

HOW DO WOMEN IN KOSOVA VOTE

KOSOVAR GENDER STUDIES CENTER

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"HOW DO WOMEN IN KOSOVA VOTE?", KOSOVAR WOMEN'S
OPINIONS, PRIORITIES, AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

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INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact that women comprise more than fifty percent of Kosova's population, they systematically find themselves in a disadvantaged position within Kosovar society and institutions.¹ Although both formal and informal measures have been taken to improve their situation, they remain undervalued, underrepresented, and generally unheard.

Considering this situation, the Kosovar Gender Studies Center (KGSC) noted the importance of providing institutions and activists with information regarding the political awareness, opinions, and priorities of women in Kosova.

In line with its mandate – to develop gender studies in Kosova and to stimulate change in society regarding gender issues – KGSC conducted a survey of women's political opinion in Kosova.

KGSC believes that this report will be very important for improving the position of women in Kosova. It provides information as to what Kosovar women today think, and what they want from politics – information that is necessary for any serious strategy to tackle gender issues in Kosova.

The main objective of this research and the resulting recommendations is to help policy-makers and activists compile their strategies regarding women in Kosova.

We believe that this report is an important step towards changes in politics and

¹ "Statistics on education in Kosova," Statistical Office of Kosova, UNICEF, and the Department of Education, Science, and Technology (2001)

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gender balance in Kosovo – a change which is not only necessary, but overdue.

KGSC would like to thank everyone who has contributed their expertise and analysis to this study, especially the working group members, local and international experts, the KGSC survey team and the KGSC staff for continued support.²

Luljeta Vuniqi, Executive Director.

² See Annex I for the names of all persons who contributed to this report.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

How do women vote in Kosova?

1. Kosovar women are consistent voters who, in general, do not change their voting habits – more than two-thirds of Kosovar women voted for the same party in each post-war election;
2. Urban voters are more likely to change their party preferences than rural voters;
3. Women tend not to consider gender when choosing a party – their party preference is based more on the party leader and the contribution made by the party to date;
4. The main reason women change parties is disillusionment with their previous party;
5. The family exerts some influence over women's votes, but the majority of respondents claim that their family does not influence their votes;
6. The overwhelming majority of women are not members of any political party;
7. Answers to questions regarding the state's role in society and the economy show that Kosovar women tend to lean towards the left.

Priorities

8. Kosovar women's priorities are – the solution of Kosova's political status, economic development, education, and security.

The level of information

9. Women possess little information regarding their legal and constitutional rights;
10. Kosovar women's main source of information is the television;
11. Most Kosovar women can name the leaders of Kosovar institutions, but they have little knowledge about the representatives of international institutions in Kosova;

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12. More than 40 percent of respondents do not know to whom the institutional leaders of Kosova report; this trend is especially evident among rural women, half of whom replied "I don't know";
13. Kosovar women have little information about the work of female politicians in Kosova.

Personal conditions

14. Kosovar women's level of education is disturbing – only 15.8 percent of respondents continued education after finishing high school;
15. More than 75 percent of the women surveyed are not employed and do not have personal income;
16. Only 19.2 percent of respondents are employed full-time.

Attitudes on the role of women

17. Attitudes on the role of women in society are mixed. Differences in opinion correspond to marital status and the age of the respondent, not their place of residence;
18. Most Kosovar women believe that women should participate more in politics. However, a proportion prefers less female involvement in politics.

The electoral system

19. The majority of respondents (54.7 percent) support the legal requirement that women comprise one-third of the political parties' electoral candidates;
20. Two-thirds of women would prefer to vote with open electoral lists in Kosova's next elections.

KOSOVAR SERB WOMEN

21. How do Serb women in Kosova vote?
22. On average, 90.8 percent of Serb women did not vote in any post-war election in Kosova;
23. Within the Serb sample, women living in the southeastern region of Kosova are relatively more willing to vote than their counterparts in the rest of Kosova;
24. Almost all of the respondents who declared their membership to or sympathy for a political party, mentioned parties registered in Serbia.

The level of information

25. Kosovar Serb women lack information about Kosova's institutional leaders and have even less information about international leaders in Kosova;
26. Geographically, there is a marked difference in the level of information – Serb women living in northern Kosova are more informed.

Priorities

27. Serb women's and non-Serb women's priorities are markedly different in Kosova. Serb women's priorities are closely related to the Serb community's specific conditions;
28. Serb respondents' absolute priority is security; other important issues are returns, dialogue between Prishtina and Belgrade, and minority rights.

Personal conditions

29. More than 35 percent of Serb families in Kosova do not have any minors in their households, in contrast to only 16 percent of non-Serb families;
30. The proportion of employed Serb women (34.2 percent) is more than twice the average for non-Serb respondents (16.7 percent).

Attitudes about the role of women

31. With regard to the role of women in the family and society, Kosovar Serb women exhibit less traditional attitudes than the Kosovar average;
32. Serb women prefer more support from the state than the Kosovar average;
33. Kosovar Serb women show greater support for women's involvement in politics.

RECOMMENDATIONS

KGSC hopes that the following recommendations will stimulate policy-makers, decision-makers, and civil society in Kosovo to develop policies and strategies that include a gender perspective:

1. Ensure equal representation of women in the negotiations for Kosovo's final political status;
2. Undertake programs and concrete measures that support women's participation in politics and decision-making;
3. Increase communication between women politicians and voters, not only during election campaigns but also while the women politicians are in office;
4. Increase the amount of information that women receive about female politicians' activities and role in the Kosovo Parliament;
5. Empower female politicians within the political parties;
6. Encourage the involvement of Serb women in Kosovar political life;
7. Use an open list electoral system that preserves the gender balance;
8. Solve security issues, which are a key obstacle to furthering women's education, especially in rural areas;
9. Undertake all possible measures towards fulfilling the first priority of Kosovar Serbs – security;
10. Create proactive policies that increase the level of employment among Kosovar women;
11. Increase women's awareness about their legal and constitutional rights;
12. Promote editorial policies among the media and create informative programs and publications about politics that entice the interest of Kosovar women;
13. Support women's organizations and institutional mechanisms for gender issues in their efforts to improve gender awareness in general, and among rural women in particular;
14. Institutionalize debates, involving key stakeholders, which would assess the results achieved on gender equality in Kosovo.

RESEARCH RESULTS³

1. THE CONTEXT

Out of 1,005 women who participated in this survey, 42.5 percent were surveyed in villages, 35.5 percent in cities, and 22 percent in towns.⁴

The analysis of findings is divided into two chapters. The first chapter deals with data collected from the largest part of the sample (the main sample), which includes all regions in Kosova where the Serb community does not constitute a majority. This sample also includes non-Albanian women, as determined by the random sampling method. This sample includes 885 women.

The second chapter analyzes findings in regards to women who live in Serb-majority areas. There were 120 surveys conducted with Serb women. Chapter two also includes a comparative analysis of women's opinions from these two different samples.⁵

The research author conducted a preliminary analysis of the survey data and

³ For information about the research method, see annex I - research execution; for the family background of respondents see section 8.

⁴ The cities are Prishtina, Peja, Prizren, Gjakova, Gjilan, Ferizaj, and Mitrovica, while the rest of the municipal centers are classed as small towns.

⁵ Given the different situations of Serb and non-Serb women in Kosova, analyzing the two samples separately allows for a more detailed examination of their conditions and opinions. This increases the likeliness that future actions based on these findings will adequately meet the specific needs of each community.

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identified the main research trends. In order to render this study more analytical, KGSC organized a series of working groups to discuss the findings. The working groups involved experts from various fields (activists, academics, analysts, etc.) in commenting upon the findings from their specific perspectives.⁶ This report incorporates comments made during the working groups.⁷

Finally, please note that the field research was conducted between January 27 and February 9, 2005; during this period, Ramush Haradinaj was the Prime Minister of Kosova and the President of the Alliance for the Future of Kosova (AAK). Respondents replied within this context and, thus, this research does not reflect any changes in opinion that may have occurred in the meantime.⁸

2. WOMEN'S PRIORITIES

The KGSC survey asked women which issues they consider important. One such question was:

“Considering your needs and interests, which are the two most important issues that require urgent action by Kosova’s elected representatives?”

Respondents’ top priority was the **resolution of Kosova’s final political status**, which 55.6 percent of respondents mentioned. According to the working groups, Kosovar women consider this issue the top priority for a number of reasons. First, the population in Kosova is quite politicized, and hence it is not surprising that Kosova’s final status leads the priority list.

⁶ KGSC held three working groups. Two dealt with gender issues related to the findings. The third considered data on Serb women in Kosova. See annex I for the list of participants.

⁷ The opinions expressed by individual members of the working groups should not be interpreted as the whole group's opinion. Many different interpretations of the data were expressed during these meetings and have been duly noted in this report.

⁸ On March 8, 2005, the International War Crimes Tribunal on the Former Yugoslavia based in The Hague, Netherlands, indicted Ramush Haradinaj on charges of war crimes.

Second, the problem of Kosova's status is also a problem for women.

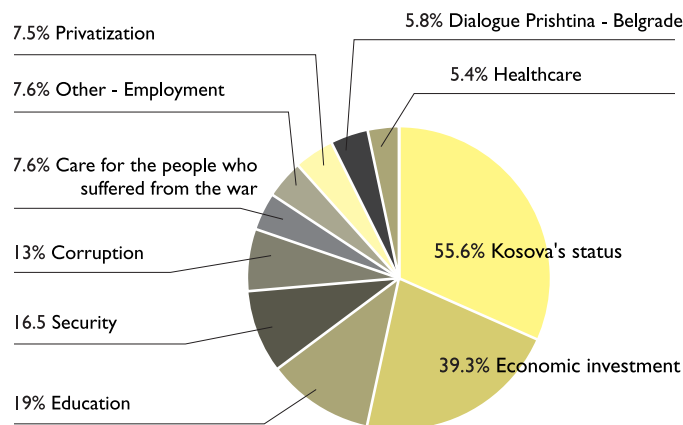
The respondents' second priority was **economic development** (44.4 percent): 39.3 percent think that more concerted actions are needed to increase investment, 7.5 percent think that privatization is a priority, and 7.6 percent think that unemployment should be reduced. Women that are more educated support economic development as a priority much more than the average Kosovar woman (university students 54.9 percent, graduates 63 percent).

Besides final status and economic development, women's preferences mirror other needs that affect their quality of life, including **education** (19 percent) and **security** (16.5 percent). These two issues are quite inter-related for women in Kosova, especially in rural areas. Women are often unable to continue their education due to the substantial distance between their homes and the nearest schools. Kosovar families often believe that such traveling is not secure.⁹

⁹ See Survey on Illiteracy in Kosova, UNICEF-KFOS, Kosova (2002). Members of the KGSC working groups also noted this issue.

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Graph 1 – Women’s Priorities in Kosova (over 5 percent)



Finally, women respondents did not show much interest regarding issues that have a more direct influence over women’s household and family tasks. Less than 5 percent of the women surveyed deemed the following issues key concerns: childcare (1.5 percent), care for the elderly (4.4 percent), gender inequality (1.2 percent), and domestic violence (4.9 percent).

According to working group members, these findings reflect the perception that politics and the family are two separate spheres in Kosova. In other words, the family is private and therefore the state has no right to interfere. For example, women tend not to consider family violence a political problem. Women do not believe that political representatives can solve this problem.

Another explanation is that, given the low employment opportunities for Kosovar women, issues like childcare and care for the elderly are not priorities.

Finally, another working group member suggested that women reflect the opinions and priorities of the men in their families.

Disaggregating the data according to age groups reveals some additional findings. Women ages 18-25 consider economic development (47.5 percent) and education (27.2 percent) greater priorities than the average Kosovar woman (39.3 percent and 19 percent, respectively). Women over age 65 show an above-average interest in healthcare (19.1 percent and 4.4 percent, respectively).

Approximately 10 percent of the women in the 26-35 age group consider family violence a priority problem (average 4.9 percent). According to the working group members, two main factors contribute to this finding. First, younger women are more aware of what constitutes family violence, and they are more willing to talk about it. Second, younger women do not accept violence as easily as older women do, and are more likely to oppose it. Given that abusive men are not used to such opposition, violence takes on greater proportions.

Dividing responses according to the party for which the respondents voted does not result in different priorities; Kosova's status and economic investment remain the top two priorities, respectively. However, there are variations in percentages (see table 1). For respondents' third priority, education shares the same percentage as security among PDK and AAK voters.

Around 10 percent of women in the 26-35 age group consider family violence a priority problem (twice the average of 4.9 percent).

