



**SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE EMPIRICAL
RESEARCH FOR
THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION
OF THE YOUTH BETWEEN 18 AND 24 AGES
IN KOSOVO
(MITROVICE, GJILAN, PEJE, PRIZREN, FERIZAJ,
GJAKOVE)**

Dr. ERCAN GÜNDOĞAN

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Although I prepared the questions and evaluated the results of all questionnaires, all of them were filled by the students studying Public Administration and International Relations at the Ferizaj campus of ISES Universum. I would like to thank them for their contributions.

SUBJECT

The Project aimed to demonstrate political and ideological orientations of the youth in Kosovo. The fact that this age group will be the future generation of the new Republic of Kosovo means that their political and ideological orientation can be expected to show the political life and structure of the country in coming future.

The project accepted that “political” and “ideological” mean all ideas and actions related with the change and transformation of social relations and structures. Hence in order to define what political and ideological is to define the problems of and solutions to the problems of society.

OBJECT OF THE PROJECT

The project is expected to demonstrate the choices of political ideologies, political parties of the related group as regards the conception of solution to the social problems of society. Each political and ideological choice implies different political ideologies, political systems and different political developments with which the existing and future political parties have to be concerned.

METHODOLOGY OF THE PROJECT

The project is realised by using questionnaires to reveal the political orientation of the target groups, which are selected according to the important urban centers of Kosovo, such as Mitrovica, Peja, Jakova, Prizren, Gjilan and Ferizaj. These urban centers also contain many characteristic aspects of Kosovo’s countryside and its urban-rural continuum.

The project excludes Pristina because of financial and time limits. Therefore, it should be considered as a research for Kosovo outside Pristina.

DEFINITIONS AND HYPOTHESES TESTED

Kosovo being a newest independent republic of the world which is now under the influence of globalisation, and post-cold war transition is expected to witness both national and patriotic feelings as well as integration aspirations especially for European system and the USA-led Atlantic institutions such as NATO, IMF and the World Bank. Its European and Atlantic aspirations and prospects make the country more outward looking, and hence more internationalist and globalist.

As a result, the country is expected to hold nationalist and globalist feelings and ideologies at the same time. This fact is supported by the fact the country is under supervision and protection of the international community, especially the USA, NATO and Europe

This means that nationalism would be related only with the war experience and the recent declaration of the Republic of Kosovo but not with right leaning nationalism. On the other hand, nationalism is not expected to have any anti-imperialist attitude because of the external support to liberation and independence of the country, but to demonstrate a powerful patriotism.

The situation of Kosovo, according to the definitions stated above, may be expected to welcome the ideologies and feeling related with patriotism and liberalism (its newness and the USA's support before and during independence), European democracy and welfare state (its integration prospects and closeness to Europe) on the one side, and the social democracy (because of unemployment and lack of infrastructure of the country and raising inequality in the country) on the other side.

However, same ethnic identity of Kosovo and Albania, which may be expected to be a source for nationalist ideologies in Kosovo as well as the war experience against Serbia, may be thought to be supportive elements for nationalism.

Hence, for the ideological formation of Kosovo society, existence of Albania and the tragic experience lived due to Serbian offences are two forces which may support Kosovar nationalism. However, these forces meet counter-forces which come from the European perspective and the international supervision of the country which is seen as both beneficial and necessary for the country.

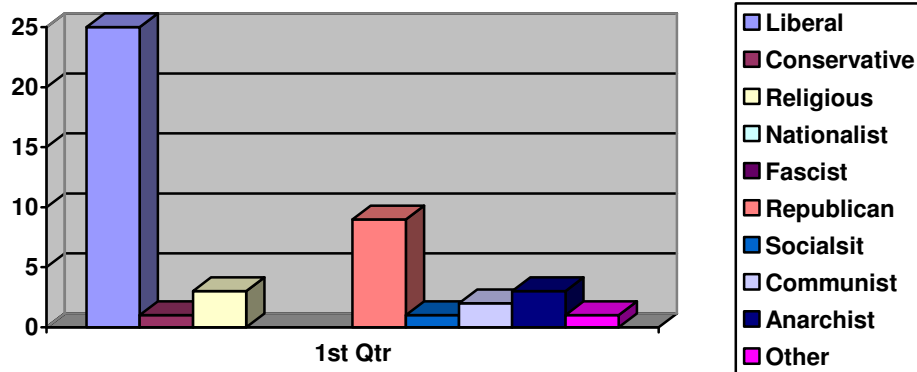
In sum, the ideological formation of Kosovo's people and young generation is expected to be influenced by the ideologies coming from international community, European integration perspective, NATO's existence in the country, the USA's support to Kosovo's liberation and independence. The other influences may be expected to be determined by the increasing

proportion of the young and unemployed population and the low level of income per capita in the country which lacks industrial and financial economy.

QUESTIONNAIRE: GJAKOVE, TOTAL 47

1- How do you define your political thought?

Liberal	25
Conservative	1
Religious	3
Nationalist	-
Fascist	-
Republican	9
Socialist	1
Communist	2
Anarchist	3
Other	1 (SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC)

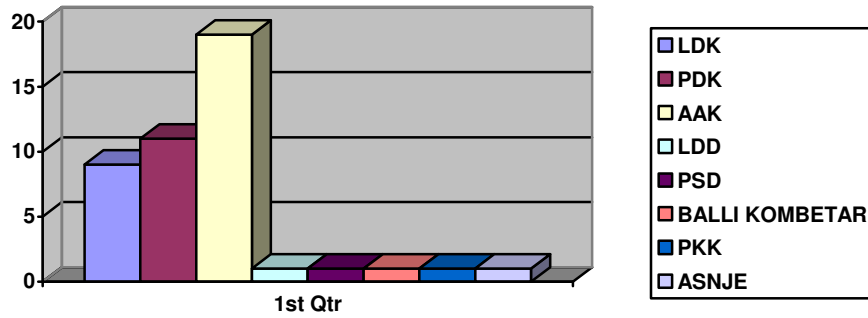


Most of the persons are first liberal and secondly republican.

2 Which political party* do you support?

* For the list of political parties in Kosovo,
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_political_parties_in_Kosovo

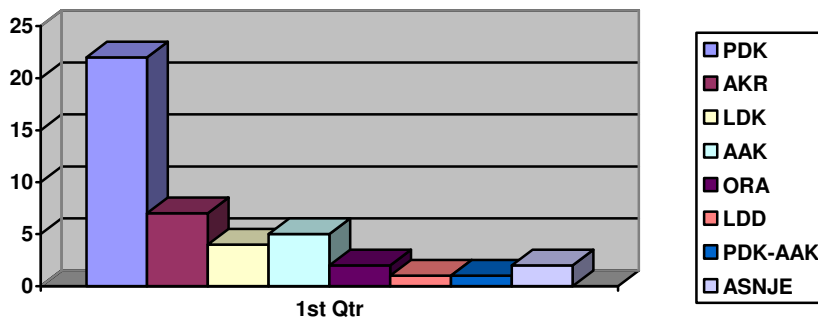
LDK 9, PDK 11, AAK 19, LDD 1, PSD 1, BALLI KOMB 1, PKK 1, ASJE 1



Mostly supported political parties are first AAK, secondly PDK and thirdly LDK.

3 Which political party do you dislike most?

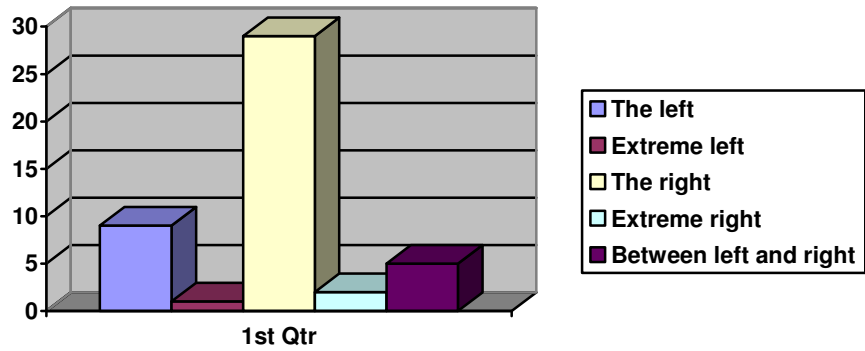
PDK 22, AKR 7, LDK 4, AAK 5, ORA 2, LDD 1, PDK-AAK 1, ASNJE 2



However, the mostly disliked political party is PDK.

4 How do you identify yourself, in the left, in the right? Or between them?

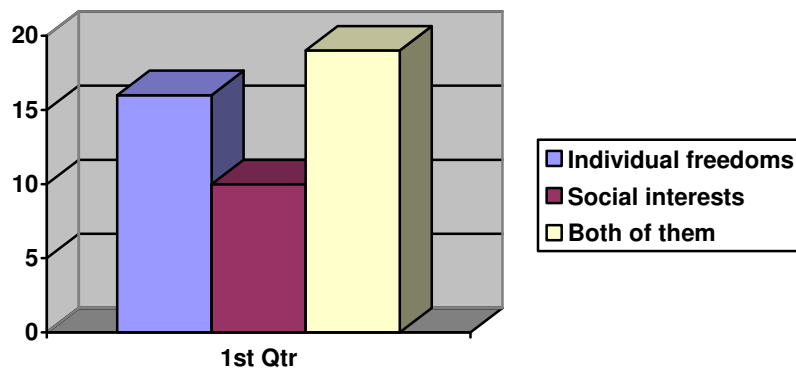
The left	9
Extreme left	1
The right	29
Extreme right	2
Between left and right	5



It is seen that the right is the first rank and the totality of the left and the extreme left cannot reach the level of the right.

5 Is individual freedom or social interest which comes first? Or both of them?

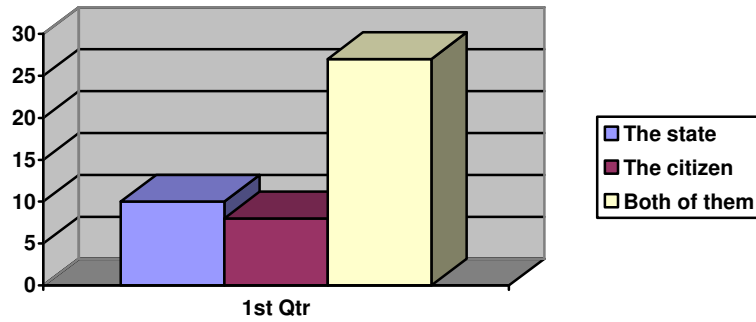
Individual freedoms	16
Social interests	10
Both of them	19



Both individual freedoms and social interests are seen as important although the former is appreciated more than the latter.

6 Does the state or the citizen comes first?

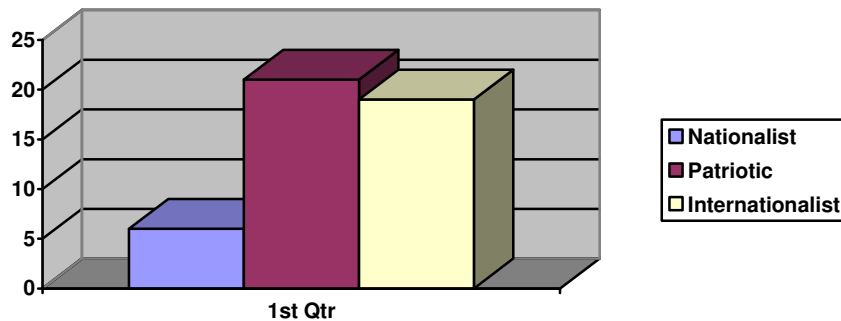
The state	10
The citizen	8
Both of them	27



Both citizenship and the state are appreciated. There seems to be no priority between them.

7 How do you identify yourself, nationalist, patriotic, internationalist?

Nationalist	6
Patriotic	21
Internationalist	19

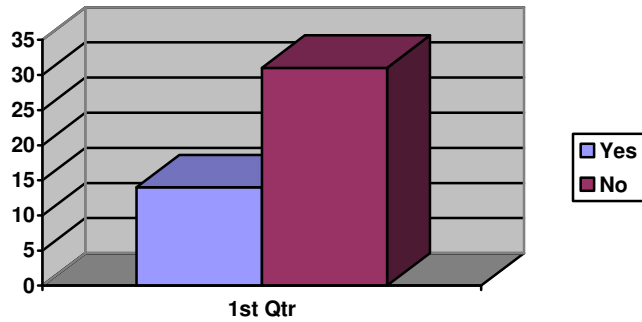


It is seen that patriotism and internationalism is appreciated in contrast to nationalism. Patriotism is not associated with nationalism.

8 Should the religion and the state be separated?

Yes	14
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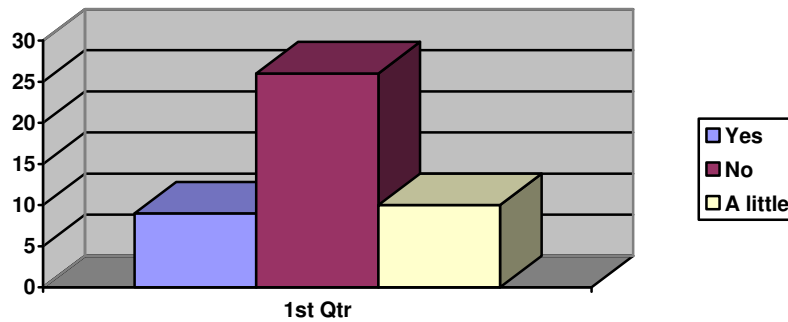
No 31



Separation between religion and the state is not supported. However, as seen below, it is not wanted for the religion to influence public affairs.

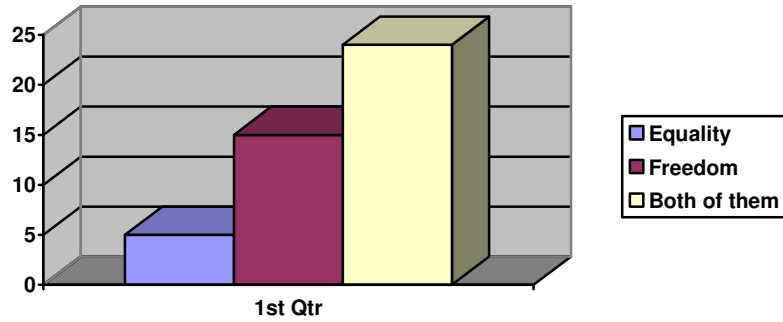
9 Should the religion influence the public affairs?

