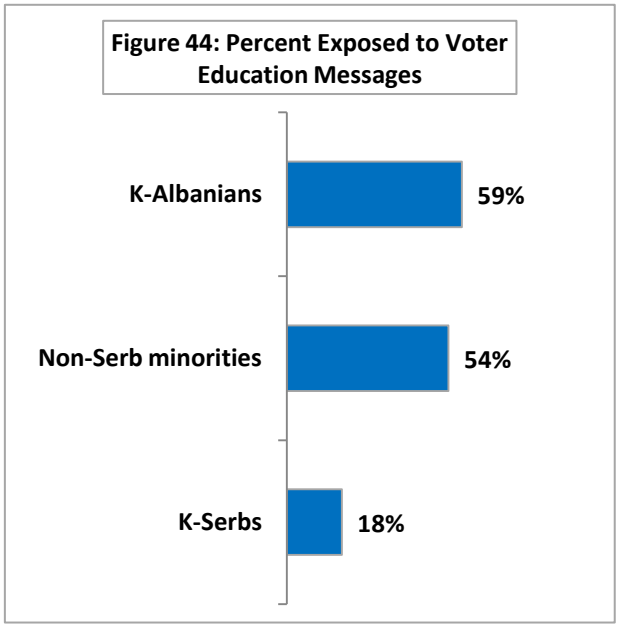


Figure 43: ***"How easy or hard was it for you to understand and follow the procedures at the polling station?" (% of voters)***

EXPERIENCE WITH VOTER EDUCATION MATERIALS

Voting-age adults were more likely to have been exposed to the general election information campaign focused on the election process than they were to the Get Out the Vote campaign (GOTV) preceding the elections. For both campaigns, Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities were more likely to have been exposed than Kosovo Serbs. The vast majority of those exposed to the general election information campaign found the information to be useful, while only a minority of those exposed to the GOTV campaign say that it influenced their decision on voting. Television tends to be the primary medium through which voters received information on the November elections, although street banners, posters and billboards were also seen by many voters. When voters seek information on the elections, they tend to rely primarily on television and their friends and family.