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Table 1 - Women's Priorities, according to the Party Voted for (in percentages)

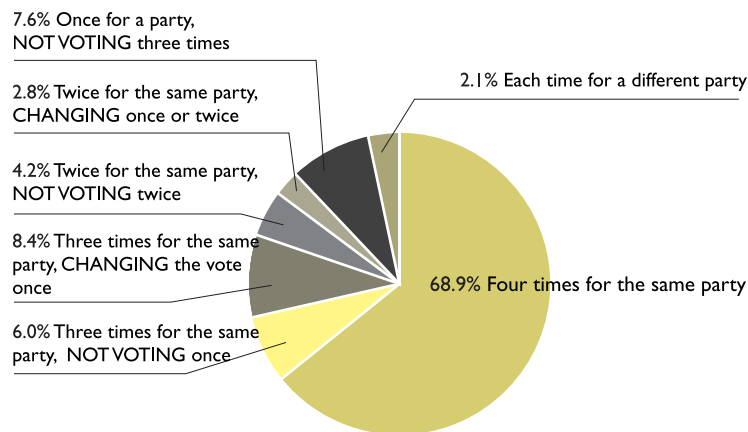
	LDK	PDK	AAK	ORA
Dialogue Prishtina-Belgrade	5.4	6.8	5.2	11.1
Security	13.5	16.4	13.8	16.7
Childcare	0.8	1.7	1.7	0
Care for persons who suffered from the war	6.5	9	10.3	5.6
Care for the elderly	5.4	4.5	3.4	
Economic investment	44.7	37.3	20.7	40.7
Corruption	11.1	14.7	12.1	20.4
Kosova's international representation	6.7	1.7	3.4	9.3
Family violence	3.2	8.5	5.2	9.3
Gender inequality	0.5	1.1	0	3.7
Returns	0.3	0.6		
Minority rights		1.7		
Privatization	7	7.9	8.6	1.9
Education	18.3	16.4	13.8	25.9
Kosova's status	61.7	56.5	70.7	44.4
Environmental pollution	1.1	1.9		3.7
Healthcare	6.2	4	6.9	1.9

3. WOMEN'S POLITICAL PREFERENCES

Kosovar women are consistent voters who, in general, do not change their voting habits. According to their responses, data on voting trends shows that more than two-thirds of women in post-war Kosova (68.8 percent) voted for the same party in every election.

According to the working group, consistent voting stems from habits developed before and during the 1990s when only one party dominated the Kosovar political scene. Working group participants also suggested that women might be apprehensive to vote for a different party, fearing that changing their vote could have negative consequences.

Graph 2 - Consistency in Voting

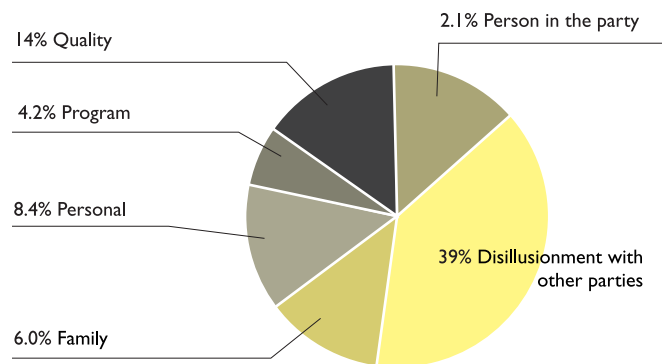


With regard to voting trends, there is a notable difference between rural and urban voters in that rural voters are more likely to change their party preferences. Women located in towns and rural women have similar preferences.

The majority of women who changed their party preferences did so because they were **disillusioned with their previous party** (39 percent). Only 17 percent decided to do so after personal deliberation, but respondents did not put forth any one specific reason as to why. Other reasons included: the quality of the party (14 percent), a person from the party (12 percent) – usually, although not always, the party leader – and the family (10 percent).

All parties received the majority of their female votes from women in the 26-45 age groups, with some minor differences between parties.

Graph 3 - Reasons for Changing Party Preferences



From the total number of women who revealed the party they supported in the 2004 elections, 41.9 percent voted for LDK, 20 percent for PDK, 6.6 percent for AAK, 6.1 percent for ORA, and 4 percent for other parties; 12.9 percent said that they did not vote.¹⁰

All parties received the majority of their female votes from women in the 26-45 age groups, with some minor differences between parties.

¹⁰ Approximately 5 percent of the women included in the sample did not reveal the party for which they voted. Statistical trends suggest that this percentage is evenly distributed across the different parties.

Most LDK voters are in the 36-45 age group (27 percent). The 26-35 age group is the main source of female votes for PDK (37.9 percent) and ORA (27.8 percent). AAK and the other parties gain most votes from the 36-45 age group and more votes than LDK, PDK, and ORA from women in the 46-55 age group. Younger women have a greater tendency not to vote; one-third of the women between 26 and 35 years of age did not vote in the 2004 elections (see table 2). LDK voters seem to be the most loyal in their voting patterns; 86.3 percent said that they voted for LDK in each of the four post-war elections. AAK comes second, with 77.2 percent of its voters remaining loyal in every election, and PDK is third with 76.1 percent.

When asked, **“if you were to vote today, would you vote for the same party,”** 74.5 percent responded “yes,” 12.1 percent said “no,” and 8.3 percent were undecided.¹¹ In this respect, women living in villages are the most stable voters (79.2 percent would vote as previously). Only 69.8 percent of urban voters would vote as before, 13.2 percent would change parties, and 12.5 percent are undecided.

According to this research data, the loyalty of AAK voters appears to be increasing. When asked, **“if you were to vote today, would you vote for the same party,”** AAK voters were the most convinced respondents – 86.2 percent responded “yes.” Approximately 78 percent of LDK and PDK voters said that their vote would remain the same. While 55.6 percent of ORA voters would vote as before, about a third said, “I don’t know.”

When asked, “if you were to vote today, would you vote for the same party,” 74.5 percent responded “yes,” 12.1 said “no,” and 8.3 were undecided.

¹¹ According to their place of residence, 20 percent of urban women decided for which party they would vote at the start of the election campaign. This was true for only 6.9 percent of rural women and 9.2 percent of women living in towns.

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Table 2 - Votes for Parties, According to Age (in percentages)

Party	18 - 25 years old	26 - 35 years old	36 - 45 years old	46 - 55 years old	56 - 64 years old	65 + years old	Total
LDK	16.7	26.1	27.0	16.1	8.9	5.2	100.0
Frequency	62	97	100	60	33	19	371
PDK	11.3	37.9	24.9	16.4	5.6	3.9	100.0
Frequency	20	67	44	29	10	7	177
AAK	15.5	20.7	27.6	22.4	6.9	6.9	100.0
Frequency	9	12	16	13	4	4	58
ORA	25.9	27.8	24.1	11.1	3.7	7.4	100.0
Frequency	14	15	13	6	2	4	54
Other	25.7	14.3	28.6	14.2	8.6	8.6	100.0
Frequency	9	5	10	7	3	3	35
Did not vote	28.9	32.5	19.3	7.9	7.0	4.4	100.0
Frequency	33	37	22	9	8	5	114

Given the aforementioned voting trends, it is not surprising that the vast majority of voters (79.4 percent) decided which party to vote for **a long time ago** (see table 3). Taking the three main parties together (LDK, PDK, AAK), an average of 88.3 percent of voters made their decision a long time ago. Considering that ORA was founded just prior to the 2004 elections, one could expect that the majority of its supporters (63 percent) decided to support it during the electoral campaign and 7.8 percent decided a few days before going to the polls.

There is a strong correlation between education levels and voting loyalty. Less educated voters tend to have steadier voting patterns. Of the respondents, 80 percent of women who did not graduate from university decided for which party they would vote a long time ago, as opposed to 63 percent of university graduates.

Voting trends also reveal some differences according to voters' residences. While 85 percent of village and town inhabitants decided on their preferred party a long time ago, this is true of only 69.8 percent of urban women.

Table 3 – When Voting Decisions Were Made (in percentages)

DECISION	LDK	PDK	AAK	ORA	Others	Did not vote	REF/NA
A long time ago (more than two years ago)	89.5	87.6	87.9	5.6	66.7	78.8	55
Before the electoral campaign	4.6	2.8	5.2	18.5	9.5	5.8	
During the electoral campaign	2.2	3.4	3.4	63	14.3	3.8	20
A few days before the polling day (1-3 days)	1.1	2.8		7.4			5
On polling day	1.9	1.1	3.4	3.7	4.8	3.8	5
Ref/NA	0.8	2.3		1.9	4.8	7.7	15

Of the women who decided who to vote for during the election campaign (8 percent), the highest percentage comes from urban women (14.6 percent), as opposed to women from villages and towns (4 percent total). The percentage of women who decided on their vote at the beginning of the election campaign is 12.1 percent.¹²

The less educated the voter is, the more loyal she is to her party.

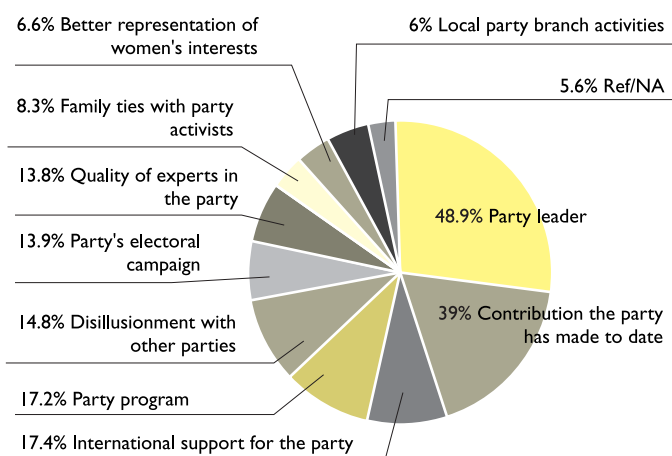
3.1 REASONS

Approximately half the respondents (48.9 percent) claim that the **party leader** was the single most important reason in determining for which party they would to vote. About a third of the respondents (32 percent) value the **contribution the party has made to date**.

Two other key factors are **international support enjoyed by the party** (17.4 percent) and the **party program** (17.2 percent). For nearly 15 percent of the voters, the deciding factor is their **disillusionment with other parties**.

¹² While 5.7 percent decided before the election campaign, they did not decide a long time ago (earlier than two years ago).

Graph 4 – Reasons for Preferring Specific Parties



The KGSC working groups suggested one explanation as to why party leaders are such a determining factor in party preferences: they have been continuously present in Kosovo's political scene and repeatedly receive coverage from the Kosovar media.¹³

Dividing the data according to party shows that AAK supporters are the most influenced by the party leader (62.1 percent) and LDK voters are second (58.8 percent). Party leaders exert less influence over ORA and PDK voters (48.1 percent and 39 percent, respectively).

¹³ See section 4 for the importance of television as major source of information.

Table 4 – Reasons for Party Support, Differentiated by Party (in percentages)

	LDK	PDK	AAK	ORA
Electoral campaign of the party	12.7	5.6	13.8	22.2
Family ties with party activists	8.1	10.2	13.8	3.7
Disillusionment with other parties	10	18.1	5.2	40.7
Quality of experts in the party	11.9	17.5	5.2	24.1
Better representation of women's interests	4.9	11.9	5.2	5.6
Contribution the party has made to date	33.4	45.2	37.9	3.7
Party leader	58.8	39	62.1	48.1
Activities of the local party branch	8.4	6.2	0	0
International support for the party	25.3	5.6	5.2	14.8
Party program	14.8	15.8	12.1	24.1

For PDK voters, the largest determining factor is the contribution made by the party to date (45.2 percent); this is the second most important reason for LDK voters (33.4 percent) and AAK voters (37.9 percent). The second most important factor influencing ORA voters is disillusionment with other parties (40.7 percent). This was the third most important reason for PDK supporters (18.1 percent).

For LDK voters, the third most important reason is international support for the party (25.3 percent). Family ties with party activists and the party electoral campaign are the third most important reasons for AAK voters (13.8 percent each). The quality of party experts and the party program shared the third place as reasons influencing ORA voters (24.1 percent each).

A party's stance on women's issues does not seem to be a deciding factor for Kosovar women when they choose which party to support- this criterion was important for only 6.6 percent of women voters. In addition, the activities of local party branches exert very little influence over votes - only 6 percent of women voters selected this as a determining factor.

The working group found disturbing the fact that only 6 percent of respondents consider gender issues when voting. One explanation for this trend is the low level of political awareness among Kosovar women; they do not consider polit-

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ical institutions responsible for solving their problems. The working group also noted that female politicians have not actively promoted women's interests or shown much leadership in this respect. The group concluded that greater efforts are needed to increase women's awareness about politics in general.

The KGSC research found that the family exerts some influence over women's votes. However, for the majority of women, it does not determine their vote. Only 8.3 percent of women claim that family ties with party activists influenced their voting decision. If disaggregated according to party, two parties can be noted at the extremes. One is ORA, where only 5.6 percent of women claimed that their family exerted deciding influence over their vote (for 75 percent of ORA voters the family did not have any influence). The other is the Justice Party, where 30 percent of voters said that the family influenced their vote, while only 10 claimed that it had no influence whatsoever. For 25 percent of LDK, PDK, and AAK voters, the family exerted deciding influence, while among 48 percent of them it had no influence at all.

The family exerts some influence over women's votes, but does not necessarily determine their vote.

