BALKAN PUBLIC AGENDA

FOCUS GROUPS IN KOSOVA

MAY 2001

PRISHTINË, May 2001
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INTRODUCTION

Objectives of the Research

Even two years after War’s end, Kosova is still wasn’t able to stabilize economical-political situation. During this after-war period, international and local factor truly helped Kosova’s Reconstruction. They undertook reconstruction of Houses, Roads, Bridges, and stabilization of Public Services damaged by the War. This commitment of international factor raised hopes of Kosovars for a better future waiting for them. This is a conclusion that came out of a research on target groups, which took place in May 2001.

Objective of this research was: a) within Kosovar society, to identify biggest problems that society faces, b) to learn about Kosovar’s opinion related to cause of problems, and within the possibilities of overcoming them, and c) role that society’s existing institutions have in the path toward transition of Kosovar society.

For realization of this objective, a research of target groups in being made, based in one questionnaire, which is realized in all countries of Balkans. It is being realized in target groups of 10 respondents. Conversations duration was 2-2.15 minutes.

Of all groups (4 groups) only one person from group 4 left the conversation. Reason for leaving was that he saw that a camera recorded the conversation, and he didn’t wanted to continue conversation. He didn’t give any argument for his reason. Whereas, all of other respondent were very cooperative and it happened very rarely that questions was to be repeated or explained.

Respondents were citizen of Kosova separated in four groups, due to specific methodology of this project.

First group – I-, consisted of youngster between 23-39 years, male as well as female, with more or less same income over Kosova’s average, citizen of Prishtina, and citizen of Prishtina before 1999.

Second group – II-, consisted of older citizen of Prishtina, with high or academic education, 40-55 years old, married and with children. Citizen of Prishtina also before 1999. All Albanians.

Third group – III-, consisted of countryside population of Gjakova. Session took place in Lug Bunar, and only two female persons participated and the rest were male of different age. Specialty of this group was that there were people with academic background that live and work in a village.

Forth group – IV-, consisted of citizen of different age and education background. Married male and female persons with children. In this group we had health workers, as you can see in the table below.

It is worth mentioning that the youngest respondent was a 23 years old student and the oldest one a 74 years old farmer from Lug Bunar, Gjakova.

Data of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
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<th>Education</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20-35</td>
<td>36-45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
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Source: Research of target groups in Kosova, May 2001
### Table No.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<tr>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Referent</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Medical Nurse</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Medical worker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>Lower</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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</table>

Source: Research of target groups in Kosova, May 2001

The table below presents the criteria considered in recruiting participants for the 4 groups | Table No.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>No. of subjects</th>
<th>Group compositions</th>
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<td>18.05.2001</td>
<td>Prishtinë</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Higher education&lt;br&gt;Age 22-39&lt;br&gt;Albanian nationality&lt;br&gt;M&amp;F</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.05.2001</td>
<td>Prishtinë</td>
<td>10</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>20.05.2001</td>
<td>Gjakovë, Lug Bunar</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>People from rural areas&lt;br&gt;Albanian nationality</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>2.05.2001</td>
<td>Kastriot (Obiliq)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Medium and higher education&lt;br&gt;Albanian nationality&lt;br&gt;M&amp;F&lt;br&gt;Married, with children</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Research of target groups in Kosova, May 2001
GENERAL OBSERVATIONS OF RESEARCH

The Research that we present on next pages of this Report, proved that Kosovo nowadays is in process of transition from a socialist society in a democratic one. In this period, Democracy is very fragile because not all institutions are being build, which would defend Democracy.

Momentary, Kosovo is under international Protectorate. During this time it faces many problems. As biggest problems were stressed: citizen’s security, economic issues, large-scale unemployment, inter-ethnic relations and Kosovo’s independence.

It has been noticed that Kosovars are overcoming old socialist-communist mentality. Main reason for abandoning this mentality is that Kosovars identified this with Serbian Regime. War of March-June 1999 and Serbian Massacres created this opinion that that ideology was Serbian. One can hear often in Kosovo the notion “Slav-communism”.

This attitude, naturally, should not get to generalize, because high structures of Kosovar communist politics still have some communist nostalgia. This is a small percentage of Kosovo’s population.

Problems, which are the hardest to overcome, are traditional convictions, sentiments, and hatred between Albanians and Serbs. Based on our data, there is a opinion being formed that all Serbs are criminals and anti-human.

In other hand, Serbs have the same opinion about Albanians. Some citizen thinks that it is hard to achieve Independence of Kosovo.

There are lots of problems coming from economic area. There is private property, social owned and collective property (former cooperatives). Socially owned property and collective one is not being privatized nor secured from abuse. Where is no legal framework to protect them. There are some elements of privatization by force, because some farmers entered into socially owned and collective property. Most of this land is uncultivated.

Another problem is the property of Serbs: their Houses, Flats and Land. In not burned lands and houses of them, Albanians got in. It has been noted that their property is being sold in villages as well as in the towns!

This part of problems was not literary being said by respondents! We think that this event is a problem in Kosovo.

There is a idea of property. This exists because in old society there was an agro minimum of land of 10 ha. per family. There are some elements of small economy, whose roots are to be tracked in old society, too.

The biggest Worry is the fact that there is lack of investment, which would enable work of factories and activities in rural areas. This would be the best solution for resolving economic problems in Kosovo.

Second problem is definition of property. This would solve the dilemmas of Privatization.

Kosova is an agricultural country, rich with coal of high quality, as well as with other metals. These products are very attractive to the Market. Citizen said that they understand Market Economy as possibility of free competition in which those who are more qualitative would win.

Majority of respondent citizen declared that they are not involved in politics. They consider that the only decision-making activity that hey did was participation in elections. They think that if they unite, today’s Kosovo will get its independence. (Group I, III and IV)

Respondents declared that their main source of information is Radio Television of Kosovo (RTK), than the foreign radio stations. In particularly they mentioned Voice of America, BBC, and Deutsche Welle. They have more confidence of national press.

They didn’t show knowledge in distinguishing between NGOs and GOs. They think that NGOs helped a lot Kosovar population in its reconstruction. We thank them a lot. They said lot of beautiful words for international organizations and “Mother Theresa” organization.

They opinion of religion is very positive Doctor from fourth (4) group declared that we Albanians have three (3) religions, and we respect them all, because faith in God brings people together. The 74 years old man from the third (3) group shared her opinion. In Kosova religion is highly evaluated by all citizen.

Whereas, Public Services were evaluated with grades 1-10. High grades are given to: Education – 10, Army (KPC) – 10; low grades are given to: Social Assistance – 1, Urban and Interurban Transport – 1. Other services were evaluated more or less against grade average.
International institutions played a important role in Kosova’s reconstruction. Donation that came into Kosova came either from World Bank, International Monetary Fund or European Union. In general, international institutions are highly appraised by Kosovars.

NATO is most appraised among international institutions. Kosovars consider NATO as their savior. “If NATO weren’t here, we wouldn’t be in Kosova now”, is a often sentence coming from Kosovars. It ensures economic and politic stability in Balkans.

Kosovars think that Stability Pact is a important institution. Their opinion is that it is established to help countries of southeastern Europe in their economic development. Kosovars think that only economic development can stabilize the Region.

Main fear of Kosovars is security of citizen. This fear is caused by some homicides that happened after that Serbian regime left Kosova and international troops came in. Kosovars have a bigger fear: retrieve of Serbian forces in Kosova. There state that Serbs with the Genocide that they undertook in Kosova left no space for co-living with them in Kosova. This fear is related with Kosova’s independence. Kosovars have different opinions on this. A big majority of them thinks that independence already is ensured although it is not stated in UN Resolution no. 1244. The others fear that independence will not be achieved according to momerntary trends.

Hopes of Kosovars are big regarding improvement of economic situation. There will be new job opportunities. The issue of privatization will be solved. Political situation will be stabilized. Kosova will cooperate more than for the time being with countries of the Region.

2. MAIN HOPES, FEARS AND CONCERNES MOMENTARY FEELED BY KOSOVA'S POPULATITION

2-1. Which are the main problems that our society faces today?

In their discussions, Kosovars mentioned a number of problems which they face every day.

These are:
- Non-definition of Kosova’s final status
- Kosova’s independence
- Citizen security
- Ethnic conflicts
- Political violence
- Corruption
- Unemployment
- Non-definition of property
- Privatization
- No-unity of political leaders
- Enclavization of Serbs
- Constitutional framework of Kosova

Illustrative declarations

Kosova was horrified by a number of homicides with political background, which created insecurity among population. Gr.1/M3

They think that non-definition of Kosova’s statute is a serious problem for Kosovar society. If this definition would be in place and if it would be clear that Kosova is independent, everything would be fine. Gr.3/M1, Gr.4/M9.

Political situation among Albanians would be very good if there were larger cooperation and unity of Albanian political leaders and their parties in place. M7/Gr.4.


There cannot be any economic development and political stabilization if the problem of unemployment in our society is not resolved. In former Yugoslavia society structure we were region with highest unemployment. This rate dropped down nowadays. Gr.2/M2.
Non-definition of property and privatization are constraining processes of transition in economic level. This overindulgence resulted in farmers abusing property of social owned and cooperative owned property in villages (wood cutting). Gr.3/M4.

Illegal construction destroyed largely cities of Kosova. This happens also in villages by using most fertile land. Kosova is overloaded with gas pumps in its magisterial roads. Gr.3/M10.

2-2. Which of above-mentioned issues have more chance to be solved in the near future?

- We hope that the security of Kosovars will be solved in a near future.
- Unemployment can be solved in a short period. We say this because small economy started to develop.
- There will be a larger unity of political leaders, and political parties, too.
- Constitutional framework of Kosova will help strengthens of Law, which will stop corruption.

Illustrative declarations

I think that by holding general elections, which are foreseen for 17th of November 2001, and constitution of Kosovar Parliament, we can achieve larger security for Kosova’s citizen. For the time being, we are in a legal vacuum, which is of help to criminals and corruptors. Gr.2/M10.

I think that unemployment will be solved quicker than problems of our society. This can be solved through reorganization of old organizations and creation of new ones, which would absorb unemployed workforce. Gr.1/M1, Gr.2/F10.

Constitutional framework of Kosova will improve, because international factor will realize that it is impossible to stay as it is, therefore it will become a Constitute, and once it is a Constitute, we will get our independence. Gr.4/M7.

2.3 Which are the hardest problems to solve?

The hardest problems to solve in short run are:
- Ethnic conflicts are not to be solved in short run.
- Serb enclaves will exist for a long period of time.
- Corruption, as a phenomenon inherited from old communist society.
- Problem of separation of Mitrovica.

Illustrative declarations

Ethnic conflicts between Albanians and Serbs have a long history in Kosova. This started when socialistic-communistic Yugoslav system was set up in Kosova, in year 1945. In year 1999 they reached unbearable level. Violent displacement of 900 000 Albanians from their homes in Kosova, homicides, lost and imprisoned people are only some from arguments which disable union of these two nations, is the opinion of 90% of Kosovars.

Serb enclaves are special problem of today’s Kosova. Serbs in these enclaves refuse any cooperation with Albanians, although UNMIK is asking them to cooperate with international and Kosovar factor. Gr.4/M7.

One of hardest problems to solve is corruption. This problem has deep roots, and it comes from old communist society. This phenomenon is more serious nowadays than before. Kosova “lives” without laws, without tax-payment, without needed control of costumes. Within political parties there are people involved in corruption. Gr.2/M1.

Division of Mitrovica is a serious problem for us. This division is not right and as such, it will constrain development of Mitrovica. Mitrovica is the most industrial city of Kosova, because Trepça, Mine foundry, Azotik, and some other factories are located there. If international factor does not take any action to reunion Mitrovica, political situation in Kosova won't stabilizze, Gr.4/M7, and 100% of other respondents.
3. ECONOMIC ISSUES

3-1. Which are the problems that our country faces currently?

- Lack of productivity in our country
- Property issue – it’s status
- Lack of investments
- Negligence of village
- Migration from rural areas to cities.

This is just a small number of problems of economy of Kosova. Kosova came out of the War two years ago and still didn’t succeed to get reconstructed. International factor reconstructed 20,000 houses, rehabilitated 300 km of roads, constructed bridges destroyed by war, but there is still much to reconstruct. In some villages of Kosova, there are still families living under tents.

Illustrative testimonies

Production is in its lowest level, or doesn’t exist at all, both in cities and in villages. Former Farmer Cooperatives doesn’t exist anymore, private sector of family economies lost interest on production. This sector didn’t produce much for the Market. This is notable in Market. Gr.3/M8, Gr.1/M9.

All of respondents said that not-definition of state owned and collective property is cause of poverty in our society. But we think that not-definition of property is caused by the fact that Kosova’s status is still not solved. Gr.3/M1. Respondents of fourth group are sharing this opinion also.

Lack of investments has larger impact in villages, but it impacts cities too. None of factories that operated before 1999 is operating now. For example: Kishnica, Novobërda, Feronikli, Trepça, etc. Gr.4/F.

Apart from humanitarian aid, there were no investments for Kosova’s rural areas. There were some cows given as aid, but only in small number, is opinion of all of third group. Fourth group is supporting opinion of negligence of village, as well.

Migration from villages is massive. Youngsters don’t want to live in village, Prishtina is an example. Before the War it had 200,000 citizens. Nowadays it counts 500,000. These new comers are all from villages. A part of them came because their houses are burned, but most of them have no reasons for leaving their villages, think respondents of group III, IV, and IV.