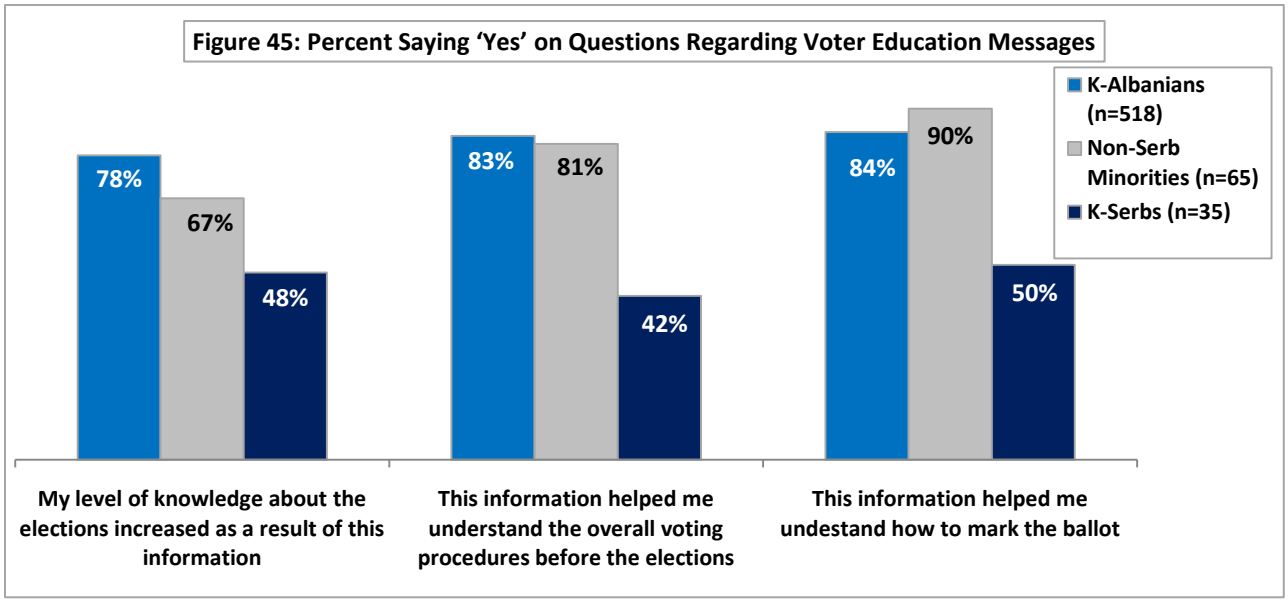


Exposure to Election Information Campaign

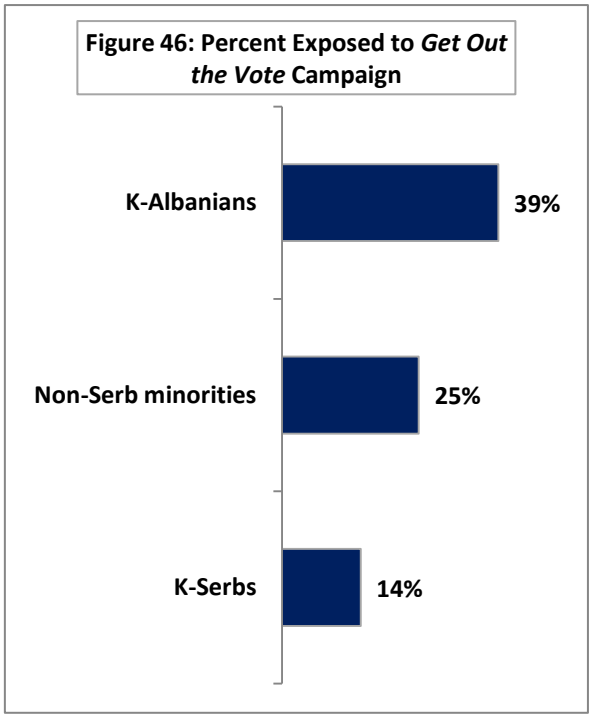
The CEC conducted a public information campaign which included widespread TV, radio, newspaper, and other various print media to educate the population about the voting process, where to vote, and other information related to the elections. The content of this campaign was primarily instructional and informative rather than motivational. The survey data indicates that a majority of Kosovo Albanians (59%) and non-Serb minorities (54%) were exposed to advertisements, posters, and other voter education materials that informed voters about the electoral process in the period leading up to the municipal elections[34]. Kosovo Serbs are much less likely to have been exposed to voter education messages (18%) (Figure 44). There are some interesting patterns of exposure to voter education messages. Among Kosovo Albanians, exposure to the messages is highest among those 18-24 (64%) while it is lowest among those 65 and older (41%). Among all ethnic groups, exposure is fairly evenly spread out between rural and urban areas. Few respondents are aware of the entity responsible for the voter education messages with 83% not able to name any entity. Twelve percent named the Central Election Commission as the entity responsible for the voter education messages and 6% believe it was Democracy in Action.

The survey indicates that those who were exposed to the voter education messages generally benefited from the information provided in the messages. Of those who reported seeing the messages, the majority of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities report that they gained key information from the messages, while nearly half of Kosovo Serbs exposed to the messages say this is the case (Figure 45).

[34] Question text: *"During October and November, did you see any advertisements, posters, or other sources of information that informed voters how to vote, where to vote, etc"*



The data in Figure 45 indicates most of those individuals exposed to voter education materials benefited in terms of information about the election process. More than eight in 10 Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities report that the information helped them understand overall voting procedures and ways to mark the ballot, while more than two-thirds reported overall increases in knowledge about the election. Kosovo Serbs were less likely to report these positive benefits from the voter education messages, but still significant percentages did report the benefits.



Exposure to Get Out the Vote Campaign

In addition to the voter information campaign designed to inform voters about elections and the election process, another campaign was initiated before the election which was designed to encourage people to vote in the municipal election. This campaign was aimed at the entire electorate, but focused on the minority communities, youth, and women voters. Radio ads were targeted to Kosovo Serbs, rock the vote concerts targeted youth, and motivational TV ads were designed to inspire women to vote. The survey data indicates that exposure to this campaign was not as high as exposure to messages about the election process itself.[35]

Exposure to the *Get Out the Vote* (GOTV) campaign was significantly higher among Kosovo Albanians (39%) than among non-Serb minorities (25%) and Kosovo Serbs (14%) (Figure 46). Among Kosovo Albanians, exposure was higher among younger age groups than among older respondents (49%, 18-24; 36% older age groups). This pattern was not observed among Kosovo Serbs and non-Serb minorities.

