



University **AAB**

Political Barometer

01/2008



Long term research of public opinion concerning
the actual political situation in Kosova

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QHO

Research Center for Public Opinion



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Introduction

The Political Barometer is the first research project concerning a political topic initiated by AAB University respectively by the Center for Public Opinion Research –QHO. This first experimental research is financed by AAB University and is realized in cooperation with the University of Ljubljana, the Center for Public Opinion Research and Mass Communication of this University.¹

The canvass was realized in the time from December 4th to December 6th by means of standardized and anonym questionnaires using the “Face-to-Face” method. The questionnaires were distributed throughout Kosovo – in the regions of Pristina, Gjilan, Ferizaj, Prizren, Gjakovo, Peje and Mitrovica including the localities with inhabitants of other nationalities. The way of distributing the questionnaires is based on the number of inhabitants according to the records of the Kosova registration office,² from 880 planned persons 876 (99%) persons with voting right were polled, a result which makes the project representative. The canvass was realized by 30 persons throughout the communes. The time for the completion of one questionnaire varied from 5 to 10 minutes. The data were analyzed by means of the statistical Software SPSS.³

The questionnaire was composed by the Head of the Center Lulzim Pllana MA, in cooperation with Prof. Dr. Niko Tos, Head of the Center for Opinion Research and Mass Communication and Dr. Slavdo Kurdija, professor and collaborator of the Center at the University of Ljubljana in Slovenia.

The questionnaire consists of the fix part containing the same questions throughout all stages of the canvass and the variable part, containing questions concerning the actual situation during the realization of the canvass.

In general, the questionnaire aims the definition and political orientation of the public opinion concerning the current political situation and evaluation of political events especially those in Kosova. Apart from the evaluation of the national institutions such as Government, Prime Minister, Parliament, Police, Political Parties, KLMDNJ, Trade Unions and the Ombudsman the questionnaire offers also the evaluation of the trust in international institutions like those from the United Nations, European Union as well as those from the United States of America.

¹ www.cjm.si

² See registration office of Kosova www.ks-gov.net/esk.

³ Statistical Program for Social Science

Another evaluation point is the trust in media by differentiating between the public and private ones. The most important question of the “Political Barometer” is the so called “Sunday question” or “for which party you would vote”; this can be seen as the essence of the Political Barometer. In order to compare and decide on the developments of the trends concerning the respective parties the subsequent question is “for which party did you vote the last elections”. As a consequence of this an evaluation of the political personalities by means of the open question is also done. This method of evaluation facilitates the evaluation of their political activities for a long period of time. The result of this evaluation can be gained the best by posing the question if there are changes in the field of social life, economy, education, healthcare, etc. in our case since the last elections of November 2007.

The variable part of the Barometer contains the questions which can or cannot be repeated in the questionnaire of the Barometer depending on the present situation. Matters such as the transformation of KPC⁴ into KSF⁵, “points of Ban Ki Moon“, “Plan of Ahtisari“ or “Policy of Barak Obama with regard to Kosova“ are typical questions of the variable part of the Barometer.

The empiric part of the Barometer contains the analysis of the data respectively the results of the research.

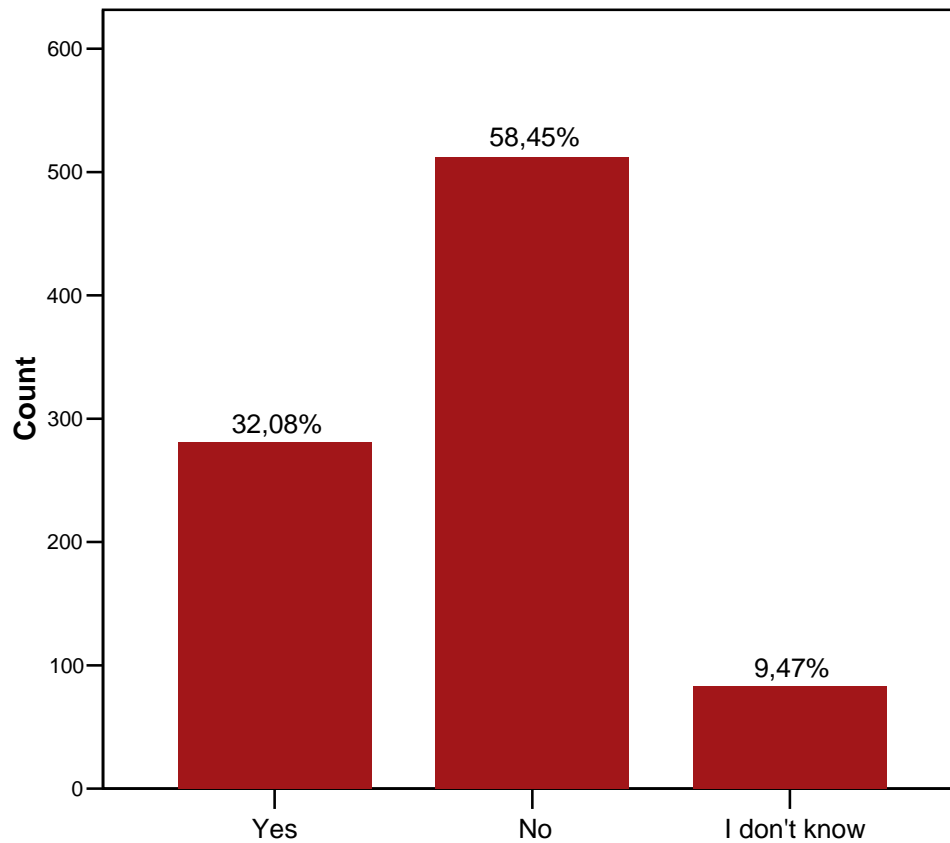
⁴ Kosovo Protection Corps

⁵ Kosovo Security Force

1. Development of the democracy and material situation

One of the questions in the introductory part of the Barometer is the question of the development of democracy in Kosova and material situation. Regarding the question that if you are satisfied with the developments of democracy in Kosova,

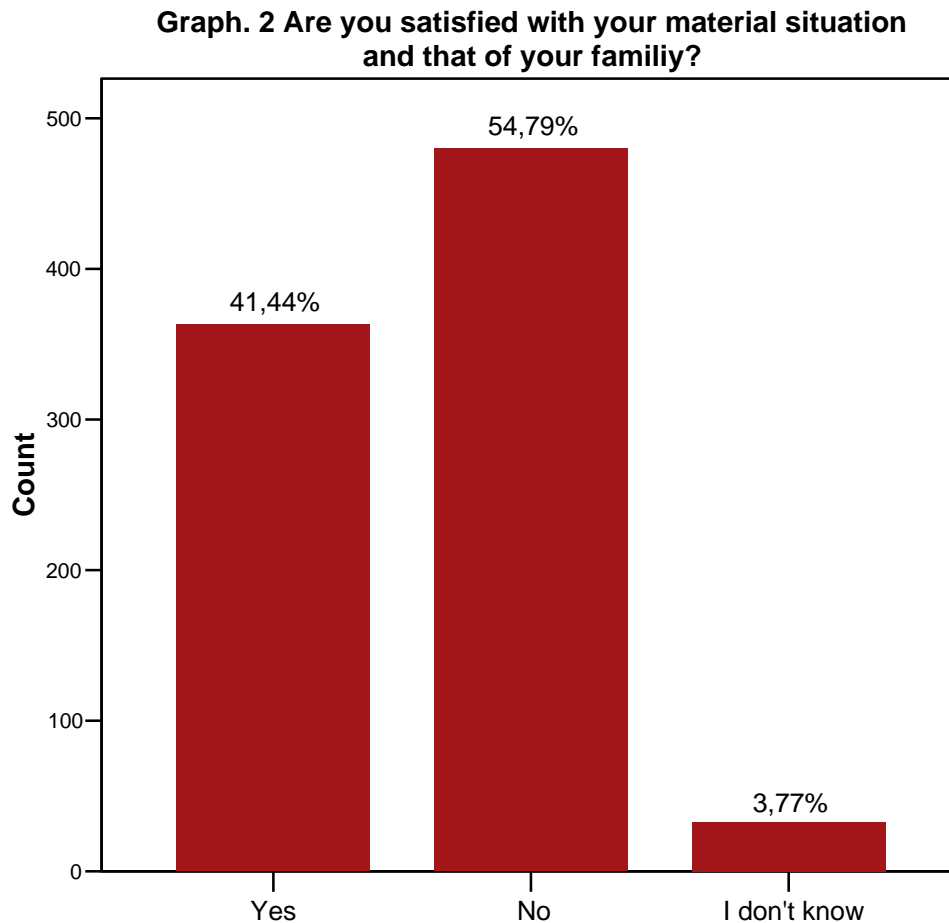
Graph. 1 Are you satisfied with the development of democracy in Kosovo?



Source: QHO N= 876

we see that most of the respondents are not satisfied with the development of democracy, just 32% are satisfied with this situation. And less than 10% have a neutral opinion they do not know if they are satisfied with that situation or not.

With respect to the personal material situation and that of the family we see in graphic No. 2 that half of the respondents (54,8 %) are not satisfied and a considerable part (41,4%) are satisfied with the material situation whereas a small part (3,8%) do not have any answer.



Source: QHO N= 876

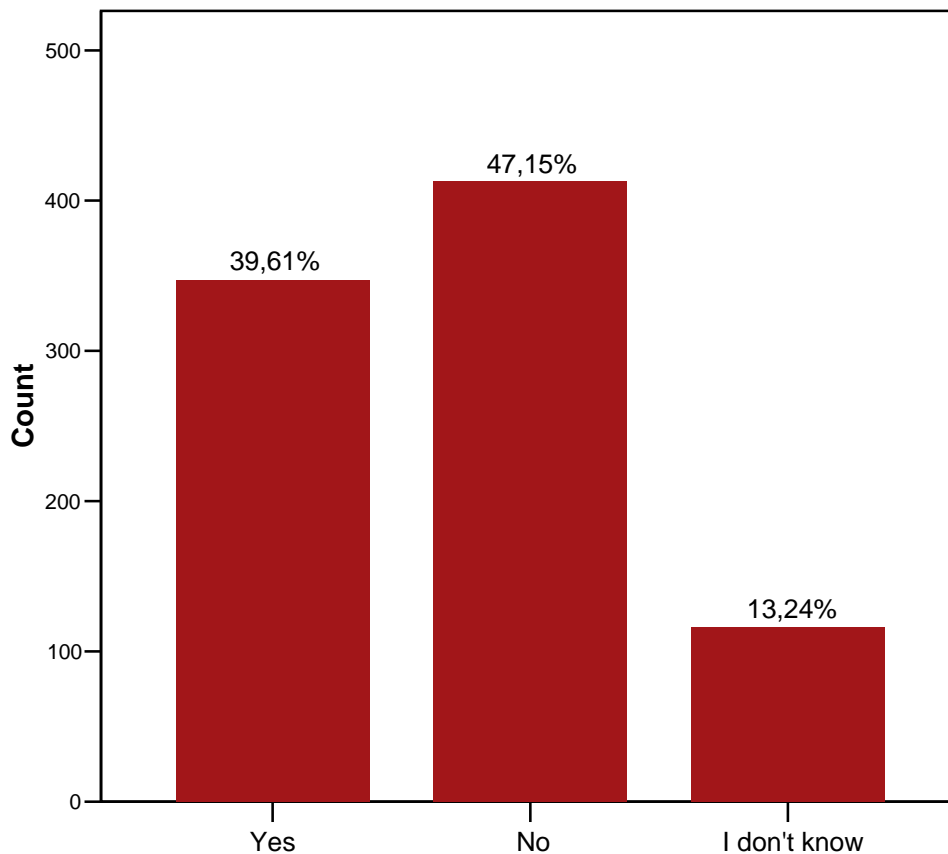
2. Support and trust in the Government

As a general part of the Political Barometer is the support and evaluation of the trust in the national institutions such as the Government as a whole, Prime Minister, Parliament, Political Parties, Police, KLMDNJ, Trade Unions and Ombudsman.

2. 1. Supporting the Government

According to the results of the research we see that there is a decrease in the support when regarding the answers of the respondents 47,15% do not support it and 39,61% support the present government. Only 13,24% of them do not know whether they support it or not.

Graph. 3 Do you support the present government?



