

Kosovo's ideological compass

Evolution of party
orientation 2014-2020,
Values and Populism



Democracy for Development
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Overview

During the summer of 2020, D4D conducted a survey of the Kosovo's party officials' opinions, measuring them on 40 different topics, used to assess the ideological orientation of the four main parties in Kosovo.

The findings show that parties have not undergone major shifts. PDK and LDK remain centered and slightly to the right. Small shifts were marked by VV and AAK, which moved to the right and the left respectfully. Six years ago VV was quite a leftist party and AAK was fairly right, whereas now they are in an identical position. In general, the differences between the parties are not large.

Often the differences within the parties are greater and this proves that officials do not join parties due to its attitudes on concrete public policy issues such as the ones we measure. The proximity of activists to a party is more to do with the fact that a relative of theirs is a member or a decision-maker in that party, or due to geographical affinity, and in the past also due to their positioning during the war period, or attitudes towards the dialogue and Serbia.

The new study shows that the entire political scene has moved towards the center (from both left and right). The majority (2/3 for three parties other than the LDK still remain in the statist quadrant (left conservatives). There are almost no conservatives in terms of values and rightists in terms of economic principles. Most of the remaining one-third, who are more open about their personal values, also believe in a free market economy. The above description applies to LDK, PDK and AAK, while Vetëvendosje is left-wing economically, conservative on the issue of identity and liberal on personal freedoms. This clearly shows that concrete public policies are not determinative of party orientation and that internally the parties are as diverse as when compared to others.

Further, with all the parties placed together in one graph, the followers of one are not distinguished from those of the other ones. This paper argues that there are many like-minded people in different parties. Had we divided the officials according to their opinions, we would be able to reconstituted four homogeneous parties. In a country with principled attitudes, the parties would have become more homogeneous due to the rapprochement of activists sharing similar views.

It is not surprising that parties formed during the national liberation struggle do not display clearly defined ideologies. During the period under

international administration, political elites did not develop clear stances on important social issues. Over time, Kosovo has taken on greater responsibilities in its governance, forcing the political elite to have clearer positions on the topics from which they are challenged. Different positions and opinions confront policy-makers within and beyond party lines - thus creating a very important stimulus for the much-needed transformation.

Identifying party ideologies is very difficult in a fledgling war-torn society which is still struggling to meet its basic needs and consolidate its sovereignty. As the country faces issues seen as existential, positioning on other issues seems like a matter of luxury.

Six years ago, the D4D Institute had created a study tool with which it had measured the ideology of the parties and now it is repeating the same study with the same methodology, in order to assess whether there have been shifts within the political sentiments. While the first edition had scanned the situation, the second one assesses the evolution of these opinions.

It is natural that since the country's liberation the parties have emerged similar in ideological terms. It depends on the post-war period dynamics whether governance and politics bring about the pace at which rapprochement to their European counterparts begins. The transition has meant an inertia of the post-war narrative and local distribution of public goods. During the consolidation of democracy, some parties are transformed, some disappear, new parties emerge - this being a continuous process until each of them manages to represent a wider stable electorate, not bound geographically but by the same concerns and solutions.

In those few cases where parties have displayed ideological features, they those were more than self-designations. Their aspirations increasingly reflect the preferences to join a group of pan-European parties, and have little to do with the beliefs of their members.

I. Introduction

D4D conducted a similar study six years ago thus presenting perhaps one of the most important attempts to analyze the ideological orientation of the political scene. Previous studies had made several attempts to codify the ideological profiles of political parties in Kosovo mainly based on the self-declarations of the parties on how they see themselves. No further studies were conducted while analysts suspected that the self-declaration correctly revealed the party identity. Also, stances on concrete issues often did not match the identity proclaimed by the parties.

Both six years ago and today it remains a challenge that parties are not easily categorized due to their display of quite diverse stances. It remains important to measure the extent to which the identity proclaimed from above has really penetrated the party structures in decision-making positions even though the bottom-up identity would be more organic.

At this stage of party development, the declaration of the head of the entity or membership in pan-European alliances indicated where the leadership aspires to lead the entity. Unless challenged by membership or the presidency, this alignment can be taken as a collective target even if it does not reflect the current reality. Public debate in Kosovo is dominated by current political topics (dialogue, visas, polarization between leaders) and the lack of discussion of concrete socio-economic topics leaves it unclear as to what extent parties understand what this orientation means for a range of concrete topics.

It is not known whether the membership is unanimous with the leadership on issues not discussed publicly and those on which the parties express no stance. At this stage of the evolution of democracy, perhaps the profile dictated from above is not harmful and constitutes the beginning of this process. Parties have not yet developed effective internal democracy mechanisms, have not adequately confronted with issues imposing clear ideological stances, and continue to be led by small groups of officials. After all, clear profiling still challenges countries with a longer tradition than Kosovo.

Purpose and context

By categorizing party opinions on over 40 socio-economic topics, this paper has put two main purposes to itself. It aims to help political parties reflect on their stances on various concrete issues, assessing whether they portray internal coherence and a clear stance. If the party shown an internal coherence, then it can also manifest its stance openly, which is usually not a

feature of our parties. Likewise, the paper seeks to inform the public and the associations representing citizens with similar interests to assess which of the political parties is closest to their interests.

The parties do not seem to show any organized incentive to take clear stances on controversial issues, let alone define their ideology. Due to the successive political crises, even the self-declarations that were previously part of the discourse, have now ceased. Kosovo should wait for another political dynamics, perhaps after the dialogue with Serbia, so that the political leaders can try to turn the ideological label into concrete instructions for the positioning on concrete issues.

Even when the orientation debate resumes, it will not depend only on the leadership, but on the real attitudes of influential officials. This study therefore seeks to analyze the views of a wider circle of party officials and activists. Attitudes and their change over time are important to understand the transition and gradual transformation of parties - from being tools of the groups that have established parties to representing a stable base of voters with common interests rather than geographically concentrated ones.

A distinct and consistent party profile would also provide effective guidance and contribute to party discipline. In any country with a new democracy, legitimacy stems from leaders, especially when they are their own founders. Yet, over time, some of the leaders die or leave politics, other influential officials change parties, and new leaders, without the political weight of being the founders, fill in the vacuum created. Over the years, even voters who remember the party due the mythicized name of their founder, die and instead, young people reach the age to vote. Young people then have more practical criteria on who they will vote for.

Parties benefited from the definition also because transitions from one party to another become rarer. Now an activist passes easily because the connection is with the leader - and an activist is easily demoralized and can personalize the relationship with the leadership. This is one of the reasons why Kosovo has such a polarized politics, as politics becomes personal.

An individual who defends, say, individual freedom policies can hardly join a party that does not fit their views. While ideology would strengthen party discipline, consistency of thought could limit the freedom of action of individual leaders and strengthen internal party democracy.

Given the gradual evolution of political parties in Kosovo and the many transitions from one party to another, this period is an ideal stage for a more detailed analysis of issues and to create a more accurate picture of the opinion of the most influential people.

Our initial hypothesis was that the average ideological coordinates within each party do not differ much from one party to another. Parties are pragmatic so the distribution of individuals fluctuates across the ideological

spectrum - so there is no support for any position on specific political issues. When political parties proclaim an ideological denomination or designation, they rather reflect the desire of their higher leaders on how they wish their party to be seen from the outside.

Methodology

Following an in-depth study of ideologies in other countries, the first study had created a tool specifically for Kosovo. Ideological orientation is specific to each country and no standard tool can be employed. A tailor-made questionnaire was then compiled which was used to interview senior officials of the four main parties.

The initial methodology was developed for the classification of ideological orientation, by conducting opinion polls with 40 senior officials of each of the four main parties. The questionnaire did not ask open-ended questions about ideological tendencies, but asked 40 specific questions on a range of issues. Each answer corresponds to a system of points, which is then presented in a diagram.

For each question several options are presented as answers. Subsequently, the questions (and answers) were modified to fit the context of Kosovo. Each possible answer is assigned a numeric value, from -10 (very leftist or conservative) to +10 (right or liberal).

About 100 interviews were conducted with middle and senior officials of four political parties (VV: 24; LDK: 21; PDK: 21; AAK: 24). It would be ideal for the sample to be as large as possible, but pandemic conditions have made this difficult. In the future, the project can be replicated by finding ways to realize larger samples and perhaps even make more detailed comparisons within each body depending on age, location, etc. It was planned to interview NISMA officials and activists but the cooperation was not sufficient to achieve a critical minimum mass of questionnaires.

The responses to the survey served as a guide to place Kosovo party activists on the ideological spectrum. The numbers corresponding to each answer were coded in the diagram, based on the average numerical value of their results. The sum of the answers of each participant in the survey was summarized in an overall result, which was also presented in the diagram. This presentation helped us to define the ideology of each political party, first for each issue (see one-dimensional diagrams) and then for the party as a whole.

After six years the same questionnaire was used. Although some questions may be less current, the main relevance of the study is right now when we can compare the trend from a time distance.

The methodology is explained in detail in the first study, and will be briefly explained here. Since not all questions have the same importance, each question is assigned a certain weight which was discussed with over 30 experts in various fields.

The answers to each question contributed to measuring the coordinates of each participant along each of the two axes, the economic one (horizontal axis) and the political / social one (vertical axis). In the first edition one will find the list of questions with the weight which was used to calculate the points for the graphs of political parties.

II. Clear stance consolidates democracy

The historical period when most political parties were established in Kosovo coincides with the process of liberation and state-building. The assumption has been that with the achievement of independence, Kosovo would turn to the development agendas. But Serbia continues to challenge independence, preventing recognition by many states. Consequently, one of the biggest priorities continues to be the consolidation of sovereignty, causing politics to continue to focus around some existential priorities. The previous study concluded that "

This lack of ideological identity can only be explained given the fact that political parties in Kosovo were established during the liberation efforts. Parties were formed by groups that were mobilized during the war or resistance, and which were united by geography, profession or family ties."

Kosovo is developing its democratic tradition and a large part of the procedures have been established. But the deepening of democracy hardly comes only from the procedures because it requires internalization of the logic of democracy as part of everyday life but also when the procedures prove to be valid in important moments. The opposition sees that its task is to be against the government, regardless of the quality of the decisions. The government wants to have enough numbers to defeat the opposition, consequently political parties do not try to reach consensus no matter how important the issue is on the agenda. Polarization, deadlock, and political crises have deepened further, and the parliamentary majority often relies on very small parties to secure numbers that have brought in poor ministerial qualities.

There are many reasons why an individual joins a party - proximity to the leader, the likelihood that the party will win the election - but proximity to the program (and whether the individual has the same opinion on public policy issues) is still not usually the primary reason. Voters' preferences for major issues are not properly communicated to political parties, which does not push parties to create clear platforms.

The path of development of Kosovo parties to create consistency in their attitudes is closely related to the path of Kosovo politics towards modernization. As basic needs (for roads, water, sanitation) are met, the promises that Kosovars in rural areas expect to be fulfilled are less related to geographical boundaries. The same thinking, connecting young Kosovars, is to do with profession, gender, hobby, ethnicity or age group. This paves the

way for every MP to target voters of specific profiles throughout Kosovo, which is made possible by the fact that Kosovo is a single constituency.

The paper further concludes that:

“Parties gather an equal part of individuals with leftist, liberal, or nationalist tendencies, because these inclinations were not at all a criterion for their initial approximation. Most parties were founded before the country had a democratic regime and also before distinct socio-economic groups began to emerge, which come together to defend a well-defined interest in the ballot box or in the legislature.”

Until recently, politicians relied heavily on obtaining votes from a given geographical area, reflecting a loyalty to structures based on friendships and family ties. However, it is important to identify features of political culture that could encourage voters to identify politicians who share their views regardless of their geographical background.

Evolutionary development towards further political parties' profiling was further delayed because Kosovars did not govern the country for the most of the post-war period. For a long time Kosovo was administered by the international community, which deprived the political elite from governing the country - and this non-participation in governance spared local elected politicians from the need to position themselves on specific political issues.

The study of the first six years aimed to supplement the previous studies with a new segment. To fill the above identified gap, the study measured the opinions of influential individuals within each party. The assumption was that the collective dissemination of opinions presents a more realistic indicator of where a political party stands, and what voting trend their representatives in the legislature might expect to have.

Creating a party profile is closely linked to another process, that of the developing of interest groups, while traditionally Kosovo politicians have gained support in geographical regions related to basic unmet needs, employment and nepotism as the three main phenomena associated with local politics. With the consolidation of democracy and the advancement of the media, candidates can increase support by appealing to principled positions and not just to specific geographical support.

Geographically dispersed groups (eg association of the blind, etc.) should lobby with party activists to achieve their goals. As they elect their representatives to the Assembly who express their priorities, it can also be expected that politics in the Assembly, in the offices of political parties and behind the scenes begin representing the main groups of voters. The findings presented in this report help to better understand the degree of proximity of opinions and may encourage parties to be more explicit in the stances they advocate.

With increasingly independent governance, decision-makers have to make decisions on difficult issues, which forces them to be clearer about their positions on certain issues. The more issues the country faces, the easier it becomes to notice if decisions are coherent over time.

One of the reasons for this study is that clarifying the ideological profile promotes better governance and increases competition within and beyond the party lines.

Clear attitudes necessarily bring to the fore internal differences and encourage transitions beyond party lines. Such a series of principled transfers may encourage the much-needed transformation of the political scene, where friendship no longer serves as a glue to keep political parties together but is replaced by political consistency. The more parties and individuals who express their opinion, who vote in the assembly, who openly declare themselves on various issues, eventually leave one party to join another, the more new parties that are formed, new voters who decide for themselves which party to join, the more we can say that some degree of transformation has taken place (first edition).

Our political scene is largely consumed by dialogue and EU integration issues, both being processes that do not encourage ideological differences. The first has to do with existential issues in state-building and the second is a process that is seen as quite technical and with concrete achievements which are not brought out by the local debate but where we should move towards the goals set in advance by the EU. The perception is that European integration is relatively technical and the laws "do not call for debate as the advanced European countries have already made the same decision".

The low level of development and the desire for progress towards the EU also present reasons for early ideological non-profiling because the impression is created that development has a certain direction and that there is no room for different opportunities which require debate and positioning. The last edition had concluded:

"It seems that an increasing number of elected officials are realizing the need to reformulate their core priorities and retain their voters based on the political choices they make. Parties with genuine objectives (whether ideologically consistent or not) would support the interests of certain groups as opposed to sporadic policies that certainly advance the interests of party leaders and their clan networks. Parties can grow and gain new voters if they make it easier for them to hold their representatives accountable for their performance in implementing these policies."

Kosovo's democracy needs to advance in order for an MP to be accountable to voters rather than their own party leader. Narrow interest groups often help in the election of MPs, but when large interest groups with members everywhere have their own MP, this leads to greater protection of the citizens' interests. More dynamic communication between well-organized associations and MPs with specific positions can improve the quality and participation in policy development.

This dynamics only works if the ideological profile is clear and as a result, political parties will be more accountable to different issues and to certain groups of voters.

The following section makes a comparison of the parties' responses to 40 specific topics which are also used to present the parties' orientation in the diagram in the next chapter. Another novelty of this edition is the analysis of the distribution of answers (with standard deviation) and the analysis of the mean not only of the parties but of the whole political spectrum.

III. The impact of populism in Kosovo

The trajectory of democratic development globally has stagnated in recent years. International reports and indices including Democracy in Retreat (Freedom House) and Democracy Facing Global Challenges (Varieties of Democracy Institute, V-Dem) highlight a global trend of declining quality of democracy and rising democratic liberalism.