[35] Question text: *"During October and November did you see any information or campaigns encouraging people to vote in the November elections in Kosovo?"*

As in the case with general information on the election process, few of those exposed to the GOTV campaign can name the organization responsible for the campaign. Seven percent name the CEC, 5% name the NGO Democracy in Action, less than 5% name KIPRED, LDK, PDK, and CDHRF. Eighty-three percent say they do not know who provided the GOTV information.

Those who reported being exposed to the GOTV campaign were next asked whether the messages had an impact on their decision to vote.[36] More respondents than not report the campaign had no influence on their decision. Thirty-seven percent of those exposed report the campaign did have an influence on their decision, while 58% say it did not. Among those who reported voting in the municipal election, a slightly higher percentage (42%) report the campaign had an influence on their decision, whereas 54% say it did not (Figure 47).

As youth and women were targeted with the GOTV campaign, we evaluated the impact of this campaign on these sub-populations. By age group, voters aged 35-44 were most likely to say the campaign impacted their voting (52%), followed by youth voters (44%), and voters aged 55-64 (43%) (Figure 48). The data also shows more women voters than men voters say the GOTV campaign influenced their decision to vote (47% women, 38% men) (Figure 49).

Figure 47: Influence of *Get Out the Vote* Campaign on Voters
(% who report voting in November elections (n=338))

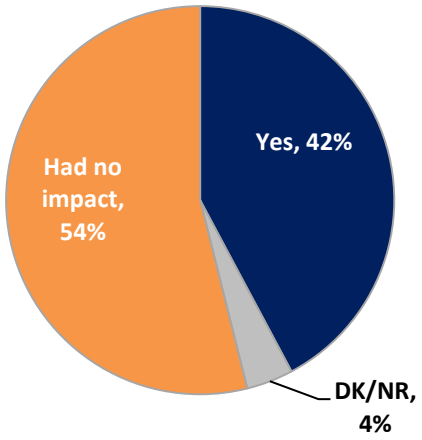


Figure 48: Percent Who Said Campaign Influenced Their Voting, by Age Groups
(% of voters)

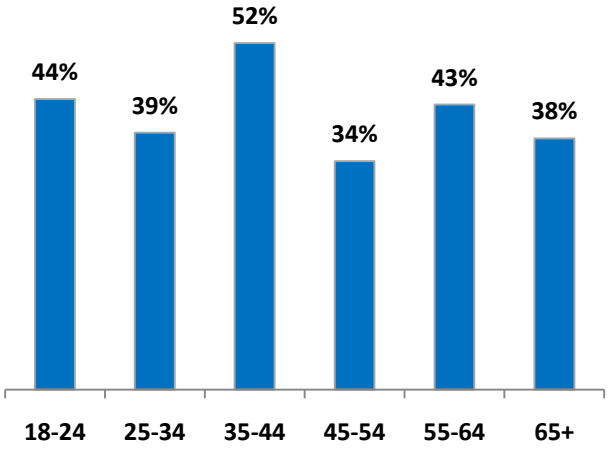


Figure 49: Percent Who Said Campaign Influenced Their Voting, by Gender

[36] Question text: *"Did this campaign influence your decision whether to vote or not?"*