These movements from villages constrained job offers. As above mentioned, factories in cities don’t work, whereas the Land in villages in not being cultivated. Only source of income is small-scale economy in villages. Those don’t have possibility to raise the number of employees in villages because they are typical old-structure private village economies. For this reason credits should be given, which would help development of Kosova’s economy. Gr.1/M9

3-2. Obstacles to resolution of economic problems are:

- Lack of interest of citizen to contribute more for society,
- Non-existing investments,
- Constrains that internationals are putting to work contracts,
- Corruption,
- Not-definition of property,
- Not-definition of Kosova’s statute

Illustrative testimonies

Most of these constrains have already been mentioned in former chapters, when we talked about problems that our society faces. So we will illustrate some thoughts of our respondents:

Almost all of respondents of the second group think that the main constrain is human factor which, in professional level, is not able to do some work in Agriculture Economy, Politics. There is a feeling that there is only improvisation in economy and science in our country. There is lack of real professionalism in our society.

Foreign investments are serious constrain to rebuild our economy. Almost 90% of respondents raised problem of economic investments; their shared opinion of respondent F6 of first group.
Although internationals helped Kosova, there are some obstacles from their side regarding workers contracts. Gr.IV/M9.

If property would be defined, economic development would be more organized. Now that it is not on adequate legal level, this is main obstacle to economic development of Kosova. Gr.IV/M7.

Corruption is a disease of our society. It impacts all levels of our society’s structure. One of meanest forms of it is political corruption. It is helping non-definition of Kosova’s status. It would come to corruption’s end if Kosova would have independence and laws.

3-3. Which factors would accelerate problems resolution?

Mostly mentioned factors were:
- Organization of institutional work,
- Privatization of socially owned enterprises
- Bigger involvement of ours for security in region

Illustrative testimonies

Organization of institutional work would enable foreign capital to come to us, as well. Law and institutional organization make foreign investors to have confidence. We think that Stability Pact for southeastern Europe can help us very much in overcoming this situation that we have in our economy today. Gr.3/M2.

Reorganization of old enterprises and passage to a new structure of privatization are main factors that may help passage from poor economic situation to a much better one. This is proved in other societies too, so why should it not work at ours? Gr.1/M1.

For foreign capital to come into our society, it requires two factors: human factor and security in society. Foreign Capitalist wants to know whom is he helping with his capital, and this requires a larger commitment from our side. Without security in society, there is no change to accelerate a larger process of economic transition. Gr.4/M9.

3-4. How do you evaluate the Role that international institutions play for our economy and society?

International Institutions are playing an extraordinary important role for our economy.
- Construction and reconstruction of burned houses in Kosova,
- Reconstruction of main roads,
- Reconstruction of infrastructure,
- Efforts for creation of new staff.

All levels of our society are aware, and praise it, that international factor reconstructed ca. 20,000 burned and destroyed houses in Kosova. Their reconstruction has been done in very short time, which indicates that international factor is taking his task seriously. This is how all respondents feel like.

In this framework there have been reconstructed some 300 km or regional and local roads. All of this is been done with funds of international organizations. They also enabled reconstruction of Kosova’s infrastructure. They have met water networks, Power network, and many other needs of Kosova. Gr.2/M9.

But the best thing that international factor is doing within this framework is his large efforts to form new human resources through trainings, resources that will fulfill challenges of today’s Kosova. For this and many other ways of help that international factor provided to Kosova, we thank him from bottom of our hearts. Gr.3/M2.

3-5. What will happen with economic flows during next years?

All respondents of all four groups think that if these trends continue it will be better.
- Donations will continue to be given, like until now
- Number of employees in production enterprises will grow
- We, as Kosovars will pace much more efforts in economic development of Kosova.
We are very optimistic regarding our future. We believe that there will be donations given, which will help us much more than in the past. Gr.3/M1.

Donations will enable many factories and agriculture cooperatives to restart their activities. This will enable employment of big number of workers. Regarding this, Kosova has bigger opportunities than Albania or other countries of southeastern Europe. Gr.3/M9.

International factor can help us, but if we, as Kosovars, will not make more efforts, their help will be gone. Therefore, I think that we Kosovars should do much more to facilitate growth of our economy. We should forget our past, which wasn’t fruitful. Gr.2/M1.

3-6. What do you understand under notion Market Economy?
We got many answers regarding market economy from our respondents, some of them were:
- Kosova have a prospect of market economy,
- Free market
- Elimination of monopoly,
- Enlargement of privatization of enterprises. Gr.3/M6, Gr.4/Sh.c-7, Gr.1/F10

Problems of market economy are more or less known to Kosova. In former days, Kosovars put their small economy products in the Market. That’s why Kosovars have knowledge about market, and their knowledge enables them to know how to act in the Market. Almost all of respondents think that this enlarges prospective of market economy in Kosova.

Free trade exists only in market. If one comes up with quality products, he has more prospective in market. Gr.3/M6. Kosova has a possibility of development of that kind of market economy in southeastern Europe markets.

In some countries there was state-monopoly in place in the past. Market economy eliminates monopoly by giving everybody equal chances to compete in the Market. Monopoly elimination is very important for us that lived in planed economy society, without real markets. Market creates new relations in society, which are very needed for Kosovar society. Gr.4/M7.

Markets are an important factor that enables privatization of enterprises. We hope that there will be some steps forwards regarding privatization of enterprises. Gr.2/M6.

3-7. How will develop economic relations in other countries of our Region?

If democratic processes dominate in our country, everything will go good. We foresee that in the future we will have a larger cooperation with all countries of our Region. Gr.III/M6.

4. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

4-1. What do you understand under notion of Democracy?

In different interviews, Kosovars said that they are not involved in politics. Our respondents by 60% of all groups said that they are not interested to be involved in politics.
- We are not living in democracy,
- Democratic system is good.

Democracy is a system of great responsibility. We talk about democracy but we do not live in democracy. All respondents of first group. This period is only an imitation of democracy. People are very bureaucratic and chase their own interests and not national ones. Gr3/M3.

All of my friends share the same opinion. Gr.4/M7. This means that Kosovars think that they do not live in democracy.

We think that democratic system is very good for us. Within democratic system there are laws, social rules, citizen security, human and citizen rights. Gr.3/F3. In democratic system there are no crimes in this large number as we have it our current system. Gr.3/F6. Kosovars agree that democratic system is better, but it raises the question of how to achieve it.
4-2. Which is the Role of people in decision-making process in our society?

The only possibility to participate in decision-making processes is the institution of vote. We didn't have any other mean until now to participate in it. We participate in meetings but do not make any decision. This would not happen if politics would be closer to the people. We didn't get the chance to make even decisions in city district level, is what every group thinks. Sometimes there were our opinion was important too, but it was not taken in consideration. We will try to get this right of ours back.

4-3. To whom of institutions below do you have more confidence?

We Albanians have traditionally confidence. We had believed to old political structures, but they didn't believe us. This made us not to believe to political structures. Gr.4/M2. Now that old political structures are gone, and new ones are here, we still have hope that we can have confidence of social institutions. Confidence of internationals is not that big.

We are going to present opinions on confidence and not confidence in this table.

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<th>Institutions</th>
<th>I have confidence at most Groups</th>
<th>I have confidence at least Groups</th>
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<td>II</td>
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<td>2. Local Administration</td>
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<td><strong>Kosovar Level</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. President – SRSG</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Prime minister – KTK</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
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<td>3. Government – UNMIK</td>
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<td>yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Parliament - Transition C.</td>
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<td>7. International Community</td>
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Source: research of target groups, May 2001

In general, confidence in foreign staff is much lowers that in local staff. This has been explained before.

Respondents think that America has the biggest influence in our society. Gr.3/M3, and Great Britain Gr.2/M7. Whereas fourth group think that also the national staff has large influence in our society.

4-4. How do you evaluate activities of political parties and legal institutions?

Kosovar political parties are new. First political party was established 1990. This was Democratic League of Kosova. Other parties were established later. All political parties have the issue of liberation of Kosova in their party program. They succeeded in uniting all Kosovars with this.

There is a difference in leaders level. Three biggest parties LDK, PDK and AAK don’t cooperate with each other. This is how all four groups feel too. If they would cooperate situation would be better.

If the activity of political parties were questioned, we would say that it is satisfactory because they are doing their best. Gr.4/M1. Kosovar political parties have possibility of doing more than they are doing now. Gr.1 and Gr.3. All think that they can do more than what they done so far.

While, regarding legal issues, Kosovars live between old laws and those presented by UNMIK, which actually didn’t presented laws but regulations. Old communist laws are not being respected, and there are no real laws in place. This is state of Kosova’s legal system.
4-5. Would you participate in activity such as political party, volunteer work, to help improvement of situation?

Answer on this question shows that opinions of Kosovars are not unified. Very small minorities of respondent citizen think that they would not get involved in any political party. They like political parties but they wouldn’t get involved in them. Gr.1,2, 3, and 4.

But, they would like to participate in organizations of volunteer work. We reconstructed our country with volunteer work, and we are continuing with this activity. We are building by our self roads and bridges in our villages. When somebody of poor people wants to construct a house, his community supports him.

Generally speaking, there is still willingness for volunteer work among Kosovars, although this phenomenon is declining here, too.

5. CIVIL SOCIETY

5-1. Main resources of your information?

Majority of interviewed said that they main resources of information are National TV, press and radio stations. Regarding TV stations, TVK (Television Kosova) has bigger auditorium than private stations, which started their operations only few months ago. By using satellite dishes, Kosovars watch also BBC, RAI, RTSH, (Radio Television of Albania), TV5, etc.

Most listened radio stations are: Radio Kosova, Radio 21, Radio Rilindja, and other local radio stations. Respondents said that they also listen to foreign radios like “Voice of America, Deutsche Welle, Radio Free Europe, Radio Frances International, Radio Tirana. It is noteworthy that none of respondents said that he listens to Serbian or Macedonian radios.

Only Albanian newspapers are being bought. Most sold ones are: Koha Ditore, Rilindja, and Zëri.

5-2. Do you think that confidence to and objectivity of information depends on whether media are a) state owned or private, b) foreign or local, c) national or local?

Respondents think that information coming from state resources is more trustful than ones from private resources. Gr.1/F7. Regarding foreign and local ones, majority thinks that foreign ones are more correct regarding international news. As far as national new are concerned, national sources are more objective. Respondents think that national medias are state owned and local ones private. There are exceptions here, because some think that local radios are not always private.

5-3. Evaluation of NGOs

All respondents think that these organizations helped Kosova a lot. This is the reason why Kosovars have an excellent opinion about them. These organizations did construction and reconstruction of thousands and thousands of houses in Kosova. They helped Kosova with food and cloths. They paid extra attention to children. To whom they provided food. They provided them with books, copybooks and equipment for schools. International organizations were much more effective than Kosovar ones. It is notable that “Human Rights Committee of Kosova” was very important in recording crimes that Serbian state did in Kosova.

5-4. How do you evaluate activities of professional associations?

Respondents feel that professional associations didn’t have important role in Kosova. They tried to do some training with citizen, but only in small number. So, we get the feeling that they weren’t present in Kosova for a long time. We think that they hadn’t very positive role because they didn’t did as much as they should. Gr.1/M1. I share the same opinion, too. Gr.3/M4.
5-5. **Which is the Role of religion institutions?**

Respondents think that religion institution had and have an important role. There is a big inter-religion tolerance within our society. We Albanians have three religions: Catholic, Mohammedan and Orthodox. There is no distinguishing to be seen in normal life. During the recent War in 1999, religion buildings were damaged too, e.g. Masks, Catholic Churches, etc. There are some talks now, to put religion as subject in schools. Religion should be respected because it doesn’t predict to kill each other but to love each other. Gr.3/M10.

5-6. **What do you think about political education of citizen in our country?**

Almost all of Kosovar respondents think that their political education is in a low level. Although this kind of education is low, rules of civil society are accepted. Gr.1/F7. Respondents called them self politically educated pioneers because they are familiar with courses of politics. Gr.3/M8.

6. **PUBLIC SERVICES**

6-1. Public services are evaluated as unsatisfactory. Some sectors got negative grades, and some high grades. This is showed in table that we present:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>Group I</th>
<th>Group II</th>
<th>Group III</th>
<th>Group IV</th>
<th>General data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Aid</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport/Traffic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pension Fund</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.62</td>
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<tr>
<td>Water supply</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army/TMK</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Transport</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Heating</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: research of target groups, May 2001

X) Privatization of Public Services would be a good move. That would make them more efficient than they momentary are.
7. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

7-1. Do you think that international institutions influence in some way occurrences in our country?

International institutions are playing a very important role in our society. They helped war-burned Kosova by reconstructing burned and destroyed houses.
   a) As far as we are informed, World Bank provided a major financial support.
   b) International Monetary Fund, as in the past, nowadays is reconstructing Kosova.
   c) UN, with its funds, is reconstructing roads and infrastructure.
   d) European Union helped as other international institutions. We have impression that EU helped more than the others.
   e) NATO was, and still is the savior of Albanian nation. Help that they provided for us, make us to be always on its side. If NATO wasn’t here, we would be in Kosova. It has been showed that it is our best friend, and we will be its too, forever.

7-2 Which is the Role of international community?

International community had a big role for as Kosovars. She ensured peace in our country. It contributed to stabilization of political situation in country. Gr.1/M1. We can’t thank them enough for the good thinks they’ve done and are doing. Gr.1/M1.

7-3. Do you think that way that BE uses for initiating problem resolution is good and efficient or not?

We think it is good and efficient. This organization did a lot for reconstruction of our country. We think that she was very efficient. Most of Kosovars have problem with passports. They don’t wont to have Serbian ones, and there are delays in getting UNMIK’s ones. This is a big problem for Kosovars.

