



THE INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT POLICY

and

UNIVERSUM COLLEGE

**KOSOVO NATIONAL ELECTIONS 2014:
PUBLIC POLICY CONCERNS DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN**

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The national election campaign of 2014 was characterized by a greater commitment of parties to clarify and deliver concrete programmes in different areas of public policy, where great attention was paid to economic development, namely employment, fiscal policies as well as health and social policies.

In order to quantify the opinion of the voters on major policy areas, Institute for Development Policy (INDEP) and College Universum have conducted a series of surveys which enriched the election debate with accurate data on the opinion and evaluation of the voters on different public policy issues. Respondents were asked to identify the main reasons why they choose to vote for one party over the other, to clarify whether they trust the programmes of the parties, to state the reasons for trusting them or not as well as to specifically clarify their standing on major public policy actions. As a result of this, the report is divided in different subcategories and each of them reflects on the results of the survey pertaining to different areas of public policy.

The findings suggest that Kosovo voters care about the economic growth of the country and they consider that the industrial development and the development of the private sector are of high importance for the economic progress in the country. They are convinced that the development of agriculture will contribute directly to economic growth, therefore almost 90% of the respondents declared that they would vote for the party that offers a concrete plan for the development of this sector. Yet, in order to mark any progress in terms of economic development, voters are of the opinion that there should be a concrete plan for growth and employment.

On the other hand, there is a split opinions of the respondents on matters related to corruption, which is an indicative sign of the citizens being accustomed to the prevalence of corruption in their everyday lives, hence a good portion of citizens seem to be no longer bothered by corruption related practices or they simply believe that not much can be done in that direction.

Survey data show that the majority of voters don't believe in the promises of some parties to create hundreds of thousands of jobs, which was one of the most criticized and most debatable part of the entire election campaign. Among the reasons identified from the voters for the lack of trust are, the fact that they believe that those are merely empty promises, that these parties have failed to create new jobs in the past, and that the job openings would be filled with party militants and family members, etc. On the other hand, 89.47% of respondents agree that currently in Kosovo, there is no economic development that could afford and support the

creation of all these new jobs. This indicates that despite the voters believing in the word of the leader, they still hold reserves and question the trustworthiness of these promises.

As far as the dialogue with Serbia is concerned, seems that the voters don't really have a clear standing on the issue, yet, they are more convinced in terms of conditioning the dialogue with resolving the issue of pensions and the issue of the missing people. On the other hand, respondents generally agree that they would vote for the party that inserts reciprocity measures in economic and political relations with countries of the region, as well as that they would vote for the party that inserts specific reciprocity measures in economic and political relations with Albania.

The EU agenda seemingly impacts the opinion of the voters and could easily be identified as an issue that is of high importance to them. Kosovars are eager to have a government that offers a concrete plan for visa liberalization by 2015 and they believe that Kosovo should work hard to access EU as part of the group of the Balkan countries.

During the election campaign a considerable attention was paid to the elaboration of the fiscal policy programmes. Respondents gave a variety of answers to questions about the types and level of taxes that shows a lack of knowledge and lack of interest for fiscal policy as well as the failure of the parties to reflect their polarization on this issue to the public. Hence, when it comes to fiscal policies in the programmes of political parties in Kosovo, voters have different opinions regarding taxes and the results indicate the presence of confusion.

In general, voters declared themselves as being pro parties that advocate for the reduction of taxes, i.e. the income tax and profit tax as well as the reduction of the valued added tax (VAT). Nonetheless, Kosovo voters firmly believe that the special excise tax for luxury goods should continue to apply. Moreover, they have clearly positioned themselves against a complete removal of the customs duty for all the goods, yet they support the abolition of customs duties for raw materials needed in the agriculture and manufacturing sectors. This reflects that the voters are not completely negligent about the tax programmes.

Health policies and healthcare problems seem to have a major role in the voters' decisions when choosing the party for which they will cast the vote. It is clear from the survey data that in general Kosovo voters agree that there is an immediate need for improved healthcare services in the country. The differences in their preferences emerge when they are asked under what price they expect the improved health services to be delivered to them. In order to receive improved healthcare services, Kosovo citizens are even ready to go a step further and are willing to submit themselves to paying minimum charges, though they don't really approve programmes that would deliver improved health services under a standard fee.

What is essential to mention is that despite the preferred package for delivering improved health services, there is almost a unanimous support of the idea of invoking the public health insurance, which is expected to become effective as of 2015. This public health insurance program requires that the employer and the employee, separately, pay 3.5% of salary monthly to a state health insurance fund. This is a clear indicator of the fact that currently Kosovo citizens are highly discriminated in terms of the healthcare system and that they truly want and believe that the next government should give priority to the improvement of the situation in this field.

Similarly, Kosovar voters prefer parties with better social programmes and in general they advocate and support the idea of increased pension contributions and social benefits. Only small portion declared themselves against raising the pension contribution rate. Pensions in Kosovo are currently regulated under a system established in 2000 and the existing social scheme leaves much space for intervention and critique. It is important to tackle at this point that same as with the health system, the pension system was heavily criticized and continues to be even now.

Voters are advocates of greater social program schemes, as 80% of respondents said they would vote parties which will provide assistance to the unemployed, persons in need, single mothers, orphans, and families with more than three children. Moreover, citizens are of the opinion that a fund for the payment of the pension fund contributors stolen from Serbia should be created. In general, the findings show that voters are extremely biased towards parties which would increase social welfare and would pursue social programmes.

However, it is interesting to note that 41% of respondents expressed against increasing the number of veterans who are identified as beneficiaries under the Law on Veterans, indicating that voters are generally disappointed with the management of aid for veterans.

Accurate survey data and all the detailed results on each of the abovementioned issues are provided in this report.

II. METHODOLOGY

With the aim of quantifying Kosovar voters' motivation for their voting preferences, the Institute for Development Policy (INDEP) in cooperation with the Universum College (Universum) have conducted a field survey in the wake of the national elections of 2014. The survey, analyzes the motivation of voters in Kosovo for public policy, without prejudice to their party preferences. The questions asked in the survey related to the most discussed public policy issues during the election campaign and pertained to different issues. However, in order to assure a credible outcome of the survey results, the survey initially included questions on the general demographic information, hence assuring a real representative sample.

In total, 1000 people responded to the questionnaire. The number of respondents is divided proportionally according to each municipality's population in Kosovo and the sample, consisting of random respondents, is based on accurate demographic data.

This report will present the findings of the survey related to different fields of public policy, i.e. tax, social, health, etc. policies, as well as indicate the reasons why voters initially choose to vote for a party that advocates certain public policies over another. The different parts of the survey were drafted based on two factors. The first factor relied mainly around the main topics pushed forward in political party programmes and in the public discourse, as evidenced by INDEP and Universum through research and monitoring during the election campaign. The second factor was focused on the most pressing issues in the different sectors as evidenced by analytical reports produced by local actors.

The questions were designed in such manner that there would be a leading statement, as for instance "I would vote for the party that..." and then a subset of statements would follow that respondents either had a chance to agree or disagree with. Moreover, the question pool was designed to provide a double confirmation of conviction, with questions regarding the same issue being posed in a positive response and negative response fashion.

Led by Ridvan Peshkopia, PhD, professor of political science at Universum, a trained staff of the Universum College consisting of students in master's level, conducted the survey in the period between May 30 and June 4, 2014. The field researchers, all of which had previous experiences in conducting field surveys, were trained specifically for the purpose of this survey. Additionally, Mr Krenar Gashi of INDEP and Mr Alejtin Berisha of Universum served as a quality assurance team.

For the purpose of this survey, a 1000-respondent stratified champion was established. All interviews were conducted face-to-face. The stratification of the champion represents age, gender and residence (city/countryside) layers according to a pre-established model focused on municipal-level representation according to demographic data. The champion was spread out

throughout 25 mainly Albanian-speaking municipalities and five mixed population municipalities, while one respondent comes from a mainly Serbian-speaking municipality.

Our meticulous stratification notwithstanding, this champion remains limited when it comes to representing a probabilistic sample because the face-to-face encounter between the interviewer and potential responder allows hidden and/or unintended selection biases by the interviewer. We have managed these risks by delivering a proper and specific training, yet the reader might read the margin of error and standard errors only cautiously. The regularity of the field work was directly supervised by the team leader and the quality assurance team through the online platform which allowed us to see in real time the progress of the survey.

Municipality	Number of Respondents	Percentage	Municipality	Number of Respondents	Percentage	Municipality	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Artanë/Novobërdë ^m	11	1.15%	Junik ^a	1	0.10%	Pejë ^a	38	3.97%
Deçan ^a	19	1.99%	Kaçanik ^a	19	1.99%	Podujevë ^a	26	2.72%
Dragash ^m	26	2.72%	Kamenicë ^m	16	1.67%	Prishtinë ^a	110	11.97%
Drenas ^a	32	3.34%	Kastriot/Obiliq ^a	10	1.05%	Prizren ^a	106	11.08%
Ferizaj ^a	61	6.34%	Klinë ^a	16	1.67%	Rahovec ^a	40	4.18%
Fushë Kosovë ^a	43	4.49%	Kllokot ^m	1	0.10%	Skënderaj ^a	22	2.30%
Gjakovë ^a	70	7.31%	Lipjan ^a	32	3.34%	Shtime ^a	16	1.67%
Gjilan ^a	55	5.75%	Malishevë ^a	24	2.51%	Therandë/Suharekë ^a	16	1.67%
Hani i Elezit ^a	5	0.52%	Mamushë ^m	2	0.21%	Viti ^a	25	2.61%
Istog ^a	15	1.57%	Mitrovicë/south ^a	40	1.185%	Vushtri ^a	42	4.38%
						Zubin Potok ^s	1	0.10%

NOTE

a: Albanian-speaking majority

m: Mixed population

s: Serbian-speaking majority

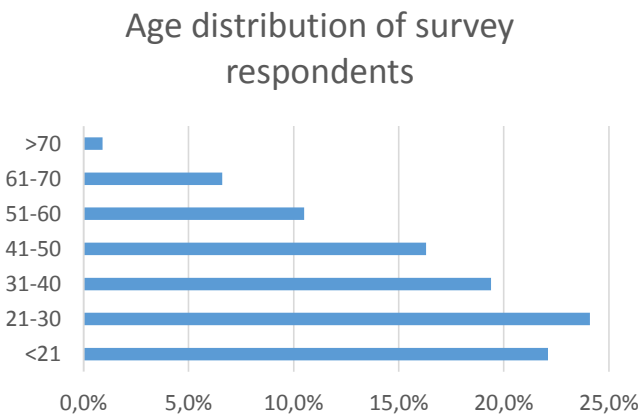
In total, 1326 people were approached for the purposes of the survey, throughout a 4-day period. Out of the 1326 people approached, 369 refused to be interviewed or otherwise answer the survey question. The questions were answered either fully or partially by 957 respondents, a sufficiently representative sample for Kosovo.

Table 3

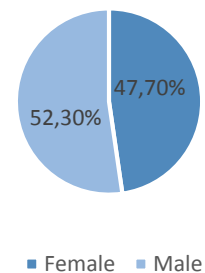
Categories	Number	Percentage
People who refused to be interviewed	369	27.82%
People who actually finished the survey	957	72.18%
Total	1326	100%

III. DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

The majority of the respondents, or 58.9% of them fell between 21 and 50 years of age, an indicative sample for Kosovo’s general population. Nonetheless, there was a considerable 22.1% presence of participants under 21 years of age. The general lack of representation of age groups 51+ is largely attributed to Kosovo’s demographics and also the fact that the survey was conducted in the field during work days, which is usually characterized by a lower presence of that age group. Simultaneously, the gender representation of respondents was very balanced and generally reflective of Kosovo demographic groups. This ensures a good representation of opinions, especially considering the random polling.