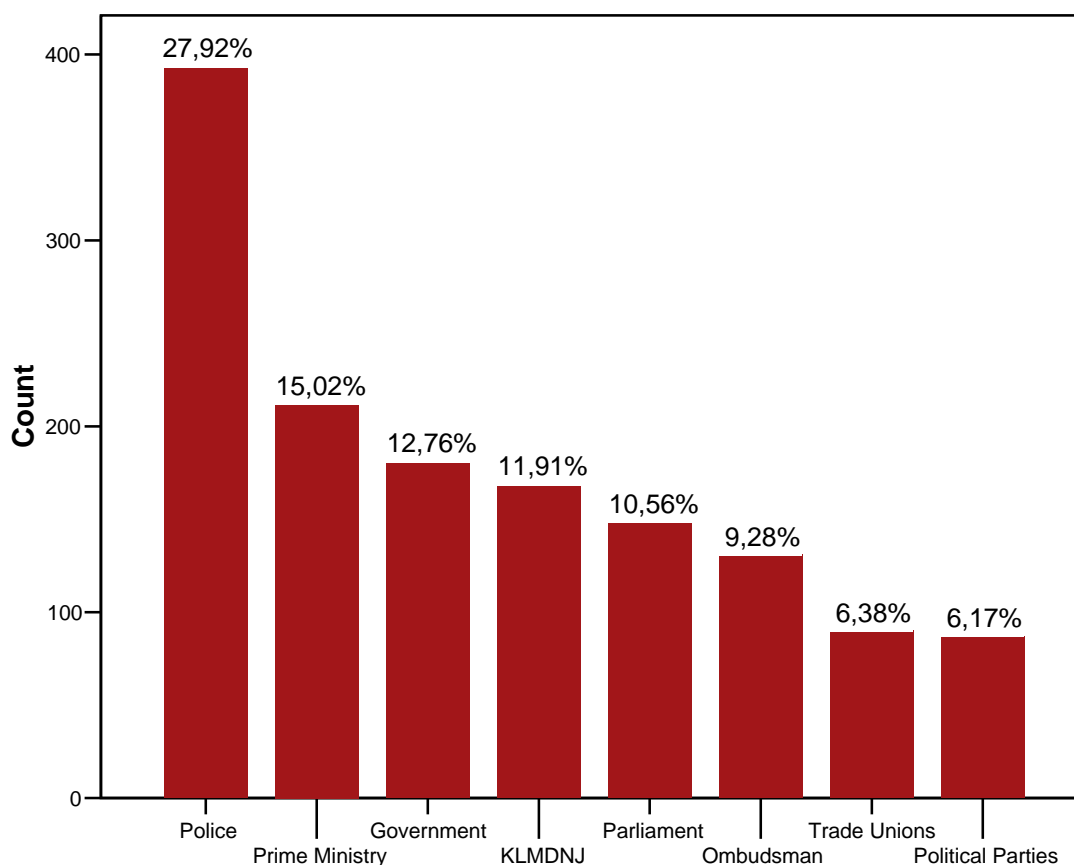
Source: QHO N= 876

2. 2. Trust in national institutions

In the following graphic we see the evaluations of the respondents concerning the trust in national institutions based just on the positive answers.

It is clearly stated that in this case the Police got the most positive result with 27, 92% of the total percentage concerning this question followed by the Prime Minister with 15, 02%, Government, KLMDNJ, Parliament, Ombudsman, Trade Unions and finally the Political Parties.

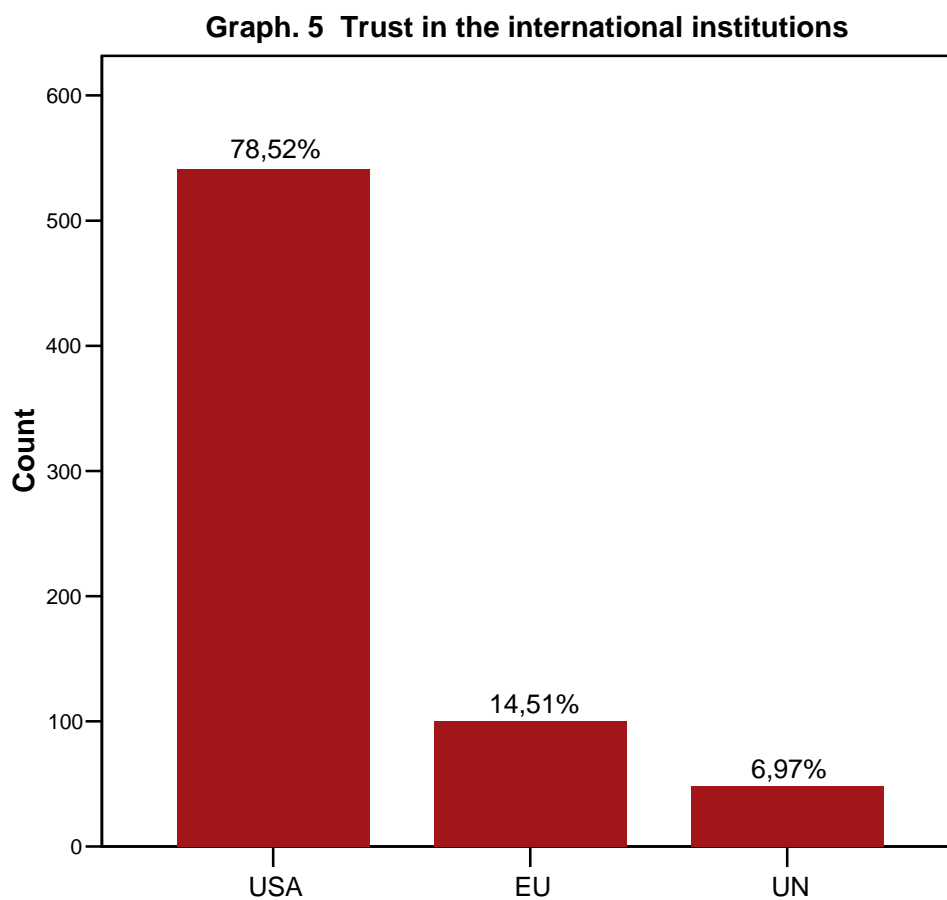
Graph. 4 Trust in the institutions of Kosova



Source: QHO N= 87

2. 3. Trust in international institutions

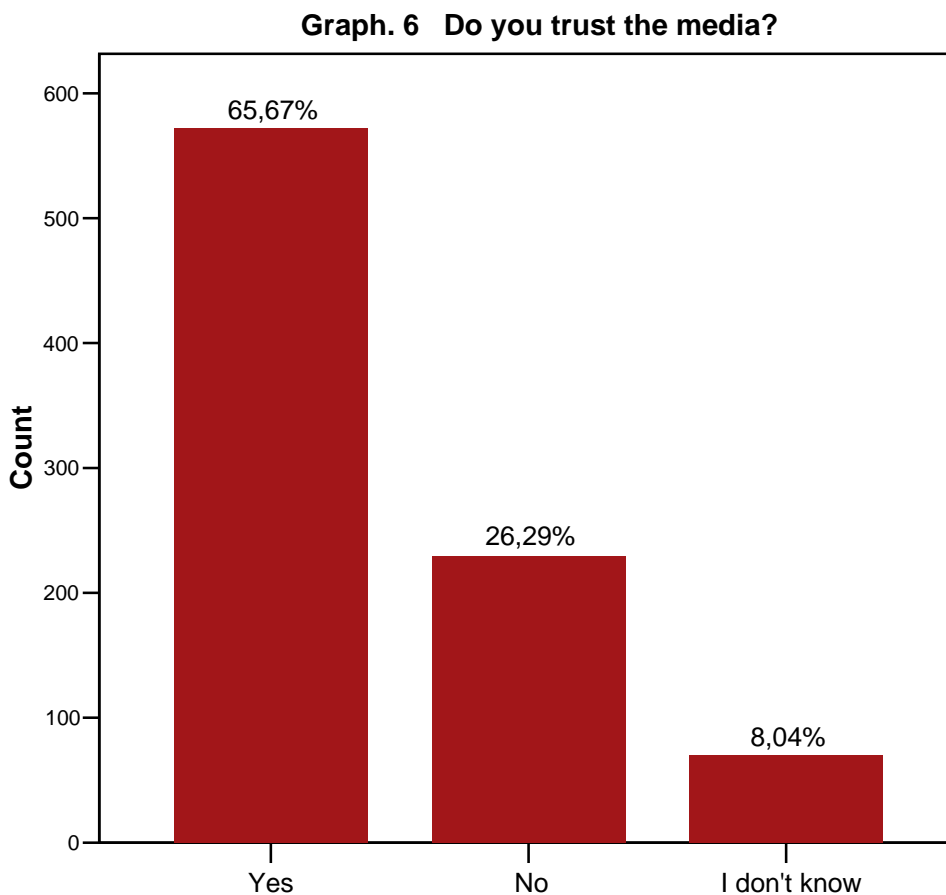
The international institutions dealing with Kosova were also included in the question of trust. The results in (Graph. 5) show that the United States of America is in the first place the respondents have trust in. Second is the European Union but visible less than the USA followed by United Nations with the lowest percentage. This is because of the current political situation and other social matters of concern in Kosova.



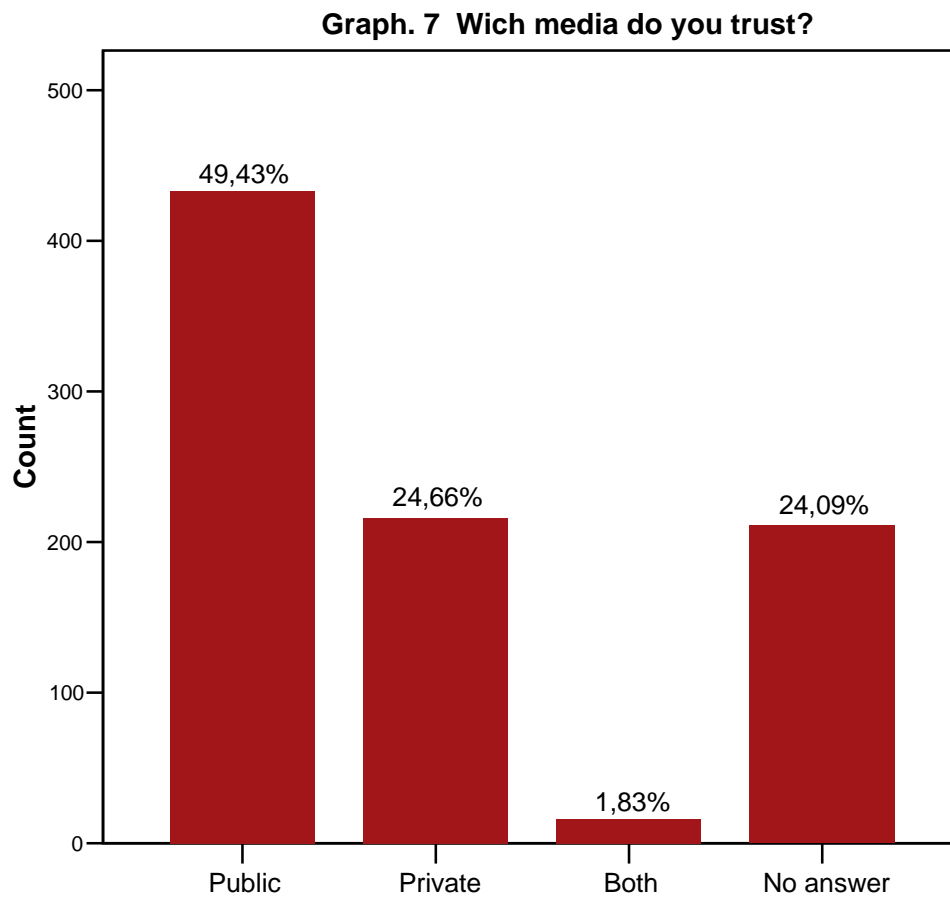
Source: QHO N= 8

3. Trust in media

Media seems to be the main tool of communication in Kosova, an important channel of transmitting the message of the population of the Republic of Kosova. Their credibility seems to be quite high as we see in the results below; according to the results we can say that the media have a great impact on the Kosova society. The graphic shows that the majority of the respondents more than 65% have trust in media, 29% of them do not trust them and only 8% did not answer this question. Regarding the question of which media they trust in, we see in (Graph. 7) that about half of the respondents (49, 43%) trust the public media and only 24, 66% trust the private ones. Trust in both have just 1, 83% of the respondents whereas 24% of them did not answer this question.



Source: QHO N= 876

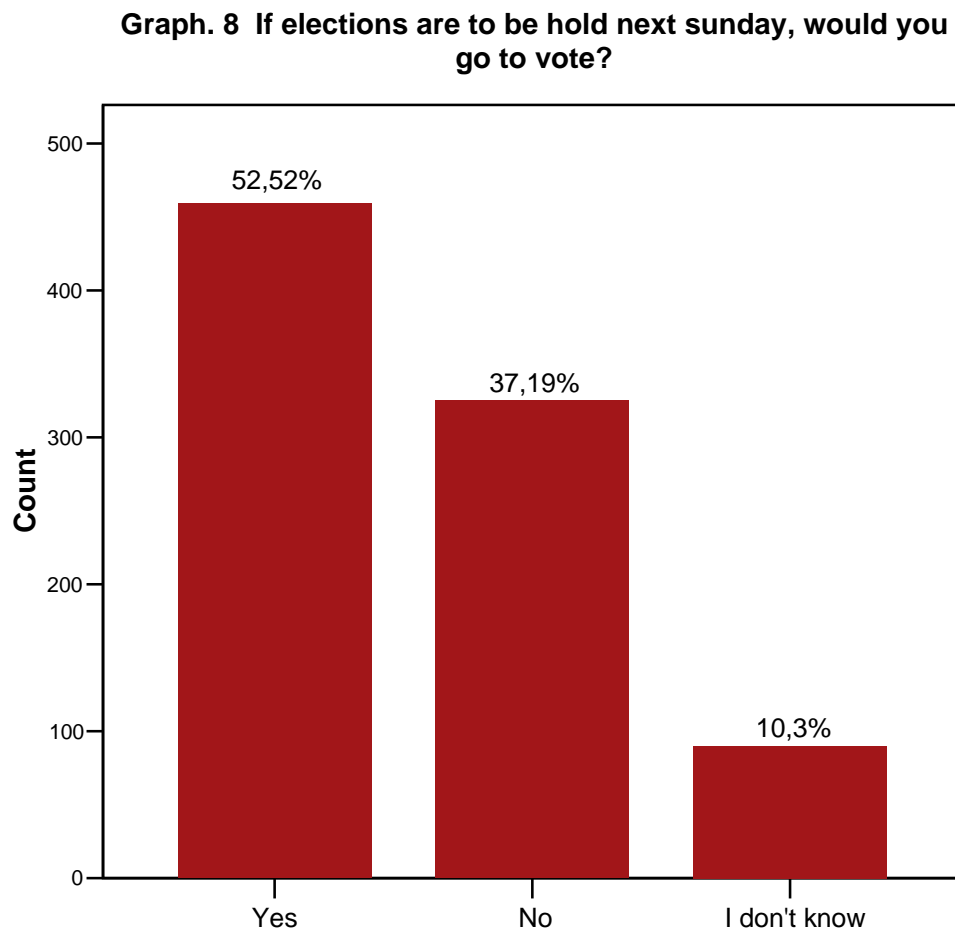


Source: QHO N= 876

Sunday Question

The key factor of the evaluation of the Political Barometer is the “Sunday Question”. The aim of this question is to evaluate the readiness of the population to go to vote if elections are to be held the coming Sunday.