7-4. Did you ever hear of Stability Pact, what do you think about it. Can this international program help Kosova?

We know that that Pact is established to help development of all countries of southeastern Europe. We didn’t hear that the Pact helped materially Kosova until now. Gr.1/F5, and Gr.3/M5. All of respondents think that pact could help Kosova.

7-5. Do you think that NATO can help furthermore in resolution of your problems?

NATO has done for Kosovar society more than for any other society. With help of it, more than 900,000 Kosovar Albanian came back to Kosova after the War, that NATO led, to save Kosovars. We see it as most important and dearest organization. NATO can solve all problems of nations of Balkans. Gr.2/M4, Gr.3/M1. This is how all Kosovars feel about NATO, because they see it as peacekeeper.

7-6. What could be requested from our society to become a member of NATO?

Respondents think that to become a member of NATO we must be:
- tolerant society
- society that gives it best to be democratic
- society that works hard
- society that tries to cooperate with neighbor countries of Region, and further
- society that tries to protect the environment
- society that follows the idea of cultivating international relationships, etc.

We think that we Kosovars are able to meet these requirements, which would enable us to become a member of NATO. This how all respondents feel like.
7-7. The Key to security is:

Are efforts to cultivate inter-ethnic relations, not only within our society but also in relation to other societies of region. Creation of a bilateral confidence with neighbor countries of the region. We should expel violence from our society, and should do our best to expel violence from other societies in region, too.

To be as much tolerant as possible in internal relations of our society as well as with other societies. Creation of a bilateral confidence with neighbor countries of Balkans is the best key to security in this part of southeastern Europe. Gr.2, Gr.3, Gr.1, and Gr.4.

8. INDIVIDUAL CARACTERISTICS AND OPINIONS

8-1. Your opinion about different countries of Region.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Group I</th>
<th>Group II</th>
<th>Group III</th>
<th>Group IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B. and Herzegovina</td>
<td>War</td>
<td>Ethnic division, Unemployment</td>
<td>Occupied country, Poverty, War</td>
<td>War against occupation, Wish for a unique Bosnia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>Dictatorial regime, War initiation</td>
<td>Antidemocratic opinions, War</td>
<td>Bad example, Dictator, Violence</td>
<td>Destruction of Yugoslavia, Genocide against other nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosova</td>
<td>Undevelopment, Stagnation</td>
<td>Unsolved status, Undeveloped economy</td>
<td>Country in development, Peace-loving nation</td>
<td>International Protectorate, Natural resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monte Negro</td>
<td>Truism</td>
<td>Tendency to independence, Truism</td>
<td>Touristy Country, Violent nation</td>
<td>Touristy Country, Wish for independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vojvodina</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Developed agriculture</td>
<td>Developed Agriculture, Economic development</td>
<td>Developed Agriculture, Economic development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonia</td>
<td>War, Negligence of Human Rights</td>
<td>Political crisis, Changed Constitution</td>
<td>War, Artificial creature</td>
<td>Closure of Borders, Pressure of Albanians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>Economic stagnation</td>
<td>Undeveloped Country, Causesescu</td>
<td>Causescu, Communist Country</td>
<td>Democracy establishment, Causescu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>Economic-political chaos</td>
<td>Instability, Undeveloped economy</td>
<td>Quisling Government, Economic undevelopment</td>
<td>Fall of totalitarian regime, establishment of political pluralism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Developed country, Tourism</td>
<td>Civil culture, Tourism</td>
<td>Serbian collaborator, Touristy Country</td>
<td>Touristy Country</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8-2. **How will develop the life of people of southeastern Europe Region during next years? Why in that way?**

If democracy principles would have influence in countries of southeastern Europe, interest for market economy rise, future for this part of Europe is bright, because these nations had enough of unfairness and communist poverty. All groups of respondents said that Kosova has no alternative way but market economy.

8-3. **How would you evaluate momentary relationship of ethnic groups in our society?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relations with ethnic groups.</th>
<th>Table Nr. 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With Serbs</td>
<td>Gr.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not good</td>
<td>Not good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosniaks</td>
<td>God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turks</td>
<td>God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roma</td>
<td>Not good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegrins</td>
<td>Not good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashkali</td>
<td>God</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8-4. **Do you think that living conditions of citizen depend mostly from their national belonging?**

Until the liberation of Kosova, two years ago, living conditions depended mostly from national belonging. Serbs the say and they were privileged. Albanians were tortured and under pressure just for being Albanians. But today things changed. Criteria of national melted inside of Albanian society. With other words, national belonging determines in large extension living conditions in our society. Gr.1, Gr.2, Gr.4.

8-5. **Do you feel your national belonging?**

All respondents answered that they feel their national belonging. When they were asked why, they answered that they are the oldest nation in this part of Europe. We think we are zealot, closer to each other, and more loyal to are bright tradition. We never did colonial wars against our neighbors. So why not being proud of our nation!

8-6. **Did you ever thought about leaving your current place of living to go to some other place or country?**

Three Groups, Group 2,3, and 4 said that they never though about leaving their birthplaces. First group said that tortures of Milosevic made them think about leaving. A Kosovar leaves Kosova only under tortures. No Kosovar is interested in leaving Kosova because of poverty!
9. FINAL COMMENTS

9-1. Which are the Fears and Hopes for our Country and people living in?

We already mentioned often our fears in first pages of this report. There are many of them, but we are going to mention once more the fear of citizen of moving from one place to another.

Hopes are big in number, because every problem that Kosova has, are going to be solved. Economic issues will be solved, which will help in employing large number of people. Politic stability will be achieved, which wasn’t in satisfactory level until now. Market economy will be upgraded as one of best forms of upgrading production in our society.

After elections at 17th of November, institutions of state of Kosova will be established, which will help us in our efforts for a quicker economical and political development.

9-2. Is there any issue that we didn’t raised during our conversation?

There are lots of issues that we didn’t talk about. We didn’t talked as needed about education, Kosovar war prisoners that are in Serbia, those in Serbian prisons, war invalids, female emancipation, and a whole row of other issues. We hope we’ll talk about this some other time.

FINAL WORDS

In the end of this report, we see as appropriate to present you some issues that we think is good to mention within these final words.

Based on momentary political and social clime in Kosova, we thought that it would be impossible to organize the research in proper way. It turned out to be totally different! People were willing to participate in our target groups. This honored us and made our work much easier.

During the interviews respondents were cooperative and motivated to answer our questions, as much as they could. We have the feeling that all respondents were sincere and serious in their answers.

While giving the answers there were some kind of light confirmation from some respondents, on questions made that dealt only with political issues and to other questions. In every group there is somebody distinguishable. In all of groups some respondents made themselves distinguishable with their answers. It happened in some cases that other shared their opinion with them.

Critical thinking was in a high level, which is to be seen in fact that state institutions wasn’t protected from criticism of the work that they do. This tells us that Kosovars day after day are leaving socialist conscience after them.

In the end, let us say that we achieved our aim to complete our work successfully and to leave a good impression to respondents, which can be seen in fact that when we thanked them for cooperation, they thanked us for the opportunity to be respondents in this research.
### Data of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Total</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
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</table>

Source: Research of target groups in Kosova, May 2001

### Table of professions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Referent</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Medical Nurse</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Medical worker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
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<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Director</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Professor</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Research of target groups in Kosova, May 2001
The table below presents the criteria considered in recruiting participants for the 4 groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>No. of subjects</th>
<th>Group compositions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>18.05.2001</td>
<td>Prishtinë</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Higher education&lt;br&gt;Age 22-39&lt;br&gt;Albanian nationality&lt;br&gt;M&amp;F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.05.2001</td>
<td>Prishtinë</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Medium and higher education&lt;br&gt;Albanian nationality&lt;br&gt;Age 40-55&lt;br&gt;M&amp;F&lt;br&gt;Married with children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>20.05.2001</td>
<td>Gjakovë, Lug Bunar</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>People from rural areas&lt;br&gt;Albanian nationality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.05.2001</td>
<td>Kastriot (Obiliq)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Medium and higher education&lt;br&gt;Albanian nationality&lt;br&gt;M&amp;F&lt;br&gt;Married with children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Research of target groups in Kosova, May 2001

Group – I- Pristine; 18.05.2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

19
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Professor</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Incomplete higher education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Incomplete higher education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Student</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>F7</td>
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</tr>
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<td>F8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>M9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>F10</td>
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</table>

Source: Research of target groups in Kosova, May 2001

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**Group –II- Pristine; 3.05.2001**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>M2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Worker</td>
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</tr>
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<td>F3</td>
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<td>Clerk</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F4</td>
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<td>Unemployed</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>M5</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
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<tr>
<td>M6</td>
<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td>M7</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Worker</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>F8</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M9</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Professor</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Professor</td>
<td>University</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Research of target groups in Kosova, May 2001

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**Group -III- Lug Bunar, Gjakovë; 20.05.2001**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Clark</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F3</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M4</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
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<tr>
<td>M6</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
</tr>
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<td>M7</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Salesman</td>
<td>University</td>
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<tr>
<td>M8</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Administrator</td>
<td>High school</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>M10</td>
<td>72</td>
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<td>Primary school</td>
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</table>

Source: Research of target groups in Kosova, May 2001

---

**Group –IV- Kastriot; 2.05.2001**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

20
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Group I</th>
<th>Group II</th>
<th>Group III</th>
<th>Group IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B. and Herzegovina</td>
<td>War</td>
<td>Ethnic division, Unemployment</td>
<td>Occupied country, Poverty, War</td>
<td>War against occupation, Wish for a unique Bosnia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>Dictatorial regime, Crime, War-initiation</td>
<td>Antidemocratic opinions, War</td>
<td>Bad example, Dictator, Violence</td>
<td>Destruction of Yugoslavia, Genocide against other nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosova</td>
<td>Undeveloped, Stagnation</td>
<td>Unsolved status, Undeveloped economy</td>
<td>Country in development, Peace-loving nation</td>
<td>International Protectorate, Natural resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monte Negro</td>
<td>Truism</td>
<td>Tendency to independence, Truism</td>
<td>Touristy Country, Violent nation</td>
<td>Touristy Country, Wish for independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vojvodina</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Developed agriculture</td>
<td>Developed Agriculture, Economic development</td>
<td>Developed Agriculture, Economic development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonia</td>
<td>War, Negligence of Human Rights</td>
<td>Political crisis, Changed Constitution</td>
<td>War, Artificial creature</td>
<td>Closure of Borders, Pressure of Albanians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>Economic stagnation</td>
<td>Undeveloped Country, Causescu</td>
<td>Causescu, Communist Country</td>
<td>Democracy establishment, Causescu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>Economic-political chaos</td>
<td>Instability, Undeveloped economy</td>
<td>Quisling Government, Economic undevelopment</td>
<td>Fall of totalitarian regime, establishment of political pluralism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Developed country, Tourism</td>
<td>Civil culture, Tourism</td>
<td>Serbian collaborator,</td>
<td>Touristy Country</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Research of target groups in Kosova, May 2001

8-2. Your opinion about different countries of Region

Table Nr.5
Touristy Country

| Bulgaria | Undeveloped country, People leave the Country | Tourism, Market Economy | Economic Crime, Friend-country of Serbia | Democratization of System, Proclamation as a democratic Country |

Source: Research of target groups in Kosova, May 2001

Relations with ethnic groups.

Table Nr. 6

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<tr>
<td>With Serbs</td>
<td>Not good</td>
<td>Not good</td>
<td>Not good</td>
<td>Not good</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bosniaks</td>
<td>God</td>
<td>God</td>
<td>Positive relations</td>
<td>God</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turks</td>
<td>God</td>
<td>God</td>
<td>God</td>
<td>God</td>
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<tr>
<td>ROMs</td>
<td>Not good</td>
<td>Not good</td>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Bad</td>
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<tr>
<td>Montenegrins</td>
<td>Not good</td>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>God</td>
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<td>Ash kali</td>
<td>God</td>
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Source: Research of target groups, May 2001

Most significant fears and hopes with respect to our country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Fears</th>
<th>Hopes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group I</td>
<td>Public security, The fear for the lack of jobs, Remain part of Serbia</td>
<td>Kosova – independent the democratic state open for all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group II</td>
<td>The prolonging the final status decision</td>
<td>Independence of Kosova, European integration, The straitening of democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group III</td>
<td>The return of Serb army, The refusal of taking into consideration the will of the people</td>
<td>Independence of Kosova, KPS (TMK)-the future army of Kosova, The USA interests –bondsteell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group IV</td>
<td>Corruption, Not sufficient security</td>
<td>Independence of Kosova, Better life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Research of target groups in Kosova, May 2001
FULL TRANSCRIPTS OF THE INTERVIEWS

Pristine (group 1).

Introduction:
Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Philosophy-Sociology Institute in Pristine is member of an international organization named - IDEA – namely in Institute for Democracy and election assistance. Within IDEA different projects get realized, which is an issue of social importance. The Project that we are realizing aims to enable the knowledge about nations and cultures of southeastern Europe from the first hand, i.e. from the citizens.

In order to get the exact information on citizen opinions regarding different aims, concerns, different problems, we are realizing this empiric survey, which has to do with issues of rational relevant analysis and the international ones. You are appointed to participate in qualitative survey of generality of the survey. Your opinions will help us to identify the key and main problems in our society, data based on which we will later poll a large number of citizens.

I thank you for the participation:

Question: The first issue that we will like to discuss is that you as participant should tell us some data, a short curriculum vita – name, age, profession, in how far you are interested in politics, are you a member of any political party?

