





THE CITIZEN'S MINDSET TOWARDS POLITICAL QUESTIONS Survey results

June 2021

THE CITIZEN'S MINDSET TOWARDS POLITICAL QUESTIONS Survey results

This report does not necessarily reflect the views of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS), its affiliates or the PIPS Board. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted without the permission of PIPS and KAS. All rights reserved ©.

This publication of the der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e. V. is solely intended for information purposes. It may not be used by political parties or by election campaigners or supporters for the purpose of election advertising. This applies to federal, state and local elections as well as elections to the European Parliament.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	06
PERCEPTIONS ON THE RELATIONS OF THE STATE WITH MARKET ECONOMY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM	11
PERCEPTIONS ON POLITICS AND PARTICIATION	26
NALYSIS OF THE SEGMENTS OF KOSOVO VOTERS	34
METHODOLOGY ————————————————————————————————————	46

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The survey 'The Citizen's Mindset Towards Political Questions' has been published for the first time by the Prishtina Institute for Political Studies (PIPS), in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS), office in Prishtina. The survey is based on the premises of impartiality, objectivity and validity in the process of drafting questions and obtaining the data, as well as in the phases of analyzing and interpreting the results. The survey aims to produce credible results that will be useful to all stakeholders involved within this field, such as: political parties, decision makers, policy makers, scholars, analysts and those who regard this study area as their interest.

The results of the survey are divided into two parts: Perceptions on the relations of the state with market economy and individual freedom, and Perceptions on politics and participation.

The first part contains questions that seek to better understand the opinions of respondents on the role and wideness of the state, especially in relation to the role of the individual in society. This set of questions is in many ways universal and is commonly used in similar surveys in other contexts for the same purpose.

The second part lists questions that aim to shed light on the attitudes of citizens in relation to the political context in Kosovo, existing political entities and electoral participation. As such, this set of questions is more heavily focused in the local context.

The report proceedes by offering the questions and results of both these sections, accompanied by a brief description. Then in the following section, the report offers a statistical analysis, which presents the analysis of the segment of Kosovar voters being divided into certain groups. The report concludes by introducing the survey methodology.

The main findings of the survey 'The Citizen's Mindset Towards Political Questions' are:

- The analysis of the profile of the Kosovo voters has revealed four main categories: Leaning right which represents about 30% of voters, Centrist which represents about 23% of voters, Leaning Left which represents about 27% of voters and Left which represents the beliefs of about 20% of Kosovar voters
- About 77% believe that government intervention in business regulation contributes to the public interest
- About 77% believe that government intervention in business regulation contributes to the public interest
- About 79% think that abortion should be prohibited by law in any circumstance
- Asked how they ideologically profile themselves, about 27% describe themselves as right- wing, while about 18% describe themselves as left-wing
- About 50% admitted that they do not posses knowledge of ideological concepts.
- About 9% stated that they are members of a Kosovar political party, compared to 85% that stated the opposite
- About 56% stated that Kosovo would be a better country, if people practiced their religion more, whilst about 32% stated the opposite
- The two parties with the highest figures perceived as right-wing within this survey are Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) and Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK), with an identical figure of 30.8%, on the other hand the main left-wing party by the respondents was seen Lëvizja Vetëvendosje with 31.1%
- More respondents believe that the government should intervene on wage standards and working conditions in the private sector and that the government should exercise control over the private sector in order to protect the consumer, compared to the part that believes the economy works best when it is free and without control exercised by the government.

PERCEPTIONS ON THE RELATIONS OF THE STATE WITH MARKET ECONOMY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

The following question consists of 5 different sub-questions, where the respondents were able to choose one statement with which they agree more. The offered statements were a statement which leans towards left-wing policies and a statement which leans towards right-wing policies. As the results of these statements show, the respondents have clearly stated ideas that affirm and represent leftwing parties and governments.

For instance, about 77% of respondents stated that government intervention in business regulation is the right path for the economic model, compared to about 23% who stated that government intervention in business regulation is harmful. About 88% stated that the poverty of individuals derives also as a result of the lack of social schemes by the state, compared to about 12% that see broad social schemes as an aspect that keeps people in poverty, thus reducing the chances for social mobility.

Further, about 62% stated that people who have not achieved in life have been discriminated, compared to about 38% who said that individual factors should be considered as primary in this case. Large spending in the military sector, which is commonly considered a feature of right-wing governments, was seen by only about 21% of the respondents as the best way to prevent war, compared to about 79% who have assessed that diplomatic channels pose the right way for this purpose.

On the other hand, in terms of views on the economy, about 63% stated that businesses (corporations) operate with excessive profit, compared to about 37% who said that businesses earn reasonably.