Drawing from their experience, the majority of the working group participants were surprised yet encouraged by the finding that about half of the women in Kosova are not influenced by their families when voting. However, some working group participants expressed the opinion that the family does influence voting decisions, at least indirectly. The working group suggested that later studies examine this aspect of women's voting patterns in detail.

For 25 percent of LDK, PDK, and AAK voters, the family exerted deciding influence, while the family had no influence for 48 percent of them.

3.2 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

A relatively small number of respondents claim to be members of a political party - 93.6 percent said that they were not members of any party. Of those claiming membership, 2 percent were LDK members, 2.3 percent PDK, and 0.7 percent AAK.

Regarding the party membership of other family members, husbands are generally not more affiliated with parties than respondents themselves are.

When asked, **“do you have a particular liking for any party,”**¹⁴ 37.9 percent said they support LDK, 15.5 percent PDK, 10.4 percent ORA, and 6.7 percent AAK. Nearly 20 percent of respondents said that they do not support any one party (18.8 percent).

3.3 OPEN VS. CLOSED ELECTORAL LISTS

Prior to the 2004 elections in Kosova, citizens and local and international stakeholders debated whether Kosovars should use an open or a closed list electoral system. One key argument against open lists was that they would hinder women’s representation in Kosova’s political scene. In developing the questionnaire, the KGSC team decided to ask Kosovar women their opinion on this issue.

First, the fact that few respondents clearly understood the issue of electoral lists must be noted. Only 14.2 percent of respondents provided accurate answers when asked the difference between voting with an open list versus a closed list; 11.6 percent gave the wrong answer; 54.6 percent did not know the difference between these two systems (86.7 percent of Serb respondents). These findings demonstrate the need for a wide information campaign about electoral lists.

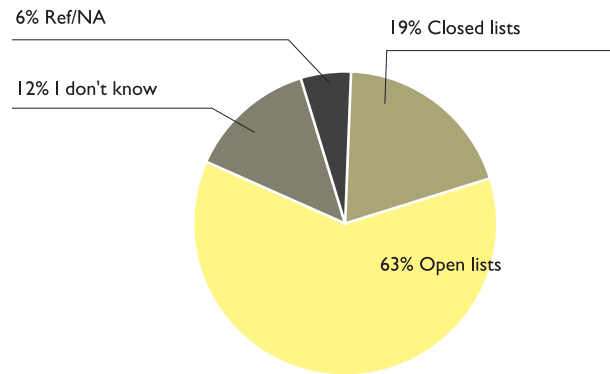
Once informed about the difference between the systems, about two-thirds (63.4 percent) said that they would prefer to vote with open lists.¹⁵ The majority of Serb respondents agreed, but at a lower rate than in the main sample (50.8 percent).

¹⁴ This question aimed to discover how much respondents sympathized with a party, beyond what a simple vote is able to express.

¹⁵ Respondents answered, “open lists” (63.4 percent), “I do not know” (11.5 percent), refusal or no answer (5.9 percent).

HOW DO WOMEN IN KOSOVA VOTE

Graph 5 - "How would you prefer to vote?"



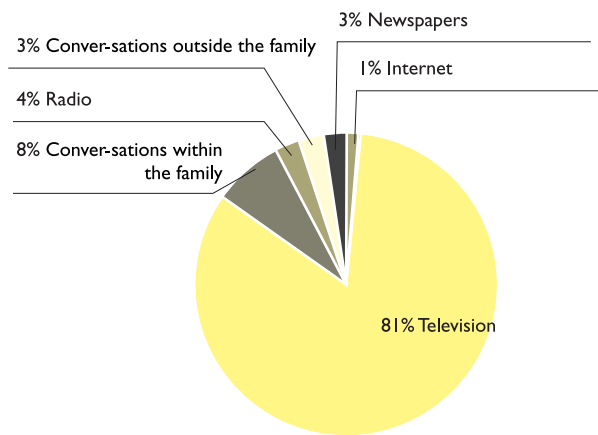
4. THE LEVEL OF INFORMATION

Kosovar women's main source of information is the television (79.3 percent). Other main sources of information include family conversations (8.4 percent), radio (4.4 percent), and discussions outside the family (3.1 percent). Newspapers are a main source of information for only 2.6 percent of Kosovar women.

More than 40 percent of the respondents said that they never read newspapers to inform themselves about current issues in Kosova.

More than 40 percent of the respondents said that they never read newspapers to inform themselves about current issues in Kosova (43.7 percent). Only 9.4 percent of respondents read newspapers every day.

Graph 6 – Main Sources of Information



However, 80.2 percent of respondents claim that they watch television every day, and 33.7 percent listen to the radio for information about current affairs.

4.1 REPRESENTATIVES OF INSTITUTIONS

When asked to name institutional representatives in Kosovo, respondents could name Kosovar leaders quite easily: 98 percent said that Ibrahim Rugova was the President of Kosovo; 96 percent knew that the current Prime Minister was Ramush Haradinaj; 77.3 percent mentioned Nexhat Daci as the President of the Kosovo Parliament; and 70.1 percent knew Agim Çeku was the Chief of the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC). Only 25 percent did not know the name of their municipal president.

Respondents knew less about the leaders of international institutions in Kosovo.

HOW DO WOMEN IN KOSOVA VOTE

Only 3.8 percent could give the exact name of the Kosovo Force (KFOR) Commander, Yves de Kermabon. Although their knowledge about the United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) was higher (27.5 percent gave the right answer), 61.2 percent could not identify Kosovo's international administrator by name. Possible reasons behind these trends may be the fact that international administrators change frequently, or that respondents have difficulties in remembering foreign names. However, the stark difference between the level of information about local and international leaders points to a large gap between Kosova's citizens and its international leaders.

Kosovar women could name local institutional representatives quite easily, but knew less about the leaders of international institutions.

4.2 INTER-INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS

There were two key findings with regard to women's knowledge about inter-institutional relations. On one hand, a large percentage of respondents (40 percent) admitted not knowing to whom the institutional leaders of Kosova report. This was especially evident among rural women, half of whom chose the option "I do not know."

On the other hand, the majority of those women who answered questions on inter-institutional relations answered correctly. For example, 31.1 percent said that the Prime Minister of Kosova must report to the Kosova Parliament (45.2 percent did not know); 19.7 percent said that KPC reports to the SRSG (50.5 percent did not know); and 31.5 percent said that the Kosova Parliament answers to Kosova's citizens (39.3 percent did not know). These findings highlight the need to educate women better about the role of Kosovar institutions and citizens' democratic rights.¹⁶

¹⁶ Working group members suggested that this is also true of men, but further research is needed on this issue.

4.3 FACTS ON KOSOVA

Respondents were asked about certain facts in relation to Kosova. Once again, their general lack of information was notable – on average, 46 percent chose the option “I do not know.” Moreover, given the balanced spread of responses, it is plausible to suggest that a substantial number of women answered these questions randomly or based on their prejudices.¹⁷ For example, 22.1 percent of respondents answered correctly that a third of the Ministers of Parliament (MPs) are women. At the same time, however, 19.7 percent claimed that women comprise only 15 percent of this institution (this was the lowest percentage offered on the questionnaire).

The second most chosen answer (selected by 19.7 percent of the main sample) suggests that respondents believe women are discriminated against in politics; therefore, one cannot expect greater female representation in the Parliament.¹⁸ In addition, the working group noted that women MPs are not very active in the media, which supports the public perception that women are not very numerous in the Parliament.

When asked various facts about Kosova, more than 45 percent of respondents selected the option “I do not know.”

Furthermore, when asked about maximum personal income tax rates in Kosova (excluding pension contributions), 21.6 percent of respondents leaned towards the “7 percent” option, which was the lowest percentage offered on the questionnaire. Only 8.6 percent correctly answered that the maximum income tax rate is 20 percent (51.3 percent said that they did not know).

A number of conclusions can be drawn from these data. First, considering the

¹⁷ A balanced spread of responses means that no one answer dominated over the others.

¹⁸ More than half of the respondents (60.8 percent) think that ‘women politicians in Kosova are very able, but they are not given the chance to prove their abilities.’

HOW DO WOMEN IN KOSOVA VOTE

fact that most women are unemployed, it can be expected that they do not have many dealings with the tax system in Kosovo. Second, it can also be assumed that this ignorance is at least partially attributable to the fact that a substantial amount of income in Kosovo still circulates outside the tax system.

By disaggregating the data according to age groups and level of education, a number of differences become visible. Women in the 18-45 age groups were better informed. Women who were more than 65 years old possessed notably less information than average. Moreover, students and women with more than 12 years of education had a higher level of information.

In general, only a fifth of the respondents could answer factual questions correctly (21.4 percent). These percentages stand in sharp contrast to the high proportions of women who could name local institutional leaders in Kosovo (85.4 percent, on average). One explanation may be that while Kosovar women consider politics distant from their daily lives, they consider voting an act of 'honoring' the Kosovar leader. Moreover, the content of women's knowledge could also be a result of media reporting, which focus more on leaders' names and meetings and less on the actual politics of Kosovar representatives. The working group also suggested that Kosovo's educational system does not provide sufficient information about Kosovo and the different relations among its political institutions.

At the same time, the working group drew attention to the fact that ignorance about state facts is also present in other Western democracies, especially in the United States of America. Perhaps a better explanation for citizens' lack of information in Kosovo is the fact that there are frequent government and legislative changes. As a result, citizens are rightly confused. Nevertheless, there is still an urgent need to provide better information to women (and citizens in general) about such issues. Mechanisms for involving women more in Kosovo's institutional life must also be identified.

Only a fifth (21.4 percent) of respondents could accurately answer questions regarding facts on Kosovo.

5. ATTITUDES ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE FAMILY AND SOCIETY

5.1 ATTITUDES ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE FAMILY

With regard to the role of women in the family and society, the Kosovar woman tends to identify with traditional rather than modern ideas.¹⁹ Cross tabulating according to place of residence does not reveal essential differences in opinion between rural and urban women. According to the working group, this may be due to the post-war migration of Kosova's population, especially from villages to cities.

On the other hand, there is a strong correlation between the age of the respondent and her attitudes about women's roles in society. In this case, 18 to 25-year-old women are the least conservative. Further cross-tabulation reveals a clear correspondence between marital status and the level of conservatism. The research shows that the most conservative women are widows, then married women, and finally unmarried women. Moreover, the level of education correlates with the level of conservatism, but the difference is less substantial than that found in the categories of age and marital status.

According to the working group members, age and marital status are inter-related in that unmarried women also tend to be the youngest. Yet, some working group members suggested that age and marital status also act independently of each other: marriage can be considered a contract where relations between husband and wife are negotiated. As a result, women reorder their priorities once married, with the family and children becoming higher priorities for them. From this perspective, marriage is an independent factor, which influences a woman's opinions in general.

More than half the respondents said, "it is natural that most household tasks are women's duties."

¹⁹ The term "traditional" is used to denote an inherited and deeply rooted way of thinking, acting, or behaving; a cultural continuity of societal customs. The term "modern" refers to new methods, techniques, and thinking patterns.

Table 5 – Women’s Attitudes on the Role of Women in the Family (in percentages)

DECLARATION	I agree	I neither agree nor disagree	I do not agree	I do not know
It is natural that most household tasks are women’s duties.	58.1	13.1	27.4	0.6
There is nothing wrong with a couple living together without marrying each other.	29.5	7.1	51.8	6.6
A preschool child may not develop properly if his mother is employed.	37.2	14.4	35.8	10.3
Childcare is more the mother’s than the father’s responsibility.	56.2	19.7	21.8	0.8
Both husband and wife should contribute to the family income.	84	8.2	3.9	1.8
It is the husband’s duty to earn money, and the wife’s duty to look after the family and household tasks.	36	16.4	44.4	1.2
Men should work at home more than they do now.	50	18.9	21.9	6.2
It is very important that a man is dressed and behaves like a man, and a woman is dressed and behaves like a woman.	67.2	9.3	13.7	5.6
Problems always arise when a wife earns more than her husband does.	19.4	10.1	52	15.3
University education is more important for a girl than a boy.	41.9	32.5	21.3	2.6
Care for the elderly and the ill in the family is the responsibility of men.	27.8	30.3	38.2	2.5
The father and mother should decide whom their daughter should marry.	19.2	9	69.1	1.2

Over half (58.1 percent) of women respondents said, **“it is natural that the largest part of household tasks are women’s duties.”**²⁰ Moreover, 56.2 percent think that **“childcare is more the mother’s responsibility than the father’s.”** The percentage of women who do not agree with this

²⁰ Overall, 26.2 percent of respondents fully agreed with this statement, 31.9 percent agreed, 13.1 percent somewhat agreed, 14.6 percent did not agree, and 12.8 percent absolutely did not agree.

statement does not vary much if we consider respondents' residence.²¹ However, differences can be noted if marital status is considered; 71.2 percent of widows, 60.1 percent of married women, and 35.5 percent of unmarried women agree with the above declaration.