1. My name is Armend Ismajli, 27 years old, and teacher by profession. About whether I am involved in any political party – my opinion is that I should not be involved in politics, but this does not mean that I will not be involved in it in the future.

2. Shendije Agushe, 25 years old, economist. I do the accounting for some companies. I am interested for the politics but I am not a member of any political party.

3. Fatos Mavriqi - 24 years old. I am student of Medical Faculty, but I also work for a humanitarian organization, I am not active in politics, and do not believe that I will be active in the future.

4. Shemsie Bytyqi – I work for the Construction Department. As for whether I am involved in politics, until now no. I am 27 years old.

5. My name is Lumnije Ajdini – I am 24 years old, student of Economic Faculty, concerning politics, I like to know politics but I am not involved in any of political parties.

6. Luljeta Zulfaj – 23 years old, student of Economic Faculty. Not active in any of political parties, but wishing to know the politics.

7. Mihrije Morina- student of Economic Faculty, 23 years old, employed as a secretary. I am interested to know the politics in general but until now I am not involved in any of political parties.

8. Merita Thaqi – student of Economic Faculty, not member of any political parties. I am 24 years old.

9. Nehat Magjuni – 31 years old, economist and financial manager by profession. I am involved in politics, am a member of a political party.

10. Nebije Shkodra – 39 years old – I am not involved in politics but can’t escape from the issues, which have to do with politics because they became daily event.
Question: Which are the most important issues that our society faces?

Answer: I think that the unemployment issue is the most important issue that our society faces.

N.M. – I think that a problem is the citizen’s security.
A.J. – Another problem is not prioritizing of youth in a better future, e.g. drug consume
F.M. – Mostly political violence and the ethnic conflicts.

Question: Which three of these key problems that we mentioned are the most important ones? Unemployment, security, different diseases, political violence?

Answer: The first problem is Unemployment, Security, not prioritizing of the Youth in their activities, not integration of the Youth in sufficient level.

Question: Which are the chances for resolution of security issue, what will be solved earlier and what not?

Answer: N.M. – I think that unemployment problem will not be solved very quickly, but the security problem can be solved quickly.
SH.SH. – I think that the final status of Kosova should be solved first and with its resolution the rest of the problems will be solved, too.
F.M. – I think that the ethnic problems will not be solved soon, it will take a long time to solve those.
SH. SH. – I would ask for Cooperation between Albanian political parties, which would solve many problems.

Question: Which is your opinion, which of above mentioned problems will be solved within 2-3 years?

Answer: A.J. – I think that the unemployment issue will be solved within 2-3 years because there is a unification of problems. Unemployment can be solved through reorganization of new labor organizations, them by work of many theaters, movie theatres, and etc., which would open new employment possibilities. If we all make efforts, the problem of unemployment can be solved.
SH. SH. – I think that, concerning the unemployment, international community is a factor, which can move many things in forward.
N.M. – Only we can solve the Unemployment, with the help of foreign donators by opening the new job opportunities, because we are in the after-war, which means that without foreign donators we can’t achieve anything.

Question: Which of raised problems is the most difficult one to be solved within 2-3 years?

Answer: SH. SH. – Opening of new job opportunities, re-integration of the youth in labor activities, opening of new factories.
N.SH. – I think that the factories are that much destroyed that without foreign donations can’t function, and than to start the employment. These factories are demolished, destroyed from the war, and the others are occupied.
N.M. – These problems unemployment, security, and some others can’t be solved within 2-3 years.

Question: Which are the Institutions, which well deal with resolution of these problems?

Answer: F.M. – First of all we Albanians, as a Municipality, or as a Ministry, or a Parliament, which is to be set up, and normally, in cooperation with international factor. We are not the only one facing the problem, it is whole Balkans.

Question: Which are the economic problems that our country face?

Answer: Firstly, that there is no production in place, no efficiency in tax-collection throughout Kosova, for all activities taking place here. Organization is poor.
N.M. – Production is the activity that generates the incomes, but we have lack of production, and the problem that we will face in the future is that all of the economy is concentrated in Trade, which is a fault.
A.J. – I would raise that with setting up the adequate economic institutions we will get to the improved economy. Budget will be increased with production, too.

Question: Which are the main obstacles to resolution of economic problems in our Country?

Answer: A.J. – E.g. one of the problems, which I can name is the division of Mitrovica, and there is occupied Trepca, which is not in function for quite some time now.
L.A. – Economic development of Kosova needs investments in every field.
F.M. – Economic problem of Kosova exists in UNMIK’s Regulations, which do not allow privatization but implement commercialization of different facilities.

Question: Which are the main factors that would accelerate, facilitate economic development, resolution of these problems?

Answer: As a factor, is the way that the work and activities are being organized in institutional way, i.e. construction of buildings, i.e. the ones build without permission.

N.M. – Factors, which would have impact in accelerating these issues are credits from different foreign and local Banks, privatization of state owned Enterprises.

Question: How do you value role that internationals have in our economy, in restoration of our economy?

Answer: N.M. – These institutions are the international banks, European Union.

N.SH. – Many Albanians now living in Diaspora, if they have possibilities to invest, in large scales and to be active as much as they can for the Albanian nation. I think a political stability is to be achieved first.

N.M. – Help of European Union and World Bank would play a big role e.g. in offering different loans with or without interest etc. in stabilization of economic situation of enterprises.

Question: Do you think that after a short period of time the situation will be better or worse?

Answer: Everybody answers with “better”

Question: What do you understand under Market Economy within 2-3 years?

Answer: N.SH. – I think that the Market Economy is the tool that will lead Kosova forward. This has a perspective for the future. The Market Economy means privatization of socially owned Enterprises.

N.M. – The Market Economy means that the best competitive one wins.

Question: What do you foresee, how will the social economic relations with other countries of our Region develop, our Region consist of 11 countries.

Answer: F.M. – Economic relations will be much more favorable. Regarding linking Kosova to other countries key issue is the lack of linking roads. Then, construction of a highway, which would link Kosova with Albania and other countries.

SH. M. – To attach ourselves to economic development, to let the market competition growth. We will have cooperation.

Question: Do we live in a Democracy?

Answer: N.SH. – We talk about Democracy but we don’t live in one. We need more time to get to that.

Question: Do you think that the democratic system is better or worse?

Answer: Everybody answers with “better”

Question: I will show you a list in which you will show your confidence. In how far you have confidence to those institutions? We will start with municipal level, we have two categories – I have confidence at most and I have confidence at least?

Answer: City Major – Have lot of confidence, grade (10)
Local Administration - Have lack of confidence, grade (8)
Municipal Administrator – Because he is representative of EU we have confidence to him (10)
The Government (UNMIK) – Have lot of confidence (10)
Transition Council – Have confidence (9)
Political Parties – Don’t have confidence, lowest level from all (5)
Departments – Have lot of confidence (10)
International Community – Have lot of confidence with grade 10.

Question: Who has the ultimate say, for the moment, in our country?

Answer: I think that it is international community, which now on should initiate:

F.M. – I think it is UNMIK

Question: What kind of opinions do you have for the law making in institutions?

Answer: I think that it would be much more favorable if their activity wouldn’t be limited. Here is the UNMIK, international community who is the lawmaker, but I think this is not real. UNMIK issues Regulations.

Question: Which are your main sources of information?

Answer: Medias (TV, press, internet).

Question: What do you think, who has larger confidence the state owned or the private ones? Foreign or local ones?

Answer: The state owned ones are more confidential because they are more realistic.

Question: Here in Kosova, are the national medias also state owned and the local private?
Answer: Yes, the national medias are state owned and local ones private.

Question: How do you evaluate activities of NGOs in our country?
Answer: The impact of NGOs in was very big, in particularly after the War because with their help democratization is done, many new job opportunities are been open. One of NGOs is CARITAS, which helped in reconstruction of the houses destroyed during the War.

Question: Which is the role of religious institutions in our society? What kind of role do they have?
Answer: They have a major role, I think that they have a positive, important and high role.

Question: What do you think of citizen politic education in our country? What does it means the roles and regulations in civil society?
Answer: Political education in our society is not in a sufficient level. Laws of civil society are only partly accepted, by now.

Question: List of Public Services, we have a overview and you will declare your opinion about them and grade them with grades 1-10
Answer: Health – 8,9, have this grade because we are in after War situation. Their role is positive, efforts are big
   Education – (10) everybody’s opinion
   Social Assistance - (1)
   Pension Fund - (1)
   Army KPC - (10)
   Police - (7) – International Police has a grade much lower than the local one. The Crime hasn’t stop. Should do some more efforts.
   Urban Traffic – (1) in Pristine level
   District Heating - (5)
   Power Supply – (6)
   Water Supply – (8)
   Services of traffic in local level – (5)
   Social Assistance is graded with (1) because they are in a low level.

Question: What do you think about privatization of Public Services? Is that a good or bad solution?
Answer: Good – everybody answers. KEK and Health should be partly privatized.

Question: The World Bank, International Monetary Fund, UN, EU, these have impact on the events in our country, if they have impact, how do they impact?
Answer: They have big impact. E.g. giving loans from the side of W.B. NATO played a very important role and still does.

Question: Which is the role of international community?
Answer: The role of international community is high and important. Starting with assistance until offering means to organizations after the War, stabilization of situation in Kosova. Defends the Peace in Kosova.

Question: What do you think of Stability Pact? Can this Program help southeastern Europe?
Answer: It helps by giving many to undeveloped countries, but has no projects in Kosova. It is involved in solutions of problems in crisis regions.

Question: What is required from our society to enable us to attach ourselves to NATO?
Answer: It is required us to be tolerant, democratic, work-willing, cooperation with ATO.

Question: Which is the Key to security in southeastern Europe Region?
Answer: They are the ethnic Conflicts, as known, we had some Wars – Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosova. I think that the Key of security is to give human rights in the Region, no matter of nation or religion.

Question: We will name some states and you tell as what do you feel about them
Answer: Slovenia - Democracy, Industry, high life standards.
   Bosnia and Herzegovina – War
   Serbia – Dictatorial regime, Crime, war-starting
   Kosova – Undeveloped, Stagnation
   Vojvodina – Agriculture
   Monte Negro – Tourism
   Macedonia – War, negligence of Human Rights
   Romania - Economic stagnation
   Albania – Chaos, political and economical
   Greece – Developed country, Tourism, Trade
Bulgaria – Country in development, people (youth) leave the country
Question: How will the life of people in southeastern Europe develop during next years?
Answer: Society will develop, i.e. a healthy development toward international standards because attention of international community is in place.
Question: How would you describe momentary relationship of ethnic groups in our society?
Answer: Serbs – Relations with them are not good
Bosnians - Good
Turks – Good
ROMs – Not good
Montenegrins – Not good
Ash kali – Good
Question: Do you think that living and national situation affecting most of citizens living in Kosova are good or bad?
Answer: Citizen belonging determinates the Life in our country.
Question: Do you feel like having a national belonging?
Answer: Yes, we are proud to be Albanians. It is the most sincere, faithful nation of all.
Question: Did you ever thought about leaving your momentary living place?
Answer: No, we have everything we need here in Kosova.
Question: Which are the Concerns and Hopes for our country?
Answer: Concerns are that the Security of the Citizens will not be in sufficient level, that there will not be new job possibilities, that we will remain part of Serbia.
Hopes – a independent country, democratic and open, a place where everybody would live in, no meter what kind of citizen belonging he has.
Question: Is there any issue that we didn’t raise in this conversation, but you think is important?
Answer: Wages of Education and Health sector.

Pristine  (group 2)

1. My name is Bashkim Syla. I am from Pristina, and 40 years old. I am graduated economist and I work in CFA (central Fiscal Authority), in financial matters. As every citizen, in a direct and indirect way I am connected with the troubles and problems in Kosova. I am not actively in politics, but with the problems of working.

2. I am from Pristina and my name is Valbona Ahmeti. I am 30 and graduated economist. At the moment I work at the CFA, The Philosophy-Sociology Institute in Pristina is included in international organization called IDEA – Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. Within IDEA were realized a lot of different projects that have to do with the issues of public opinion. The project, which we are realizing, is intended to enable the knowing of the people and cultures and states of Southeastern Europe. Through the verified information that we consider to be as first hand.
In order to secure the exact information on different opinions of citizens, their aspirations, their disturbances and problems we are realizing this project. Of course, we will call this empiric system that has to do with a relevant issues of national and international issues.
You are appointed to take part in qualitative investigations of the whole investigation with which you will help us to identify as best as possible the key problems in our society on the basis of which we will later interview a big number of citizens throughout Kosova.
I wish you success and I thank you for your participation.
And we should start immediately according to the project. What is planed here is realized almost in all societies of the Balkans. First i would ask you to introduce yourself personally one by one, to tell your age and profession a short biography inside your possibilities which would enable us to get to know, as best as possible, our respondents. You are the respondents of this investigation. I would start with the first respondent:

3. My name is Ragip Halili, ordinary professor in Law faculty. I teach Criminology and Penology and I do professional scientific work. I have a working experience in teaching process and in political activities. I am 57 years old.
in the Department of Treasury in the financial matters. Earlier I have worked at a school as graduated economist.

4. My name is Valbona Rrahmani, from Pristine. I am at the last year of studies at the Medical faculty and I am 27 years of age.

5. My name is Ahmet Spanca from Prishtina and I have graduated economy. I have worked at the high school in Vushtri, and at the moment I am unemployed. I am preoccupied with the vital issues that have to do with this place and the region. I am not involved with any of the political parties.