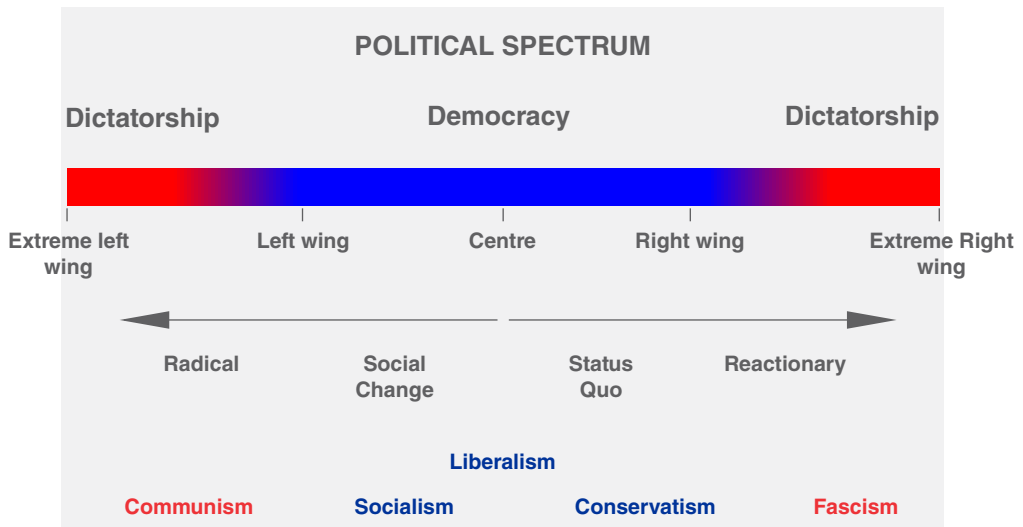
This phenomenon has also affected the European continent and EU member states. The deteriorating quality of democracy has created a political vacuum and an opportunity for populist parties. As a result, Europe has experienced a new wave of populism and a return to public discourse of the old aggressive xenophobic and racist logic, but also of 'anti-elite' and 'anti-system' rhetoric, thus shaking the foundations of European democracy. Populists create polarities in their societies by creating marked divisions between "the people" and "the elites", and attribute to themselves the right to speak on behalf of the people. According to Cas Mudde, author of *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*, populism is defined by the idea that the society is divided into two groups which are in conflict with each other: 'clean people' and the 'corrupt elite'.

However, the populists' approach is not always the same. Populism is characteristic of many political entities, but is more pronounced in the extreme left and right. Left-wing populists focus more on socio-economic problems such as poverty and inequality, while right-wing populists focus on socio-cultural concepts such as nationalism, religion and immigration. A comparative and determining factor is the fact that right-wing populists create marked divisions in society, calling for ethno-nationalist and homogeneous states and at the same time demonizing ethnic and religious minorities.

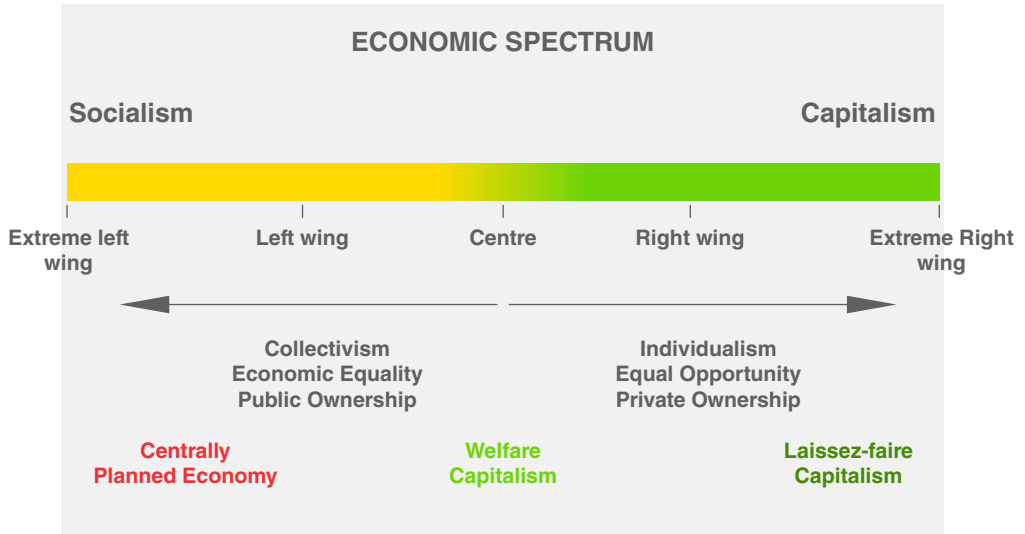
Kosovo as the newest state in the region is fragile to populism. Populism negatively affects by degrading the country's public discourse and creating divisions in society. Lack of ideological profiling, lack of clear political program, lack of internal party democracy, submission to the leader and militancy are some of the factors that affect the electorate and consequently Kosovo as a society. Also, the poor level of education in Kosovo creates opportunities for political parties, which can exploit various crises in the country for political advancement.

IV. One-dimensional ideological orientation and party attitudes to specific problems

Spektri politik është portretizuar përmes modeleve të ndryshme në kohë të ndryshme, duke filluar nga modeli njëdimensional i krijuar nga Parlamenti i pas Revolucionit të Francës. Thelbi i studimit tonë janë pikërisht diagramet njëdimensionale, duke e përdorur shkallëzimin tradicional ekonomik dhe social. Më poshtë paraqitet modeli social (M kah D, më pak liri individuale deri te më shumë liri individuale) dhe modeli ekonomik (M kah D, ekonomi e kontrolluar deri te kapitalizëm i tregut të lirë).



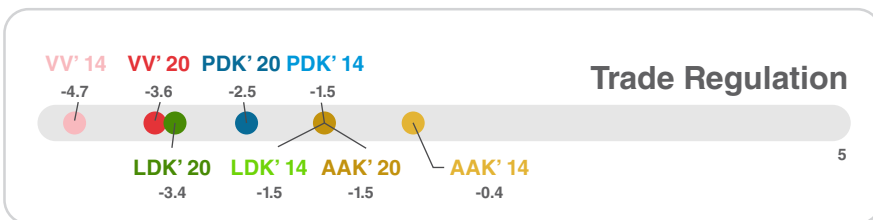
Another one-dimensional spectrum is the economic model taken from the same source. Two-dimensional models come as a combination of these two models, on two different axes. The rest of this chapter compares the average responses from each party according to specific questions, for 2014 and 2020. The average of each party for 2020 is presented in dark colors and full points, while the data for 2014 are presented in a lighter shade and the point is not complete.



Economic topics

The Kosovar political scene generally takes place on the left side of the center in terms of economic and fiscal priorities. There is a movement to the right of VV on economic issues, although it still remains the most left-wing party in the Kosovar spectrum. In 2014, the AAK was the most right-wing party in economic terms but has significantly moved to the left. PDK and LDK are now the most right-wing parties in their positions.

1. Free trade and the role of the state



Five years ago most of VV's responses revolved around the answer that "the authorities should regulate the market to a great extent" and now a response has moved to the right where most of the responses now focus on the fact that the authorities should regulate the market in a significant way for a degree to the right.

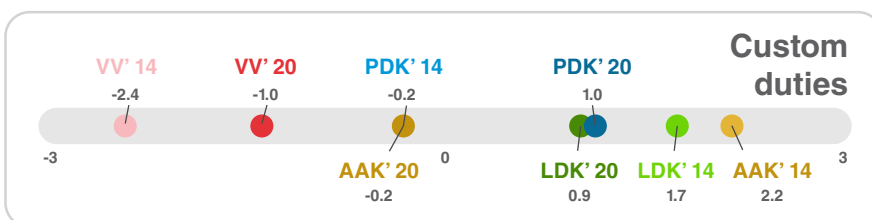
The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Trade Regulation	-2.0	-2.7	←

The most right-wing entity 5 years ago, the AAK, has moved from responding that government involvement restricts trade closer to responding that authorities should intervene only to stabilize the economy. LDK is now in this part of the spectrum while PDK is inbetween them.

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Trade Regulation	4.9	5.2	←

It is noticeable that the whole political spectrum has moved slightly to the left (from -2 to -2.7) which is also a global trend and that the answers are somewhat more scattered in 2020.

2. Custom duties

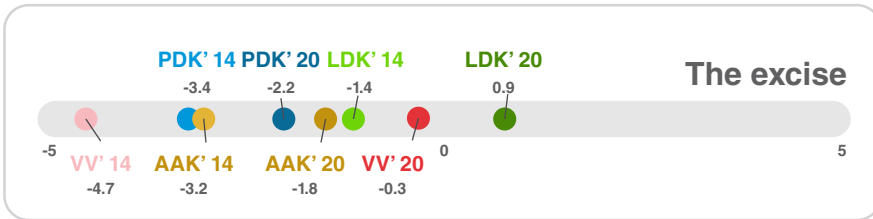


One of the questions to determine the ideological orientation in terms of the economy is related to customs duties and asks whether the customs tax should be increased, reduced or remain the same. Five years ago, VV favored slight tax increases and now favors keeping them at the current level. AAK favors slight tax increases while LDK and PDK favor keeping the taxes as they are now.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Custom Duties	0.3	0.2	=

Although there have been movements in parties' results, it is noted that the average of all parties has remained in the same place. The answer of 0.2 is between the answers that the 10% customs tax should remain as it is (-1) and the answer that the customs tax should remain as it is now but be reduced sometime later (+1).

3. The excise



Six years ago, VV officials advocated excise tax increases and now only support their use to discourage certain types of behavior by imposing higher excise taxes. AAK and PDK are more to the left than VV at this point while LDK, although supporting the use of excise to some extent, is also reluctant because it brings complications in the tax code.

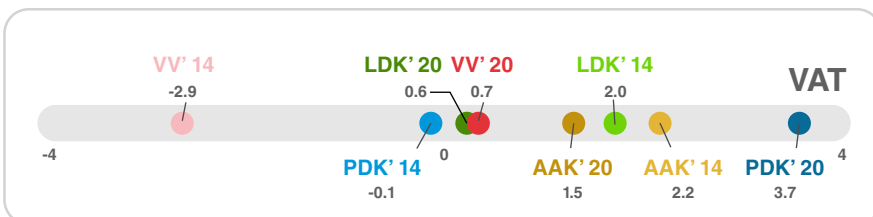
The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
The excise	-3.1	-0.9	→

It is noticed that the whole political spectrum has moved to the right, i.e. where there is lower support for the use of excise than before. The 0.9 answer is slightly to the left of the 0 value answer which claims: "The excise duty should be used to discourage certain types of behavior (smoking, alcohol)."

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
The excise	5.3	6.7	←

The answers are extremely scattered proving there are differences of opinion among the respondents of political entities.

4. The VAT



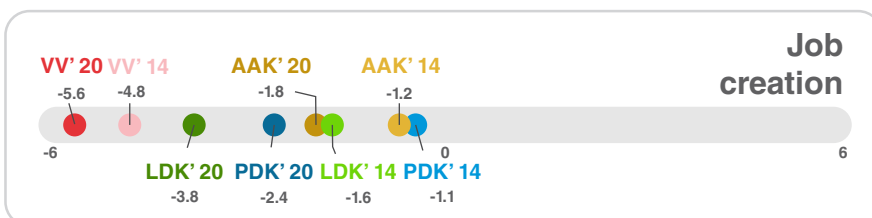
Even in the use of VAT there is a movement in the entire spectrum to the right, VV shifting from -2.9 to 0.7, PDK from -0.1 to 3.7, while LDK and AAK have moved from the right to the center. Now LDK and VV are at the same value that corresponds most closely to the answer that "cutting expenditures should improve the economy, but the increase in VAT should be taken into account" while PDK is closer to the answer that the increase in VAT will weaken the economy, which in turn will create a lower standard of living."

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
VAT	0.3	1.6	→

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
VAT	4.6	3.9	→

With regards to the VAT the opinion has shifted to the right (1.6) where the willingness to further raise the VAT has decreased. Now the mean of all responses is closer to the answer that VAT increase should not be considered and that additional revenues should be generated only by cutting costs. Opinions have been approximated and now there are fewer differences in opinions than six years ago.

5. Job creation



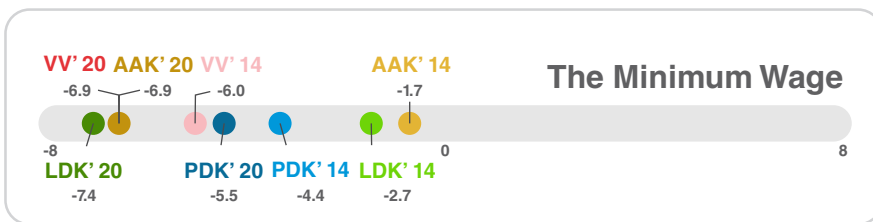
In terms of job creation, the perception that the state has significant responsibilities for job creation in cooperation with the private sector has increased in almost all parties, and there is movement to the left of the entire spectrum.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Job creation	-2.2	-3.4	←

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Job creation	5.1	5.3	←

All parties, with VV leading, have shifted towards the left, followed by LDK, PDK and AAK.

6. The Minimum Wage



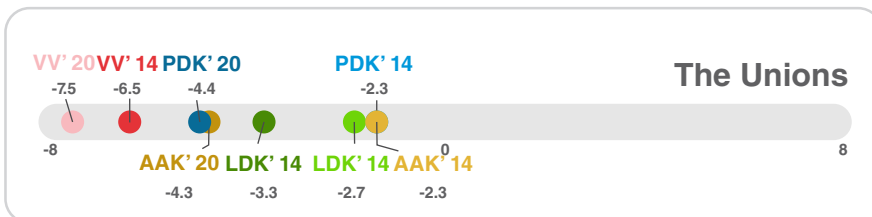
Even in terms of the minimum wage there is movement in the entire political spectrum to the left. For LDK, VV and AAK, the minimum wage should be equal to that of neighboring countries and apply to the public sector. PDK favours a minimum wage that provides a good life for the public and private sector, for a nuance closer to the center compared to other parties.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
The minimum wage	-3.7	-6.7	←

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
The minimum wage	4.5	4.9	←

For the minimum wage the political spectrum has moved to the left with a readiness for a higher minimum wage. Also, the variety of answers has increased.

7. The Unions



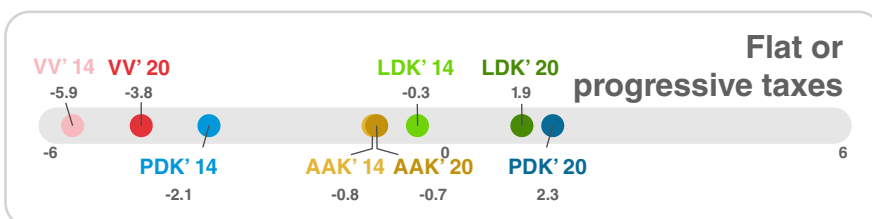
VV still favors strong unions which can negotiate on behalf of their members in both the public and private sectors. LDK and PDK support strong unions for the public sector, while AAK supports strong unions to protect workers' rights and interests in the workplace and is closer to the center than other parties.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
The unions	-4.2	-4.1	=

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
The unions	4.4	3.4	→

Opinions about unions are almost the same now as they were 6 years ago (from -4.2 to -4.1). The mean of all responses is now closest to answer (-4) which states "Unions strong enough to negotiate on behalf of their members, only for the public sector". There are now even fewer divergences in responses which are more homogeneous not only with regards to the mean but the distribution of responses is smaller too.