Yes 9
No 26
A little 10



10 Does Equality or Freedom comes first?

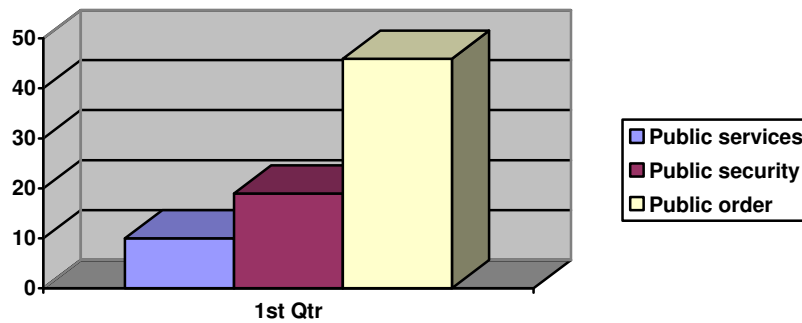
Equality 5
Freedom 15
Both of them 24



Both equality and freedom is appreciated although the priority is given to freedom as a political value.

11 What should be the first function of the state, public service, public security, public order?

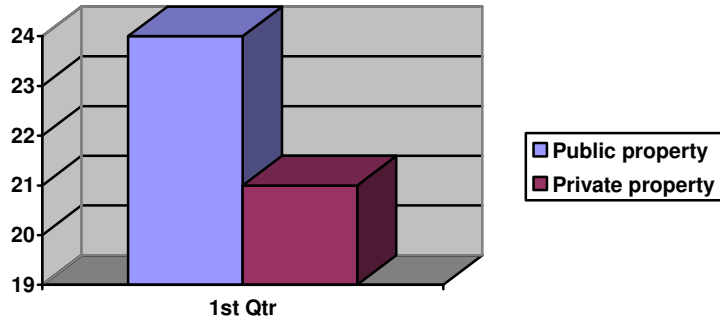
Public services	10
Public Security	19
Public Order	11



Public order is first demanded and public security comes second. Public services come after order and security concerns.

12 Which is the most important, public property or private property?

Public Property	24
Private Property	21

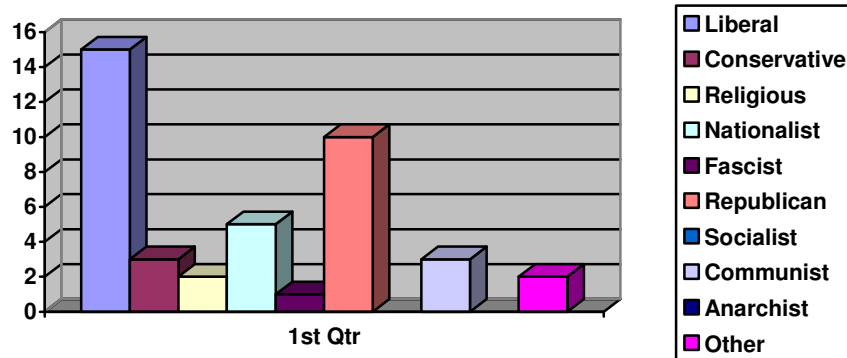


The youth prefers public property to private one.

QUESTIONNAIRE: FERIZAJ, TOTAL 41

1 How do you define your political thought?

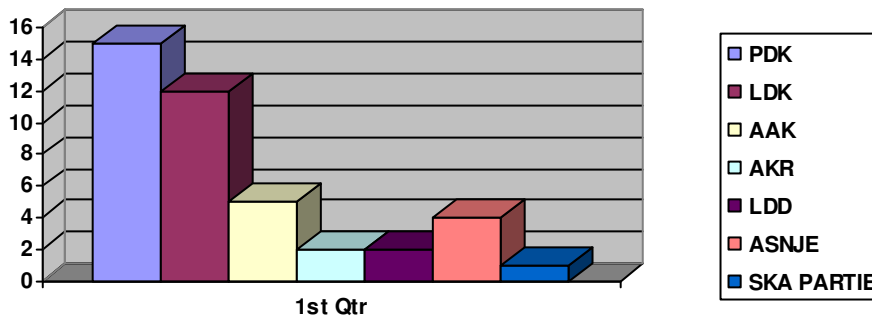
Liberal	15
Conservative	3
Religious	2
Nationalist	5
Fascist	1
Republican	10
Socialist	-
Communist	3
Anarchist	-
Other	2



Liberalism and republicanism are sequentially stated while nationalism, communism and fascism occupies the third, fourth and fifth weights.

2 Which political party do you support?

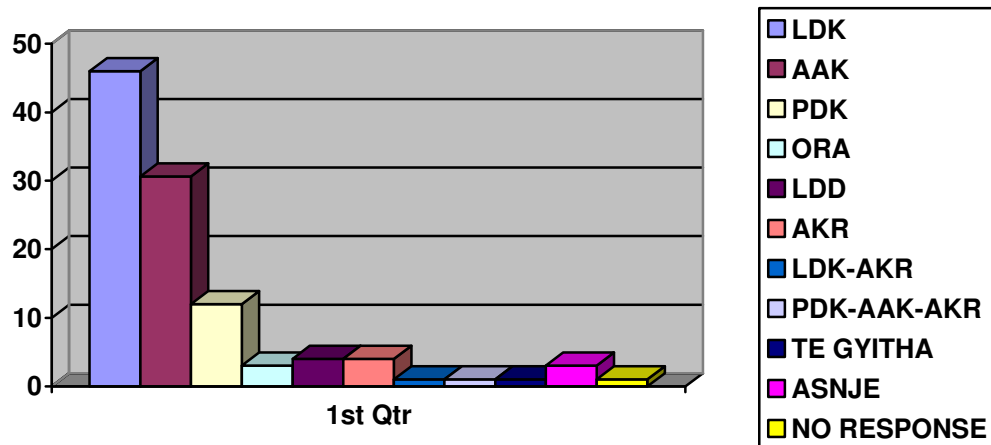
PDK 15, LDK 12, AAK 5, AKR 2, LDD 2, ASJE 4, SKA PARTIE 1



PDK is the most supported political party. However, LDK follows PDK.

3 Which political party do you dislike most?

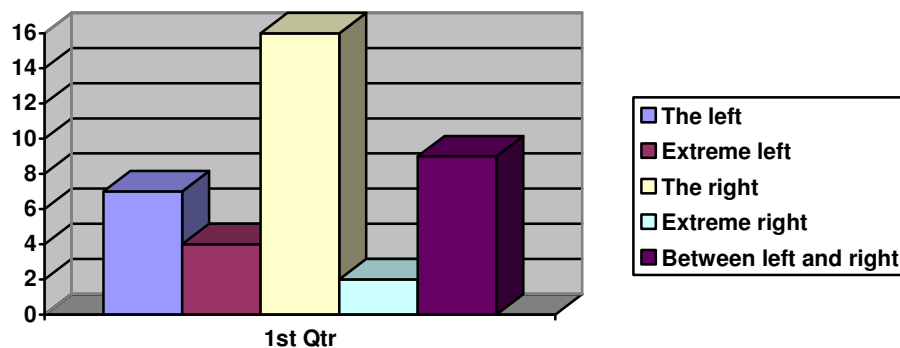
LDK 4, AAK 6, PDK 12, ORA 3, LDD 4, AKR 4, --1, ASNJE 3, LDK-AKR 1, PDK-AAK-AKR 1, TE GYITHA 1



LDK, AAK are the most disliked political parties. But, LDK is the secondly preferred party as seen above question.

4 How do you identify yourself, in the left, in the right? Or between them?

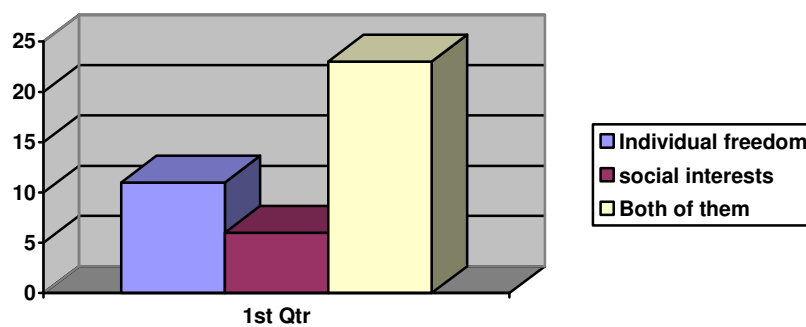
The left	7
Extreme left	4
The right	16
Extreme right	2
Between left and right	9



The youth identify themselves largely with the right. The between left and right and the between left and extreme left follows the right.

5 Is individual freedom or social interest which comes first? Or both of them?

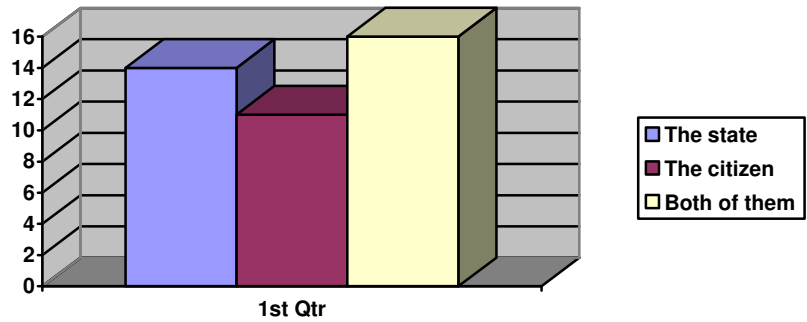
Individual freedoms	11
Social interests	6
Both of them	23



Both individual freedoms and social interests are preferred; but individual freedom itself is preferred more than social interests.

6 Does the state or the citizen come first?

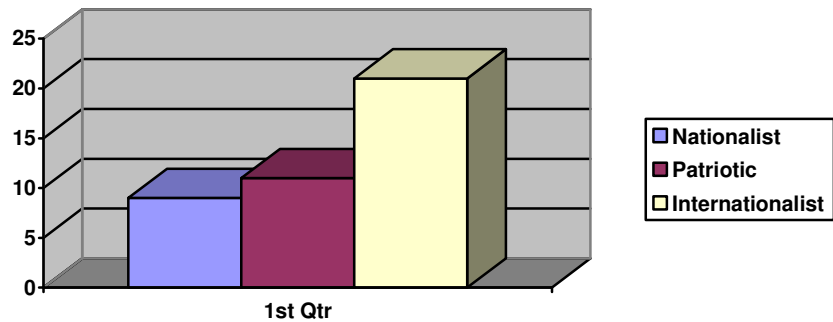
The state	14
The citizen	11
Both of them	16



Both state and citizenship is seen as important and the state is appreciated a bit more than citizenship.

7 How do you identify yourself, nationalist, patriotic, internationalist?

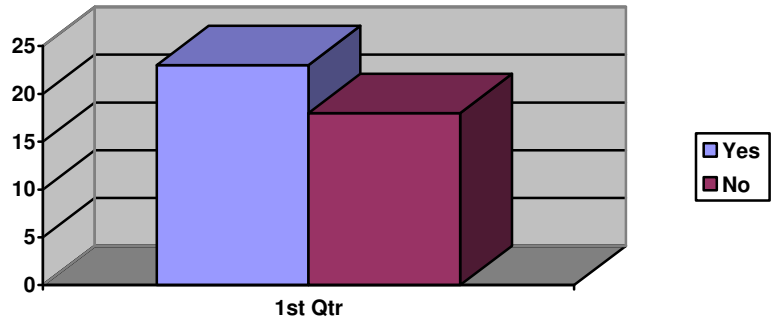
Nationalist	9
Patriotic	11
Internationalist	21



The youth see themselves mainly as internationalist more than patriotic and nationalist.

8 Should the religion and the state be separated?

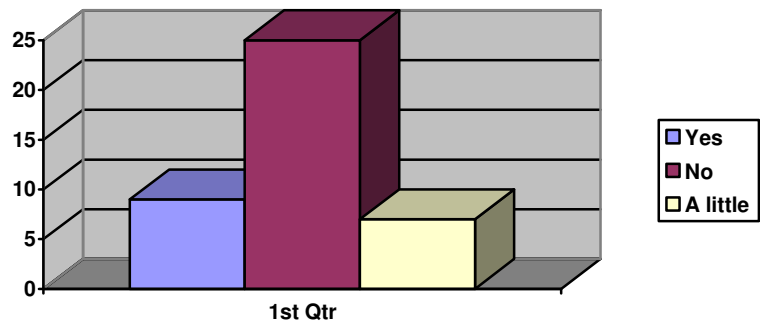
Yes	23
No	18



It is thought that the state and religion should be separated. However an important section rejects the separation.

9 Should the religion influence the public affairs?

Yes	9
No	25
A little	7

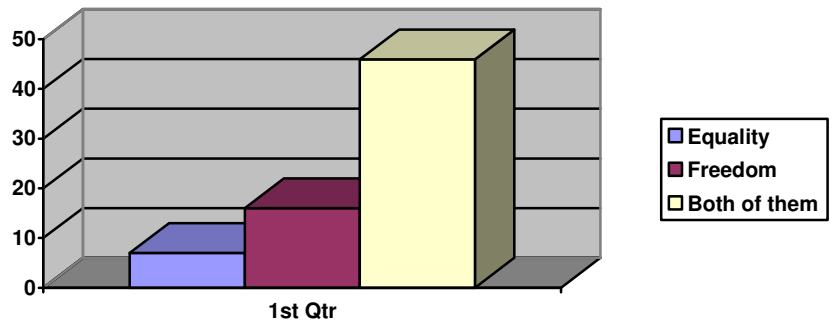


It is not wanted that religion influence public affairs.