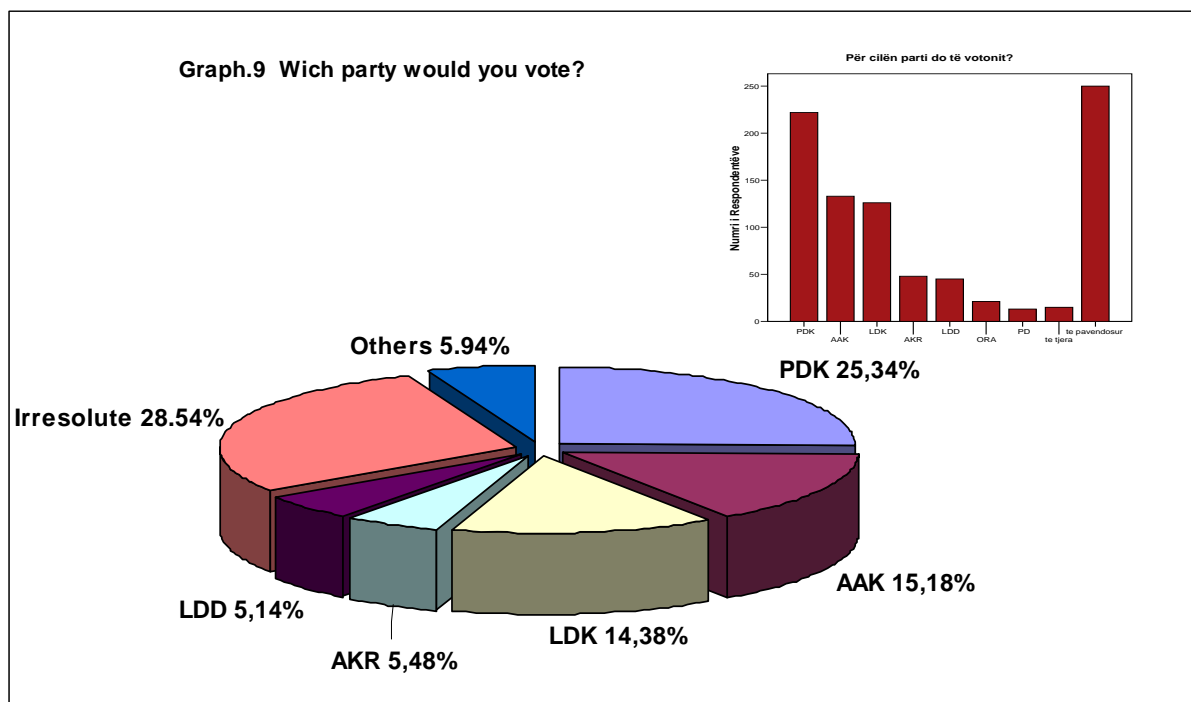
We see in (graph. 8) that more than 50% of the respondents would vote, and 37% of them would not vote. Another part of 10% still does not know whether or not to vote.



Source: QHO N= 876

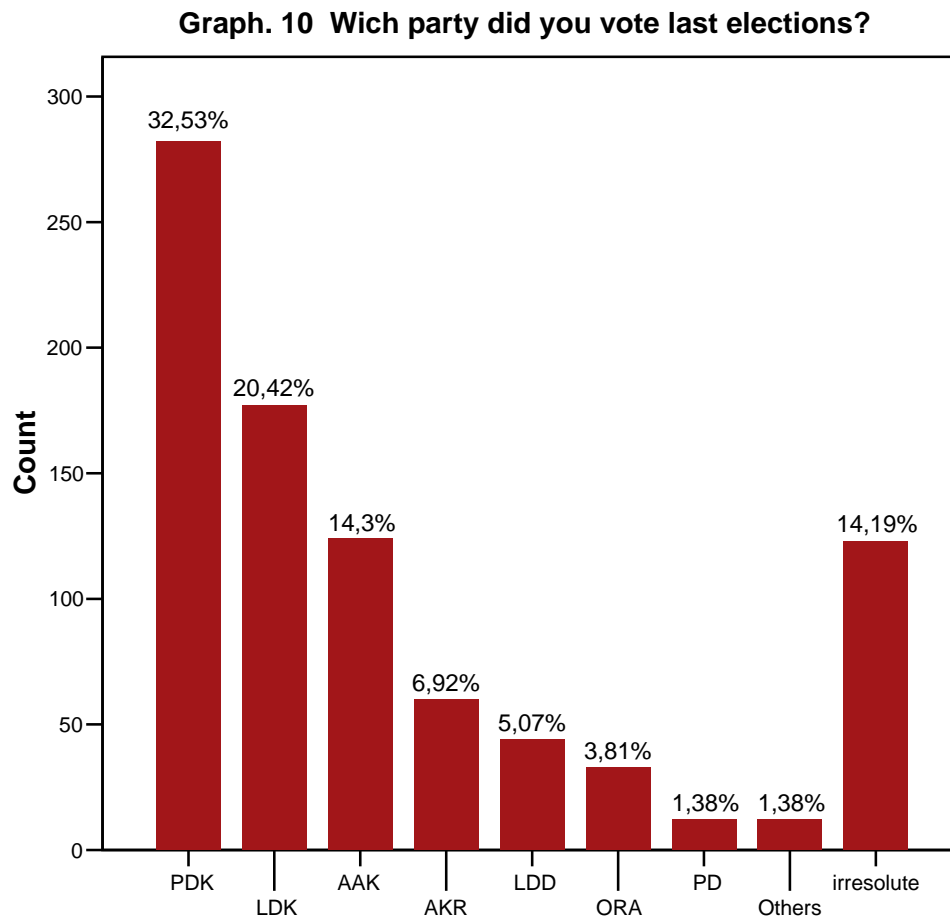


In the next question concerning the party they would vote we see in (Graph. 9) that a large number (28%) of the respondents are still irresolute, an opinion which can change until the next real elections. PDK is here the outrider with the highest percentage of 25% followed by AAK with 15%, LDK with 14%, AKR 5,5%, LDD 5,15%, ORA 2,41% and PD with 1,49%.



Source: QHO N= 876

When considering the question of which party they voted during the last elections which aim also the comparison of the development of the political trends we see in (Graph. 10) that there is an overall decrease excluding the party AAK which shows a slight increase. PDK is again the outrider a visible decrease, however, is recorded by LDK from 20, 42% to 14, 3%, which reclassifies AAK at the second position. Only 14, 19% did not answer this question.

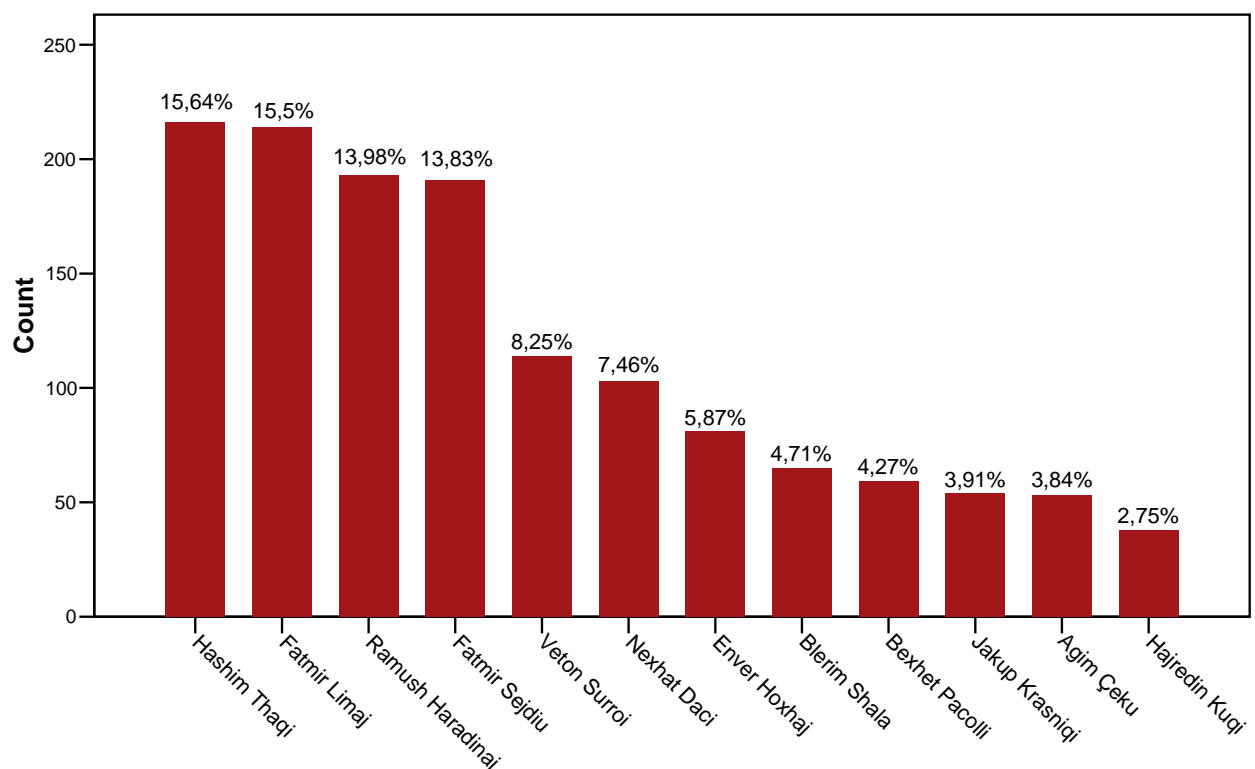


Source: QHO N= 876

4. Political personalities

In the following question considering the evaluation of the political personalities, about 120 personalities are mentioned by the respondents. Only the persons with at least 2,5% are mentioned in the Barometer meaning 12 personalities of the Kosova politicians. Prime Minister, Hashim Thaqi, is the outrider on the list of the most successful politicians with 15,64%, followed by Fatmir Limaj, Minister of Transport and Post-Telecommunication with 15,5%, Ramush Haradinaj, Chairman of AAK with 13,98%, Fatmir Sejdiu, President of the Republic of Kosova with 13,83%, Veton Surroi with 8,25%, Nexhat Daci, Chairman of LDD with 7,46%, Enver Hoxhaj, Minister of Education, Science and Technology with 5,87%, Blerim Shala, Vice-Chairman of AAK with 4,71%, Bexhet Pacolli, Chairman of AKR with 4,27%, Jakup Krasniqi, President of the Parliament with 3,91%, Agim Çeku, Chairman of PSD with 3,84% and Hajredin Kuçi, Vice Prime of the Republic with 2,75%.