8. Flat or progressive taxes?



Parties have moved to the right towards flat taxation in general (from -2.3 to -0.1). VV still supports progressive taxation while LDK and PDK support flat taxation.

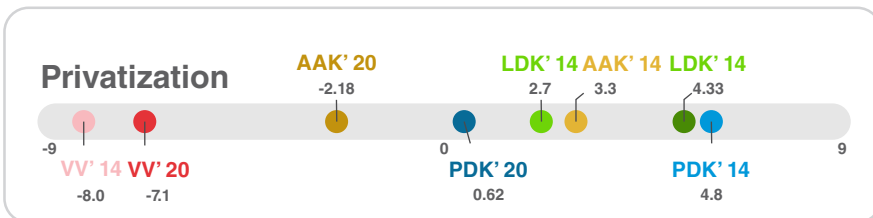
The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Flat or progressive taxes	-2.3	-0.1	→

The mean of 0.1 is between the answer (-1) that higher taxes should be imposed on the rich to maintain a stable economy, and the answer (+1) that lower taxes for the poor can weaken the economy.

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Flat or progressive taxes	4.4	3.4	→

The distribution of individual responses has declined which means that an established opinion is gradually being formed.

9. Privatization



VV continues to take a stand against most forms of privatization in Kosovo, but other parties have also moved to the left of the response spectrum, with the exception of the LDK which has moved to the right.

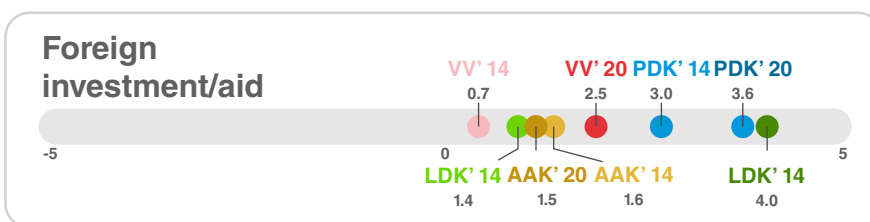
The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Privatization	0.7	-1.1	←

AAK is closest to the answer against privatization with concession but not against other forms, PDK is against privatization with spin-off but not against others while LDK has moved to the right, in support of most ways of privatization.

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Privatization	4.8	3.3	→

Taken as a whole, the political spectrum has moved slightly to the left and the totality of responses is more homogeneous than before.

10. Foreign investment/aid



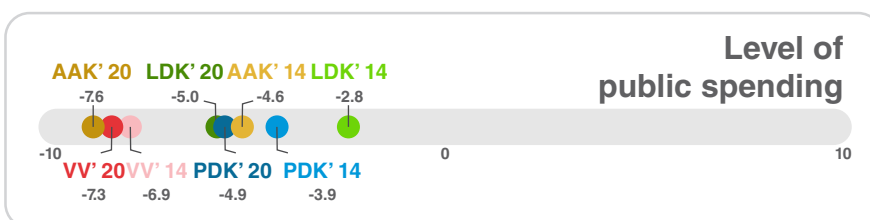
Over time, the political spectrum has become more open to foreign capital (2.9 compared to 1.7 earlier) and now all entities see it as a positive thing. PDK and LDK see foreign capital as a positive effect that will help Kosovo build a strong economy while VV and AAK see it as positive only if accompanied by a strong local economy.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Foreign investment/aid	1.7	2.9	→

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Foreign investment/aid	4.0	4.6	←

The political elite is more open to foreign capital now (2.9 compared to 1.7) than before, but the differences in individual opinions are greater.

11. Level of public spending



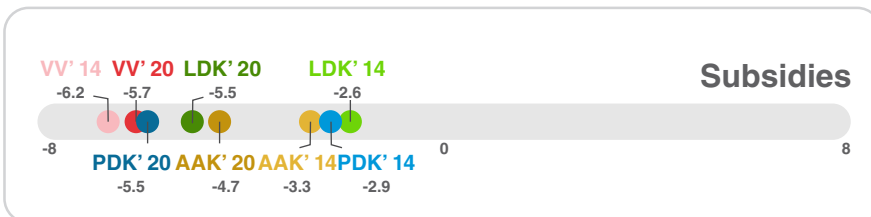
In addition to the consolidation of the state and public discourse, the feeling that Kosovo should increase defense spending was also expected. Although even 6 years ago all parties favoured higher spending on defense, all parties have moved towards spending even more, by 1-3 points. AAK and VV are the loudest for higher spending while LDK and PDK are less and the same ranking was observed 6 years ago.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Level of public spending	-4.5	-6.2	←

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Level of public spending	4.0	4.6	=

The political spectrum has a more pronounced opinion now than 6 years ago that public spending should increase significantly, at least for the defense sector.

12. Subsidies



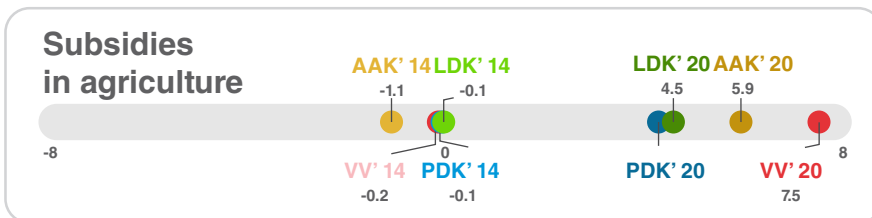
The political spectrum has moved towards the center in terms of subsidies for local products. While 6 years ago the responses were distributed from -6.2 (VV) to -2.6 (LDK), now the distribution is from -5.7 (VV) to -4.7 (AAK) which means that all parties have now almost identical positions, favoring the idea of the state subsidizing a large part of domestic products.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Subsidies	-3.8	-5.3	←

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Subsidies	5.0	4.8	→

In general, the political spectrum is more supportive of subsidies for domestic products than in the past, and the responses are moderately homogeneous.

13. Subsidies in agriculture



The availability of subsidies in agriculture has increased significantly and now in most responses (the mean of 5.5). Six years ago the answers were close to -1 which corresponds to the answer: "Little: the government should provide limited agricultural subsidies as it is currently." It is now closer to the answer that "providing agricultural subsidies is similar to social assistance; it reduces production drive; and should be given only in special cases and only for strategic production."

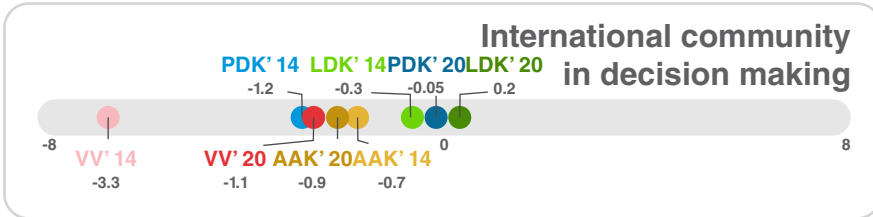
The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Subsidies in agriculture	-0.4	5.5	→

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Subsidies in agriculture	4.6	3.9	←

It is interesting that VV is more vocal on subsidies for agriculture, being closer to the answer "The government should 100% prioritize agriculture, taking into account its potential, compared to other sectors of the economy."

International dimension

14. International community in decision making

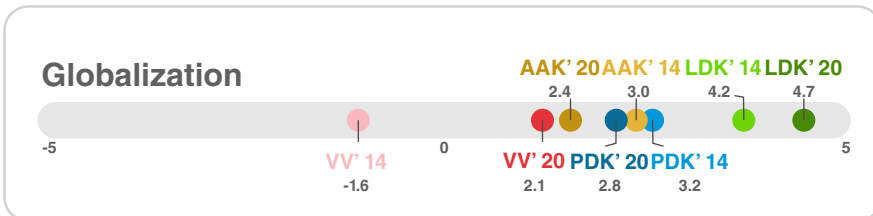


It is natural that all parties have moved towards a smaller role of the international community, because in Kosovo it no longer plays a supervisory role as it has in the past.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
International community in decision making	-1.4	-0.5	→

Also the differences in responses were reduced from the standard deviation from 5.5 to 4.3.

15. Globalization



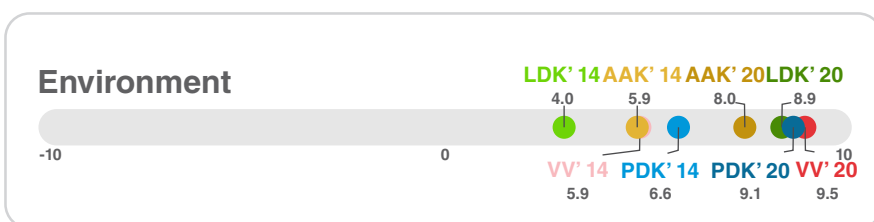
It is interesting that global trends against globalization do not apply to Kosovo, where it seems that the political elite is no more anti-globalist than 6 years ago, and is in fact the contrary. VV is now clearly part of the responses with a positive view on globalization like other entities such as PDK and AAK, while LDK shows even greater support for globalization than before.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Globalization	2.2	3.0	→

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Globalization	4.5	5.2	←

As the political spectrum has shifted towards a more positive view of globalization, differences in responses have widened, displaying significant disagreements within entities.

16. The Environment



All parties are in favor of environmental protection, although this is in stark contrast to current policies, with very little attention being paid to environmental priorities. The LDK's response lies between the answer that "we need to fund various programs and more resources should be allocated for environmental protection, which will eventually pay off" and that of "offering tax cuts for small polluters, and to fining the big polluters." The response of the other three parties stands a degree higher and distinguishes between "tax cuts for small polluters and larger fines for large polluters" and "the need to have advanced legislation that would force polluters to adhere to EU standards."

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Environment	5.6	8.9	→

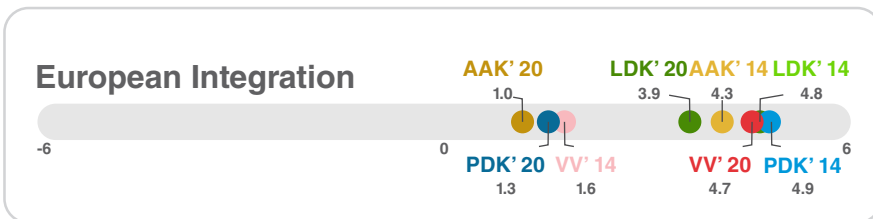
Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Environment	5.0	5.2	←

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17. The European Integration

Six years ago, all parties were in favor of European integration, although VV showed large reluctance. Her rating of 1.6 points is closer to the answer "I oppose: The EU hinders society by regulating fiscal policy (takes over a competence from our Assembly) but we may not have a choice." The answer of the other parties (ranging from 4.3 to 4.9) is closer to the answer "I support it: But only if the EU integration process becomes more efficient, transparent and open."



By 2020, the parties have almost completely changed their roles. VV has moved from 1.6 to 4.7 becoming the most pro-EU party. Other parties in the meantime are less enthusiastic and all three have marked movements to the left, particularly the PDK.

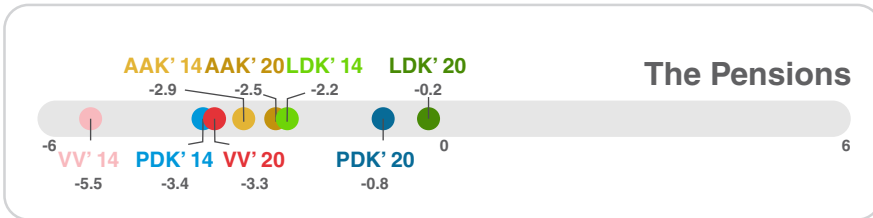
The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
European Integration	3.9	5.8	→

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
European Integration	3.9	3.8	→

The whole political spectrum is more pro-European with an mean response value of 5.8 which shows a response between no. 5, a lukewarm support "I support it: EU integration is not the main concern at the moment, but it can result in a more stable and strong society" and no. 7I support it: "Europe must be a coherent union of culturally diverse states, celebrating diversity as a sense of unity." The distribution of responses is average indicating an average level of agreement among the individuals who responded to the survey.

The Relationship with the State

18. The Pensions



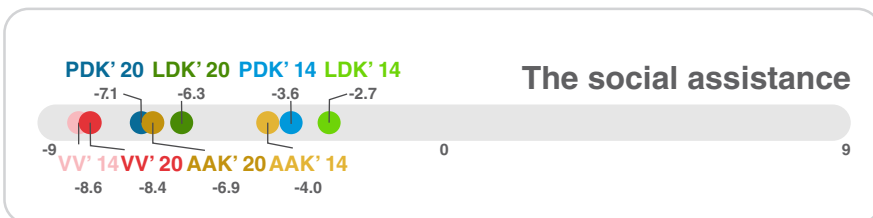
In terms of pensions, the whole political spectrum has moved from the left to the center. While in 2014, VV was in favour of an extremely generous pension scheme, now it is between the "pay-as-you-go" scheme and the mandatory public scheme Kosovo now has, while AAK is not far from this sentiment. PDK favors a public scheme while LDK is more open to the private market.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
The pensions	-3.5	-1.7	→

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
The pensions	3.2	3.0	→

Now the collective opinion is closer to the answer no. 1 that prefers the existing situation as a mandatory public scheme with alternative private schemes. The differences in opinions are not great and within the parties there are few differences on the issue.

19. The Social Assistance

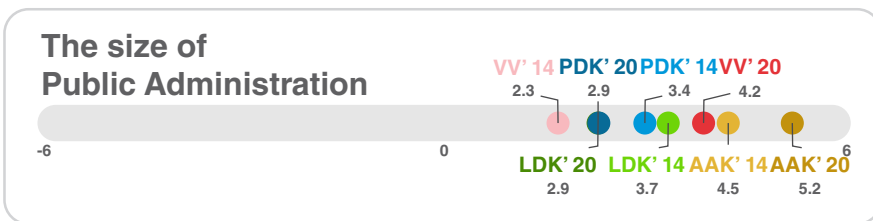


In terms of social assistance, VV is still the most left-wing party, but now the gap with other entities has narrowed because other parties have moved to the left preferring increased social assistance.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
The social assistance	-4.7	-7.2	←
Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
The social assistance	4.5	3.9	→

Most respondents prefer the answer which predicts the same level as currently of spending for social assistance, but “increase the amount per beneficiary, but reduce the number of beneficiaries.” The differences in responses between the parties are small.

20. The Size of Public Administration

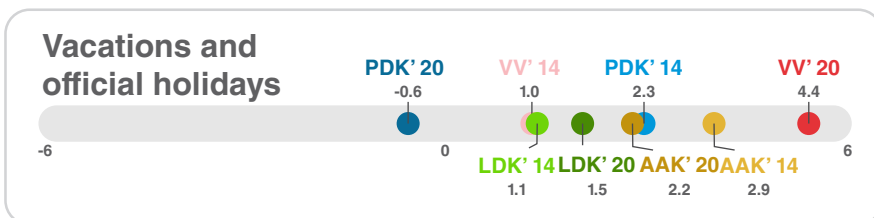


All parties in Kosovo are aware that the public administration is too large and favor its reduction. AAK has a clearer position on reducing the administration, followed by VV, PDK and LDK.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
The size of Public Administration	3.5	3.8	→
Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
The size of Public Administration	4.1	4.2	←

The mean value of 3.8 is close to the response no. 4 which says “Decrease it: Public administration should be slightly reduced; some posts need to be evaluated, but new posts need to be created when others close.”