6. My name is Agim Zymeri. I am 34 years old and live in Prishtina. II just about to graduate at the economical faculty. I spent some years in Germany because of the political and economical problems, just as a lot of other citizens. I came back to Kosova 1 year ago. At the moment I do not work, and I hope that soon I will start working.

7. I am Abdigjik Haliti from Prishtina, a graduated sociologist. At the moment I work administrative duties at Philosophy faculty. I am 47 years old.

8. My name is Merita Ramagjiku-Ramushi. I am 30 years old and graduated the graphic design at the faculty of Arts, as well as the sociology at the Philosophy faculty. I am unemployed.

9. My name is Januz Dervodevi. I am 46 years old and teach pedagogy at the Philosophy faculty. Before I have worked for 2 years as teacher. At the moment I don’t deal with politics, but this does not mean I am not informed about the state of things. Of course, I am more preoccupied with scientific problems.

10. My name is Hava Bujupi-Ismaili and I have graduated at the post-studies of the law sciences. I work as professor at the Law faculty where I teach the Working Right and the Right of Social Insurance. Earlier I have worked in other economical organizations as “Feronikeli” and the Economic Court in Pristine. I am 40 years old.

I Question: Those who declared themselves for politics, could they speak how much they are involved in political parties or in some other way connected in politics. Apart from the fact that as citizens you have a duty to take part in your elections which is close to politics.

Answer: R.H. Personally I am not involved in any political party, but this does not mean that I am not interested in political landscape and the occurrences that happen in Kosova and outside of Kosova.

II Question: Does anybody of you see it as reasonable involvement in politics.

Answer: B.S. In the beginning I declared that I am not active in political party. But I am interested in their relations, their attitudes about our occurrences, as well as towards the political issues, and for the economical issues. Especially the problems like employment. Security problems in Kosova and the region as well, for me and for the others are important.

H.B. I am involved in one political party, but because of the family and professional duties I didn’t give my contribution there, as much as I could have. I am interested in political occurrences in Kosova and the surroundings.

III Question: What are the disturbances about the important issues, with which problems is your society at the moment concerned or faced. As the example, let us count them:

Answer: A.Z. As the first issue there is security; which is not as it should be, but I hope that now, with the regulation of the Constitution which is called temporary, with which we are faced, a solution will be achieved, a regulation or a security that will have positive influence. Then, I would mention the dirt, as well. That should be on a better level.

B.S. I would mention the status of Kosova. For sure, with the resolution of the status of Kosova the local organs would be formed, the parliament, the government, court, etc.

2. The judicial apparatus should be enforced; the executive, as well, and,

3. The employment, because there is a big unemployment.

J.D. I involve myself because the science can not be out of the political occurrences. It is important to mention 1. Free movement of the citizens in the territory of Kosova, 2. We are in a first phase of the establishing the democracy. It would be good to influence the youth for them to form the beliefs, the attitudes, democratic stands that we did not have until now. This, I should say, is a primary duty of all the intellectuals and those who work in the teaching process. This means that their constant influence is expected first of all in achieving a democratic society.
R.H. I think that the opinion, generally, and me as a citizen, am worried for the future of Kosova, and then the economical and political transformation, and the security of citizens in general, because the processes in region are becoming a burden.

IV Question: I would ask you if we could number or look at the problems that we mentioned. Which one would be on the first place, then second, third, according to you? Or, how do we consider which one from what you mentioned is the most important.

Answer: A.Z. I think that security would be at the first place.

V Question: What do you think, which problems that you mentioned will be solved faster and which ones will be solved slowly.

Answer: B.S. The elections that are supposed to be held in autumn should be the first.

2. Election of the executive bodies - the parliament of Kosova – that derive form the elections that will be held.

H.B. I think that the problem that was mentioned by the colleague is the issue of unemployment. This issue can not be solved easy, even though in Kosova the concept of the labour relationship is lost. There is no labour relation in conceptual sense, because in every legislature of every state it is said that the working relation should be solved in unspecified timeframe. Here, it seems that everybody is working in specified time, so there are other consequences. The social and health insurance, as well, do not have a bright future. In order to solve the issue of unemployment, first we need the labour legislation. This legislation can be solved for a certain time. As example we have: a legislation of a French-woman, which has come up with a draft for labour relationship. Nevertheless, this labour and labour relationship law has not been approved yet. I think that Kosovar organs should be created. Kosova should be institutionalized as lawful state. Then the elections come before the creation of the institutions and the drafting of the law starts. First there should be a Constitution, which is the base of all other laws that should be brought.

Question: do you think that Constitution will be solved immediately?

H.B. I’m a bit skeptic in this direction but we think that the end will be on our good side.

IV what do you think, which of the mentioned issues will be solved in 2-3 years. Can we identify any of mentioned for example employment, legislative issues, constitution etc?

Answer: J.D. I am expressing my opinion, if the economy recovers it will have influence on soothing the unemployment, even though this is going to be a problem for us for a long time.

Maybe it is not too much to mention also the issue of the pensioners because that’s an important issue for all society for example our society can not offer help to our pensioners even that they have gave their sweat and effort for this country.

Basing on the interviews that we are hearing from internationals we believe that this issue will be solved because as they are saying they did not forget about them, but for the moment they can not find financial means because it is a big number of pensioners and this is the problem the we are all worried about.

A.Z. I would like to add that in 2-3 years i believe that the issues of schools that need to be build would be solved during this period.

Question VII Which ones from the above mentioned problems are more difficult to be solved also in mentioned period.

Answer: B.S. Even that priority should be the issue of employment I think that the employment of young people will go very slowly and as a second problem shows the issue that unemployment cause social cases, this situation will continue for the next five or even more years I think.

A.H. I agree completely with college B.S. that the issue of employment is problematic, for ex. Here a percentage of people are working with internationals and another society state or concretely for example an faculty professor is being paid less than a translator which knows English language only 40-50%.

Question VIII From Economy

Which are the main economical problems that our society is facing.

Answer the main problem in this direction is the issue of so called social property, society and private one, because this issue is creating barriers in economical transformation, and operation of enterprises.

B.S. Non-completion of Kosova status is making the economical situation more difficult. There are not been done the needed steps between Kosova and international economy; insecurity for investments because of non-determined status of Kosova.
A.Z. there should be more attention for the issue of production, it should be more production here and less imported.

J.D. The problem of urbanization. Here we have slow down of institutions since they don’t have competence so this as well brings big problems with which we will be faced tomorrow or the day after. For example a number of factories, due to lack of the raw stuff, are on the brink of bankruptcy, which is an economic problem that causes a series of other problems.

**Question IX:** Which are the main obstacles in resolving these problems

**Answer:** B.S. Since i work in financial sector, i think that before economic development there should be a sector of financial and banking development, but it should have local origin. This in order to have a recommending from authoritative persons that knows the matter well.

J.D. The human factor, as well, is an obstacle, because the people should decide upon those professions that they know well.

H.B. The lack of security in Kosova, which poses an obstacle to foreign investment.

B.S. Since Kosova is a place with a population with more rural origin, from the countryside with an infrastructure which is not developed, I think that if there is help to build the roads, the lack of which is an obstacle for development of agriculture, would absorb the unemployed youth. This means that non-developed infrastructure and trade in the villages, the lack of the possibilities to sell the milk and other products, should be reversed.

**Question X:** Which are the main factors that would speed up the process of resolving these problems.

**Answer:** A.S. One of the factors is the lack of the law and it’s non-definition, which in a way disables the investments by foreign dono rs to invest their capital. This said, it seems that this issue will be solved by the constitution, which would guarantee the security to the investor.

A.Z. I would follow up to the colleagues words and add that first there should be approval of the economical regulations and other issues so then there would be the fulfillment of the obligations by citizens, different producers, regarding the taxes and customs.

B.S. The cooperation with this project which is founded in Europe, “The Stability Pact”, would help first of all the traffic, the roads, infrastructure; it would connect us with the states that are close to us and would enable the free movement of the citizens.

**Question XI:** How do you evaluate the role of international institutions in our economy? Their role in the society?

J.D. I think that the international factor is present and we are conscious that there is work going on in the infrastructure, a so forth. Nevertheless, we should know that we emerged from the war and regardless of desire and will that we have, the works can not be finished over the night. As far as the security is concerned, in a way they are working, but we are aware that there are a lot of problems.

V.A. regarding the international organizations that are here, i evaluate them and the work that they do high. Especially the training they do in working places and their presence in the emergency faze and now in the more normal one.

This can be seen in the reducing of the number of donors, he first flight of the donors, and I think that this has an extraordinary big role in the Kosovar society.

B.S. I would like to add something because we have to do with international organizations and I think that their role is very big because in creation of a new cadre that is going to be faced with problems in the future.

**Question XII** what do you except to be done in economy during next year?

**Answer** V.A. I think to move with positive steps and the donors will resign investments from the budget of Kosova. I think that investments will go elsewhere, where it is more needed. On the other side the customs and taxes will be collected.

A.Z. i would add that it is early to be based only on our forces. I would hope and wish that the investments went on the right places and the cooperation to be bigger in different organizations.

**Question XIII** will these economical trends bring a better situation or not.

B.S. i think that we can not fall under the level where we are. There will be some movement but it will be slow. We will pass from the donations with humanitarian character on donations with interest character, so the foreigners could benefit from their investments as well.
H.B. I agree with professor Ragipi that first there should be a transformation of property. We should begin with privatization like in other countries. As far as I know there were obstructions in this issue from the international factor, regarding the method of transformation of property. We all agree that these economical trends will bring a better situation.

**Question XIV**

What do you understand by market economy?

**B.S.** The market economy needs to have clearly regulated legal base so every individual, every citizen that deals with business is informed on the legal rules, obligations towards the municipality and state. It would be good to have developed agriculture. Also it would be good to have the youth deal with trade, but as well with developing of mental work.

**J.D.** The market economy is economy developed in dealing with the market from outside, of course the preparation of professionals in new fields in economy, industry, etc. As I said, the training of the young people in different fields, which are needed, in our economy, society, etc.

**Question XV**

How do you expect the economic relations with other states of our region to develop. What will the economical trends be in our region (Southeastern Europe)?

**R.H.** If in the region the market economy will be practiced, meaning the free flow of goods, ideas, projects, demands, offer, then for sure that barriers that exist will be removed and will fall. So, this trend, in my opinion, must be positive.

**J.D.** I think that there should be a stronger cooperation of the Kosova’s market economy with all those states of Southeastern Europe. This is the interest of our country, in the internal interest first of all.

**B.S.** Since we have been out of the mainstream for a long time, Kosova lacks an experience in all the fields – from the primary economy to the developed economy. Until now we have looked from a sort of a passive viewpoint, and only now we have started to get more active. The positive trends will be in a sense of competition of the region in economy, trade, agriculture, etc. I see positive sides if it is allowed to have the region opened. Until now we have had the role of absorbing, not of producing.

**Question XVI**

Now i will present to you a confidential scheme of the institutions that we have in Kosova. Here you should only give only two kinds of answers: I trust mostly, and I trust the least. How much do you trust the mayor of city?

**B.S.** A little
H.B. Why not to trust since we elected them ourselves
A.H. A little. Because the international factor has influence in our factor. The trust is smaller.
A.Z. I don’t trust him a lot, since I have in mind the experience that we lack.

Question How much do you trust the local administration
All of them have little trust.

Question How much do you trust the administrator?
V.A. Very little
J.D. We don’t have too much optimism
R.H. No comment.

Question How much do you trust the (Prime Minister) IAC.
Answer: We have trust (all of them declare)

Question How much do you trust the Kosova Transitional Council (KTC)
Answer: Not that much (all of them declare)

Question How much do you trust the political parties
J.D. I trust the political parties because all of them defend our interests. We don’t have any reason not to trust them.
All of them declare that they trust the political parties.

Question How much do you trust the departments?
H.B. not that much
R.H. Not that much
J.D. Of course we trust them, but our message for them is that they should work with their own head
R.H. I don’t trust at all the Department of Education
B.S. I trust in 50 %

Question How much do you trust the international community
B.S. I trust more than 50 %

Question whom do you trust the least and why
R.H. (Department of education) because they did not fulfill their obligations in concrete transformations of reforms

Question According to you who have the biggest influence in our country, our society?
Answer I think the IAC is the organ that has the power that governs
R.H. I think that the representative of Secretary General of UN has the biggest influence. The constant and non-changing viewpoints of political parties have their impact.

Question How do you evaluate the activities of the political parties, but also of the structures like head of UNMIK, parliament, state administration, political parties. Please clarify your viewpoint how do you evaluate their activity
Answer I have a positive opinion, but I would propose that there should be more closer cooperation, having in mind the interests of citizens
B.S. I would say that there should be right people in the political parties, but it would be good to have economists in the close circle of decision-making since without economy there is no politics. Regarding the KTC I think it is a wide structure and therefore it is hard to take decisions.

Question this question might be simple for you: are you living in a democracy?
Answer we are those who should found democracy. We must put democracy in life. I think that we are.

Question Do you think democratic system is good or bad?
Answer Democratic system is a good one, and we are on that system 5%. The democratic system is in action.