Which of the following statements do you agree with the most:

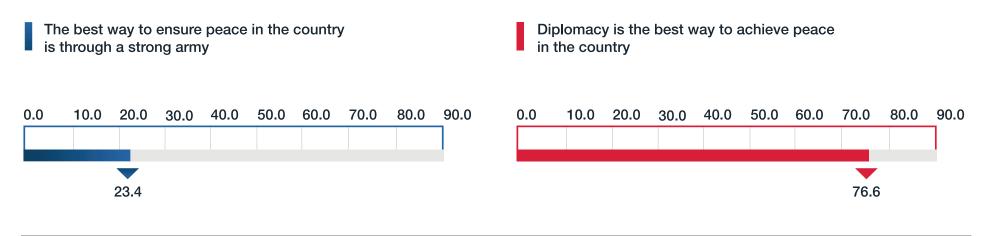


Which of the following statements do you aggre with the most:

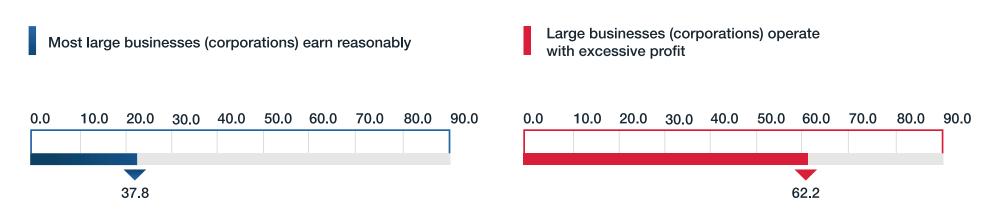


Which of the following statements do you aggre with the most:





Which of the following statements do you aggre with the most:



The following table shows the results of the responses related to state intervention in the market economy and the most preferred tax model. Respondents were able to answer with grades 1-10, where 1 was the lowest and 10 the highest, while the results show the average of the answers. What stands out within this answer is that the statements with the least support are those that affirm the free market economy and low taxes for the wealthy, which are ideas that represent right-wing politics.

In this regard, the statement 'taxes penalize successful people' received a figure of only 5.48 and the statement that 'the economy works best when it is free and without government control' received an average of 5.98. On the other hand, other statements that affirm a wider role of the state in taxes, social assistance and health insurance, in workers' rights and consumer protection, are statements that have found greater support in the answers provided.

2 On a cale from 1 to 10, where 1 is I strongly disagree and 10 I strongly agree, to what extent do you agree with the following statements?

It is reasonable for the rich to pay more taxes than the poor

The government should intervene to set wage standards and working conditions in the private sector

The government must exercise control over the private sector in order to protect the consumer

The government must provide a basic standard of living for all citizens

The economy works best when it is free and without government control

Taxes penalize successful people

The government should provide health insurance for all citizens, regardless of their ability to pay for insurance



The following three sub-questions aim to measure the perceptions of Kosovar respondents in relation to individual freedom and rights, more concrently how they rate the relationship between the state and the freedom of citizens. In general, the three answers to the questions in this category show attitudes that tend toward conservative views.

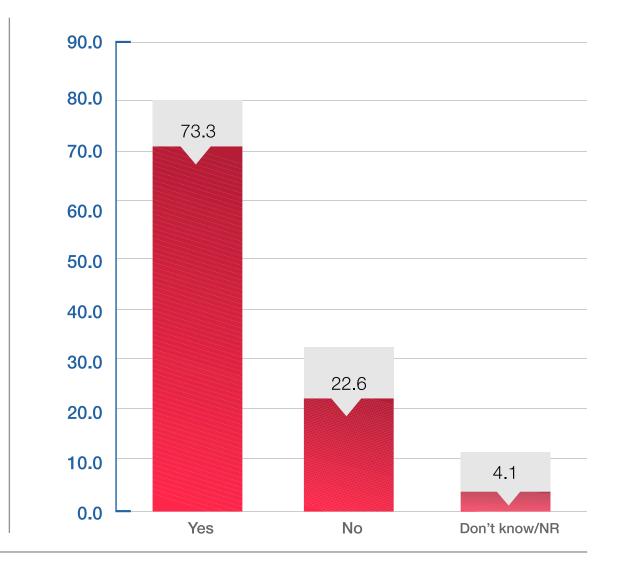
The first question concerns compliance with euthanasia, that is, the freedom of individuals to end their lives with the assistance of another instance. This idea that euthanasia should be objected and not allowed was supported by the vast majority of respondents with a figure of about 73%. In fact, the idea of euthanasia is a rather controversial topic which produces continuous debates even within the same ideological spectrum; for example within right-wing parties it tends to be opposed by conservatives, but on the other hand it tends to be supported by libertarians, given that it is regarded as a fundamental right of the individual to have control over his own life.