21. Vacations and official holidays



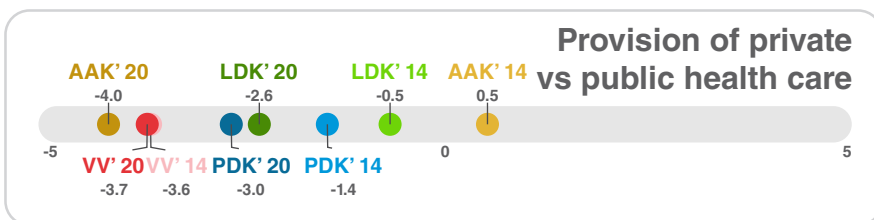
VV supports the reduction of vacation days by 2-3 days, LDK and AAK have the position that the days should remain the same or be reduced by 1 day, while PDK considers that the vacation days should remain the same.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Vacations/official holidays	1.8	1.9	=
Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Vacations/official holidays	3.4	2.6	→

Overall, the mean of 1.9 proves that most respondents are in favor of reducing vacation days by 1 day.

Private vs. Public

22. Private or public health care?



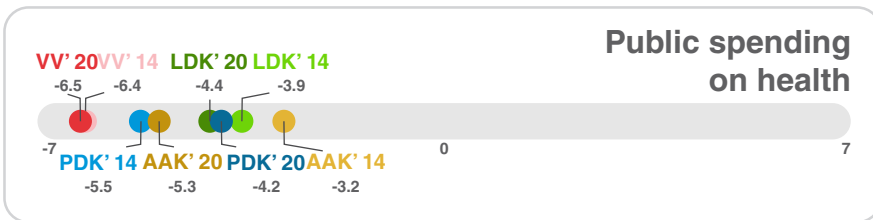
LDK and AAK, who had leaned slightly towards the private sector in the past, now believe that they should rely mainly on the public sector, as VV and PDK have all along.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Provision of private vs public health care	-1.3	-3.3	←

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Provision of private vs public health care	5.3	3.1	→

Even in the health services there is a shift to the left with bodies now estimating that the public sector should offer more and we should rely less on the private sector. Compared to 2014, there is a higher consensus among the majority of respondents, which shows a distrust on the private sector.

23. Public spending on health?



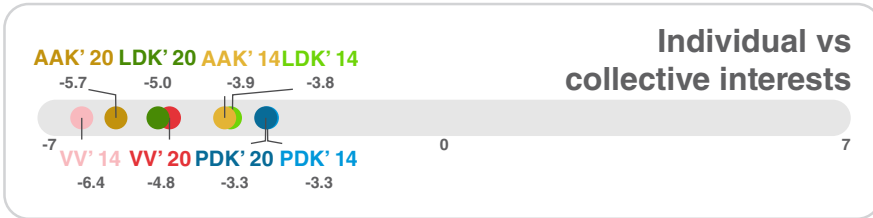
All parties, especially VV and AAK, estimate that more should be spent on the budget for public health.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Public spending on health	-4.7	-5.1	←

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Public spending on health	4.0	4.3	←

The consensus is clear that more needs to be spent on public health even though the answers are not in unison and there is a variety of opinions.

24. Individual vs collective interests



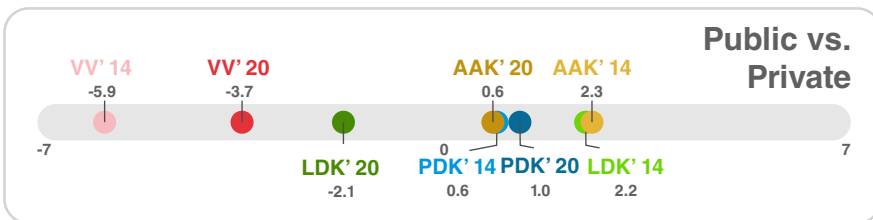
The approach to the individual or collective is one of the measurement indicators to assess left or right bias. The whole political spectrum leans towards the collective starting from AAK followed by VV, LDK and PDK as the party that besides the collective also values individuality.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Individual vs collective interests	-4.4	-4.7	←

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Individual vs collective interests	6.0	5.9	→

The answers are almost the same as before, with a slight movement towards the collective but there are different opinions on this topic within and between the parties.

25. Public vs. Private



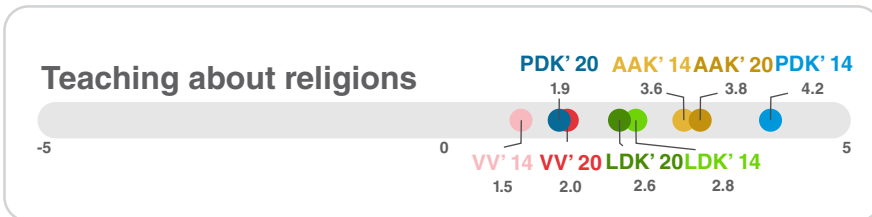
A similar question tends to measure the opinion of party officials if they think that Kosovo's economy is more served by private or public institutions. VV shows the highest trust in public institutions, although less in 2020 than in 2014. LDK has moved from an entity that trusts the private sector more to the second body after VV that trusts the public one. Now PDK and AAK are center-right entities which believe that private institutions are more efficient in general.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Public vs private	-0.2	-1.1	←

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Public vs private	4.4	5.5	←

The preliminary question came to a similar finding and here equally expresses a slight preference for the public sector, compared to 6 years ago. Also, disagreements of individual opinions and between parties are sensitive.

26. Teaching about religions



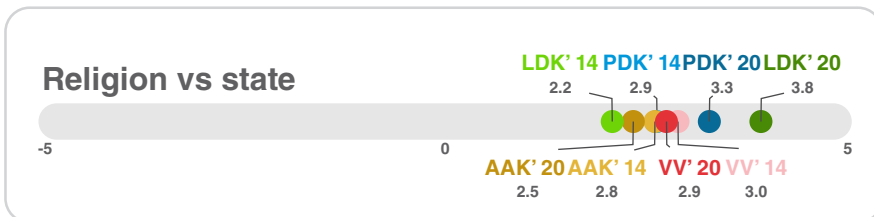
Reluctance to teach religion seems to unite Kosovars of all strata and has changed little over the years. VV and PDK are two bodies with softer attitudes with regards to some forms of teaching for all religions and lean more towards the answer that “religious education should be part of general education for social values and not a course in itself.” AAK and LDK show less willingness to learn about religion even though they are not entirely against it.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Teaching about religion	3.0	2.6	←

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Teaching about religion	3.6	2.3	→

The mean of the answers, for which there is quite a broad consensus, is closer to the answer claiming “Religious education should be part of general education for social values and not be a separate subject (not a separate subject but within the subject of Civic Education)”.

27. Religion vs. State



Almost all parties are of the same opinion and the answers range from 2.5 (AAK) to 3.8 (LDK) proving that most of the officials who completed the questionnaire believe that religion should be respected, regulated, not helped by the state and should be personal.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Religion vs state	2.7	3.1	→

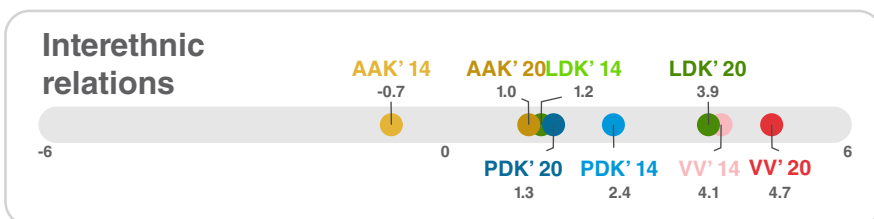
Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Religion vs state	4.9	6.3	←

Although the views expressed are in the direction of secularism, there are large differences of opinion even within the parties.

Interethnic issues

While VV enjoys the image as the most nationalist party, its representatives had the most friendly views on multiethnicity and interethnic relations. VV's responses were more liberal, expressing a willingness to work with Kosovo Serbs, to live close to them but not marry them. AAK officials were the least willing for interethnic relations, with the average respondent stating that they have no problem living close to Kosovo Serbs, or even working with them. The responses of LDK and PDK were somewhere in between.

28. Interethnic relations

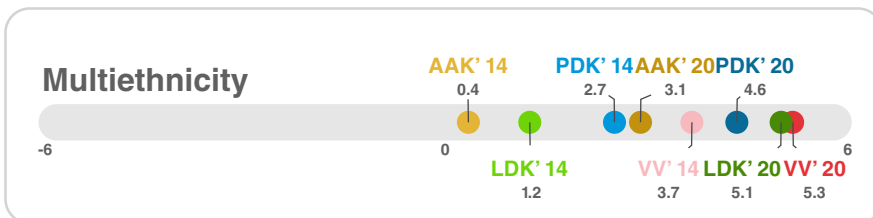


VV officials show more tolerant attitudes towards other ethnic groups, followed by LDK, PDK and recently AAK. For VV and LDK, most of the answers show that they can easily share an office and have members of other groups as neighbors. For PDK and especially AAK respondents, the answers were between those who would never work with an office or cooperate with a member of another group and those who do not have this as an issue.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Interethnic relations	1.8	2.7	→
Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Interethnic relations	4.5	4.8	←

The average attitude towards interethnic relations has moved towards a liberal attitude and is closer to the answer +3 with which interethnic relations are seen as positive and that "I could easily work in an office or cooperate in some other way with someone from the minorities." It is worrisome a little that the divergences on this topic have increased and there is a significant difference in responses within and between the parties.

29. Multiethnicity

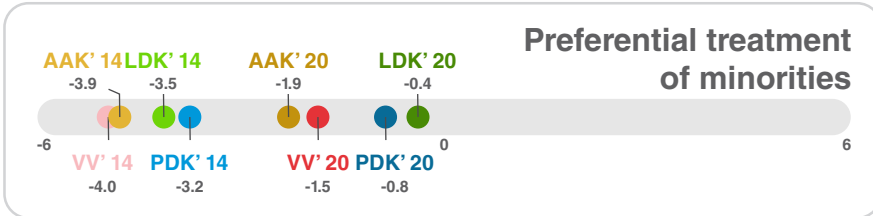


As much as the parties had reservations about 'multiethnicity' in 2014, they now have very little. All parties have moved towards the opinion that multiethnicity strengthens Kosovar society, led by VV, followed by LDK, PDK and finally AAK, similar to the ranking 6 years ago.

The average of the entire political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Multiethnicity	2.0	4.5	→
Standard deviation of the entire political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Multiethnicity	3.9	4.9	←

In the survey this year, the mean is 4.5, which exceeds the answer with 4 points that says **multiethnicity strengthens the Kosovar society** and it must be protected in all its forms, and minorities must not be assimilated into a single culture or religion of a state.

30. Preferential treatment of minorities



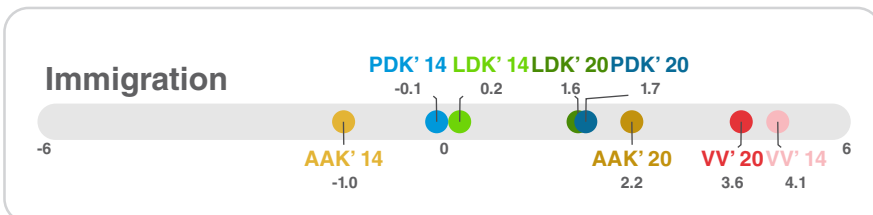
In 2014, all parties opposed the preferential treatment and most of them supported the statement that "the preferential treatment of minorities is discriminatory against others" and that the demands of Serbs should be reduced in order to be more equal with others.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Preferential treatment of minorities	-3.6	-1.2	→

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Preferential treatment of minorities	5.8	4.8	→

By 2020, all four parties surveyed have moved in a more liberal direction and have fewer reservations about preferential treatment. The answers remain divergent but less than 6 years ago.

31. Immigration



On the question of immigration there is an approximation of attitudes, VV being more liberal while other parties are now more liberal and the answers are between 0.2 (LDK) and 3.6 (VV).

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Immigration	0.8	2.3	→

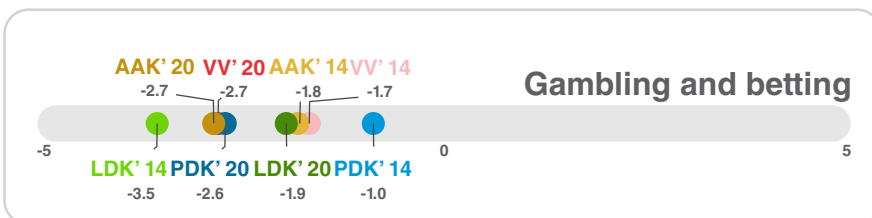
Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Immigration	4.3	3.0	→

The mean of 2.3 in responses is closest to the answer (+3): "Non-European immigrants should have the same immigration opportunities as European immigrants" although this topic has not yet tested the political elite to see if this attitude would turn into an official policy. Opinions have converged with less difference between individual responses than in the past.

Attitude towards the evils of society

PDK and VV showed the lowest level of intolerance to gambling, betting, prostitution and drugs. AAK and LDK were in favor of treating these social vices as illegal and for prosecuting them. The harshest thoughts were about drugs, while the mildest were about gambling and betting. Regarding prostitution, most of the answers were around -5 points, which means "its decriminalization (treatment as a minor offense) and punishable by a fine."

32. Gambling and betting



The average response time for gambling and betting is not much different from 2014, with a slight move towards the conservative. The parties do not have big differences, led by AAK and VV with -2.7 followed by PDK and LDK.

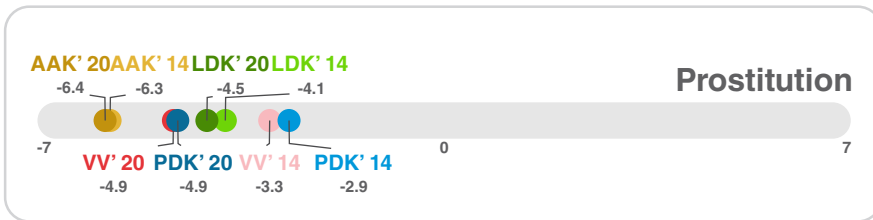
The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Gambling and betting	-2.0	-2.5	←

In 2014, responses to gambling and betting were more widespread (-3.5 to -1.0) and are now more concentrated (-2.7 to -1.9).

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Gambling and betting	4.6	4.9	←

The answers are more divergent now with a standard deviation of 4.9 but even this is no different from 6 years ago.

33. Prostitution



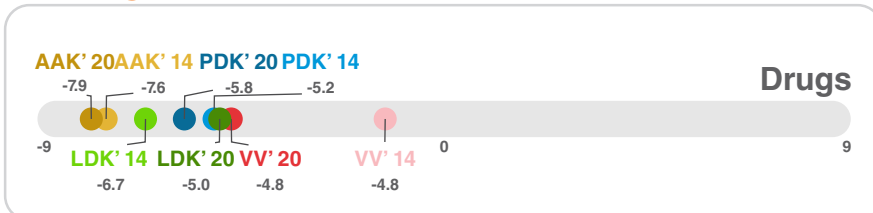
Attitudes towards prostitution have shifted to the left in a conservative direction. AAK is the most conservative party, although even in this case they believe that it should be treated as a minor offense punishable by a fine. VV, PDK and LDK are between this answer and the answer that although it constitutes a minor offense, prostitutes should be treated as victims.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Prostitution	-4.2	-5.1	←

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Prostitution	6.7	7.7	←

The mean of 5.1 is more conservative than the 4.2 from 6 years ago. Now all parties are further to the left than the mean of the first 6 years. But divergences in opinions have increased - that is, some respondents are extremely liberal and some are extremely conservative.

34. Drugs



The opinion of the political elite on narcotics has moved slightly towards the conservative direction. AAK had the toughest stance 6 years ago and now has an even tougher stance. The PDK has moved towards a tougher stance as the second most conservative party in this regard.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Drugs	-5.2	-5.9	←

The average of the answers is -5.9 which is closer to the answer that "drugs constitute a minor offense and should be punished with a fine" while the position of the AAK is close to -8 that drugs constitute a criminal offense and should be punished."

