

# **2001 ELECTORAL ADMINISTRATION AND PERFORMANCE**

**Findings from the IFES Survey  
on the November 2001  
Kosovo Assembly Election**

**Prepared by  
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**February 2002**

**Survey Prepared For The  
INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION  
FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS**



**MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK**

This study and publication were made possible through funding provided by US contributions to the OSCE Voluntary Fund for the OSCE Mission in Kosovo.

### ***About the Author***

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### ***Acknowledgements***

The International Foundation for Election Systems would like to thank the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Mission in Kosovo (OMIK) Elections Department for their assistance in administering the survey and the logistical support.

The technical aspects of this survey, including the sampling, compilation of questionnaire, preparation of the final data set, principal analyst, and drafting of the survey report were prepared by Hermann Thiel, IFES Consultant. Project oversight and management, input into the drafting of the questionnaire, and editorial assistance was provided by Dana Beegun, IFES Program Officer for Europe and Eurasia. Editing and formatting of the survey report were provided by Michael Kanaley and Emily Parkinson, IFES Program Assistants for Europe and Eurasia. Data coding and analysis, input into the questionnaire, and editorial assistance was provided by Rakesh Sharma, IFES Applied Research Officer.



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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) has been working within Kosovo since the cessation of NATO bombing in 1999 by providing technical assistance to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in the administration of Kosovar elections. IFES assisted the OSCE and UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) in creating a civil registration system, a necessary step to normalize public administration and to register voters. Leading up to the successful October 2000 Municipal Elections, IFES assisted the OSCE in establishing a legal electoral framework, developing a technical infrastructure, and training election officials and poll workers.

Fueled by the success of the Municipal Elections, the OSCE, with assistance from IFES, decided to strengthen the capacity of the newly formed Municipal Election Commissions. In order to pinpoint exactly what aspects of electoral administration needed to be developed, IFES conducted a post-election survey after the municipal elections. Based on the results of that survey, IFES and the OSCE planned its activities for the upcoming Assembly Elections in Kosovo, which were scheduled to be held on 17 November 2001 and would result in the formation of Kosovo's first elected Assembly, which would then elect Kosovo's first democratically elected President. On Election Day, 65 percent of the Province's 1.25 million people visited the polling stations in order to participate in the highly successful democratic election of Kosovo's Assembly.

Following the 17 November 2001 Assembly Election, IFES conducted its second post-election survey of people from Kosovo who had participated in the elections as either election administrators or observers. This survey follows the format of the survey conducted after the 2000 Municipal Elections in Kosovo. The sample included Municipal Election Commission (MEC) members, Polling Station Committee (PSC) members, and representatives from political entities and NGOs that fielded election observers. The sample was composed of representatives from all political and ethnic groups and covered every municipality in Kosovo.

The survey had two main goals: first to assess the performance of electoral administrators in the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election and to compare this performance with 2000 and second to assess the role the international community is playing in election administration in Kosovo and make recommendations regarding the process of transferring election administration to Kosovo institutions.

In total, 1,200 questionnaires were distributed between 28 November and 18 December. Of these, 979 were returned, resulting in a response rate of 81.6 percent.

### ***Satisfaction with Electoral Administration***

- Overall, 95 percent of all respondents were satisfied with the organization of the election. This is significantly better than the 82 percent who were satisfied in 2000.
- Representatives of political parties, specifically the PDK (96 percent compared with 39 percent in 2000) and AAK (94 percent compared with 62 percent in 2000), were significantly more satisfied with administration in 2001 than in 2000
- Only 56 percent of respondents from the Kosovo Serb community indicated that they were "very satisfied" with the election administration. However, 33 percent of Kosovo Serbs indicated they were "somewhat satisfied."

- Overall, respondents registered high levels of satisfaction on two scales measuring satisfaction with election facilities and election procedures respectively. Respondents from the Kosovo Serb community were relatively less satisfied with both the election facilities and the election procedures than the other communities.
- Respondents registered high levels of satisfaction on all fifteen indicators that measure satisfaction with different aspects of the electoral process. Of these indicators, the Special Needs Voting program received the weakest evaluation.
- Of all respondents, 90 percent believed the overall organization of the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election was better than the organization of the 2000 Municipal Elections.