10 Does Equality or Freedom come first?

Equality	7
Freedom	16

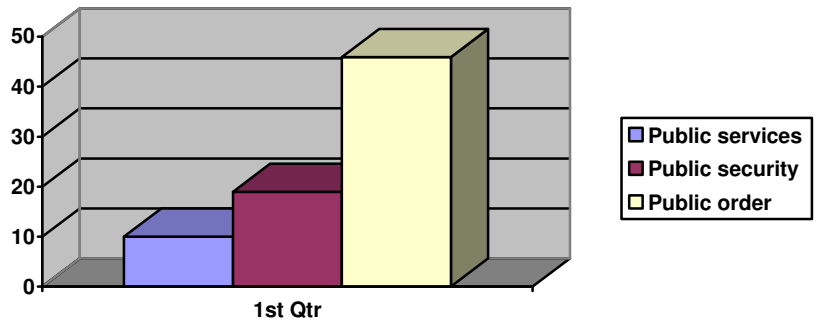
Both of them	17
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Both equality and freedom is appreciated. But freedom is put above equality.

11 What should be the first function of the state, public service, public security, public order?

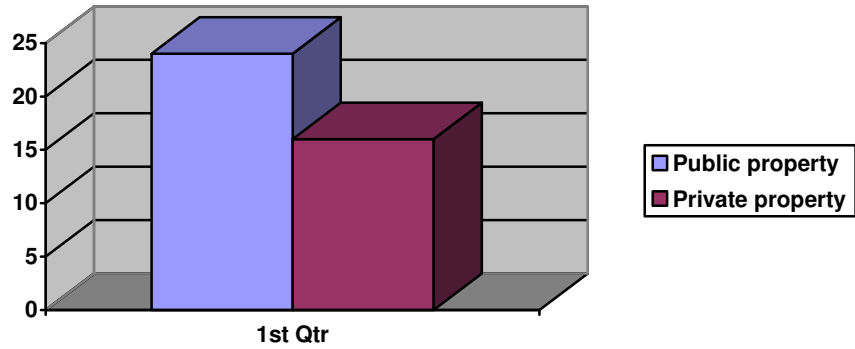
Public services	10
Public Security	19
Public Order	11



The state is seen mainly in terms of public order. Public services are seen as the last function of the state.

12 Which is the most important, public property or private property?

Public Property	24
Private Property	16

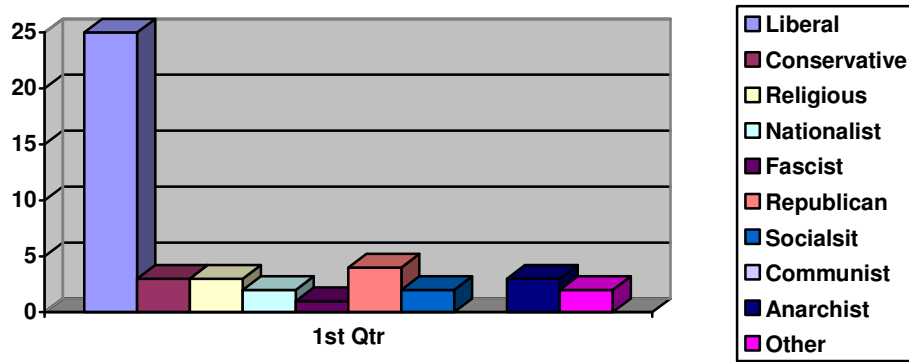


The youth prefers public property to private property.

QUESTIONNAIRE: PRIZREN, TOTAL 49

1 How do you define your political thought?

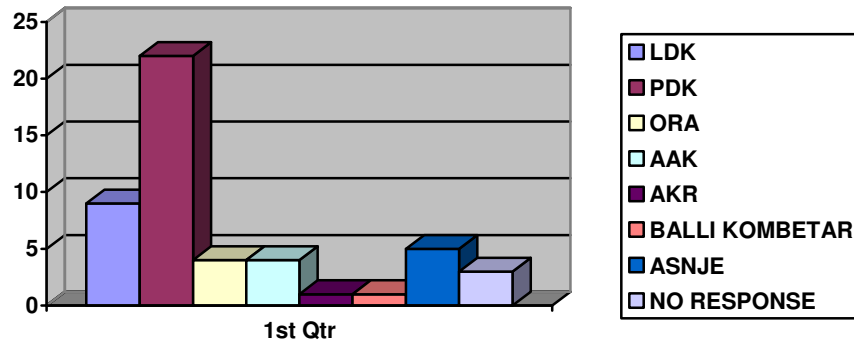
Liberal	25
Conservative	3
Religious	3
Nationalist	2
Fascist	1
Republican	4
Socialist	2
Communist	-
Anarchist	3
Other	2 (DEMOCRAT)



The youth of Prizren sees themselves predominantly as liberal. All other political ideologies are in a marginal position

2- Which political party do you support?

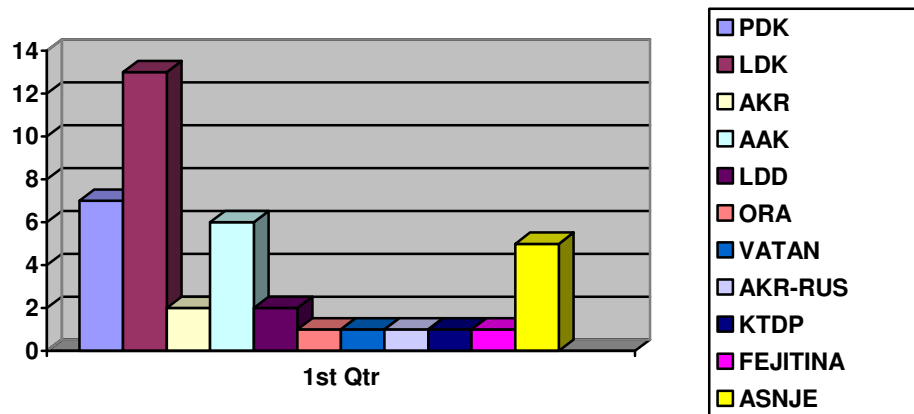
LDK 9, PDK 22, ORA 4, AAK 4, AKR 1, BALLI KOMB 1, --3, ASNJE 5



Liberal youth, as seen above, prefers largely PDK, which is followed by LDK weakly.

3- Which political party do you dislike most?

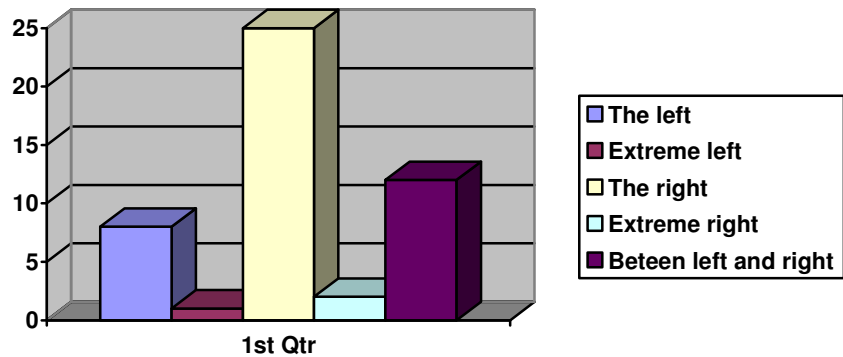
PDK 7, LDK 13, AKR 2, AAK 6, LDD 2, ORA 1, VATAN 1, AKR-RUS 1, KTDP 1, FEJITNA 1, ASNJE 5, --10



LDK, which is the secondly preferred political party, is the most disliked one. After LDK, PDK, AAK and AKR are the most disliked parties.

4- How do you identify yourself, in the left, in the right? Or between them?

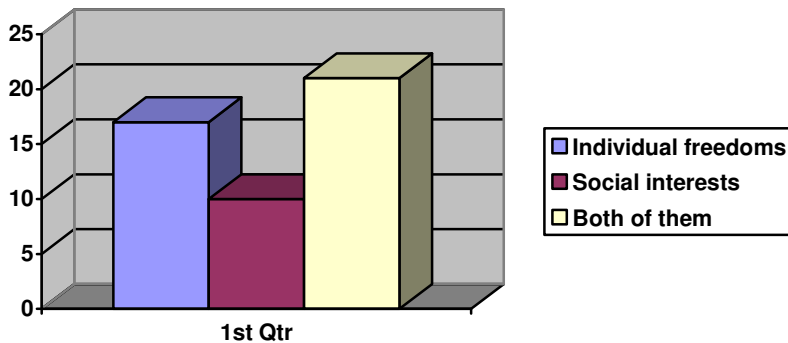
The left	8
Extreme left	1
The right	25
Extreme right	2
Between left and right	12



Mostly liberal youth see themselves in the right camp, which is followed by extreme left and the left.

5- Is individual freedom or social interest which comes first? Or both of them?

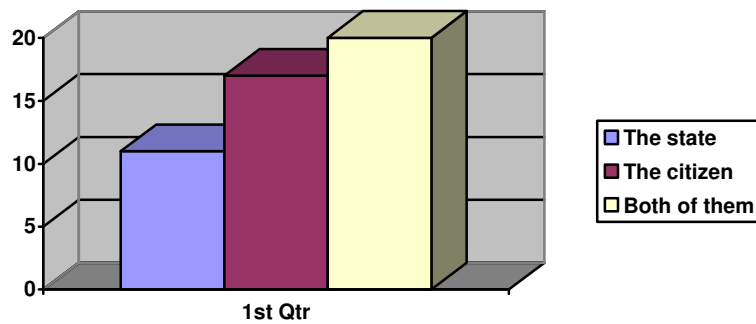
Individual freedoms	17
Social interests	10
Both of them	21



Both individual freedoms and social interests are demanded, but the former is appreciated more than the latter.

6- Does the state or the citizen come first?

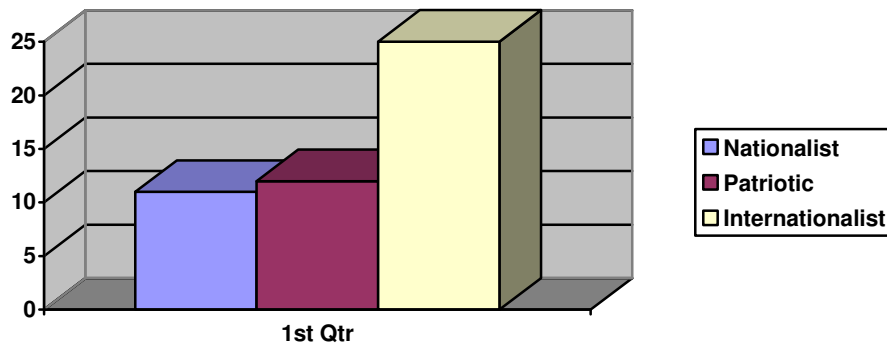
The state	11
The citizen	17
Both of them	20



Both the state and citizenship is seen as important; however, the citizenship is put above the state.

7- How do you identify yourself, nationalist, patriotic, internationalist?

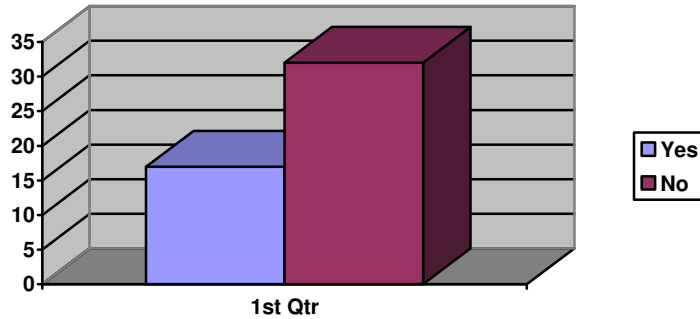
Nationalist	11
Patriotic	12
Internationalist	25



Identification with internationalism is higher than patriotism and nationalism.

8- Should the religion and the state be separated?

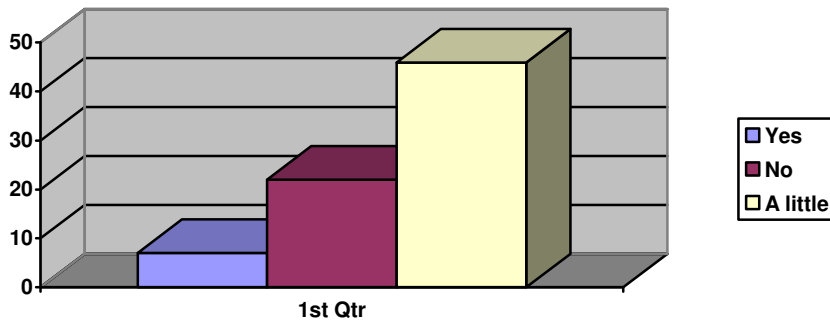
Yes	17
No	32



The youth does not want the religion to be separated from the state

9- Should the religion influence the public affairs?

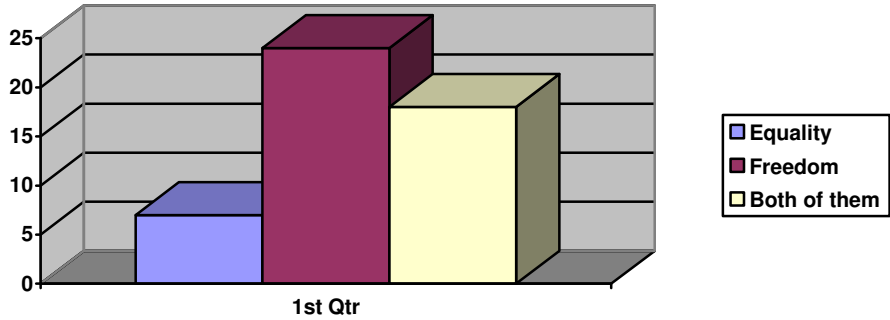
Yes	7
No	22
A little	17



However, although they want no separation between religion and the state, they think that religion should affect public affairs a little and secondly it should not affect. Yes answer is in a marginal position.

10- Does Equality or Freedom come first?