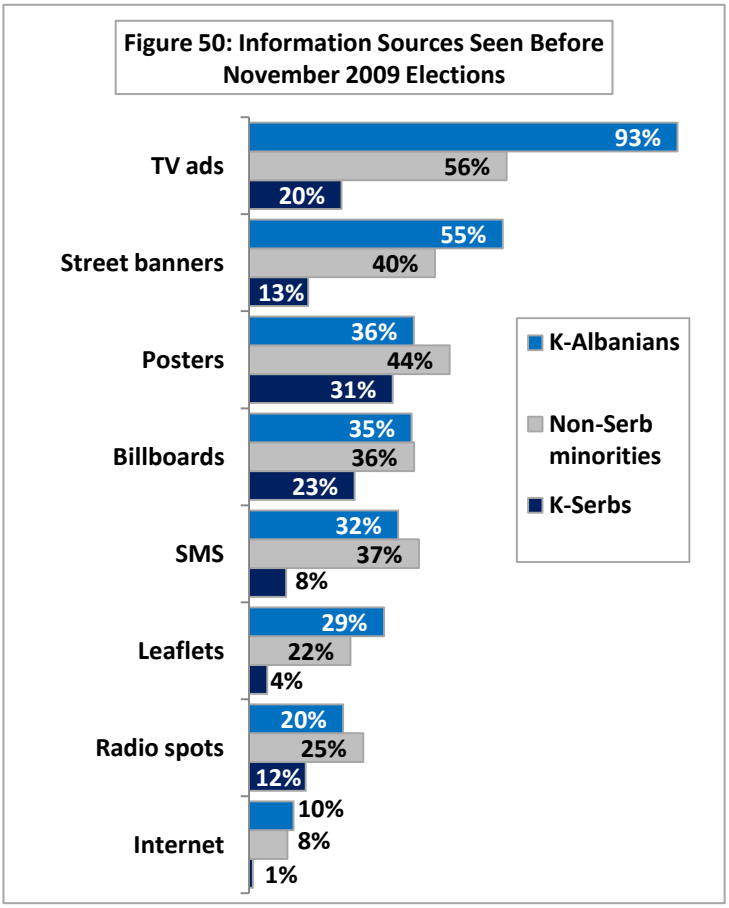
Information from the CEC

Prior to the municipal elections, the CEC sent postcards to voters who were either first-time voters or whose polling station location had changed. Respondents to the survey were asked whether they had received these postcards from the CEC. Only 6% of Kosovo Albanians, 2% of non-Serb minorities, and 1% of Kosovo Serbs report receiving these postcards. Among those who received these postcards, 86% say the postcard contained information on their polling station location and 14% report it contained first-time voter information.

Information Sources for November Elections

Television was the most visible source for information about the elections.[37] Ninety-three percent of Kosovo Albanians and 56% of non-Serb minorities report receiving information on the elections through television advertisements. It should be noted the question only asked respondents to list sources through which they had received information on the election and did not specify whether the information was focused on informing voters how to vote or whether it was focused on political campaigning. It is quite possible many of those reporting seeing television advertisements are recalling political campaign ads rather than voter information messages but this still points to the primacy of television as an information medium in Kosovo. The reader should also note the question asks respondents to identify sources through which they *received* information, and not sources which they use to *seek* information. As such, responses tend to reflect the popularity of sources among those distributing the information rather than those consuming it (Figure 50).

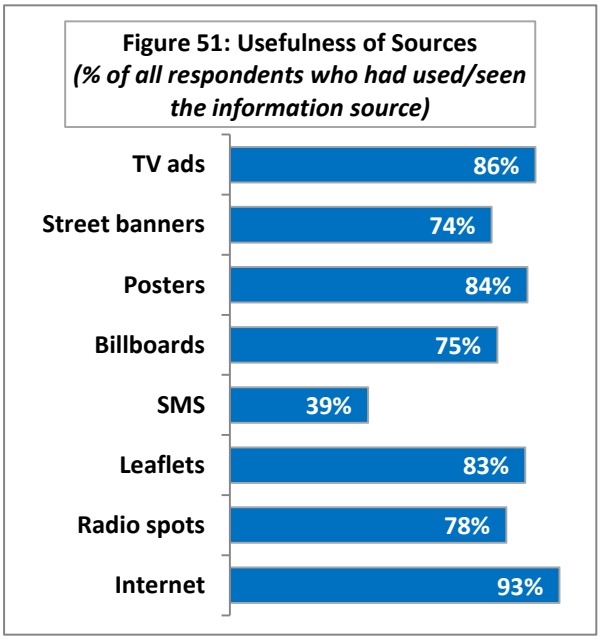
Significant percentages of respondents also report receiving information through street banners, posters, and billboards to obtain information about the municipal elections. While Kosovo Albanians are more likely to mention street banners than non-Serb minorities, the latter are more likely to mention posters than Kosovo Albanians. The data also points to the use of telecommunications technologies to distribute information on the elections. Thirty-seven percent of non-Serb minorities report receiving information through SMS messages and 32% of Kosovo Albanians also report the same. Close to 10 percent of both of these groups also report receiving information through the internet. Kosovo Serbs are least likely to report receiving information through these sources although the percentage of Kosovo Serbs who received information through posters is close to the percentage of Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities who cite posters. Posters were the sources through which Kosovo Serbs were most likely to receive information about the elections.