On the other hand, about 79% stated that they believe that abortion should be prohibited by law in all circumstances and about 56% said that Kosovo would be a better country if people practiced more religion. Overall, pro-religious sentiment and state intervention in the abortion issue comprise two important aspects

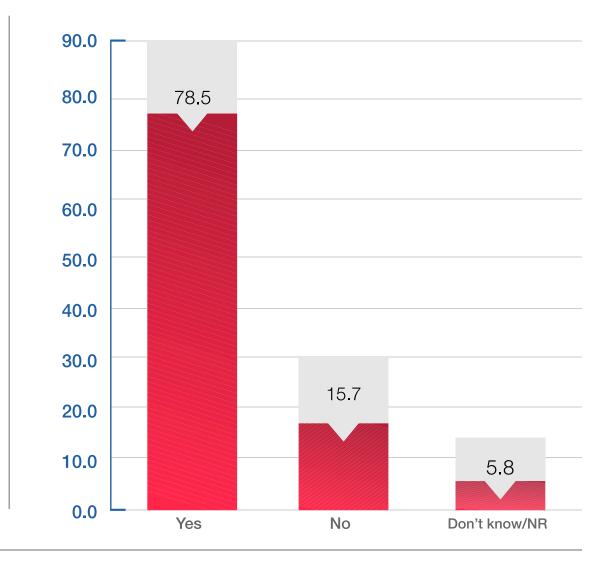
that have been affirmed by the far right-wing parties in Europe. Recently, for example, in Poland, under the influence of right-wing political forces, it was decided to ban abortion except in very extreme and specific cases. On the other hand, Christian Democrat parties, which constitute an important political idea and force for the right-wing politics within many EU countries, are in essence closely linked to the idea of religion.

^{1.}Poland enforces controversial near-total abortion ban - BBC News. Accessed June 17, 2021.

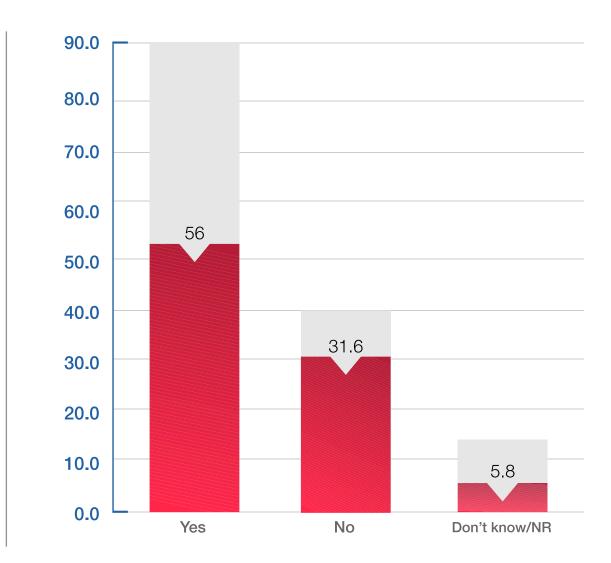
3.1 Do you think that no matter how sick someone is,he/she has no right to end his life?



3.2 Do you think abortion should be prohibited by law in all circumstances:



3.3 Do you think Kosovo would be a better country if people practiced their religion more:



This question, together with the following statements, aimed to measure the attitudes of citizens in relation to the idea of equality, as well as social schemes in Kosovo that cover different categories such as veterans and teachers. The highest percentage of statements is related to the belief that the practice of corruption is very widespread in Kosovo. On the other hand, in terms of distribution, the support for social schemes such as war veterans and teachers is not in high margins, with an average of 6.14 and 6.52, respectively. Respondents also share the belief that people should have equality in income and the policy-making process should reflect this premise.

4

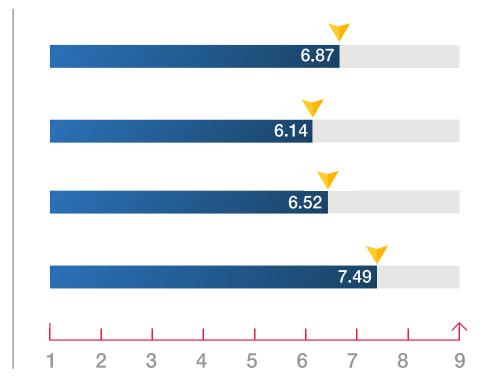
From a scale from 1 to 10 (where 10 would be the highest rate of support and I dont know / refuse to answear), how much do you support the following statement?

All people should have an equal income

Social transfers for war veterans are fair

Supplements to teachers' pensions in the 90s are fair

The practice of corruption is very widespread in Kosovo



On a cale from 1 to 10, where 1 is I strongly disagree and 10 I strongly agree, to what extent do you agree with the following statements?



I get upset when a person performs better than me

For me, it is a pleasure to spend time with others

I feel good when I collaborate with others

My happiness depends a lot on the happiness of the people around me

I like to operate in an environment where I have to compete with others

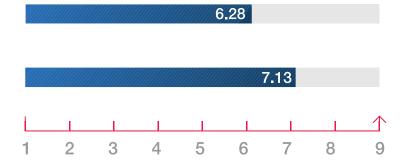
t is important for me to maintain harmony in the group

If a relative is in financial difficulty, I would help him within my means





I like to share things / goods with others



This set of questions provided the answers of the respondents regarding the relationship they have with other individuals, the society, as well as the state institutions. The respondents could choose a grade, from 1-10 where 1 was the lowest and 10 was the highest. Overall, the results showcase support for different, and also contrasting responses.

