

**KOSOVARS**  
**ON:**  
**LIFE**  
**IN**  
**KOSOVO**

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## **Abstract**

This study sought to determine the Kosovars' views and feelings of Optimism, Satisfaction, Patriotism, Justice and Corruption in Kosovo, as well as their tendencies of acting pro-socially and engaging in Entrepreneurial behavior, Protesting, and getting involved in elections. The research process consisted of five hundred questionnaires, four hundred that were individually distributed to random Kosovars in five major regions in Kosovo: North – Mitrovica, East- Prishtina, Mid- Skenderaj, West-Peja, and South-Prizren. An additional one hundred questionnaires were distributed to a more cosmopolitan sample electronically. In addition to the quantitative research, qualitative questions were also requested from the respondents.

## **Kosovo Since 1912**

A brief background history of Kosovo in the last hundred years

To understand the complexity of the Kosovar - Albanian identity and the current implications one has to go back in history to see all the changes that the people have gone through politically, economically and socially throughout the years. According to *Kosovo: A Monographic Survey*, the question about the Albanian issue starts to get considered in 1878 in the Berlin Congress; whereas, the issue of Kosovo begins in 1912 after the London Conference of Ambassadors, in which around 55% of Albanians' ethnic land, where the majority of the population was Albanian was given to Serbia, Montenegro and Greece. In 1912, Albania is created as a country, and 60% of Albanian people are left out of this newly-formed country, including here Albanians in Kosovo, as a result of the tradeoffs that the London Conference of Ambassadors achieved with the goal of "finding a solution to the Balkan crisis and enacting judicial order and peace in the Balkans" (255-56). For the purpose of this paper, we will discuss only the last one hundred years of Kosovo since 1912.

Up to 1912, the Balkan territories were under the Ottoman Empire's rule. During October of that year, Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece declared war against the Ottoman Empire (Judah 37). Meanwhile, all the Albanian territories (including Kosovo then) used this time of upheaval to declare independence of the Republic of Albania. On November 28, Ismail Qemali, an Albanian deputy in the Ottoman parliament, declared independence in the southern city of Albania, Vlora. This day continues to be celebrated as a national flag day in Kosovo, and where Albanians live in Montenegro and Macedonia, and by the Albanian Diaspora all around the world.

By the end of 1912, at the London Conference of Ambassadors, Albania was granted autonomy and it was decided that there would be a state, within the ethnographic boundaries established by the international commission (Ferraro). The fate of the northern- part of Albania, Kosovo, was left torn between Serbia and Montenegro. Kosovar-Albanians were frustrated and devastated by the decision that now they would have to be under the Serbian possession, after being under the Ottoman Empire's rule from 1455 to 1912. They revolted. At this time, still, Serbs inhabited only 30 or 40 percent of Kosovo's population. The majority was purely ethnic Albanian. Resistance efforts, led by Isa Boletini, were unsuccessful, and led to Kosovar's despair and left them defeated. During this resistance around 20,000 people lost their lives and tens of thousands fled, according to Judah (39).

The end of World War I left space for the creation of a new state, on December 1 1918, called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. It brought together the Serbian kingdom, kingdom of Montenegro, several parts of Austro-Hungary, Slovenian and Croatian territories, as well as Kosovo and Vojvodina (Malcolm 264). Serbia took a dominant role in Yugoslavia, not only because it lied in the center of this newly created state, but also because of the ruler of Serbia, Crown Prince Aleksandar Karadjordjevic, who became the king. Aside from the Slavic populations in Yugoslavia, minorities of German and Hungarians resided in Vojvodina, whereas in Kosovo, the majority were Albanians (Judah 41). The reign of Yugoslavia led way to the rise of many issues in Kosovo, the main ones being education, the Serbian colonists and Albanian emigration (Judah 44). Education has been a fundamental problem for Kosovar-Albanians ever since the Ottoman Empire resisted schooling, in order to prevent the creation of an Albanian national identity (Judah 44). When the Yugoslav

authorities took over the territory of Kosovo they too banned Albanian schools. Still, underground schools developed, which kept the language and the “Albanian identity” awake and encouraged “national awakening” (Judah 44). Nonetheless, as one can see, the progression in education of the Kosovar-Albanians was hindered and wrecked a century ago, the lingering problems of which the Kosovar-Albanian youth continues to inherit.

The Serbians’ colonization goal was to change the ethnic-composition of Kosovo, from Kosovar-Albanians to Serbs. With this objective in mind, some 50,000 Kosovar-Albanians were forced to emigrate to Albania and around 240,000 Kosovar-Albanians to Turkey in 1938 (Kosovo: A Monographic Survey, 143). Meanwhile, more than 11,000 Serbian families, with around 54,000 members and 12,000 random colonists arrived in Kosovo. More than 200,000 hectares of land were taken from Kosovar-Albanians and distributed to the colonists, but also to churches and monasteries, soldiers, for agricultural and economy schools for the Serbs. Even after World War II, through a furtive agreement between Turkey and Yugoslavia, around 250,000 people immigrated to Turkey. The Yugoslav Federation would separate means to stimulate Serbs to migrate to Kosovo. The Serbian colonization, with the purpose of obliterating the Kosovars, impoverished them and deprived them from being able to progress. While Serbs were given jobs in administration, social institutions, health and cultural institutions, Kosovar-Albanians were left working in mines and municipal services such as cleaning streets (Kosovo: A Monographic Survey 144). The implications of these treacherous gestures have left the Kosovar-Albanians suffering even nowadays. The Serbian forces destroyed the economy of Kosovo, health, education, information and cultural systems (275). Parents were pushed to work low-skilled jobs, children unable to be educated, all resulting in adults with low skills and a newly born country of Kosovo, with a reborn population unable to sustain itself in today’s global market.

On the 6th of April 1941 Yugoslavia was attacked by Germany, twelve days later Yugoslavia signed its capitulation. Although Kosovar-Albanians were against fascism, they welcomed the fascist forces as their saviors against the Serbs (Kosovo: A Monographic Survey 235). Upon the capitulation of Yugoslavia, Albanians were the only population in the Balkans during World War II divided into three zones: Italian, German and Bulgarian and three countries: Albania, Bulgaria and Serbia (Kosovo: A Monographic Survey 235). After their emancipation from the Nazi-fascist, the Serbians re-entered and overtook the Albanian lands throughout Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro and began enforcing terror and crime upon the people. Kosovar-Albanians and those of other areas within Yugoslavia were precluded to join the now independent country of Albania; even more, they were partitioned into four units within the Federation of Yugoslavia into that of Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro (Kosovo: A Monographic Survey, 240). The re-establishment of the Serbian jurisdiction - after the German one during World War II in Kosovo brought widespread opposition and resistance from the Kosovar-Albanians. In response to the resistance, Serbians re-started their torture and violence against Albanians. From the beginning of the 50s up to the 60s, Serbs forced Kosovar-Albanians to migrate to Turkey, arrested outspoken individuals and those who opposed the Serbs. The use of the national flag and other national symbols was also banned (Kosovo: A Monographic Survey 241).

According to *Kosovo: A Monographic Survey*, written by the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kosovo, after the “Plenumi i Brioneve” in 1966, when Rankovic, the vice-president of

Yugoslavia under Tito was removed from position, the violence and terror against Kosovar-Albanians was lessened (243). Meanwhile, Kosovar-Albanians used this time to further increase their requests for self-determination, union with Albania, the creation of their own constitution, their university, and the advancement of Kosovo into a Republic. Numerous protests were held for these reasons, many of them having deadly consequences for Kosovar-Albanians. One of the largest protests was organized on the 1st of April 1981 in Pristina, where tens of thousands of Kosovar-Albanians took part. Despite the enforcement of extraordinary time and police curfew, the protests continued around Kosovo (Kosovo: A Monographic Survey 244).

On the 23rd of March 1989 in Pristina, during a Socialist Autonomist Province of Kosovo (SAPK) municipal meeting it was decided that the 1974 constitution of Kosovo would be altered, meaning that the Kosovo autonomy was suspended. While, the Serbian government imposed propositions that Kosovar-Albanians did not accept; the Kosovar-Albanians insisted on preserving the basic points of the constitution. Thus, the autonomy of Kosovo was put under the protection of 215 Kosovar intellectuals, with the famous appeal towards the Yugoslav opinion and the Serbian Assembly (244). In the midst of all the manifestations, 254 Kosovar-Albanian intellectuals were isolated, more than 7,000 Kosovar-Albanian students were poisoned during the clashes between Serbians and Kosovar Albanians during the March-May period of 1990 (245). Meanwhile, the first political party in Kosovo, the Democratic League of Kosovo (DLM), led by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, was established as well as several other parties. On the 2nd of July 1990, with 115 Kosovar delegates of the KSA assembly declared the Constitution of Kosovo as the basis for the equality of Kosovo with the other units within the federation of Yugoslavia. This further escalated the situation and Serbia suspended the assembly of Kosovo, the University of Pristina, and banned the publication of the daily-newspaper Rilindja (Renaissance).

Still, on the 7th of September 1990 in Kacanik the Constitution of the republic of Kosovo was declared (246). Through the 26-30th of September of 1991 the Referendum for Kosovo as an independent and sovereign country was organized. The total number of Kosovar-Albanians that had a right to vote at this time was 1,051,357. Out of this number 914,802 or 87.19% of them voted. 913,705 voted for a sovereign Kosovo, while 164 were against and 933 were invalid (247). The government of the Republic of Kosovo was pushed to go abroad and work in exile. In this time they were able to make the issue of Kosovo known internationally and seek a solution. Even though, Kosovo had only verbal support from the international community for using non-violent means to achieve their ambition, it was not enough. Serbia used this only declarative support from the international community to continue its crimes against the Kosovar-Albanians.

On the 28th of November 1997, as a response to the crimes committed against the people, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) was introduced for the first time, which also helped to further make the issue of Kosovo known to the international community. As a response to the KLA, the Serbian forces sent a powerful army of soldiers into Kosovo, which not only fought against the KLA but also against the civil community. The battles continued throughout 1998 in all of Kosovo's territory. The greatest massacres were committed during February and March of 1998, especially in the territory of Drenica (248). From January to December of 1998, more than 2,000 Kosovar-Albanians were murdered and the number of displaced

reached 430,000. The majority were displaced within Kosovo, while thousands fled.

Following the Recak massacre in January 1999, the failure of the talks in Rambuje and Paris (February-March 1999), and the removal of Richard Holbrooke as the USA delegate from Kosovo, the Serbian forces began evidently to conduct their plan of ethnically cleansing the Kosovar-Albanians (249). The Serbians refused to sign the agreement for politically solving the problems with Kosovo, with the mitigations from the international community. This led the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to attack Serbia. On March 24, 1999 NATO began bombing Serbia. The bombings lasted 72 days, during which Serbia conducted its process of violently expelling more than a million Kosovar-Albanians in Macedonia, Albania and Montenegro. Many of the expelled went to Europe, America and all the way to Australia. During these 72 days, the Serbian forces killed around 15,000 Kosovar-Albanians, 3,000 went missing, and 5,000 were taken as hostages in Serbia (250).

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, with the 1244 resolution took over the control of Kosovo, while NATO, with the name KFOR was put in charge of the security of Kosovo. For nine years, the territory of Kosovo was under the protectorate of the United Nations. The UN's Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) created four pillars within its structure; one dealt with refugees (UNHCR), which ended in June 2000. The second one, which dealt with civil administration, police and justice was run by UNMIK; economic reconstruction was run by the European Union (EU) and the Organization for Security Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) was in charge of institution building (Judah, 94). During this time, the international community and the local politicians were in charge of the order in the territory of Kosovo. The first parliamentary elections in Kosovo were held in November of 2001. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova leader of LDK was elected as the president, Bajram Rexhepi (PDK) as prime minister and Nexhat Daci (LDK), as the president of the assembly. In the years of 2005 - 2007 numerous talks between Serbia and Kosovo were conducted, with the intention of solving the issue of Kosovo's status. After it was clear that the issue of Kosovo's status was not going to be solved through bi-lateral talks, then the Kosovar institutions and political leaders, with the support of the international community declared the independence of Kosovo on the 17th of February 2008. They also wrote the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, created a national anthem, and a state flag.

As one can see there were actually three phases since 1998 of building the Republic of Kosovo. The first phase was that of stabilizing the situation in the territory of Kosovo during 1998 and 1999. This took some time and with the effort of the international community by putting Kosovo under the UN administration this was achieved. The second phase required Kosovo to construct its institutions, enforce the law and enforce democracy. The third phase, the most important, was that of defining the status of Kosovo (Kosovo: A Monographic Survey 260-261).