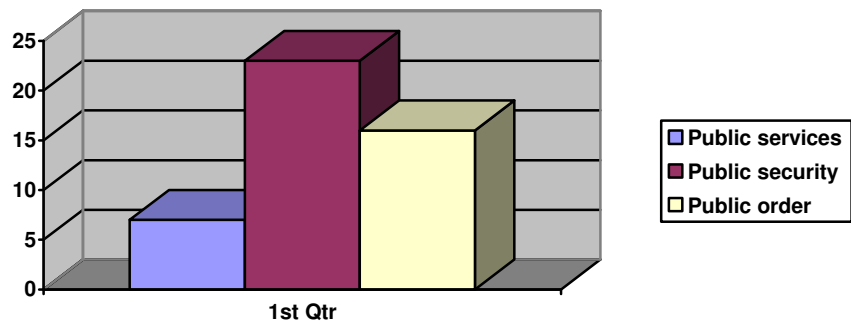
Equality	7
Freedom	24
Both of them	18



Freedom is put above the mixed answer and far more above equality.

11- What should be the first function of the state, public service, public security, public order?

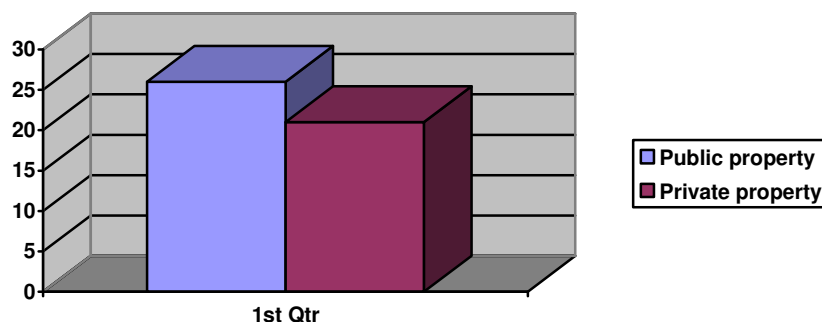
Public services	7
Public Security	23
Public Order	16



First function of the state is the provision of public security and public order. Public services are put to the last rank.

12- Which is the most important, public property or private property?

Public Property	26
Private Property	21

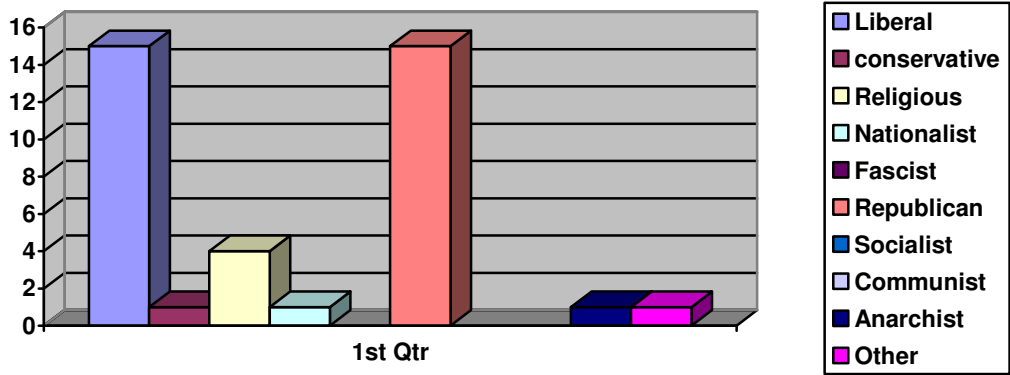


Although they are nearly equal position, public property is preferred a bit more than private property.

QUESTIONNAIRE: GJILAN, TOTAL 39

1 How do you define your political thought?

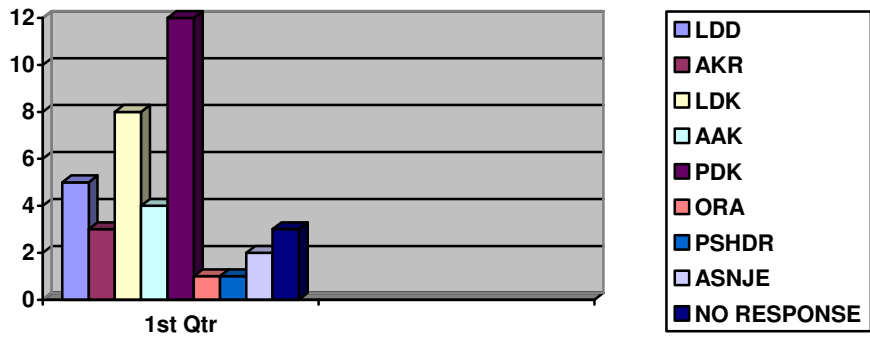
Liberal	15
Conservative	1
Religious	4
Nationalist	1
Fascist	-
Republican	15
Socialist	-
Communist	-
Anarchist	1
Other	1



Liberal and republican identification is equally higher than the other ones.

2 Which political party do you support?

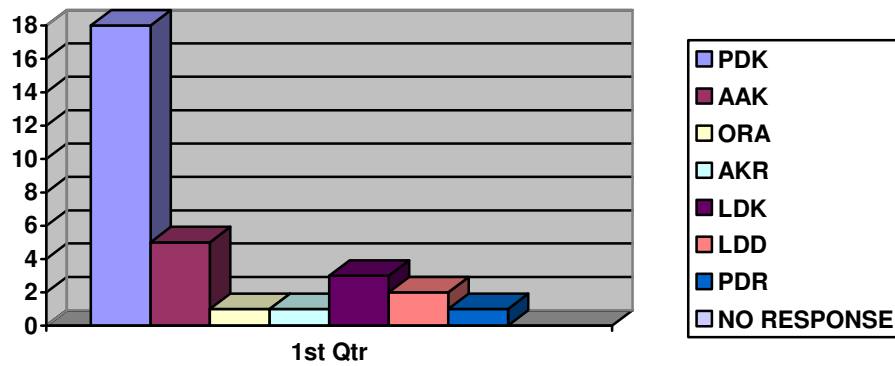
LDD 5, AKR 3, LDK 8, AAK 4, PDK 12, ORA 1, PSHDR 1, --3, ASNJE 2



PDK is the most preferred political party, which is followed by LDK, LDD, AAK.

3 Which political party do you dislike most?

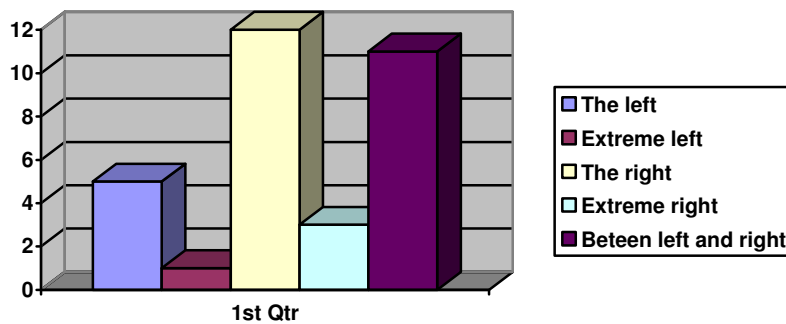
PDK 18, AAK 5, ORA 1, AKR 1, LDK 3, LDD 2, PDR 1, --8



Although PDK is seen above as the most preferred political party, it is also the most disliked one. Here we can suggest a polarisation between the supporters of this party and the other ones.

4 How do you identify yourself, in the left, in the right? Or between them?

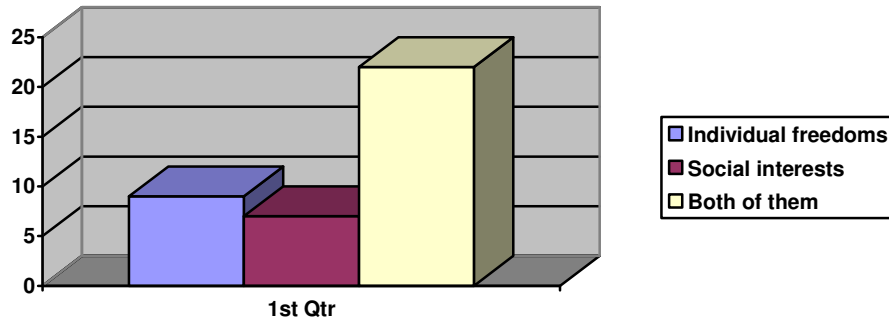
The left	5
Extreme left	1
The right	12
Extreme right	3
Between left and right	11



Identification with right and with both left and right cover most of the answers. The left is in the third rank, which exceeds extreme right.

5 Is individual freedom or social interest which comes first? Or both of them?

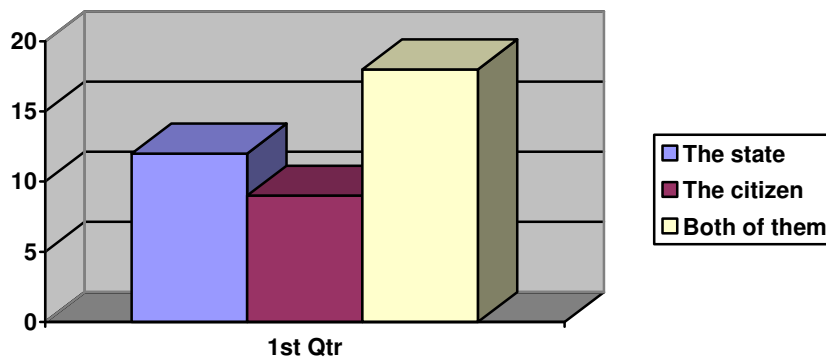
Individual freedoms	9
Social interests	7
Both of them	22



Both individual freedoms and social interests are appreciated and there is no significant differentiation between them.

6 Does the state or the citizen comes first?

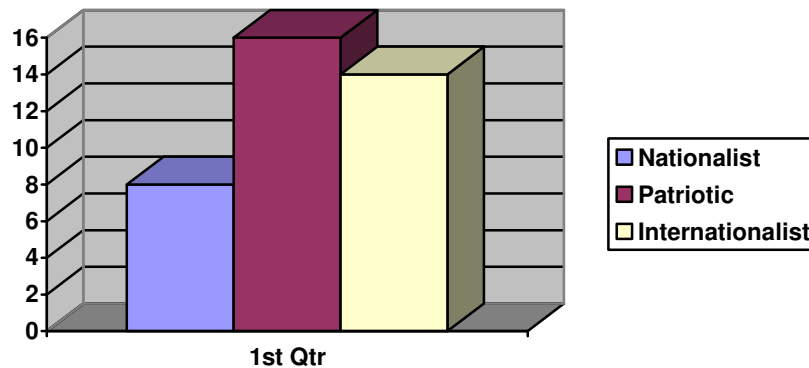
The state	12
The citizen	9
Both of them	18



Both the state and citizenship is appreciated; but the state is preferred a little more than the citizenship.

7 How do you identify yourself, nationalist, patriotic, internationalist?

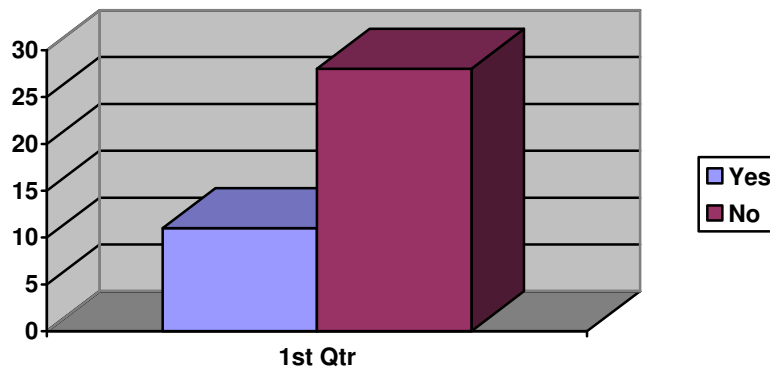
Nationalist	8
Patriotic	16
Internationalist	14



Patriotism and internationalism are nearly equally appreciated and put above nationalism.

8 Should the religion and the state be separated?

Yes	11
No	28

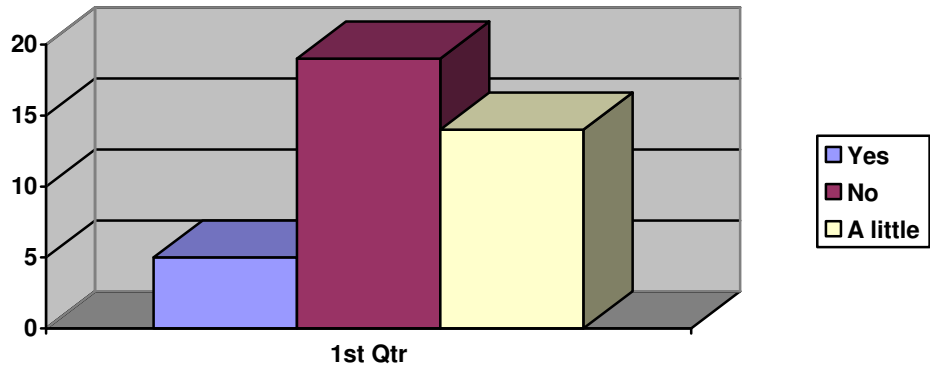


It is thought that the state and religion should not be separated.

9 Should the religion influence the public affairs?

Yes	5
No	19

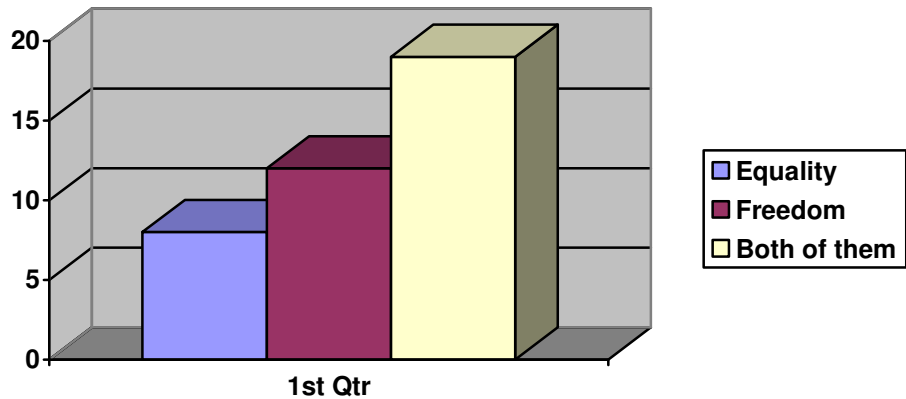
A little 14



Although separation between the state and religion is not wanted, the youth does not want religion to influence public affairs. But, a significant section wants a little influence of religion over public affairs.