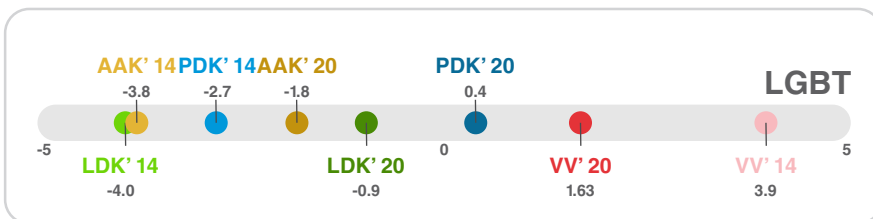
Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Drugs	4.2	4.4	←

VV had a more liberal stance 6 years ago and is now aligned with the LDK between the answer -6 (above) and the -4 which says to ban heavy drugs but to have a different treatment for light drugs. 6 years ago, VV was close to the +2 answer that some of the narcotics be legal only for health purposes and only be taken with a doctor's prescription.

Personal freedoms

VV continues to be the most liberal party in terms of personal freedoms, but not by as much difference from other parties as it was 6 years ago. LDK and PDK are more modern and have narrowed the gap with VV, while AAK remains the most traditional party.

35. LGBT



In terms of personal freedoms on the LGBT issue, VV is less liberal than before while PDK, AAK and LDK are more liberal than before, though not as much as VV. While in 2014 the extreme responses were ranging from -4 to +3.9 now they converge from -1.8 to +1.63. The whole political spectrum favors that LGBT rights should be allowed but mainly be private rights and not be promoted (other parties) while VV officials are a bit more liberal and support promotion but not parades.

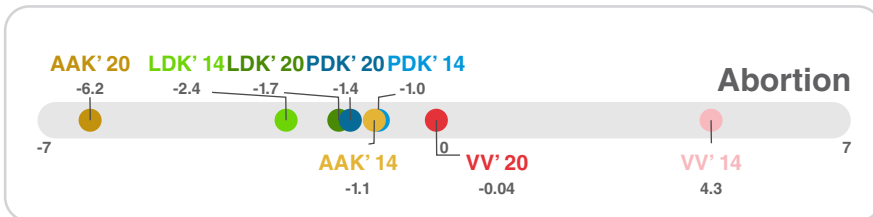
The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
LGBT	-1.7	-0.1	→

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
LGBT	7.1	6.4	→

The mean of -0.1 stands between the answers of -1 that "Allowed by law (for individuals), but privately (not promotion)" and +1: "Allowed by law, but with the association (may promote, but not parade)".

Differences of opinion 6 years ago were extremely high (7.1) which means that most respondents were either too supportive or too restrictive on this question. This year the difference was slightly lower but again shows that this is one of the most controversial points.

36. Abortion



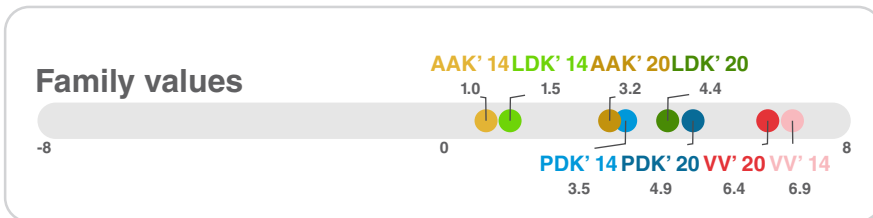
Another indicator of how liberal a country is, is its stance on abortion. At this point, the parties have largely moved in a conservative direction. VV and AAK have seen the biggest shifts to the conservative direction while PDK has remained in the same position and LDK has a more liberal stance. As before, no party has stated that abortion should be illegal, but the attitude of the AAK is worrying, as it emphasizes that abortion should be in principle illegal and allowed only in special cases.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Abortion	-0.1	-2.3	←

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Abortion	4.2	3.7	→

The average answer of -2.3 is between answer -4 that “abortion services should be funded by the government for women who cannot afford those services” and answer -1 that "abortion should be allowed by law: but offered only through privately funded institutions."

37. Family values



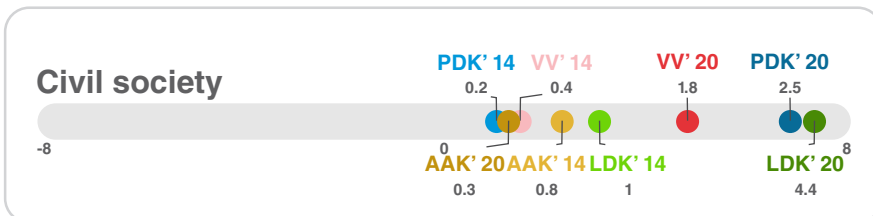
A number of questions have sought to measure family values (number of children, divorce, extended family, cohabitation, premarital sex and the role of women in the home) where VV remains the most liberal entity, followed by PDK and LDK. All parties have made moves towards liberal values.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Family values	3.2	4.7	→

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Family values	4.7	4.4	→

The mean of 4.7 proves that the political elite continues in a liberal direction and that the answers have average differences within the parties.

38. Civil society



Six years ago, all parties had almost the same answers regarding civil society, ranging from the answer that “the role of civil society is not very effective, there is a lot of room for improvement” (-1) and that "civil society

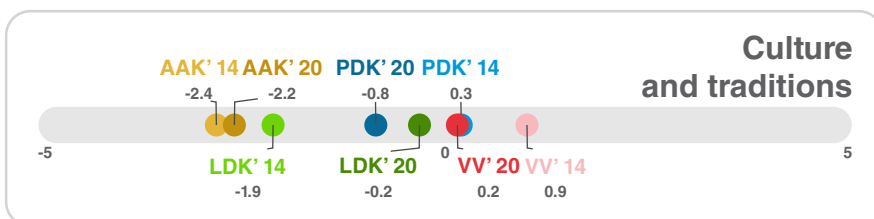
should continue to be encouraged, as it creates a more inclusive community” (+1). In 2020, political opinion on civil society is much better, especially for the LDK, followed by the PDK, VV and AAK. It is worth noting that the biggest move was made by the PDK which was the most skeptical of civil society before and is now close to the LDK with a positive opinion on civil society.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Civil Society	0.6	1.8	→

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Civil Society	5.1	5.2	←

The average response of 1.8 is closer to the 2-point answer: Civil society should continue to be encouraged, as it creates a more involved community. The distribution of opinions is quite large (5.2) but the differences are within the parties and not between the parties.

39. Culture and traditions



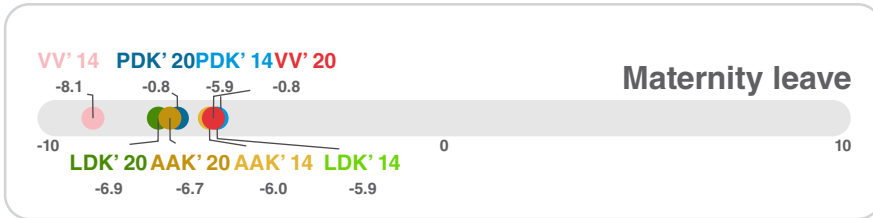
In the measurement 6 years ago, LDK and AAK favored a greater preference for the traditional (closer to the points of -4 that "tradition should be cultivated with public funds" and "0" "tradition and modernity should be carefully balanced"). LDK and PDK leaned slightly more towards modernity as they are now. AAK continues to remain more traditional as the LDK has moved towards individual freedoms.

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Culture and traditions	-0.8	-0.8	=

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Culture and traditions	4.9	5.2	←

The overall mean has remained the same and the distribution of responses also remains high. This shows that there are large differences of opinion within the parties.

40. Maternity leave



The parties have the same attitudes regarding maternity leave as before, where most favor the policy of extending the leave to 9 months paid by the public sector and 3 months by private employers (-7 points).

The average of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Maternity leave	-6.5	-6.5	=

Standard deviation of the whole political spectrum	2014	2020	Trend
Maternity leave	5.5	3.4	→

The answers this time are even more homogeneous and with smaller differences between respondents (3.4 points compared to 5.5 from 6 years ago).

Presentation of all topics simultaneously

The topics below are presented one by one in the table below, in order to present a complete picture of the attitudes. In this case the questions are arranged in such a way that they start from the most left to the most right answers. Values are colored with shades of red (for responses below zero) and shades of blue (for responses above zero). This presentation enables to compare the parties not only in specific questions but in general, to see at the same time where there is consensus and where the parties differ.

It is interesting to note the questions from the middle where some parties differ from others, such as the issue of privatization or abortion.

	Fields	LDK		LVV		AAK		PDK	
		2014	2020	2014	2020	2014	2020	2014	2020
1	Maternity leave	-5.9	-6.9	-8.1	-5.9	-6.0	-6.7	-5.9	-6.6
2	Social assistance. Increase, Decrease /Same level	-2.7	-6.3	-8.6	-8.4	-4.0	-6.9	-3.6	-7.1
3	Drugs	-6.7	-5.0	-1.6	-4.8	-7.6	-7.9	-5.2	-5.8
4	Public spending	-2.8	-5.0	-6.9	-7.3	-4.6	-7.6	-3.9	-4.9
5	The Minimum Wage	-2.7	-7.4	-6.0	-6.9	-1.7	-6.9	-4.4	-5.5
6	Public health care	-3.9	-4.4	-6.4	-6.5	-3.2	-5.3	-5.5	-4.2
7	Prostitution	-4.1	-4.5	-3.3	-4.9	-6.3	-6.4	-2.9	-4.9
8	Subsidies	-2.6	-5.5	-6.2	-5.7	-3.3	-4.7	-2.9	-5.5
9	Individual vs collective interests	-3.8	-5.0	-6.4	-4.8	-3.9	-5.7	-3.3	-3.3
10	Workers' unions	-2.7	-3.3	-7.5	-6.5	-4.3	-2.3	-2.3	-4.4
11	Job creation	-1.6	-3.8	-4.8	-5.6	-1.2	-2.5	-1.1	-2.4
12	The Pensions	-2.2	-0.2	-5.5	-3.3	-2.9	-2.5	-3.4	-0.8
13	Trade regulation	-1.5	-3.4	-4.7	-3.6	-0.4	-1.5	-1.5	-2.5
14	Public / private health	-0.5	-2.6	-3.6	-3.7	0.5	-4.0	-1.4	-3.0
15	Gambling and betting	-3.5	-1.9	-1.7	-2.7	-1.8	-2.7	-1.0	-2.6
16	Preferential treatment of minorities	-1.7	-0.4	-4.0	-1.5	-3.9	-1.9	-3.2	-0.8
17	The excise	-1.4	0.9	-4.7	-0.3	-3.2	-1.8	-3.4	-2.2
18	Legalization and cost of abortion	-2.4	-1.7	4.3	0.0	-1.1	-6.2	-1.0	-1.4
19	Flat or progressive taxation	-0.3	1.9	-5.9	-3.8	-0.8	-0.7	-2.1	2.3
20	Involvement of the international community in decision-making	-0.3	0.2	-3.3	-1.1	-0.7	-0.9	-1.2	0.0
21	LGBT	-4.0	-0.9	3.9	1.6	-3.8	-1.8	-2.7	0.4
22	Culture and traditions	-1.9	-0.2	0.9	0.2	-2.4	-2.2	0.3	-0.8
23	Public vs private	2.2	-2.1	-5.9	-3.7	2.3	0.6	0.6	1.0
24	Privatization	2.7	4.3	-8.0	-7.1	3.3	-2.2	4.8	0.6
25	Regulation of customs duties	1.7	0.9	-2.4	-1.0	2.2	-0.2	-0.2	1.0
26	Increase or decrease of VAT	2.0	0.6	-2.9	0.7	2.2	1.5	-0.1	3.7
27	Statement on CS in KS	0.4	2.7	0.4	1.8	0.8	0.3	0.2	2.5
28	Immigration	0.2	1.6	4.1	3.6	-1.0	2.2	-0.1	1.7
29	Holidays and official holidays	1.1	1.5	1.0	4.4	2.9	2.2	2.3	-0.6
30	Views on interethnic relations	1.2	3.9	4.1	4.7	-0.7	1.0	2.4	1.3

31	Foreign investment and aid	1.4	4.0	0.7	2.5	1.6	1.5	3.0	3.6
32	Subsidies in agriculture	-0.1	4.5	-0.2	7.5	-1.1	5.9	-0.1	4.2
33	Globalization, positive / negative	4.2	4.7	-1.6	2.1	3.0	2.4	3.2	2.8
34	Teaching religion in public schools	2.8	2.6	1.5	2.0	3.6	3.8	4.2	1.9
35	Religion vs. State	2.2	3.8	3.0	2.9	2.8	2.5	2.9	3.3
36	Multiethnicity strengthens / weakens society	1.2	5.1	3.7	5.3	0.4	3.1	2.7	4.6
37	Increase / decrease of jobs in public administration	3.7	2.9	2.3	4.2	4.5	5.2	3.4	2.9
38	Family values	1.5	4.4	6.9	6.4	1.0	3.2	3.5	4.9
39	Support / Oppose EU integration	4.8	6.2	1.6	5.9	4.3	5.5	4.9	5.7
40	The Environment	4.0	8.9	5.9	9.5	5.9	8.0	6.6	9.1

V. Distribution of responses

The table on the following page presents the standard deviation of each answer as a way to measure the distribution of answers in the table according to the issue addressed and by party. Thus, the degree of distribution of responses indicates that the issue addressed is more controversial within the party. This does not mean that parties should not discuss these issue. On the contrary, the topics on which in the past there have been numerous public discussions there was a greater consensus.

These figures represent the standard deviation of the responses of the party in question. The higher the number, the bigger the differences between the respondents of this party were, and the smaller the number the smaller the differences. That is, for points with the lowest standard deviation, the party has the highest homogeneity of attitudes, and for points with high values, there are different opinions.

With a standard deviation value of 3.9, VV is the most homogeneous party compared to other parties. LDK and AAK have shown more homogeneous responses in 2020 than in 2014, reducing the standard deviation of responses by about 10%.

	Average of the SD	2014	2020
VV		3.9	3.9
LDK		5.0	4.6
AAK		5.1	4.7
PDK		4.8	4.9
		4.7	4,53

Regarding the questions, the table below presents the standard deviation that helps understand the distribution of answers for each party in each question. The questions are ranked by those with greater homogeneity which are marked in green to illustrate topics on which there is a consensus within the parties. The lower one goes through the table, the topics that have seen major differences of opinion emerge, i.e. that are more controversial.