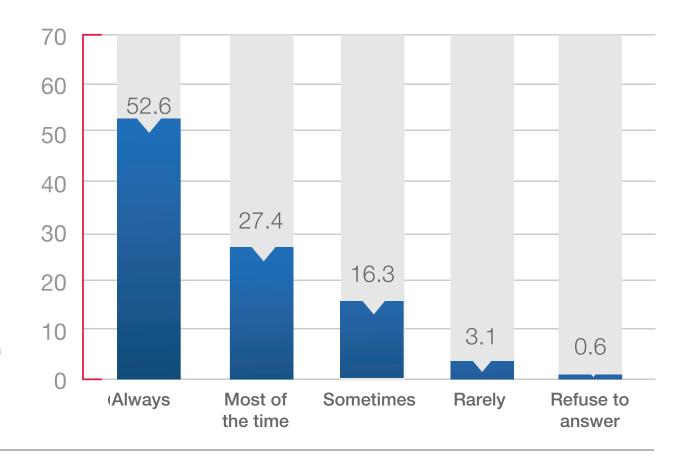
For example, responses that lean towards an increased role of the individual, such as 'I prefer to rely on myself more than others' has received high support of 7.47, while the statement 'my privacy is important' has recieved an average of 7.38. On the other hand, within the same response there were highly graded responses that lean towards preferences for collective action, such as like 'I feel good when I collaborate with others' which recieved an average of 7.27 and 'I like to share things / goods with others' which recieved an average of 7.13.



1.Can you tell us how often do you vote?

This question aimed to measure the participation of respondents in electoral processes, by posing the question on how often they vote. There were four options which were offered as an answer: always, most of the time, sometimes and rarely. As the chart shows, the majority of the respondents responded that they always vote (53%), while in the other extreme only about 3% stated that they rarely vote.

As part of responding to this question respondents were able to provide answers to their engagement within political parties and electoral processes. The results show that the percentage of participation in party activities amongs Kosovo citizens is rather low. About 88% stated that they have not engaged in any political campaign in the past, about 86% stated that they have never contacted any state official, while about 78% said that they have never attended an election rally.

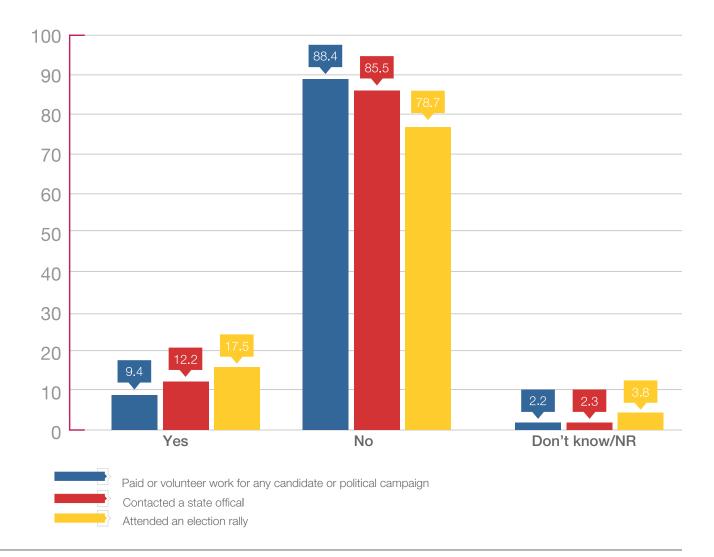


Survey results

2.In the past two years, have you...?

When asked how much they are interested in political processes, the responses of the respondents are divided by a small margin. Slightly over half of the respondents (51%) declared themselves as citizens which hold an interest for politics, by choosing the answers very interested (6.4%) and interested (44.4%).

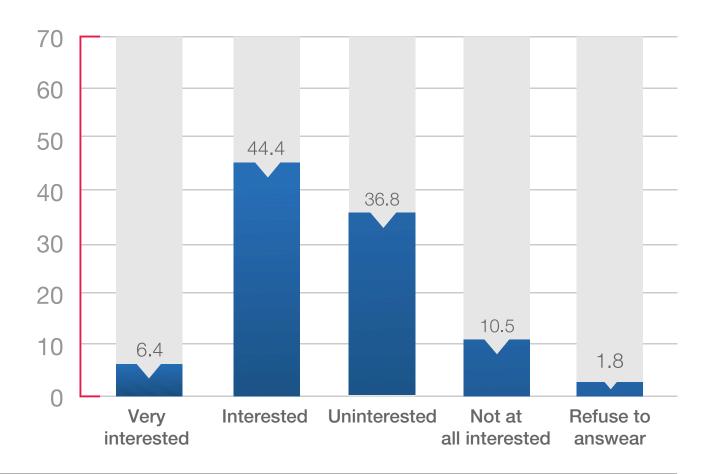
On the other hand, around 48% are located on the other side of the spectrum, as about 37% declared themselves uninterested for politics, while about 11% of respondents described themselves as not at all interested in politics.



3. How interested are you in politics?

In this question the respondents were asked if they currently hold membership in any political Kosovar party.