Question In a democratic system, could you evaluate the role of the people. For example, you who are present in a process of taking different important decisions?
Answer I think that this should come to life – meaning a democracy is when for example arguments of the other side are more convincing than my arguments, and vise-versa. This means, we should get relieved from maliciousness, jealousy, small-mindedness, etc. Democracy means also understanding, tolerance, cooperation, etc. Decision taking in a spirit of compromise, in spirit of principles of democracy.
**Question** How do you take decisions in your municipality. How do you consider the way the decision is taken?
**H.B.** For example, the decisions to destroy the kiosks and objects that were illegal buildings.
**Question** We will go now to another term that we call the civic society, citizens society. First of all, I would like to ask you which are the sources of your information in our society.
**H.B.** Our main sources of information are TV, radio and press. As far as the TV is concerned, we have private and state TV station. We also have radio-station that is connected directly – like Radio Free Europe, Deutsche Wells.
**Question** Which one of your sources of information is the most reliable, that mirrors the reality, that is credible in our society? Which one is trusted and which one not?
**A.Z.** In my opinion it is RTK because, as far as the press goes, they are one-sided.
**R.D.** There is no censure now so they can inform the opinion correctly.
**Question** Could you tell us of an example regarding a case of reliability or non-reliability.
**Answer** What happens in Kosova, especially what occurs lately, we believe.
**Question** Now we will be more concrete on accountability. Do you think that the reliability and objectivity of information are in state media or in the private ones, foreign or local, national or international?
**J.D.** I think that reliability must be in both, state and private media, because they do not have any reason not to inform the opinion correctly. All declare themselves that they trust more the state media inside Kosova. When it is a question of national or international, the trust goes to national.
**Question** Are the national media at the same time state media as well, and are the local ones at the same time private media, or this is not correct?
**B.S.** I think that there are both cases – state and private.

**Question** Do you think that the local media are private? For example the newspapers.
**Answer** They all declare, private.

**Question** As a citizen, how do you evaluate the activities of non-governmental organizations?
**J.D.** NGO-s, as Council for Defense of Human Rights and many others, help us in reconstruction of burned houses, that we had as consequence of war, building of schools, ambulances. In general we have a positive opinion for NGO-s, such as CARITAS, CAP-ANAMUR, Red Cross, etc.
**Question:** How do you evaluate the activity of professional organizations such as unions, association that deals with forests, etc.
**Answer** They are not on the level where they should be.

**Question** Which is the role of the institutions of religion
**Answer** In a democratic society the issue of religion is a personal issue it means that no one can impose to you the right of belief. This is simply a personal matter
**H.B.** I think that the role of religious institutions here does not have a tradition.
**B.S.** I think all religion have positive influence in the orientation of the population. All think that the institutions of religion serve the interest of the nation.

**Question** What do you think of political education of citizens in Kosova
**Answer** We have never been more educated than now. I think of the higher level. B.S. It is not enough, and I believe for the people in politics only political education is not enough. The population as well lacks the needed education. But earlier we did not have experience, institutes, and I believe that we are somewhere in the middle.

**Question** This question interests me a bit more. For example, as citizens of Pristine, give our opinion regarding public utilities. I am going to present to you a list of public utilities and you will evaluate the current situation of public utilities that we have with points from one to ten. 1 being the lowest point of evaluation and 10 being the highest

**Answers:**
1. Health – 3 It has this evaluation because it is not organized as it should to be
2. Education – 3 everybody agrees that insufficient inheritance, a small number of objects compared to the number of pupils. For example, 40 pupils in one classroom.
3. Social aid – 4.5 everybody agrees
4. Pensions – 1
5. The role of army – 5
6. Urban traffic – 3 everybody declares
7. City pollution – 2
8. Electricity – 2.3
9. Water supply – 4
H.B. Regarding the pension fund we have evaluated with the lowest point because in this fund there are no financial means. Because Serbia has taken them all. Regarding the electricity B.S. I think that there is a lack of better organizing. Nevertheless, we have been in a very bad situation.

**Question** What do you think why is this a problematic sector? Which are the reasons of those problems? Which would have been the solution?

**Answer** Usually those funds are created from employee and state contributions. Since these working relations are limited in time and there is a lack of institutions for retirement and invalid insurance, so the internationals don’t have a way of paying these contributions. The status of Kosova is not solved yet.

**Question** From whom are you waiting to move forward from this state of affairs.

**Answer** With approval of labour legislature in which the status of working relationship will be defined the payment of the contributions for these purposes will start.

**Question** What do you think about the privatization of public utilities? Is it a good solution or a bad one? And what do you think should be privatized and what not.

**Answer** Urban traffic can be privatized, but the other public utilities not. Because they do not have the experience, there is a lack of culture, they try to earn money fast and leave the job undone. Everybody agrees they should not be privatized.

**Question** Why not to privities them?

**Answer** There is a lack of experience and the individuals are thinking of getting rich over night

**Question** Do you think that international institutions like World Bank, International Monetary Fund, UN, EU, NATO, influence what goes on in our country.

**Answer** Yes, they have influence. For example World Bank, thorough their fund identifies the financial means, with specific reason, to help out the health, education, etc.

**International Monetary Fund,** through opening of its agencies, helps private businesses.

**United Nations** has its mechanisms through which it has influence. Until now it helped the leading stuff of their department, cadre from UN, the political sector, the military sector, KPC, etc.

**European Union** influences the reconstruction that is helped by Europe, secures the needed cadre for project of development of Kosova.

**NATO** influences the protection of the borders of Kosova. Without NATO, Kosova would not be as it is now. It also provides the collective security of population of Kosova. **Question** Which is the role of international community in our country?

**Answer** Positive – They helped us in all aspects, in knowledge, experience, funds, human resources, education, training, etc.

**Question** Do you think that the way of organizing by the European Union incites the solution of problems in Kosova

**Answer** It has helped and incites economy as well, and the freedom of movement of population. Above all, EU is necessary institution.

**Question** Have you heard of Stability Pact. What does that mean? What are your opinions regarding the Stability Pact.
Answer  It is very important, but I think that it should be connected with the mainstream in order to achieve the stability in the region. It should not be limited.

Question  Do you believe that NATO can help solving the problems of the country
Answer  yes, I believe that without having collective security, there can not be a normal business, as traders, farmers, etc. NATO protects us from outer risks. NATO has the aim to train our youth as a protection force, as it is the case, some days ago, when some young people traveled to US. I believe that their education will help them become a force that will defend our country.

Question  Do you agree that Kosova should become a member of NATO?
Answer  We have a need and we want democratic security, cooperation with the region, close to Europe, together with the international community, in general. They help us getting experience, as well.

Question  What do you think: what is security. What is the purpose of security in region?
Answer  The security of the region means the security of a country, state, from attacks, outer risks. It is also essential for development of freedoms and the rights, development of economic activities, cultural ones, etc.

Question  I will ask you about characteristics of a country and you will answer what comes to your mind about that country.
Answer  When Slovenia is mentioned – high standard, economical development, democratization,
Bosnia and Herzegovina – Ethnic divisions, unresolved ethnic conflict, unemployment.
Serbia – Undemocratic mindset
Kosova – With problems and unresolved status. With economy that is not developed. Recognition of our state.
Vojvodina – Developed agriculture.
Montenegro – Tendency for Independence
Macedonia – political crisis, change of constitution
Romania – Not developed
Bulgaria – Possibilities for tourism, freedom of market
Albania – Instability, non developed economy
Greece – Human culture

Question  How would you describe the current relations between ethnic groups in our society – Kosova?
Answer  Serbs - They do not cooperate with our organs. They do not recognize the need for cooperation. They ignore the reality of new organs of Kosova. They should come to terms with the reality.
Muslims – better cooperation, and s they have said as well.
Turks – All right
Roma – There is a need of time for things to get better (not good)
Montenegrins – The relations are not good
Ash kali - Good

Question  Do you think that the living conditions of the citizens of Kosova depend primarily from their ethnic background, as Serbs, ROMs, Ashkalis?
It depends. But, as time passes this will get softer. But, for the time being it is present.

Do you feel your ethnic background? Why?

Yes. We did not abuse the rights, we are proud of our language, culture.

You thought of emigrating

No. Everybody thinks about it.

What are the fears and hopes for our country?

Fears as reductions that are being done at the faculties. What happens with those who remain on the streets?
Fear for Kosova – the final status of Kosova.
Fear for the youth of Kosova and their future.
The indefinite prolonging of the final status of Kosova drives away the states that have the funds to invest here, and with this level of unemployment the situation is not sustainable.
Quick resolution to the unemployment.
The hopes for the future are Independence for Kosova, rise of democracy, connection with Europe, etc.

Do you have any question that we might have forgotten to make here and which is that?

I think that we have forgotten bigger engagement of Albanian woman in all the aspects of life. There is no prosperity of Kosova without involving the woman.

Gjakovë, Lugë Bunarë (group 3),

Institution for Democracy and Election Assistance “IDEA”

Accurate information regarding different Aspirations and Problems

- Key problems for your society
  - LAZÉR RAMAJA – 31 years old, administrative officer, in the rest time I work in Agriculture, for the moment I am not involved in politics, but the politics is involved with us
  - RUKE KUKLECI RAMAJA – 34 years old, unemployed, economist. I am involved in politics.
  - PASHKË GECI – 46 years old, teacher by profession. I was involved in politics in the past, but not any more.
  - PJETËR GECI – 46 years old, teacher by profession. I am involved in politics but not actively.
  - MATEJ BUSHI – 30 years old, farmer by profession. For the moment I am not involved in politics.
  - AHMET KONXHELI – 50 years old, from Qerim village, farmer by profession. I am an apolitical person.
  - GJERGJ GJONAJ – 46 years old, unemployed economist, I do little agriculture, politics does not interest me.
  - KRJITË TUNAJ – 46 years old, employed at PTK (Post). I am involved in politics, am a member of Albanian Liberal Party.
  - PASHK GJOKAJ – Trakaniq village, food producer, not interested in politics.
  - LUZ GJINI – 72 years old, farmer by profession. I am not involved in politics.

Main hopes and concerns in our society, i.e. in Kosova.
Which are most important issues that our society faces now?
L.R. – I think that most important issues that our society faces are:
  1. Not-definition of Kosova’s status. Duration of international presence to be limited (Referendum)
  2. Not-creation of secure circumstances
  3. Security is linked with foreign investments
P.G. – I think that most important issues are:
  1. Not coordination of intern factors regarding main issues
  2. Kosova’s independence
Which are the chances for these problems to be solved as soon as possible?
L.R. – Regarding resolution of Kosova’s status, I think that it taking a good path, but it also depends in establishment of state institutions.
- I think that the Independence will not be achieved very quickly. Which of above-mentioned issues is likely to be solved within next 2-3 next years?
L.R. – Within two years:
   1. Security will be established, thanking to the UNMIK Police and KPS
   2. Whereas independence will not be realized without foreign investments, which are very important.
A.K. – Many problems will be solved once the general elections are being held.
Which of the problems is the hardest to solve?
P.G. – Question of independence, Referendum.
Who do you think will solve these problems?
P.G. – Internal factor. Internal leadership. (Not as with Constitutional Framework).
Which are the economic problems that our society face?
L.R. – I think:
   1. Not definition of assets
   2. Not activation of state property
   3. Law on privatization
Which are the main obstacles?
L.R. –
   1. Not definition of property
   2. Not definition of Kosova’s status
P.G.J. – Kosova’s economy is in a low level comparing to other regions, and the main problem is Kosova’s status.
Which are main factors, which would accelerate problem resolution?
A.K. – I think that:
   1. Not resolution of final status of Kosova
   2. Definition of socially owned property
Are these factors internal or external?
A.K. – There are external.
L.R. – We can’t define the factors whether they are internal or external.
L.R. – I think that the external factor is the main one – UNMIK; And the internal factor – orientation on production and not trade.

How do you evaluate the role of international institutions that they play in favor of the economy of our country?
L.R. – Very helpful, but the internal factor should be consulted, as well.
R.K.R. – I see it as positive, but there are some critics, as well

What do you expect to happen in economical flows in your society in the future?

P.G. – Economic flows will be positive (thank to international community, different investments in infrastructure, etc.)

Does everybody believe in positive flows?
(Everybody)
D.R. I am very optimistic for two reasons:
   1. Economic investments
   2. Economic Boom

What do you understand under Market Economy? Is that a realistic prospective for Kosova?

P.GJ. - We are interested in Production and not in Trade
L.R. – Market Economy – a protective policy should be implemented in the borders.
A.K. – Producer in market should be with good (cheap) productions, most competitive ones.

Is this a realistic prospective for Kosova?
A.K. - Surely yes.

What do you expect economic relations with other countries of the Region to be?

A.K. – Relations will be positive, because Economy does not know borders, but this is related to Kosova’s statute.
L.R. Trade knows no borders, no politics.
Do you think that we live in a Democracy - why?
P.G. – I think that we are not living in Democracy (imitation of former system, people are bureaucratized and take care of personal and not general interests)
Do you think that democratic system is good – why?
P.G. – Democratic system is good, because there are law, order and security in place, for all the citizen
Do you all agree that democratic system is good?
A.K. – The population of Kosova is democratic and we all think that democratic system is good one.