### ***The Election Campaign***

- The election campaign was judged to have been "completely free and fair" by 56 percent of respondents while 32 percent said it was "free and fair but with minor problems."
- Minority groups were less convinced that the electoral process was "free and fair" with only 20 percent of the Kosovo Serb and 48 percent of the other minority groups indicating the process was "completely free and fair."
- Respondents looked at the ability of all parties to campaign freely and the fairness of media coverage when determining when the election campaign was, in fact, "free and fair."
- Seventy-four percent of Kosovo Serb respondents and 75 percent of respondents from the smaller Kosovo Albanian parties were convinced that all parties and candidates had a fair chance to participate in the campaign. Although relatively high, these figures are lower than for the other groups. More than 85 percent of all other groups were convinced all parties and candidates had a fair chance to participate.
- LDK representatives were least satisfied with media coverage of the campaign, with only 55 percent agreeing that the campaign was fair to all parties. Seventy percent of PDK supporters and 78 percent of AAK supporters were much more satisfied that the media coverage was fair to all.

### ***The Institutions of Election Administration***

- Of all respondents, 72 percent were satisfied with the appointment process of CEC members. Kosovo Serbs and representatives from the smaller Kosovo Albanian parties were least satisfied with the appointment process with 57 percent and 67 percent approval rates respectively.
- According to 87 percent of respondents, the Electoral Rules issued by the CEC ensured that the election could be conducted in a manner fair to all.
- The appointment process and work of the MECs received strong approval among all groups surveyed. MEC members were well prepared to do their jobs according to 89 percent of respondents, and 87 percent believed that the MECs conducted their activities in a manner fair to all in their municipalities.
- Eighty-three percent of respondents agreed that MECs were very successful with informing political parties and NGOs on election preparation. MECs received less approval for their contact with the community at large, with only 70 percent of respondents agreeing that MECs regularly informed the community with progress in preparing the elections.
- According to respondents, PSCs performed their functions professionally as 87 percent of respondents indicated that PSC members performed their functions without bias towards the parties who nominated them.



- Eighty-eight percent of the respondents agreed that political parties should be represented on PSCs.

***Issues of Contention during the Election Process***

- Sixty-five percent of all respondents agreed that Serb participation indicated significant political progress. Sixty-one percent of the Kosovo Albanians agreed with this sentiment, and saw Serb participation as progress.
- Sixty-six percent of Kosovo Albanians support the right to fly national flags at polling stations. Respondents from the Kosovo Serb community are not supportive of this - only 33 percent agreed that local communities should be allowed to fly national flags.
- Eighty percent of respondents agreed that a program allowing people outside of Kosovo to vote by mail should be maintained despite the high cost of such a program.
- During the Challenge period 67 percent of respondents believed there should be no restrictions placed on voters who want to view the lists and challenge entries.

***International Involvement in Election Administration and the Future of Election Administration in Kosovo***

- According to 64 percent of respondents, the result of the Kosovo Assembly election would not have been accepted if the international community had not conducted the election. Kosovo Serbs were most convinced (95 percent) that international involvement was necessary for people in Kosovo to accept the results. Respondents from the PDK (46 percent) and AAK (51 percent) are less convinced that international involvement is necessary for the result to be accepted.
- UNMIK and the OSCE are trusted by 80 percent of the respondents to conduct elections that are fair to all political entities participating in the elections.
- According to 58 percent of respondents (88 percent among Kosovo Serbs and 87 percent among supporters of other minority parties), it is good that the CEC is chaired by an international.
- According to 71 percent, the MECs are ready to assume the duties of running an election without the assistance of an international Election Officer. However, 67 percent MEC members thought they could do the job without assistance.
- Three-quarters of all respondents believed the PSCs would be able to perform their duties impartially regardless of international supervision.
- Respondents are divided on the length of time needed to transfer authority from the international community to Kosovo institutions. Forty-eight percent of Kosovo Serb respondents and 30 percent of respondents from other minority parties believed that the international community should continue to administer elections in Kosovo indefinitely. In contrast, 41 percent of both PDK and AAK supporters indicated that the responsibility for administering elections should be handed over immediately.
- Overall, 28 percent believed the international community should hand over authority for election administration immediately, 31 percent indicated that the transfer should be done after the next elections, while a further 36 percent either indicated it should only be done after two further elections (18 percent) or that the international community should continue to administer elections indefinitely (18 percent).
- Seventy-three percent believed that there are enough skilled people in Kosovo to take over election administration. However, 81 percent pointed out that it would still take substantial training in order to prepare people from Kosovo to assume these

responsibilities, while 91 percent said international experts should have the responsibility of preparing people from Kosovo for this task.