10 Does Equality or Freedom come first?

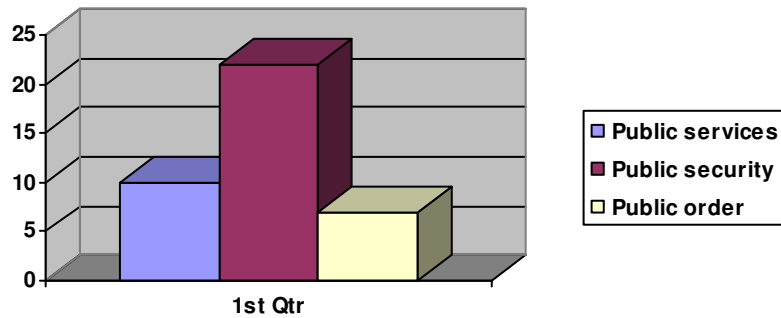
Equality	8
Freedom	12
Both of them	19



Although both freedom and equality is preferred, freedom is appreciated more than equality.

11 What should be the first function of the state, public service, public security, public order?

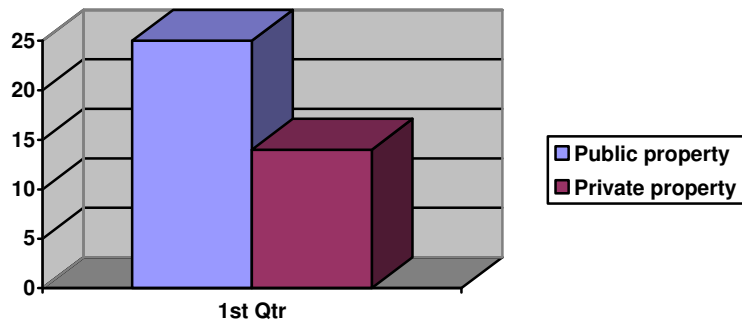
Public services	10
Public Security	22
Public Order	7



First function of the state is seen as the public security, which is followed by public services and public order.

12 Which is the most important, public property or private property?

Public Property	25
Private Property	14

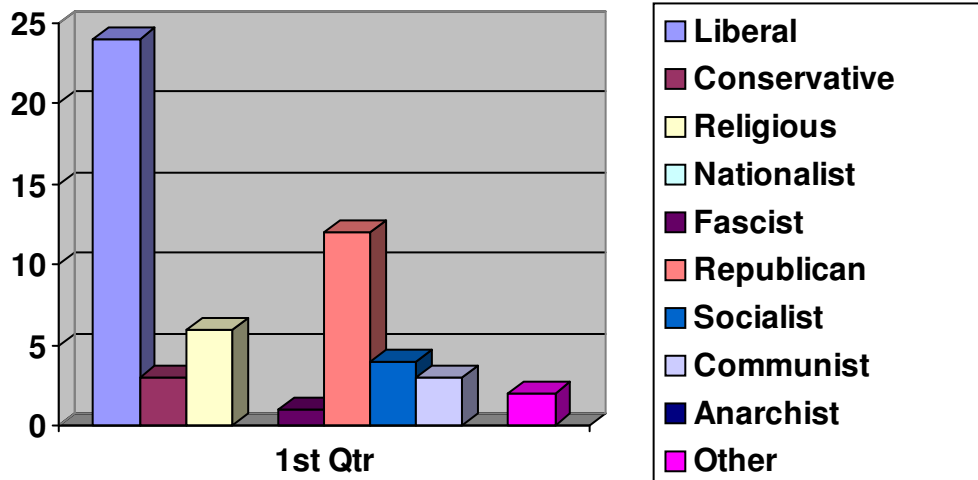


Public property is seen as the most important compared to private property.

QUESTIONNAIRE: MITROVICE: TOTAL 55

1 How do you define your political thought?

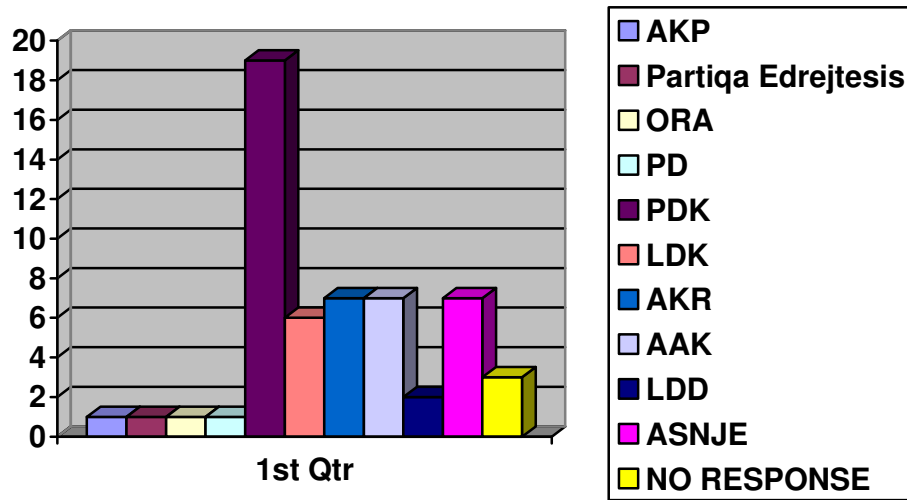
Liberal	24
Conservative	3
Religious	6
Nationalist	-
Fascist	1
Republican	12
Socialist	4
Communist	3
Anarchist	-
Other	2



Identification with liberalism is the highest score and only followed by republicanism and then religious one. A few answers also refer to socialism, conservatism and communism. There is one identification with fascism.

2 Which political party do you support?

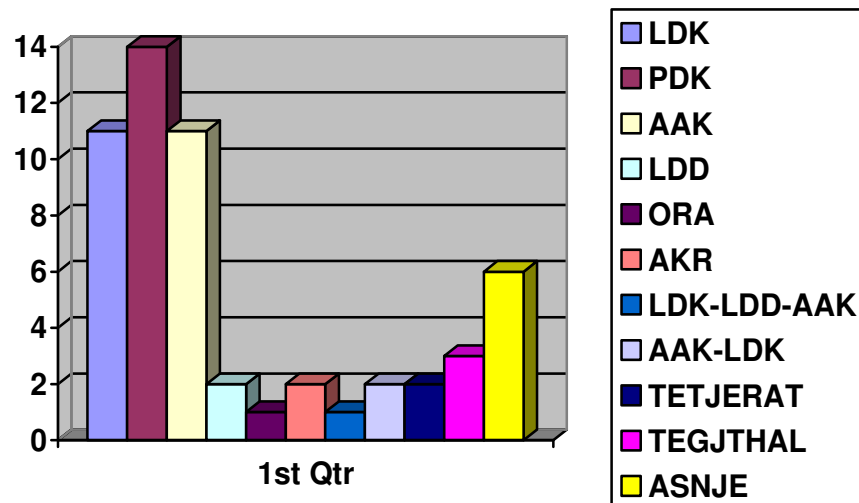
AKP 1, Partiqja Edrejtësis 1, ORA 1, PD 1, PDK 19, LDK 6, AKR 7, AAK 7, ASJE 7, LDD 2, -- 3



PDK is the most supported political party, which is balanced with the block of LDK, AKR, AAK and non-party choice. AKP, Partiqja Edrejtësis, ORA and PD occupy marginal positions.

3 Which political party do you dislike most?

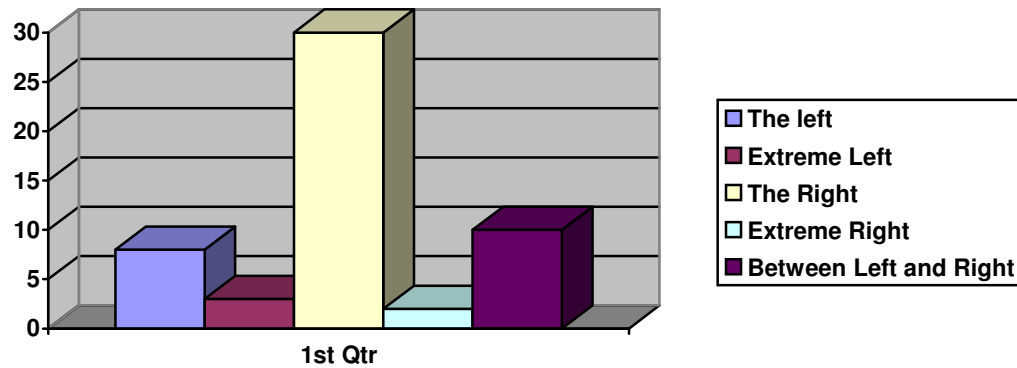
LDK 11, PDK 14, ASJE 6, AAK 10, LOD 2, ORA 1, AKR 2, LDK-LOD, AAK 1, AAK-LDK 1, AAK-LDK 1, TETJERAT 2, TEGJTHAL 3, ASNJE 6



Despite its supports seen above, PDK is also the most disliked political party before LDK and AAK. This may mean that likes and dislikes for PDK are equally divided.

4 How do you identify yourself, in the left, in the right? Or between them?

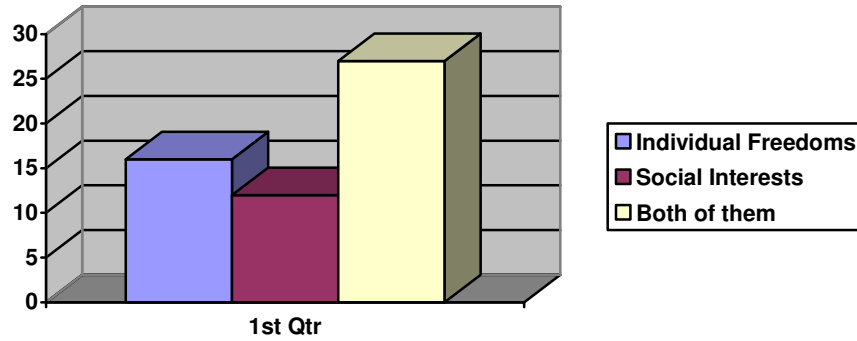
The left	8
Extreme left	3
The right	30
Extreme right	2
Between left and right	10



Identification with the right is predominantly higher and weakly balanced with the left and the between left and right. It is also seen that the left is supported by the extreme left in terms of political spectrum.

5 -Is individual freedom or social interest which comes first? Or both of them?

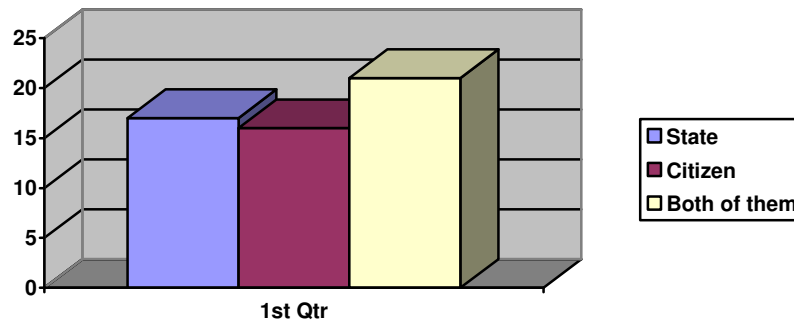
Individual freedoms	16
Social interests	12
Both of them	27



Both individual freedoms and social interests are appreciated; but individual freedoms are slightly preferred more than social interests.

6-Does the state or the citizen comes first?

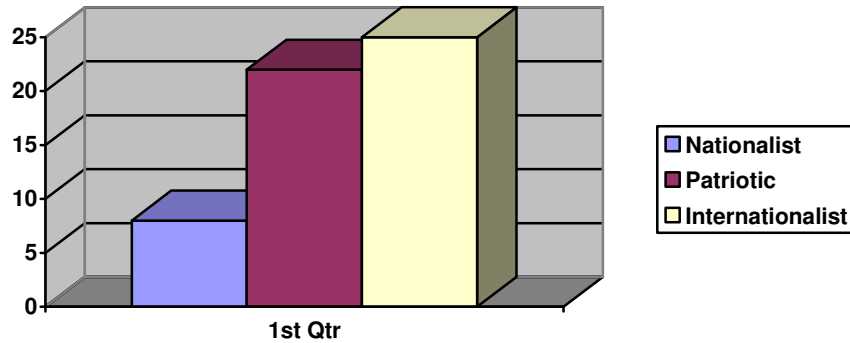
The state	17
The citizen	16
Both of them	21



Appreciation of both the state and citizenship, of state and the citizenship are nearly equally divided. It can be stated that there is a polarisation among the preferences.

7- How do you identify yourself, nationalist, patriotic, internationalist?

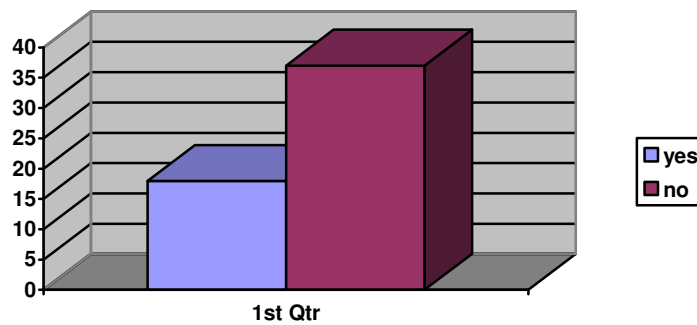
Nationalist	8
Patriotic	22
Internationalist	25



Internationalism and patriotism are predominantly high while nationalism is the least preferred attitude.

8-Should the religion and the state be separated?

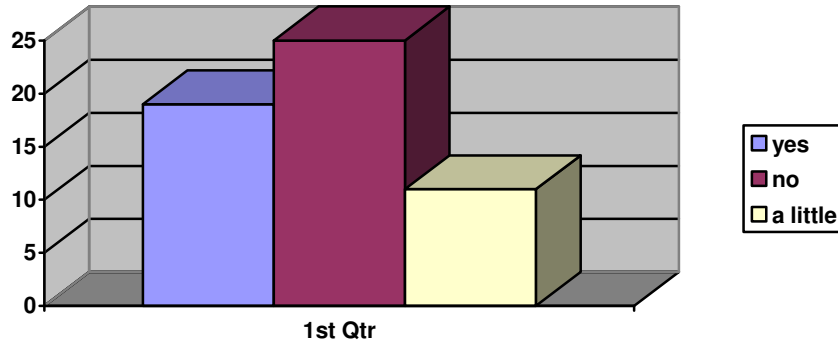
Yes	18
No	37



It is not wanted that religion and the state be separated.