Graph. 11 List of the most successful mentioned politicians



Source: QHO N= 876

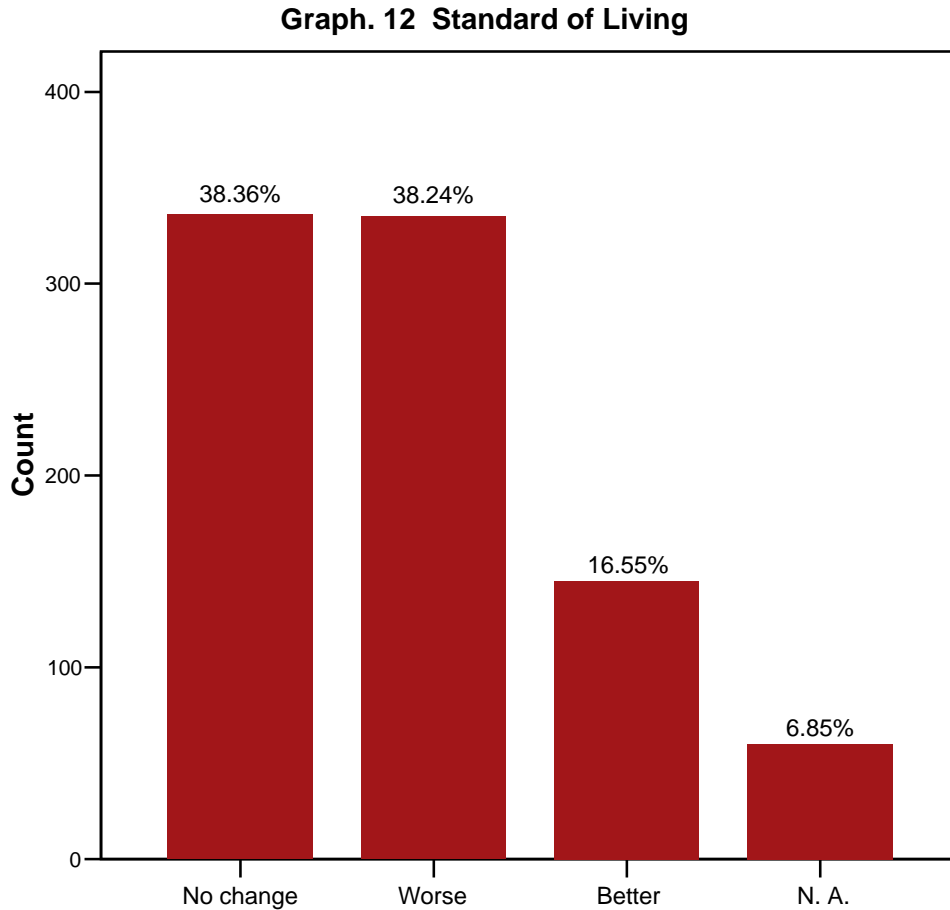
5. The situation after the elections of 2007

The respondents were also asked about the current situation in different fields and topics considering the society after the elections of 2007 as for example: social status of the employed people, political interference in economy, corruption, education, employment, situation in health care, standard of living, electricity supply etc.

Considering the question “after the elections of 2007, do you think that there is a better situation, worse one or there is no change at all?” with regard to the above mentioned topics, the respondents answered in different kinds. In most cases the respondent said that there are no big changes with exception to some in the field of education. Sometimes there are opinions showing that there are no real changes since the previous legislative period.

Standard of living

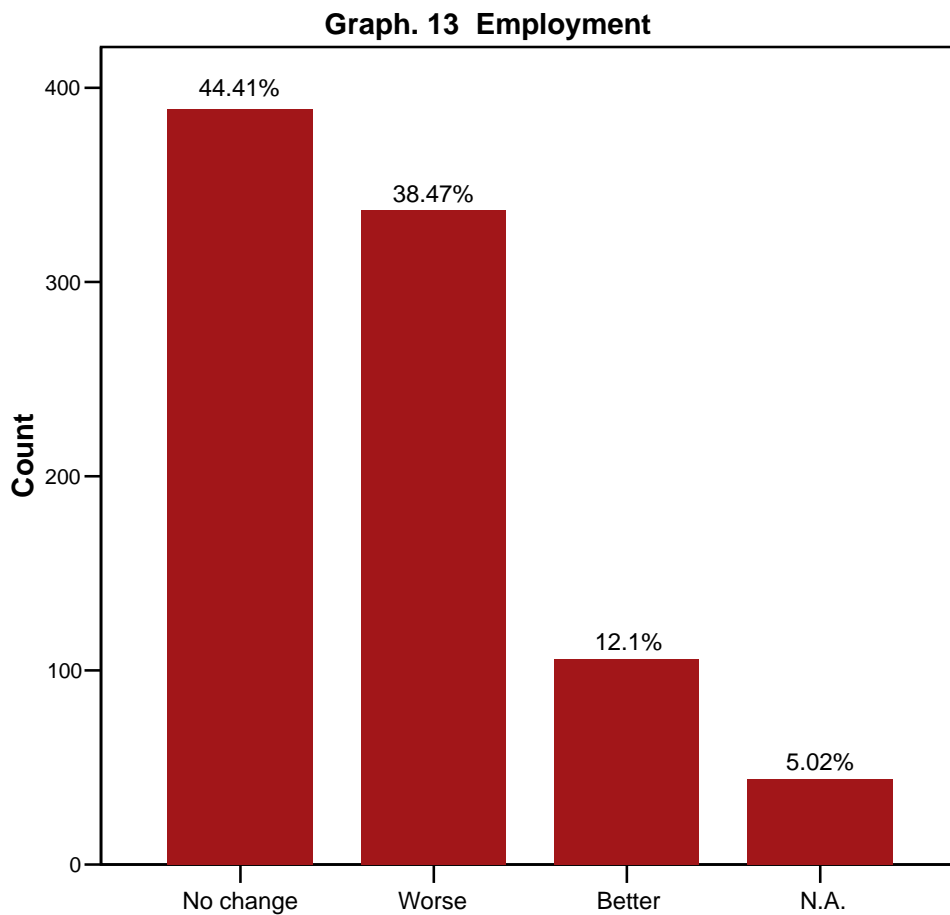
The standard of living (Graph. 12) is considered to be changeless and even lower since the previous elections by the majority of respondents. About 38% have the same opinion whereas only 16, 55% think that there is a better standard of living. About 7% do not have any opinion concerning their standard of living.



Source: QHO N=876

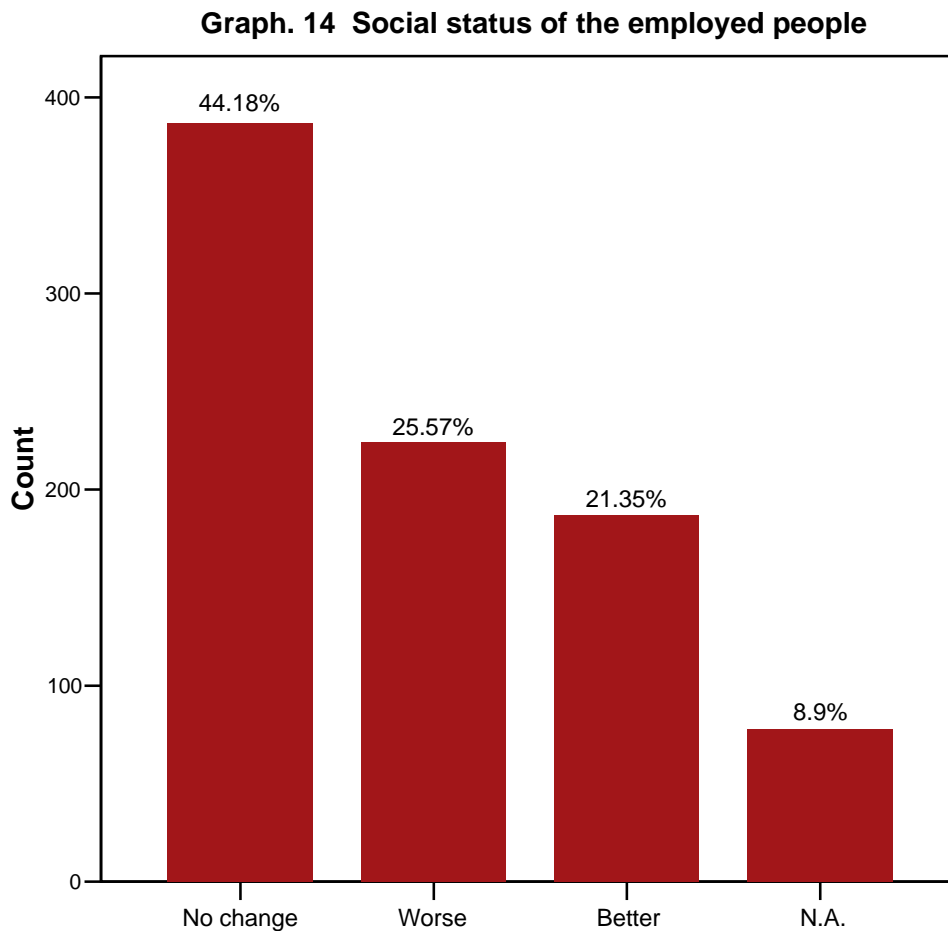
Employment

The employment situation is considered by 44, 41% to be changeless, whereas 38, 47% consider it to be worse. Between the options “better” and “worse” we see a big difference showing, thus, an increase in the “worse” section and urgent need to change the policies of the current politicians.



Source: QHO N=876

Social status of the employed people

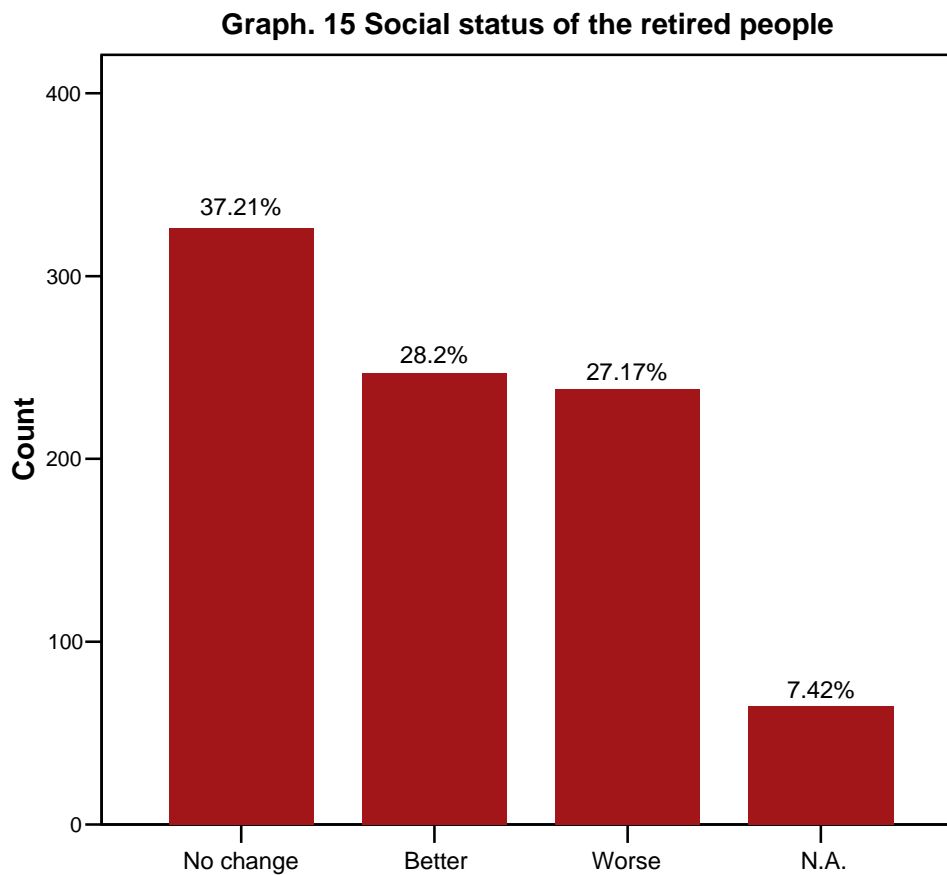


Source: QHO N= 876

In graphic 14 we see that 44% of the respondents consider the social status of the employed persons to be changeless and a quarter of them think that it is worse since the last elections. Only 21, 35% say that there is a good development and about 9% do not have any opinion.

Social status of the retired people

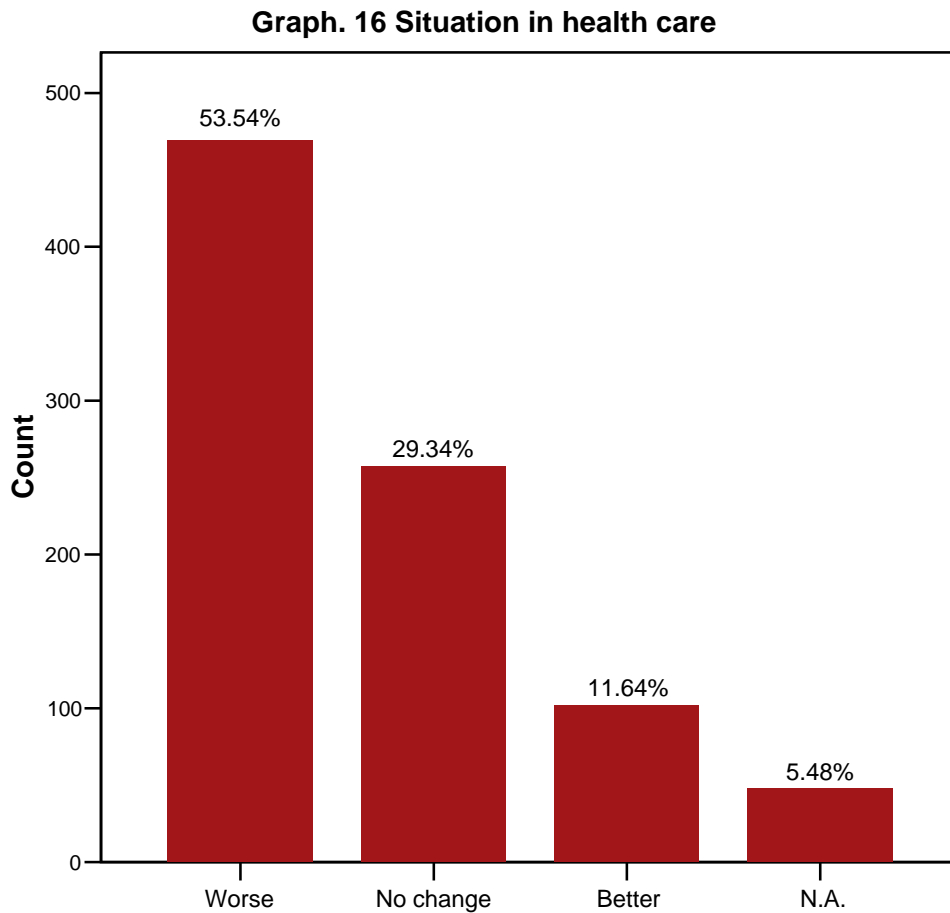
Even if we see that most of the respondents say that there is no change in that field (37, 21%), the results prove that there is a slight positive development (28, 2%). A smaller percentage we see in the “worse” section (27, 17%). About 7, 42% of them do not have any opinion considering that question.