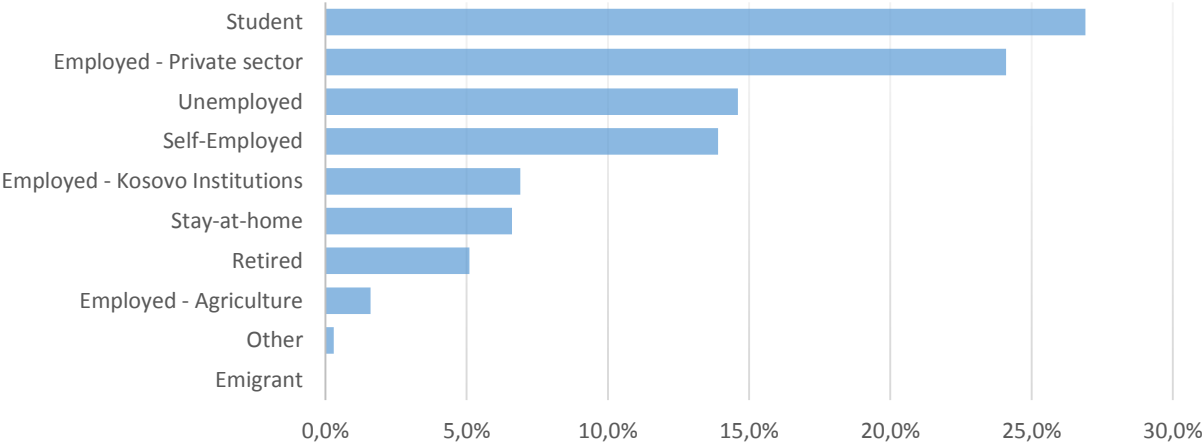


Gender distribution of respondents



The respondents were also disaggregated by employment status, in order to gauge the accuracy and reliability of survey findings. Generally speaking, the representation remained restively accurate.

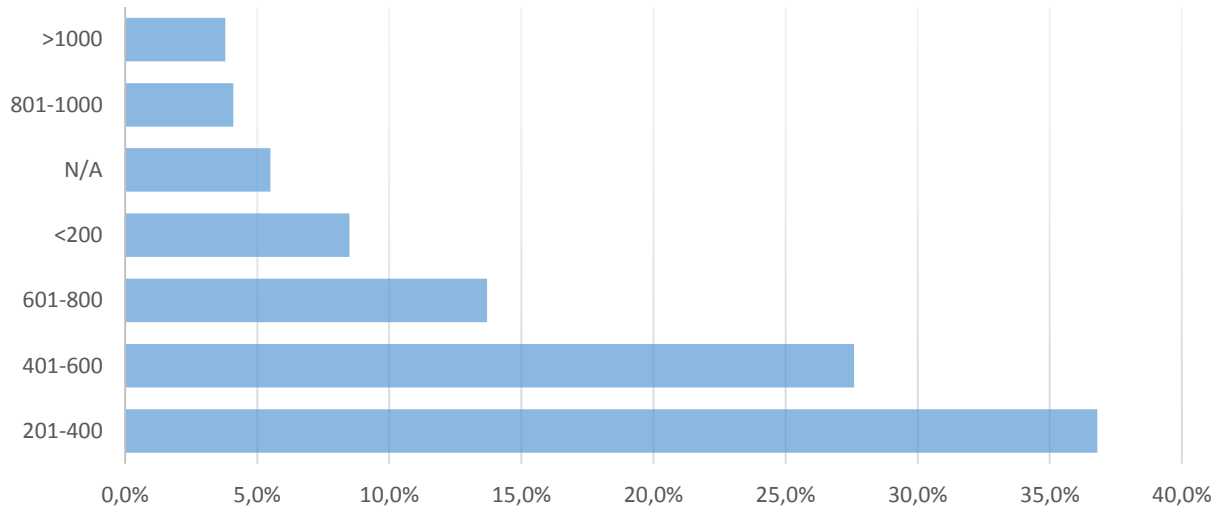
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS



Students remained the most largely represented group, however, it is important to consider that Kosovo is characterized by a large portion of a population sitting in the 19-35 years of age. The student data has not been divided according to school level. As a result, we see that 46.5% have declared a directly verifiable source of employment (private sector, government institutions, self-employed or agriculture) with the other part being students or other brackets. This is generally in line with official Kosovo statistics on employment in the country.

Additionally, income brackets for each of the respondents have been also gathered. According to the declared income brackets, the considerable majority of the respondents, or 36, 8% earn between 201-400 euros a month, with an additional 27.6% earning 401-600 euros per month. Only 21, 6% of the respondents earn more than 601 euros a month, with half of these respondents being placed in the 601-800 euro bracket. These data reflect the responses of the employed respondents, and therefore not the whole sample.

DECLARED INCOME OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS



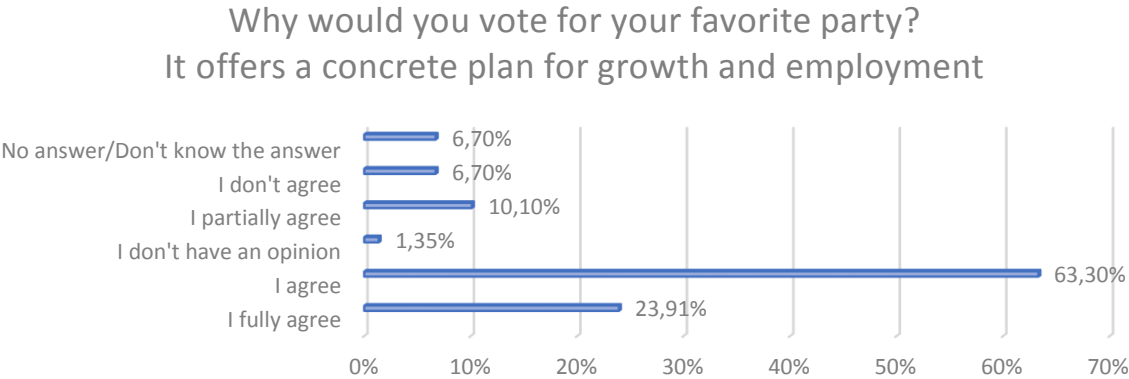
Finally, education levels of the respondents were assessed. Slightly over 50% of the respondents had secondary, or high school level education completed. On the other hand, 32.6% of the respondents had finished a degree equal to the undergraduate or bachelor level studies. Only 1.4% of the survey respondents a post-tertiary education degree, such as a masters or PHD.

IV. FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY

The respondents were initially exposed to a group of questions that would help us clarify the real motives behind their decision to cast the vote for a particular party. The findings are presented below:

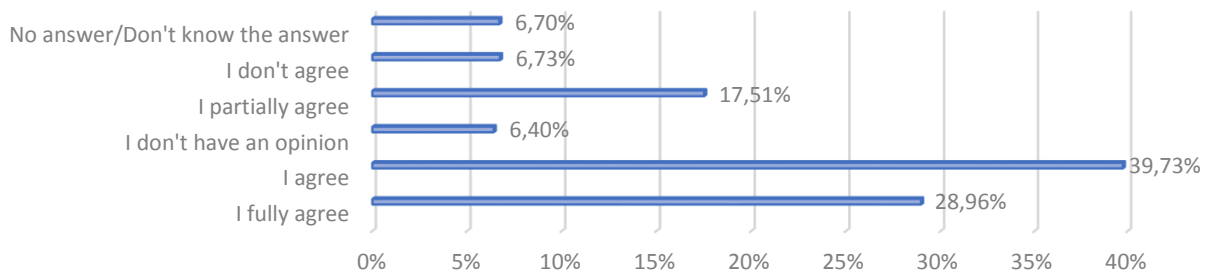
a) Preferences for general public policy and program activities

When asked if they would vote for the party that offers a concrete plan for growth and employment, 87.2% respondents agreed that this measure is important to them, while 10.1% are not very clear about it and 6.7% don't consider this to be important when deciding for whom to vote.



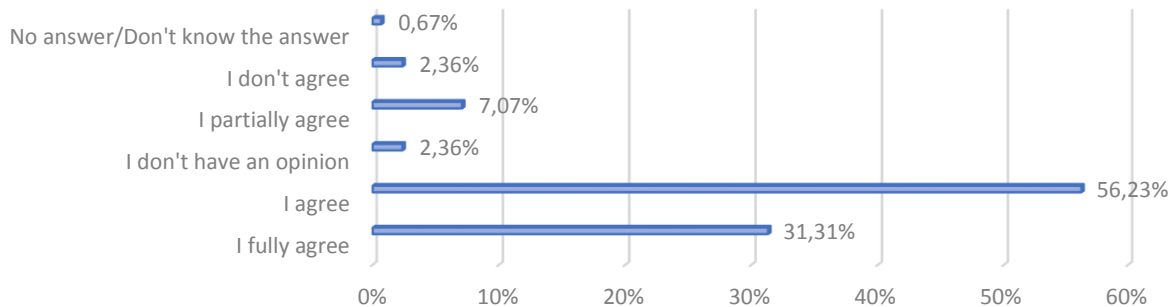
As far as the fight of corruption is considered, the voters seem not to be very clear about what they like to see happening in this regard. While, indeed 68.7% agree that they would vote for the party that offers a concrete plan for preventing corruption, only 29% are fully determined about this. 17.5% don't seem to be clear about their preferences on this matter, while 6.7% seem not to agree, presumably leading us to believe that the prevalence of corruption doesn't cause any sort of dissatisfaction to them. Another explanation for these results could be that citizens no longer believe that much can be done to fight corruption considering the practices and the failed attempts to fight it thus far, or the lack of attempts for that matter.

Why would you vote for your favorite party? It offers a concrete plan for preventing corruption



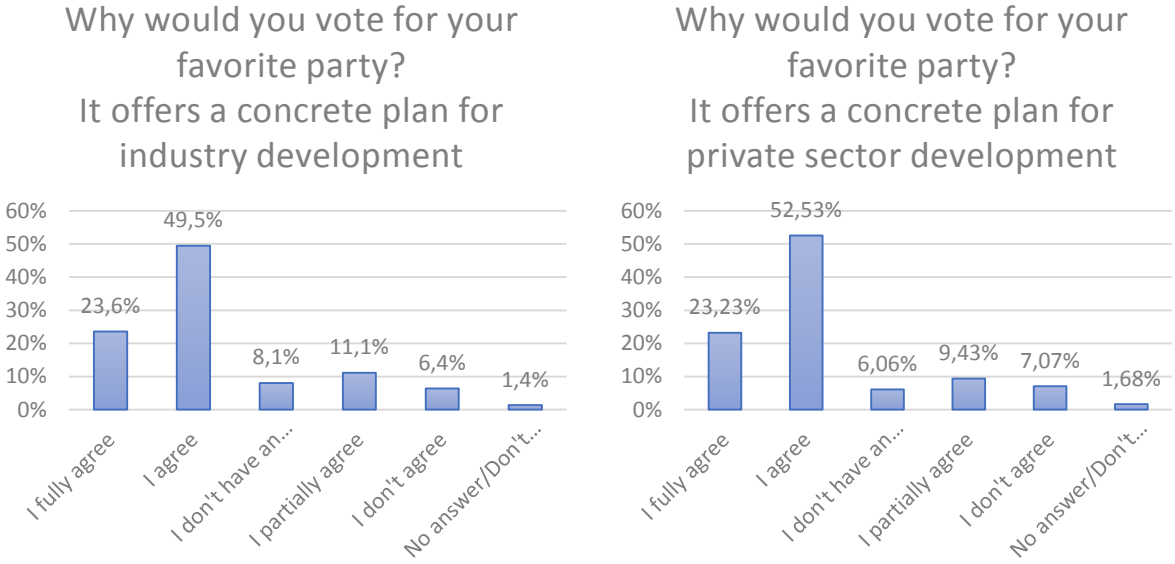
Kosovar voters indicatively consider agriculture as an essential ingredient for the economic development of the country. As such, almost 90% of the respondents declared that they would vote for the party that offers a concrete plan for the development of agriculture. The remaining 10% either don't have an opinion, are unclear about their position or refuse to answer.