Can you evaluate the Role of people in decision-making process?
P.G. – Every decision taken based on laws, first the Laws should be forehand and the Decision should be made.
L.R. – If we take a concrete example of the Institution where I work, there are some strict regulations about decision-making.
The List of Confidence and Not-confidence
Local level
   At the most        At the least
City Major – 5
   P.G. – Do not have confidence
   But all the rest does.
Local Administration – everybody have confidence, all together – 8
State level
   Special Representative of Secretary General – do not have confidence – 3
   Interim Administrative Council – have lot of confidence – 10
   UNMIK – have confidence – 6
   KTC – have confidence – 8
   Political Parties – have confidence – 6
   Departments – have confidence – 7
   International Community – have confidence – 8
You have at least confidence at City Major, with grade 5, and at SRSG, with grade 3, why?
A.K. – SRSG should do more for Kosova. And City Major should do more for the City, as well.
Who do you think has biggest influenced on our society?
A.K. - I think it is U.S.A.
P.G.J. - U.S.A., Great Britain
L.R. – From the internal factor, the biggest influence has L.D.K. and Mr. Rugova.
R.K.R. - L.D.K. and Mr. Rugova.
P.G. – I don’t think that Mr. Rugova only has influence; other parties have also (other Leaders)
How do you evaluate activities of political parties and of legal institutions?
P.G. – I do not evaluate activity of political parties as sufficient.
A.K. – I think that they deal more with themselves than with nation.
L.R. – Approval of Laws in Assembles is going very slowly forward; they can do this more quickly
Would you get involved in voluntary form (in political activities) for the sake of making a change in momentary situation?
L.R. – The cases of voluntary involvement as part of political parties belong to the past times (but we should not ignore them)
P.G. – We should get ourselves involved in different projects regarding employment of youngsters, emancipation of females.
Is everybody ready to get involved?
Everybody will get involved
Which are your main sources of information? Why are those?
P.GJ. TV, Press, Radio
Which of above-mentioned sources transmits in most credible way our reality?
P.GJ. – I think it is RTK because they show our reality faithfully.
P.G. – Free Europe, Voice of America
Do you think that objectivity is linked to that whether a media is state or private owned?
L.R. – I think that there are no private Media, for the moment
Do you believe to state or private own Media?
Gj. Gj. – State owned one.
Do have more confidence in foreign or local Medias?
- For local events we have confidence in local Medias and other way around.
Do you have confidence in national or local information?
- National information
Are the national medias state owned and the local ones private?
L. R. – National ones are state owned, whereas the local one are always private
How do you evaluate the activity of NGOs in our country?
P.G. – Positively, e.g. supply of textbooks
- DIAKONIA
- CARITAS
- British Red Cross
- ICS
Construction of burned Houses, Infrastructure, etc.
How do you evaluate activity of professional associations e.g. Association of Entrepreneurs in work, Work Unions
L.R. – We do not evaluate them positively.
Which is the Role of religious institutions?
L.R. – Very positive (During the War they kept the Spirit of population high).
P.G. – I have another opinion. In national level they don’t have such a positive role (regarding both religions).
Uncle Luz, what do you think, is religion positive or negative?
L.GJ. – Religion is something good for the nation. It does not prophesize to kill each other but to love each other.
P.G. – When I talked about Religion I was thinking of different organizations e.g. Arab ones, CARITAS (which do not build a school without building additional Musk or Church)
What do you think of politic education of citizen?
L.R. – I think there is a high political awareness.
P.G. – We are not politically educated, because we are pioneers, we need political schools.
Do you agree that political education is low?
- We agree?
Public Services
National level
- Health – 2 – the Medicine are being sold in private Pharmacies.
- Education – 10 – For many reasons
- Social Assistance – 5
- Pension Fund – 0 – does not exists
- Army – KPC – 8 – De-politicization should take place, to become a nation army
- Police – 8 – Behave it self good in the streets
- Traffic – 2 – There is no Maintenance in place, number of vehicles is to large
Local level
- District Heating – It was good
- Power Supply – 9 – Some improvements have been done
- Water Supply – 8,3 – There is enough water, but no supply
- Transport Services – 2 – There is no Taxi Association
Sectors evaluated with high and low grade
National level
With a low grade – Pension Fond and Health; with a high grade – Education and Police
What do you think about Privatization of Public Services?
What should be privatized and what not?
- Hospitals, Railways, Power Supply should not be privatized
Why not?
- Because they belong to national interests

What Role play the International Organizations in our country like:
- World Bank – Loan-giving
- International Monetary Fund – Same
- UN – Big role (apart from the veto that they have)
- EU – Made big donations
- NATO – Mechanism of protection of Kosova bombed Serbia from a high of 10,000 meters.

Which is the Role of International Community?
Gj.Gj. – Role of International Community is very important and positive
Why positive?
P.G. – It is positive, firstly, for these reasons:
1. National security is in a high level because they protect Kosova from Serbian aggression

Do you all agree with statement of Colleague?
- Yes, we agree and we want them to stay here forever.

Do you think that approach that EU took is appropriate?
L.R. – I think that it is not very appropriate because they are moving slowly with concrete projects.
P.G. – I think that it is not very appropriate because it condition investments and loans with security issue.

Do you think that EU do, in your eyes, to improve the situation in Kosova?
L.R. – To accelerate concrete projects
Gj.Gj. – Resolution of Kosova’s statute, hand-over of responsibilities to internal factor, offering loan possibilities, etc.

Do you ever heard of Stability Pact?
L.R. – Yes, I have heard of, leader is Bodo Hornbach, a good man for all.

Can this Institution help southeastern Europe Region?
L.R. – Yes, it can help, if they do not bypass as, as it was with the eighth Corridor.
Do you think that NATO can help your country further?
L.R. – Yes, I think so
Why?
L.R. – In improvement and training of KPC (our army)

Do you think our society should be part of NATO?
- Yes, everybody

L.R. – starting from yesterday.

So, what should we do, as a society, to become a member of it?
P.G. –
1. Culture of work
2. Security and Order
3. Environment Protection
4. Tolerance

A.K. – Training of our youth within NATO

What do you think is the Key to security in Region?
L.R. – The main Key is we to become member of NATO.
A.K. – I think that there will not be any Security in the Region until there is no Serbian fascist policy.
L.R. – There should be a military balance

P.G. – I don’t think that there is only Serbia issue, but of all orthodox states like Serbia, Macedonia, Greece, etc.

I will name some countries and you should say to attributes to each of them.
Slovenia – Culture of work, Progress, Democracy
Bosnia and Herzegovina – Occupied State, Poverty
Serbia – Wish to be Superpower in Region, a bad Example, Dictatorship and Violence
Kosova – Development Country, Peace-wishing Nation
Vojvodina – Agriculture, Economic development
Monte Negro – Tourism Country, Violent Nation
Macedonia – Artificial creature, War
Rumania – Causesku, Communist State
Albania – Quisling Government
Greece – Close cooperate of Serbia, Tourist Country
Bulgaria – Economic Crime, Friend Country of Serbia
How will develop the Life in countries in southeastern Europe?
GJ. GJ. – A positive prospective for new Generations
How do you evaluate today’s relations with ethnic groups living in Kosova?
With Serbs – Bad relations
With Bosnians – Positive relations
With Turks – Good relations
With ROMs – Bad relations
With Montenegrins – Bad relations
With Ash kali – Good relations
Do you think that living conditions in Kosova mostly depend on national belonging?
- All together replays that the living Conditions do depend on national belonging.
Do you feel like having a national belonging?
- Yes
Why?
- Because of:
  1. Language
  2. Culture
  3. Customs
  4. Habits
Did you ever thought about leaving Kosova?
- Everybody – No
Why?
- Because we lived here since records can remember it.
- Not to get assimilated.
R.K. – Because of Language, Customs, and because we have nowhere to go but our birthplace.
Do you all agree?
- Yes, we all agree.

What are the Fears and Hopes for our country and citizens?

Main Fears
A.K. – Reunion with Serbia
P.G. – Whether final status of Kosova will be constrained by International Community, return of Serbia.

Hopes
P.G. –
1. Establishment of Bondsteal, U.S.A.’s interests
2. Establishment of KPC – our future Army

L.R. – I fear of Slav factor (Serbia), and that the Wish of the Nation will not be taken into consideration.

Hopes are big, having on mind nation’s aspirates for Independence.

A.K. – We can live with Serbia only as neighbors and no other way because War is unavoidable, whereas my Hope is that International Community understood the Aspiration of Kosovar Nation for Independence.

Is there any important issue that we didn’t mentioned?

R.K.R. – Role of Females Emancipation (Education of Females)

L.R. – Negligence of Agriculture, population of rural areas and do not work on Agriculture

P.GJ. More employment opportunities to be opened.

Kastriot – Obiliq (group 4)

- International organization IDEA
- Empiric investigation that has to do with the relevant national issues of great importance
- Shortly

Name
Age, and Profession

- How much are you interested in politics and are you involved in any political party, apart from the right to vote.
- Zejnepe Grajqi – 1957; specialist doctor of pneumatology, mother of four. Actively I can not get involved with politics because of objective reasons – small children, old mother in law. I read the press and have other activities.
- Ymer Hajdini – 40 years old, sociologist. As every other citizen of Kosova, I am also interested in politics. I take part in voting.
- My name is Myrvete Zymberi. I am 30 years old. I am not interested in politics. I am married and have one boy. By profession I am lawyer. I think that the professionals should deal with politics.
- Selime Maloku – 40 year old nurse. I would like to deal with politics but I did not have the time to do it.
- Luljeta Plana – 30 years old, I am professor of Albanian and Latin languages. I do not get involved with politics, but life imposes politics anyway.
- Amina Meta – 30 years old. I am not interested in politics. I work as technician in economic service in Obiliq.
- Sheremet Cakaj – 53 years old graduated lawyer. I am involved in politics since 1989, when LDK was formed. I am member of this party and a renown activist of Independent Union, as well.
- She Hashani – 48 years old, monther of two. I work as nurse. I do not deal with politics, but it interests me.
- Xhavit Jashari – 32 years old. Economist, faster of two. Apart from the right to vote. I do get involved with politics. I am a member of an political party and I follow the work of all other political parties.
Which are the most important issues with which our society is faced.
- Xh. J. Disturbances that preoccupy us mostly are undefined status of Kosova;
  Lack of economic development of Kosova;
  Evacuation of Kosova;
  Security, non-definition of the status of ownership, etc.
- Sh. Cakaj underlines
  The security of the citizens of Kosova;
  The development of infrastructure on the level of Kosova;
  Approval of the Constitution of Kosova;
  To have one opinion, one attitude, towards Kosova;
  The final status of Kosova
- Three key problems (which ones are these problems)
  - Sh. C. – I think:
    1. The economic and infrastructure development
    2. The issue of security of citizens
    3. Development of KPC
- Do you think that these problems will be solved quickly or slowly
  - Sh.C.: I think these problems will be solved through a bigger unity of all forces and political parties in Kosova. It is up to us to have our own state and our own army. I think that the international factor did not come here to hate somebody, but to help all. But unity is required.
- What are the chances to overcome these problems.
  - Sh.C. thinks that there are chances, but they are torturous. But, it is achievable, but not through a quick solution.
- Are you talking about the Constitution.
  - Sh.C.: The Constitution must be done soon, The international factor, as well, has to understand that Kosova should not have Legal Framework (because we all know what framework means) and we want Constitution only.
- Mrs. Pllana, do you agree with this claim of our friend.
  - L.P.: Yes, I agree totally with the previous speaker.
- I will ask the rest of you: which of these issues will be the hardest to solve. The issue of constitution, economy, infrastructure, ownership, etc.
- Y.H.: I think that without clarification of the final status of Kosova the economic issue will stay behind, there will be a lack of investments. With the recognition of the state, there will be more investments.
- Independent state- what do you think in these 2-3 years.
  - I think that in the next 2-3 years we will have a state, but not an independent one. Because to be recognized as a state, there is a need of a big economic development.
- Which one of these problems is the hardest to be solved.
- Z.G. thinks that the hardest problems to solve are: denial of constitution, not the Legal Framework. It is important to move further, and to step back.
- Is there any other problem that is worth mentioning
  - Sh.C.: In this period
    Economic problem;
    The build-up of infrastructure, reconstruction of what was destroyed;
    The creation of new working places for the youth.
- Which one is a serious problem (identify it)
  - Sh.C.: Unemployment and investments
We have inherited an economy which was destroyed in the last ten years. We, as a nation, and the international community, have an obligation to reconstruct and revitalize the existing capacities.
- In connection with the economy, is there any other problem
- Xh.J.: the issue of retired people, which is of great importance.
- Which are the key hurdles for economic problems, in economic non-development.
- S.M. The start of the function of all the big factories as Trepa, Novobèrd, Kishnica, Ferronikeli. The internals should enable us to start the work in these facilities and to employ the young people. In politics we should give importance to our strength, because one day the strangers will go and we will be the ones to work.
- Xh.J. – I think that the umbrella of all these hurdles is the non-solved final status of Kosova. Without defining clearly the status, there will be no order. The status of property is not defined clearly as well – it has remained neither state property, neither society property. The hurdles set by internationals in reaching the contracts, contracting the jobs, passing the borders, etc.

- Which are the main factors that could enable resolution
- Xh.J. – The drafting of the Constitution of Kosova; the inter-Albanian unity; closer cooperation with the international factor; privatization of the property, etc.

- Which are the internal and external factors for the resolution of this situation.
- Xh.J. – The main internal aspect is security – because every capitalist is afraid to invest in places which are not secure.

- External factors
- Xh.J. – Foreign investments, foreign programs.

- How do you evaluate the role that the international institutions have in our economy.
- S.M. Thankfulness towards the international factor
- Z.G. Thinks that the main problem is Mitrovica with giant factory. The international factor must be active in all the issues.

- Which ones form the international factor you think can solve the problem
- Z.G. KFOR, UNMIK
- Sh.C. I will follow up on what Mrs. Doctor said. I think that the international role is unquestionable in economic issues in Kosova.

Reconstruction of destroyed houses
Revitalization of economic capacities
The issue of water, etc.

The role of international factor is positive and further more it should be worked, as with the issue of the Mitrovica problem, with the help of internationals.