Source: QHO N=876

Situation in health care

In comparison to other matters of concern, the situation in health care seems to have changed negatively according to the Kosovar public (see Graph. 16). About 53, 54% of the respondents consider it to be worse, whereas 29, 34% consider it to be changeless. Only 11, 64% say that it is better and 5, 48% have no opinion.

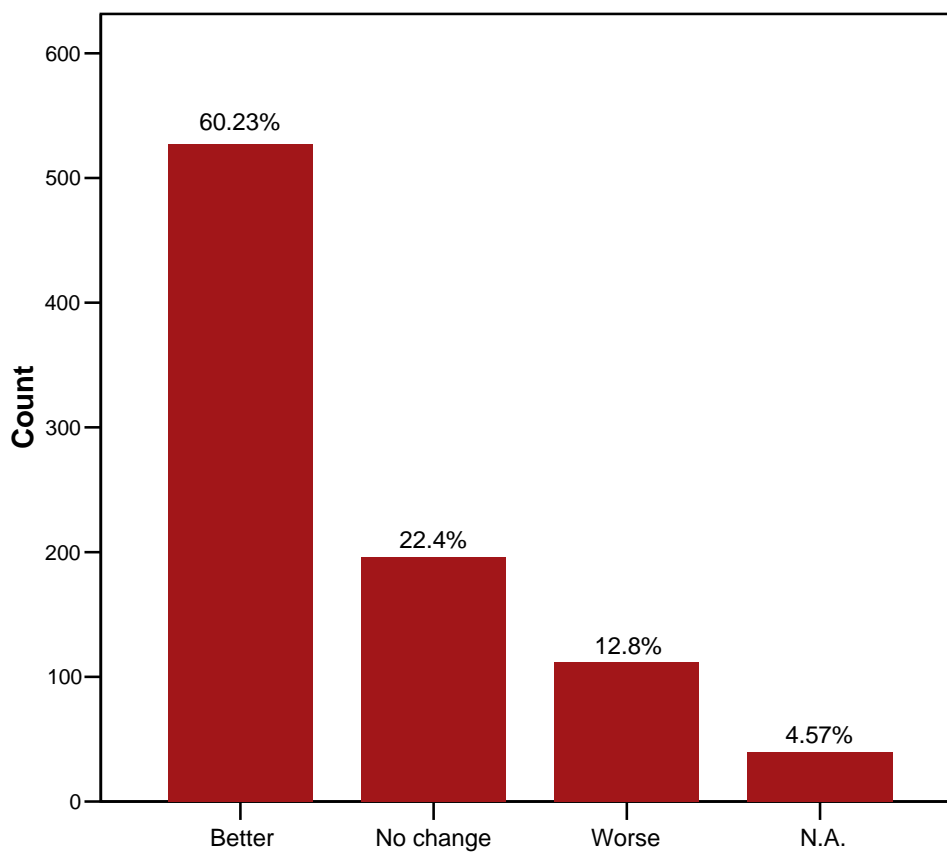


Source: QHO N=876

Education

The situation in the educational system (see Graph. 17) is considered by the respondents to be very successful by showing a positive development. An absolute majority of 60% say that there is a positive development since the last elections. Only 22, 4% have not seen any change and 12, 8% of them say that it is worse. 4, 57% of the respondents do not know whether there is a change or not.

Graph. 17 Education

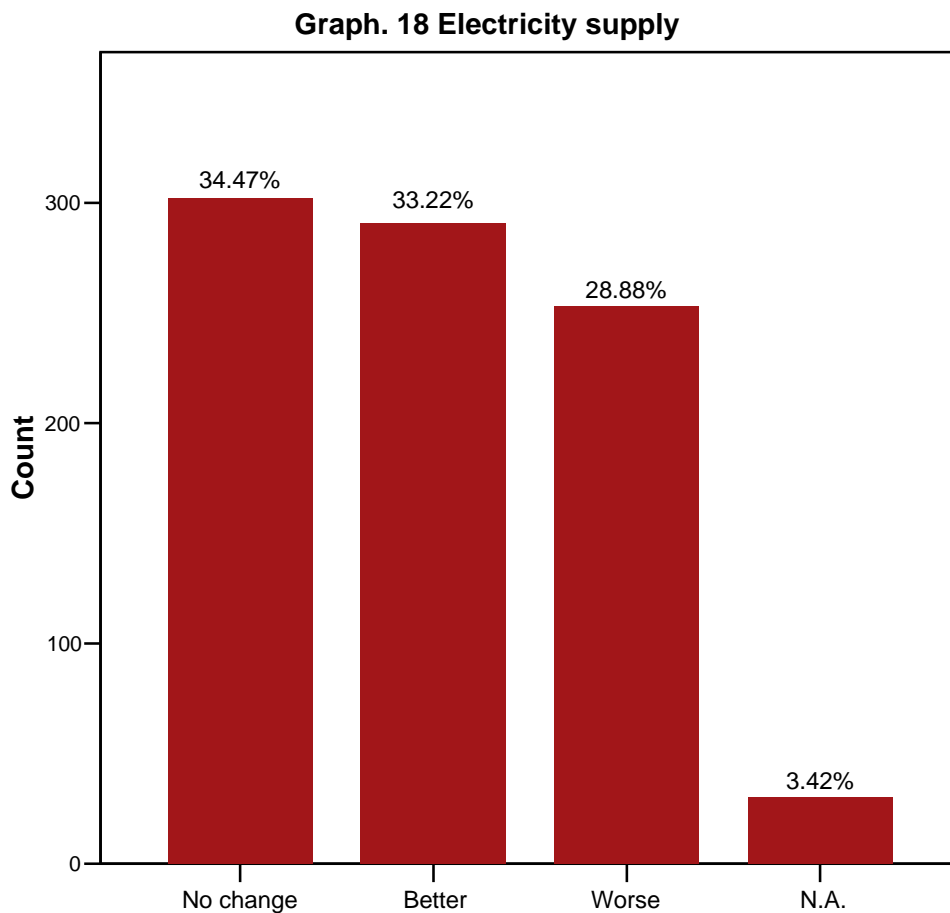


Source: QHO N=876

Electricity supply

The respondents, 34, 47%, say that there is no change in the electricity supply but there is a slight positive development according 33, 22% of the respondents (see graph.18).

Whereas 28, 88% of them think that there is a worse situation.

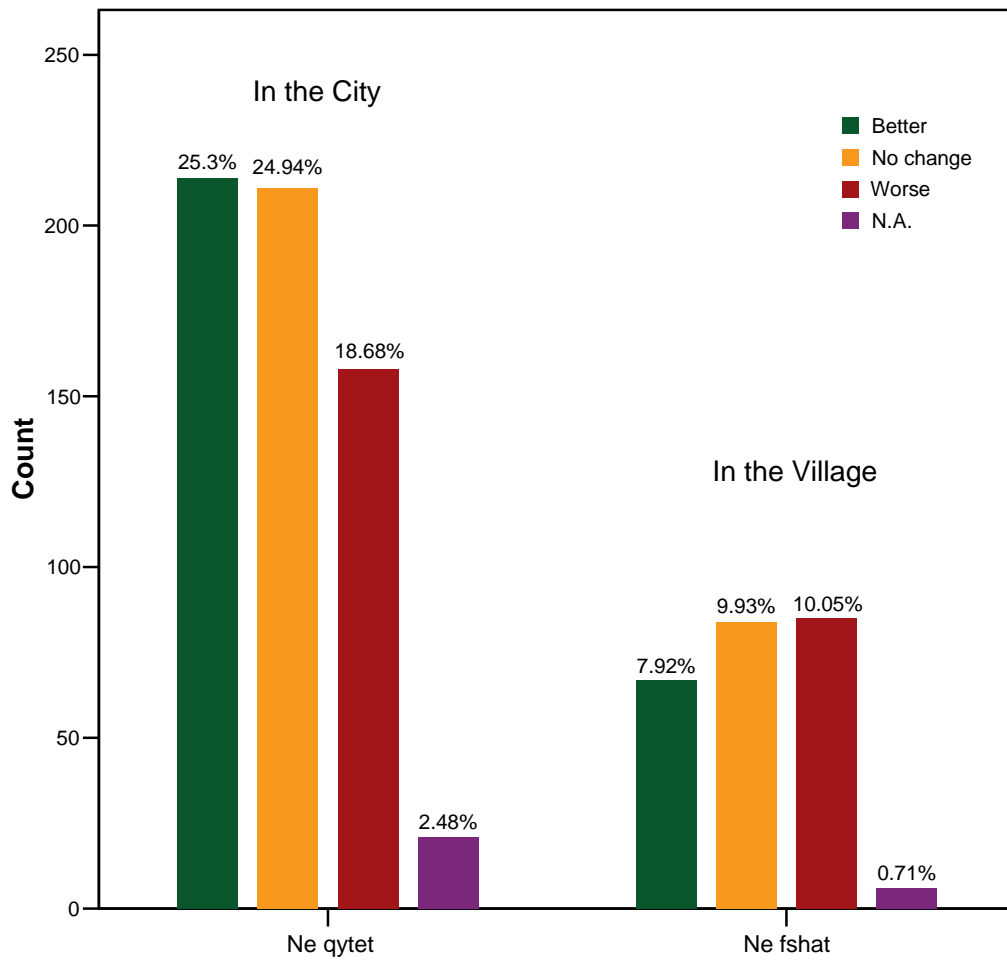


Source: QHO N=876

When comparing the domiciles of the respondents we see that in the villages there is a very little improvement in this direction. In villages there is even a worse electricity supply. All in all we see that there is still a changeless situation.



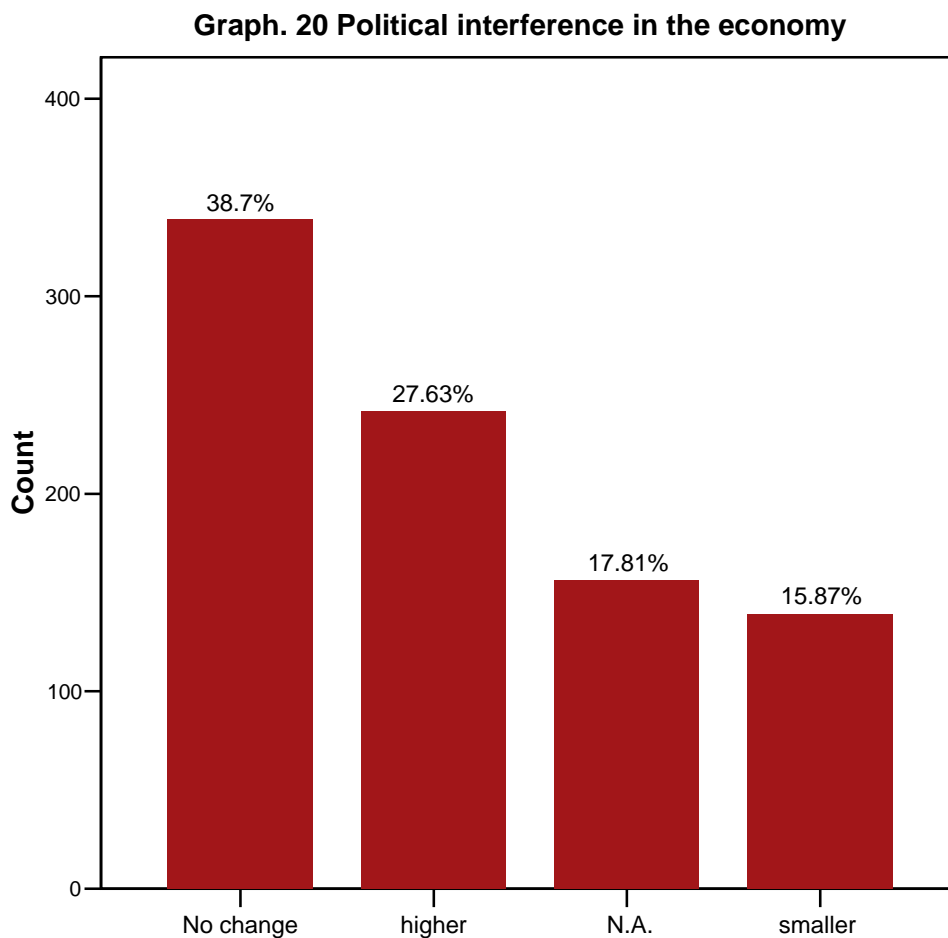
Graph. 19 Electricity supply in the city and village