## Kosovo's Economy Since 1999

Things have not looked bright, despite some improvements, since 1999 for Kosovo. In terms of the economy, Kosovo experienced growth in the first years after the war. The rush of the international community to Kosovo, with the United Nations Mission In Kosovo (UNMIK), brought tens of thousands of soldiers, staff members and other officials helped stimulate the economy during those years. It is approximated that 5 billion Euros have been spent in Kosovo by 2005, half of which have been distributed to international salaries (Judah, 105). Meanwhile, The Kosovo Stability Initiative (IKS) reported that “Kosovo is an island of poverty in Europe”, with a forecasted economic growth of 3.1 percent per year, where 45 percent of the population live below the poverty line on less than 1.4 Euros per day. The unemployment rate is much higher compared to the other countries in the region. The majority of the unemployed are women and young adults. In 2001 the unemployment rate was 57.1%, in 2004 it dropped to 39.7%, in 2006 it grew to 44.9% and it dropped to 43.6% in 2007. Estimates continue to be a couple of points higher from 2007 it ranges somewhere from 45-50 %. Out of that percentage, the most affected are the young adults - students and college graduates - where it is estimated that around 70% of them are unemployed. It is estimated that around 88% of unemployed are people without any prior work experience. The nature of the unemployment is long-term, which means that the person has remained jobless for more than a year (Kosovo: A Monographic Survey 342). Those employed have a bit of a difference from those unemployed, because the average salary in Kosovo is estimated to be around 220 Euros per month. Women usually receive 20% less than men.

However, this is not a murky post-war situation or a transition problem. Unemployment in 1989 in Kosovo is estimated to have been around 36.3%. Still, as Judah states all this should be considered within the Kosovo context. Up to now, it is very likely that people in Kosovo have not only been living with the income within the country. Remittances from family members, who are living abroad, are estimated to be around 450 million Euros or around 12% of Kosovo's GDP. They are the second most important income means for Kosovar families (Kosovo: A Monographic Survey 343). In Kosovo's case the reason for emigration is mainly economic, as the people who decide to leave seek employment outside of the country in order to provide a more stable financial life to themselves and their families. In addition to this, as we said earlier the 80s and 90s conflicts were another reason to flee the country.

According to the Kosovo: A Monographic Survey, the potential sources that could help speed up the economic growth in Kosovo are as follows:

Traditional  
construction  
materials

Technology  
Information,  
Financial &  
Consulting

Energy Sector  
(Lignite Reserves)

Revitalizing  
"Ferronikeli" &  
"Trepca"

Agricultural  
Sector

Services

Tourism  
(Especially  
Winter Tourism)

## Research Method

To test the hypothesis, samples of Kosovars were surveyed in several parts of the country. The details of that survey follow. The fieldwork was conducted during a three and a half month period from Mid-May to late August throughout Kosovo. A total of 400, six paged questionnaires were filled out by respondents. The questionnaire was initially created in English, and then translated into Albanian. Anyone who is above eighteen years old was able to fill out the survey. In addition to the quantitative research, qualitative questions were also asked to complement the data. Five main regions in Kosovo were selected: Eastern Kosovo in Pristina (200 questionnaires), Mid-Kosovo in Skenderaj (50 questionnaires), Northern-Kosovo in Mitrovica (50 questionnaires), Southern Kosovo in Prizren (50 questionnaires) and Western- Kosovo in Peja (50 questionnaires). Upon the collection of fieldwork, the data was then compiled in a master database. In addition to the fieldwork, 100 online questionnaires were distributed to a convenience sample on Facebook and through e-mail during September and October of 2011.

As of the latest population registrations Kosovo has 1,825,632 inhabitants (CIA World Fact Book). The ethnic breakdown is as follows: 92% are ethnic Albanians, and 8% Serb, Bosniak, Gorani, Roma, Turk, Ashkali, and Egyptian (CIA World Factbook). Pristina, the capital of Kosovo, in 1991 had 155,500 inhabitants, a rapid increase from 1948 when it had only 19,631 inhabitants. There is dispute regarding the current number of inhabitants in the capital because of the daily migrations for jobs and school from the surrounding. According to Estimates, to date, Pristina has around 400,000 inhabitants. Due to the huge population concentration, after the 1999 war in Kosovo, Pristina has been a victim of many problems in all spheres of life: lack of infrastructure needed to sustain a rapid increase of population, as well as significant problems with illegal construction (Kosovo: A Monographic Survey, 103). This came as a result of the destruction of some 140,000 homes and damage of more than 1000 habitats left without water and basic conditions for life, which forced people from the rural areas to migrate towards urban areas and settle in others' homes in a disorganized manner (Kosovo: A Monographic Survey 107).

As a result of uncontrolled reconstruction, the irregular city structure, with zigzag streets in the periphery, formed spontaneously, we decided to seek a convenience sample approach to our research, making sure that all the subcultures were integrated into our work. Initially, it was planned to have a random sample, however we only managed to distribute forty questionnaires in Pristina through random sampling. Utilizing the most recent Kosovo hardcopy maps, as well as those on the Internet, primarily Google Maps, we created a random sampling plan. We used Google Maps to zoom into the most condensed areas in Pristina, printed the zoomed area and then divided it into five equal sections of the city where we would do random research. We were forced to modify our research process and drop two sections from our random target, due to the difficulties of accessing people in those areas. The first segment we targeted from the five divided sections of the map, consisted of the Northern part of Pristina, called Kodra e Trimave. Sixteen questionnaires were distributed randomly to the businesses that were open that day on the Kodra e Trimave Street. This included every business. The method we used was the drop-off questionnaire method and returned the next day to pick it up. The typical home structure in Kosovo in general, and especially in this part of the city, consist of small to medium shops on the lower level, where

the family can have their home business or lease it, while continuing to dwell on the upper floor. Questionnaires were distributed to the individuals who were working in the small to medium shops of the lower level.

The rest of the field research was done through a convenience sample and personal interviews with each of the respondents. Thirteen randomly distributed questionnaires were completed in the Mother Teresa square, in the center of the capital of Kosovo, Pristina. Questionnaires were distributed to individuals who were resting in the benches of the Mother Teresa Square. Keeping in mind that, this study mainly sought to get a feel for the thoughts of the young adults, we decided to target the relatively young demographic in their most appreciated entertainment activities - the famous Pristina cafes. All the research conducted was done during mid-day, during the flux of students, young-adults, and adults in the cafes during their work break, lunch-break, or from college break.

Twelve questionnaires were randomly distributed to a convenience sample in the Southeastern part of Pristina in Matiqan. The convenience sample was distributed to two groups: the first being, a group of individuals who live in Matiqan and the second people who were having coffee in Matiqan.

Prizren, located in the South, is the second largest city in Kosovo, with 92,300 inhabitants according to the 1991 census data, and with 240,000 inhabitants in the municipality, in the town and 74 villages according to OSCE Kosovo. Similarly, to Pristina, Prizren homes are of the typical structure in Kosovo, with small shops in the lower level and living quarters in the upper stories. Therefore, the manner of research was decided to be of a convenience sample. The field research was focused in the Shadervani Square in the center of Prizren. In addition to the individuals who were present at the most frequented cafes in Shadervan, passersby were also surveyed.

Peja, according to the 1990s census, the number of inhabitants was around 70,000. Today it is estimated that Peja has more than 100,000 residents (Kosovo: A Monographic Survey 121). In this city too, the urban structure is similar to the rest of Kosovo; however, during the 1999 war, Peja was one of the most damaged cities in the country, infrastructural as well as in terms of human casualties. Due to the difficulty of accessing individuals through random sampling, it was decided to use a convenience sample. The field research was focused in the center square of Peja, called "korzo". Questionnaires were distributed to individuals in the park, as well as in the cafés in the center. Individuals around various parts of the city were also surveyed. Questionnaires were administered according to the Google Maps section division, in order to cover all the parts of the city.

Mitrovica, the troubled city of the North, had 75,000 residents according to the 90s census data (Kosovo: A Monographic survey). Today it has around 110,000 inhabitants according to OSCE. Due to the tense situation between the Northern and Southern part of Mitrovica, divided by the Ibar River, which would endanger the process of research, the questionnaire was administered only in the South. Questionnaires were given to individuals in shops and private homes, as well as cafes.

Skenderaj, located in the center of Kosovo, in the region of Drenica has 72,000 inhabitants, where as in other parts of Kosovo the majority is of a young age. The questionnaires were

distributed predominantly to the young adults in the main street of Skenderaj in the local cafes and private homes.

### **Computerized Questionnaire Administration**

After the location was decided, according to the largest density of people or the most frequented by all groups, the convenience sample respondents were chosen randomly. By randomly meaning that one table was surveyed the other not. The mode of administration was paper-and-pencil meaning that the individuals were approached kindly and following a brief pitch about the researcher (i.e. name, last name, profession, university) the respondents were asked to fill out the questionnaire. If the individuals wanted to understand more about the project, the researcher joined them and described it further. If the approached person refused to participate, then the researcher thanked them and walked away, to the next table. Nonetheless, there were only a few refusals. The majority of the persons approached agreed to participate

### **Questionnaire Development & Translation**

A six-page questionnaire was developed, with an academic University of Dayton accepted format, approved by professional academics. The questionnaire consists of twelve closed-ended, eight open-ended questions and the rest demographic questions. Out of the closed-ended questions, eight of the questions were of the matrix of choices (only one answer per row), one was a bipolar question, one was a dichotomous and two were multiple choices. The questionnaire was created and written in English and then translated to Albanian. It was translated into Albanian by the researcher, and then proof read and quality assured by an experienced translator to meet the framework of standard Albanian language.

## **Kosovars on Life in Kosovo**

People's feelings of Optimism, Satisfaction, and Patriotism relating to Kosovo, as well as their pro-social behaviors of Entrepreneurship, Protesting, Voting and views of Justice & Corruption

## Opinions and Feelings of Patriotism about Kosovo

According to results from the survey, Kosovar-Albanians have strong positive feelings when referring to the Albanian national flag. 76.9% of the respondents strongly agreed, when asked if they felt pride when they saw the Albanian national flag flying, indicating that although Kosovo has gained its independence and functions as an independent entity, the people of Kosovo continue to feel strong ties with the transnational Albanian identity. Even though, 60% of Albanians, including Kosovar-Albanians, were left out of the national borders in 1912, when Albania was created, elements of the core identity were passed down from generation to generation, transcending national boundaries. This sense of belonging to this trans-national identity could be reflected in the high-rate of pride correlated with the Albanian flag.

When asked about their feelings regarding the current Kosovo state flag, the results were significantly different from that of the Albanian flag. Only 35.9% of the respondents felt strong feelings towards the flag, preceded by 22.1% who just agreed to feel pride when seeing the state flag. 17.2% of the respondents stated that they felt no pride whatsoever when seeing the Kosovo state flag. This could be due to the fact that Kosovo is a new country and some time may be needed in order for the people of Kosovo to truly connect and associate with the newly formed state symbols that have appeared in the newly emerged Kosovar identity since the end of the war, gaining in strength especially after the declaration of independence. Consequently, this may be much easier embraced by young generations as they could relate more to the new Kosovar state flag than the previous generations that have been taught to be patriotically responsive to the Albanian national flag. The uncertainty with the Kosovar state could also be an indication of why the respondents display such mixed feelings regarding the Kosovar flag. In order to make Kosovar-Albanians more positively responsive to the new identity brought about by the recent historical changes, the creation of the flag and other state symbols, more needs to be done in order to ignite that connection with these new identity symbols, as well as ensure the people of the viability and sustainability of Kosovo as a new state.

In analyzing the sacrificial sentiment, we were able to understand that it remains high among Kosovar-Albanians, even after twelve years from the Kosovar-Serbian war. 46.2% of the respondents were strongly willing to give their life, if needed, for Kosovo, preceded by 19.5% of the respondents who were willing to sacrifice themselves for their home country. These high rates of sacrificial readiness could shed some light on Kosovars' level of satisfaction with the whole end-story of Kosovo, the intervention and assistance of the international community, which ultimately brought freedom to Kosovo and lead towards its independence. When we look at life in Kosovo from the sacrificial point of view, we can infer that Kosovars are generally grateful and content that their personal sacrifices, as well as of their families' and friend's were rewarded with freedom from oppression.

In spite of the general flawed image by the international community of Kosovo and the people of Kosovo 63.9% of Kosovar-Albanians feel strongly proud of being a Kosovar, followed by 19.5% who feel simply proud of being a Kosovar. These results come at a time when the young country's image is at an unenviable position with a portrait of a impoverished war-torn place, and in the meantime constantly being crippled by suspicions of

crime, corruption, human trafficking, drug trafficking, money laundering and embezzlement. There seems to be a wide-gap between the image perception of Kosovars when it comes to how they regard themselves and how the international community regards them. However, the pride that Kosovars feel is less related to their perceived-image by the international community, and much more tied to their notion of the “Kosovar identity”, that may imply their love of what they see as their distinctive homeland, culture, language, and ethnicity. Their sense of pride could also be a result of the people sacrificing themselves for their families and the country.

When asked about their views of Kosovo as a nation, 57.8% of the respondents either disagreed that Kosovo is a great nation, or were neutral, showing that they are cognizant of the problems and issues that the country is currently going through. We can say that the majority of the Kosovars recognize the problems that the new country currently encounters and acknowledge large-scale and fast improvements are needed, in order for it to become a stable country, with a sustainable future for its people.