	Fields	LDK		LVV		AAK		PDK	
		2014	2020	2014	2020	2014	2020	2014	2020
1	The Environment	5.0	2.9	2.2	1.1	4.1	3.3	3.0	1.9
2	Maternity leave	4.1	1.5	2.0	3.6	3.9	2.8	3.5	2.4
3	Public health care	3.8	2.9	1.4	1.7	5.0	3.1	2.7	4.4

4	Regulation of customs duties	2.8	4.3	3.7	4.0	3.8	4.1	3.6	2.4
5	Support / Oppose EU integration	4.6	3.2	4.0	2.6	4.4	3.3	4.3	2.8
6	Views on interethnic relations	4.2	2.0	3.4	2.8	4.9	5.4	3.3	4.8
7	Foreign investment and aid	4.7	3.9	2.7	1.7	5.5	3.6	4.6	4.5
8	Public spending	4.6	3.6	3.1	2.8	4.6	3.7	4.4	4.6
9	Family values	5.8	3.6	2.5	3.0	6.0	3.8	4.9	2.6
10	Public / private health	4.6	4.7	2.6	3.8	4.2	3.8	4.4	5.0
11	Involvement of the international community in decision-making	4.2	5.0	3.2	3.2	3.8	3.3	5.1	5.5
12	Globalization, positive / negative	4.1	3.5	5.0	3.3	4.4	5.0	4.4	3.6
13	Social assistance. Increase, Decrease /Same level	6.3	2.7	3.8	3.6	5.7	2.9	5.3	3.4
14	Subsidies in agriculture	3.6	4.3	5.5	3.1	5.4	3.9	3.8	4.3
15	Religion vs. State	5.3	4.8	2.9	4.2	4.2	4.3	4.2	4.4
16	Flat or progressive taxation	4.4	5.2	1.4	3.8	5.7	4.8	4.6	4.7
17	Statement on CS in KS	3.6	5.5	4.2	4.6	4.7	5.2	3.1	4.5
18	The Minimum Wage	5.9	2.6	2.4	2.4	7.9	2.9	6.0	5.8
19	Increase or decrease of VAT	4.6	5.7	4.9	0.0	4.8	5.7	4.4	5.8
20	Job creation	5.5	4.7	4.4	1.7	4.9	4.8	4.7	5.6
21	Culture and traditions	4.9	3.5	4.1	4.2	4.4	4.7	5.2	5.4
22	Increase / decrease of jobs in public administration	5.0	5.8	4.2	3.7	4.9	4.2	4.4	4.5

23	Preferential treatment of minorities	4.5	4.2	3.7	4.7	4.9	5.3	4.9	5.1
24	Workers' unions	5.1	4.4	3.3	4.0	5.4	5.5	4.4	5.9
25	Drugs	4.8	5.7	4.9	5.3	3.6	3.7	5.4	5.0
26	Teaching religion in public schools	5.9	5.3	2.3	4.7	5.1	6.2	4.8	4.6
27	Holidays and official holidays	4.4	3.7	6.4	4.1	5.6	4.0	5.4	5.3
28	Subsidies	5.3	4.7	3.9	5.4	6.1	4.8	4.8	4.5
29	Public vs private	5.1	6.5	3.2	5.2	4.6	4.8	4.7	5.5
30	Trade regulation	5.4	5.5	2.5	3.5	5.8	7.1	5.6	4.5
31	Individual vs collective interests	5.3	4.7	3.8	4.8	5.2	5.4	5.2	5.8
32	Immigration	4.8	5.9	3.8	3.5	6.0	6.2	5.4	5.2
33	LGBT	4.3	4.7	5.8	6.4	5.5	4.6	5.0	5.1
34	The excise	5.3	3.0	5.9	6.3	4.7	6.4	4.7	5.7
35	Multiethnicity strengthens / weakens society	5.1	4.3	7.5	4.4	5.4	5.0	5.3	5.5
36	The Pensions	4.6	6.7	5.0	6.4	5.1	5.8	4.9	6.2
37	Prostitution	7.1	6.7	5.0	5.0	5.2	5.4	7.0	6.3
38	Privatization	6.9	6.8	2.0	3.9	6.5	7.8	5.8	8.3
39	Legalization and cost of abortion	7.1	8.0	7.5	7.6	7.2	3.2	6.8	6.9
40	Gambling and betting	7.0	7.5	6.3	7.4	6.8	7.8	6.8	8.0

Vetëvendosje seems to have the highest degree of homogeneity in attitudes, with an average standard deviation of 3.9, while other parties fluctuate between 5 and 5.1.

When comparing the topics, there was less controversy over topics such as maternity leave, customs duties, investments and foreign aid (at the top of the list). These are questions for which the answers were more or less the same. We find greater differences in responses to issues related to prostitution, gambling and betting, and abortion. For these three questions, respondents gave answers that are quite contradictory within the group. For example, topics such as the environment, maternity leave, etc. enjoy wide agreement because the answers differ slightly from each other within the party.

Fields	LDK		LVV		AAK		PDK	
	2014	2020	2014	2020	2014	2020	2014	2020
The Environment	5.0	2.9	2.2	1.1	4.1	3.3	3.0	1.9
Maternity leave	4.1	1.5	2.0	3.6	3.9	2.8	3.5	2.4
Public health care	3.8	2.9	1.4	1.7	5.0	3.1	2.7	4.4
Regulation of customs duties	2.8	4.3	3.7	4.0	3.8	4.1	3.6	2.4
Support / Oppose EU integration	4.6	3.2	4.0	2.6	4.4	3.3	4.3	2.8
Views on interethnic relations	4.2	2.0	3.4	2.8	4.9	5.4	3.3	4.8
Foreign investment and aid	4.7	3.9	2.7	1.7	5.5	3.6	4.6	4.5
Public spending	4.6	3.6	3.1	2.8	4.6	3.7	4.4	4.6
Family values	5.8	3.6	2.5	3.0	6.0	3.8	4.9	2.6
Public / private health	4.6	4.7	2.6	3.8	4.2	3.8	4.4	5.0
Involvement of the international community in decision-making	4.2	5.0	3.2	3.2	3.8	3.3	5.1	5.5
Globalization, positive / negative	4.1	3.5	5.0	3.3	4.4	5.0	4.4	3.6

Është me rëndësi të theksohet se çështjet për të cilat përgjigjet janë më pak të shpërndara janë diskutuar mjaft shumë në publik, andaj kemi një përafrim të qëndrimeve. Në pjesën e poshtme të tabelës janë çështjet të cilat nuk janë diskutuar aq shumë, dhe për të cilat pritet të ketë shumë debate në të ardhmen (shih tabelën më poshtë).

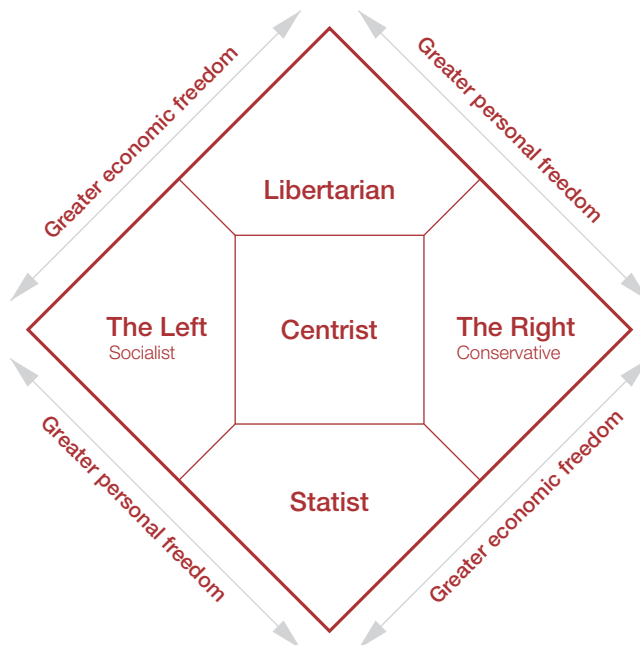
Fields	LDK		LVV		AAK		PDK	
	2014	2020	2014	2020	2014	2020	2014	2020
LGBT	4.3	4.7	5.8	6.4	5.5	4.6	5.0	5.1
The excise	5.3	3.0	5.9	6.3	4.7	6.4	4.7	5.7
Multiethnicity strengthens / weakens society	5.1	4.3	7.5	4.4	5.4	5.0	5.3	5.5
The Pensions	4.6	6.7	5.0	6.4	5.1	5.8	4.9	6.2
Prostitution	7.1	6.7	5.0	5.0	5.2	5.4	7.0	6.3
Privatization	6.9	6.8	2.0	3.9	6.5	7.8	5.8	8.3
Legalization and cost of abortion	7.1	8.0	7.5	7.6	7.2	3.2	6.8	6.9
Gambling and betting	7.0	7.5	6.3	7.4	6.8	7.8	6.8	8.0

Topics on which there are different opinions within the party are marked in red. For example, for the topic “gambling and betting”, the answers on average differ from one respondent to another about 7 times more than in the “environment” or “maternity leave”.

VI. Categorization of parties

In order to develop an accurate instrument, D4D has conducted in-depth research on the attitudes embraced by the various ideological groupings of Western liberal democracies. The first edition 6 years ago briefly described the main ideological profiles to make it easier for readers who may not be aware of the small differences between the different profiles. It briefly describes the ideologies such as: socialist, leftist, center-left, center-right, right-wing, social democrat, liberal, authoritarian, nationalist, individual liberties, and conservative. Depending on the knowledge, some readers may find it helpful to read this part of the first edition.

Numerous models were then analyzed, some of which were analyzed in the publication, and the Nolan Alternative Diagram was selected. This version of the diagram causes the sketch to rotate so that the vectors for economic and personal freedoms represent greater freedom at the top of the diagram, and lesser freedom at the bottom. The far left and the far right appear on the left and the right, respectively, while libertarian ideology is at the top, and the statist one at the bottom.



For the purposes of the study, we have modified a version of Nolan's alternative diagram and compiled the questionnaire according to it. The diagram divides people's political thoughts into two vectors: economic freedom and personal freedom, which produces a two-dimensional diagram. This type of diagram enables the visual presentation of views, such as the libertarian perspective (great personal and economic freedom) and the totalitarian perspective (small personal and economic freedom).

This chapter presents the survey findings, this time in two-dimensional format, for individual parties. The "x" axis represents the questions related to economic issues, while the "y" axis represents the answers to the values. Each point in the diagram represents an individual respondent, who was in a relatively high position in one of the four largest parties in Kosovo. To avoid the trap of classifying a party into a single ideological quadrant, we have chosen to identify the distribution which illustrates the comparison between and within parties.

Referring to the diagram on the following page, it turns out that the results show a fair ideological distribution, with opinions extending to both aspects of orientation, economic (x-axis) and values (y-axis). To better understand such an ideological distribution, categories must be divided within the economic and value systems.

VV

Vetëvendosje Movement (VV) was founded in June 2005 as a civic initiative. Since 2005 Albin Kurti has led the movement which often supports more radical processes and policies than other parties. Kurti sees representative democracy as insufficient and supports direct democracy.

Kurti describes the VV as left-wing or center-left, but emphasizes the fact that due to the political system in Kosovo and the current circumstances, it is difficult for parties to identify with certain ideologies.

In terms of economic policies, VV is more left-wing than other parties in Kosovo, although in 2020 it is noticed that it has moved significantly towards the center. VV has strongly opposed privatization, while advocating for a greater role for the state in the economy, which puts VV on the spectrum of leftist ideologies.

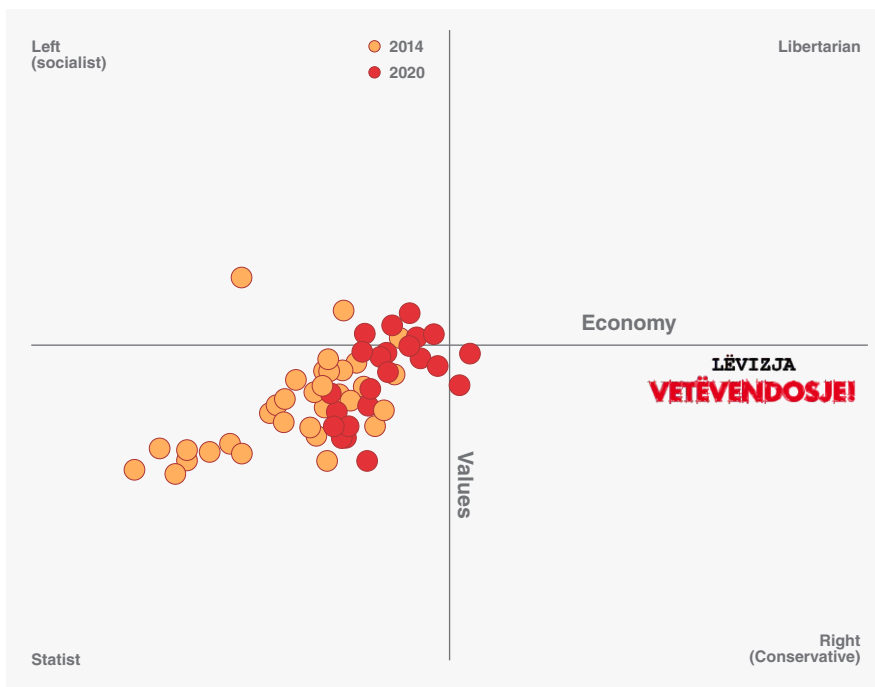
The interviews conducted with Vetëvendosje officials and activists show a coherent group of individuals who are aligned with the official positions of the party. The mean of the results from the interviews conducted place VV in the

Kosovo's ideological compass

Evolution of party orientation 2014-2020,
Values and Populism

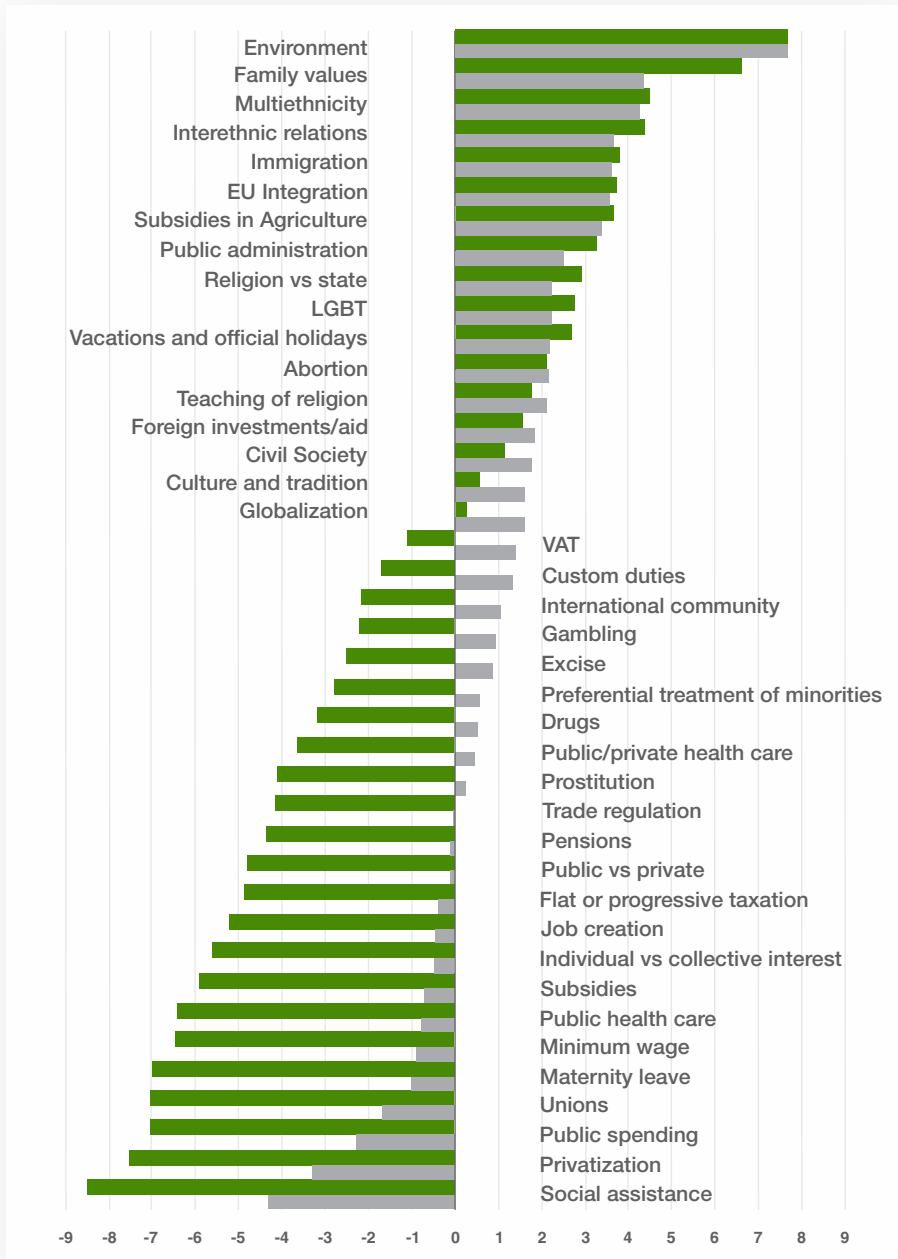
center left of the ideological definition of political parties but closer to the center than 6 years ago.