Why would you vote for your favorite party? It offers a concrete plan for the development of agriculture



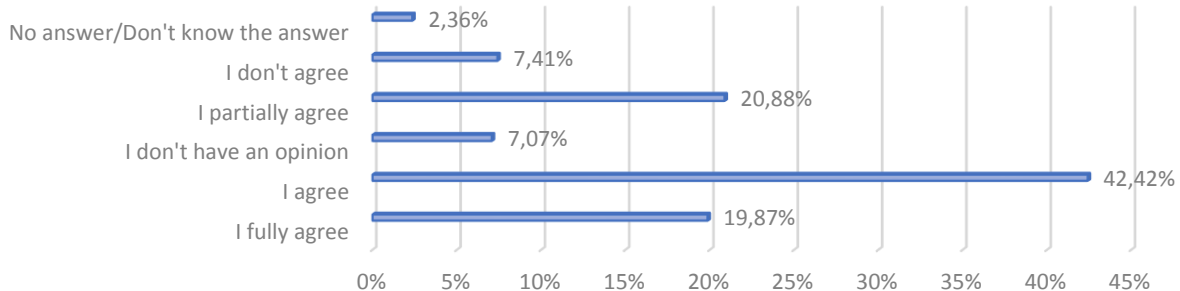
The industrial development seems to be considered as quite important to the voters, 73.1% declared that they agree that they would vote for a party that offers a concrete plan for industrial development, while 11.1% seem not to be that eager about the development of the industrial sector in the country. Only 6.4% consider that the development of industry is not essential, while as much as 9.5% don't really have a standing on this issue. In terms of the development of the private sector, 75.7% of the respondents declared that they agree that they would vote for a party that has a concrete plan for private sector development. 9.4% seem to be sceptical and are not really optimistic that the development of the private sector is so important for the country's development, while 7% disagree that the development of the private sector should be a priority. In other words, respondents are of the opinion that the new Government should prioritize the development of the private sector and the industry, as the

responses indicate that the citizens consider that both contribute directly to the economic prosperity of the country.



It is interesting to note that when asked about whether it is important to them that the party they will vote for excludes from the list of candidates politicians who are accused for scandals and corruption, 62.2% agreed that they wish for the lists not to include accused politicians, however, only 19.8% of these do strongly hold on to this statement. As much as 20.8% don't really know for sure if this plays a decisive role when deciding for whom to cast their vote, while almost 10% either don't have an answer or have no opinion on this matter. Moreover, 7.4% of the respondents don't even agree with the statement. Given these numbers and the responses given by respondents, one can presume that corruption has extended its roots so deeply into the everyday lives of the citizens that they are no longer extensively bothered by its presence in whatever forms it occurs; once more supporting the results related to the opinions of the citizens with regards to fighting corruption in general.

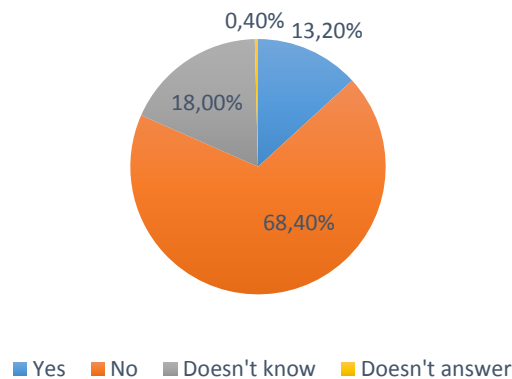
Why would you vote for your favorite party?
It excludes from the list of candidates politicians who are
accused for scandals and corruption



b) The creation of hundreds of thousands of new jobs: a trustworthy promise or not?

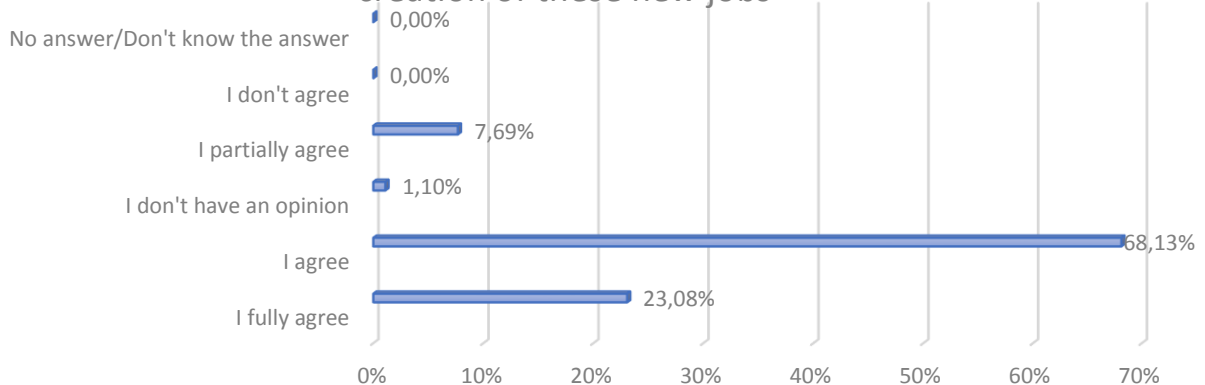
During the election campaign the promise of some parties to create a hundred thousands of new jobs was heavily discussed. 68.4% of respondents, when asked whether they believe in this promise, answered that they don't really trust the parties on this matter, while 13.2% believe that this goal can be achieved in the next four years. 18% are confused and they don't really have a standing on this topic, while 0.4% refused to answer.

**Do you trust the parties that promise to open
hundreds of thousands of new jobs?**



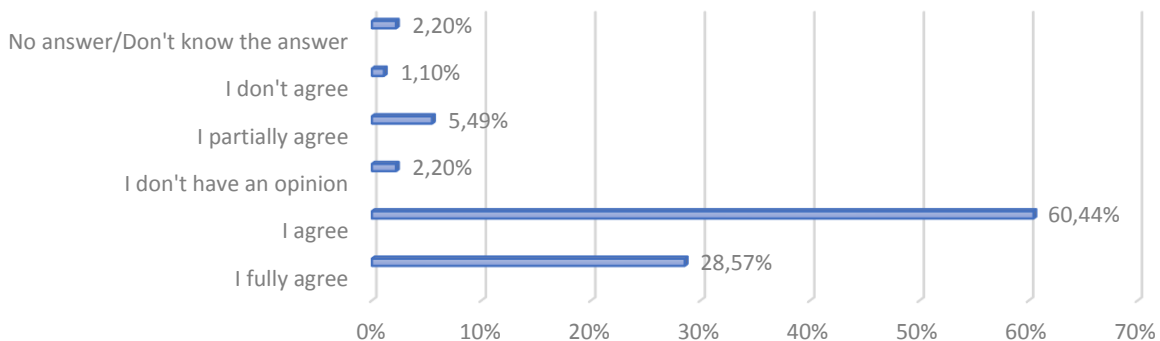
Out of the 13.2% of the respondents who declared that they trust the parties who made the promise for the creation of the hundreds of thousands of new jobs, 91.2% declared that the reason for trusting them is that the parties have a concrete plan for the creation of these jobs. This majority is also supported with the fact that no one from the respondents contravened the statement, while only 7.7% declare that they partially agree with it.

Why do you trust them? They have a concrete plan for the creation of these new jobs



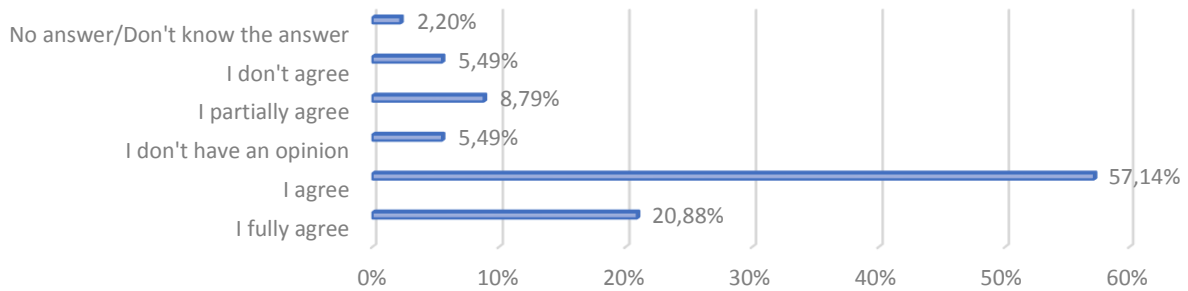
Moreover, almost 90% of respondents are convinced that these parties even have a concrete development plan per sector. Only 5.5% of the respondents appear as sceptical, while no more than 1% disagree with the statement. The high level of trust in the programmes of the parties by this percentage of citizens who declared to trust the parties regarding the promises made for the creation of hundreds of thousands of jobs leads us to two conclusions, either the citizens don't care at all about the programmes of the parties and consequently don't bother to analyse them, or they simply trust in every promise of the parties just because the party or the leader said so.

Why do you trust them? They have a concrete development plan per sector



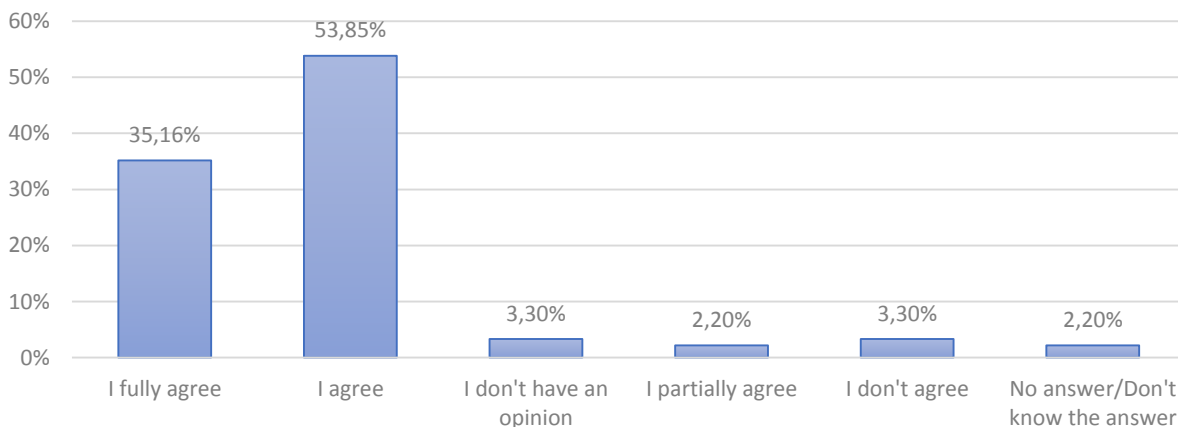
It is interesting to note that 78% of voters are satisfied with the performance in the past years of the parties they have voted for. 8.8% are not really happy with how their preferred political party performed, while 5.5% seem to be disappointed.