Even though Kosovar-Albanians didn’t rate their emotional connection with the state flag highly and the majority does not believe that Kosovo is a good nation, 72.4% of them claim that they love Kosovo strongly, followed by 17.4% who affirm they simply love Kosovo. This strong sentiment could be related more to the overall love of the people for its culture, language, and homeland – rather than the new elements that make Kosovo an acceptable state in the family of the world nations, such as the flag, or the newly created national symbols, as well as the condition in which the country currently is compared to other European countries. There seems to be a disconnect between the newly-created symbols and the whole notion of the new country, with what the people actually see Kosovo as, and what they connect with, emotionally. Again, this could be due to the still early stage in which all the national elements of the country of Kosovo. However, it is something that should be paid attention to and that definitely needs to be considered and regarded.

## Views of life in Kosovo

In terms of optimism about the future of their life in Kosovo, the respondents have varying responses. The majority, 58.3% of the respondents either felt pessimistic about their future in Kosovo or were neutral. Only 39.6% showed optimism regarding their future in the new country. This indicates that the majority of the Kosovar population feels that there is great uncertainty regarding life in Kosovo. While this shows realism, given the current difficult economic situation, it could also be indicative of a more worrisome implication, that Kosovo has been a victim for decades – that of immigration. Sensing that their future may not be so bright, many young Kosovars could again set their eyes to immigration. Kosovo continues to face the threat of losing its brightest minds and greatest potential, its youth, by not being able to offer them a more optimistic perspective– an unfortunate reality that has haunted Kosovo for decades under the Serbian rule. The new nation is daunted by the task of keeping, sustaining and nurturing its young potential in order to provide itself an entrance to the competitive world environment. Kosovo needs to focus much of its attention towards incentives that will keep its intellectual potential within the country that could help its progress and sustainability as a country.

In terms of the views of the standard of living in Kosovo, 56.6% of the respondents are neutral or strongly disagree with the assertion that their life is improving. However, 46.2% believe that their life is improving overall; that people have witnessed that their life has improved compared to the last couple of decades and believe in a brighter future. The views of the respondents regarding the future of their fellow Kosovars parallel those of their own. 46.2% of the respondents agree that life in Kosovo will get better for most Kosovars, while 51.9% are uncertain or disagree. With the majority being unsure of the improvement of their lives and the lives of the others, Kosovo is yet again threatened by immigration. That is why it needs to focus its efforts more towards responding to its peoples' needs and make sure it offers them a country worth working for, in return for a higher living standard. While a comfortable standard of living is apparently of great relevance to Kosovars, even though Kosovo has not been able to offer them this so far, there are other significant elements of life that are appealing to them such as family, friends, love of the homeland, culture and life.

Regarding their own families, the respondents show more optimistic views. 48.8% agree that life will get better for their family, 27.6% are unsure, and 20.1% strongly disagree that life will improve. This split among the respondents could indicate that a large percentage expects the situation in Kosovo to improve faster, while some are unsure and others do not expect it to get better quickly. The respondents show much more optimism about the life of their children: 57.3% agree that life in Kosovo will get better for their children, recognizing that time is needed for the new country to get on the right path. However, a worrisome 40.5% are skeptical about the future of their children, which yet again could push them to think about leaving Kosovo, in search of a better life elsewhere.

In terms of opportunities, 53.4% of the respondents believe there are more opportunities for them to prosper today than before. This indicates that Kosovar-Albanians believe there has been improvement and continue to hope for further progress within Kosovo. These high rates could also explain why Kosovars believe that life will get better for their children. Given that they believe in more opportunities today than before, they also believe that in the course of

time things will improve even more, and that their children will live a better life. In terms of income, 62.5% are realistic and believe that their families' incomes will not improve in the upcoming year. However, 63.2% of respondents believe that it will improve in the next decade.

## Satisfaction with life in Kosovo

Even though the unemployment rate remains very high in comparison to our fellow European countries, around 40-50%, the country continues to have power and water shortages, 51.9% of the respondents agree that their life in Kosovo is good right now 23.5% are neutral, and 23.5% disagree. In spite of the everyday problems that they face, we can conclude that they believe their life is better than it was during the decades of Serbian rule. Nowadays, they are no longer concerned with their survival, but rather just living.

When asked more specifically about their life, 42.4% of the respondents agree that life since the independence of Kosovo has been good for them, around 30% are neutral and 26.3% disagree that it has changed somewhat since the independence. For decades the independence was a highly and desperately anticipated event for Kosovars. For Kosovars, the concept of independence was connected to the time when their struggles would end. Even though their struggle for freedom was rewarded, years of oppression took a high toll leaving behind numerous other long-term problems that continue to haunt the new country and will do so for some time. Lingering problems that Kosovo faces today, could have contributed to Kosovar's low satisfaction rates with life since the declaration of independence. We can assume that the majority of the people idealized life after the declaration of independence' disregarding the long-term problems that the new country of Kosovo still needs to address.

In spite of the current unresolved economic, political and social issues within Kosovo, 39.2% of respondents agree that they enjoy life in Kosovo, showing that there are other aspects of life that are of value to them, such as connection to their homeland and family. 30.2% of the respondents state that they neither enjoy nor do not enjoy life in Kosovo. 27.6% of the respondents state that they do not enjoy life in Kosovo. This meaningfulness of life, highly connected to their Kosovar-Albanian identity, family and homeland, could have played a major role in why so many displaced individuals and refugees, returned to Kosovo after the war. Even though there are variations in terms of life enjoyment in Kosovo, 65.3% of the respondents agree that life in Kosovo is meaningful to them, 14.4% of them state that life in Kosovo has no meaning for them while 17% are neutral in this aspect. As we can see, meaningfulness of life is a significant factor that affects respondents' points of view regarding life in Kosovo, their patriotism, satisfaction, and optimism feelings.

Moving on to the political realm, 76% of the respondents are dissatisfied with Kosovo's current government, 12.9% are satisfied, while 9.5% express neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction. The dissatisfaction with the work of Kosovo's government could be an indication of the low levels of satisfaction with life since the independence of Kosovo. Furthermore, this dissatisfaction with the work of the Kosovo government could have been reflected in their belief that Kosovo is not a great nation as of now. This dissatisfaction with the government could have also been reflected upon the respondent's mixed ratings of enjoyment of life in general. Furthermore, the excessive dissatisfaction rate with Kosovo's current government could have had implications in the respondents' mixed views about the future life in Kosovo, their perceptions of current and future possibilities and opportunities in Kosovo. In spite of the low ratings for the government, Kosovars find their association to the homeland, family, friends and culture meaningful to them.

## Voting in the next elections

In spite of the alarming levels of dissatisfaction with the government, only 45.4% of respondents say that they are very likely to vote in the next elections, 21.1% say that they are likely to vote, followed by 16.6% who are somewhat likely and a disappointing 15.4% who were very unlikely to vote. These low levels of individual involvement, when considered within the context of such high dissatisfaction with the current government, could be an indication of Kosovars' poor perception of their individual relevance and power of making a change in their community. More needs to be done in order to instill recognition of the power of change in the Kosovar individual. This feeling could have as well resulted from the political and economic system in which they lived, where everything was decided centrally, but also due to decades of repression. These sentiments that indicate that Kosovars, can hardly make a change on their own, originate in a society where everything was decided collectively. 41.8% of the respondents' state that they are not at all likely to actively campaign for a particular candidate in the elections, 25.4% say they are somewhat likely to do so, while 29.8% say they are likely to do so. These results are also alarming, as they illustrate Kosovar's perceptions of the political candidates who represent them and the disconnect with their agendas, that a large percentage (41.8%) has with them.

When asked about the likelihood of them contributing money to a political party or candidate, they are much more hesitant. 67.9% of the respondents said that they are not at all likely to contribute money, 13.4% say that they are somewhat likely, followed by 14.8% who are likely to do so. This is understandable and expected as contributing money for elections has been an unknown practice so far, given, the former political socialist system, in which Kosovars lived. Furthermore, this was an unknown practice even in the greater region. Witnessing a transition of Kosovo, from a socialist system to a more democratic system, the survey dwelt upon the likelihood that individuals would contribute money to political parties. Political parties currently have funding, though, that source of financing is unclear. While it is widely believed that the funding of political parties comes from businesses closely related or controlled by them, the survey shows that Kosovars as individuals are not likely to contribute money to political parties.

Furthermore, the study looked into the likelihood respondents persuading others to support a particular candidate or party once they created an individual position regarding that political party or candidate. More than a third of the respondents, 34.4% state that they are likely to persuade friends or family to support or vote for a particular political party or candidate, 18.1% say they are somewhat likely, whereas 45.2% are not at all likely to do so. The high percentage of those not likely at all to persuade others to support a certain party or candidate, could be related to the likelihood that they do not connect with their political representatives, be it parties or individual candidates.

## Kosovars on Entrepreneurship

The future for entrepreneurial incentive looks bright for Kosovo, as 52.5% of the respondents say that they are likely to consider starting their own business, 21.7% say they are somewhat likely, followed by 14.6% who say that they are not likely at all to do so. This high entrepreneurial incentive could be a result of the high unemployment rate in the country, the shift from state controlled economy to privatization and the high job insecurity in the country. However, Kosovars seem to be more comfortable with encouraging family or friends to start their own business in the near future, rather than start it themselves. More than half, 55.8% state that it is likely that they will encourage friends and family to create their own business, 22.5% say they are somewhat likely to do so, whereas only 13.4% say they are not likely at all to encourage their friends. Still, given the general economic uncertainty in the country, fueled by years of political instability and repression, Kosovars seem to be a bit more comfortable by serving as encouragement to others when it comes to entrepreneurship rather than undertaking the risk themselves.

Even though Kosovars are likely to create their own businesses, they seem more hesitant in terms of investing their money in the business of someone they know is starting it: 35.9% of the respondents state that they are not likely at all, followed by 30.6% who are somewhat likely and 20.3% who are likely to do so. These results display Kosovars' investing mentality that traces its roots back in the socialist system. While it is the young that make up the majority of those surveyed, their thoughts and conceived beliefs, even though they no longer live in that system, seem to have been inherited from their parents and grandparents. One third of the respondents, 30.4% say that they are somewhat likely to pay a somewhat higher price for something because it comes from a small business owner, 27.2% say they are likely of doing that and 29.8% say they are not likely at all. Kosovars are very community oriented individuals, which is understandable considering that for decades everything was produced and decided collectively. Thus, their relationships with each other play a great role in their decision-making. Consequently, their choice in shopping could be determined by the owner of the small expensive store based on their relationship.

As in regard to starting their own business and encouraging others to start their own business, Kosovars seem more comfortable with encouraging friends and family to invest in new business: 61.1% of the respondents state that they are likely to do that, 22.3% say they are somewhat likely to encourage friends and family to invest in new businesses, whereas 14.6% say they were not at all likely to do so. This could be due to the lack of funds, fear of corruption, as well as fear of risk in competition, along with the general uncertainty of doing business in a new country, which has gone through significant changes in the last couple of years.

## Kosovars on Protest

Questions regarding Kosovars' exhibiting objection through words or by action about a particular event, policy, or situation, refer to the last three years, since the independence. This may have been individually or in a group. When asked about protesting in general, 32.1% of the respondents had never protested about any aspect of life in Kosovo, 28.8% of them had protested once or twice, 16.6% had protested three to four times, 7.5% five or six times, and 11.4% protested more than six times. Given the current context of dissatisfaction the respondent's express regarding the situation in the country, the troubling discontent with the work of the government, and the uncertainty of the future, there is significant noninvolvement by one fourth of the population, when it comes to making their voices heard. An indication of this high rate, is the one third of respondents who say that they had never protested about any aspect of life in Kosovo, could be a result of that general sentiment that as individuals they cannot make a difference. Even though this is predominant mainly in the minds of generations that had to live within the previous socialist system, this mentality continues to linger among the young generations, who have been raised in an environment that disregards individual power as a factor that can make a difference.

The results are even more surprising when it comes to voicing against the unemployment rate, where a 36.7% of individuals say they have never protested about the high unemployment rate, 21.7% only protested once or twice, followed by 12.8% who protested three to four times, 13.6% protested five or six times and 11.8% protested more than six times. As the employment is a significant indicator of one's survival, personal and family well being, these high rates of in active behavior are very surprising, considering the high unemployment rate in the country. The survey finds the education lower than the unemployment rate in Kosovars' list of concerns. Considering the importance of educated people in an emerging country, facing numerous problems inherited from years of repression, the war, years of uncertainty under the United Nations protectorate and now after the declaration of independence, the non-involvement in bettering the education in Kosovo is disturbing. A worrisome 40.2% of the respondents never protested about poor education, 18.9% protested only once or twice, followed by 14.0% who protested three or four times, 10.5% five or six times and 11.8% protested more than six times.