- MEC members were actively involved with election administration during 2001. However, most MEC members indicated they shared responsibility for the tasks with the international Election Officer rather than having full responsibility themselves.
- MEC members are confident that they will be able to assume most of the responsibilities at municipal level. However, MEC members are less confident about assuming the responsibility for the more technical tasks and would prefer to have the support of an international in conducting these activities.
- Eighty-three percent of respondents indicated that the MECs should conduct their activities independent from municipal governments.
- Respondents were divided on the issue of political party representation on MECs. Although representatives from political parties were supportive of direct representation for political parties on MECs, 56 percent prefer the current process, which appoints MEC members based on personal merit rather than political affiliation.
- Just over 50 percent would prefer that the Municipal Assembly rather than the international Election Officer recommend candidates for MEC appointment to the CEC. However, respondents from minority communities were more in favor of the internationals performing this task.
- Fifty-two percent of respondents believed that being an MEC member should be a full-time occupation.

#### ***The Importance of Elections and the Election System in Kosovo***

- Respondents are very aware of the importance of elections. A large majority (85 percent) indicated that the way one votes could make things better in the future. In Kosovo, specifically, 81 percent believed that elections do matter, since the Kosovo Assembly will have substantial input in running Kosovo.
- Fifty-three percent preferred the current system with Kosovo being a single electoral district rather than being divided into smaller districts.
- The system of proportional representation is supported by 68 percent of respondents. Only within LDK representatives did a majority (57 percent) support a majoritarian system where the party that received the most votes governs alone.
- When asked whether they preferred an open or closed-list voting system, 59 percent of respondents pointed out that they prefer an open list where voters could indicate which candidates they want to represent them.
- Overall, 52 percent supported the direct election of the President of Kosovo. Eighty-six percent of LDK representatives were in favor of a system of direct presidential elections while 63 percent of PDK and 59 percent of AAK representatives preferred the current system where the Kosovo Assembly elects the President of Kosovo.
- Fifty-eight percent of all respondents believed that parties should be obligated to have one-third of their candidates' list be female.
- Respondents were deeply divided on the issue of set-aside seats for minority communities. Sixty-one percent of respondents from the Kosovo Serb community and 81 percent of respondents from other minority groups were strongly in favor of set-aside seats, while 71 percent of Kosovo Albanian respondents strongly oppose the notion of set aside seats for minorities.

## **INTRODUCTION**

Since Fall 1999, the international community, through the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the NATO led Kosovo Protection Force (KFOR), has been responsible for the administration of Kosovo. One of the main goals of this transitional administration, as stipulated in the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244, is to develop "provisional self-governing institutions to ensure conditions for a peaceful and normal life for all inhabitants of Kosovo."

On 17 November 2001, voters in Kosovo participated in the second democratic election in the history of the territory. This election followed the Municipal Elections held on 28 October 2000. Members of all communities participated in the 2001 Assembly Election, in contrast with the 2000 Municipal Elections, which were boycotted by the Kosovo Serb community.

In May 2001, nearly two years after the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1244<sup>1</sup>, the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) in Kosovo signed the *Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government*. According to the preamble of this document, the "gradual transfer of responsibilities to Provisional Institutions of Self-Government will, through parliamentary democracy, enhance democratic governance and respect for the rule of law in Kosovo." The Constitutional Framework makes provision for parliamentary democracy through the election of a 120-seat Kosovo Assembly.

The authority for conducting elections in Kosovo is a power reserved for the SRSG and was exercised in both the 2000 Municipal Elections and the 2001 Kosovo Assembly elections by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and its Department of Election Operations (DEO).

### ***The 17 November 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election***

For the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election, Kosovo was regarded as a single electoral district. A proportional representation system of voting, with closed party lists, was chosen for this election. The first 100 seats in the Assembly were distributed proportionally among all political entities participating in the election. The other twenty seats were reserved for political entities that registered themselves as representing minority communities. Of these set-aside seats, ten were reserved for the Kosovo Serb community, and ten for other minorities (two Turkish, three Bosniac, four Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian, and one Gorani). Since the parties competing for the minority seats were also included in the allocation of the first 100 seats, minority communities received a larger share of the seats than their proportion of the vote. The Kosovo Assembly will elect the President of Kosovo, who will in turn nominate a Prime Minister.<sup>2</sup>

In a significant development, the Kosovo Serb community decided to participate not only in civil and voter registration but also the Assembly elections themselves. This decision was widely welcomed by the international community.