Why do you trust them? Because they have lived up to their promises in the past



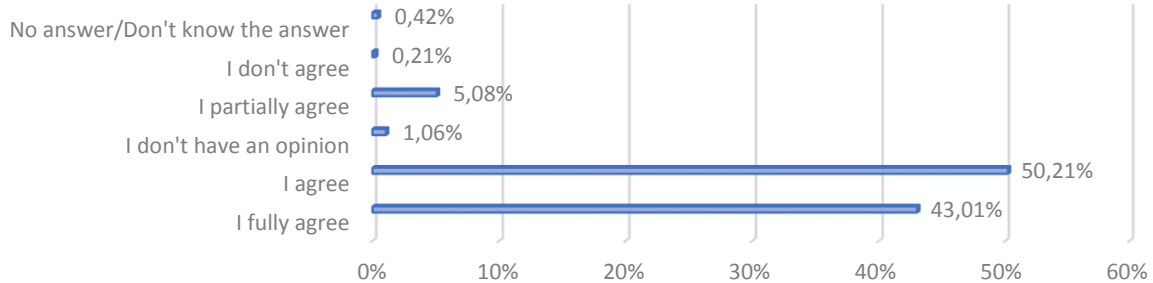
Kosovar voters seem to heavily rely in the words of the political leaders. Almost 90% declared that the reason why they trust in the promises made by the political parties for the creation of the new jobs is basically because the leader said so. The remaining 10% either don't have an opinion, refuse to answer or are somewhat sceptical about the trustworthiness of the words said by the leaders during the election campaign period. The high level of trust in the word of the political leader automatically discredits the value of the political parties' programmes, while it prompts us to believe that the citizens don't really care about the programmes. This implicates further that the election debates rarely impact the opinion of the voters, as seemingly the decision for whom to cast the vote is determined and the voters have their minds clear on this matter from the very first beginning.

Why do you trust them? I believe in the word of the leader



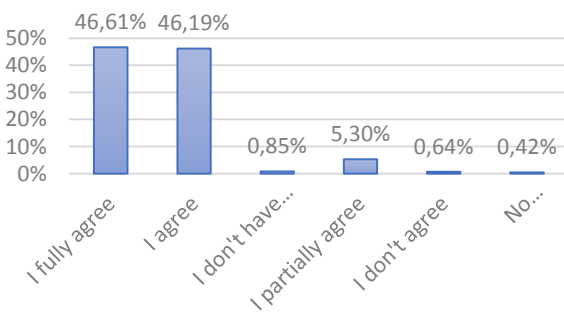
Out of 68.4 % of the respondents who declared that they don't believe that the goal of creating hundreds of thousands of new jobs will be achieved, 93.2% declared that the reason for that is that they believe that those are merely empty promises. 5% don't really know what to expect, while the rest don't agree with the statement.

Why you don't trust them? Those are just empty promises and I don't believe them

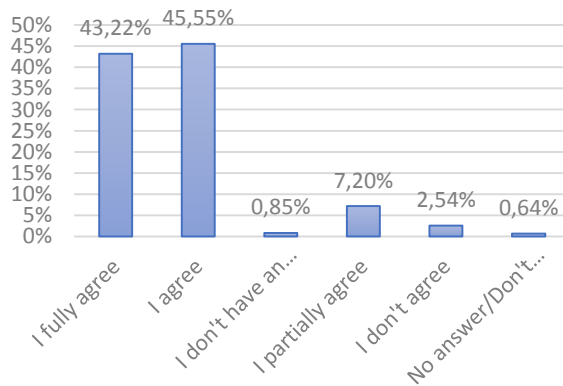


Another major reason for not believing in these promises, according to 92.8%, is due to the fact that these parties have failed to create new jobs in the past. 5.3% seem not to have a clear standing on this statement, while only 0.6% clearly don't agree with it. Even in the case this goal would be achieved, almost 90% are of the opinion that the job openings would be filled with party militants and family members, with as much as 43.2% strongly agree with this statement. The remaining 10% are not really sure about this, out of which 2.5% don't agree with the statement.

Why don't you trust them? They have failed in creating new jobs in all these past years



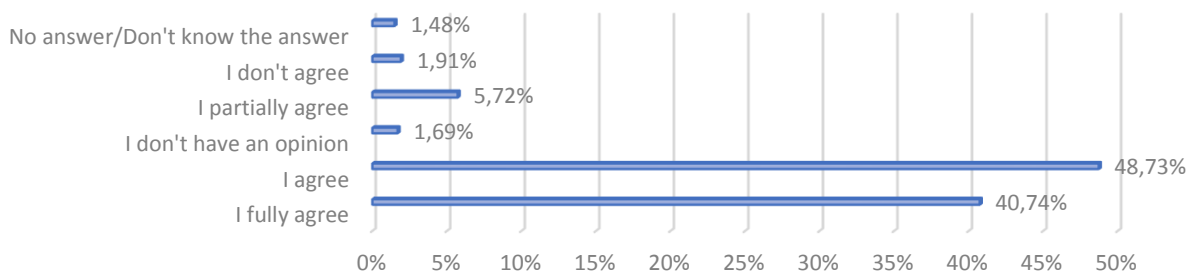
Why don't you trust them? They will only employ their militants and family members



On the other hand, 89.5% of respondents agree with the statement that currently in Kosovo, there is no economic development that could afford and support the creation of all these new jobs. While, 3.1% either don't have an opinion or refuse to answer, 5.7% are sceptic, and 1.9% don't agree or in other words, they believe that the current economic development is sufficient and creates the necessary preconditions for the creation of these new jobs. It is important to

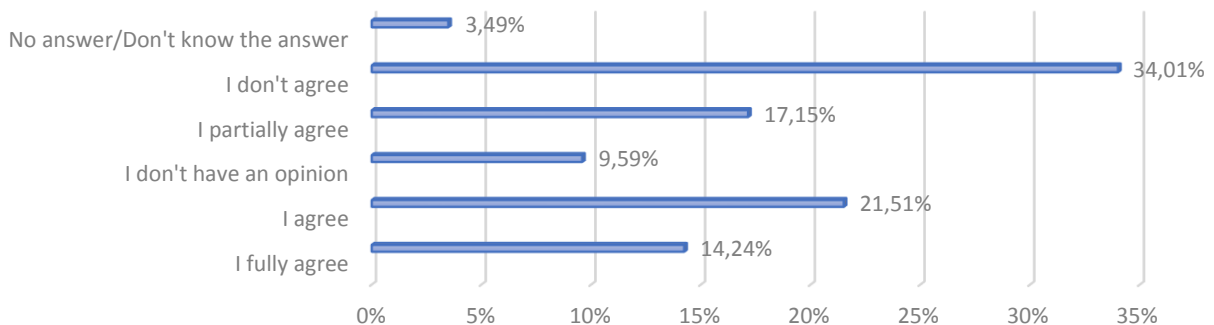
mention that the creation of the hundreds of new jobs is mathematically and logically an impossible goal to be achieved. Given the World Bank data indicating an economic growth of 2.7% in 2012 as well as the low level of the development of different sectors and industries, while at the same time taking into consideration the extremely low production levels in Kosovo, the generation of these jobs becomes an impossible task to be achieved. Moreover, to afford the creation of these hundreds of thousands of new jobs, economic analysis suggests that Kosovo's economy would need to experience a growth of approximately 20% or higher, which is something we have never seen happening before. It is due to these circumstances that we have these figures and this high level of mistrust regarding the creation of these hundreds of thousands of jobs in the next four years.

Why don't you trust them? There is no economic development that would enable the creation of all these new jobs

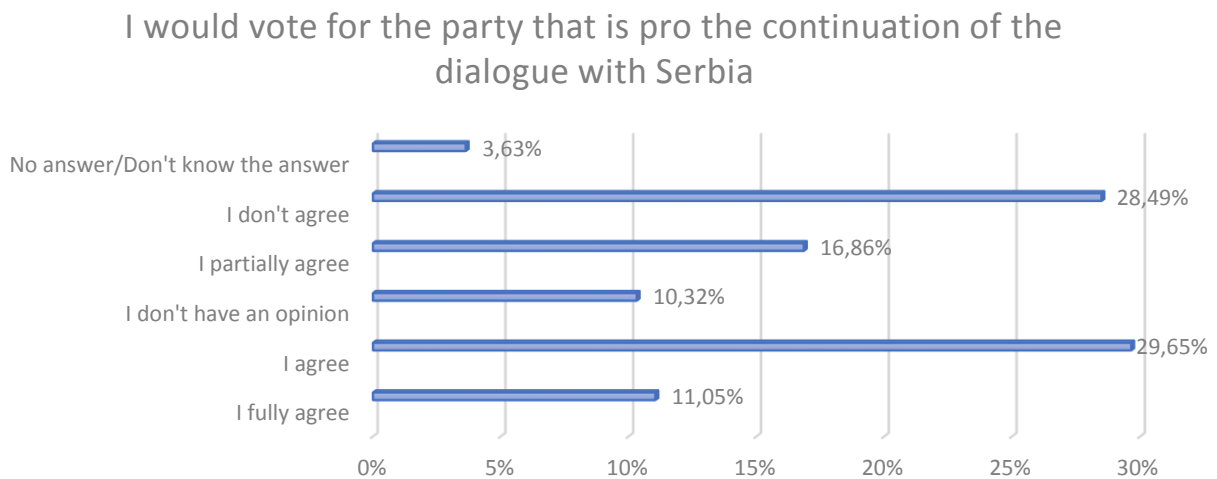


As far as the dialogue with Serbia is concerned, seems that the voters don't really have a clear standing on this issue. 35.7% of the respondents agreed that they will vote for the party that is pro the termination of the dialogue, out of which only 14.2% fully agreed with the statement. On the other hand, as much as 34% declared that they don't agree with the statement.

I would vote for the party that provides for termination of dialogue with Serbia



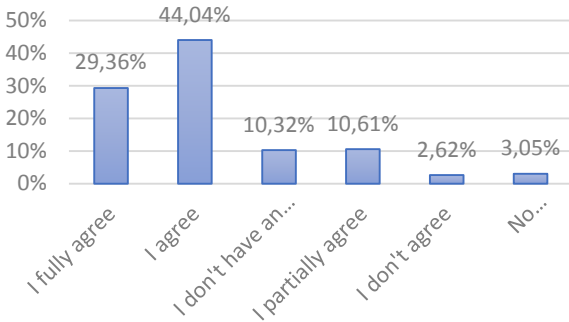
The fact that the voters don't really have a firm stance against the issue of the dialogue with Serbia is also supported by the fact that when the same question was asked but with a positive connotation, i.e. whether the respondents would vote for the party that is pro continuation of the dialogue, 40.7% declared that they agree with the statement. Almost 30% disagreed, while the remaining approximately 30% either have no opinion, have no answer, or are sceptic about it.



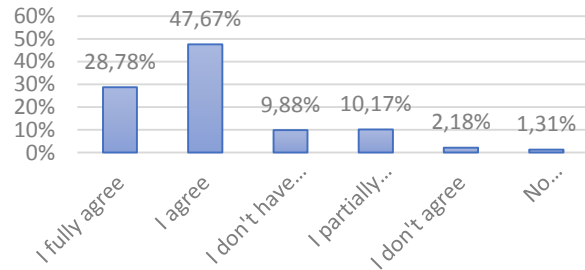
While the voters might not be that clear about their standing about the dialogue with Serbia, they are clearer about the idea of conditioning the dialogue with certain conditions that would presumably be beneficial to the country. Asked whether they would vote for the party that conditions the continuation of the dialogue with resolving the issue of pensions, 73.4% have agreed with the statement, 10.6% partially agreed, 2.6% disagreed, and the remaining either didn't have an opinion or refused to answer. The issue of the missing people seemingly has a quite sensitive tone attached to it, therefore 76.4% of the respondents have agreed with the statement that the dialogue should be conditioned upon solving the issue of the missing people, although only 28.7% fully agreed with the statement. While there is 2.2% of respondents that disagree, 10.2% appear as undecided in this respect.

The fact that Kosovo citizens don't have a clear stance on the dialogue in general but are indeed aware and clear on that that it should be conditioned shall it continue further, somehow indicates that the citizens don't really understand the implications of the dialogue and don't have it clear whether it is beneficial to them or it is actually harming them. This is also one of the fallacies of the previous Government that has failed to constantly and transparently report to the public on the progress made, the issues discussed, and the pros and cons of the entire dialogue process.