Vetëvendosje's responses have a smaller distribution in terms of economic values than in terms of social and individual freedoms. They are left-wing in economic matters, conservative in political views, and open in the social ones.



LVV 2014-2020: When were they left and when right?

■ Average 14-20 ■ Difference 14-20



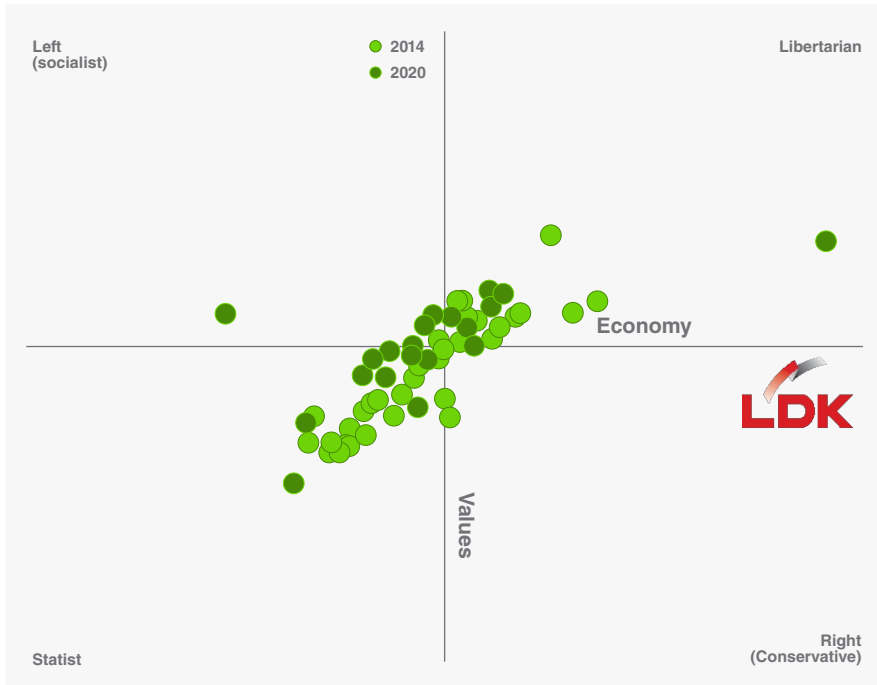
There is a marked difference of opinion within the party on various issues. Regarding the question on investments, foreign aid, as well as flat and progressive taxes, VV respondents have quite the same answers (quite a small standard deviation of VV respondents). The difference in terms of the greatest deviation among VV respondents appears in terms of issues such as abortion or multiethnic society.

The graph above explains where the party stands in general for each topic, as a comparable mirror (green columns). The gray columns explain the difference of the party between 2014 and now, to see in which areas it has moved to the right and for which to the left, starting from the topics where the party is on the right to the areas where the party is on the left.

LDK

In the political spectrum the LDK ranks mainly as the center-right party favouring a combination of economic liberalism and social conservatism. This is demonstrated through the membership of the LDK in the European People's Party (EPP) which is identified as the center-right political family.

The LDK can be said to be a little more liberal than the center-right parties when it comes to economic issues. Socially, the LDK describes itself as conservative, although it maintains an individualistic position in the field of human rights, emphasizing equality "regardless of gender, age, ethnicity and religion." Until recently, the LDK was seen as a traditional party controlled by generations of older politicians, but the recent government has given great leadership responsibilities to younger activists.

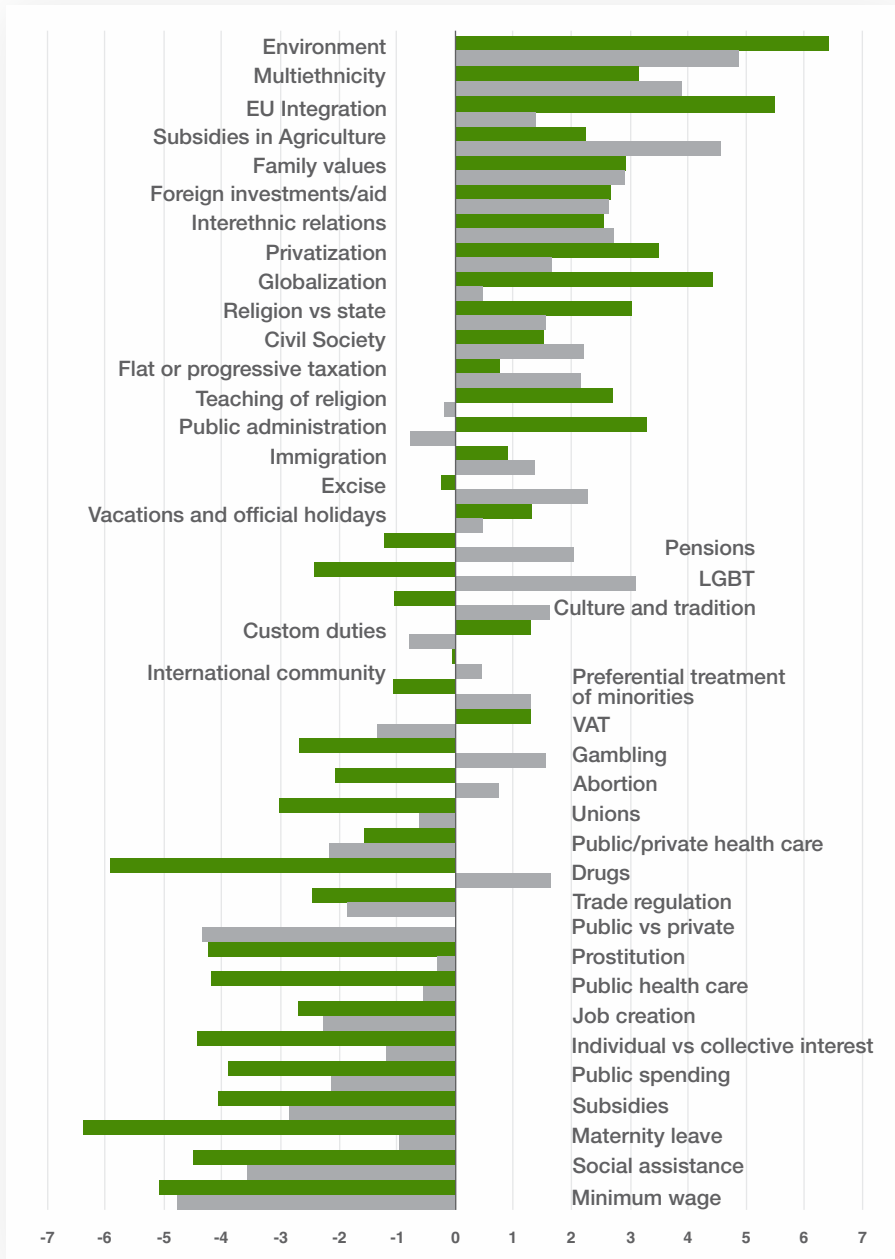


The LDK strongly supports the privatization of public enterprises, but, like other parties, it has not opposed the free provision of health care.

The LDK has largely remained as it was, but has a slight influx of responses towards the center, making the party more liberal and more concentrated around the center. The LDK is more to the center right when it comes to economic issues and more conservative to social and political issues. Individual values line up the traditional LDK elite (which shrunk in 2020) against a larger liberal group (who seem to have quite opposing views).

LDK 2014-2020: When were they left and when right?

■ Average 14-20 ■ Difference 14-20



The above graph shows the means (in green) of the LDK responses in 2014 and 2020, namely a total of about 70 responses on different topics, starting mainly from the most liberal ones (such as the environment) to the most left such as maternity leave, social assistance or the minimum wage.

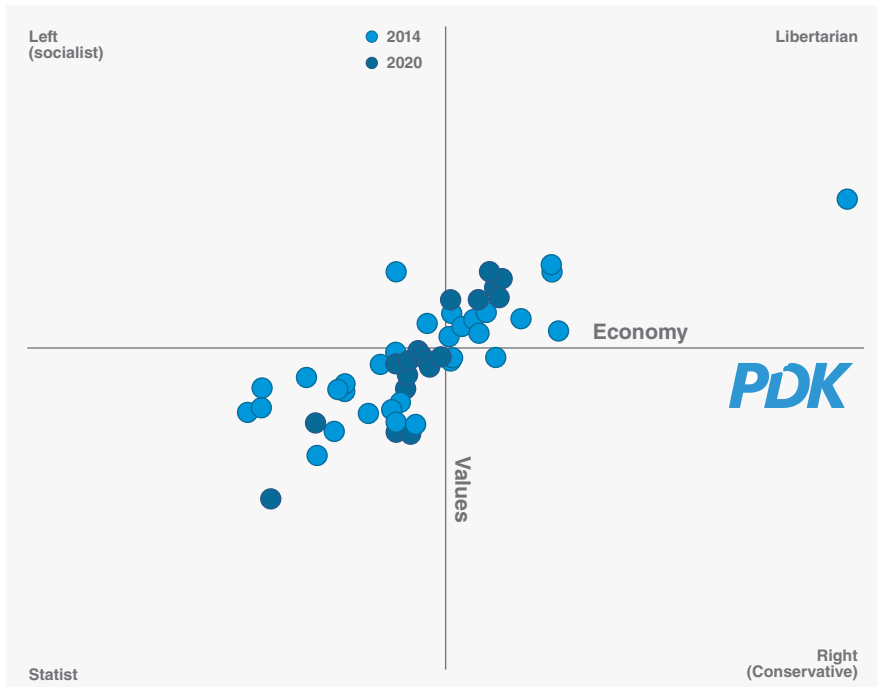
The grey colour shows the biggest difference from 2014 to 2020, visually presenting the questions for which it has moved to the right or left. For example for the environment, subsidies in agriculture, or the LGBT there are sharp movements on the right. For some topics LDK has moved to the left, such as showing greater preferences for the public domain, the minimum wage and social assistance.

PDK

The PDK is mainly defined as a center-right party in the political spectrum and has a combination of liberal policies in economic terms, but also conservative ones in social terms; for example, supporting the free market and low taxes, as well as preserving traditional values. The PDK has also occasionally tended to the left. The PDK has, for a short time, associated itself with the Social Democrats and maintained links with the UK Labor Party as well as the US Democratic Party.

During its rule, the PDK has displayed features of opposing ideologies. On the one hand it had supported the privatization of public enterprises which is a right-wing policy and on the other hand the PDK government subsidized agriculture and boasted of redistribution policies that are features of the left.

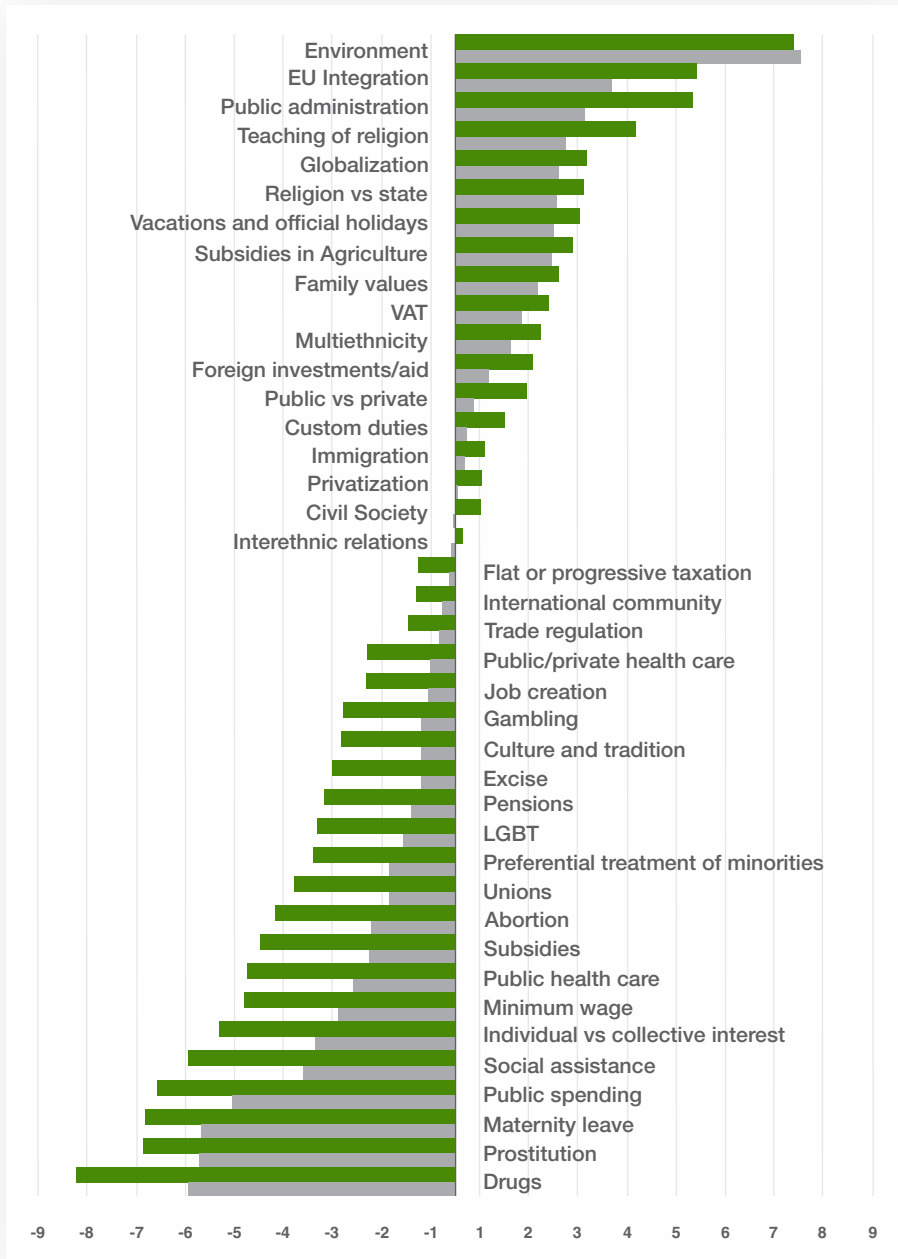
The dark blue dots represent the answers of 2020, while pale blue dots represent the answers of 2014. A bunch of more liberal responses in terms of social values can be observed. There is a concentration of responses in general, especially in terms of the economic axis. There are now fewer right and left answers and most are close to the zero axis.



Responses in the PDK are also less left-wing and closer to the center. There are now two groups: an slightly left-wing and conservative and the other a liberal and slightly right-wing group. In general, left responses are significantly reduced and there is now a concentration of mid-spectrum responses.

PDK 2014-2020: When were they left and when right?