Activists participating in the KGSC working groups said that these data mirror their experience in the field. In recent years, they had not seen any major changes regarding women's traditional way of thinking. The opinion that mothers are more responsible for childcare relates to the fact that Kosovar society considers having and caring for children a women's priority. Hence, this stereotype also largely determines the way women think about themselves.

In some areas, respondents had more modern attitudes regarding women's role in the family, especially in relation to increasing family income. For example, 84.1 percent agreed, **"both husband and wife should contribute to the family income."**²² Moreover, 41.9 percent of the women surveyed believe that **"university education is more important for a girl than a boy,"** and 32.5 percent think that it is important for both.²³ According to the working group, women support these statements because they see employment and education as a way out of a husband's domination over the wife.

Finally, over two-thirds (69.1 percent) of the respondents do not agree that **the father and mother should decide whom their daughter should marry.**²⁴ Cross-tabulation according to marital status and place of residence shows differences in opinions: 23.1 percent of women in villages, 17.2 percent in towns, and 16.1 percent in cities agree with this statement.

²¹ Respondents who did not agree with this statement included 18.4 percent from villages, 25.7 percent from towns, and 23 percent from cities.

²² Respondents said, "I fully agree" (47.3 percent) and "I agree" (36.7 percent).

²³ Respondents that said, "I do not agree" totaled 21.3 percent.

²⁴ However, the majority (51.8 percent) does not agree with cohabitation ("there is nothing wrong with a couple living together, although not married").

5.2 ATTITUDES ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY

This survey's results show that women's opinions on the role of women in society are quite mixed.

For example, when asked to give their opinion regarding the statement: **"if a company must lay off some of its workers, it is better to lay off married women than men,"** 37.1 percent of the respondents agreed, but 30.1 percent disagreed. Further, 48.4 percent agreed that **"men are better political leaders than women,"** but 24 percent disagreed. With the statement **"women are more talented managers than men,"** 22.6 percent of respondents agreed while 24.4 percent somewhat agreed. These findings suggest that 47 percent of respondents consider women at least equally capable as men for leadership positions. Yet, about a third (30.4 percent) disagreed with the last of the above statements, and 19.1 percent answered "I do not know." With regard to women's role in society, respondents' opinions differed depending on their age, place of residence, and marital status with younger women, city women, and unmarried women being the least conservative.

It should be noted that many respondents did not have definite opinions on issues related to the role of women in society. On average, 17.4 percent of respondents said, "I somewhat agree," and 6.8 percent said, "I do not know." As the next section suggests, this demonstrates insecurity in opinions and a lack of information

Women were insecure about their opinions regarding various aspects of society, especially those that are not directly related to the family and the household.

Table 6 - Women's Attitudes on the Role of Women in Society (in percentages)

DECLARATION	I agree	I neither agree nor disagree	I do not agree	I do not know
Women are more talented managers than men are.	22.6	24.4	30.4	19.1
In general, men are better political leaders than women are.	48.3	15.4	24	10.7
If a company must lay off some of its workers, it is better to lay off married women than men.	37	12.5	30.1	17.7

about various aspects of society, especially those that are not directly tied to the family and the household.

6. ATTITUDES ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN SOCIETY AND THE ECONOMY

Answers to questions regarding the state's role in society and the economy show that Kosovar women tend to lean towards the left.²⁵ For example, 76.7 percent of women agree that **the state should provide free healthcare and education to every citizen**, and 72.7 percent believe that **employees need strong unions to protect their wages and working conditions**.

The working group suggested a number of possible explanations for these attitudes. First, women expect others to take the initiative for solving Kosova's problems; this reflects the attitudes of the Kosovar leadership itself. Second, Kosova's prior socialist system provided free use of public services, and citizens had unions in their workplaces. Third, Kosovars' socialist experience was more positive than that of other states in the region, and thus many citizens are reluctant to give up these benefits. Fourth, many Kosovars have lived in Western states that offer social assistance, and therefore consider these to be desirable models for Kosova to imitate.

Moreover, while 28.4 percent of respondents think that **economic development should be a priority, even if it is detrimental to public services**, 41 percent disagree. Self-employed women agree most with this statement (44 percent), followed by housewives (33 percent), and women employed in the private sector (24.6 percent). Unsurprisingly, those least interested in economic development, when it is promoted to the detriment of public services, are women employed in public institutions (17.9 percent).

²⁵ The term "left" refers to the preference for a higher degree of state intervention in the economy, for social equality, and for free social services (or at least state regulated). These are principles supported by the "left" in Western democracies. For the purpose of this study, this is how "left" is defined.

HOW DO WOMEN IN KOSOVA VOTE

Some working group participants expressed the opinion that the aforementioned responses regarding the role of the state in society show that citizens and political leaders have not yet understood the new political model used in Kosovo – a model similar to the Western market economy democracies.²⁶ As a result, decisions and developments in Kosovo continue to emanate from abroad.

Opinions tend to differ across generations. Younger women, especially those in the 18-25 age group, are more in favor of economic development (30.3 percent). Women in the 36-45 age group also supported economic development. It is plausible that this is because they see the future of their children strongly tied to Kosovo's economic development.

Kosovar women still support principles of social equality and state intervention to maintain social order – both principles of the former socialist system.²⁷ The majority of respondents (78 percent) said that **the government should take measures to reduce income differences.**

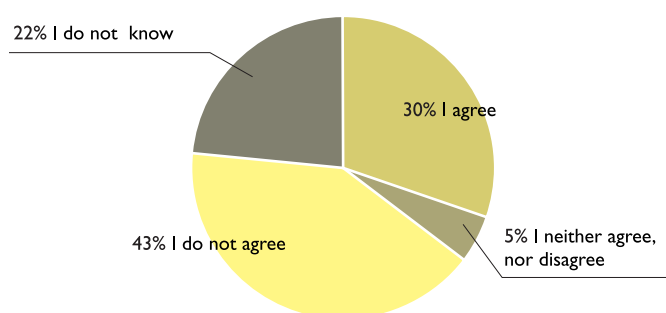
The Kosovar tradition of extended families and the need to care for kin have contributed to a culture where family members are expected to financially support each other. Thus, 75.5 percent of respondents believe **if a member of the extended family is financially much better off than the others, s/he has a responsibility to financially help them.** The working group thought that Diaspora support, which increased during the 1990s, also explains why the majority of respondents held this opinion.

The only aberration from the leftist orientation was regarding the issue of **privatization.** A majority of respondents (57.7 percent) believed that Kosovar socially owned companies would end up in a worse state than they are now if they are not privatized. Again, support for privatization was more evident among younger women.

²⁶ The main characteristics of this model are a market economy (including privatization), democracy, free elections, and respect for others' rights. For example, gender quotas in Kosovo are treated quantitatively rather than qualitatively.

²⁷ The working group also noted this.

Graph 7 - Women's Attitudes on Economic Development and Social Services



Economic development should be a priority, even if it is detrimental to public services

Finally, it should be noted that the respondents were not entirely secure in their opinions on the role of the state in society. This is evidenced by the fact that over twenty percent (22.6 percent) of the respondents chose the option "I do not know" when asked about the economic structure of society. This trend highlights the need to inform and educate women about such issues, which affect their social well-being.

The only aberration from this leftist orientation was regarding the issue of privatization - more than half the respondents favored this process.

7. ATTITUDES ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

For Kosovar women, the ideal politician must be, first, hardworking (70.2 percent), second, honest (66 percent), and finally, brave (51.6 percent). Out of these three main characteristics, women believe that, in general, women are more hardworking (50.8 percent) and more honest (37.7 percent) than men; while, men are characterized by greater courage (41.7 percent).

The fact that two out of the three characteristics of an ideal politician are attributed to women shows that female politicians have much room for maneuver and that they need to promote themselves publicly. The working group noted that female politicians should utilize this potential by developing a program and strategy to obtain more votes.

The majority of Kosovar women believe that women should participate more in politics. However, a substantial number of respondents were quite conservative with regard to this issue, preferring less female involvement in politics. Disaggregating answers by level of education and age shows that younger women and women that are more educated tend to support increasing women's participation in politics.

Respondents' lack of information on the work of Kosovar women politicians was quite noticeable. On average, approximately 20 percent of women said they did not have an opinion or information about this aspect of women's activities in

Findings on the role of women in politics show that female politicians could earn more votes from women voters.

Kosova. In general, most of the respondents showed support, with 60.8 percent agreeing that **female politicians in Kosova are very able, but they are not given the opportunity to show their abilities.**

This finding encouraged the working group because it showed that women are aware of the qualities they possess. At the same time, agreement with this statement also suggests that women are aware that they are discriminated against. This fact should be considered when interpreting the rest of the data in this section.

Just over a third of the surveyed women (37.6 percent) think that **women in politics can be just as successful as men.**²⁸ The other respondents stressed the inequality in this field – 31.1 percent think that women can only be successful **if they are supported and assisted**, and 15.3 percent think that **women in politics cannot be as successful as men**. Rural respondents were the most skeptical of women succeeding in politics (19.8 percent), and women from the city were more optimistic (10.3 percent).

Most working group members thought that these percentages confirmed that women know that they are discriminated against. Thus, they are also aware that women in politics need support. In conclusion, women do not underestimate women, but still think that women need support.

Most (60.8 percent) women think that female politicians in Kosova are very able, but they are not given the opportunity to show their abilities.

Approximately 43 percent of respondents think that women should occupy **around half of the decision-making positions in Kosova**, and 12 percent think that women should occupy the **majority** of such positions. However, 22.7 percent think that there should **not be a set number** of women in decision-making positions, and 18.2 percent think that there should be **at least some** in high posts.

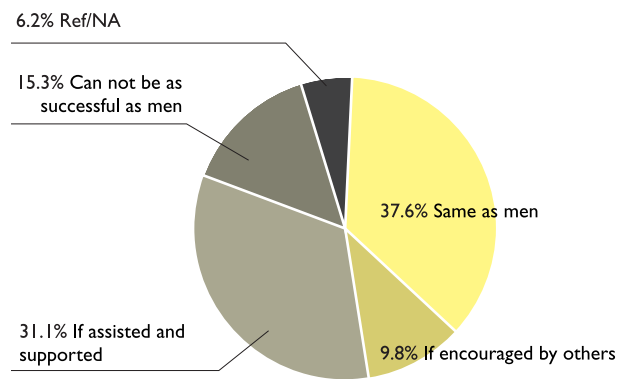
Regarding the participation of women in the Assembly of Kosova and in the municipal assemblies, women's opinions are quite divided; 47.8 percent of respondents think that there should be **more women** in these institutions, but 40.7 percent think that there should be **the same number of women as are currently present**. A minority of 6.8 percent thinks that there should be **fewer** women in these institutions than there are now.

Respondents lacked information about the work of Kosovar women politicians.

²⁸ See Table 7 for respondents' opinions regarding the level of and reasons for discrimination against women in politics.

HOW DO WOMEN IN KOSOVA VOTE

Graph 8 – Answers to the Question “In Kosovo, Women in Politics can be Successful...”



Women that hold a university degree and students favor greater participation of women in the assemblies (university students 64.7 percent, university graduates 70.4 percent).

The working groups were encouraged by the fact that 47.8 percent of respondents would like to see more women in the municipal assemblies, as well as in the Assembly of Kosovo. Working group members attributed that 40.7 percent of respondents wanted the number of women to remain the same to the fact that women members of the Assembly have not done much work so far. This was also interpreted as a sign that women are reluctant to embrace change quickly.

Most respondents (54.7 percent) support the legal obligation that parties competing in Kosovar elections ensure that a third of their party list candidates are women. Approximately 20 percent do not agree with this legal obligation, and

20.5 percent of women have no opinion. The working groups recommended that future surveys look at the motives for supporting or rejecting the quota system.

When asked what, in their opinion, are the main reasons for the absence of women in politics, respondents did not have a clear-cut opinion. A plurality of 43.3 percent thought that women are discriminated against in public life, but they did not have a specific idea as to the reasons for this. Again, the percentage in the "I do not know" category was quite high (13 percent), and the answers were evenly spread. This indicates that women have not formed an opinion on this matter.

Most respondents (54.7) percent support the legal obligation that parties competing in Kosovar elections ensure that a third of their party list candidates are women.

Women have a clear opinion in only two aspects and both are related to family life. First, about two-thirds (65.8 percent) of the respondents think that the **family is more important for a women than a career in politics.** Second, the majority of women (71 percent) think that unsocial hours, required by politics, are more suited for men than for women.

Referring to their experience in the field, members of the working groups argued that women often desire to be more involved in activities outside the family, but in reality, they know that only as married women will their future be secure. This explains why women support women's political activities, but also support the family's dominant role in women's lives.

Finally, while a plurality of women (49.7 percent) reject the idea that only a man can adequately represent citizens' interests, they do not clearly state whether more women in politics would improve Kosova's situation: 30.3 percent agree with this statement, 26.7 percent are undecided, 20.8 percent disagree, and 15.6 percent do not know.