I would vote for the party that conditions the continuation of the dialogue with resolving the issue of pensions

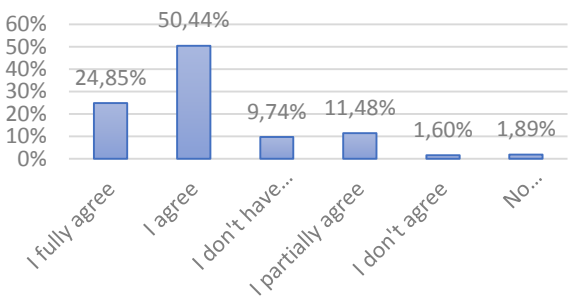


I would vote for the party the conditions the continuation of the dialogue with resolving the issue of the missing people

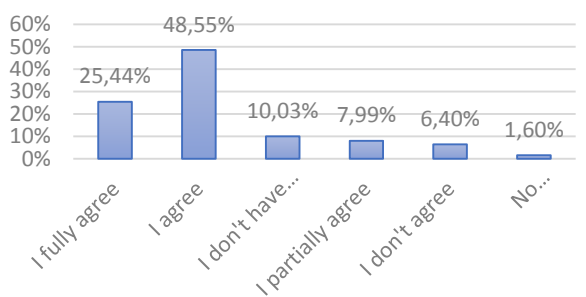


On the other hand, 75.4% of respondents agree that they would vote for the party that inserts reciprocity measures in economic and political relations with countries of the region, 11.5% partially agree, while only 1.6% disagree to submit the country to applying such measures. In addition, 74% of respondents agree that they would vote for the party that inserts specific reciprocity measures in economic and political relations with Albania, 6.4% disagree with the statement, while 8% only partially agree with it.

I would vote for the party that inserts reciprocity in political and economic relation with countries in the region

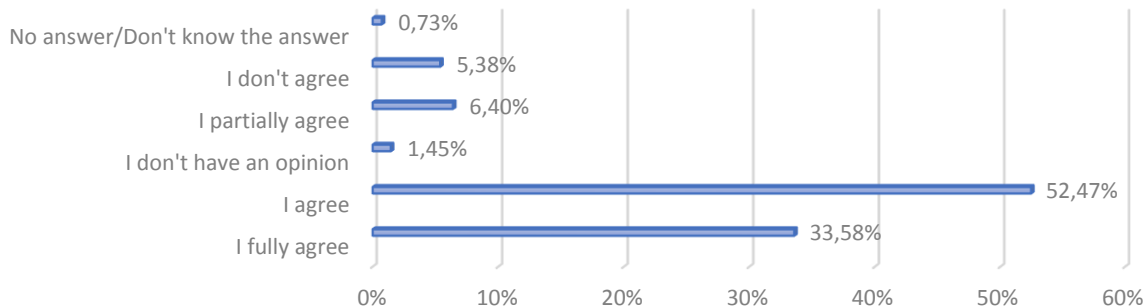


I would vote for the party that inserts specific reciprocity measures in economic and political relations with Albania



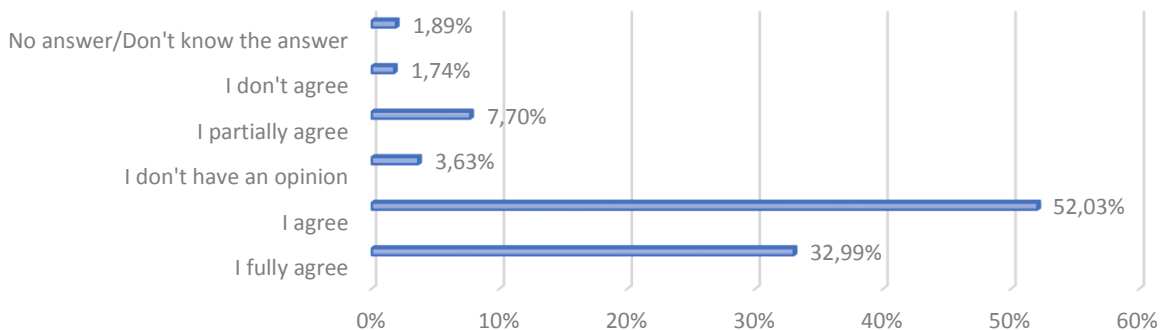
In terms of the importance that Kosovar voters dedicate to the visa liberalization process, asked whether they would vote for the party that offers a concrete plan on this matter by 2015, 86% agree with the statement. These figures indicate that visa liberalization should be indeed one of the priorities of the next government. While 5.4% disagree, 6.4% partially agree, and the remaining are either uninformed or they refuse to answer.

I would vote for the party that offers a concrete plan for visa liberalization by 2015



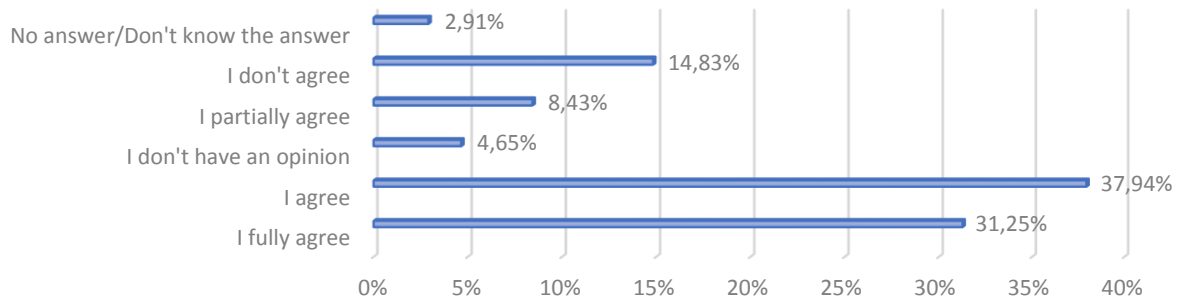
The Kosovar voters consider that Kosovo should access the EU family by working hard to succeed in this direction as part of the group of Balkan countries aiming to join the EU circles. 85% agree with the statement that they would vote for the party that commits to this, 7.7% partially agree and 1.7% disagree.

I would vote for the party that committs to EU integration as part of the group of Balkan countries



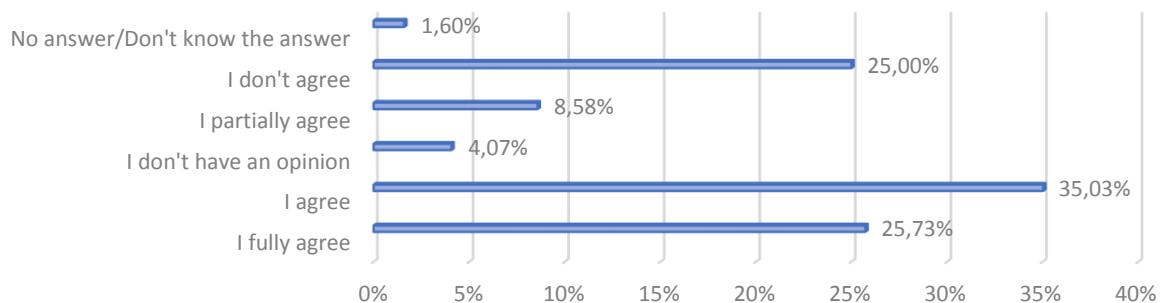
However, respondents generally believe that an action timetable for EU integration is essential for the successful finalization of the accession process. Approximately 70% agree that there should be an action timetable for EU integration, yet, the remaining part either disagree, lack an opinion on the matter, or simply are sceptical towards this action. The sympathy for such an action can be a sign of the fact that the citizens are tired of empty promises by the leaders on matters related to EU integrations which goals are barely coming true. As such, the citizens consider that a clear path needs to be drafted so at least they have an idea on where the country is going and how it is doing in terms of the EU integrations processes.

I would vote for the party that offer an action timetable for EU integration by 2020



As far as prioritizing the inter-Albanian integration relations before the EU integrations is concerned, respondents' answers lead to a divided opinion of the Kosovar voters on the matter. While 60.76% indeed agree that this is how the integrations chronology should occur, only 25.73% fully agree with the statement, while 25% disagree.

I would vote for the party that prioritizes inter-Albanian integration before EU integrations

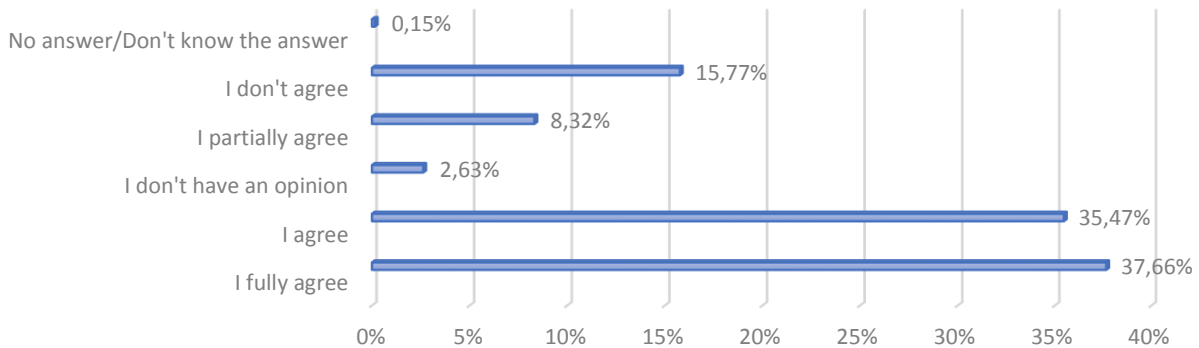


c) Healthcare system and policies

Healthcare continues to be a key theme in Kosovar voters' decision on which party to vote, more specifically, 83% of respondents stated that the health program remains a crucial factor in choosing the party.

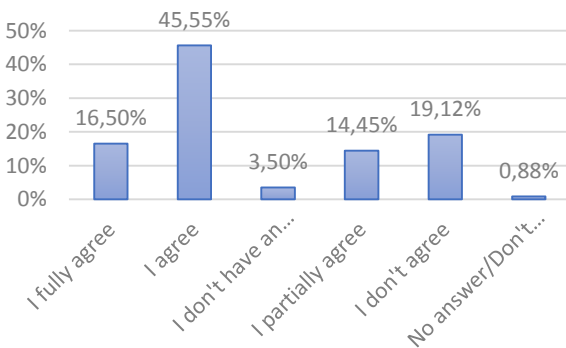
73% of respondents said they would vote for a party that offers a more advanced free healthcare. However, nearly 16% of respondents said they do not agree with such a program, indicating that a good portion of the people are aware about the potential failure of implementing such a program. The remaining 11.1% don't really have a standing on this matter or simply refuse to answer. The malpractices and the bad management of the health system so far in Kosovo pushes the citizens to be willing to sacrifice some of their money at the cost of having an improved and advanced healthcare system.

I would vote for the party that offers a more advanced and free of charge health system

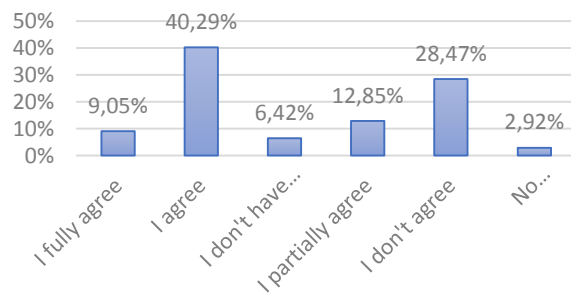


A good portion of people remain willing to vote for the party which proposes minimum charge for more advanced health services. 62% of respondents said they would support a party that would offer a program with such a service, 14.4% are dubious about such a program, while 19.1% don't support it. The percentage of respondents who would be willing to vote for a party with a health program with standard fees for certain services is lower. Less than 50% of respondents, or 49.3 specifically, would vote for a party with such a program, 12.8% partially agree with this idea, while as much as 28.4% are not supportive of it. These figures lead us to believe that a health program designed in such a way doesn't have a wide support of the public.