As expected, respondents tend to have raised their voice more stronger in regard to the poor economic conditions in general, with 15.8% who have protested more than six times, 12% five or six times, 14% three or four times and 21.1% who have protested once or twice. This is understandable as the poor economic conditions and low standard of living more immediately affects people than the poor education which has a more indirect and a bit delayed effect. Still, there are a disturbing number of individuals who have not raised their voices at all about unsatisfactory economic conditions, with more than a third or 33.9% never protesting. The widespread pattern indicates a low level of belief among Kosovars that they can achieve something through individual involvement. This issue is of exceptional importance, considering high dissatisfaction rates Kosovars have with the current economic conditions, the high unemployment rate, alongside the general dissatisfaction with corruption within the country. This problem needs to be addressed through educating the people of the new political environment in which they are more likely to make a difference as individuals.

## Kosovars on Justice and Corruption

In terms of perceptions of justice in the country, 40% of the respondents believe that if you work hard you will succeed in Kosovo, 31.8% are unsure about it, stating that you may or may not succeed while 25.1% of respondents disagree with the statement and do not believe that if you work hard you will succeed in Kosovo. This unsure majority could pose a significant threat to the economic development of Kosovo, as individuals may be prone to judging that in order to be successful you don't necessarily need to work hard, consequently leading to less individual productivity, or in the productivity of individual companies, of companies collectively, and ultimately in the overall non-productivity of the country.

A disturbing, 68.7% of the respondents believe that the only way you can succeed in Kosovo is if you know someone, 18.1% are neutral regarding the statement and believe that knowing someone is not the sole ladder to in Kosovo. Only 10% of the respondents disagree that the only way you can succeed in Kosovo is if you know someone. With this high rate of individuals believing that rather personal relations are of the utmost importance, indicates how much attention and effort they are willing to pay to invest in their academic experiences and their professional careers. This belief is closely related to the high corruption in the country, that gives rise to these detrimental beliefs and leads to non-productivity and stagnation of personal strives for professional advancement and conduct that are required for a successful society to come to fruition.

A disturbing 80.1% of the respondents believe there is a lot of corruption in Kosovo, 8.3% are unsure about it and only 8.7% disagree with the statement. This could indicate low rates from the question “if you work hard in Kosovo you will succeed”, and the high rates of “knowing someone to succeed in Kosovo”. In addition, this could justify the high levels of dissatisfaction with Kosovo’s current government, as well as with the belief that Kosovo is not a great nation. Furthermore, the high belief of corruption could have negative implications regarding feelings of optimism in Kosovo. Yet, even with these high rates of disappointment and negative feelings regarding corruption, the people of Kosovo are hesitant to make their voices heard, through individual or group protesting and voting. This, yet again could be a result of the political system the country had for decades. Nonetheless, 87.4% of respondents are aware that corruption poses a major obstacle to Kosovo’s prosperity, with only 3.9% neutral about it, while 5.1% state that they do not believe that corruption is a major obstacle to Kosovo’s prosperity. More than half of the respondents or 52.5% strongly believe that corruption will be common in Kosovo for some time, 18.9% believe it will, whereas 15.4% are unsure. This shows that Kosovars are realistic about the effort required to eliminate this negative occurrence; still some show optimism that it will decrease even though they remain hesitant to individually undertake actions to counter it.

## Sample Demographics:

**Gender:**

**Relationship**

	Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent	
Male	262	51.7	Valid	Single	329	64.9
Female	201	39.6		Married	134	26.4
Total	463	91.3		Total	463	91.3
Missing	36	7.1	Missing	Missing	33	6.5
9	6	1.2		9	10	2.0
System	2	.4		System	1	.2
Total	44	8.7		Total	44	8.7
	507	100.0	Total		507	100.0

**Age Group:**

**Employment:**

	Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent		
Valid	18-24	228	45.0	Valid	Employed	240	47.3
	25-30	130	25.6		Unemployed	167	32.9
	31-40	62	12.2		Part Time	11	2.2
	41-50	24	4.7		Full Time	11	2.2
	50-60	14	2.8		Seasonal	25	4.9
	60+	8	1.6		Total	454	89.5
	Total	466	91.9	Missing	Missing	40	7.9
Missing	Missing	36	7.1		9	12	2.4
9		5	1.0		System	1	.2
	Total	41	8.1		Total	53	10.5
Total		507	100.0	Total		507	100.0

**Type of Employment:**

**Household Number:**

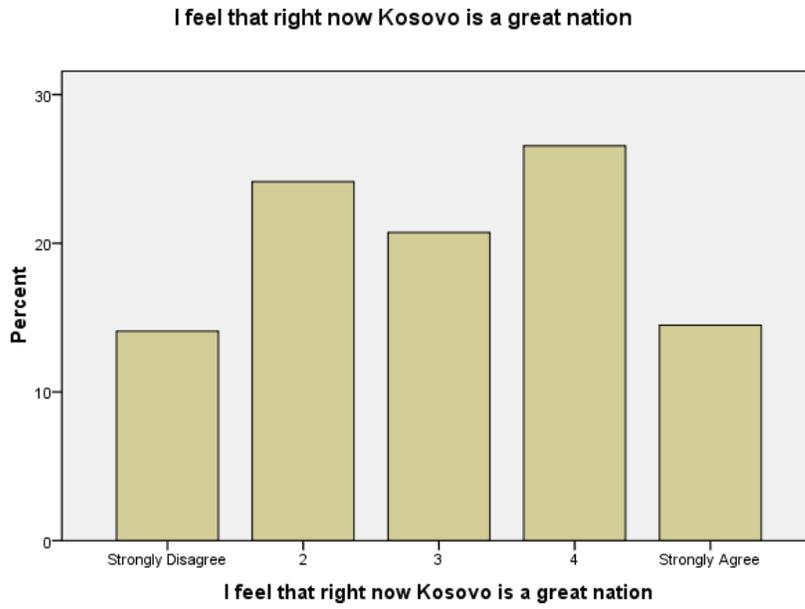
		Frequency	Percent			Frequency	Percent
Valid	Private	171	33.7	Valid	1-2	2	.4
	Government	79	15.6		2	29	5.7
	Out of Country	32	6.3		3-4	175	34.5
	Self employed	21	4.1		4	241	47.5
	Don't Know	8	1.6		5+	2	.4
	Missing	108	21.3		Missing	42	8.3
	9	79	15.6		9	16	3.2
	Total	498	98.2		Total	507	100.0
Missing	System	9	1.8				
Total		507	100.0				

**Education:**

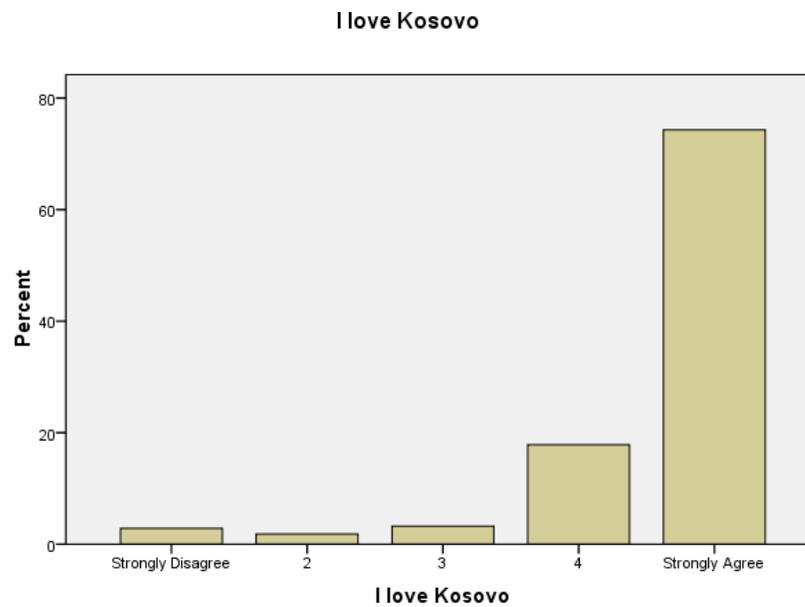
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Elementary	7	1.4
	Middle School	88	17.4
	High School	17	3.4
	Some College	97	19.1
	College	193	38.1
	Graduate	54	10.7
	Total	456	89.9
Missing	Missing	39	7.7
	9	10	2.0
	System	2	.4
	Total	51	10.1
Total		507	100.0

## Appendix

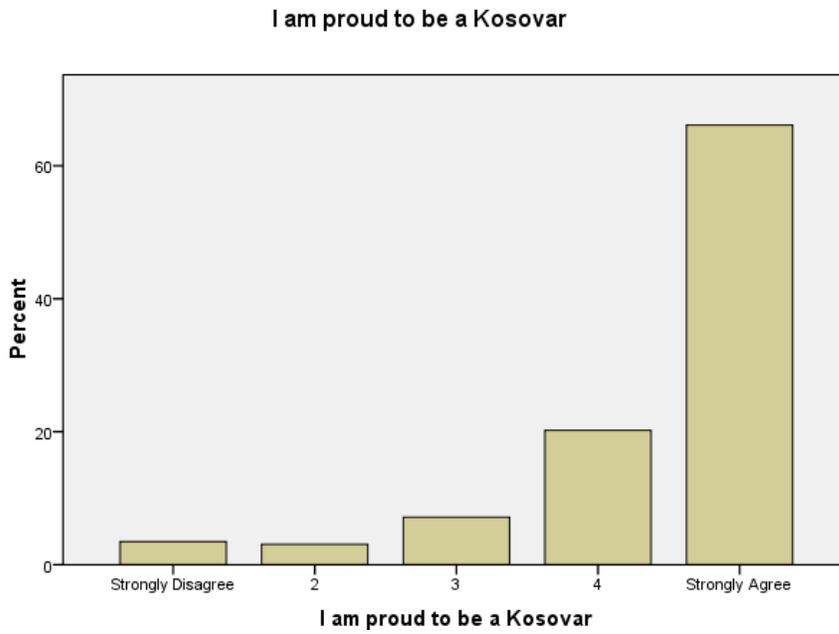
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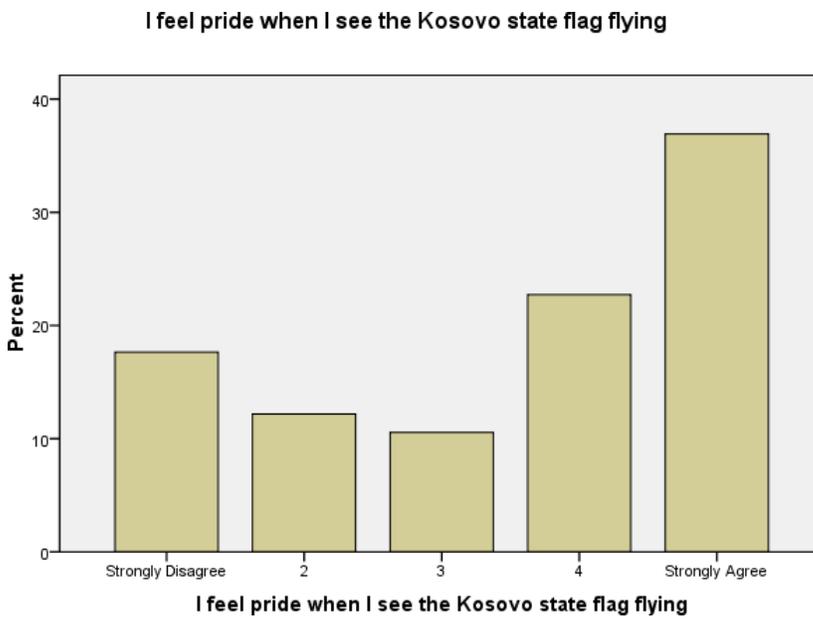
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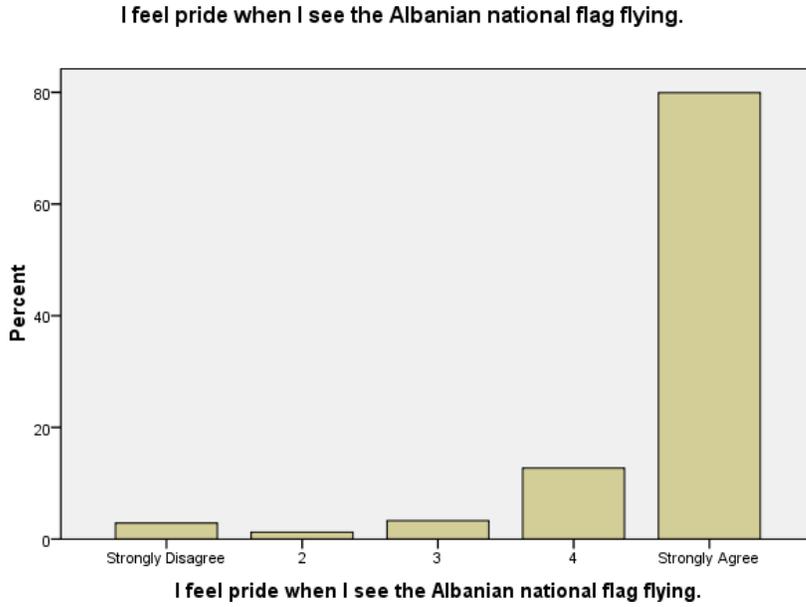
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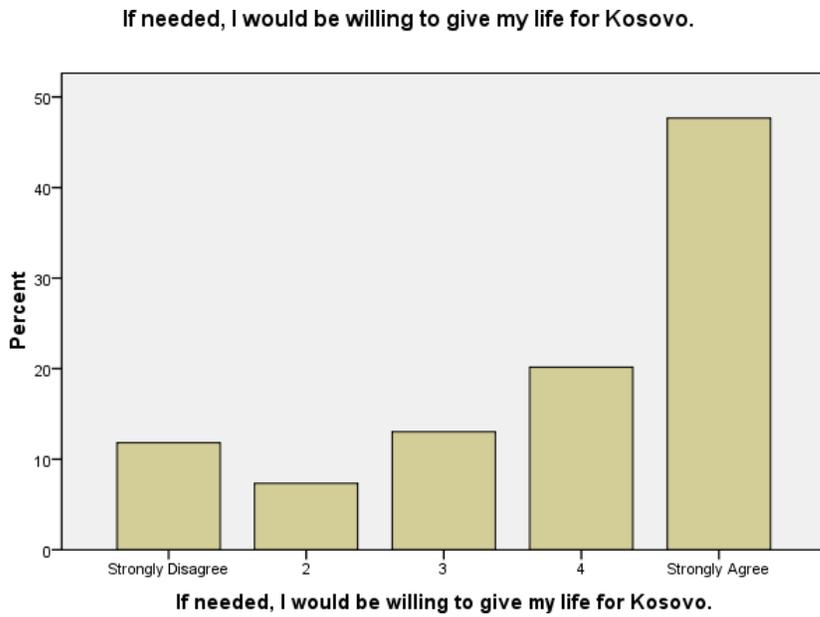
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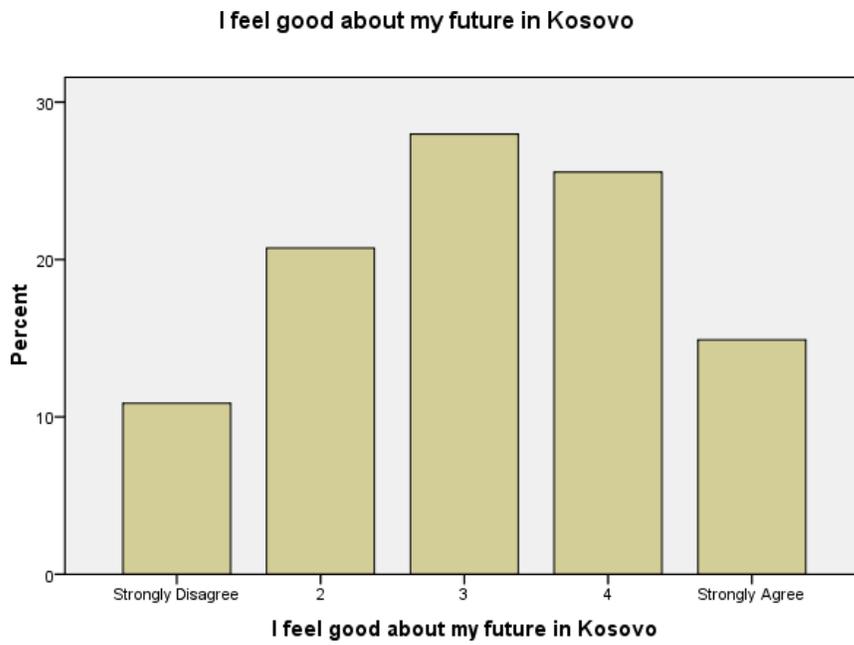
Graph 5.



