



Democracy for Development
Demokraci për Zhvillim
Demokratija za razvoj

Electoral Research in Kosovo: Since 2000-2012

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Overview

Background

- Different than other presentations, little is known about the inside's of elections in Kosovo
- Political & Institutional Environment
- Electoral History

Type of Electoral Research

- Electoral System
- Surveys
- PVT & Observation
- Fraud Prevention



Environment

Institutional

- International Administration of Kosovo
- Election administration by the OSCE
- Little external scrutiny (ODIHR out)
- International responsibility of the process
- Stability Over Democracy

National Priorities

- Security trumps all
- Inter-ethnic divisions and centrifugal tendencies in the north
- Open dispute and dialogue with Serbia
- Institution building
- Clear international preferences over the winners needed



Electoral History

Municipal ...

- ... Assembly
2000, 2002, 2007, 2009, next in 2013
- ... Mayoral
2007, 2009, next in 2013, next several likely

National

- ... Assembly
Closed lists/no threshold:
2001, 2004
Open lists/5% threshold
2007, 2010
Next expected in 2013 (early)
- ... President
Constitutional amendments in process
Expected in 2013 (also early)



Main Features

Post-war treatment

- Still treated like a post-war society in some aspects. The political culture finds it challenging to mature
- Impatience grew over the lack of development on state-building
- Constitution
 - Proportional
 - Reserved seats for minorities

Focus on the system

- Electoral system lagged behind with development of political culture & public needs
- Political parties
 - All but one are still run by their founders
 - Little ideological profile, but started to become members of international networks
- Need to transform political parties



Changes

People Driven

Successful:

- Open Lists
 - 2000 OPEN
 - 2001-2004 CLOSED
 - 2007 OPEN (10 preferences)
 - 2009-2010 OPEN (5 preferences)
- Directly Elected Mayors
 - Introduced in 2007

Yet to Take Place:

- Regional PR

System Driven

- Threshold
 - From 0 to 5%
- Direct Presidential Elections
 - To avoid inter-party bargaining for the President



Trend Analysis

Official Data

- Different format every year
- Presented in pdf formatn
- 2009 missing:
 - Unused Ballots
 - By-mail
 - Early
 - Conditional ballots
 - Spoiled
 - Blank
 - Total turnout missing for mayoral elections (same day with others)
- **2003-2007: KIPRED** (Leon co-founder and Research Director, and ran the election studies)
 - Highlighting the faults of a single districts and closed lists
 - The need for evolution of the party system, and not to cement the then current political culture
 - Used by Donald Horowitz in his class at Duke
- **2011+: D4D** in 2011, and a forthcoming detailed publication in 2012.
 - Developing a massive database for each candidate for every polling station



Observation

Funding only for Observation

- **KACI**
 - Observation in 2000 and 2001
- **KMDLNJ**
 - Observation in 2002 and 2004
- **KIPRED** (I ran this one)
 - Observation & PVT in 2007
 - Elaborate forms also used for research (e.g. men/women voting, time it takes to process each voter)
- **KDI**
 - Observation in 2009 and 2010
- **D4D**
 - Observation in 2012 by-elections

PVT

- The only country in the Balkans without a stable observation mission
- Very professional one in 2007, sms system with live feeding, 2 mln clicks: 0.3% margin of error (90% coverage)
- Early results to lower tension and avoid fraud
- Early results to avoid fraud



Public Opinion Surveys

International Organizations

- International Administration and Various IOs
- Diplomatic Representations and Donors
- Private companies keep information confidential
- Political parties increasingly do their own surveys, the main party is well funded and now has professional internal consultancy

Useful

- UNDP Early Warning, now Public Pulse
- Two surveys by IFES on experience with elections
- One that we did, and one forthcoming in 2012 by D4D
- Phone surveys have not yet begun, but one company is preparing
- Only one serious company which cooperates with Gallup



Election Process

- Dissatisfaction with the electoral system but high trust placed on the process until 2004 – Kosovo used to boast that it organizes the best elections in the region
- Gradual loss of trust since 2007
 - Violations initially treated as isolated cases
 - Massive fraud in 2010
 - Now realization that there is a very advanced organization behind fraud, with outvoting at the Central Election Commission,
- Our mistake to start so late but only started seriously to deal with fraud in 2011 by D4D.



Other Papers

- Internal papers conducted by the OSCE
- USAID on districting in 2004 (Lisa Handley)
- IFES study on voter list accuracies in a pilot municipality (2009)
- IFES paper on use of technology in voter identification and counting (2012)
- FES funds some very rudimentary studies on ideological party profiling



Comparison of Various Sources

Triangulation

- Elaborate forms by observers used for research
- Demographic data
- Population Census
- Survey
- Official election data

Large Gaps Identified

- **Turnout**
 - Official data: 45%
 - Surveys: 79-80%
- **Voter List Inadequacies**
 - Census: 1,750,000 inhabitants,
 - Voters List: 1,650,000 in the voters list
 - While Kosovo has around 27% who are younger than 18 years old



Stakeholders

International

- **OSCE**
 - actor until 2007 with strong vested interests and preferences
 - Left a very intransparent process
- **European Union**
- **USAID**

Domestic

- **Central Election Commission**
 - Incompetence, not transparent
- **BIRN**
 - Journalistic outfit focusing on debates & observation
- **D4D**
 - since 2011 with trends, process, observation & PVT