If respondents had seen information from one of these sources they were asked to rate the

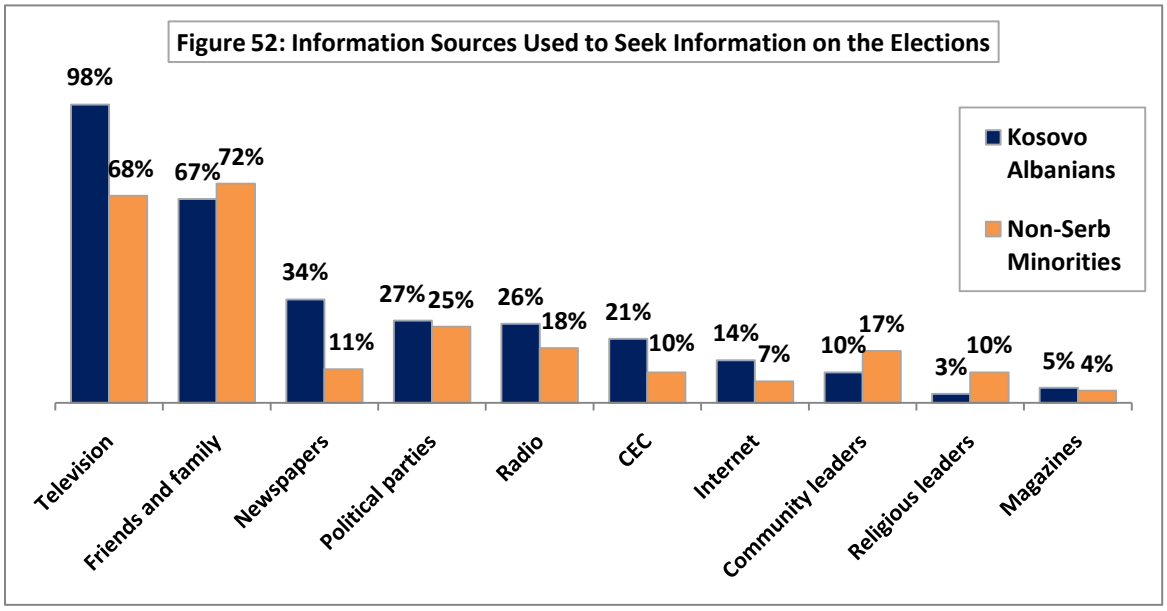
[37]Question text: *"Listed on this card are several sources of information that were used to provide information to voters about the November elections in Kosovo. Please tell me whether you received information from these sources?"*

usefulness of the information.[38] Most respondents who report seeing these sources say they were useful to them. Of those respondents who had seen TV ads, 86% found them useful, 74% who saw street banners found them useful, 84% who saw posters found them useful, 75% who saw billboards found them useful, 83% who saw leaflets found them useful, 78% who saw radio spots found them useful, 93% who used the internet found the information useful, and 39% who received SMS found that useful (Figure 51).



There are some differences by age on the information sources through which respondents received information on the elections. A higher percentage of those aged 18-24 (15%) received information through the internet than those 35 and older. The consumption of information through street banners generally goes down as one gets older, from 62% among those 18-24 to 23% among those 65 and over. A similar pattern is observed for billboards.