Overall, more than 65 percent of the 1.25 million registered voters cast their ballots in the Kosovo Assembly Election. Although this turnout was significantly lower than the 79 percent who turned out to vote in the 2000 Municipal Elections, more people voted in 2001 than in

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<sup>1</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 1244 authorized the deployment of military forces to Kosovo, and requested the Secretary General to appoint a Special Representative to control the implementation of an international civil administration of the territory. It was adopted on 10 June 1999.

<sup>2</sup> At the time of writing there was still an impasse in the election of the President of Kosovo. No party gained an outright majority of seats in the Assembly, and parties have been unable to reach a compromise.

2000. Approximately 810,000 voters, 13 percent more than in 2000, participated in the Election.<sup>3</sup>

The Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), led by Ibrahim Rugova, won 45.65 percent of the vote which translated into 47 seats in the assembly. The Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK), led by the former political leader of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) Hashim Thaci, won 25.7 percent of the vote and was allocated 26 seats in the Assembly.

The coalition of Serb parties, who ran under the banner of Coalition Return (KP), garnered 11.3 percent of the vote. The coalition received twenty-two seats in the Assembly, which include the ten seats set aside for the Kosovo Serb community.

The Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK), led by the former rebel leader Ramush Haradinaj, won 7.8 percent of the vote and was allocated eight seats in the Assembly.

Other parties that were allocated seats in the Assembly included the Bosniac/Gorani Vatan Coalition (four seats), the Kosovo Democratic Turkish Party (KDTP) (three seats), the New Democratic Initiative of Kosovo (IRDK) (two seats), and the Democratic Party of Albanian Ashkali in Kosovo (PDASHK) (two seats). Six parties—the National Movement for the Liberation of Kosovo (LKÇK), the Peoples Movement of Kosovo (LPK), the United Roma Party of Kosovo (PREBK), the Justice Party (PD), the Albanian Christian Democratic Party (PSHDK), and the Bosniac Party of Democratic Action of Kosovo (BSDAK)—each won one seat.

### ***Administration of Elections in Kosovo***

As mentioned above, the authority for administering elections in Kosovo is a power reserved to the SRSG in the Constitutional Framework. The OSCE, responsible for Institution Building in the UNMIK structure, was tasked with conducting the elections. As with the 2000 Municipal Elections, the election was governed through an integrated system of UNMIK regulations and electoral rules passed by the Central Election Commission.

The Central Election Commission (CEC) received its authority from UNMIK Regulation 2000/65, which amended Regulation 2000/21. The CEC consists of nine Kosovo and three international members, all appointed by the SRSG. The international members include the CEC Chairperson, a function assumed by the Deputy SRSG for Institution Building and Head of the OSCE Mission in Kosovo. The CEC passed twelve Electoral Rules, including the two rules that established Election Complaints and Appeals sub-Commission (ECAC) (Electoral Rule 2001/2) and the Municipal Election Commission (MECs) (Electoral Rule 2001/4).

The ECAC consists of an international Chief Commissioner and three Kosovo Commissioners, including one from the Kosovo Serb community. This sub-commission was responsible for handling all election-related complaints and appeals and issuing judgments related to these cases.

The MECs were created by the CEC through Electoral Rule 2000/4<sup>4</sup> and began operations shortly before the Municipal Elections in 2000. During those elections the MECs played the

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<sup>3</sup> A complete information package regarding the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election is available at [http://www.osce.org/kosovo/elections/results/information\\_package.pdf](http://www.osce.org/kosovo/elections/results/information_package.pdf)

<sup>4</sup> During 2000, several of the 124 MEC positions remained vacant since these positions were allocated to minority communities, specifically Kosovo Serbs. In 2001, significant progress was made concerning the appointment of MEC members from minority communities. During the last two months before the Assembly Election, Kosovo Albanian members were appointed in Kosovo Serb majority municipalities (Zubin Potok/Zubin Potok,

role of observer and exposed themselves to the electoral process. Electoral Rule 2001/4 stipulated that the MECs were to assist the OSCE DEO in administering the elections in their municipality during the 2001 General Election. However, the OSCE involved the MECs much more aggressively in the administration of the electoral process. In practice, many of the MECs assumed primary responsibility for some of the functions, notably the appointment of Polling Station Committee (PSC) members. Other duties performed by the MECs included:

- briefing political entities and Municipal Assemblies on the progress of election preparations in the municipality;
- liaising with political parties and NGOs regarding the appointment of PSCs;
- ensuring that all communities were reached by public information and voter education activities;
- assisting with the selection and preparation of Polling Centers and Polling Stations;
- receiving election material from Polling Stations after voting and counting; and
- performing an initial unofficial entry of the results in the municipality.