Source: QHO N=876

Political interference in the economy

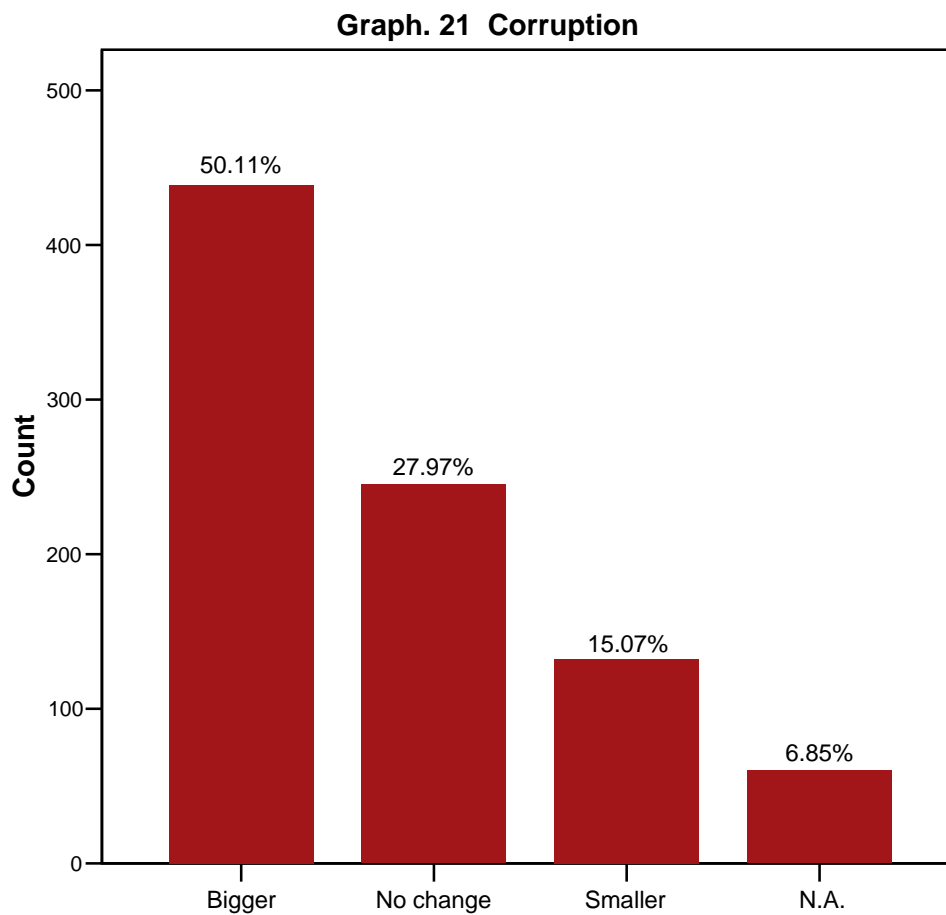
The political interference in the economy (see Graph. 13) is considered by the majority of respondents 38, 7%, to be changeless, 27, 63% of them think that it is higher and 15, 87% estimate it to be smaller. This result shows a slight increase of the political interference in the economy. About 17, 81% of the respondents do not have any opinion.



Source: QHO N=876

Corruption after the elections

According to the respondents (see graph.21) there is a high level of corruption with an increasing tendency. 27, 97% of them think that there is a changeless situation and 15, 07% say that there is a decreasing tendency. About 7% do not have any opinion concerning that topic.

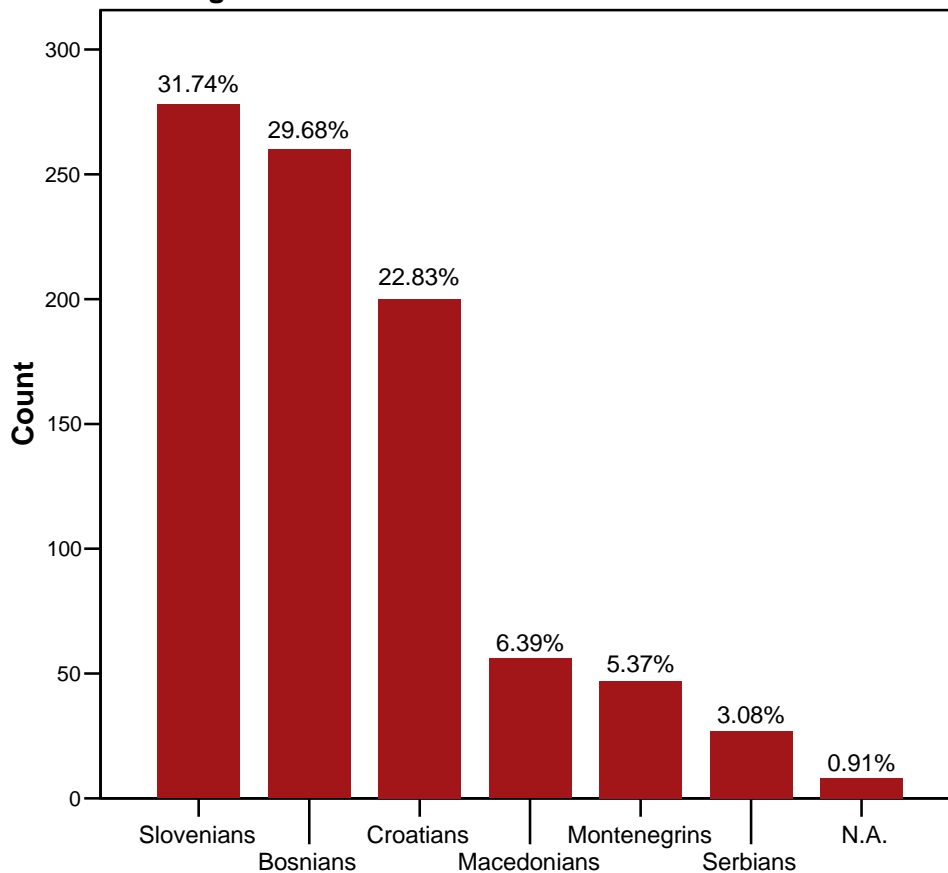


Source: QHO N=876

Relations with the states of Former Yugoslavia

The respondents were also asked about the relations between Kosova and the neighboring states of Former Yugoslavia. As an alternative answer the different communities were asked in alphabetic order: Bosnians, Croatians, Montenegrins, Macedonians, Serbians and Slovenians.

Graph. 22 What do you think, wich nationality of former Yugoslavia have the best relations with Kosova?



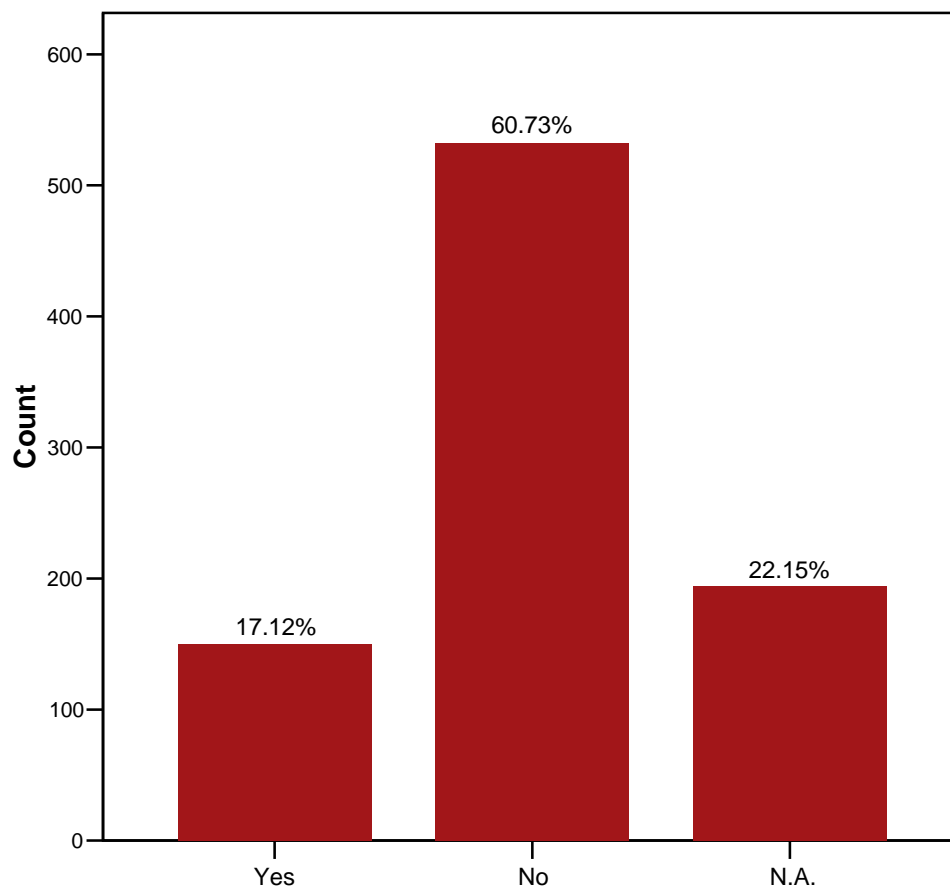
Source: QHO N=876

According to the respondents Kosova has the best relations with the Slovenians at first place with 31,74%, followed by the Bosnians 29,68%, the Croatians with 22,83%, the Macedonians 6,39%, Montenegrins 5,37% and last but not least the Serbians with 3,08%.

Normalization of the relations to Serbia

Next interesting question is that concerning the normalization of the relations between Kosova and Serbia. The majority of the respondents about 60, 73% gives a negative answer meaning they don't believe in a normalization of the relations between both neighboring countries. Only 17, 12% think that they will be normalization and about 22% of the respondents still do not know that.

Graph. 23 Do you think that the relation between Kosova and Serbia will be normalized?