9-Should the religion influence the public affairs?

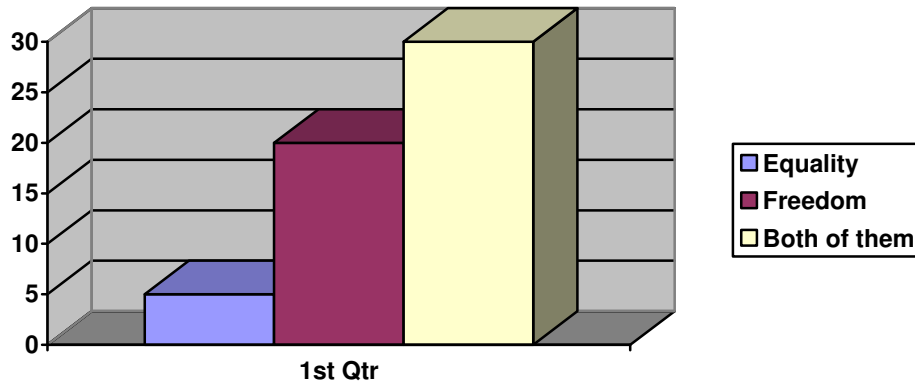
Yes	19
No	25
A little	11



Despite the above result, which means no separation wanted, large of the answer points out that religion should not influence public affairs. However, significant answers favour a religious influence over public affairs. A little portion of the answers wants a little influence of religion over public affairs.

10-Does Equality or Freedom comes first?

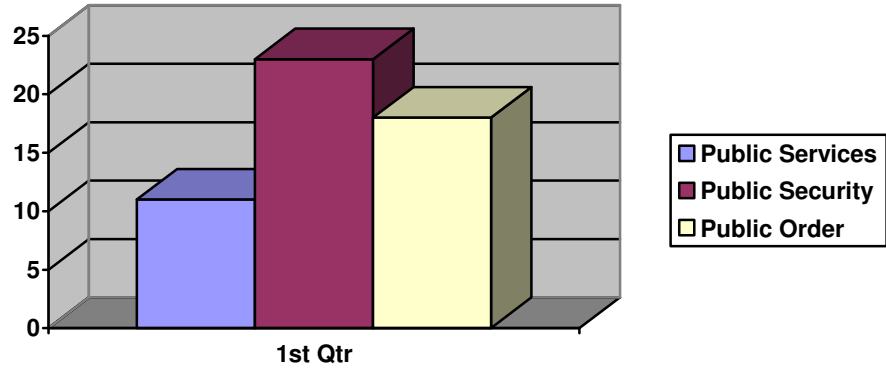
Equality	5
Freedom	20
Both of them	30



Although both freedom and equality is appreciated more than singular choices, freedom is preferred more than equality.

11-What should be the first function of the state, public service, public security, public order?

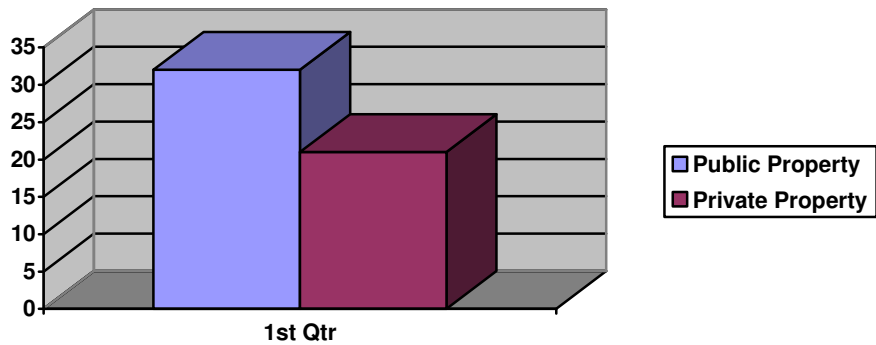
Public services	11
Public Security	23
Public Order	18



Public security is seen as the first function of the state before public order. Public services are demanded less than security and order.

12-Which is the most important, public property or private property?

Public Property	32
Private Property	21

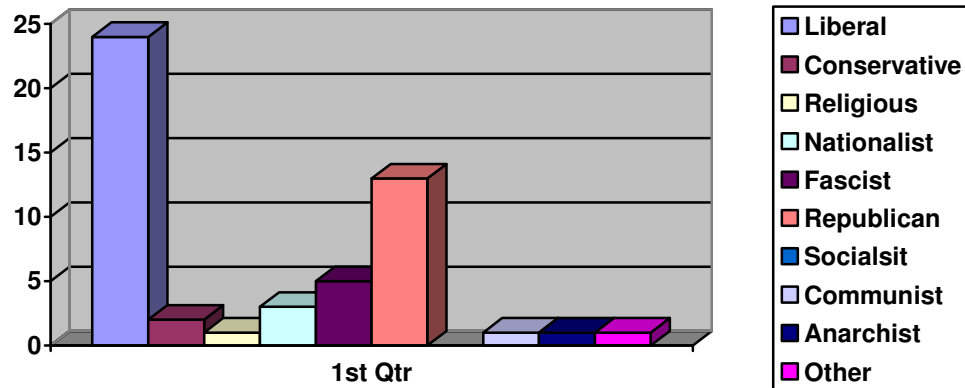


Public property is considered more important than private property.

QUESTIONNAIRE: PEJE TOTAL 51

1 How do you define your political thought?

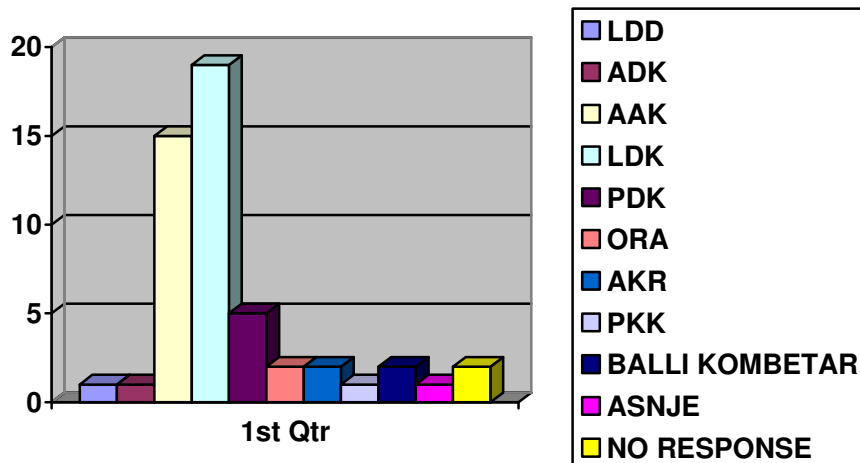
Liberal	24
Conservative	2
Religious	1
Nationalist	3
Fascist	5
Republican	13
Socialist	-
Communist	1
Anarchist	1
Other	1



Identification with liberalism is extremely high and only followed by republicanism. The fascist answers are significant apart from nationalist choices.

2 Which political party do you support?

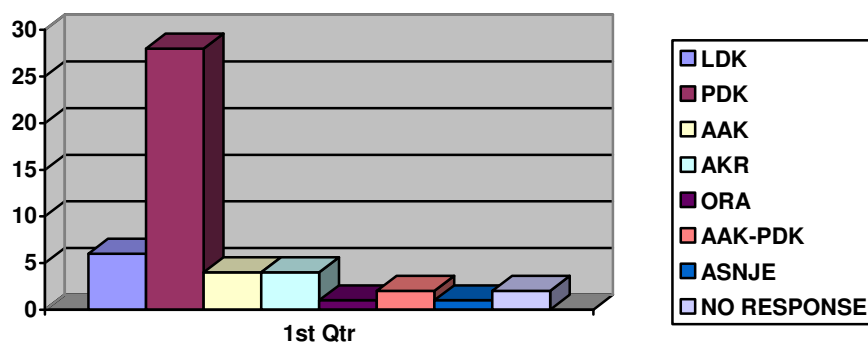
LDD 1, ADK 1, AAK 15, LDK 19, PDK 5, ORA 2, AKR 2, PKK 1, ASJE 1, BALLI KOMB 2, --2



First LDK and secondly AAK are the most liked political parties. The share of PDK is small and in the third rank.

3 Which political party do you dislike most?

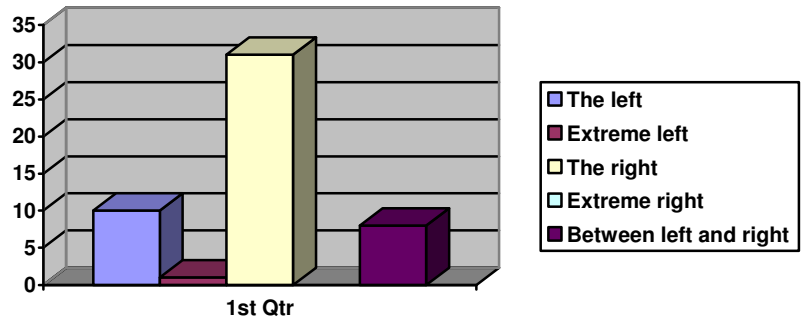
LDK 3, PDK 28, AAK 4, AKR 4, ORA 1, AAK-PDK 2, LDK 3, ASJE 1, --2



The most disliked political party is PDK. The other parties do not attract negative thought.

4 How do you identify yourself, in the left, in the right? Or between them?

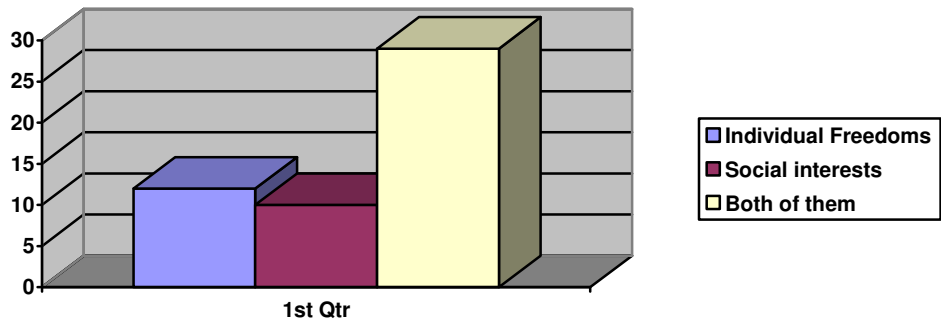
The left	10
Extreme left	1
The right	31
Extreme right	-
Between left and right	8



Identification of the answers according to the political party spectrum shows that the right is preferred most and is not balanced even with the totality of the left and the between left and right.

5 Is individual freedom or social interest which comes first? Or both of them?

Individual freedoms	12
Social interests	10
Both of them	29

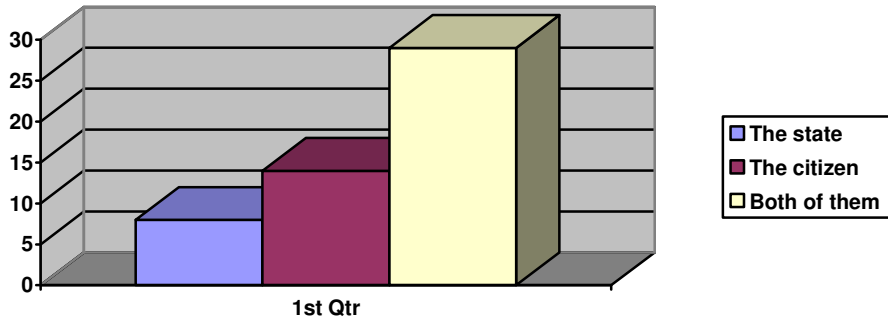


Both individual freedoms and social interests are appreciated and there is no significant difference between the choices of individual freedoms and social interests.

6 Does the state or the citizen come first?

The state	8
The citizen	14

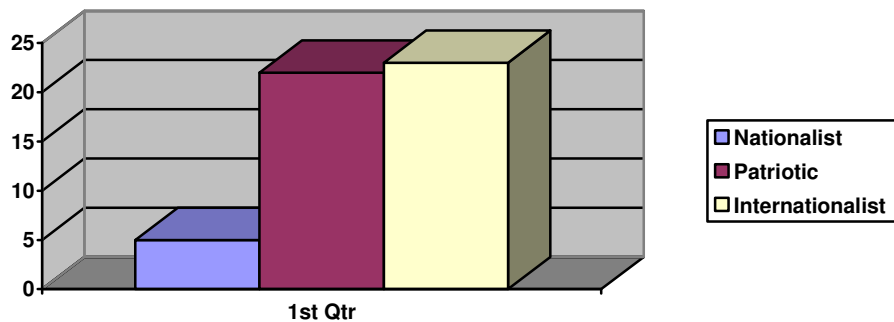
Both of them	29
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Although the citizenship is put above the state, both of them is appreciated more than single choices.

7 How do you identify yourself, nationalist, patriotic, internationalist?

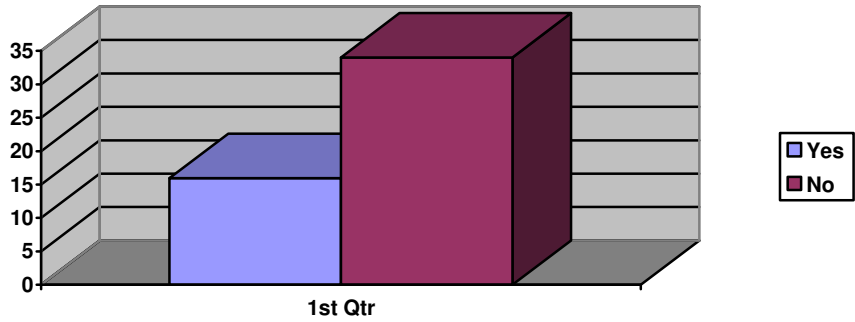
Nationalist	5
Patriotic	22
Internationalist	23



Internationalist and patriotic identification is extremely higher than nationalism.