I would vote for the party that offers a more advanced health system but sets a minimum charge



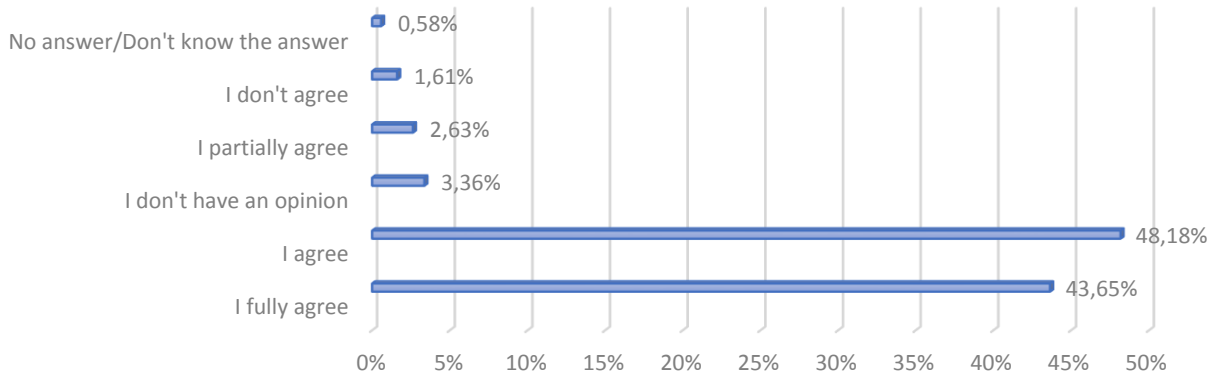
I would vote for the party that provides a more advanced health system with standard fees for certain services



Almost all survey respondents, 92% of them agreed that Kosovo should have public health insurance which takes effect as of January 2015. This public health insurance program requires that the employer and the employee, separately, pay 3.5% of salary monthly to a state health

insurance fund. Only 1.6% of the respondents are not supportive of this idea, while 5.5% don't really have an opinion, they partially agree, or simple have no answer.

I would vote for the party that offers public health insurance as of January 2015

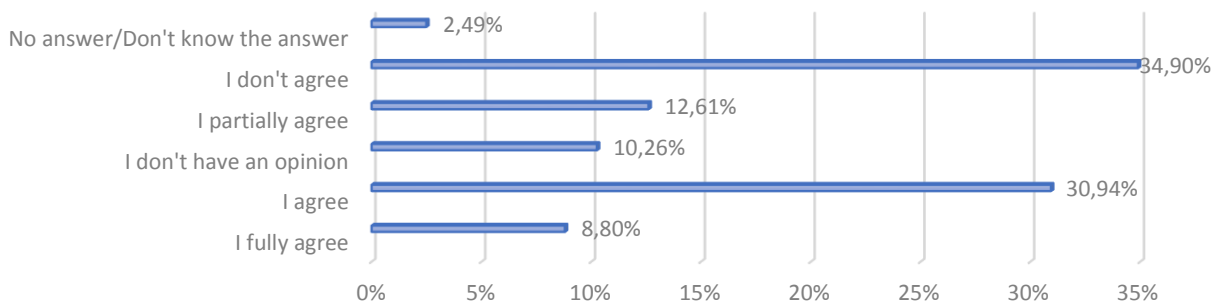


d) The opinion of the voters on fiscal policies

This election campaign was heavily characterized for a more vivid commitment of parties to clarify and concretize government program related to fiscal policies. Respondents gave a variety of answers to questions about the types and level of taxes that shows a lack of knowledge and lack of interest for fiscal policy.

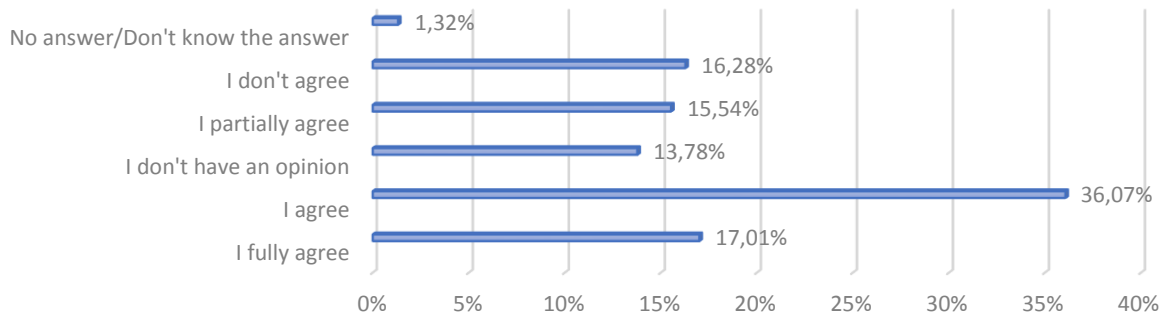
Asked whether the respondents would vote for the party that increases progressively taxes on income, that being, who earns more is taxed more, the opinions of the voters were divided. While 39.7% agree that this is what the new government should do in the next four years, out of which only 8.8% fully agree with the statement, a 34.9% of respondents declare themselves as being against this happening in the future. As much as 25.3% have no opinion, are confused about the implication of applying such measure, while 2.5% refuse to answer.

I would vote for the party that increases progressively the income tax (the principle of who earns more is taxed more)



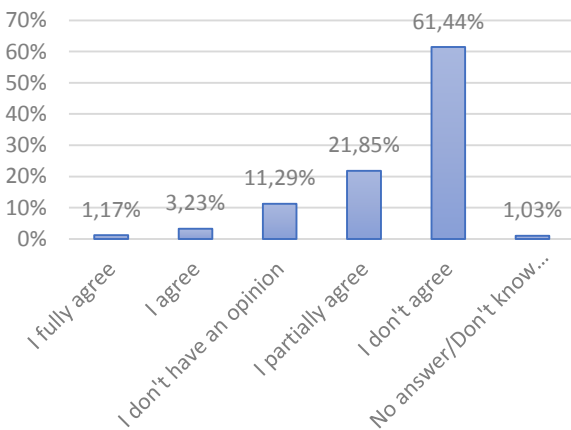
When asked the same question but from the opposite perspective, 53% of respondents said they would vote for a party which envisages reduction of income tax and profit tax. 16% of respondents, meanwhile, will not choose a party that the tax reduction program mentioned above. The rate of disapproval of this measure is way less significant than in the previous question, indicating that voters are not sure what the change in tax level truly indicates, except for the fact that a reduction of taxes, despite the real meaning of it, is more appealing and acceptable to them compared to an increase of tax levels.

I would vote for the party that reduces the income tax

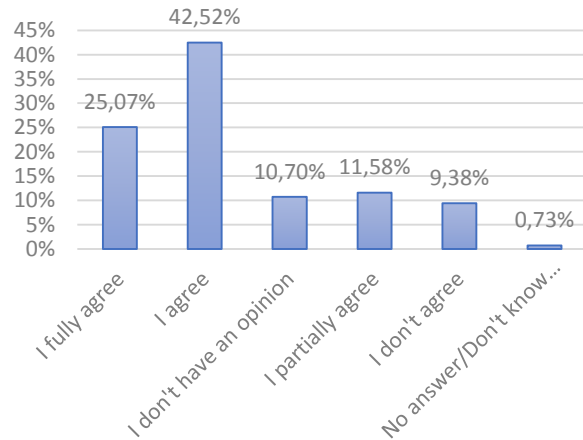


The idea that Kosovo voters side with programmes that provide lower taxes is also supported by the fact that 61% of respondents do not support the growth of value added tax (VAT). The same trend continues when the question on VAT was posed from an opposing angle. As much as 67.6% of respondents agree with the idea that the VAT should be reduced, and its reduction is confronted firmly by less than 10% of respondents.

I would vote for the party that increases VAT

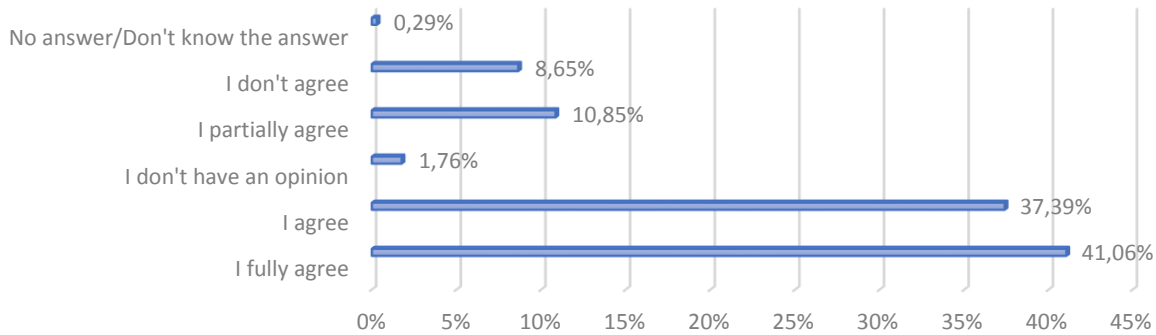


I would vote for the party that reduces VAT



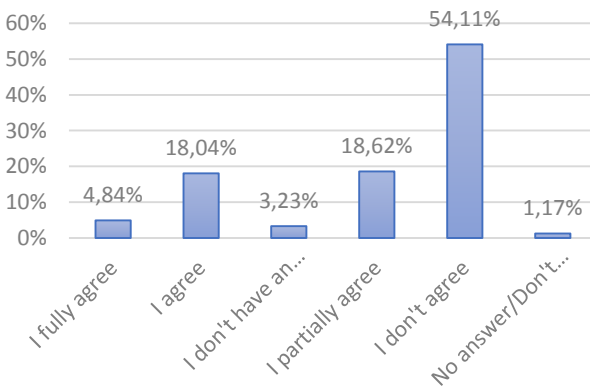
Meanwhile, 78% think that the special excise tax on luxurious goods, such as tobacco, alcohol, cars, etc. should continue to apply. 8.6% don't consider that this practice should take place, while 10.8% only partially agree with the idea.

I would vote for the party that puts special taxes on specific goods (tobacco, alcohol, cars)

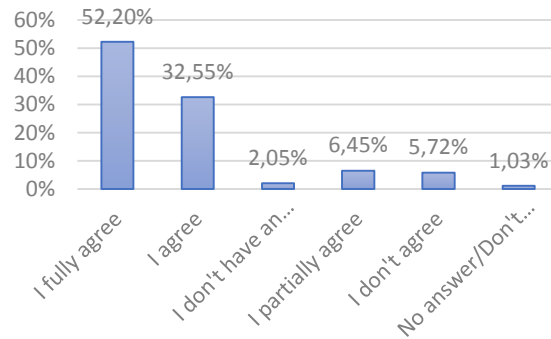


The level of knowledge and interest seems to be higher in terms of custom duties. 54% would not vote for programmes which require the removal of custom duties on all goods, but 85% support the abolition of customs duties for raw materials in agriculture and manufacturing. In general, the figures related to the citizens opinion on customs duties and excise tax indicate that the citizens are not really that uninterested about fiscal policies, yet, it might be that the parties have failed thus far to be clear in explaining the implications of their programmes and their fiscal policy chosen alternatives.