HOW DO WOMEN IN KOSOVA VOTE

Table 7 - Opinions regarding the Under-representation of Women in Politics (in percentages)

STATEMENT	Agree	I neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	I do not know
In general, women are discriminated against in public life	43.3	16.8	21.7	15.3
A women candidate will cost the party votes	15.4	7.9	59.8	15.13
For women, the family is more important than a career in politics	65.8	19.8	6.9	6.4
Women do not have the necessary confidence for politics	24.9	22.3	35.8	14.8
Women do not have the necessary experience for politics	27.1	21.5	36.2	13.3
Women are not interested in politics	15.2	22.1	48	12.5
Political parties do not offer women the opportunity to get involved in politics	23.7	18.7	27.9	26.6
Unsocial hours, which are required in politics, suit a man more than a woman	70.9	10.8	9.1	7.8
Only a man can adequately represent citizens' interests	24.9	16.3	49.7	7.9
In general, things would be much better if there were more women in politics	30.3	26.7	24.5	15.6

8. THE FAMILY BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS

Out of the 1,005 women surveyed from January 27 to February 9, 2005, 42.5 percent were from rural areas, 22 percent were from small towns, and 35.5 percent were from Kosova's seven largest cities.

Regarding family members, 16.7 percent of the surveyed households did not have any family members under the age of 18. More than 38 percent of households had one or two minors, and 31.4 percent had three or four. Finally, 7.2 percent of households had five or more minors.

From the surveyed households, 78.6 percent had between two and five adult members (23.6 percent and 25.2 percent, respectively). More than 10 percent of the households consisted of more than five adult family members.

Of the women surveyed, 18.3 percent were age 18-25, 29.1 were age 26-35, 24.9 were age 35-45, and 22.6 were age 46-64. Only 5.1 percent of the women surveyed were 65 or more years old.

Only 15.8 percent of the surveyed women continued their education past high school (5.8 percent of the sample were students; 6.4 percent had finished a vocational school; 3.1 percent held a university degree; and 0.5 percent had a master's degree). Only 3.8 percent of the women said that they did not attend school at all. Out of the 80.5 percent of the surveyed women that had up to 12 years of education, a plurality of 46.3 percent finished eight years of schooling (primary school), and a third of them also finished secondary (high) school (30.9 percent).²⁹

An alarming fact is that more than 75 percent of Kosovar women are unemployed – 19 percent consider themselves unemployed and 56.4 percent said that they are housewives. A small percent of the surveyed women are employed (19.2 percent). Most of the women who are employed work in the public sector (9.5 percent), 6.9 percent are employed in the private sector, and 2.8 percent are self-employed. Women that consider themselves pensioners constitute 5.1 percent of the sample.

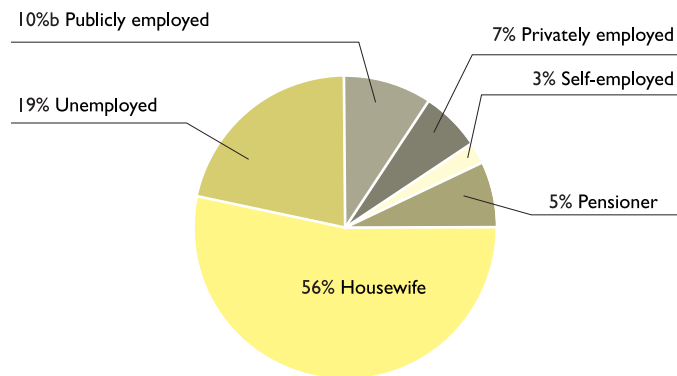
Considering this employment data, it is unsurprising that 75.6 percent of the respondents claim that they have no source of individual income.

Only 15.8 percent of the surveyed women continued their education past high school.

Out of those women who have an income, 10.3 percent earn 101-200 euros per month; 4.7 percent earn 40 euros per month, the majority of which probably comes from the Kosova Consolidated Budget; 3.1 percent earn 51-100 euros; and 3.1 percent earn 210-350 euros.

²⁹ See also the education data in "Demographic, social and reproductive situation in Kosova," published by the Statistical Office of Kosova and UNFPA (2003)

Graph 9 - Employment Status of Women in Kosova



Only 1.7 percent of women earn more than 350 euros per month.

When asked about the person who is most important to the respondent, 90.8 percent cited a male person.³⁰ For 71.5 percent, this person was the respondents' husband, followed by their father (10.6 percent). Mothers were the third most important, and only 4.7 percent of the women surveyed chose their mothers as the most important person.

³⁰ Question number 4 asked, "Can you please tell us about yourself, and the adult members of your family. Please rank them according how important they are for you."

There is more of a gender balance regarding the second most important person for the respondent. In the cases where the respondent cited a second person, 49.5 percent were male and 50.5 percent were female.

When asked about the person who is most important to the respondent, 90.8 percent cited someone who is male.

Nevertheless, the son was the highest ranking person in this category (16 percent), followed by the mother-in-law (10.4 percent), and the mother (7.9 percent).

As far as decision-making within the family is concerned, men make most decisions that are directly related to money. Such a trend is noticeable for big expenditures (e.g., buying cars or furniture), where in 42.6 percent of the cases a male member of the family makes the decision; a woman is the decision-maker in 9.1 percent of the cases. Also, in a plurality (20.5 percent) of cases, a male member of the family decides when to stop the children's education. In 5.3 percent of the cases, a woman decides (in 13.9 percent of the cases, if the respondent is included).

Women have more decision-making powers regarding the socialization of children (24.7 percent, compared to 16.4 percent of men), as well as in the management of everyday household tasks (47 percent, compared to 18.2 percent of men).

Women assert that most of these decisions are made together, and the majority of women are happy with their influence in decision-making within the family (88.4 percent are very satisfied and satisfied). Only 1 percent are not satisfied with their role in family decision-making, and 9.8 percent are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied.

Yet, these data should be critically analyzed. First, such a sensitive question may have prompted a diplomatic response. Respondents may also perceive the question regarding the family's financial situation as sensitive. Thus, despite the fact that the average family income is low (and that 75 percent of women have no individual income), over 75 percent of respondents have asserted that their material situation is good and very good (9.4 percent and 68.1 percent, respectively). Finally, as was shown in the section on the women's role in the

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family and society, women's assertion that they are satisfied with their influence in the family stems from the belief that women's position in the family is inferior to men's position.

KOSOVAR SERB WOMEN



In addition to the non-Serb Kosovar sample, this research also surveyed 120 Kosovar Serb women. From this sample, 45 women were from Serb majority areas in northern Kosova, 35 were from central Kosova, and 30 women were from the Serb areas in southeastern Kosova.

9. KOSOVAR SERB WOMEN'S POLITICAL PRIORITIES

There is a notable difference in priorities between Serb women and non-Serb women in Kosova. The Kosovar Serb women's priorities are closely related to the Serb community's specific situation in Kosova.

KGSC posed the question, "**considering your needs and interests, which are the two most important issues that require urgent action by Kosova's elected representatives?**"

The absolute priority of Kosovar Serb women is **security** (93.3 percent). The second most important issue for Serb women in Kosova is **return** (35.8 percent), and the third priority is **Prishtina-Belgrade dialogue** (30.8 percent). Kosovar Serb women also cited the importance of **minority rights** (19.2 percent). No other issue reached double-digit percentages in terms of interest.

According to the working group, all priorities are closely related to security.

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According to the working group on Kosovar Serb women, the ranking of priorities match their experience in the field.³¹ Furthermore, they asserted that all the priorities mentioned were closely related to security.³² For example, for Serbs, the issue of return is related to the sense of security, which one gains when being part of a larger group. Also, the Prishtina-Belgrade dialogue is seen through a security lens: on one hand, Kosovar Serbs think that Belgrade is the guarantor of their security in Kosova; on the other hand, they do not trust that Prishtina can guarantee their security.

Less than one percent of the respondents chose the **economy** as an important issue. There was no difference in the ranking of priorities, when cross tabulating with age, education, habitat, etc.

Some members of the working group were surprised that the economy was not a priority, considering that Serbs express concern for their economic situation. One explanation, provided by the working group, was that Kosovar Serbs have a sense of inequality when it comes to economics; they believe that Albanians will benefit if Kosova develops, and they will remain economically isolated. In addition, a working group member expressed the opinion that disinterest in the economy is more marked among Serb women, due to a higher rate of unemployment; thus, if men were surveyed, they would express more interest in the economy. Finally, the working group stressed that Kosovar Serbs think that economic development is connected to Belgrade, and they do not expect Kosovar institutions to be engaged in this area (which is what the question suggests).

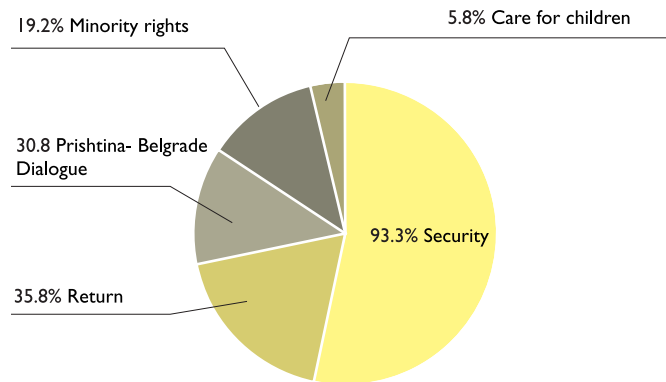
10. KOSOVAR SERB WOMEN'S POLITICAL PREFERENCES

Regarding Kosova's elections, most Kosovar Serb women do not vote. On average, 90.8 percent of the surveyed women have **not voted in any of the**

³¹ Most of the comments made by the working group on Kosovar Serbs referred to the population as a whole, not only women. When comments referring specifically to Kosova Serb women are made, it is clearly stated in the report.

³² Security, according to the working group, is related to the freedom of movement, the possibility of employment, and education.

Graph 10 – Kosovar Serb Women’s Priorities (over 5 percent)



post-war elections in Kosova. One positive aspect is that, out of those women who have voted, only 8.3 percent say they would not vote again. Nevertheless, the turnout rate remains alarming.

Members of the working group noted a number of plausible explanations for the low voter turnout. First, Kosovar Serb women may want to return to the system in place before 1999, and they fear that participating in Kosovar elections will contribute to the building of the new Kosovar institutions. Second, there is an element of calculation when it comes to Kosova’s elections, whereby Serbs vote “as much as is necessary” to influence decision-making (especially in local elections), but not enough to legitimize Kosova’s new institutions. Third, Belgrade plays a large role in influencing Kosovar Serbs’ decision to participate in elections. Now that the Orthodox Church has come out against Kosovar elections, voter turnout is likely to be even lower.

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Viewed regionally, voting trends can be observed according to geographic location. In northern Kosovo, only one of the respondents claimed to have voted in Kosovo's elections since the end of the war (2 percent). Serb women in southeastern Kosovo showed a greater readiness to participate in elections, relative to the Serb sample. In Kosovo's general election of 2004, 11.4 percent of the surveyed women said that they voted. This indicates that these citizens are more willing to take part in Kosovo's institutional life.

90.8 percent of the surveyed women have not voted in any of Kosovo's post-war elections.

However, the fact that women in this region were the least informed (relative to the Serb sample) shows that they are insufficiently involved in Kosovo's institutional processes. Local and Kosovo-wide leaders should increase cooperation with this segment of the Kosovo's population.

The regional differences in voting reflect the specific situations in these localities.

According to the working group members, political extremism among Kosovar Serb parties in the north is not attractive to voters. Serbs in the northern municipalities think that they cannot change anything in politics, and therefore choose not to vote. In addition, Serbs in the north do not think that they are part of Kosovo, and thus do not vote in Kosovar elections. At the same time, persons who do not vote according to local leaders' instructions risk reprisals from other Serbs.

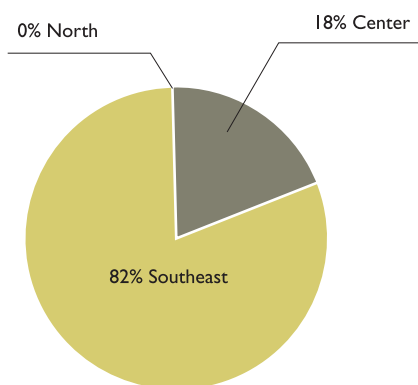
Working group members noted that Serbs in southeastern Kosovo are more integrated. They are more able to vote because the political pressure is not as high as in northern Kosovo.

Few Kosovar Serb women in northern Kosovo voted in elections; southeastern Serb women participated more in Kosovar elections than the rest of the Serb sample.

The fact that voter turnout among Serbs in the southeast is lower than the Kosovar average was explained by the relative political inactivity of the Serbs in this region.³³

³³It was noted that few Serbs from this region take part in Serbian elections.

Graph 11 – Percentage of Serb Women that Voted in Kosova’s General Election in 2004



For the Kosovar Serb women who voted, the reasons for choosing a party differ from the main sample’s reasons. Their main motive for choosing a party is disappointment with other parties (66.7 percent) or the party program (41.7 percent).

10.1 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF KOSOVAR SERB WOMEN

Few respondents (4.2 percent) said that they were members of a political party. All women claiming party membership were members of parties that have not competed in Kosovar elections.