8 Should the religion and the state be separated?

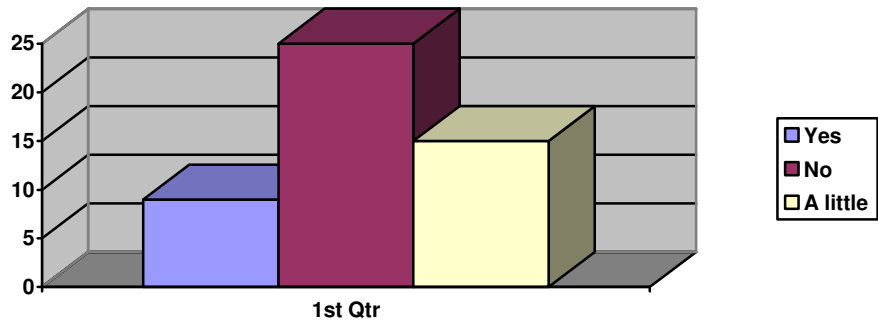
Yes	16
No	34



It is not so wanted that the state and religion and the state should be separated.

9 Should the religion influence the public affairs?

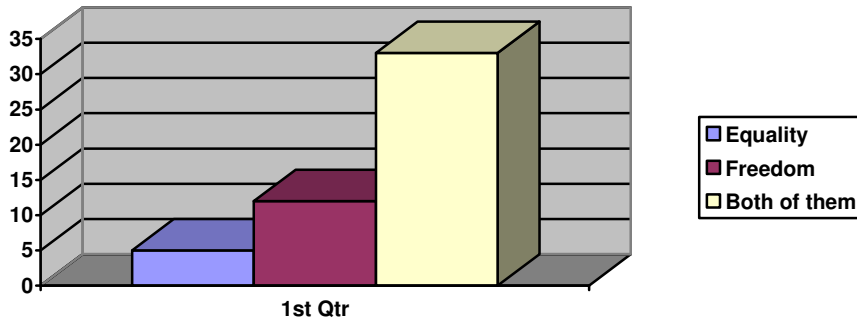
Yes	9
No	25
A little	15



However, although any strict separation id not wanted, a religious influence over public affairs is not demanded. Nonetheless, a little influence is tolerated. The minority demands no influence.

10 Does Equality or Freedom come first?

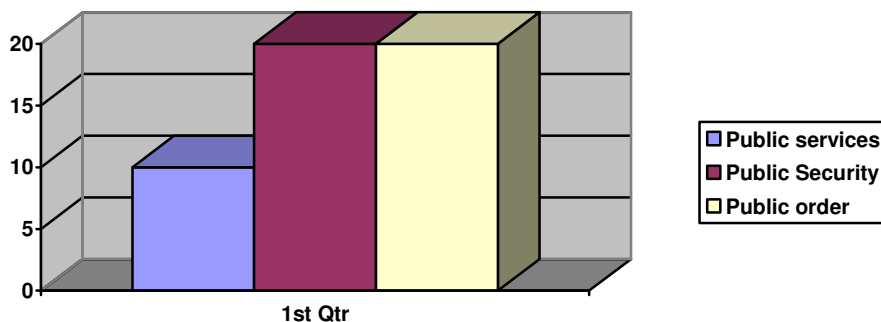
Equality	5
Freedom	12
Both of them	33



Both equality and freedom is seen as important. But equality is seen less important than freedom.

11 What should be the first function of the state, public service, public security, public order?

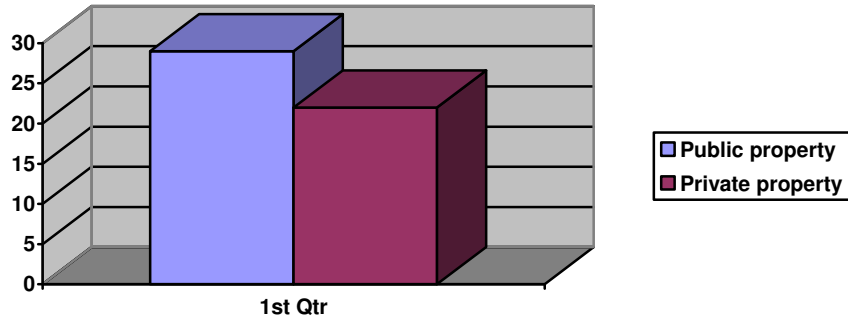
Public services	10
Public Security	20
Public Order	20



The first function of the state is defined as the provision of public security and order before public services.

12 Which is the most important, public property or private property?

Public Property	29
Private Property	22

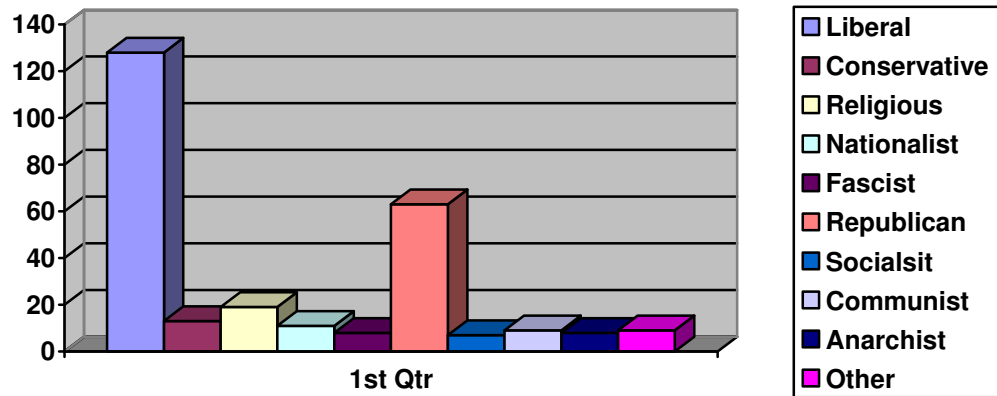


Public property is seen more important than private property.

QUESTIONNAIRE: GENERAL: TOTAL 282

1 How do you define your political thought?

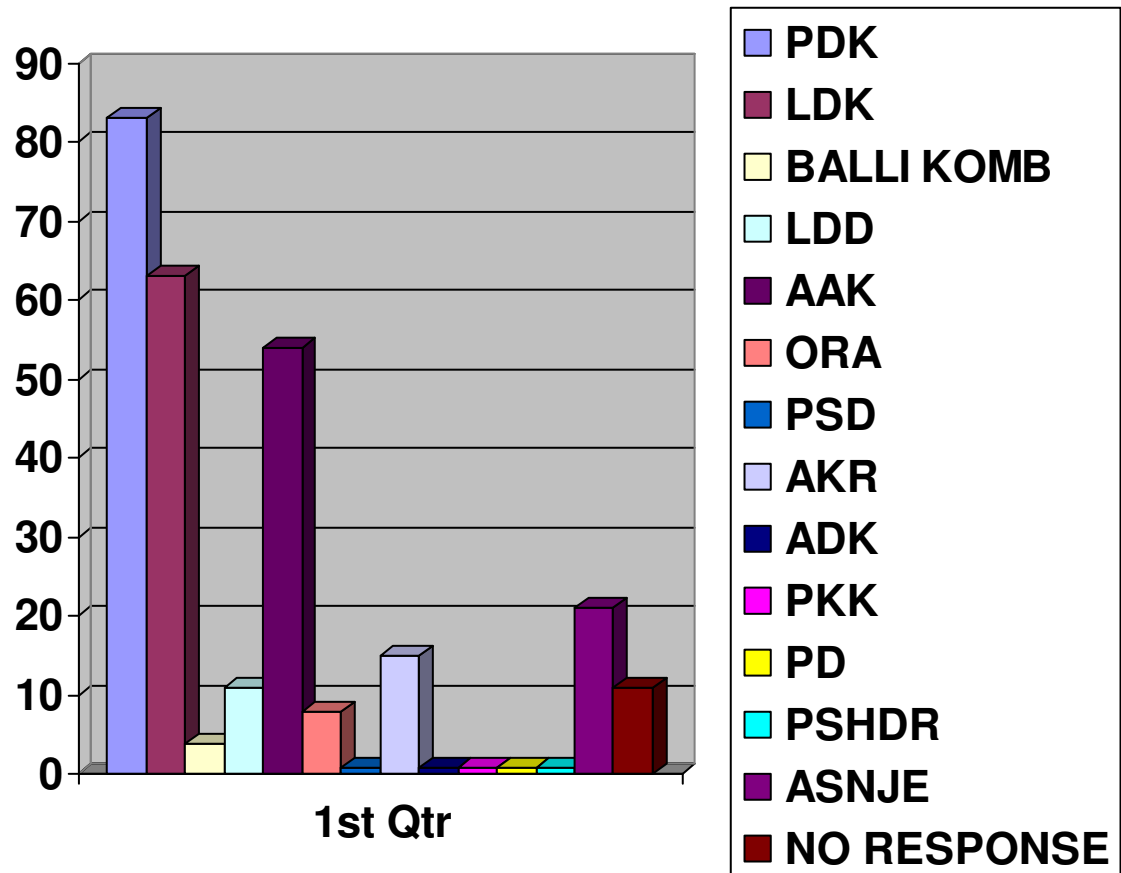
Liberal	128
Conservative	13
Religious	19
Nationalist	11
Fascist	8
Republican	63
Socialist	7
Communist	9
Anarchist	8
Other	9



It is seen that the youth of Kosovo prefer liberalism. It is followed by republicanism. Other identifications are marginal. General ideological preference shows that liberal and republican preferences are predominantly higher than other positions. Both right and left extremism is not appreciated so much. But, right side of the spectrum is more powerful than left side.

2 Which political party do you support?

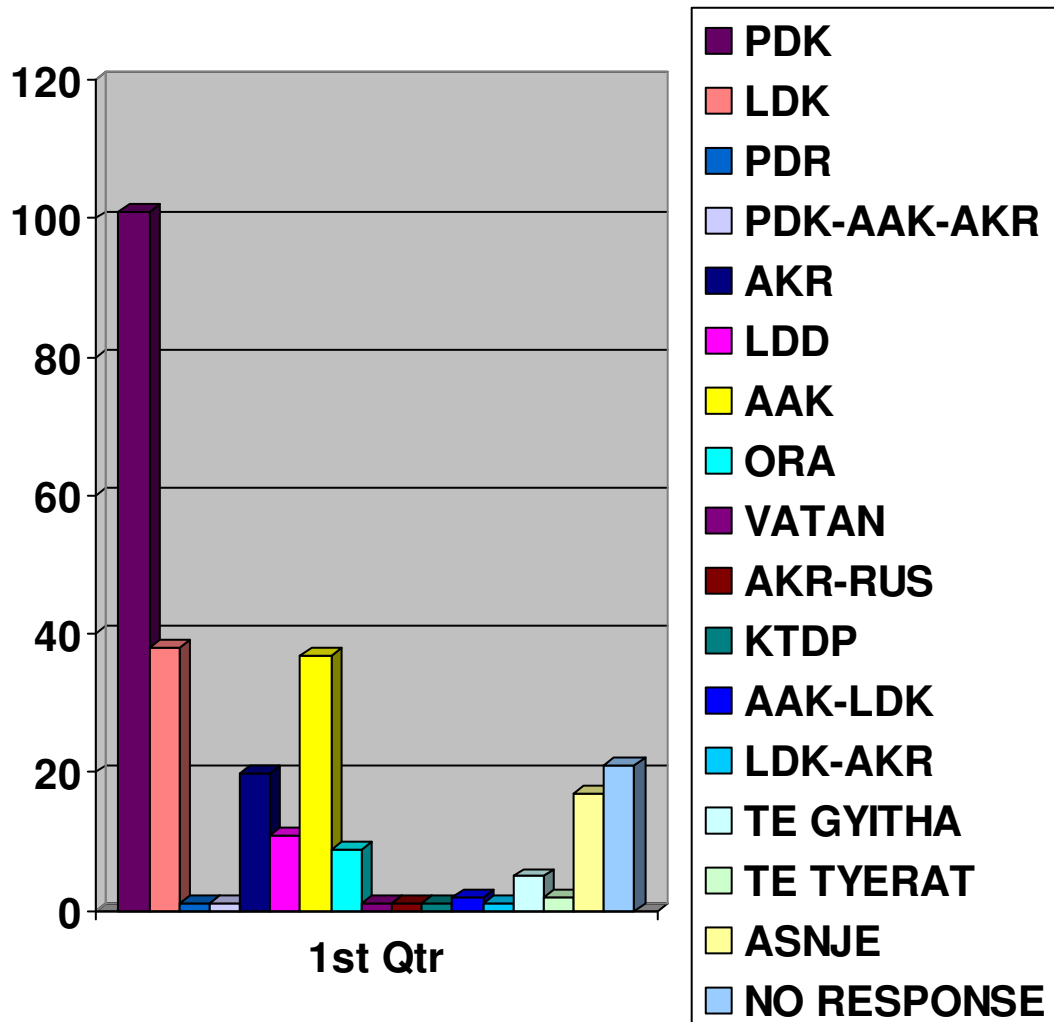
PDK; 83, LDK: 63, BALLI KOMB: 4, LDD: 11, AAK:54, ORA: 8, PSD: 1, AKR: 15, ADK: 1, PKK:1, PD: 1, PSHDR: 1, ASNJE: 21, NO RESPONSE: 11



The most supported and liked political party is PDK, which is followed by LDK and AAK. PSD, ADK, PKK, PD and PSHDR occupy marginal positions. It is seen that LDD, ORA and AKR are medium size and they are followed by BALLI KOMBITER. Both Asnje and NO response is the fourth political position.