To support the MECs in their activities, IFES conducted an extensive training program for the MECs. In this program, the MECs were trained on topics such as international standards of election administration, different methods for registering voters, registration and voting procedures, strategic planning and management, and the role of observers in the electoral process.

At the polling station level, five-member committees conducted the polling and counting process under the supervision of an international Polling Supervisor. These Polling Station Committees (PSCs) were appointed by the MECs following the direction from the CEC through Electoral Rule 2001/9. In a major change from 2000, political entities and NGOs were directly represented on the PSCs. These entities made their nominations for the available PSC positions to the MECs, who made the final appointments.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the progress made with increasing the level of responsibility of MECs during 2001, the OSCE stated that the process of transferring authority from the international community to Kosovo institutions should speed up. The transfer should happen on all levels of electoral management: the CEC, the CEC Secretariat, and the MECs. To be able to do this, the OSCE stated, a phased program should be initiated to gradually transfer responsibilities to these institutions over the next elections.<sup>6</sup>

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Leposavic/Leposaviq and Zvecan). Also, several Kosovo Serb members were appointed in municipalities with Kosovo Albanian majorities (Kamenicë/Kamenica, Viti/Vitina, Novobërdë/ Novo Brdo, Pejë/Pec, Istog/Istok, Rahovec/Orahovac, Mitrovicë/ Mitrovica, Vushtrri/ Vučitern, Fushë Kosovë/Kosovo Polje, Obiliq/Obiliç, and Prishtinë/Priština). Currently 120 of the 124 MEC positions are filled. Kosovo Albanians occupy eighty-six positions (72%), Kosovo Serb seventeen (14%), Kosovo Bosniac five (4%), Kosovo Turk four (3%), Gorani one, and Roma/Ashkali/Egyptian eight positions (7%). Women occupy twenty-two positions. There are still four Kosovo Serb vacancies that should be filled.

<sup>5</sup> According to Electoral Rule 2001/9, 60 percent of the available positions went to the three parties that received the highest number of votes in that municipality in the 2000 Municipal Elections. A further 20 percent was allocated to the other political entities certified for the 2001 election while NGOs received the last 20 percent of the positions. In some municipalities, this formula was slightly adapted to account for local conditions.

<sup>6</sup> These statements were made at the IFES Election Administration conference on February 16, 2002. For more information, please see IFES "Selecting a Model for Election Administration in Kosovo," conference report, February 2002 at [http://www.ifes.org/reg\\_activities/europe.htm](http://www.ifes.org/reg_activities/europe.htm)

### ***Purpose of the IFES Electoral Administration and Performance Survey 2001***

The 2001 IFES Electoral Administration and Performance Survey is the second post-election survey conducted by IFES. IFES conducted a similar survey after the 2000 Municipal Elections. By using the same questions in both questionnaires, the progress on some of the measurements from 2000 were tracked. Since a large part of IFES's involvement in the electoral process involved capacity building of local election administrators, the survey also aimed at tracking progress in this regard. In addition, with the changed context of the 2001 elections, several new issues became important, most notably was the process of transferring authority from the international community to people within Kosovo. With the participation of the Kosovo Serb community, it was also possible to ascertain the opinions of the different ethnic groups on developments around elections in Kosovo. In more detail, the survey and report aims to:

- Determine how individuals from Kosovo who participated in the election as election observers, Polling Station Committee members and Municipal Election Commissioners assessed the administration of the 17 November 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election and how they compared it with the administration of the 2000 Municipal Elections;
- Assess the role played by the CEC, MECs, and PSCs in administering the elections;
- Determine lessons that could be learned from the administration of elections and make recommendations for the conduct of future elections;
- Determine the views of respondents on the role of the international community in Kosovo and the process of transferring authority for election administration in Kosovo to local institutions; and
- Make recommendations regarding the process of transferring authority for election administration to local institutions.