There are regional differences. Women in southeastern Kosova, like their family members, have a higher rate of party membership (on average, about 10 percent of women are members of political parties).

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Within this sample, there are virtually no women party members in northern or central Kosova.

From the Kosovar Serb sample, 15.9 percent of the respondents said they had a particular liking for a specific party, all of which are registered in Serbia. From this percentage, 4.2 percent said they were sympathizers of the Radical Party of Serbia (SRS).³⁴ Less than 1 percent declared a liking for a Serb party that has competed in Kosova's elections.

Geographically speaking, in central and southeastern Kosova, women's support for Serbian parties is roughly similar (approximately 11 percent of the sample). In northern Kosova, the percentage of women who sympathized with a specific party is somewhat higher; about half supported the SRS (8.9 percent), and the rest supported other parties in Serbia (11 percent).

15.9 percent of the respondents said they had a particular liking for a specific party, all of which are registered in Serbia

The working group proposed a few reasons why the SRS is popular in Kosova. First, the Kosovar Serb electorate believes that the SRS would lead a more successful government than other parties. In the eyes of the electorate, governments led by other parties have failed. Since the SRS has not led the government, it is not tainted by failure. Second, former Serb President Slobodan Milosevic encouraged the electorate to support the SRS. Considering the electorate's positive memories of life under Milosevic, this is an important recommendation.

The working group also provided potential reasons why Kosovar Serb parties do not enjoy much support from the local Kosovar Serb electorate. The Serb parties in Kosova frequently change names and identities. Also, Kosovar Serb politicians have often changed their political functions. Consequently, the Kosovar Serb electorate has feelings of confusion and mistrust. Serb politicians in Kosova are also rather inactive and weak at promoting themselves and their

³⁴ In Serbian: Srpska Radikalna Stranka

activities at the local level. According to one working group member, Kosovar Serb politicians are heavily dependent upon the publicity transmitted through the Serbian media. This impedes the development of local, autonomous Kosovar Serb politicians who are independent from governing structures in Belgrade.

11. THE LEVEL OF INFORMATION

Kosovar Serb women's main source of information is the television (83.3 percent), followed by conversations within the family (22.5 percent).

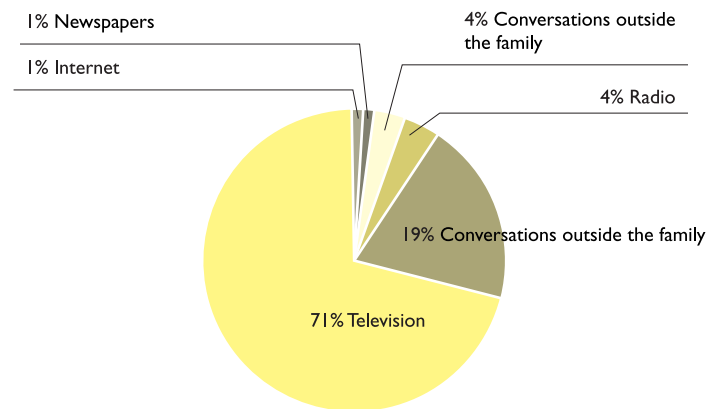
A small percentage of Kosovar Serb women said that they do not read the newspapers (8.3 percent, compared to 43.7 percent in the main sample), and approximately 30 percent read a newspaper every day. In addition, fewer Kosovar Serb women use the television as a daily source of information (45 percent). The majority of respondents said that they speak daily to their family members about Kosova's current situation (83.3 percent). Finally, 62.5 percent said that they speak about Kosova's current affairs with persons outside their family. This is quite different from the main sample, in which only 14.5 percent of women said they speak daily to persons outside their family regarding Kosova's issues.

Kosovar Serb respondents lack information about the leaders of Kosova's institutions and know even less about the leaders of international institutions in Kosova.

Kosovar Serb respondents lack information about the leaders of Kosova's institutions, and know even less about the leaders of international institutions in Kosova. Approximately one-third of the respondents accurately named the President and Prime Minister of Kosova; half said that they did not know this information.³⁵ Only 11.7 percent of the respondents could name the SRSG, and none of the surveyed women could name the current KFOR commander.

³⁵ However, the working group thought that a greater percentage of Kosovar Serbs know who these leaders are, but refused to name the leaders, lest they provide them with legitimacy.

Graph 12 – Main Sources of Information



Respondents were also asked to name the leaders of Serbian institutions; this allowed their knowledge of Serb and Kosovar politicians to be compared. Respondents had more information in this regard, but not as much information as the respondents in the main sample. Less than two-thirds of respondents (61.7 percent) could name the Prime Minister of Serbia, and 70 percent accurately named the President of Serbia. The working group offered one explanation: unlike Kosovar politicians, Serbian politicians change more frequently, or they change political appointments. Nevertheless, these data suggest a double, or even triple, isolation of Kosovar Serb women, and underscore the need improve this segment of the population's access to information.

For the section on facts, most respondents incorrectly answered questions related to current issues in Kosovo (e.g., the Kosovo budget, number of assembly members, income tax rates). The questions about the number of municipalities

in Kosova and the number of Serb Assembly members in the previous mandate drew the most correct answers. According to the working group, this is because Serbs are more aware of things that they consider relevant to their own lives; the number of municipalities is closely related to decentralization, so Kosovar Serbs are better informed about this issue.³⁶

Dividing the Kosovar Serb sample according to regions shows striking differences in the respondents' level of information.³⁷ The most informed respondents live in northern Kosova; more than half the correct answers were from this area. Serb women living in southeastern Kosova were the least informed; at best, one-third of the women named leaders of Kosovar or Serbian institutions. According to the working group, this reflects southeastern Kosovar Serbs' general disinterest in politics.

The majority of respondents incorrectly answered questions related to current issues in Kosova.

12. ATTITUDES ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE FAMILY AND SOCIETY

In general, Serb and non-Serb women in Kosova have little difference in opinion regarding the role of women in the family. Respondents from both samples affirmed that housework and childcare are primarily for women. Respondents also agreed that men and women should dress and behave differently. In some ways, Kosovar Serb women demonstrated less traditional views, especially in relation to marriage.

In general, Serb and non-Serb women in Kosova have little difference in opinion regarding the role of women in the family.

³⁶ Decentralization is especially important to Kosovar Serbs because it provides for the creation of new, smaller administrative units, which would allow Kosovar Serbs more self-governance within Kosova's institutional structure.

³⁷ The Serb sample is divided into three regions: the north covers the municipalities of Leposavic, Zvecan, Zubin Potok, and the northern part of Mitrovica; the center includes Gracanica, Lipjan, Plemetin, and the surrounding villages; the southeastern section includes Serbs living in the municipalities of Kamenica, Gjilan, and Viti.

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For example, 44.6 percent think that **there is nothing wrong with a couple living together without getting married** (29.3 percent of women in the main sample agree with this statement, and more than 50 percent disagree). In addition, only 5.8 percent of Serb respondents think that **the mother and father should decide whom their daughter should marry**, while 19.2 percent of the main sample agree with this statement.

In regards to the role of women in society, Serb women are less inclined to forgo their interests for men. The majority (59.2 percent) of Kosovar Serb women disagreed that **a company should first fire married**

women, rather than men; 30.1 percent of women in the main sample shared this view. Many Serb women agreed that **women are better equipped to be managers/directors than men** (44.2 percent); 24 percent of women in the main sample held this view.

Finally, Kosovar Serb women seemed more certain of their opinions than the non-Serb sample. The percentage of respondents that said, "I do not know" never reached double digits. For one-third of the statements, the percentage of women in the main sample that chose the option "I do not know" is over 10 percent.

13. ATTITUDES ON THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN SOCIETY AND THE ECONOMY

Compared to the main sample, there is no major difference in opinion regarding the state's role in society and the economy. Both Kosovar Serb and non-Serb women prefer more state support, whether in terms of income or health-care. In fact, Serb women's preference for state intervention is somewhat higher than that of women in the main sample.

Most Kosovar Serb women (86.7 percent) agreed that **if a member of the extended family is financially much better off than the others are, s/he has a responsibility to help them financially**.

The most notable point of difference between Serb and non-Serb women in Kosova is in regards to the issue of privatization. In the main sample, 57.7 percent of women thought that **Kosovar companies will be worse off if they do not privatize**; approximately 36 percent Kosovar Serb women support privatization. According to the working group, Kosovar Serb women's views are partly due to the prior socialist system and partly due to the social protection offered by Serbia in Kosova before and after the war. Also, minimal support for privatization is related to the fact that Kosovar Serb women do not consider economic development a priority (see section 9 - Kosovar Serb women's priorities).

14. ATTITUDES ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

For Kosovar Serb women, the ideal politician must be resourceful (69.2 percent), honest (67.5 percent), and tolerant (53.3 percent). Out of these three key character traits, respondents think that women are more resourceful (41.7 percent) and tolerant (44.2 percent) than men. However, men are seen as more honest than women are (46.7 percent).

Kosovar Serb women express a high level of support for women's involvement in politics, and fewer support conservative attitudes than those in the main sample. For example, 77.5 percent think that **in Kosova, women in politics can be just as successful as men**. From the main sample, just over a third of the women respondents (37.6 percent) share this opinion. Only 5.8 percent of Serb women think that women cannot be as successful as men can in politics, compared to 15.3 percent of women in the main sample.

Approximately 60 percent of the Serb respondents think that women should occupy **about half of the decision-making posts in Kosova**, compared to 43.1 percent of respondents in the main sample. Only 9.2 percent think that there should not be a specified number of women in decision-making offices (22.7 percent of the main sample).

When asked about **women's participation in the Assembly of**

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Kosova, about 49 percent of the Serb sample compared to 47 percent of the main sample support increased participation among women. Fewer Serb women think that there should be the same number of women Assembly members as there are now (29 percent, compared to 40 percent of the main sample).

More than 77 percent of Kosovar Serb women support the legal obligation for parties competing in Kosovar elections to ensure that one-third of their party list candidates are women.³⁸ Only 5.8 percent disagree with this regulation, compared to 20 percent of women in the main sample.

Similar to the main sample, Serb women also do not have a clear opinion as to why less women are involved in politics. Serb women did gravitate towards the “I neither agree, nor disagree” option, whereas women in the main sample opted for “I do not know.” Both Kosovar Serb and non-Serb women disagree with the statement that only a man can adequately represent citizens’ interests. However, like women in the main sample, they are undecided as to whether or not the situation in Kosova would be better with more women in politics.

15. THE FAMILY BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS

There are some apparent differences between Serb and non-Serb family trends. For example, more than 35 percent of Kosovar Serb households contain no minors. In the main sample, this percentage is almost half as low, around 16 percent. The lower birth rate among Serbs partially explains this phenomenon. However, the emigration of Kosovar Serb youth after 1999 is a more likely explanation.

In relation to the number of family members, the most notable difference between the two samples is the number of households with more than four adults. Approximately one-third of families in the main sample but only 2.6 percent of Kosovar Serb families have more than four adult members in one household.

³⁸ In the main sample, the average is 54.7 percent.

Table 8 - Number of Family Members in the Household

	Household members under 18 years		Household members 18 years and over	
	Non-Serbs	Serbs	Non-Serbs	Serbs
0	16.7	35.8	0.5	0.8
1	13.3	23.3	1	33.3
2	25.4	26.7	23.6	24.2
3	19	10	16.6	28.3
4	12.4	0.8	25.2	10.8
5	5.9	2.5	13.2	0.8
6 +	7.3	0.9	19.9	1.8

The employment and **education levels** are notably different between the two samples. Kosovar Serb women have more years of schooling than the average Kosovar women. In the main sample, 80.5 percent of women had up to 12 years of schooling; this figure is 71.5 percent among Kosovar Serb women. More than twice as many Kosovar Serb women have a university degree (7.5 percent and 3.1 percent, respectively); and they are nearly three times less likely to have not had any years of education (1.7 percent compared to 3.8 percent).

There are differences in **employment** data as well - more than twice as many Kosovar Serb women are employed (34.2 percent, compared to 16.7 percent in the main sample). The public sector employs most Serb women (27.5 percent). Approximately ten percent (11.7 percent) receive a pension, compared to 5.1 percent of women in the main sample. For both samples, approximately the same number of women defines themselves as unemployed (about 19 percent). The number of Kosovar Serb women that are housewives is 20 percent lower than in the main sample. According to the working group, at least two factors contribute to the differences in employment between the two samples. First, Kosovar Serb women have a higher level of education, and second, the Serbian parallel administrative system in Kosova presents them with more employment opportunities.

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Both samples had similar feelings about the **person who is most important to the respondent**. Similar to the main sample, for about 90 percent of Kosovar Serb women, the most important member of their family is male. However, the husband does not have as dominant a role as in the main sample (59.2 percent compared to 71.5 percent, respectively). Instead, the son (17.5 percent) and daughter (7.5 percent) play a more important role. The daughter is virtually absent from the main sample's selection of most important people.