Another question on information sources was also asked in a way that emphasized how Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities sought information on the municipal elections. The responses to this question illustrate that television and friends and family are the sources to which members of both groups primarily turn for information on elections (Figure 52).[39]



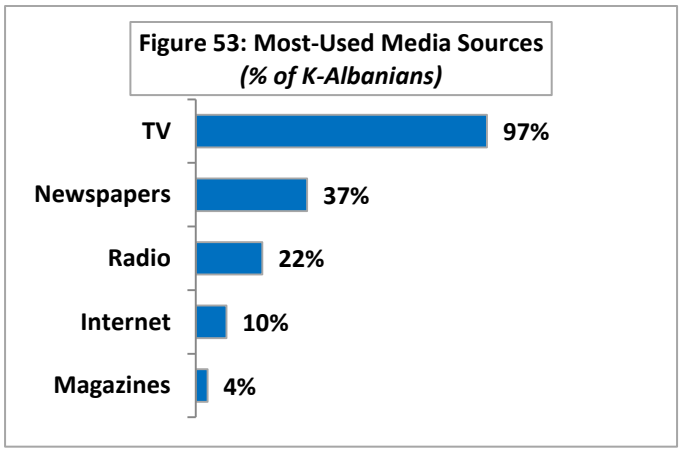
[38] Question text: *"Did you find the information in this material useful or not useful?"*

[39] Question text: *"For each of the following sources of information, please tell me if you used them to learn more about the November 15 elections. Did you consult [Show card; Read each category] to get information about the elections?"*

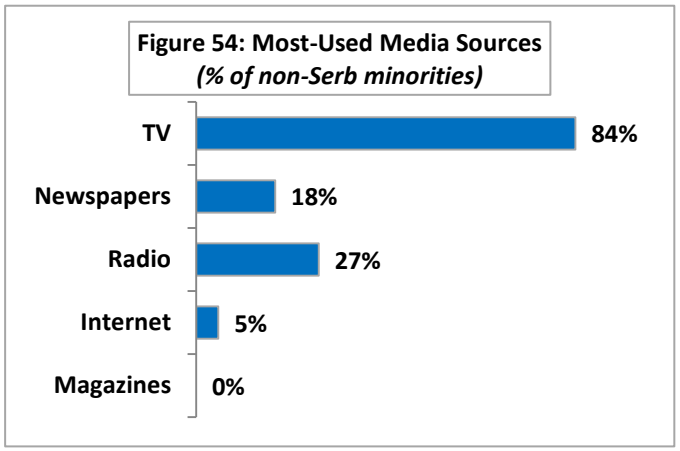
Television was utilized by 98% of Kosovo Albanians and by 68% of non-Serb minorities to obtain information on the municipal elections. Interestingly, non-Serb minorities are more likely to have turned to their family and friends for information (72%) than television. Access to television could be a factor in this usage pattern. Non-Serb minorities are also much less likely to use newspapers than Kosovo Albanians (11% versus 34%). This could be due to lack of access to newspapers in their own language or lower levels of education among some non-Serb minorities. Non-Serb minorities are more likely to turn to their community and religious leaders for information on the elections than Kosovo Albanians. More than two in 10 Kosovo Albanians turned to the CEC to obtain information while the percentage of non-Serb minorities who cite the CEC is lower (10%).

Most-Used Media Sources of Information

Respondents to the survey were also asked whether they utilized several prominent media sources for general news on political and other developments. Television is the most-used information source among all ethnic groups in Kosovo (97% Kosovo Albanians, 84% non-Serb minorities, 87% Kosovo Serbs). Kosovo Serbs are more likely to utilize newspapers and radio (61% and 43%, respectively) than either Kosovo Albanians (37% and 22%) or non-Serb minorities (18% and 27%). Use of the internet is relatively high among Kosovo Serbs (16%) and Kosovo Albanians (10%), but slightly lower among non-Serb minorities (5%) (Figures 53, 54, and 55).