### ***The Sample***

For the 2001 IFES Election Administration and Performance Survey, the target group included persons from Kosovo who had participated in the electoral process in three different capacities. Specifically, the Municipal Election Commissioners, Polling Station Committee members, and election observers were asked to complete the questionnaires.

First, all 121 active MEC members were asked to complete the questionnaires during a series of five workshops, one in each administrative region. As in 2000, the completion of the questionnaires was followed by an in-depth discussion of the different issues covered in the questionnaire. Some of the insights from these workshops are included in this report.

Second, a stratified sample was drawn from the 8,340 PSC members. The sample was stratified to resemble the formula for appointing PSCs. In each of the thirty municipalities, thirty PSC members were selected as follows:

- **five** members from each of the three largest political parties in the municipality, randomly selected;
- **five** members from the smaller political parties in the municipality, randomly selected;
- **five** members from NGOs, randomly selected; and
- **five** members from minority communities, mainly Kosovo Serb, since the other minority groups were represented through their political parties, randomly selected. In municipalities where there were no Kosovo Serb communities, these questionnaires were not distributed.

Third, one observer per municipality was selected from each political entity or NGO that fielded observers in the municipality. Up to 10 of these questionnaires were distributed per municipality.

The self-administered questionnaires were distributed between 28 November 2001 and 18 December 2001. The IFES Survey Coordinator distributed the self-administered questionnaires to the MECs, and they assisted with distribution to the selected Polling Station Committee members and election observers.

In total 1,200 questionnaires were distributed, and **979** were returned. A response rate of **81.6 percent** was achieved.

**Sample Description**

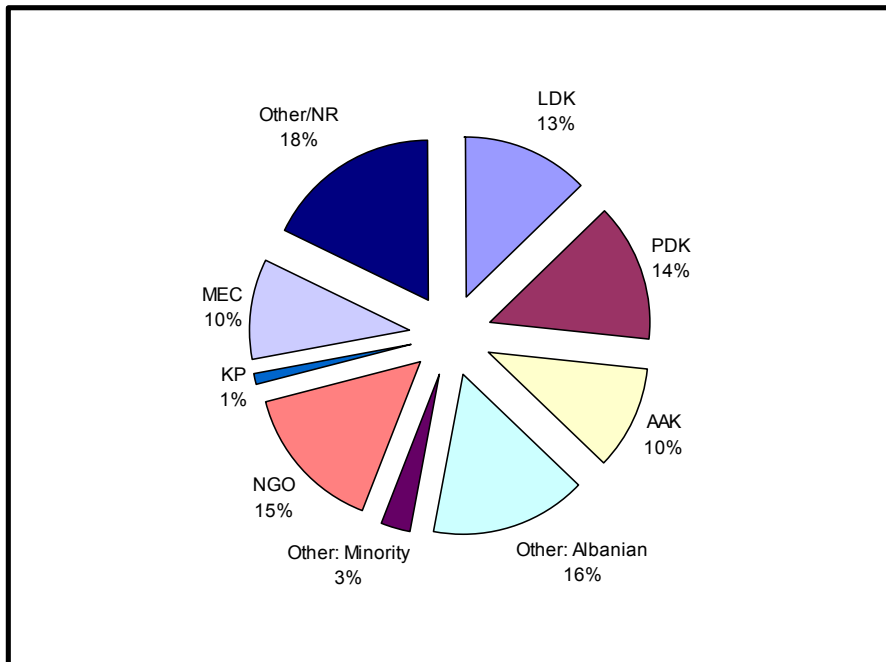
In compiling the stratified sample, a fair representation of the different organizations involved in the electoral process was achieved.

Respondents were asked to respond to the question "What is the name of the organization you represent?" Despite fears that respondents would not be willing to divulge this information, a majority of respondents did indicate their affiliation. The three largest Albanian parties, LDK, PDK, and AAA, were almost equally well represented. A total of 16 percent of respondents indicated that they belong to the other Kosovo Albanian political parties while 15 percent indicated that they represented an NGO.

It is significant that the other minorities, including Kosovo Serbs, Roma, Ashkali, Egyptians, Bosniacs, and Gorani, were more reluctant to divulge their organizational affiliation. That largely explains why so few respondents identified themselves with the Coalition Return (KP) and the other minority parties.

In this report, there are several references to views of respondents who indicated that they represented specific political parties and other organizations. It should be emphasized that this does not necessarily reflect the official views of the respective political parties and organizations and its leaders.