I would vote for the party that removes the customs duty for all goods



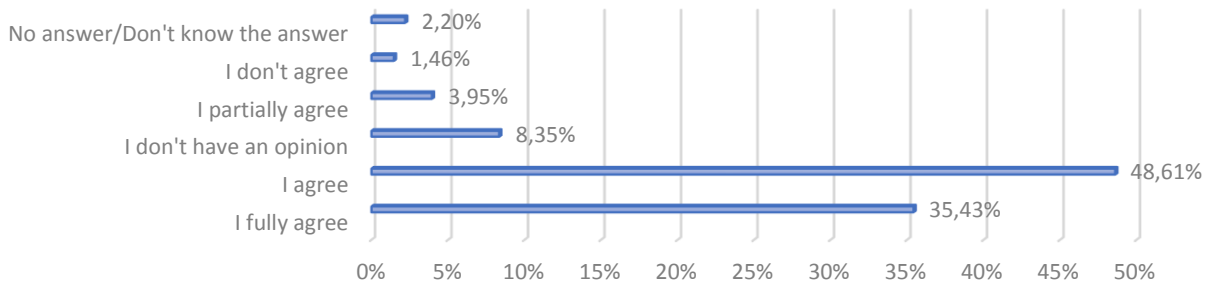
I would vote for the party that removes customs duty on raw materials (agriculture and manufacturing)



e) Social programmes in the new government

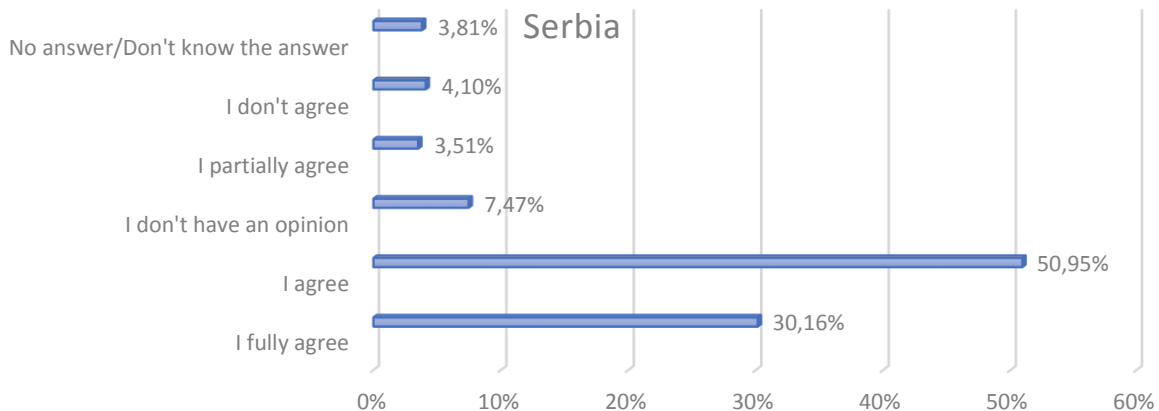
Kosovar voters prefer parties with social programmes and support parties that would advocate for increased pension contributions and social benefits. This comes as no surprise for the country with some 40% of its population unemployed, and 16% living in extreme poverty. Also, the current pension system in Kosovo regulated under a system established in 2000 and the existing social scheme needs to be overhauled. That the voters truly believe that a change should take place soon is supported by the fact that 80% of voters are willing to support a party that seeks to regulate the field of pensions and approve the Law on Pensions in the first term.

I would vote for the party that makes a public promise to approve the Law on Pensions in the first quarter of the work of the new government



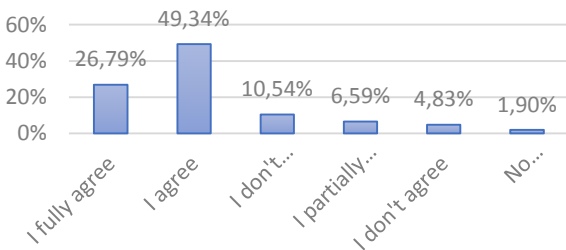
Meanwhile, 81% of respondents also said they would support a party that would create a fund for reimbursing the pension contributors whose pensions were stolen from Serbia. Only 4.1% of the respondents declared themselves against this idea, while the remaining part, approximately 15%, don't really have a clear standing on this issue.

I would vote for the party that creates a special fund to reimburse all the victims of the stolen pension funds from

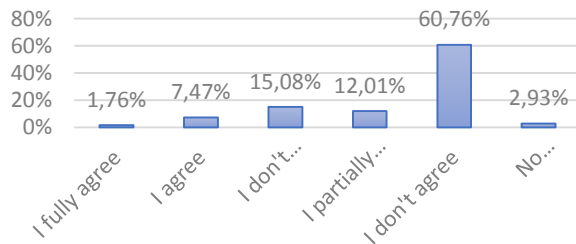


76% of respondents are willing to support the tax increase pension contributions from 5% as it is now, to 7% or 8%. Only 5% said they were against raising the pension contribution rate. However, the opposition was stronger when the same question was asked yet from the opposite perspective. 60.76% of respondents declared themselves against the reduction of the pension contribution rate, from the current one of 5% as defined by the pension system installed in 2000, to a rate of 3%.

I would vote for the party that increase the pensions contribution rate (from the one determined by the pension system of 2000 i.e. 5% to 7-8%)



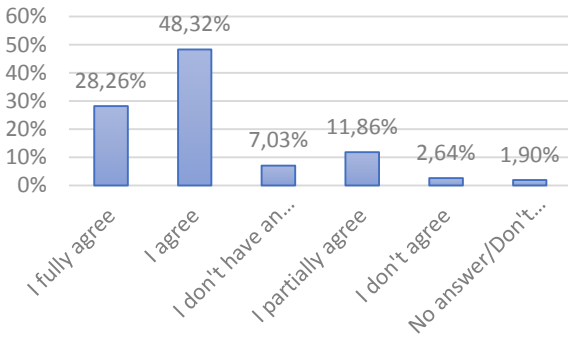
I would vote for the party that reduces the pension contribution rate (from the one determined by the pension system of 2000 i.e. 5% to 3%)



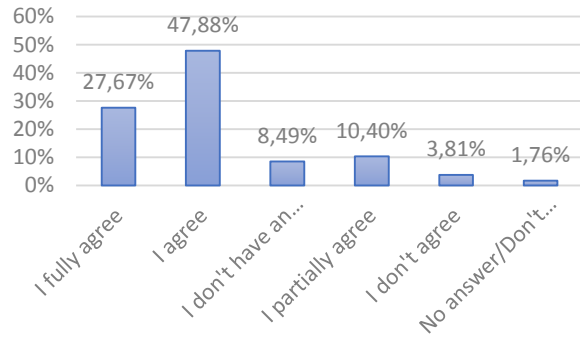
Kosovar voters consider that there should be a difference between retirement pensions and pensions based on contributions. In their opinion, 76.6% of the respondents declare themselves as being pro this measure to take place in the next 4 years, while only 2.6% clearly opposed it. An 11.8% were not really clear in whether this is appropriate or not, hence declared themselves as partially agreeing with the statement. Supporting the trend of the need for a differentiation between pensions, 75.5% of respondents agreed that there should also be a difference between the level of pensions based on qualification and experience.

Based on the findings, one can easily conclude that what the new Government should understand that the pensions and the way the pensions system works in Kosovo currently represents a big concern to the Kosovo citizens. As such, the greater support of respondents for major interventions in this regards should be taken seriously and translated into good practices in the near future.

I would vote for the party that differentiates retirement pensions from pensions based on contributions

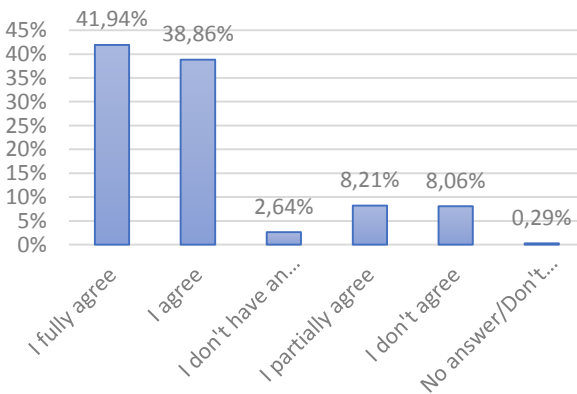


I would vote for the party that differentiates the level of pensions based on qualifications and experience

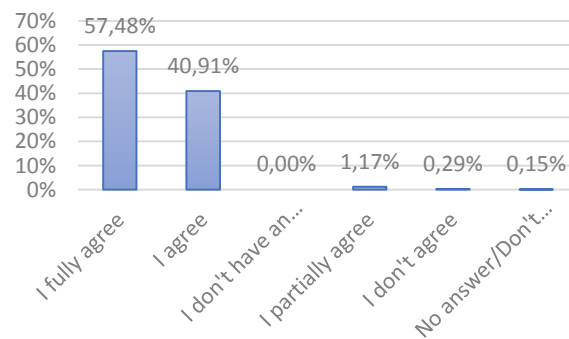


As far as the social programmes are concerns, respondents showed great sympathy and a high level of support for the groups of the citizens in need. 80% of respondents said they would vote parties which will provide assistance to the unemployed while 98% consider that the next government should provide assistance to persons in need.

I would vote for the party that provides social assistance for the unemployed

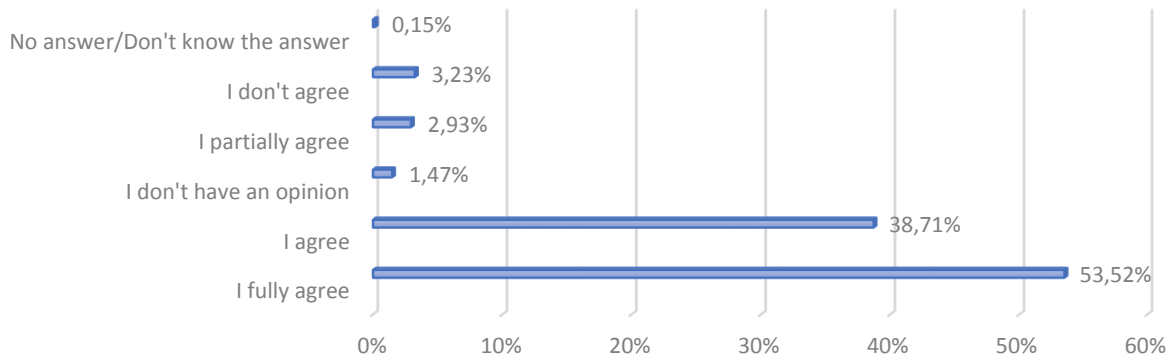


I would vote for the party that providea financial assistance for persons with special needs



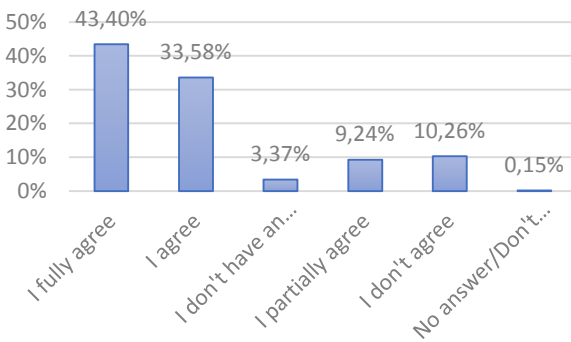
Voters are categorically pro supporting and providing aid to single mothers as 97% of respondents, including those who partially agree, declared that these allowances are necessary.

I would vote for the party that provides financial assistance for single mothers

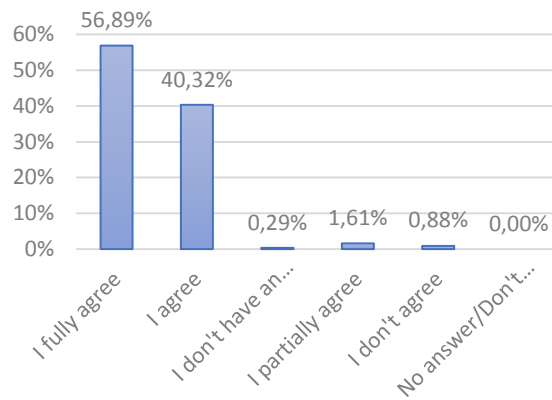


At the same time, 76% were in favour of providing social assistance to families with more than three children and 97% support the allocation of aid to orphans. These findings show that voters are extremely biased towards parties which would increase social welfare and would pursue more extensive social programmes.