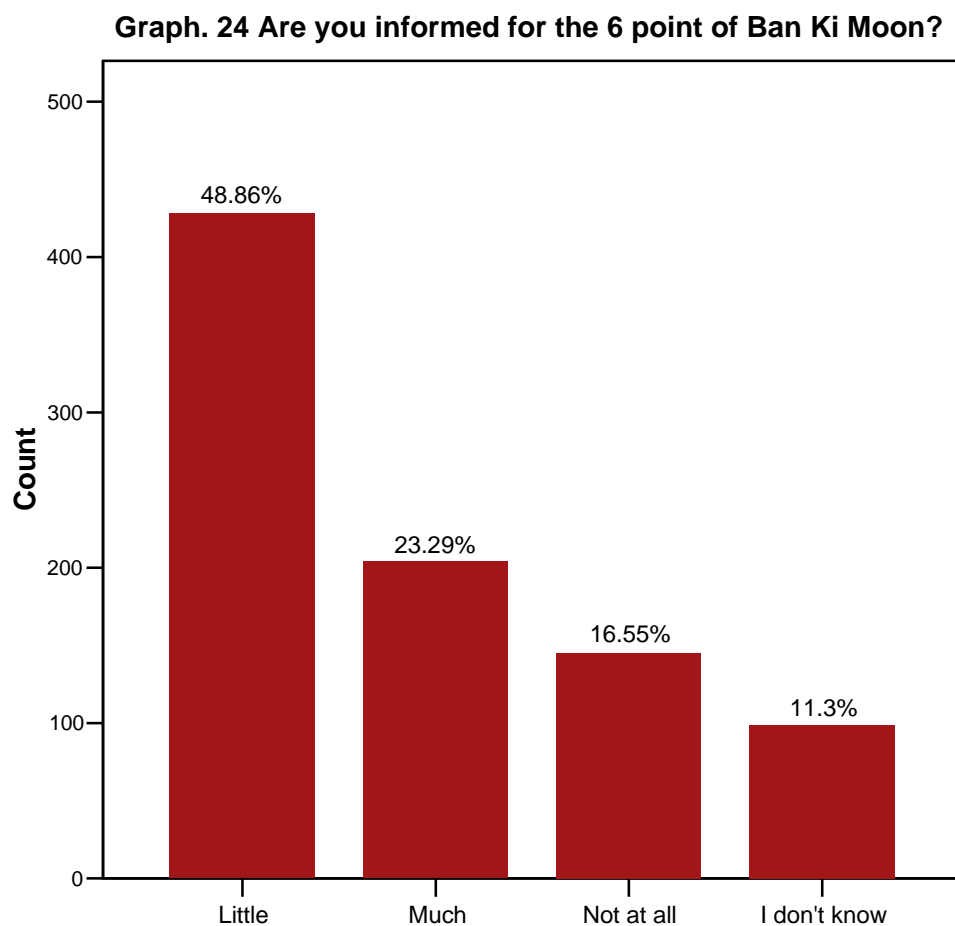


Source: QHO N=876

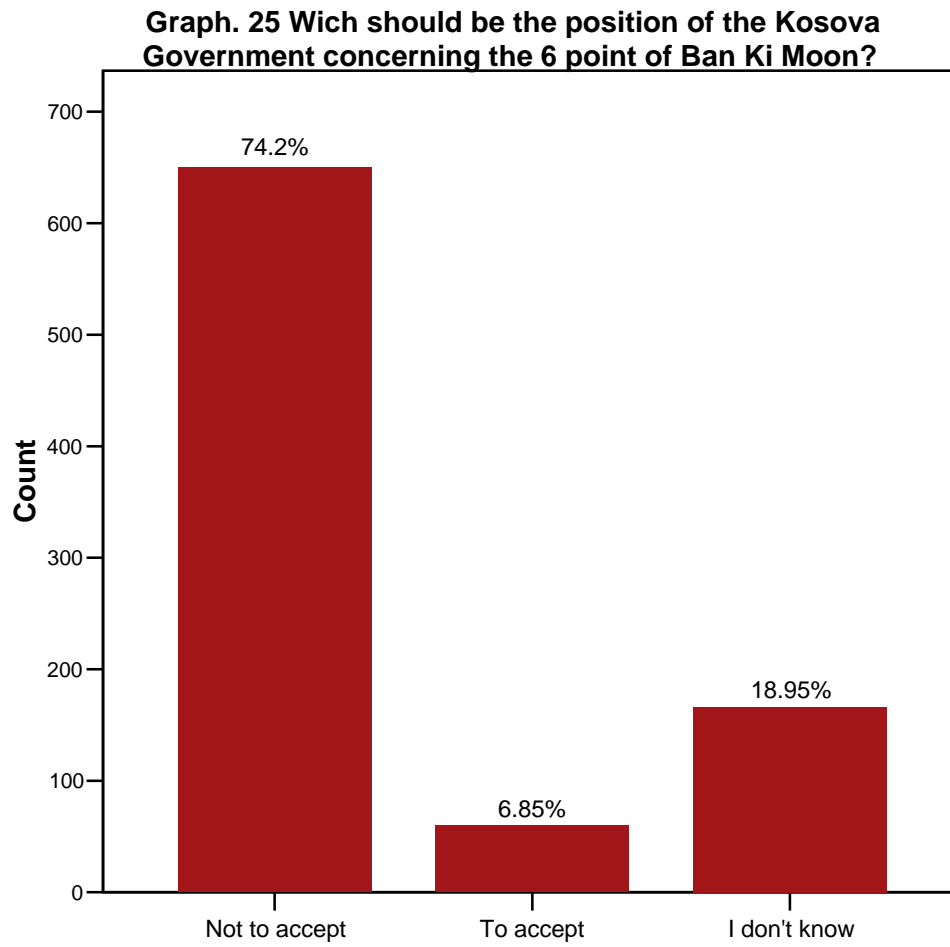
6. Political Topicalities

In the variable part of the questionnaire we see questions of the topicalities such as “points of Ban Ki Moon“, “the Policy of Barak Obama “ with regard to Kosova, “Transformation of KPC into KSF, eventual Unification of Kosova and Albania, etc.

Concerning the question of the 6 points of Ban Ki Moon almost the half of the respondents say that they are little informed about it and 23% are much informed. When comparing these results we see that the majority of the respondents 47, 86% are quite little informed about the points of Ban Ki Moon. The graphic No.24 shows clearly the public opinion that the 6 points of Ban Ki Moon should not be adopted by the Government and only 6.85% of them say that the Government should adopt them.



Source: QHO N= 876

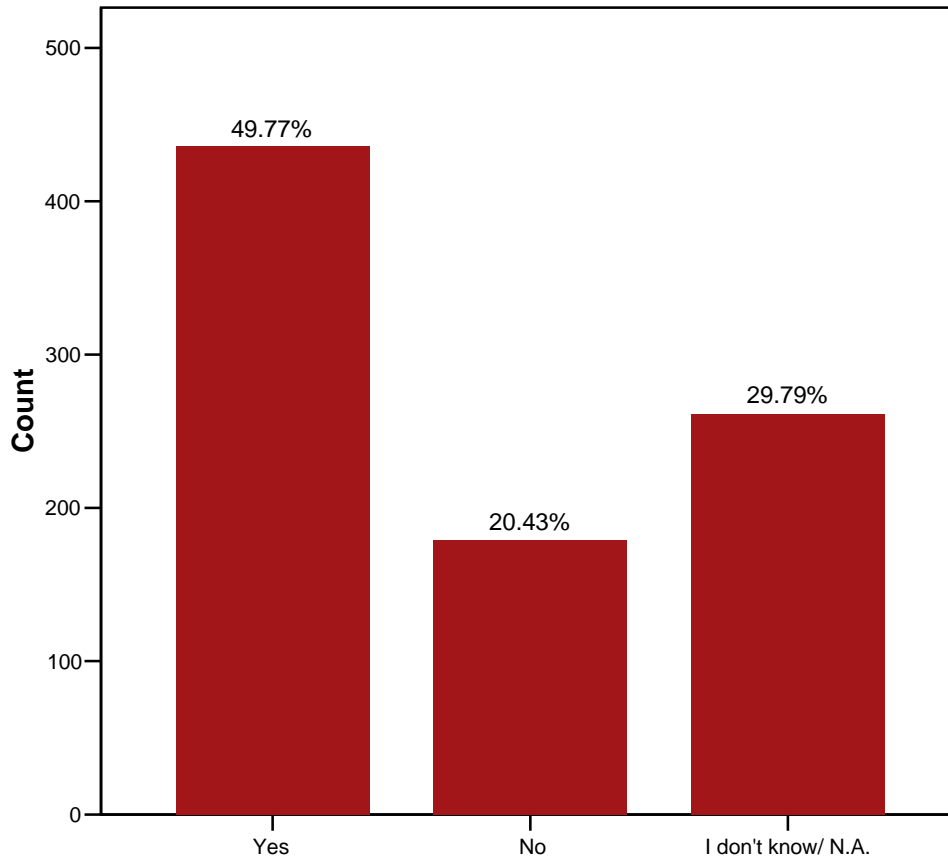


Source: QHO N=876

The Ahtisaari Plan

The respondents (see graph. 26) have different opinions concerning the Ahtisaari Plan. About 50% of them think that this plan can be adopted; about 20% say that it cannot be adopted and 30% of the respondents do not know whether or not it should be adopted.

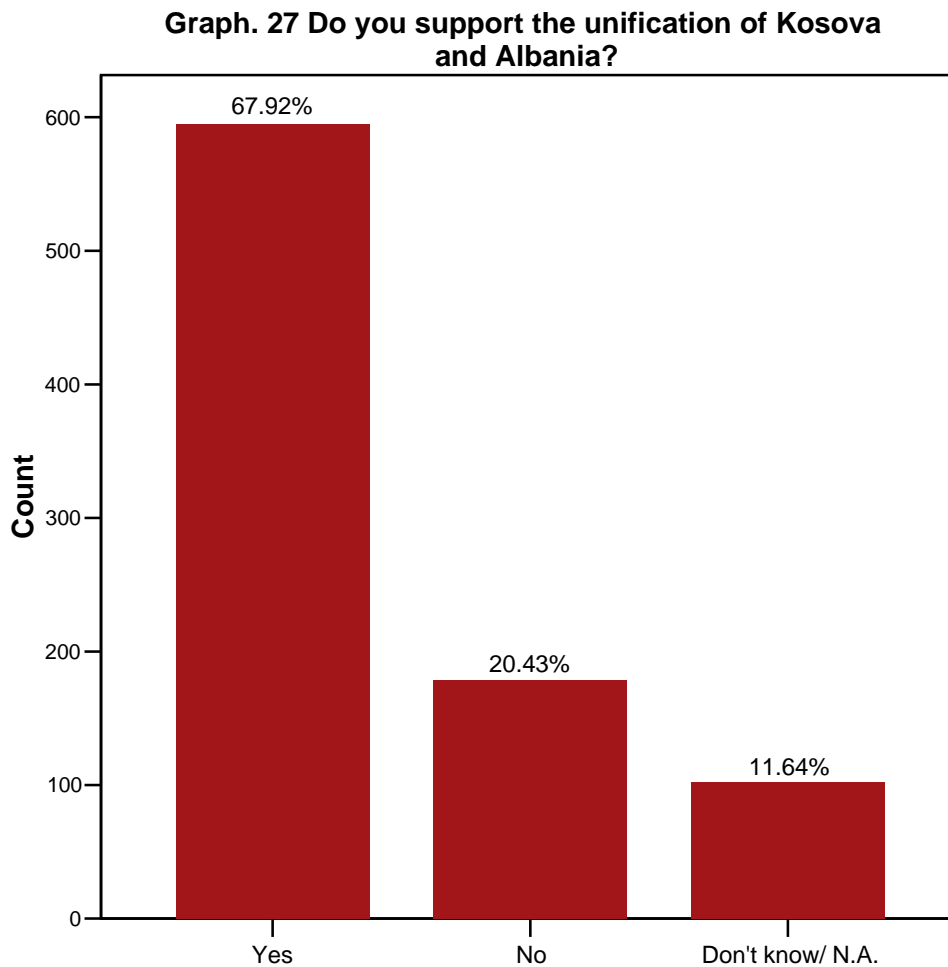
Graph. 26 What do you think, can Ahtisaris plan be adopted?



Source: QHO N= 876

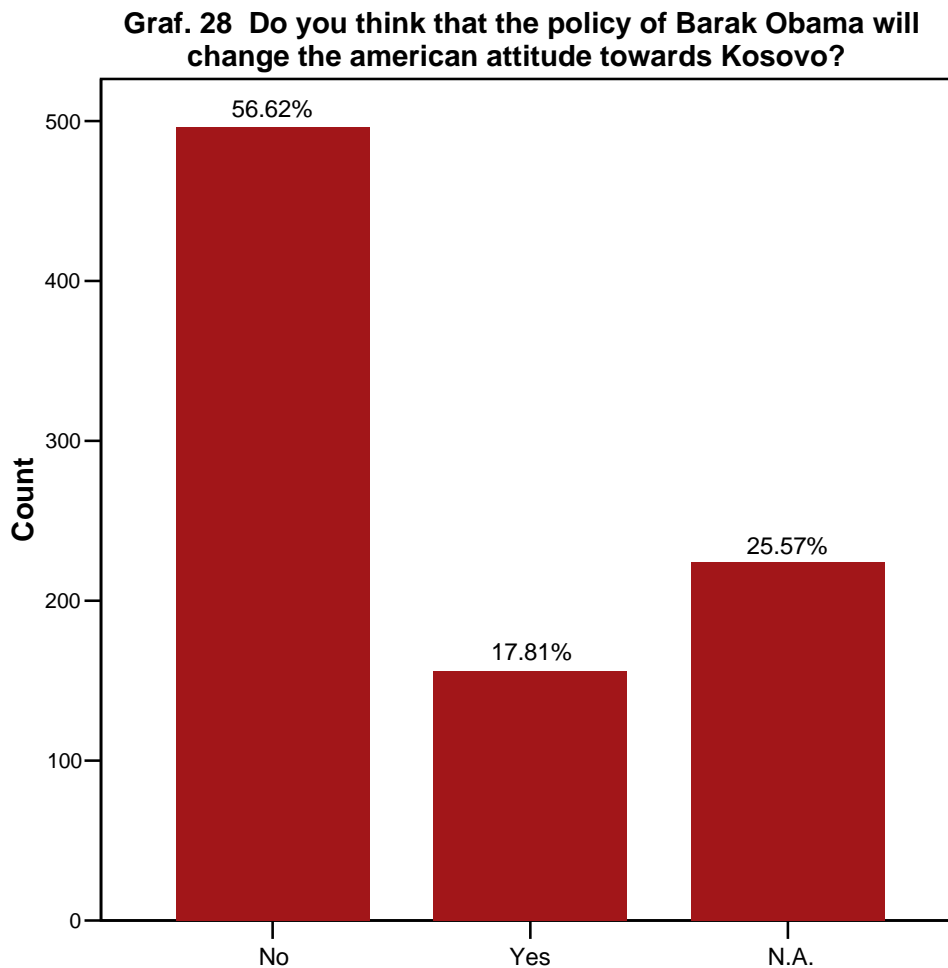
Unification Kosova- Albania

Concerning the question of whether or not they support the eventual unification with Albania, we see a clear picture in the next graphic that an absolute majority about 68% of the respondents support it, only 20, 43% would not support such a unification and about 11, 64% do not have any opinion with regard to that matter.