- Z.G. In Mitrovica, as far as the healthcare is concerned, the problem of the hospital is blocked by one person.
- You think that only one person did the blockade… no, there were more.
- Will it get better or worse during this time for the economy of Kosova.
- Sh.C. It will get better… Our engagement in work, in fulfilling the obligations towards our state and the help of the internationals will help in that
- Concretely, what has to be done better.
- Sh.C. Employment of the youth, revitalization of the existing capacities. I mention Trepca and Ferronikel. If some investment is done in these objects, we would have epic results.

- What do you understand by market economy.
- Xh.J. Until recently, in Kosova we had an economy planned according to the directives of the plan from above, while in the market economy the regulating mechanism is the market – the offer and demand face each other in the market.
- When does the producer have success
- Xh.J. The producer is successful when he achieves the profit when concurrent on the market.
- The economical relations in the countries of the region (how will those relations develop)
- Sh.C. The economy does not recognize the borders. Political issues have borders, but in the free market economy monopolization disappears, new economic relations are created, because with these relation also an interest is created for the neighboring countries and for us. With these relations a competition is created, and these relations should develop as much as possible in the future. We should create an economical basis, and by doing that we create the possibility to compete with neighboring countries.

- The scheme of trust or mistrust towards the local government
  Mayor – you trust him mostly or least
  - SH.C. i have full trust
  Local administration - trust or not
  - L.P. I trust the local administration regardless of political structure
  - Do the others agree in this matter
  - Yes, we agree
  - On the national level
  Administrator – we trust him a little
  IAC – we trust fully
KTC – we trust fully
Political parties of Kosova – we trust a lot
Departments (Ministries) – we trust a lot, but they don’t have big competencies
International community – we trust less

- According to this whom do you trust least and why
- SH.C. I have reservations towards the international factor because of economic non-development, the unresolved status of Kosova. They should be more tolerant towards the naming of constitution, and not legal framework.
- Xh.J. On the occasion of the naming for the constitution I also lost some trust in international factor. I think that they try to save an Yugoslavia the way it exists now, and this is the reason.
- Sh.C. Not resolving the cases of crimes is one of the elements that makes me not trust fully to the international factor (all this police and army and…)
- Xh.J. The unresolved crimes are one of the key factors in Kosova. It is impossible not to know factors, but the interest of the internationals is the finding of the Albanian guilty ones
- For the moment who has the biggest influence in Kosova (influence on the society)
- SH.J. The boggiest influence in society is that of the political parties and of KPC (Kosova Army), because KPC has big respect in population.
- How do you evaluate the activities of political parties and the lawmaking organs in Kosova
- Xh.J. I have positive evaluation in Kosova in general and in the municipality especially, because everybody works for the benefit of the people.
- Sh.C. As far as the lawmaking institutions is concerned, i see them with criticism. I think there are no real institution in Kosova, because Parliament is the main lawmaking institution, and for the moment The Interim Administration Council is too little.
- Are you living in a democracy
- SH.C. Not in a real democracy.
- SH.H. Not because there is a lack of security, there are murders, crimes, etc.
- Y.H. There are the missing persons, the issue of housing, etc.
- Xh.J. In a democracy the people rule, so after we elect lawmaking institutions we will be living in a democracy. Until then this is partial, dark democracy.
- Sh.C. In a democracy, there should be free life for every citizen, free labour for every citizen, free and legal self-determination. We are in a phase where there is a rule of decree. We are in a transitional phase (the decrees are not democratic) We are in a phase, i should not say it like this, of military regime (but with great democracy). But, the pillars of democracy are the lawmaking institutions, the free choice of the people, etc.
- Where are we today as a society
- SH.C. I think that we are somewhere in the middle, we are nowhere, with a goal of going up.
- What about the issue of decision-taking
- Sh.C. Life we speak about the local governing organs and employing organs there are two ways. As far as the municipal organs is concerned – apart some regulations that they have in municipalities, they do not have anything else. On the other side, as far as the economic organizations is concerned, there is nothing we can say about the law obiding. In Western countries they have strong unions that works in defense of the labour rights. This does not exist here.
- The citizens position in decision-taking
- SH.C. I think that citizen does not have the competence, without general elections, without the creation of lawmaking institutions. Then, after that is achieved, the citizens, the working people, will have a big possibility in decision-taking.
- Citizens trust in local government
Mayor – do you trust him mostly or the least
- Y.H. We trust them because they are elected with the vote of the people
Local administration – more or less
Chief Administrator – we trust him a little
IAC – we trust
 Departments – we trust
KTC – we trust partly
Political parties – we trust
UNMIK – less
International community – we trust mostly to America
- What do you think is necessary to make difference for better in our society, like political party activity, voluntary work, etc.
- SH.C. any humanitarian or other action is in the benefit of resolving the situation in Kosova.
- Z.G. it is our duty to involve in activities like health. Citizens immunity is of big importance. The economic and health situation of citizens is also important that is why we have to deal with such activities.
- What are your main sources of information. And which sources of information are more to be trusted.
- Z.G. the most trusted source of information is radio – television, because it is concrete and shows reality.
- L.P. I think that TV and press are trusted.
- Do you think that the objectivity of information is higher in state media or in private ones.
- Sh.C. I think that state media are more objective
- And what about local and international media
- Xh.J. Local
- Z.G. Local
- And what about national or local
- Sh.C. I think national have bigger objectivity but local sources are also objective
- Are national media at the same time state media, and are local media at the same time private
- Sh.C. I think national media are state media
- How do you evaluate the activity of NGO-s and what is their role
- Sh.C. NGO-s are the ones who help mostly to this population, like CARITAS, CAPANAMUR, UNHCR, USAID.
- What about local NGO-s
- Mother Theresa – which has helped the population in different ways: with food, medicine, (especially during the war in Kosova like in Drenica)
- XH.J. than NGO “Mitrovica” which even opened a radio station
- How do you evaluate activity of professional organizations like unions etc.
- Sh.C. I think that in the past unions have played a big role for the issue of workers, while now the role of unions is big because it tries and works for protection of the interests of workers. The main handicap is lack of approval of the labour law (I have a positive opinion on unions).
- What do you think about the religious institutions – what role do they play
- Z.G. I have a positive evaluation about the religion, about all religions. Concretely, the issue of hygiene. The issue of health is connected with religion. Here, the dominant faith is Islam.
- So, the religion is positive.
- Z.G. I think that religion has a positive role if we act according the rules of religion, regardless which one.
- Xh.J. I think that through Albanian history, religion (Muslim and Catholic religion) , especially before the war, during the war and after the war has played a positive role in bringing closer the people.
- Sh.C. During the history, when the Albanians are concerned, there were no religious wars. But, when the population was at risk, the religion was not an issue. Everybody has fought together and in the end I think that religion has emerged as positive.
- Z.G. The religion enables only the progress and brings people closer.
- What do you think about the political education in our society.
- Z.G. As far as the political education is concerned, we are not satisfied (I personally). In politics we are involved very little, because of objective reasons.
- Do you think that in respect of the political education the Albanian woman has been left aside
- Z.G. I don’t think that women are left aside, but objective reasons (family issues and housework have had their impact on political education of the women). And I think that men are more educated because they are more free to act.
- Political affirmation envisages the possibility of the individuals freedom
- Xh.J. We know how to think politically, but not to act politically.
- Sh.C. All the Kosovars are engaged in political life, but there is a need to secure better information about the democratic rules, the principles of the United Nations, etc.
- Xh.J. In our society there is a lack of political tolerance.
- I would like to ask you about the public utilities. You should evaluate on scale form one to ten, regarding this at the national level
  Health – 8 (taking into account the circumstances)
  Education – 10
  Social help – 3, and some [illegible]
  Army KPC – 10
  Police – 8 (even though it has no full competences)
  Communications – 6
  Power supply – 9
  Water supply – 9
  Services in traffic – 9

  According to you, why do some services have very high evaluations
  - L.P. They should only continue like this
  - Z.G. Yes. For example the health has played a very big role for the population, then KPC as well.
  - Why did you evaluated negatively some services.
  - Z.G. For example the fund for helping the reconstruction has not been distributed as it should have been. (The issue of homeless that are living in the tents, the issue of food help) etc.
  - What do you think of privatization of public services (electricity, water, waste) etc.
  - Z.G. I think that privatization of electricity is impossible because it is too big giant.
  - And in your opinion what can be privatized
  - Z.G. Some small organization should be privatized, and not a giant
  - Concretely, do you evaluate privatization as something positive or something negative
  - Z.G. I evaluate it as something positive, but not to privatize the big companies, Only the small ones. (Those who have small capacities)
  - Sh.C. These things are interconnected in Kosova – I think these should be privatized: Services in traffic and health up to a degree; while education, electricity, social care and pensions should not be privatized.
  - Do you think that international institutions such as World Bank, International Monetary Fund, UN, NATO, etc. have influence in Kosova. Concretely, the World Bank.
  - Sh.C. World Bank is very important institution, while IMF has a positive influence in building and rebuilding of Kosova. Then, the role of NATO is unquestionable. United Nations play very big role in the world, through various resolutions, etc.
  - What about the role of European Union
  - Sh.C. I think that European Union is NATO-s support.
  - What is the role of international community in Kosova
  - Sh.C.:
    1. The defiance and security in Kosova
    2. Building and rebuilding in Kosova
    3. Democratization of life in Kosova
    4. Creation of state institutions
    5. Recognition of Kosova as independent state and equal, member of United Nations
  - Do you think that the way the EU is acting incites the resolution of the situation in Kosova
  - Sh.C. European Union is an organization with a very big role. Unity of EU creates possibility of solution for the problems of Kosova and vice versa. Disunity creates confusion and non-solution for the problems of Kosova.
  - Have you heard of Stability Pact in Southeastern Europe
  - Xh.J. I heard of it and the main man there is Bodo Hombah. The role of the Stability Pact is economic help for these countries of Europe according to the Marshall Plan (Financing and solution of the actual problems in these countries of Southeastern Europe)
  - Do you believe that NATO enables you a lot in solution of the problems in Kosova
  - Sh.C. The role of NATO is very big as military force and concretely the liberation of Kosova and driving out the occupying Serb force of Kosova; then defense of borders of Kosova, protection of peace in Kosova. NATO is a military pact.
  - What is required form us in order to become NATO member
- Sh.C. I think the independence of Kosova is one thing, a democratic state, respecting of the freedoms and the rights of citizens and all the minorities, while we suspend those who have their hand with blood of Albanians
- Do you think Mrs. Pllana same as previous speaker
- L.P. I share the opinion of our friend
- What is the key to security in Kosova
- Sh.C.:  
  1. Independence of Kosova  
  2. The rights of state forming for the Albanians in Macedonia  
  3. Autonomy of Eastern Kosova  
  4. The end of all the crises in Europe. In the Balkans the main issue is the solution for the Albanian cause, because two world wars have divided this land unfairly, and this is why the Albanian issue should be solved.
- Your attitudes towards the countries of the region – when a country is mentioned, you should describe your opinion using two attributes
  Slovenia – Formed democracy, economical development  
  Bosnia and Herzegovina – The war against the Serbian occupier, resistance for a unified Bosnia  
  Serbia – Destroying of Yugoslavia, genocide against different peoples  
  Kosova – a state that emerged from the flames of war, international protectorate, a place with a heroic people with great underground riches, etc.  
  Vojvodina – Developed Agriculture and aspirations for autonomy  
  Montenegro – Tourist place, will for independence  
  Macedonia – Closure of borders, war and repression against the Albanians  
  Romania – The bringing down of Caucescu and establishment of democracy  
  Bulgaria – Democratization of the system and proclaiming the state as democratic  
  Albania – The fall of totalitarian regime and establishment of political pluralism  
  Greece – Democratic state, but in Balkan’s issues it is double-faced (political hypocrisies).
- How will the life develop in the future in Southeastern Europe
- Xh.J. The solution of key problems, the solution of Albanian issue, democratization of all countries in the region
- Sh.C. Economic development in the region
- B.A. Regional economic development
- Could you say what is the relation with the ethnic minorities in Kosova (Albanians and the Serb minority)
- Sh.C. Kosova and the Kosovars always have respected the minorities. At this point, after the war and the massacres that have been carried, things have changed a bit. But, we have good opinions on those Serbs that recognize Kosova as state. At the moment, the relations are very cold with the Serb minority in Kosova (because of the war). With the Muslims the relations are good, because they have declared themselves in favor of an independent Kosova. With the Turks, relations are good. With Gypsies, for the time being the relations are cold (they participated in the war and did crimes). With Montenegrins relations are better because Montenegro has shown solidarity during the war for the displaced Albanians. With Ashkali – we recognize them because they declared themselves on time in favor of Kosova as state (and have distanced themselves from the crimes committed by gypsies)
- Do you think that the life conditions in Kosova depend mostly by ethnic belonging.
- Xh.J. Not for the moment, We are tolerant people. We don’t think that ethnic belonging influences the situation of citizens of Kosova.
- Do you feel your ethnic belongings
- Sh.C. I feel the national belongings because of the language, culture, tradition, etc.]

All present feel their ethnic belonging
- Did you ever thought of emigrating from Kosova
- They all say that they have never thought of emigrating, apart from the forced emigration during the war.
- What are the fears and hopes for our country in future
- Sh.C. Fear and hope are two different components. Fear exists always regarding the solution of our cause. There needs to be an engagement of all the political parties, and this is the hope.
- Xh.J. Fear – from mistaking because of the great will to achieve what our goal is.
- Did we fail to ask you something you think was important
- Sh.C. I think that we did not fail discussing anything, and there remains only to thank you for this fruitful discussion.
- Gj.Rr. I thank you as well from the bottom of my heart for your participation and valuable contribution.
- Thank you
- 12.05.2001