3 Which political party do you dislike most?

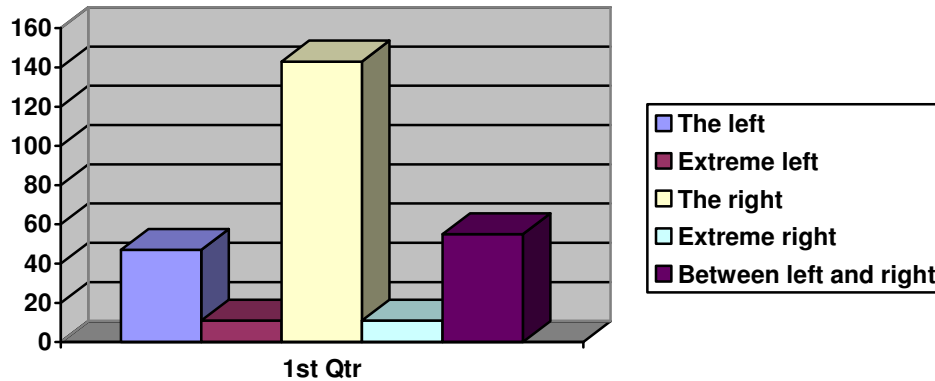
PDK: 101, LDK: 38, PDR:1, PDK-AAK-AKR: 1, AKR: 20, LDD: 11, AAK:37, ORA: 9, VATAN: 1, AKR-RUS: 1, KTDP:1, AAK-LDK: 2. LDK-AKR:1, TE GYITHA :5, TE TYERAT: 2, ASNJE: 17, NO RESPONSE: 21



The most appreciated political parties are also in turn the most disliked ones. The reason why PDK, LDK, AAK and AKR are the most liked and the most disliked parties can be explained that their supporters are equally and consciously divided among themselves and there is a polarisation among these four political parties. In fact, these parties polarise the supporters among themselves.

4 How do you identify yourself, in the left, in the right? Or between them?

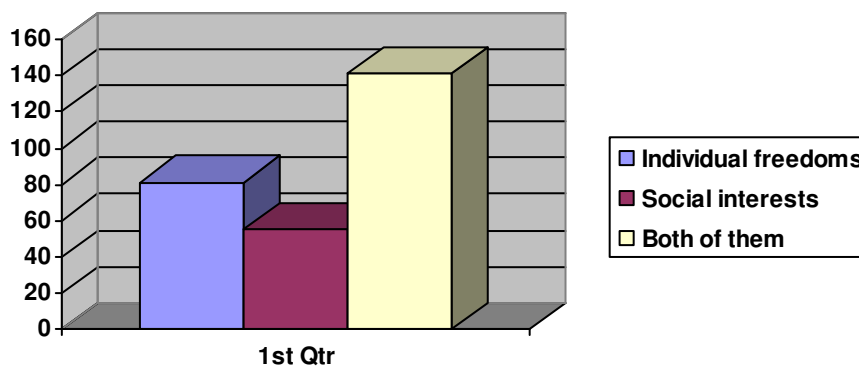
The left	47
Extreme left	11
The right	143
Extreme right	11
Between left and right	55



Predominantly liberal and republican youth also identify itself with the right in the political spectrum. The right is counterweighted with the totality of the left and the between left and right. It is also seen that extreme left and right is in the same level of power and occupy marginal positions.

5 Is individual freedom or social interest which comes first? Or both of them?

Individual freedoms	81
Social interests	55
Both of them	141

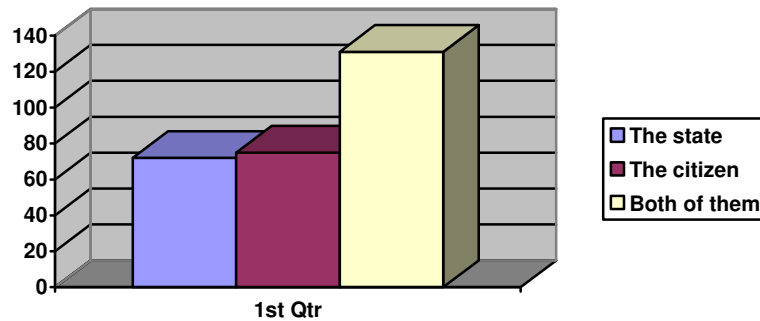


Both individual freedoms and social interests are seen as important, but the former is slightly more demanded value than the latter. Nevertheless, we can suggest that social and individual preferences are polarised. The ones who appreciate individual freedoms and the ones who prefer social interests are two big groups although a bigger group

prefers both freedom and social interests. These polarisation can be ideologically interpreted that the social democracy (freedom and social interest) comes first, liberalism (individual freedoms) second and socialism (social interests) third.

6 Does the state or the citizen come first?

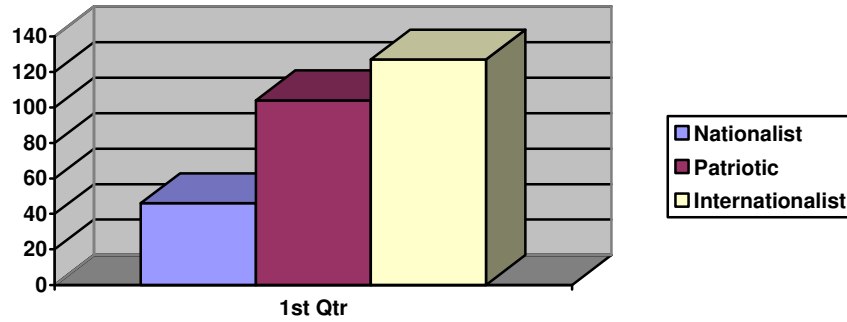
The state	72
The citizen	75
Both of them	131



In the line of above answers, it is seen that both state (corresponding to social interests) and citizenship (corresponding to individual freedoms) is appreciated. Nevertheless, again in the line of above results, the ones who see the state the most important and the ones who consider citizenship the most important are nearly equally divided. This may imply that social democratic position come first and counterweight state focused (public or socialist) or citizen (liberal, individual) focused preferences.

7 How do you identify yourself, nationalist, patriotic, internationalist?

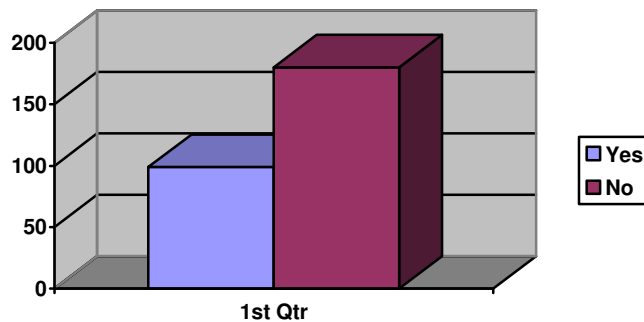
Nationalist	46
Patriotic	104
Internationalist	127



Internationalist identification is nearly two and half times larger than nationalist one. Patriotism is also two times more preferred compared to nationalism. Polarisation is realised between internationalism and patriotism. It can be suggested that Kosovo youth is open to other nations and countries and does not appreciate nationalist ideas. However, given the fact that nationalism and patriotism is closely related ideas, both nationalism and patriotism can be united and exceed internationalism. However, this is just possibility. Moreover, it can be argued that patriotism and internationalism may be a legacy of old Yugoslav official approach and a result of socialist patriotic and international policies simultaneously.

8 Should the religion and the state be separated?

Yes	99
No	180

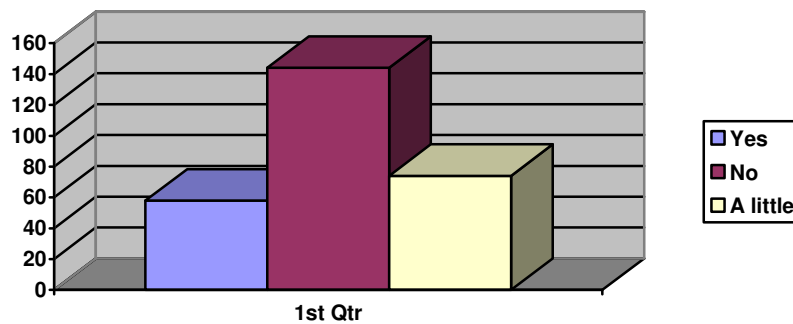


The widely accepted definition of secularism implies a separation of state and public affairs from religious considerations. Given the answers above as regards the preferences for republicanism and liberalism, it may seem contradicting that the Kosovo youth does not predominantly want a separation between the state and religion. This may suggest

three possible answers: first, the youth does not want secularism, second, the youth does not know the significance of secular division of the state from religion, or third, religion is not seen as a rival to organisation of public affairs by the state.

9 Should the religion influence the public affairs?

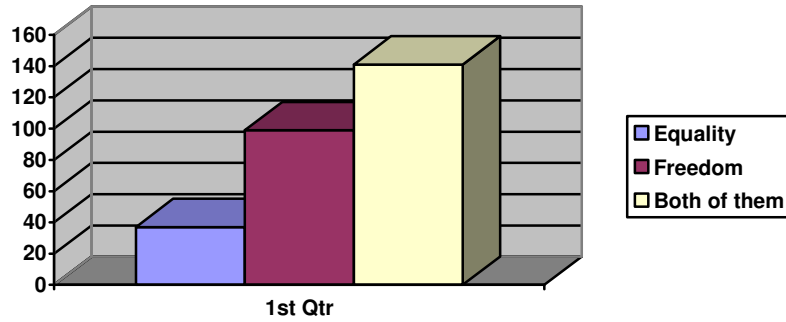
Yes 58
No 144
A little 74



In the line of above answers, the large section of youth approves a little or much influence of religion over public affairs. But larger section of the youth rejects any influence. The possible contradiction is that while the great part of youth does not want separation between the state and religion (see above), at the same time its great section does not want that the state be influenced by religion. This seeming contradiction can be interpreted in a way that religion is seen in a secular form, or religion is also secularised. Although separation is rejected, mutual influence between state and religion is also disapproved. This seeming contradiction, it can be suggested, may have caused by the fact that nation-state building process in Kosovo whose population is predominantly Muslim is closely related with formation of Kosovo identity, which has been and is being formed in a negative relationship with Serbian republic which is based on historically Christian society.

10 Does Equality or Freedom come first?

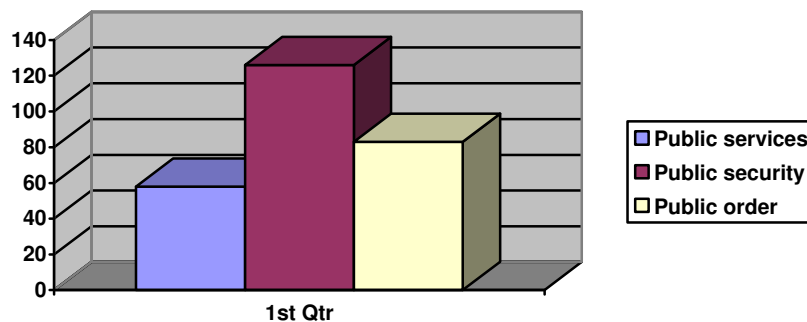
Equality 37
Freedom 99
Both of them 141



Freedom is appreciated more than equality, although both of them is preferred more than either of them. Nonetheless, seemingly social democratic line is seen here as well as a unity between freedom and equality as preferred at the same time. When one of them is asked to be preferred, however, freedom is higher value than equality. This fact may show that liberal values follow social democratic compromise between two rival values.

11 What should be the first function of the state, public service, public security, public order?

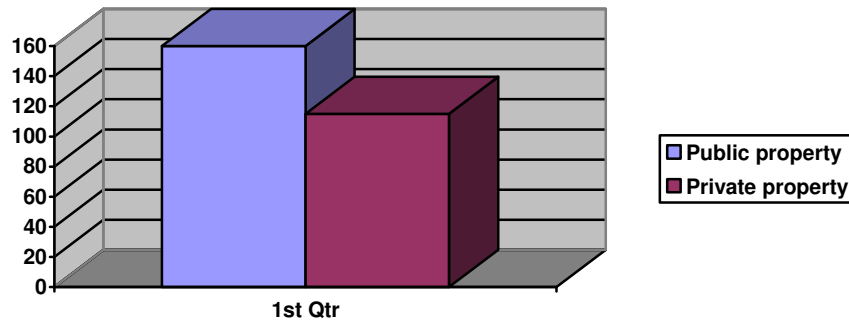
Public services	58
Public Security	126
Public Order	83



Public security is seen as the first function of the state, which is followed by the provision of public order. Public services are preferred as the most significant function by relatively a smaller group. It is logically understood that tragic secession of Kosovo from Serbia puts the security and order considerations to the highest level. However, as time passes, in the line of the above social democratic positions, public services can be demanded as much as public order and security.

12 Which is the most important, public property or private property?

Public Property	160
Private Property	115



Despite liberal identifications, a large part of Kosovo youth considers public property more important than private property. This may be explained with social-democratic tendencies. Nevertheless, Kosovo youth lives a tension between liberalism and social democracy. But this seems logical given the market oriented socialist experience of Yugoslavia in which Kosovo was an autonomous province.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCHES

The Kosovo youth demonstrates social democratic, secularist and republicanist attitudes. It puts itself as a collective entity between the two rival traditions of politics and ideology. It points to a tradition between Yugoslavian socialist and European social democracy. It prefers public property as an institution and freedom as a value, respects religious thoughts and beliefs and secularism, at the same time. It prefers a social democratic oriented political parties while rejecting ultra-nationalist right. The more striking attitudes shown is the internationalism on the contrary of possible expectations for a country that recently suffered from war and declared its independence. Nationalism is replaced by patriotism as well as internationalism. It has a powerful sense of publicness while individual freedoms are highly appreciated.

The youth of Kosovo rejects militancy, ultra-right and left, conservatism and authoritarianism. However, it demands a social democratic welfare state and society in which individual freedoms and patriotism can find a place.

AS can be expected, in terms of political behavior, the youth is polarized between the two factions originated from the Kosovo Liberation Army, between Hashim Tachi's PDK and LDK which follows Ibrahim Rugova's liberal and passivist oriented politics. As for the other political factions, the youth as a whole rejects fascist while its small part prefers socialist parties.

A new empiric research on the Kosovo Youth can be suggested to test and evaluate these results with a larger sampling and deals with new questions such as European Union, EULEX, NATO, Albania and other South Eastern European countries, The USA and should include the city of Pristina. A new research may also focus on the existing relations between the new independent republics of ex-Yugoslavia, including the prospects of Kosovo-Serbia relations.