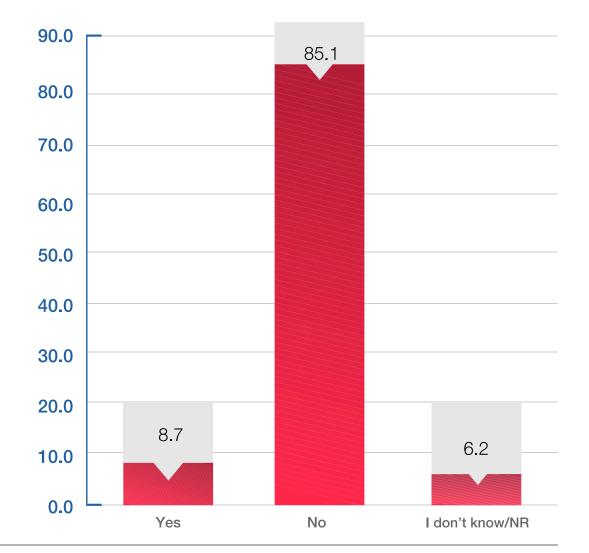
As it can be seen, the vast majority of respondents stated that they have no membership in any Kosovar political party. On the other hand, about 9% admitted to being members of a political party and also about 6% refused to answer the question.



4. Are you a member of a political party?

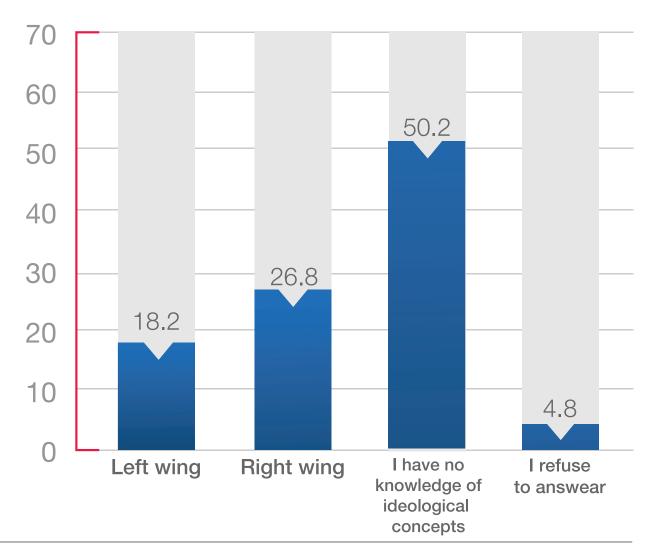
The question aimed to measure the affiliation and self-identification of respondents with political ideologies. What is interesting is that about half of the respondents admitted that they do not posses the proper knowledge of ideological concepts, thus abstaining from taking either side.

On the other hand, about 27% described themselves as right-wing, compared to about 18% who described themselves as ideologically left-wing. Seen from a wider perspective, these figures are inconsistent with the results of previous responses of this srurvey, where there was a marked bias of responses towards political statements belonging to the left-wing ideology.

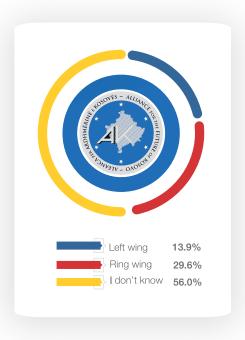


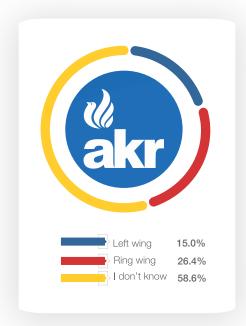
5. Ideologically, would you define your political ideology as right wind or left wing

In this question, the respondents were asked to locate Kosovar political parties in relation to the ideological wing to which they belong. The two parties with the highest numbers perceived as right-wing within this poll are Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) and Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK), with an identical figure of 30.8%; on the other hand, as the main left-wing party was Lëvizja VETËVENDOSJE! with 31.1%. What is striking is that very high percentages of respondents have chosen the 'I do not know' option, thus acknowledging that they do not possess the necessary information to make the ideological localization of political parties, even when they may choose to participate in the electoral process (which was supported by the results of the question about the frequency of voting).



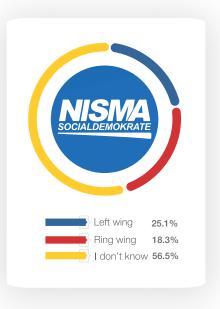
6. In your opinion, to which ideological wing do the following political parties belong to?







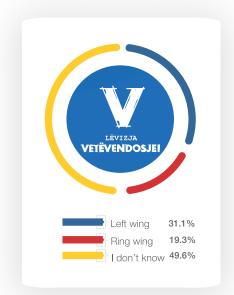














ANALYSIS OF THE SEGMENTS OF KOSOVO VOTERS

In order to better understand the division of voters along ideological lines, an analysis of the existing segments of Kosovar voters was prepared, which enables the grouping of citizens based on their political ideology. Depending on their views expressed in the study, each individual who responded to the survey was placed

within a segment composed of other individuals who have similar beliefs.