Graph 6.



Graph 7.



Graph 8.



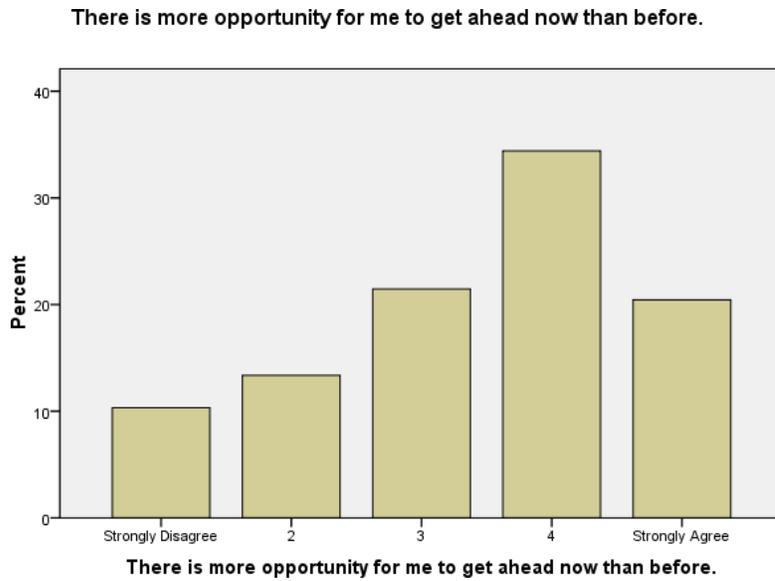
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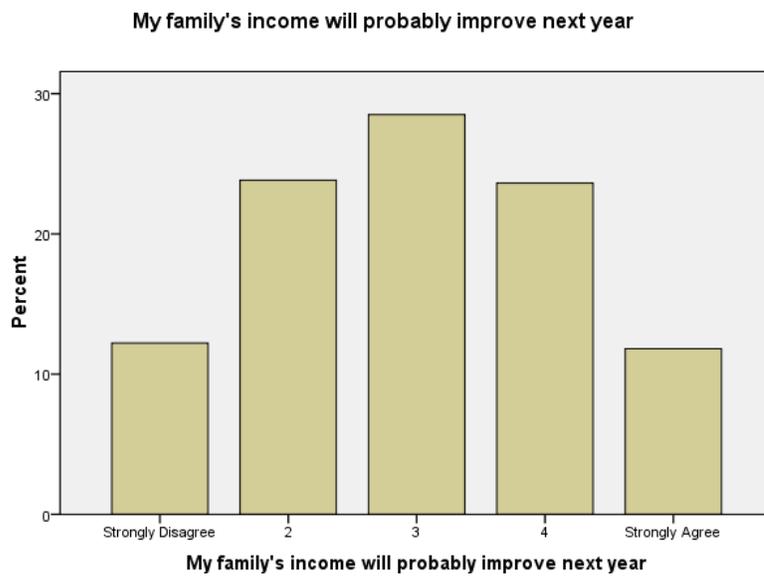
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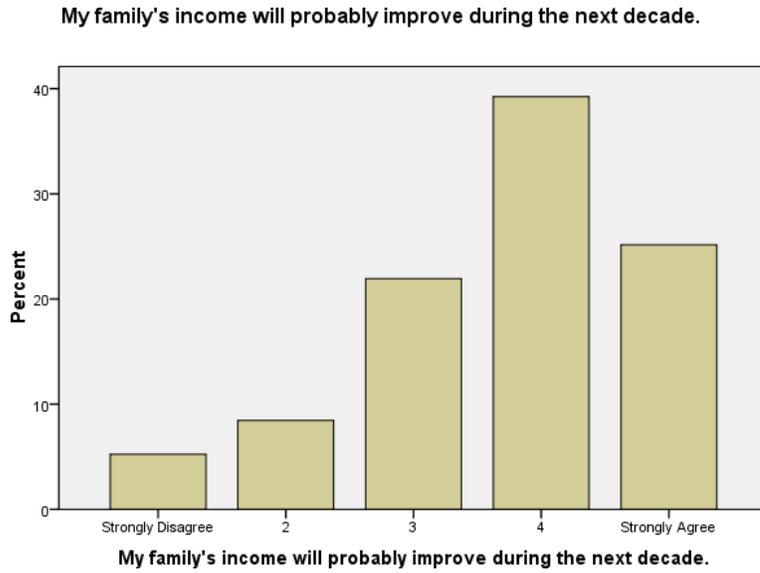
Graph 11.



Graph 12.



Graph 13.



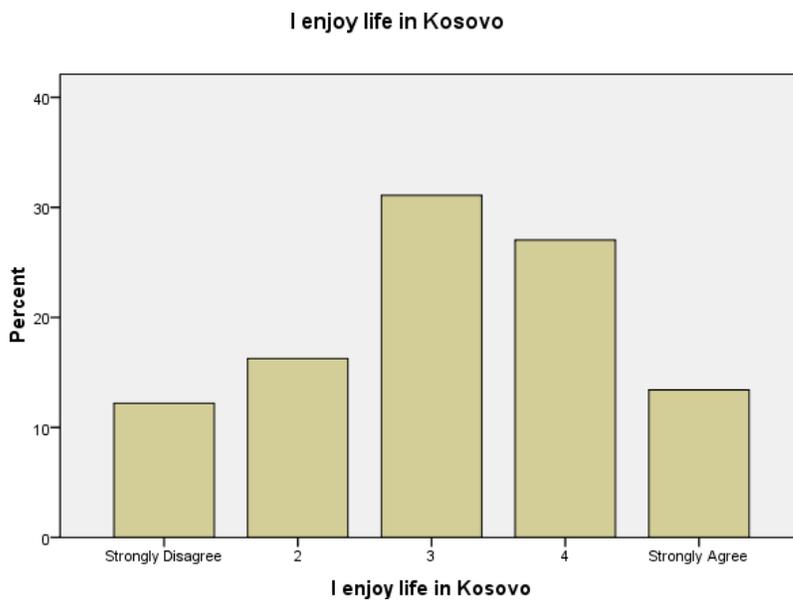
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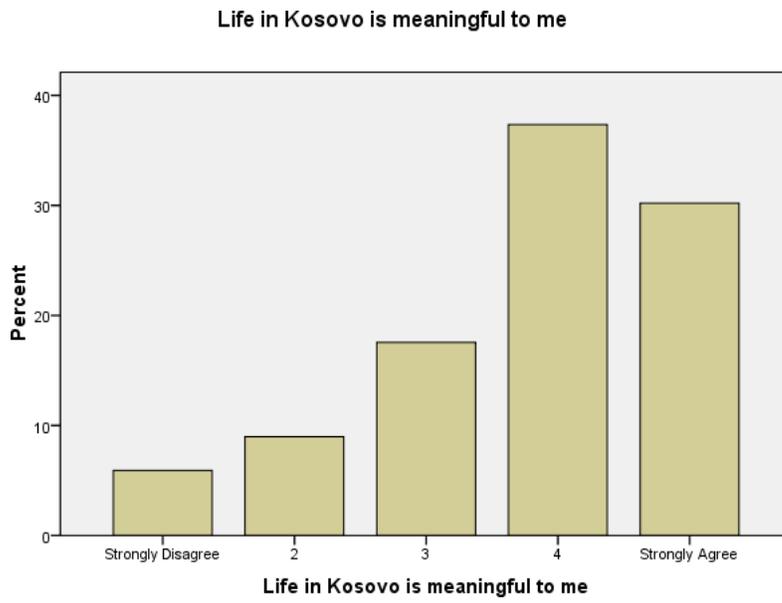
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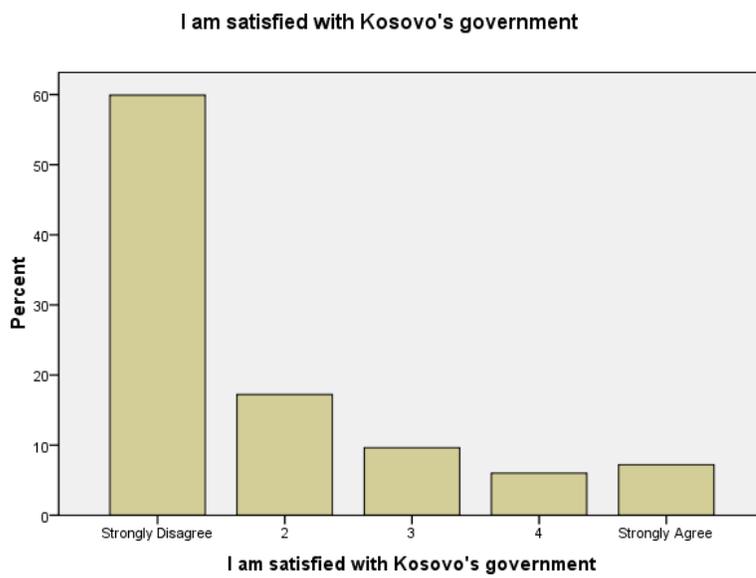
Graph 16.