Source: QHO N=876

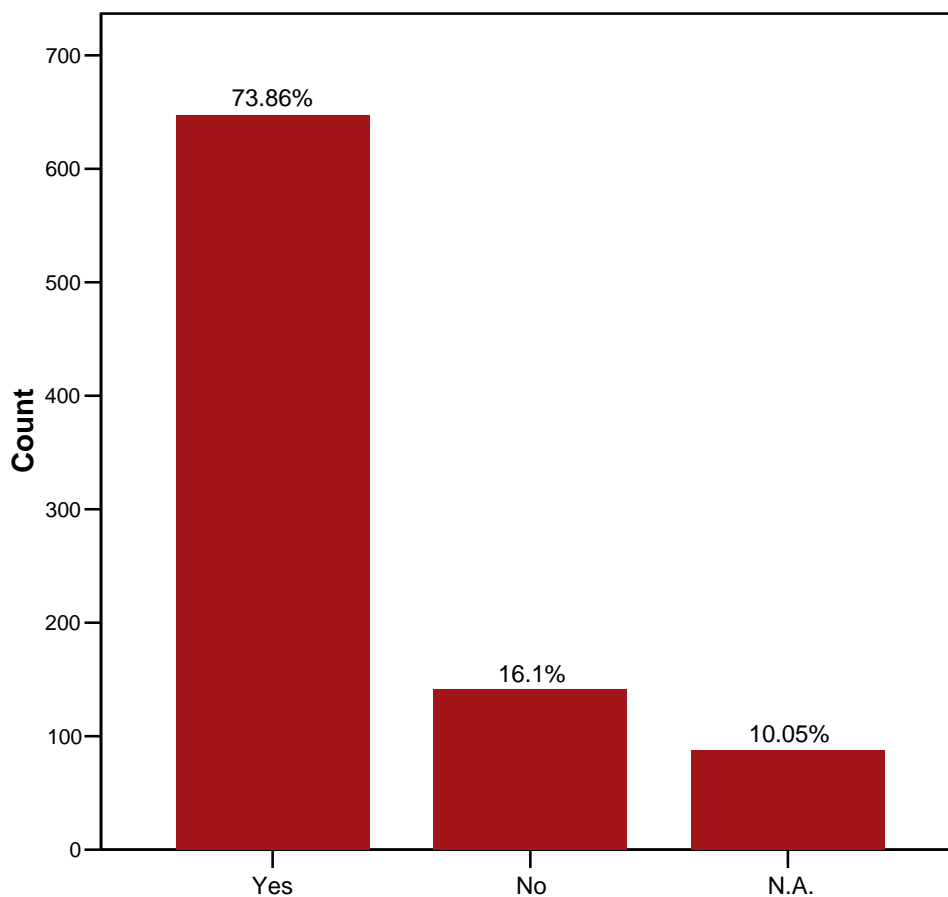
Next question (see Graph. 28) concerning the new President of the USA Barak Obama with regard to his opinion about Kosova, around 56% of the respondents say that his policy will not change the American attitude towards Kosova whereas only 17% of them have an opposite view and 25% do not know anything concerning this topic.



Source: QHO N=876

Another matter of concern and question in this part of the Barometer is whether or not to support the transformation of KPC (Kosovo Protection Corps) into KSF (Kosovo Security Force). A considerable part of the respondents about 74% support the transformation of KPC into KSF. And 16% of them do not support it whereas 10% do not have any opinion concerning that question.

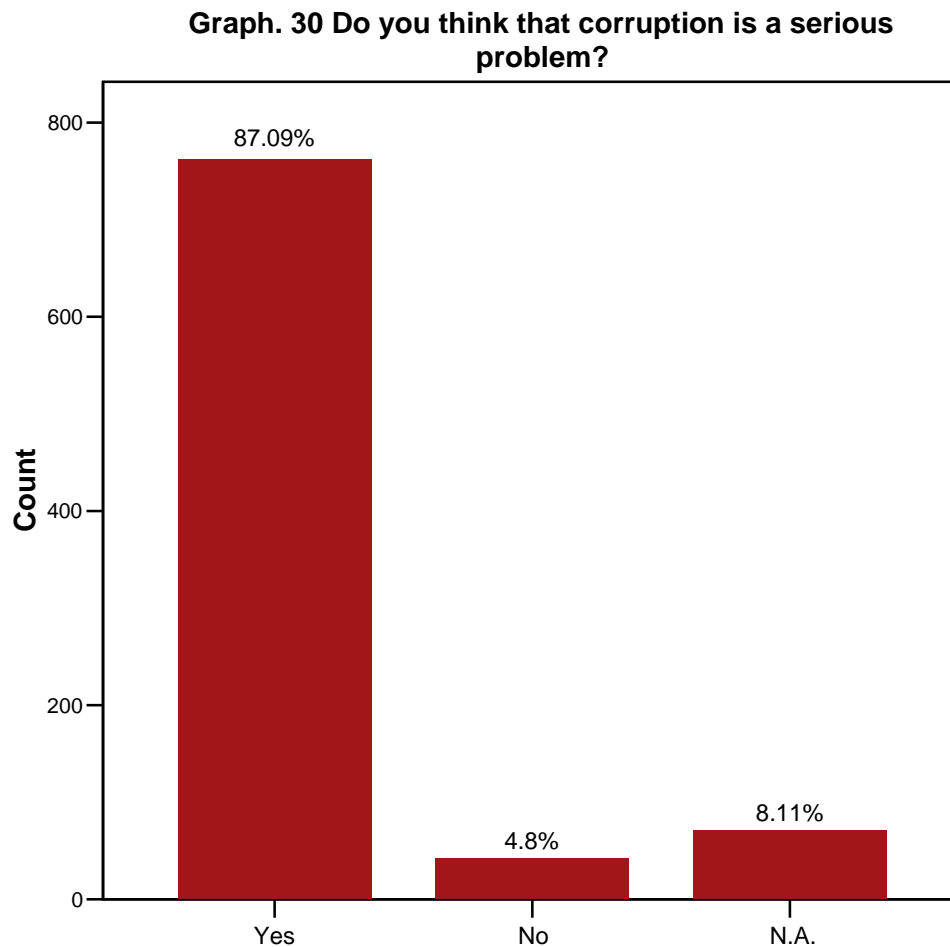
Graf. 29 Do you support the transformation of KPC to KSF?



Source: QHO N=876

Corruption

Next question is concerning the corruption and estimation by the Kosova Society. An absolute majority of the respondents about 87% see the corruption as a very serious problem in the society, a very small number of 4, 8% do not think that corruption is a serious problem. About 8, 11% of them do not have any opinion concerning this matter (see graph. 30).



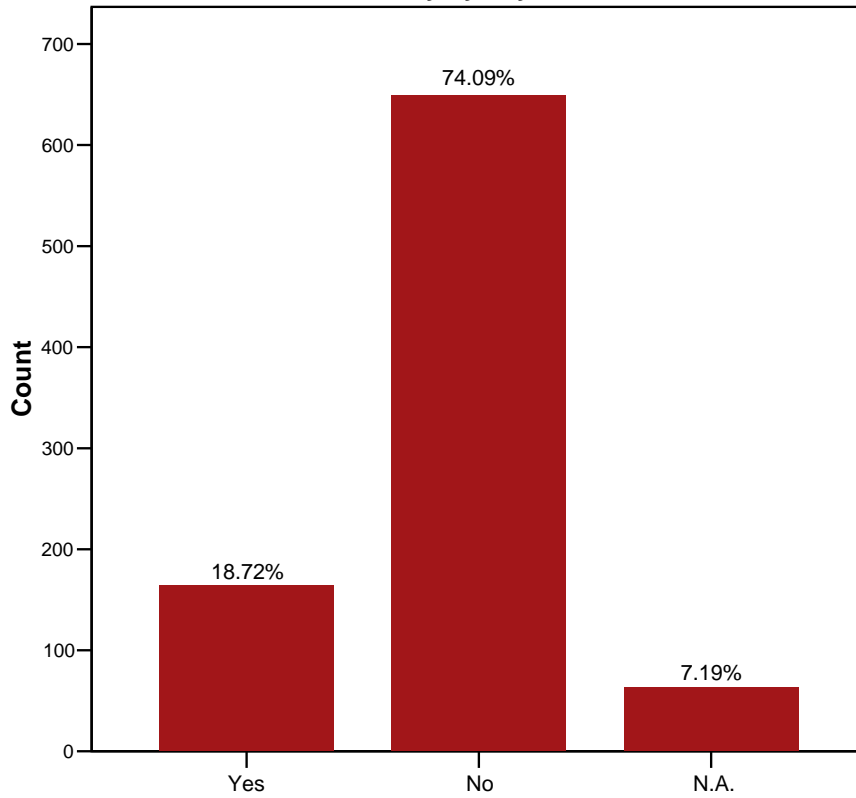
Source: QHO N=876

In the next question “Have you ever been asked for boodle money by any official”, we see that 74% say they have never been asked, about 19% say yes and 7, 19% of them do not know it.

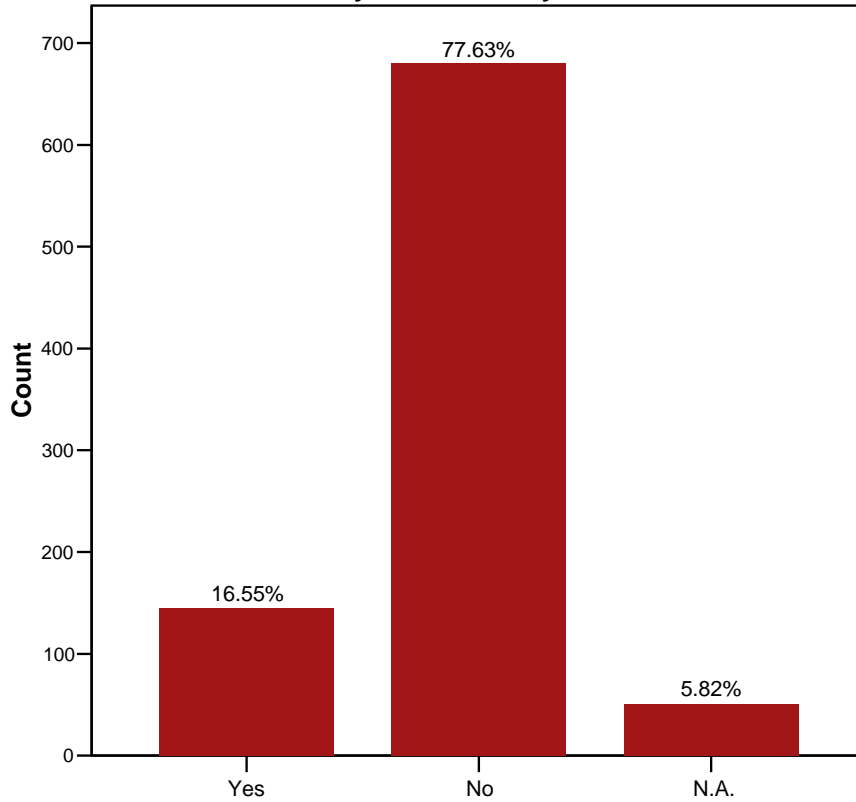
And to the question if the respondents have ever offered any boodle money for any service, about 77% of them have never done so and about 16% say yes, whereas 6% do not know whether they did so or not.



Graph. 31 Have you ever been asked for boodle money by any official?



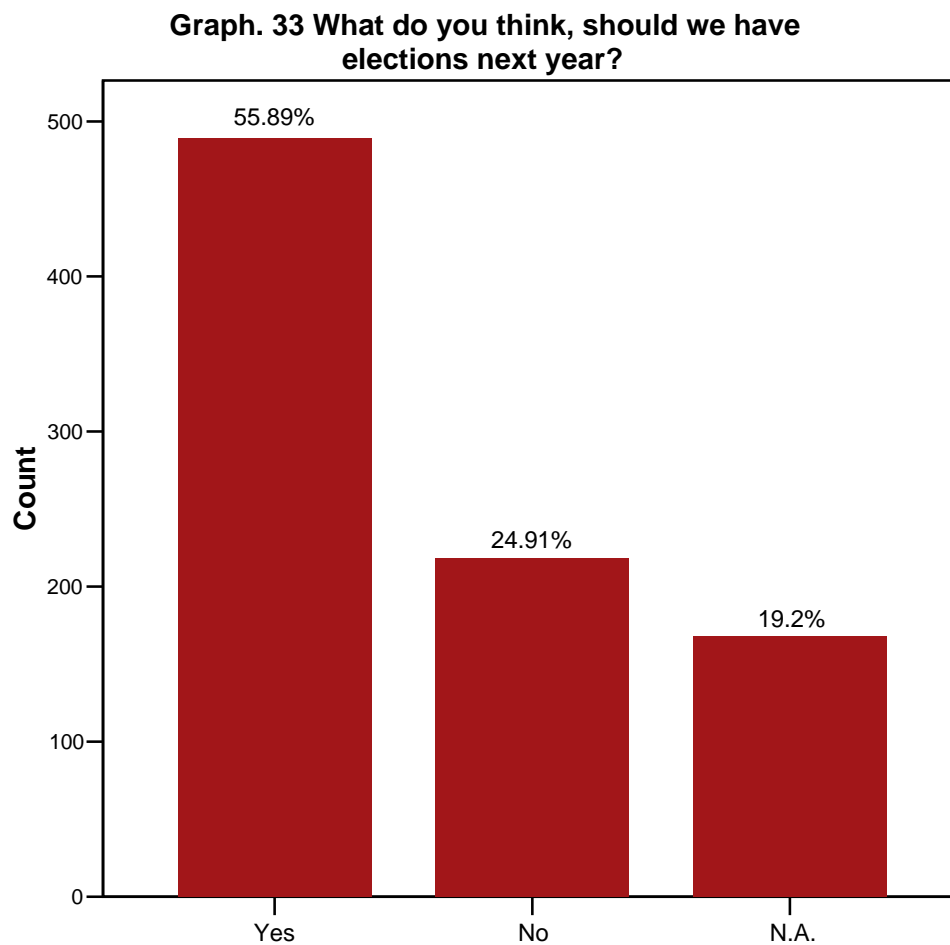
Graph. 32 Have you ever offered boodle money to any official for any service?



Source: QHO N=876

New elections in the next year

The question whether elections should take place in 2009 or not is a present matter of concerns in Kosova political life. With regard to that question (meaning in 2009, see the next graph.) the majority or 55, 89% of the respondents say that there should be elections in 2009, whereas 24, 91% of them are against new elections. And about 19% of the respondents do not have any opinion concerning this matter.



Source: QHO N=876