The analysis of the voter's segments was conducted in two steps of cluster analysis through Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software:

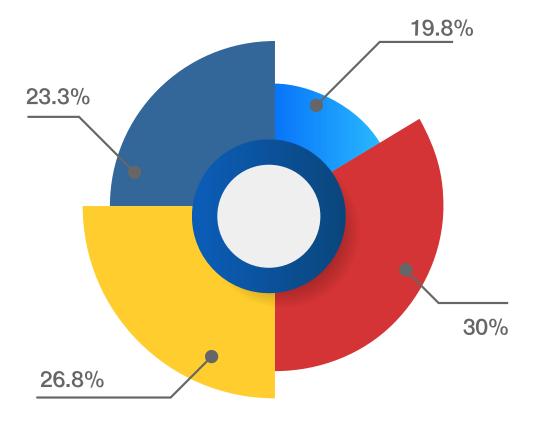
- First step: Through the hierarchical clustering technique the optimal number of clusters (segments) has been identified
- Second step: Through the technique "k-means clustering", respondents were divided into four clusters (segments) based on their answers to a series of questions

Segmentation analysis is based on seven sub-questions in the form of statements. Respondents responded to how much they agree with each of the following statements on a scale from 1 (I strongly disagree) to 10 (I strongly agree).

- 1. It is reasonable for the rich to pay more taxes than the poor
- 2. The government should intervene to set wage standards and working conditions in the private sector
- 3. The government should exercise control over the private sector in order to protect the consumer
- 4. The government should provide a basic standard of living for all citizens
- 5. The economy works best when it is free and without government control
- 6. Taxes penalize successful people
- 7. The government should provide health insurance for all citizens, regardless of their ability to pay for insurance

The findings of the segmentation analysis show that in Kosovo there are four segments of Kosovar voters based on their political mindset:

- The first segment, Leaning Right, represents 30% of Kosovar voters;
- The Centrist segment is the second segment generated by the analysis. This segment consists of 23.3% of the voters;
- The third segment is Leaning Left, represented by 26.8% of voters;
- Finally, the Left segment, is the fourth segment generated and represents the beliefs of 19.8% Kosovar voters.



It is reasonable to have the rich pay more taxes than the poor

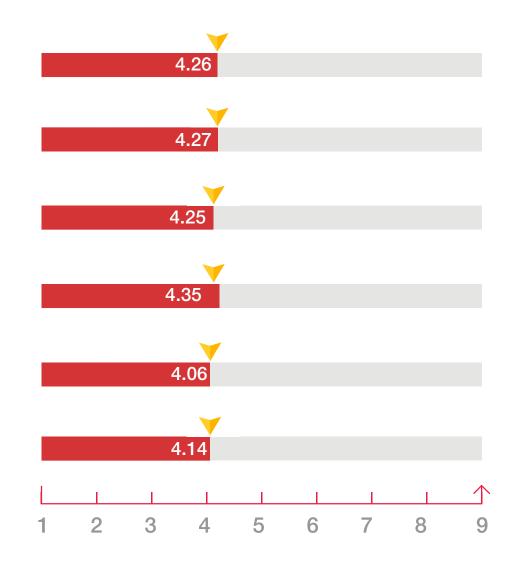
The government must intervene to determine wage standards and working conditions in private sector

The government should exercise control over the private sector in order to protect the consumer

The government must provide a basic standard of living for all citizens

The economy works best when it is free and without control exercised by the government

Taxes penalize successful people



The preferences of the voters in the "Leaning Right" segment mainly lean towards a free market economy and low taxes.

Moreover, they are more inclined to oppose the government intervention in the private sector and believe that taxes should be equal for all strata of society. In general, this segment of voters does not believe that the government should provide a basic standard of living for all citizens of the country.

It is reasonable to have the rich pay more taxes than the poor

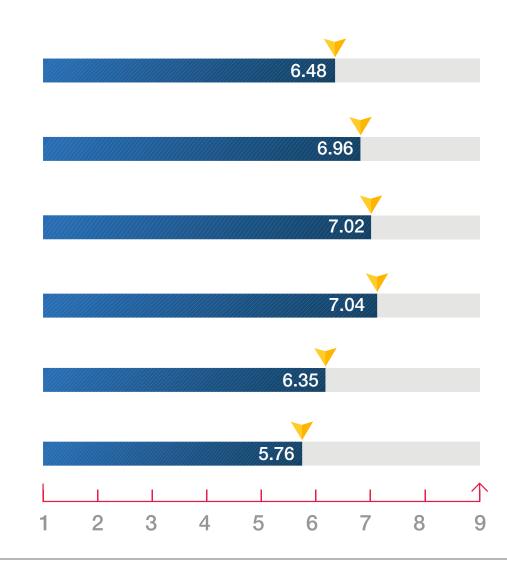
The government must intervene to determine wage standards and working conditions in private sector

The government should exercise control over the private sector in order to protect the consumer