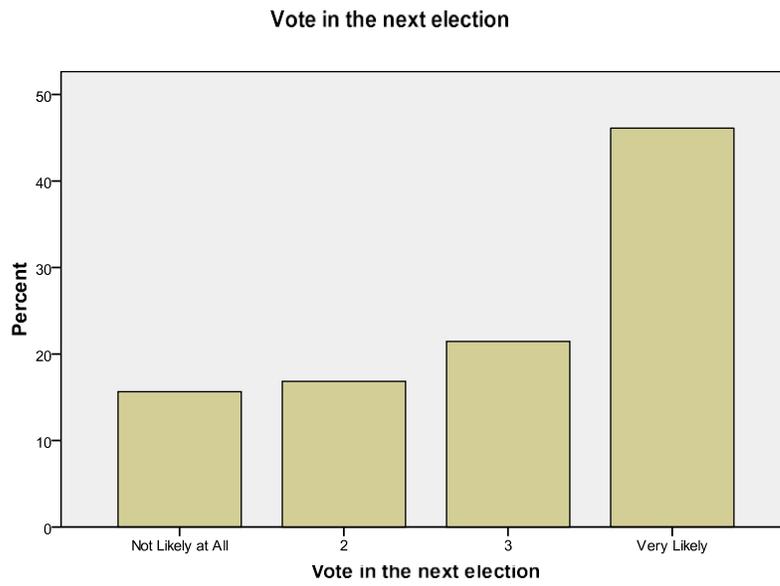
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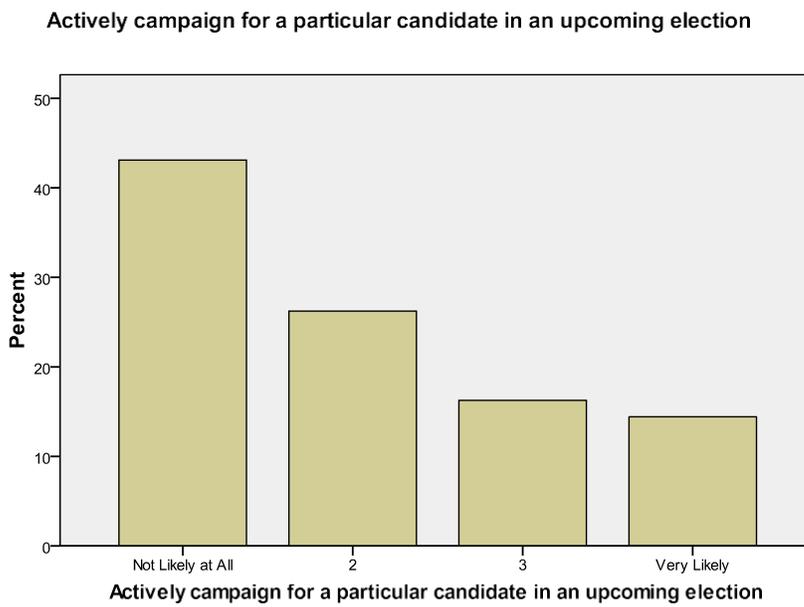
Graph 18.



Graph 19.

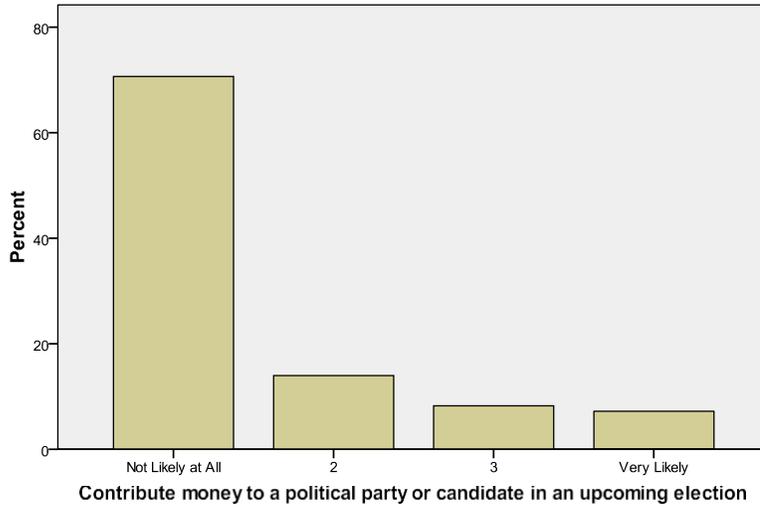


Graph 20.



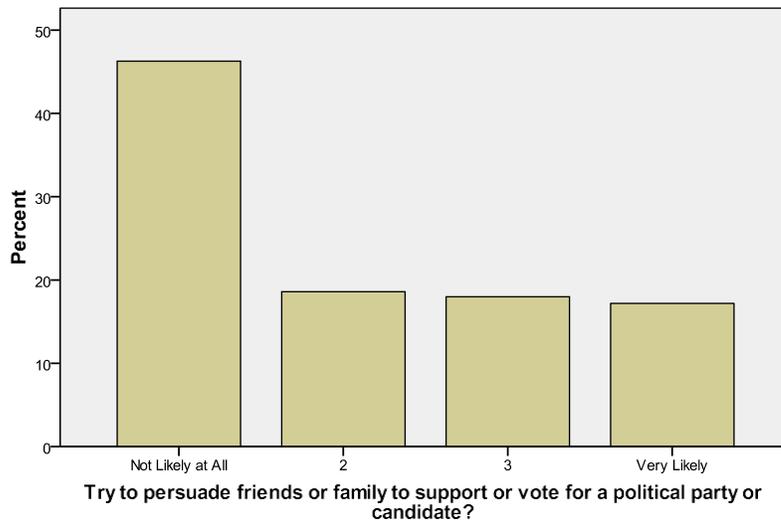
Graph 21.

Contribute money to a political party or candidate in an upcoming election

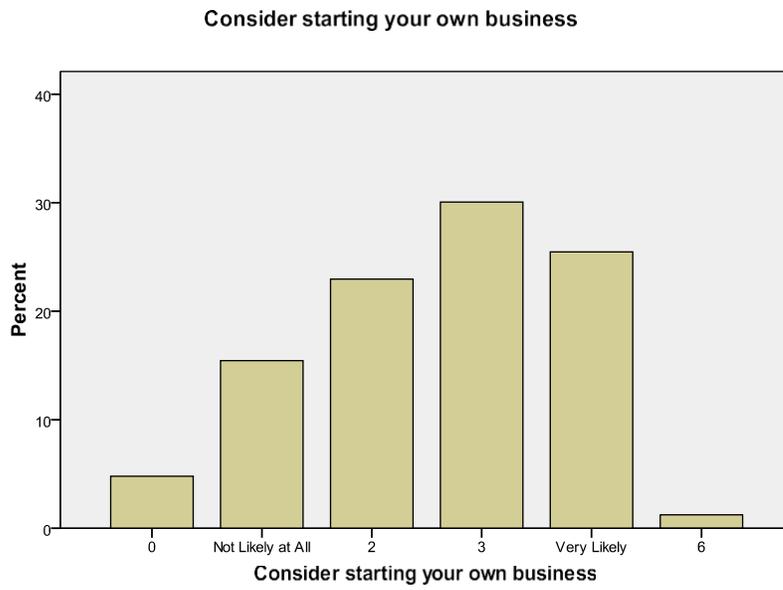


Graph 22.

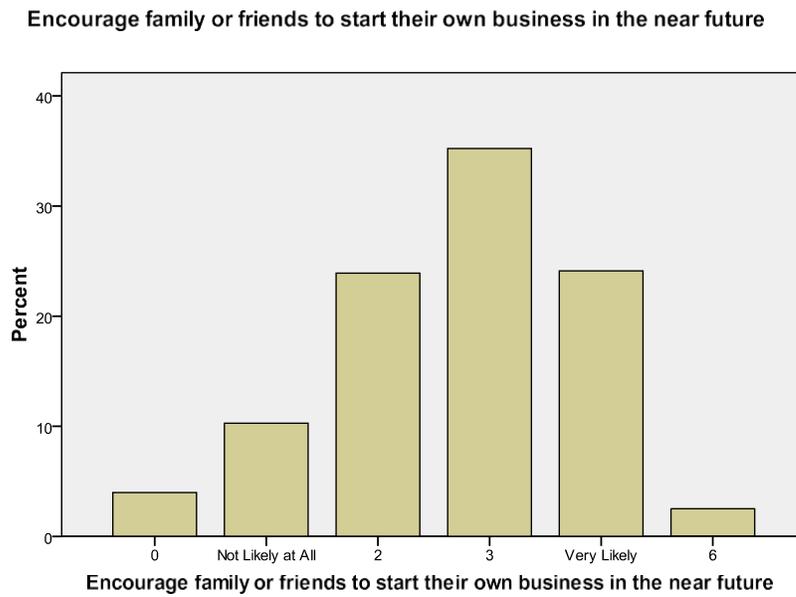
Try to persuade friends or family to support or vote for a political party or candidate?



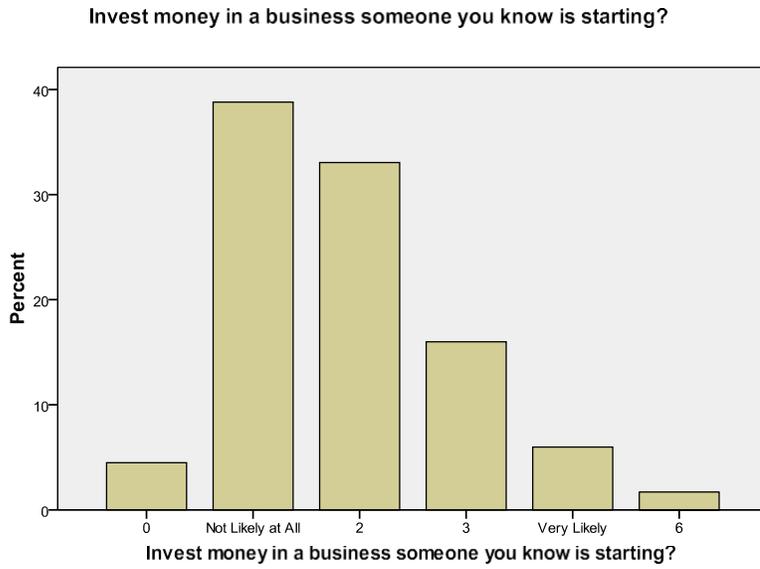
Graph 23.



Graph 24.