I would vote for the party that provides social assistance for families with more than three children



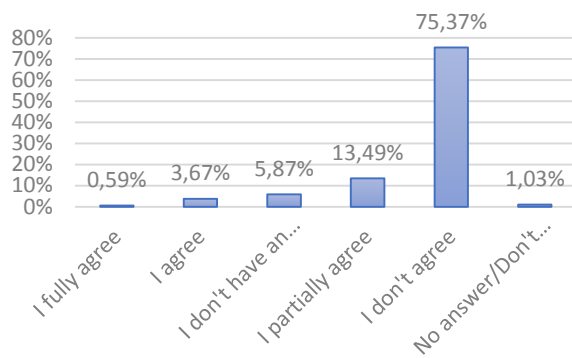
I would vote for the party that provides social assistance for orphans



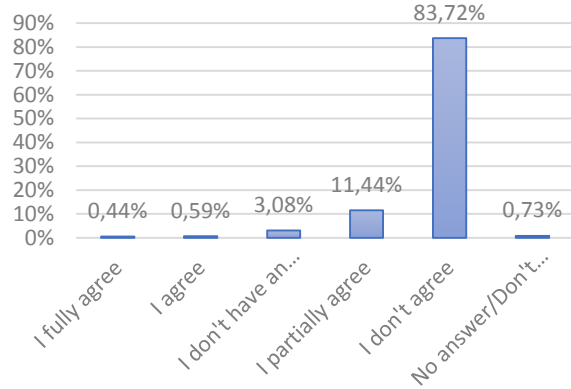
That Kosovo voters are clear about their standing on social policies pertaining to larger families in need, orphans, and the people with special needs, is also confirmed with the following figures. When asked whether they would support parties that advocate for reduction of aid, 75.3% disagreed with the idea of reducing benefits for families with more than three children, 83.7% declared themselves against reducing social assistance for orphans, and as much as 84.9% declared themselves against reduction of allowances for people with special needs. In general, Kosovo citizens are pro social programmes and supportive of the idea that greater allowances should be distributed to groups of the population in need of social assistance. These

results come as no surprise considering the low level of employment and a great number of the people in need of social assistance currently in Kosovo.

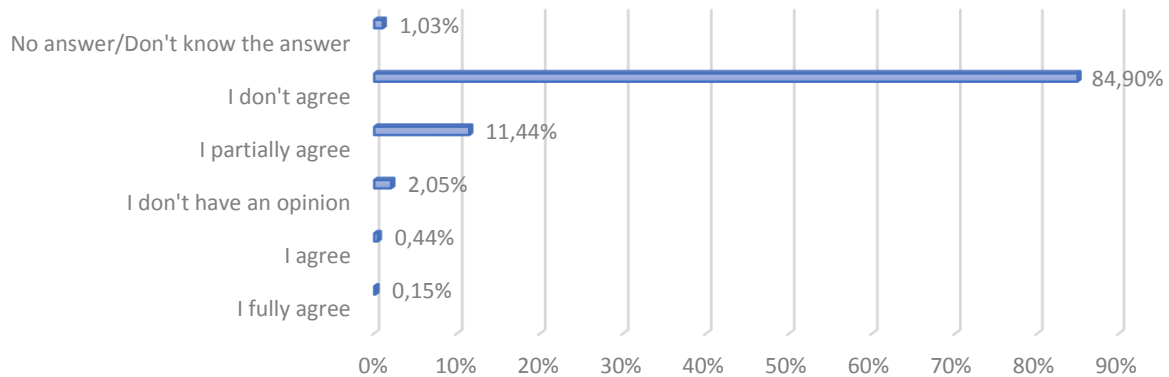
I would vote for the party that reduces social benefits for families with more than three children



I would vote for the party that reduces social assistance for orphans

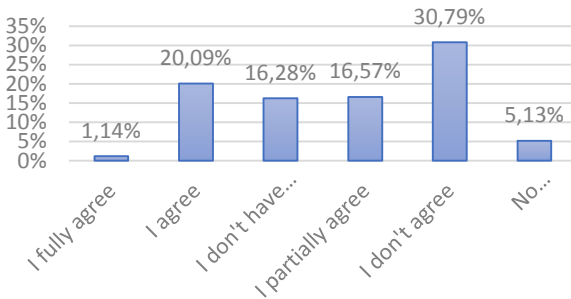


I would vote for the party that deduces social assistance for persons with special needs

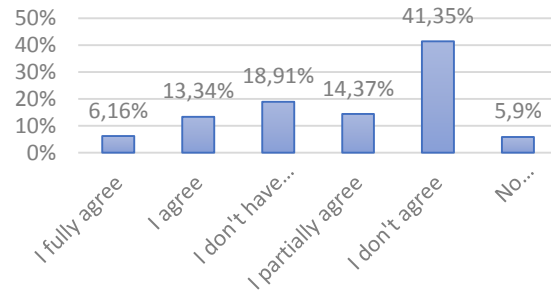


What is important to emphasize is the fact that 41% of respondents expressed themselves against increasing the number of veterans who are identified as beneficiaries under the Law on Veterans. Approximately 20% would be supportive of such measure. When compared to the previous figures, the support for this group is extensively lower. This is an indication that voters are generally disappointed with the management of aid for veterans.

I would vote for the party that reduces the number of veterans identified as beneficiaries under the Law on Veterans



I would vote for the party that increases the number of veterans identified as beneficiaries under the Law on Veterans



V. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the data presented in this report, we can easily conclude that the voters in Kosovo are not coherent in their political preferences or simply miss to understand the implications of many public policy actions suggested by their preferred parties.

At this point what we can derive from these numbers is that despite of whether the parties will offer to implement one action over another, the word of the leader seems to have a determinant impact on the choices of the voters for whom to cast the vote. Almost 90% of respondents declared that they trust in the promises of the parties because of the words and promises made by the leaders. This implicates that despite the different programmes that parties might present, the voters will nonetheless side with the leader and the program will have little or no impact on their choice.

The economic growth seems to have a significant influence on the preferences of the Kosovo voters, while the development of agriculture is what they consider to be essential for the economic progress of the country. At this stage, Kosovars seem to understand the implications of a developed private sector and the industry and their contribution to the further economic progress in the country. However, Kosovars hope that agriculture will bring prosperity and should be the sector that the new government should consider as a matter of high priority.

Data convey that citizens are not really bothered from the corruption scandals and their opinions on the matter are quite polarized. The numbers are quite tempting and would create an interesting case for study to understand why there is not a major opposition and why there is a lack of general will to fight this phenomenon. This is further supported by the fact that

almost 40% don't mind or don't have a clear standing on parties having candidates in their lists that are accused for corruption scandals. This presumably leads us to believe that Kosovars have somehow got used to the persistence of corruption and corruptive practices in their everyday lives.

As indicated in this report, the creation of hundreds of thousands of new jobs was one of the most intriguing promises of this election campaign. However, despite the tendency of the parties to protect firmly this statement, the voters seem to understand that this is impossible to happen. Most importantly, the voters have it clear that currently, due to the economic state of the country, we are unable to reach this goal. The current economic growth, the past economic trends, the production levels, etc. create no favourable preconditions for the achievement of the set employment targets from the parties.

When the dialogue with Serbia was brought up to the respondents, they appeared quite confused when propositioned with the question on whether they want for their preferred party to continue the dialogue or terminate it. However, they were clear in that should the continuation of the dialogue occur, it should be conditioned with the recovery of the damages that the Serbian side has caused to the Kosovars with regards to the stolen pensions as well as the lack of cooperation for returning the bodies of the missing people.

While, in terms of applying reciprocity measures, the respondents gave an indication that the voters are pro invoking political and economic reciprocity measures not only with the countries of the region in general but also with Albania specifically. A potential explanation behind this is due to the fact that Kosovo has not managed to benefit but rather has been damaged as a member of CEFTA as well as in other circumstances when trying to cooperate with the neighbouring countries.

In addition, Kosovar citizens consider that it is the moment for them to finally enjoy the privileges of visa liberalization and that the new government should have a clear plan on how to proceed on this matter as well as draft a strategic plan for EU integration processes. Voters generally think that there should be a set timetable for these processes and a concretization of the plans. Moreover, despite not being firmly against prioritizing inter Albanian integrations over EU integration, the voters seem somewhat sceptic in this regard and don't fully believe that the new government should take such action.

When talking about the fiscal policies and the social well being in the country, the voters tended to keep different positions. The preferences of the Kosovar citizens are hard to cluster, yet the numbers are indicative of the fact that as a country, we have not yet managed to reach that point when we cast the vote based on the differences for the programmes of the parties, yet, the voting based on the 'friends and family' principle continues to prevail. This is the fallacy of the current political scene in Kosovo and the way how it has evolved, because the parties up

to now have never had such tensions or were never exposed to such challenges that would make them be more concrete with their programmes. So long the word of the leader will be the motive behind one's choice to cast the vote for one party over the other, there will be no clear indication of the voters' preferences.

What we could derive from the survey data is that the voters in Kosovo are confused by the fiscal policy programmes of the political parties. Despite the political parties being more concrete in their aims and goals during this election campaign, they have failed to duly inform their followers and be explicitly clear on the consequences of the suggested actions. Consequently, we have now a variety of answers which indicate that there is a lack of knowledge and lack of interest for fiscal policy. One thing is clear, that the voters certainly prefer lower taxes in general, yet they are convinced that the special excise tax should continue to apply for luxurious goods and they clearly support the abolition of customs duties for raw materials in agriculture and manufacturing.

On the other side, healthcare system and healthcare policies seem to have a decisive role in the vote of the Kosovars. It is important to note that Kosovars consider that they should have the privilege on enjoying a public health insurance that is to take place as of January 2015. This would put the Kosovar citizens in the same position with the rest of the citizens in the neighbouring countries, who all enjoy the benefits of a public health insurance which has been lacking in Kosovo since after the war period.

The voters believe that the new government should give a high priority to the regulation of the pension's scheme and approve the Law on Pensions in the first quarter of its work. Equal importance do the voters attribute to the need for the creation of a fund for the payment of the pension fund contributors whose pensions were stolen from Serbia. This is one of the damages caused to many Kosovars and is a direct outcome of the war, which seemingly the citizens consider that should be addressed soon and should be given priority by the new government.

Parallel to the need for improving and intervening in the current pension system, survey data identify the sympathy that the voters have for social programmes. Voters, in general, are supportive of the idea that the new government should create programmes to support the unemployed, persons in need, single mothers as well as families with more than three children. These findings show that voters are extremely biased towards parties which would increase social welfare. Yet, a surprising outcome of this survey is the fact that despite being supportive of social programmes in general, voters are somewhat hesitant and do not show the same level of support when it comes to the designed programmes for the war veterans.

Considering the major support for other vulnerable groups, these statistics lead us to believe that there is a general dissatisfaction amongst the citizens with the way how the aid for veterans has been managed in the after war period in Kosovo.

In general, the survey data indicate that the voters in Kosovo were somewhat confused in the wake of the national elections that took place this June 2014. While the political parties have demonstrated increased signs of effort to improve and draft more detailed and concrete political programmes, they have failed to convey a clear message and demonstrate clearly their goals to their voters. On the other hand, despite the improvement of the political parties performance, a spread phenomenon is the vote casted based in the word of the leader, which automatically discredits the value of the political parties' programmes. Ultimately, it is for the new government to understand and initially identify the public policy actions that the voters prefer and find the means and ways to address those needs as well as find suitable solutions for the identified problems. What we know for sure at this point is that, Kosovo voters want lower taxes, better healthcare system and well managed social programmes.

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