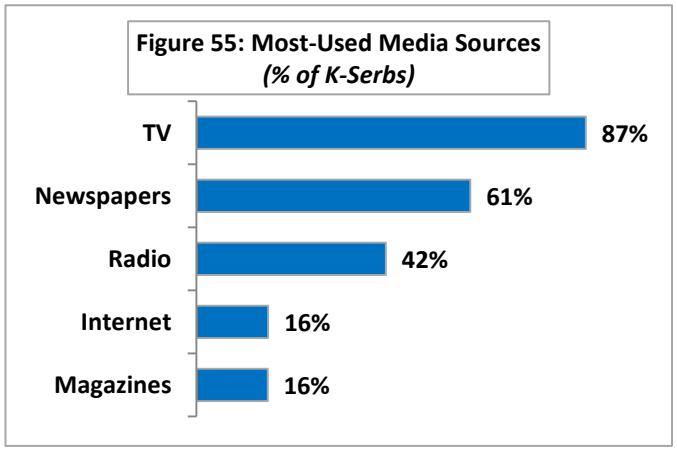


The specific media sources utilized differ by ethnic group. Among Kosovo Albanian television users, 55% use RTK, 29% RTV21, and 12% KTV. Among non-Serb minorities, 44% of television users turn to RTK, 13% RTS, 12% RTV21, and 8% KTV and RTS1 each. Among Kosovo Serbs, 29% use RTS, 25% RTS1, 22% B92, and 17% Pink.



In the case of newspapers, 44% of Kosovo Albanians read *Koha ditore*, 31% *Kosova Sot*, 7% *Bota Sot*, 5% *Zeri*, and 3% *Eppka e re*. Among Kosovo Serbs, 38% read *Blic*, 27% *Vicernje Novosti*, 10% *Politika* and *Novosti* each, 7% *Kurir*, and 5% *Jedinstvo*.

The radio audiences are highly fragmented but several notable exceptions exist. Radio Dukagjini (29%) and Radio Kosova (16%) are used with regularity by Kosovo Albanians. Among non-Serb minorities, 26% use Radio Vitez, 20% Hayat, 11% listen to Radio Gora and 8% listen to Radio Astra. In the case of Kosovo Serbs, Gracanica (37%), Radio Vitez (17%) and Mak Plus (11%) are used frequently.



CONCLUSION

The data collected after Kosovo's first elections since declaring independence offer a unique snapshot of a young country optimistic, yet continuing to struggle with economic issues and divisions between ethnic groups. Two years on from Kosovo's declaration of independence, concerns over the economy continue to prevail and there are growing concerns over corruption in the country across ethnic groups. People are also not entirely convinced of political stability in the country, as less than half of respondent across ethnic groups say they are satisfied with political stability in Kosovo. Regarding democracy, a majority of Kosovo Albanians do view Kosovo as having democratic principles, yet less than half of non-Serb minorities agree. Also notable, the number of Kosovo Albanians who view Kosovo as a democracy has only slightly increased since independence and the percentage of non-Serb minorities labeling Kosovo as a democracy has dropped to below half.

The 2009 municipal and mayoral elections, the first since independence, were widely seen as well organized and voters report proper procedures taking place in polling stations. Kosovo Albanians also viewed the elections as free and fair, but the percentage of those seeing the elections as *completely* free and fair has dropped dramatically from the assessment of the 2007 elections. This drop could partly be indicative of the electorate adjusting to the reality of less international involvement and more national ownership of the election process. The survey findings also show confidence in parts of the electoral process as only marginally positive. Increasing public awareness about certain aspects of the electoral process, specifically counting and tabulation and the electoral complaints and appeals process, could serve to bolster confidence in the election process in Kosovo.

Additionally, many Kosovo Serbs and some non-Serb minorities seem uncertain about several aspects of the November 2009 elections. This highlights a degree of disengagement from the Kosovo elections and efforts should be made to provide as much information as possible to minority ethnic groups in the country. Overwhelmingly across ethnic groups and age groups people turn to television the most for information on political developments. Targeting messages through this medium on most-viewed TV channels would ensure the information dissemination would reach the largest possible number of voters. Informal means of information gathering, such as through family and friends, is also popular amongst Kosovo Albanians and non-Serb minorities. Thus, community outreach activities that lead to information sharing could be an effective tool.

Finally, confidence in the power of the vote, while still fairly high, dropped between the 2007 and 2009 elections. Likewise, more than half of citizens lack confidence in political party leaders. Both of these findings imply future efforts should ensure voters feel certain about the importance and integrity of the electoral process, as well as their ability to hold party leaders accountable for their performance.