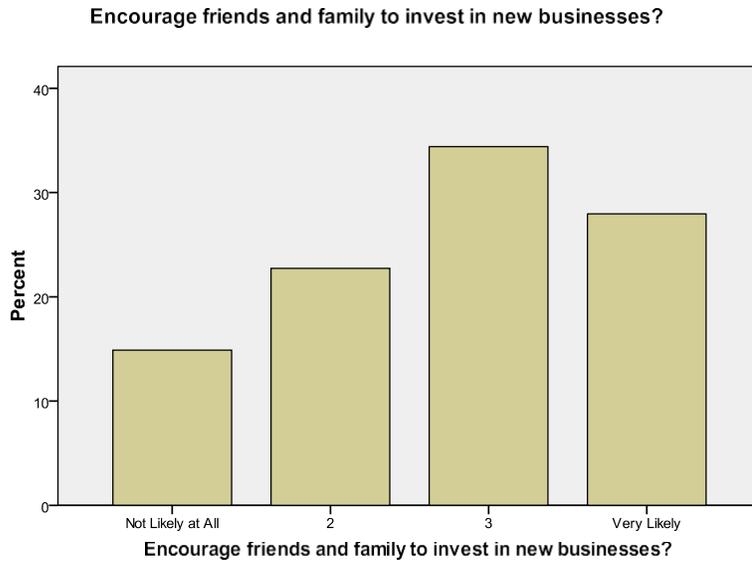
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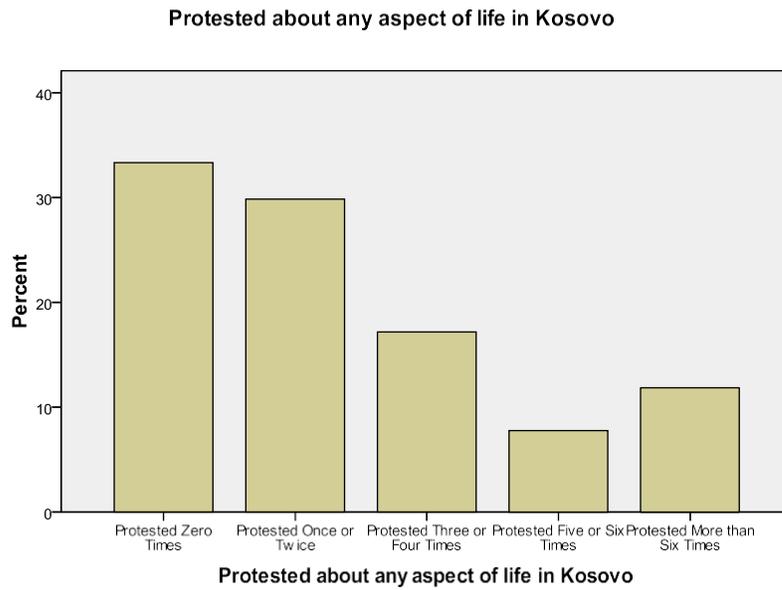
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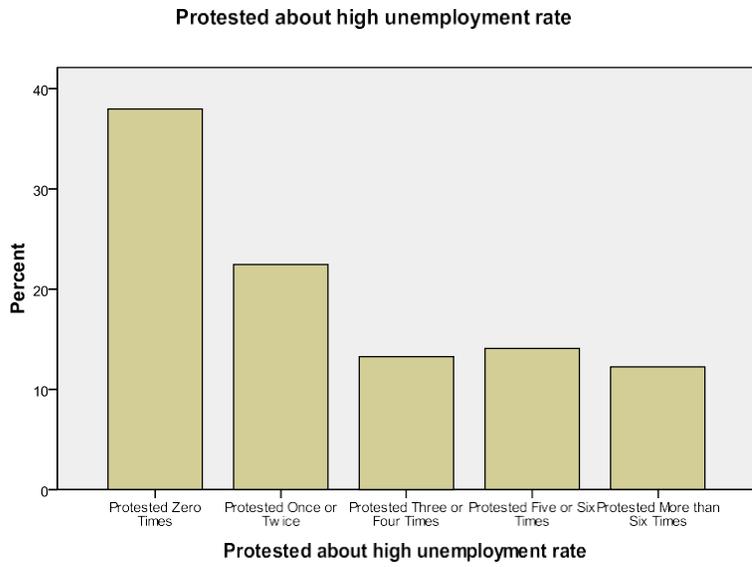
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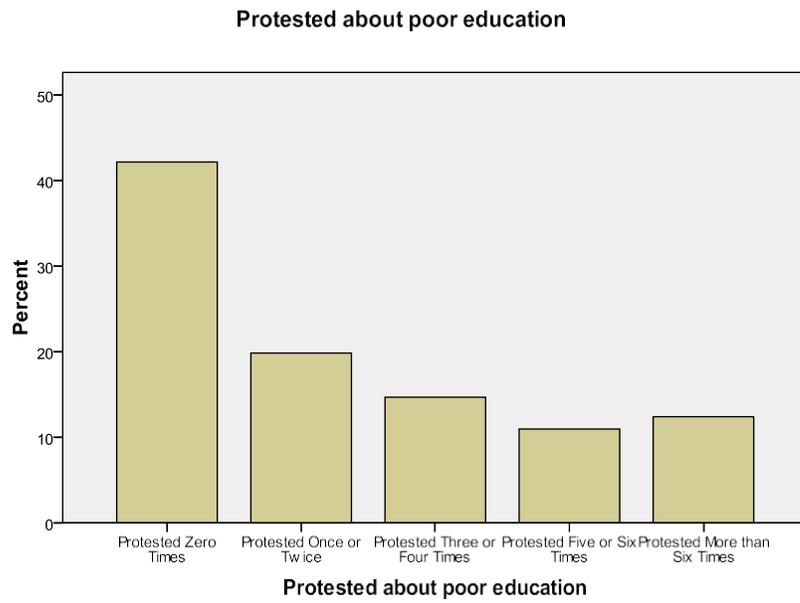
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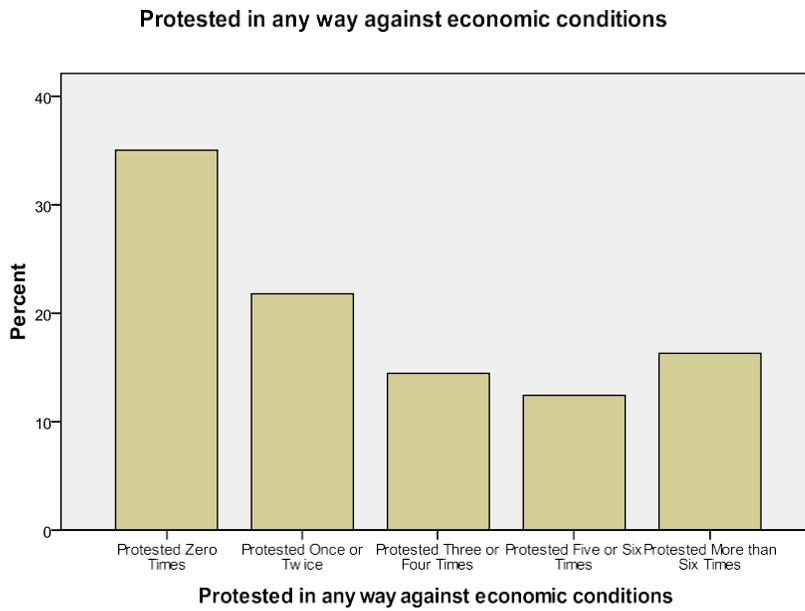
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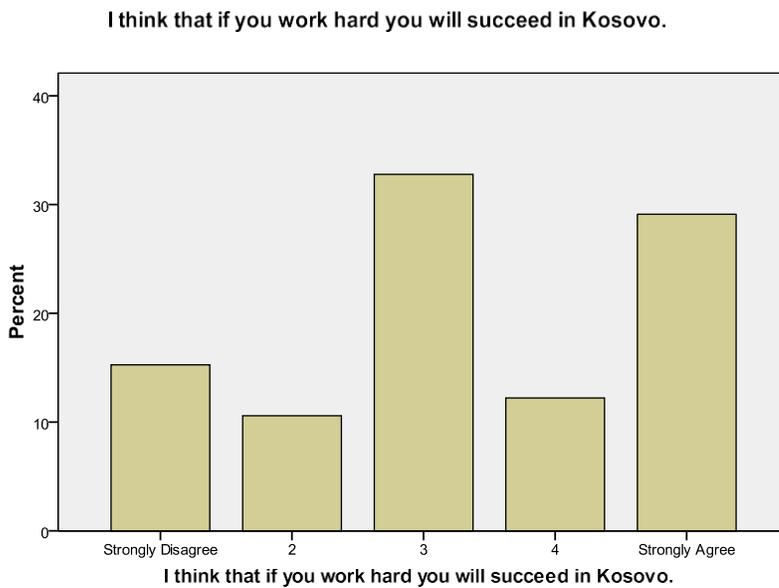
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Graph 31.

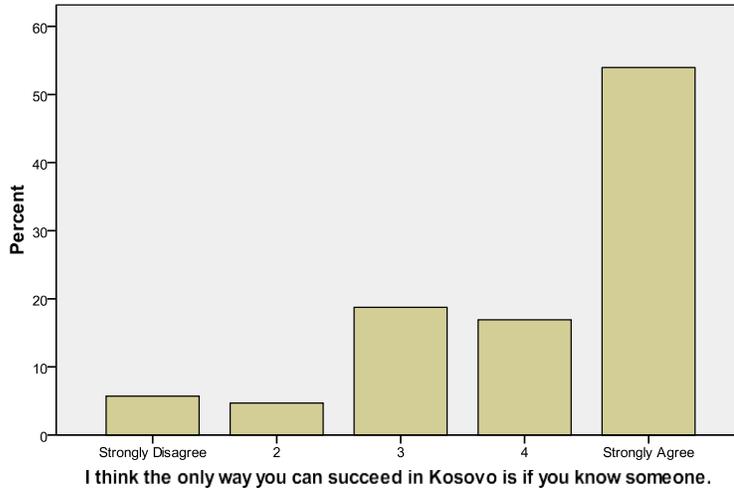


Graph 32.



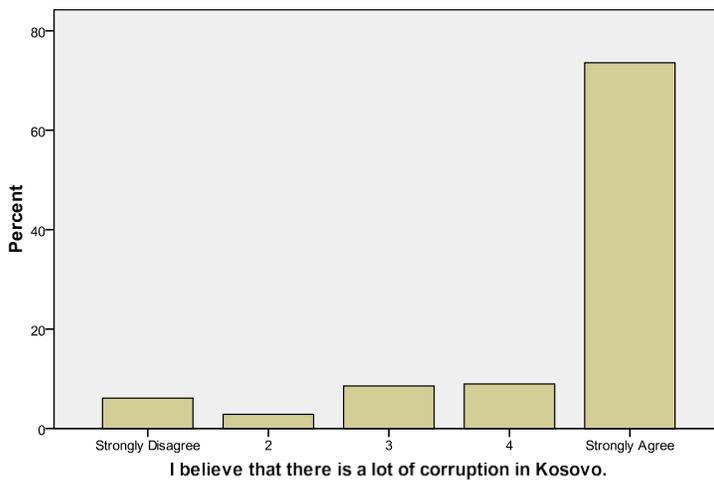
Graph 33.

I think the only way you can succeed in Kosovo is if you know someone.

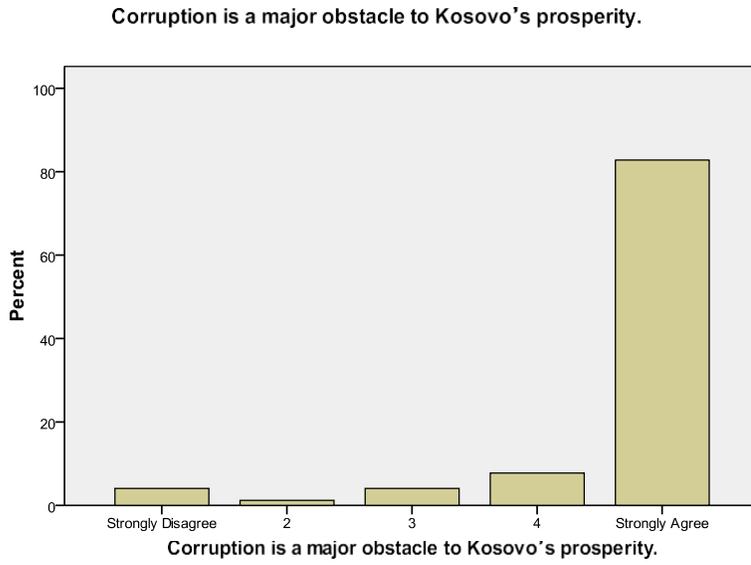


Graph 34.

I believe that there is a lot of corruption in Kosovo.



Graph 35.



Graph 36.