The government must provide a basic standard of living for all citizens

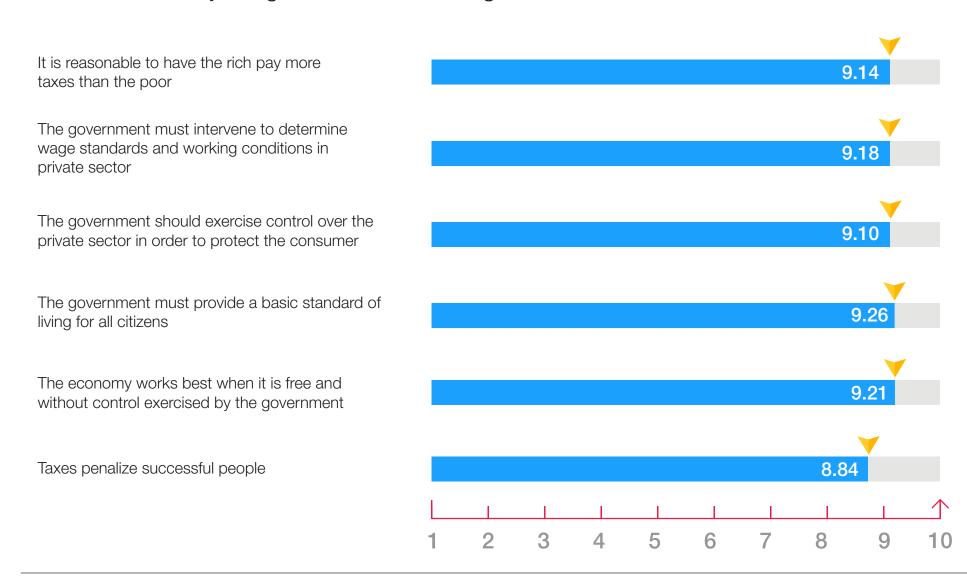
The economy works best when it is free and without control exercised by the government

Taxes penalize successful people



Voters in the "Centrist" segment are mostly in the middle of the political spectrum. They tend to agree to some extent that the government should intervene in the economy and the private sector.

Unlike the "Leaning Right" segment, this segment of voters find it reasonable to some extent that the rich should pay higher taxes than the poor and a significant number of them think that the government should provide a basic standard of living for citizens.



Voters in the "Leaning Left" segment mainly lean towards social policies, such as higher taxation of the rich and the provision of a basic standard of living by the government, as well as increased social assistance and social security schemes. Citizens of this segment believe that the government should exercise control and intervention to set wage standards and working conditions in the private sector.

However, the majority of voters in this segment have stated that they believe in a free economy.

It is reasonable to have the rich pay more taxes than the poor

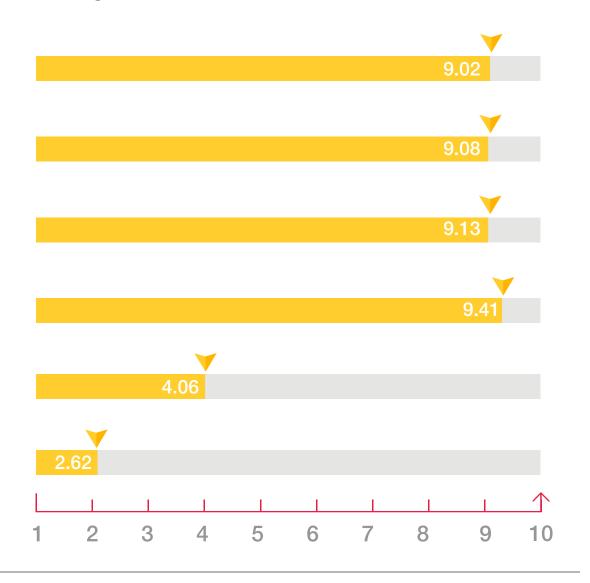
The government must intervene to determine wage standards and working conditions in private sector

The government should exercise control over the private sector in order to protect the consumer

The government must provide a basic standard of living for all citizens

The economy works best when it is free and without control exercised by the government

Taxes penalize successful people



Voters in the "Left" segment support social policies such as higher taxation of the rich, the provision of a basic standard of living by the government, and government intervention in setting standards and working conditions in the private sector. To a large extent, these citizens also believe that the government should exercise control over the private sector in order to protect consumers. Unlike the Leaning Left segment, most voters in this segment do not believe in a free market economy and do not believe that taxes penalize the successful.

Seen in general, the analysis on the division of voter segments has high-lighted the fact that a category that would be parallel to the category 'Left', i.e a group of voters that would be positioned on the contrast right. Although the broadest category is that of 'Leaning Right' with about 30%, in fact as a percentage it is smaller than the two categories in contrast with 'Left' and 'Leaning Left'.

These findings become even more interesting given that three largest parties currently in Kosovo (Vetëvendosje, Democratic Party of Kosovo and Democratic League of Kosovo) two of them are considered by respondents as right-wing parties. Although in one of the questions the respondents were more self-identified with the right ideology, the substance of their answers showcases the opposite. Thus, in addition to the percentage of centrist voters that can be imagined between two points on the diagonal, in terms of beliefs expressed, the largest number of voters is positioned to the left, compared to right-wing beliefs.