The difference in employment status among persons important to the respondents is not that great - 58.5 percent of the main sample is employed and 65.9 percent of the Serb sample is employed. However, the type of employment differs. Public employment is more prevalent among Kosovar Serbs. Also, three times as many Serbs are seasonally employed, which indicates that a significant percent of Kosovar Serbs receive income from agriculture.

Similar to the main sample, women are more likely to be the second most important person to Kosovar Serb women (approximately 50 percent of the time). Unlike the main sample, the second most important person has a greater likelihood of being employed (51.8 percent versus 32.5 percent).

Also similar to the main sample, most Serb women claim that they are satisfied with the **influence they have in decision-making in the family** (72.5 percent and 88.4 percent, respectively). Approximately 20 percent said that they were neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied (compared to 9.8 percent of the main sample). Finally, 7.5 percent of Kosovar Serb women said they were dissatisfied with their influence in the family decision-making process.

When asked about their material situation, about 60 percent of Kosovar Serb women said that it is good. Compared to the main sample, Serb respondents are more likely to consider their material situation bad (20.8 versus 15.4 percent) and very bad (20 versus 6.7 percent).

CONCLUSIONS

The study “How do women in Kosova vote?” is just one of the KGSC endeavors to foster a better understanding of Kosovar women’s needs and preferences. This research is part of a wider effort to improve the position of Kosovar women, an effort that includes many other partners from all fields in Kosova.

The results of this research have provided answers to a number of key issues. First, it showed that the Kosovar woman is a consistent voter. Second, urban and rural voters have different party loyalties. Third, approximately 90 percent of Serb women in Kosova have not voted in a single post-war election. Fourth, the research revealed that Kosovar women’s priorities are the solution of Kosova’s political status, economic development, education, and security, with the latter being an absolute priority among Kosovar Serb women.

The study also showed that Kosovar women lack information about their legal and constitutional rights. Women’s level of education and employment are disturbing – only 15.8 percent of respondents continued their education after high school, and over 75 percent of Kosovar women are unemployed.

The family exerts some influence over women’s votes, but the majority of respondents claim that the family does not influence their votes. While most Kosovar women believe that women should participate more in politics, a substantial proportion prefer less female involvement in politics. Each of these findings requires further research and actions by multiple stakeholders that would meet the needs of Kosovar women.

We hope that each Kosovar woman’s answers – how she votes, what she thinks, and what her priorities are – will provide our partners with new ideas for activities.

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After reading this study's findings and considering women's position and attitudes, one might ask, "Is the glass half empty or half full?" The KGSC working group members discussed this question at length and held different opinions. KGSC hopes that this debate will continue as this research reaches a wider audience, involving all the important Kosovar stakeholders - institutional representatives, politicians, activists, analysts, and others - in a wider dialogue that will lead to concrete actions that improve the position of women in Kosovo.

ANNEX I

RESEARCH EXECUTION

1. The sample

The sample only included women with the right to vote, i.e. women 18 years of age or older. The survey included 1,005 women, of which 885 lived in majority-Albanian areas³⁹ and 120 lived in majority-Serb areas. The research covered all municipalities, except Shterpce and Novoberda where researchers could not conduct the survey for technical reasons.

Of the 1,005 surveyed women, 427 of them (42.5 percent) were interviewed in villages, 357 (35.5 percent) in cities, and 221 (22 percent) in towns.

2. Research instruments

In order to conduct the research, the Kosovar Gender Studies Center (KGSC) developed a questionnaire. Local and international experts from the fields of sociology, psychology, and gender studies lent their expertise in developing the questionnaire.⁴⁰

3. Field research and data processing

The research was conducted using a random sampling method. To choose the

³⁹ From the main sample, 98 percent of respondents are Albanian, and 2 percent are non-Serb minorities.

⁴⁰ More specifically, KGSC would like to thank Professor Chris Corrin for her comments on the questionnaire.

HOW DO WOMEN IN KOSOVA VOTE

sample, we first estimated the approximate population of each municipality and the proportional number of surveys that had to be conducted in each municipality.⁴¹ We then calculated the number of questionnaires for each municipality's rural and urban zones, aiming to mirror the geographic distribution of the population within the municipality. Finally, the exact starting points (locations) for the surveys were determined.⁴²

Prior to deciding in favor of random sampling, the KGSC team considered other research methods, such as target groups.⁴³ Random sampling was finally decided upon because Kosovo has long been lacking a general study investigating women's political opinions and preferences. Thus, random sampling research was deemed necessary to gather a preliminary overview of the situation, which would serve as a guide for future research using other methodologies.

The research was executed by the KGSC team, which included some volunteers. This was a multiethnic team comprised of 20 interviewers. With the aim of promoting its mission in capacity building, the KGSC also hired inexperienced interviewers, who underwent a number of trainings and were regularly monitored. Fieldwork lasted 15 days, from January 27 until February 9, 2005.

Three controllers were responsible for overseeing the surveying in the field, and they deemed the work to be of high quality. Nevertheless, we should note that Kosovo lacks clear addresses and house numbers, so finding the surveyed houses (especially in the villages) complicated the controllers' task on some occa-

⁴¹ From the total planned sample of 1,000 surveys, the number conducted in each municipality is proportionate to the percentage that each population comprises in relation to the total population of Kosovo. The World Bank estimated that in 2001 there were 1.9 million people living in Kosovo.

⁴² The questionnaires for each locality were not random, but rather were conducted in groups of five (called starting points). This allowed us to determine the identities of different localities within a habitat or municipality. For example, one starting point could be Dubrovniku Street in Prishtina; the researcher would fill in a questionnaire from every second house located on one side of this street. If there was more than one woman in the house, the interviewer would survey the woman whose birthday was closest to the date of the interview. This method has been shown to have higher statistical accuracy.

⁴³ This method would not involve random sampling, but would require searching for women in specific categories (according to place of residence, education, age, employment status, etc).

sions. In general, interviewers were well received by respondents, especially in rural zones. In majority-Serb areas, interviewers met greater resistance to surveying and a higher degree of refusals.

Data processing was done with SPSS 10.0, and results were presented through synthetic tables (containing frequencies and percentages). The SPSS program allows the researcher to cross tabulate various profiles in order to test for differences in opinion according to age, place of residence, employment, etc.

After the primary data analysis, KGSC organized three working groups, during which experts on gender issues and the Serb community analyzed and commented upon the findings.

4. The research team

The research “How do women in Kosova vote?” was an initiative of the KGSC, which provided continual institutional support. The Kosova Foundation for Open Society (KFOS) and Network Women Program – Open Society Institute (OSI), New York funded the research. The following individuals participated in this research:

Research author (project leader; questionnaire development; data analysis):
Jehona Gjurgjeala

Questionnaire development, staff training, and field coverage: Nait Vrenezi

Assistance in fieldwork and staff training; interviewer; data entry: Luljeta Demolli, Njomëza Gjonbalaj, Albana Lumi

Interviewing and data entry: Lyra Hadri, Jeta Limani, Anita Sutaj, Doruntina Vuniqi

Interviewing: Hamide Bajrami, Jelena Dabetic, Aleksandra Dacic, Lorina Gashi, Ilire Hyseni, Vesa Kraja, Menduhije Latifi, Zana Limani, Gordana Nikolic, Mevlyde Salihu, Fitore Spahiu, Zana Tahiri, Fortesa Vokshi

Controllers: Amir Haziri, Anila Kadiu, Rudina Kadiu

HOW DO WOMEN IN KOSOVA VOTE

Data processing: Artan Muhaxhiri

Participants in working groups on gender issues: Sevdije Ahmeti, Anton Berishaj, Naxhije Buçinca, Luljeta Demolli, Delina Fico, Elmaze Gashi, Kaqusha Jashari, Nita Luci, Flora Macula, Igballe Rogova, Luljeta Vuniqui, Jeta Xharra

Participants in the working group on Kosovar Serbs: Zoran Culafic, Ilir Deda, Biserka Ivanovic, Senad Šabovic

KGSC would like to thank all the working group participants, who enhanced this study with their knowledge and opinions.

The research author would like to especially thank KGSC staff for their continuous moral and institutional support: Luljeta Vuniqui (Executive Director), Elmaze Gashi, Luljeta Demolli, Nicole Farnsworth and Ilire Rizvanolli

ANNEX II

QUESTIONNAIRE

HOW DO WOMEN IN KOSOVA VOTE



Qendra Kosovare për Studime Gjinore
Kosovar Gender Studies Center

Serial number
Interviewer initials
Date
Municipality
Location

**"HOW DO WOMEN VOTE?"
SURVEY**

Prishtina, January 2005

FAMILY DATA

Q1. Residence

- 1) Village
- 2) Small town
- 3) City

Q2. Type of habitat-you live in a:

- 1) Flat
- 2) A house with its own garden
- 3) A house that shares the garden with other members of your family/kin

Q3. How many members does your family have (i.e. all the members you share you living space with, mentioned in Q2)?

- 1) Below 18 years old _____
- 2) 18 years and over _____

HOW DO WOMEN IN KOSOVA VOTE

Q4. Can you tell us a little more about you and your family members, which are over 18 years of age? Please tell us about them by starting with the person most important to you.

	Respondent	Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4
Relation to respondent (write)					
Sex	F	M F	M F	M F	M F
Age (write)					
EDUCATION (write number) 1. Years 0 - 12 2. High school 3. Student 4. Undergraduate degree 5. Postgraduate degree 6. PHD					
EMPLOYMENT (write num.) 1. Public empl. 2. Private empl. 3. Self-empl. 4. Temporary empl. 5. Pensioner 6. Housewife 7. Unemployed					
MARITAL STATUS (write number) 1. Married 2. Single 3. Widowed 4. Divorced 5. Partnership					
Individual earnings (euro in a month)	_____ euro in a month	_____ euro in a month	_____ euro in a month	_____ euro in a month	_____ euro in a month
Ethnicity (for the respondent only)					
Religion (for the respondent only)					

Q5. When it comes to making important decisions in the family, it sometimes happens that a particular member of the family has greater influence. In your opinion, which member of your family has the biggest influence over the following issues:

(WRITE IN THE CODE from the table below).

CODES		
1) M 18-34	2) M 35-50	3) M over50
4) F 18-34	5) F 35-50	6) F over 50
7) Together	8) Respondent	9) Ref/NA

- 1) Bringing up the children _____
- 2) Big expenditures (furniture, car purchase) _____
- 3) Children's schooling _____
- 4) Family relations with kin _____
- 5) Everyday domestic issues (small purchases for home) _____
- 6) Holiday decisions (weekly, annual) _____

Q6. How happy are you with the influence you have over the decision-making process in your family?

- 1) Very happy _____
- 2) Happy _____
- 3) Neither happy nor unhappy _____
- 4) Unhappy _____
- 5) Very unhappy _____
- 6) Ref/NA _____

Q7. How would you describe your financial situation?

- 1) Very good _____
- 2) Good _____
- 3) Very bad _____
- 4) Bad _____
- 5) Ref/NA _____

ATTITUDES ABOUT THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE FAMILY AND SOCIETY

Q8. A number of statements will now be read to you, regarding the role of women in the family and society. Can you please tell us your opinion regarding the following statements (from strongly agree, to strongly disagree):

N	STATEMENTS	YES!!	YES	SO-SO	NO	NO!!	Don't know	Ref/NA
1)	It is natural that the greatest burden of domestic work falls on the woman	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
2)	There is nothing wrong if a couple wants to live together without intending to get married	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
3)	A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
4)	Caring after the children is more the duty of the woman than the man	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
5)	Both the man and the woman should contribute to the family income	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
6)	A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
7)	Women are better equipped to be good directors/managers than men are	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
8)	Men ought to do a larger share of household work than they do now	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
9)	It is very important that a man dresses and behaves like a man, and a woman dresses and behaves like a woman	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
10)	When the woman earns more than her husband, problems always arise	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
11)	University education is more important for a woman than a man	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
12)	Overall, men are better political leaders than women	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
13)	If a company must lay-off staff, it is better it lays off the married women rather than the men	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
14)	Care for the elderly and the ill in the family is the responsibility of men.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
15)	Father and mother should decide over who shall marry their daughter, and who shan't.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

Q9. A number of statements will now be read to you, regarding some aspects of society and the state. Can you please tell us your opinion regarding the following statements (from strongly agree, to strongly disagree:

	STATEMENTS	YES!!	YES	SO-SO	NO	NO!!	Don't know	Ref/NA
1)	The economic development of the country should be the primary goal, even if it is at the expense of public services (health, education)	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
2)	Employees need strong unions to fight for their working conditions and salaries	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
3)	The government should take steps to reduce the disparities in income	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
4)	Without privatization, companies will be even worse off in the future than they are now	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
5)	It is always a bad thing when workers participate in the management of companies	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
6)	The state should ensure that all citizens have access to free education and health services	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
7)	If a member of the extended family is financially much better off than the others, s/he has a responsibility to financially help them	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

INFORMATION

Q10. Kosovar citizens use various sources of information to keep informed about current affairs in Kosova. Which of the following sources of information is your main one? (Choose only one)

- 1) Conversations with friends and colleagues
- 2) Radio
- 3) Internet
- 4) Newspapers
- 5) Conversations with family members
- 6) Television
- 7) Ref/NA

HOW DO WOMEN IN KOSOVA VOTE

Q11. Can you please tell us how often do you use the following sources of information to keep informed about current issues in Kosova.