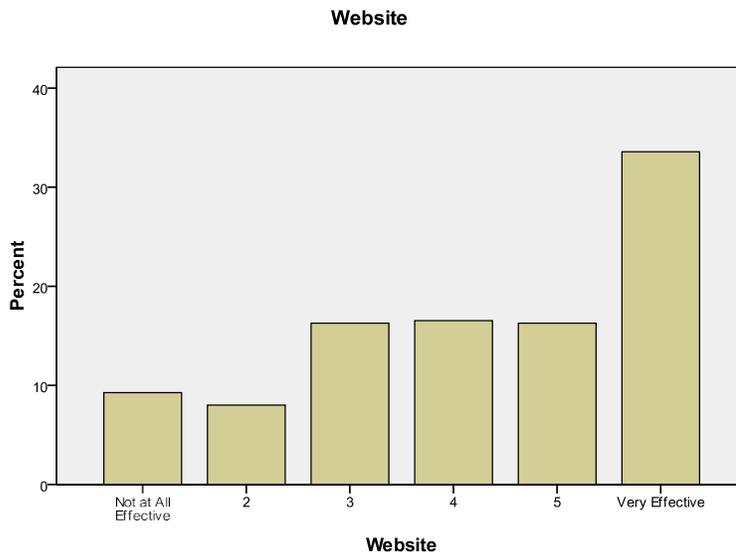


Mediums

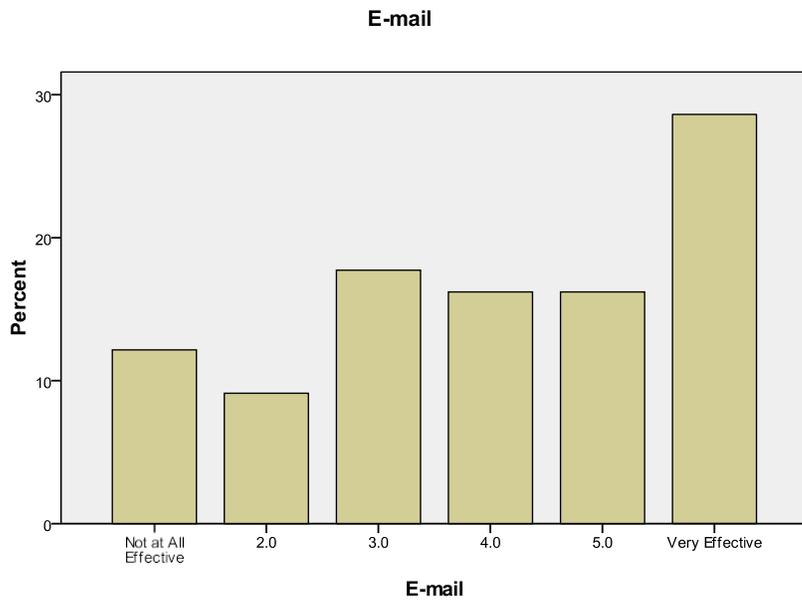
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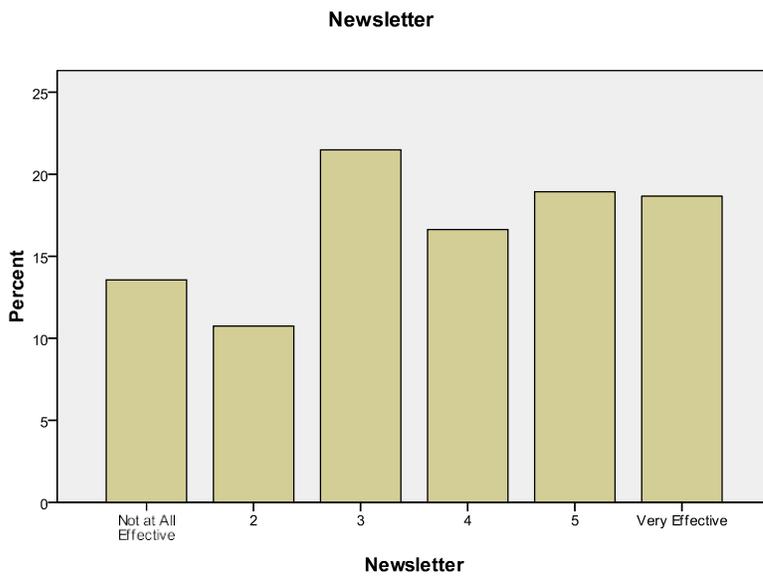
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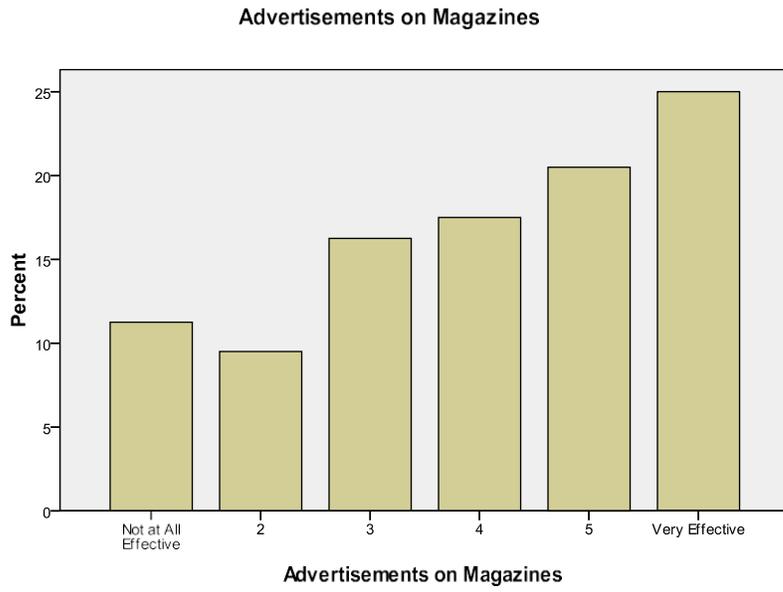
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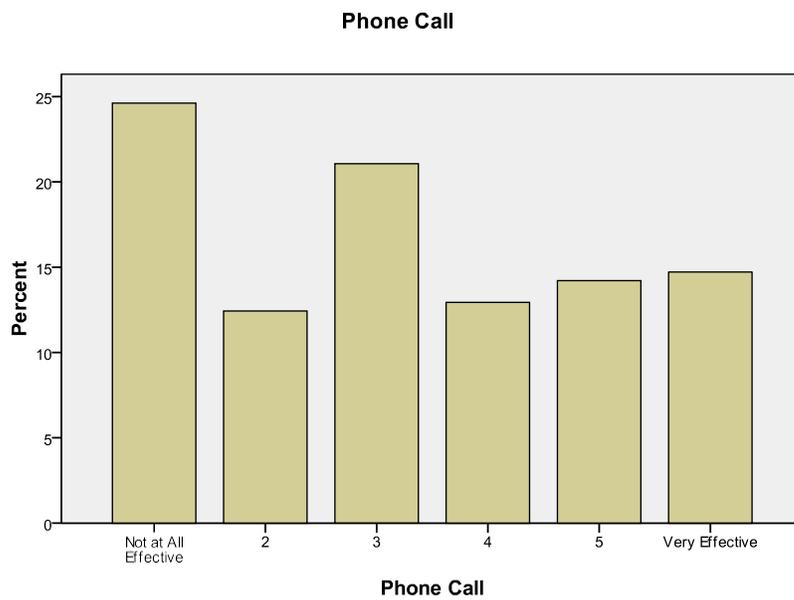
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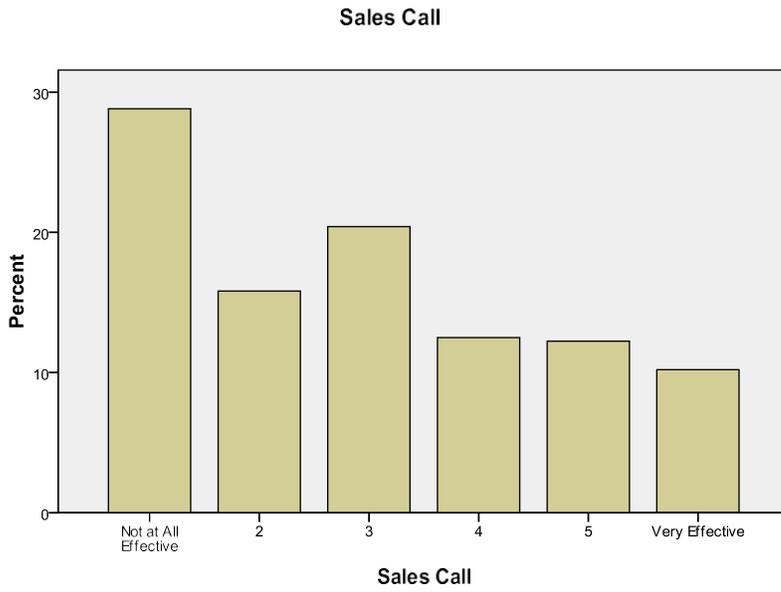
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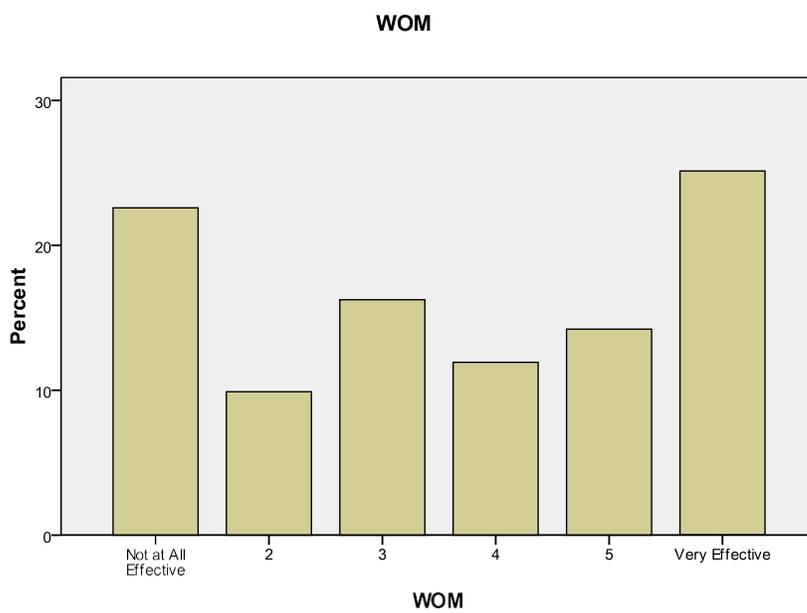
Graph 42.



Graph 43.



Graph 44.



**OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE**  
**UNIVERSITY OF DAYTON**

Dear *Friend*:

*Thank you, in advance, for filling out and returning this opinion questionnaire. The information collected from this questionnaire will be used for research purposes only. Your responses are confidential and anonymous. Please do not identify yourself on this questionnaire.*

Again, thank you for your help!

Where directed, please **circle the number** that best describes **your opinion**.

1. What is the first word or phrase that comes to mind when you think of Kosova?

Now, for question number two, I would like your opinions and your feelings about our country, Kosova.

<i>Statement</i>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Neither</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
I feel that right now Kosovo is a great nation	1	2	3	4	5
I love Kosovo	1	2	3	4	5
I am proud to be a Kosovar	1	2	3	4	5
I feel pride when I see the Kosovo state flag flying	1	2	3	4	5
I feel pride when I see the Albanian national flag flying.	1	2	3	4	5
If needed, I would be willing to give my life for Kosovo.	1	2	3	4	5

2. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements

3. What do you like most about Kosovo?

4. What one improvement would you recommend for Kosovo?

5. Please indicate your strength of agreement or disagreement with the following statements about your *views of life in Kosovo*.

<b>Statements about Your Decision</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
I feel good about my future in Kosovo	1	2	3	4	5
Overall, my life in Kosovo is improving.	1	2	3	4	5
Life in Kosovo will get better for most Kosovars	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Life in Kosovo will get better for my family.</i>	1	2	3	4	5
Life in Kosovo will get better for my children.	1	2	3	4	5
There is more opportunity for me to get ahead now than before.	1	2	3	4	5
<i>My family's income will probably improve next year</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>My family's income will probably improve during the next decade.</i>	1	2	3	4	5

6. Please indicate your strength of agreement or disagreement with the following statements about your *satisfaction with life in Kosovo*

Statements about Your Decision	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
My life in Kosovo is good right now.	1	2	3	4	5
Life since the independence of Kosovo has been good for me	1	2	3	4	5
I enjoy life in Kosovo	1	2	3	4	5
Life in Kosovo is meaningful to me	1	2	3	4	5
I am satisfied with Kosovo's government	1	2	3	4	5

7. What is your ***favorite*** aspect of your life in Kosovo? \_\_\_\_\_

Why is this your favorite aspect?

8. What is your ***least*** favorite aspect of life in Kosovo? \_\_\_\_\_

Why is it your ***least*** favorite aspect?

9. How likely are you to do each of the following:

Statements about Your Decision	Not at all Likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely
Vote in the next election	1	2	3	4
Actively campaign for a particular candidate	1	2	3	4

<b>Statements about Your Decision</b>	<b>Not at all Likely</b>	<b>Somewhat Likely</b>	<b>Likely</b>	<b>Very Likely</b>
in an upcoming election				
Contribute money to a political party or candidate in an upcoming election	1	2	3	4
Try to persuade friends or family to support or vote for a political party or candidate?	1	2	3	4

10. Please indicate how likely you think it is that you will do the following:

<b>Statements about Your Decision</b>	<b>Not at all Likely</b>	<b>Somewhat Likely</b>	<b>Likely</b>	<b>Very Likely</b>
Consider starting your own business	1	2	3	4
Encourage family or friends to start their own business in the near future	1	2	3	4
Invest money in a business someone you know is starting?	1	2	3	4
Pay a somewhat higher price for something because it's from a small business owner?	1	2	3	4
Encourage friends and family to invest in new businesses?	1	2	3	4

11. In the last three years, since the independence, how many times have you protested (expressed objection, through words or by action, about a particular event, policy, or situation). This may have been individually or with a group.

<b>Statements about Your Decision</b>					
Protested about any aspect of life in Kosovo	0	1-2	3-4	5-6	More than 6
Protested about high unemployment rate	0	1-2	3-4	5-6	More than 6
Protested about poor education	0	1-2	3-4	5-6	More than 6
Protested in any way against economic conditions	0	1-2	3-4	5-6	More than 6

12. Please indicate your strength of agreement or disagreement with the following statements about Justice in Kosovo

<b>Statements about Procedural Justice in Kosovo</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>		<b>Neither Disagree or Agree</b>		<b>Strongly Agree</b>
I think that if you work hard you will succeed in Kosovo.	1	2	3	4	5
I think the only way you can succeed in Kosovo is	1	2	3	4	5

Statements about Procedural Justice in Kosovo	Strongly Disagree		Neither Disagree or Agree		Strongly Agree
if you know someone.					
I believe that there is a lot of corruption in Kosovo.	1	2	3	4	5
Corruption is a major obstacle to Kosovo's prosperity.	1	2	3	4	5
Corruption will be common in Kosovo for some time.	1	2	3	4	5

The following information for *classification* purposes only:

21. Are you: 1. Male 2. Female

22. What is your age? 18-24 25-30 31-40 41-50 50-60 60+

23. Are you: 1. Single 2. Married

24. Are you : 1. Employed 2. Unemployed 3. Part Time 4. Full Time 5. Seasonal

26. Please indicate which Industry you work in

- |                                  |                    |                             |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Professional Services & Web   | 2. Manufacturing   | 3. Information Broadcasting |
| 4. Retail                        | 5. Construction    | 6. Organization             |
| 7. Finance & Insurance           | 8. Health Care     | 9. Dining & Lodging         |
| 10. Commercial & Wholesale Trade | 11. Administrative | 12. Real Estate             |
| 13. Educational Services         | 14. Other _____    |                             |

27. In what city, town, or area do you work? \_\_\_\_\_

28. Is your employer: 1. Private 2. Government 3. Out of Country 4. Self employed 5. Don't Know

29. The number of individuals living in your home :

0

1-2

3-4

5+

Don't Know

30. Education that you have completed:

1. Elementary

2. Middle School

3. High School

4. Some College 5. College

6. Graduate

**Thank you!**