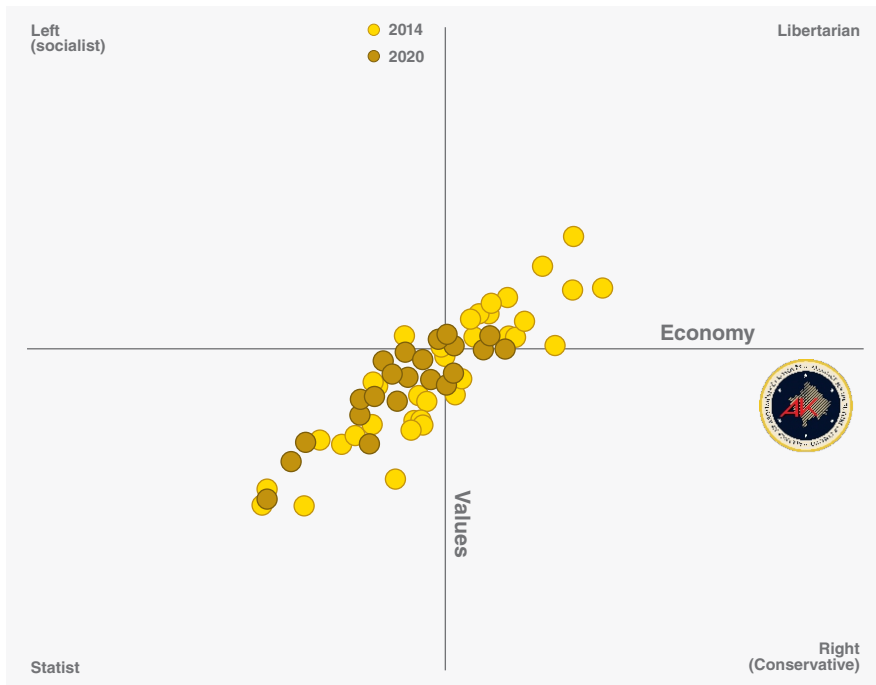
■ Average 14-20 ■ Difference 14-20



The graph above shows that the PDK has moved leftwards in terms of topics such as drugs or prostitution, as well as maternity leave and public spending. PDK has moved rightwards for EU integration and public administration.

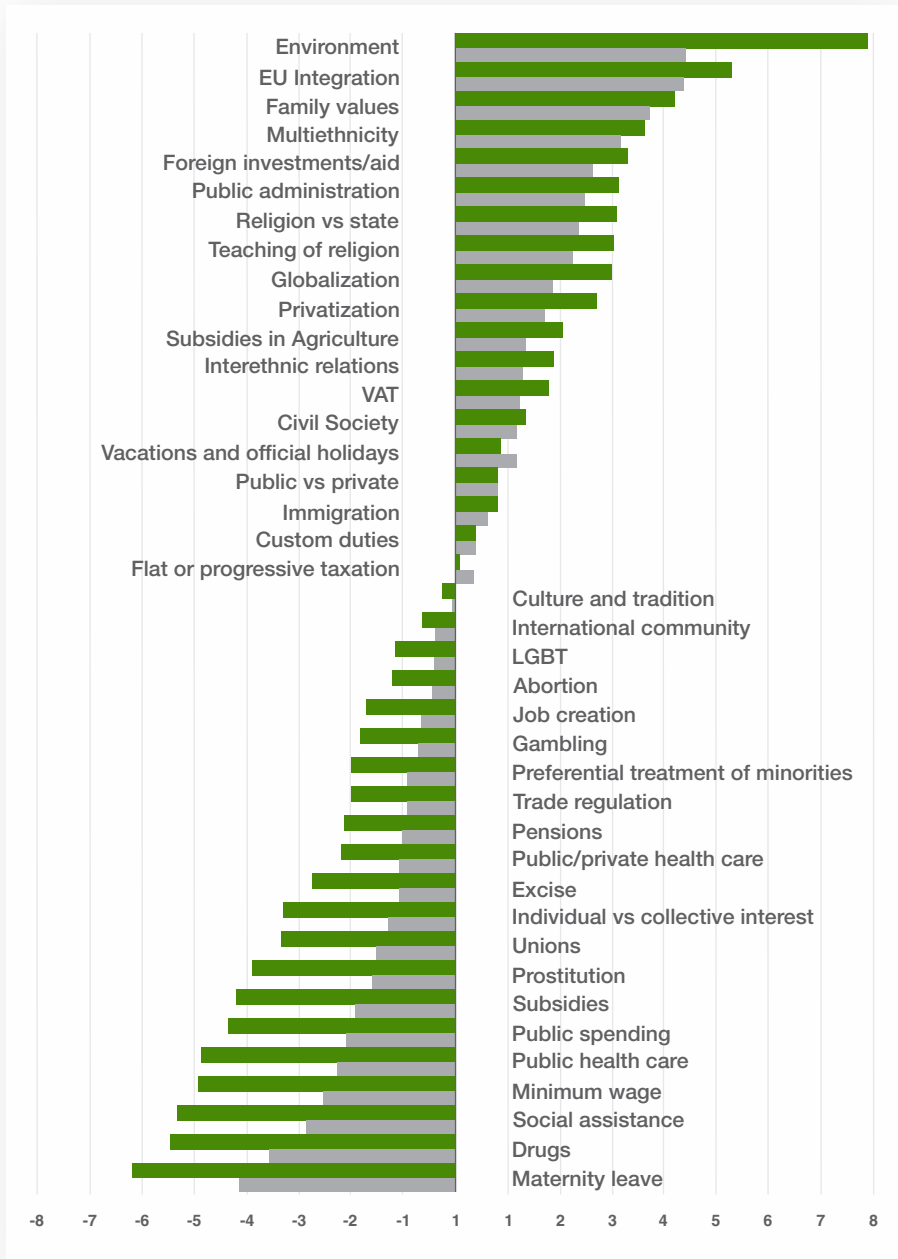
AAK

AAK is also considered to belong to the center right although the latest poll shows the AAK right has moved towards the center and the left. Traditionally AAK has supported right-wing economic methods, but at least the opinions within do not coincide with this attitude as before.



AAK 2014-2020: When were they left and when right?

■ Average 14-20 ■ Difference 14-20



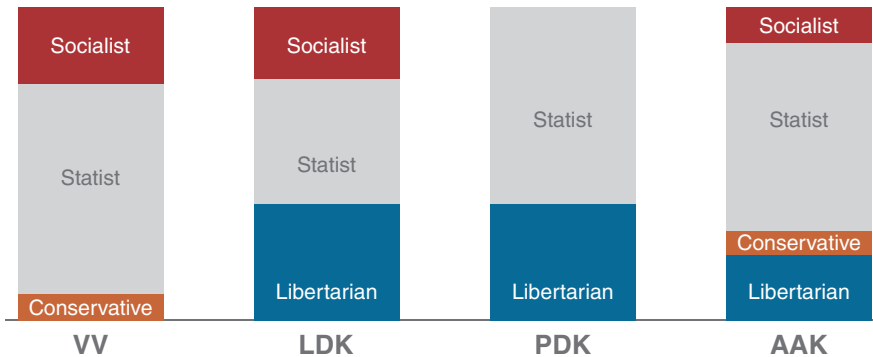
In 2020, as seen above in the two-dimensional graph, the AAK has clearly moved to the left, sharing an ideological segment similar to VV.

The opinions of the AAK elite are situated mainly at the center, slightly to the left of the PDK and LDK when it comes to economic issues, and are slightly more conservative than these two in terms of individual freedoms.

AAK is right-wing mainly on the same topics as other parties but also topics others are not as right-wing on, such as 'family values'. AAK is left-wing for similar topics as other parties.

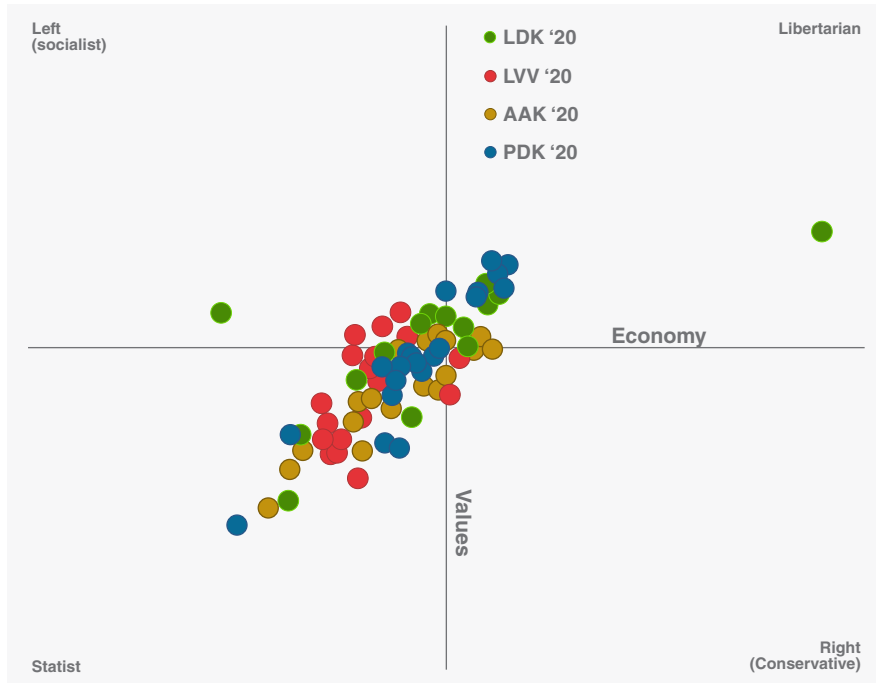
VII. How homogeneous are the parties?

The party graphs in the earlier chapter illustrate the distribution of all respondents. The graph below compares all the parties more clearly to see what percentage of them turns out in which quadrant.



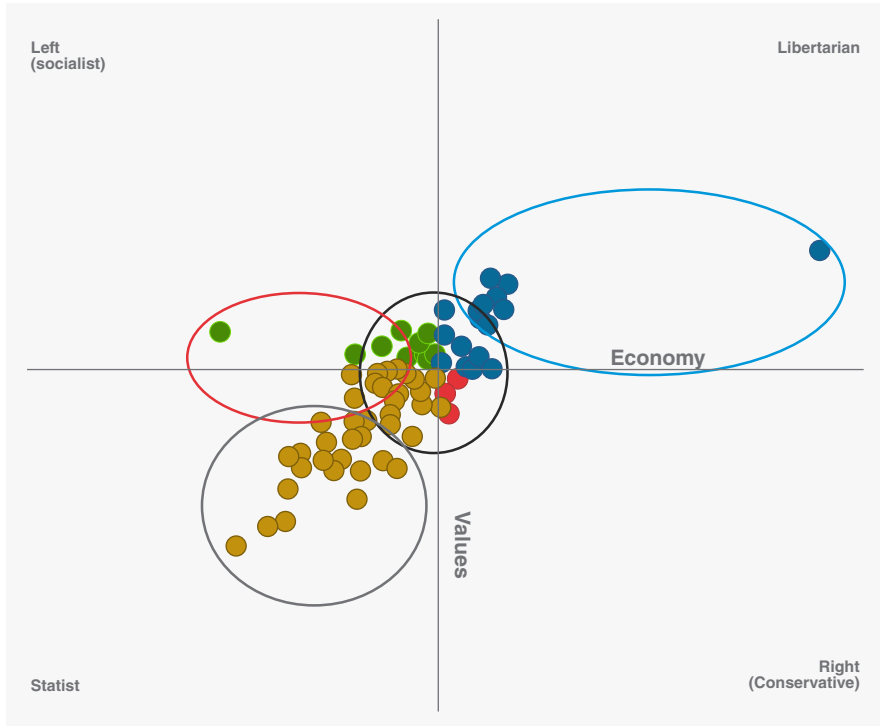
When the distribution of each party across the ideological quadrants is analyzed, it turns out that VV has almost no libertarian activists which is natural because they do not display such attitudes. In the previous chapter it was observed that most of them come out in the statist quadrant, i.e. economically left-wing and conservative in terms of individual freedoms.

The LDK is clearly the party with the highest percentage of officials who support individual freedoms and is equal to the PDK in terms of economic freedoms. AAK is the second most conservative party after VV and the third in terms of economic freedoms after LDK and PDK.



The diagram above presents all the parties in one place in order to compare them more easily visually. This graph shows that parties have a mixed electorate that is likely to agree more on many topics with activists of other parties than with their fellow party members.

If Kosovar parties were to reorganize into groups that think alike on different public policy topics, the results could look like the following. In this hypothetical situation, Kosovo would have two major parties, one centrist and one conservative populist, as well as two smaller parties, one liberal and one social democratic.



Conclusions and recommendations

In general, D4D used the same study tool as 6 years ago in order to emerge not only with the study as a snapshot but also observe a time comparison. The study shows that we still cannot say that we have clearly profiled parties. The LDK has remained the center-right party and has the most concentrated responses. The same space of the spectrum is now occupied by the PDK which also has less scattered and more concentrated answers.

The AAK and VV have approximated, one from the right to the center-left conservative and the other from the left towards the center-left, also conservative, and now share the same ideological spectrum.

As was concluded 6 years ago, the motto is still applicable whereby in order to win the elections in Kosovo non-declaration helps more than the clear positioning which also brings enemies. After each specific statement, politicians gain more enemies than voters. Consequently, it is better for those who do not declare themselves concretely and this political culture needs to be changed.

Kosovo continues to face a crisis situations, polarized politics and existential challenges as it feels it has fragile sovereignty by not being a member of the UN.

Although Kosovo has been governing itself for over 10 years, few topics penetrate the agenda of decision-makers because the dialogue dominates the entire agenda and other decisions are taken as automated techniques, as part of the harmonization of legislation with the EU. Consequently, the political elite is not forced to comment on various topics, including those we have measured with this study.

However, the more election cycles pass, the more the elected representatives will declare their positions. Hopefully a paper like this will push the public to demand clarity of positions, and push modern policymakers to gain new voters precisely by clarifying their positions.

Parties can gain a lot from such a study because they understand how their officials feel about topics that are probably not in turn to be discussed within their ranks or in the Assembly, how different they are from each other, how different the officials are within a given party, as well as how different the real positions are from the statements of the parties, the attitudes of the citizens or the European reality towards which we aspire.

With the gradual development of the country, it is legitimate to expect that following the completion of immediate needs (water supply, sewerage, basic infrastructure), Kosovars will have greater expectations.

In recent years, Kosovars have set up dozens of organizations of mothers coming together to lobby, as do surveyors or parents of children with disabilities. They seek individual parties or MPs who have a clear stance and support their cause.

The first edition of this study aimed to determine the numerical value of attitudes, and then measure the internal distribution in each party. In addition to categorizing the political parties, this publication has also contributed to unraveling what defines right and/or left-wing in general and in Kosovo in particular.

This paper further presents two novelties. First, it brings the comparison with a time distance of 6 years. From a glimpse of the situation back in 2014, we can now gradually see the movements and trends. This paper has not attempted to explain the reasons for these movements so as not to be seen as a potentially biased.

The second novelty of this paper is that it looks at the concentration of responses. It is noticed that the answers are more concentrated than years ago and it may be that the parties have had time to debate the topics and now their positions are more homogeneous than in the past.

Recommendations

Parties should draft their official positions on various topics which are presented by party bodies, regardless of whether they are in government or not. Internal talks should be organized so that the party is prepared to address various topics when it comes to power. Formal profiling is not necessary, but it is more important to initiate an internal dialogue process in order to serve for the approximation and development of responses to numerous social problems. Thus, the membership and staff would also develop expertise on various topics that helps in debates and helps gain more support among the people. Each party needs internal mechanisms of communication and political education that would affect the homogenization of attitudes within their structures.

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