No	Source	Never	Rarely (1-2 times a week)	Often (3-5 times a week)	Regularly (every day)	Ref/NA
1	Newspapers	1	2	3	4	9
2	Internet	1	2	3	4	9
3	Television	1	2	3	4	9
4	Radio	1	2	3	4	9
5	Conversations with family members	1	2	3	4	9
6	Conversations outside the family	1	2	3	4	9

Q12. Can you please name the leaders of the following institutions?

- 1) Special Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations _____
- 2) President of Assembly of Kosova _____
- 3) Head of KFOR _____
- 4) Prime Minister of Kosova _____
- 5) President of Kosova _____
- 6) Mayor of your municipality _____
- 7) Head of the Kosova Protections Corps _____

According to your opinion, who do the leaders of the following kosovar institutions report to? (Choose one of the options)

Q13. The Prime Minister of Kosova, reports to:

- 1) Assembly of Kosova
- 2) President of Kosova
- 3) Ombudsperson
- 4) Don't know
- 5) Ref/NA

Q14. The Kosova Protection Corps, report to:

- 1) President of Kosova
- 2) Prime Minister
- 3) Special Representative of the Secretary General
- 4) Don't know
- 5) Ref/NA

Q15. Assembly of Kosova reports to:

- 1) Special Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations
- 2) Citizens of Kosova
- 3) President of Kosova
- 4) Don't know
- 5) Ref/NA

Q16. Can you tell us how big the is the Budget of Kosova for 2005?

- 1) 600 million euros
- 2) 700 million euros
- 3) 800 million euros
- 4) 900 million euros
- 5) Don't know
- 6) Ref/NA

Q17. How many members does the Assmebly of Kosova have (including reserved seats)?

- 1) 110 members
- 2) 120 members
- 3) 130 members
- 4) 140 members
- 5) Don't know
- 6) Ref/NA

HOW DO WOMEN IN KOSOVA VOTE

Q18. What percent of members of the Assembly of Kosovo are women?

- 1) 15 %
- 2) 20 %
- 3) 25 %
- 4) 30 %
- 5) Don't know
- 6) Ref/NA

Q19. What is the maximum rate of tax a kosovar citizen can pay (not including pension contributions)

- 1) 7 %
- 2) 15%
- 3) 20 %
- 4) 26 %
- 5) Don't know
- 6) Ref/NA

Q20. How many municipalities are there in Kosova?

- 1) 22 municipalities
- 2) 26 municipalities
- 3) 30 municipalities
- 4) 31 municipalities
- 5) Don't know
- 6) Ref/NA

SUM OF ALL ACCURATE ANSWERS (Q14-Q20):

OPINIONS ABOUT THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

Q21. According to you, what proportion of senior posts should be held by women (e.g. in government, courts etc)?

- 1) Majority
- 2) About half
- 3) At least some
- 4) There should not be a specific number
- 5) None

6) Ref/NA

Q22. Concerning women in the Assembly, do you feel that there should be?

- 1) More women in the Assembly
- 2) Fewer women in the Assembly
- 3) About the same as now
- 4) Ref/NA

Q23. Concerning women being elected to the Municipal Assemblies, do you feel that there should be:

- 1) More women in the Municipal Assemblies
- 2) Fewer women in the Municipal Assemblies
- 3) About the same as now
- 4) Ref/NA

Q24. In Kosovo, women in politics can be successful:

- 1) as men are
- 2) if they are encouraged by others
- 3) if they are supported and assisted in their work
- 4) women cannot be as successful as men in politics
- 5) Ref/NA

Q25. In Kosovo, a third of elected politicians are women. From the knowledge you have of their activities, how do you judge their performance so far (from strongly agree, to strongly disagree)?

	STATEMENTS	YES!!	YES	SO-SO	NO	NO!!	Don't know	Ref/NA
1)	The contribution of women in kosovar politics is insignificant	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
2)	Women in politics have done a lot to achieve gender equality	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
3)	Women in politics are equal to their male colleagues in every respect	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
4)	Women politicians in Kosovo have done nothing for women	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
5)	Only a few women politicians deserve respect, while most of them do not justify the trust placed on them by the voters	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
6)	Women politicians in Kosovo are very able, but they are not given the chance to prove this	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

HOW DO WOMEN IN KOSOVA VOTE

Q26. What character traits do you like to see in an ideal politician (choose five from the list below) SHOWCARD

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1) Ambitious | 9) Effective |
| 2) Tolerant | 10) Level-headed |
| 3) Aggressive | 11) Committed to gender equality |
| 4) Honest | 12) Religious |
| 5) Practical | 13) Brave |
| 6) Crafty | 14) Uncorrupted |
| 7) Hard-working | 15) Cooperative |
| 8) Self-confident | |

Q27. There are many explanations about why there are few women in politics. Can you please tell us to what degree do you agree with the following statements (from strongly agree, to strongly disagree):

	STATEMENTS	YES!!	YES	SO-SO	NO	NO!!	Don't know	Ref/NA
1)	In general, there is discrimination against women in public life	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
2)	A woman candidate will lose votes	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
3)	Women put their families above a career in politics	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
4)	Women don't have the confidence for politics	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
5)	Women don't have the right experience for politics	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
6)	Women aren't interested in politics	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
7)	Political parties don't give women the opportunity to enter politics	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
8)	The unsocial hours of politics suit men and not women	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
9)	Only men can adequately represent the interests of citizens	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
10)	In general, things would be much better if there were more women in politics	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

Q28. Can you please choose three characteristics that, according to you, are more particular to women than men, and then choose three that are more particular to men.

SHOWCARD

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1) Ambitious | 9) Effective |
| 2) Tolerant | 10) Level-headed |
| 3) Aggressive | 11) Committed to gender equality |
| 4) Honest | 12) Religious |
| 5) Practical | 13) Brave |
| 6) Crafty | 14) Uncorrupted |
| 7) Hard-working | 15) Cooperative |
| 8) Self-confident | |

Q29. Currently in Kosova, political parties are obliged by law to include 30 percent of women in their electoral lists. Kosovar citizens have different opinions about this. Some agree with this principle, whereas some disagree, saying that political parties should have the freedom to decide about which candidates they will nominate. What is your opinion?

- 1) I fully agree with the obligation
- 2) I agree with the obligation
- 3) I disagree with the obligation
- 4) I disagree strongly with the obligation
- 5) I don't know
- 6) Ref/NA

Q30. Sa pajtoheni me deklaratën në vijim: "Në përgjithësi, gjendja do të ishte më e mirë po të kishte më shumë femra në politikë."

- 1) Pajtohem plotësisht
- 2) Pajtohem
- 3) Ashtu-ashtu
- 4) Nuk pajtohem
- 5) Fare nuk pajtohem
- 6) Ref/PP

HOW DO WOMEN VOTE?

The following sections focus on the political preferences of the voters, and their attitudes regarding different aspects of elections.

Q31. Given your own personal needs and interests, which would you say are the two key areas that demand urgent attention by Kosova's elected representatives? SHOWCARD

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1) Dialogue Prishtina-Belgrade | 10) Economic investment |
| 2) Security | 11) Childcare |
| 3) Violence in the family | 12) Returns |
| 4) Health insurance | 13) Corruption |
| 5) Education | 14) Gender inequality |
| 6) Minority rights | 15) Care for people affected by the war |
| 7) Privatization | 16) Environment |
| 8) Care for the elderly | 17) Other (what) |
| 9) Kosova's status | |
-

Q32. In your opinion, which of the political parties in Kosova best represents the interests of women?

- 1) LDK
- 2) PDK
- 3) AAK
- 4) ORA
- 5) PSHDK
- 6) PD
- 7) Others
- 8) Ref/NA

Q33. There have been four elections since the end of the conflict in Kosova - two local and two general elections. Starting from the first elections towards the last, the number of voters has declined steadily. Have you personally voted in these elections, and which party did you vote for (write the code from the legend)?

- | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| 1) 2004 _____ | 3) 2001 _____ |
| 2) 2002 _____ | 4) 2000 _____ |

LEGEND (codes)

1. LDK
 2. PDK
 3. AAK
 4. ORA
 5. PSHDK
 6. PD
 7. OTHERS
 8. PARTIA A
 9. PARTIA B
 10. PARTIA C
 11. PARTIA D
 12. NO
 13. I DON'T REMEMBER
 14. REF/NA
- IF THE RESPONDENT REFUSES TO GIVE PARTY NAME
USE THESE CODES

NOTE: THE SURVEYOR FILLS THE FOLLOWING SECTION, AFTER THE END OF THE INTERVIEW

Q34. Voting consistency

1. Voted four times for the same party
2. Voted three times for the same party, once did not vote
3. Voted three times for the same party, once for a different one
4. Voted twice for the same party, twice did not vote
5. Voted twice for the same party, with one or two changes
6. Voted once for one party, did not vote three times
7. Every time for a different party

Q35. Non-voting consistency

1. Did not vote (write the number of times) _____

NOTE: QUESTIONS Q36-Q38 REFER TO THE PARTY THAT THE RESPONDENT HAS VOTED MOST RECENTLY FOR

Q36. Your decisions on which party you will vote for was made:

- 1) A long time ago (more than two years ago)
- 2) Before the start of the electoral campaign
- 3) During the electoral campaign
- 4) A few days before the elections (1-3 days)
- 5) On Election day
- 6) Ref/NA

Q37. You gave the vote to your party because:

- 1) It deserves my vote
- 2) Is slightly better than other parties
- 3) My vote is against another party
- 4) Ref/NA

Q38. (Only for those that have changed their party preference) Can you tell us the reason why you changed your party preference?

WRITE the answer _____

Q39. Some months have passed since the last elections. In the meantime, has something happened to make you change your preference - if there was an election today, would you vote for the same party?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) I would not vote at all
- 4) I don't know
- 5) Ref/NA

Q40. People have different reasons why they vote for a particular party. For you personally, which of the following reasons have influenced your vote? Please choose two from the list below.

SHOWCARD

- 1) The party electoral campaign
- 2) Family ties with party activists
- 3) Disappointment with other parties
- 4) The quality of the party members
- 5) Better representation of women's interests
- 6) The contribution of the party so far
- 7) Party leader
- 8) Work of the local branch of the party
- 9) International support of the party
- 10) Party programme
- 11) Other (write) _____
- 12) Ref/NA

Q41. Usually, in the decision-making process about voting, some other circumstances are important. For you personally, which of the following factors has had an influence on your vote?

- 1) Media reports
- 2) Conversations with family members
- 3) Electoral activities of the party
- 4) Conversations outside the family
- 5) Results of the party to date
- 6) Ref/NA

Q42. In making the decision for whom to vote, it is usual to speak to other family members. What influence did the conversations within your family have about who to vote for?

- 1) Decisive influence (I have voted like the other members of the family)
- 2) Big influence (I have voted like most of the members of my family)
- 3) Little influence (I have listened to their opinions, but every member of the family has voted as they saw fit)
- 4) No influence (I have voted regardless of the opinions of the family members)
- 5) Ref/NA

Q43. For some voters, the participation of women in party lists is an incentive to go out and vote, whereas for some this is a disincentive. What is your opinion about this issue (choose one option only)?

- 1) Presence of women in the lists motivates me to vote, otherwise I would not vote
- 2) Presence of women in the list motivates me to vote, but I wish they were better selected by the parties
- 3) Men and female candidates are equal, hence my vote is not determined by gender issues
- 4) Women in party lists have no influence on politics, hence they have no influence on my vote
- 5) The presence of women in party lists makes me not go out to vote
- 6) Ref/NA

Q44. Are you a member of any political party?

- 1) Yes (write) _____
- 2) No
- 3) Ref/NA

Q45. Is anyone in your family a member of a political party?

- 1) Yes (write who, and member of which party) _____
- 2) No
- 3) Ref/NA

Q46. (If answer is "no" or "ref" in Q44) Are you a sympathiser of a political party?

- 1) Yes (write) _____
- 2) No
- 3) Ref/NA

Q47. Before the last elections in Kosova, there was a debate about open party lists. Do you know what is the difference between open and closed party lists? (If the answer is yes, ask for a description from the respondent, and mark according to the knowledge)

- 1) Fully accurate
- 2) Partially accurate
- 3) Inaccurate
- 4) No
- 5) Ref/NA

Q48. Voting with a closed party list system means that the voter votes for a party, while the party itself determines the ranking of candidates within the list. In the case of open party lists, the voter chooses both the party and the candidate it wishes to vote for. In this case, the ranking of the candidates on the list is done according to the votes won. You personally, which option do you prefer?

- 1) Closed party lists
- 2) Open party lists
- 3) I don't know
- 4) Ref/NA