METHODOLOGY

The survey was conducted in all 38 municipalities of Kosovo, using the quantitative research method. The sampling technique used in this research is the simple random sampling technique, which divides the general population into smaller groups known as layers, based on the common characteristics of the members of these layers.

- First Layer: is based on ethnicity from which three layers were created, Albanian, Serbian and others (Turkish, Roma, Egyptian, Ashkali, Gorani and Bosniak).
- Second Layer: is based on geographic distribution of the respondents. The sampling was designed in urban and rural areas for each Municipality, according to official statistics of the Kosovo Agency of Statistics (KAS).
- Third Layer: is based on the number of surveys conducted in each location from the starting point. The starting points in this research were determined by the random method.

For this research project 800 citizens of Kosovo, over the age of 18 were surveyed: Albanians (596), Serbs (102) and members of other communities (102). At the beginning of the research, every citizen of Kosovo, regardless of residence, age or ethnicity, was a potential respondent of this survey. This survey has a confidence level of 95% with a margin of error of +-4%. During the analysis, the sample was weighted in order to reflect the ethnic structure of the population of Kosovo

The respondents' selection for this research was conducted through these three stages:

- FIRST PHASE: Household selection using the technique of systematic random walk. In this phase, the surveyor, depending on his/her starting point, conducted surveys on every third house on the left side of the street.
- SECOND PHASE: The aim of this phase was to identify the suitable candidate for the survey. This was done through a set of excluding questions. The surveyors had to select the member of the family, aged over 18, whose birthday was the closest to the day the interview was being conducted.
- THIRD PHASE: Conducting face-to-face interviews. The face-to-face interview process involved reading the questionnaire for the respondent in full form and filling the answers The data was collected in the field in April, by a private company based in Pristina. The questionnaire was pre-tested before the fieldwork commenced.

The surveyors were obliged to fully read each question and each answer option, likewise they were instructed not to interfere in any circumstances during the time the questionnaire was being filled. Around 30% of the surveys were reverified, through telephone and field visits. The collected data were processed in SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences). The survey was conducted using CAPI (Computer-assisted personal interviewing) technique.

This computerized survey development system is designed to detect if there is any unusual activity in relation to the validity of the interview, through speed (if the questionnaire is being filled too quickly), if the same answer is given for each question or if answers "I do not know" or "I refuse to answer" are too often submitted.

After the dataset was complete, during the data analysis all questions were checked with at least one variable (urban-rural), ethnicity, municipality, age, education and employment status in order to find a significant interaction between the variables.

	Division by description	Kosovar Survey			Albanian Survey			Serbian Survey			Other communities survey		
		Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
	Total	800	287	513	596	222	374	102	26	76	102	39	63
1	Deçan	12	1	11	12	1	11						
2	Gjakovë	40	17	23	33	14	19				7	3	4
3	Gllogovc	20	2	18	20	2	18						
4	Gjilan	42	23	19	33	18	15	6	3	3	3	2	1
5	Dragash	29	1	28	13		13				16	1	15
6	Istog	13	1	12	13	1	12						
7	Kaçanik	12	3	9	12	3	9						
8	Klina	17	2	15	14	2	12				3		3
9	Fushë Kosovë	19	10	9	11	6	5				6	3	3
10	Kamenicë	14	3	11	10	2	8						
11	Mitrovicë	31	20	11	28	19	9				3	1	2
12	Northen Mitrovicë	13	10	3				11	8	3	2	2	

13	Leposaviç	14	6	8				14	6	8			
14	Lipjan	22	2	20	19	2	17				3		3
15	Novobërdë	5	0	5				5		5			
16	Obiliq	13	4	9	7	2	5	3	1	2	3	1	2
17	Rahovec	23	5	18	21	5	16	2		2			
18	Pejë	42	19	23	33	15	18				9	4	5
19	Podujevë	29	7	22	29	7	22						
20	Prishtinë	71	59	12	66	55	11				5	4	1
21	Prizren	91	48	43	59	31	28				32	17	15
22	Skenderaj	21	2	19	21	2	19						
23	Shtime	9	2	7	9	2	7						
24	Shtërpcë	9	2	7				9	2	7			
25	Suharekë	23	4	19	23	4	19						
26	Ferizaj	44	17	27	40	16	24				4	1	3
27	Viti	16	2	14	16	2	14						

28	Vushtrri	30	11	19	2	2					
29	Malishevë	22	1	21							
30	Junik	2	0	2			6	2	4		
31	Zubin Potok	6	2	4			8	1	7		
32	Zveçan	8	1	7							
33	Mamushë	6	0	6						6	6
34	Hani i Elezit	3	0	3	3	3					
35	Gracanica	15	0	15			15		15		
36	Ranillug	5	0	5			5		5		
37	Partesh	4	0	4			4		4		
38	Kllokot	5	0	5			5		5		





Str. Rexhep Luci, 15/5
Republic of Kosovo, 10 000
Prishtina

+381 38 22 45 77

www.pips-ks.org