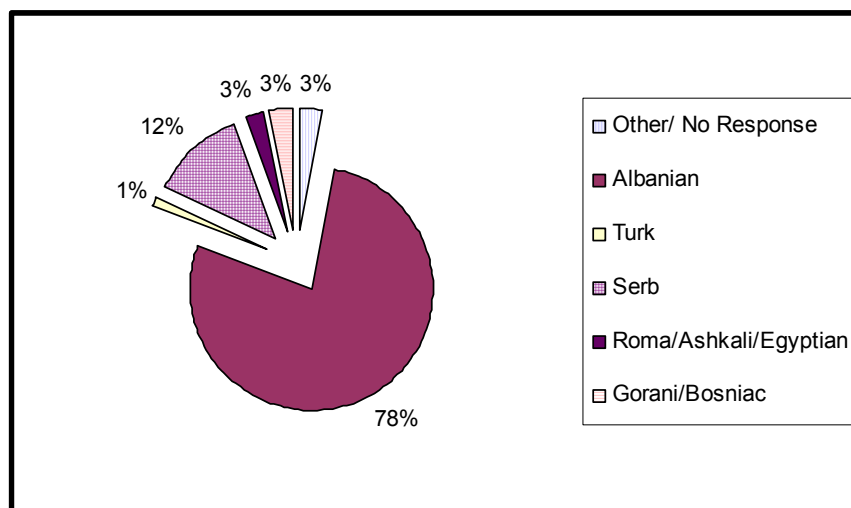
**Figure 1: Organizational Affiliation**





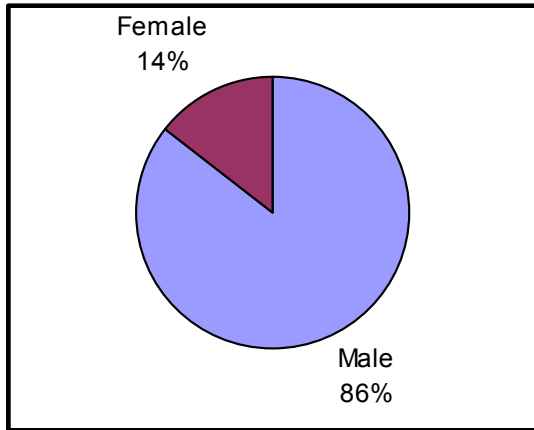
In Figure 2, the ethnic breakdown of the sample is displayed. Again, this information is based on respondents' self-identification. When asked the question "What is your ethnic background?", respondents were reminded that they were not obligated to answer the question. Less than 3 percent of respondents did not include their ethnic background.

**Figure 2: Ethnic Background**

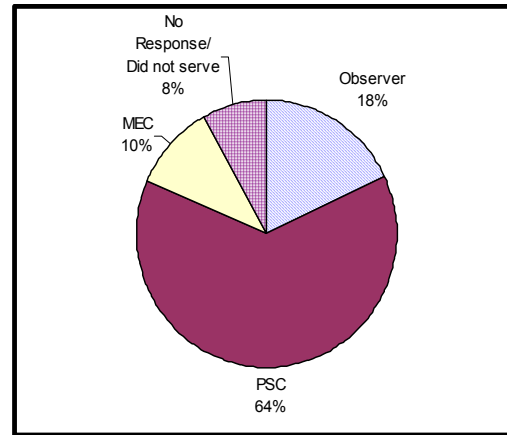


Kosovo Albanians make up the largest proportion of the sample with 78 percent. For the survey in 2000, there were very few participants from the Kosovo Serb community, therefore, it is significant that 12 percent of the sample for the current survey is from this community. Respondents identifying themselves as either Roma, Ashkali, or Egyptian made up a further 3 percent of the sample, the same percentage as respondents from the Muslim Slav group (Bosniac and Gorani). Only one percent of the sample identified themselves as Turkish.

**Figure 3: Gender**



**Figure 4: Election Role**



A disappointing aspect of the sample composition is the small number of female respondents. As can be seen in Figure 3, only 14 percent of the sample is female. Although this figure is slightly higher than the 10 percent of 2000, it is still disappointing. This is not a function of the way the sample was drawn, but rather of the composition of the groups who were targeted for inclusion in the sample. Election administrators, particularly the CEC and MEC members, should pay specific attention to the appointment process of election officials in the future.

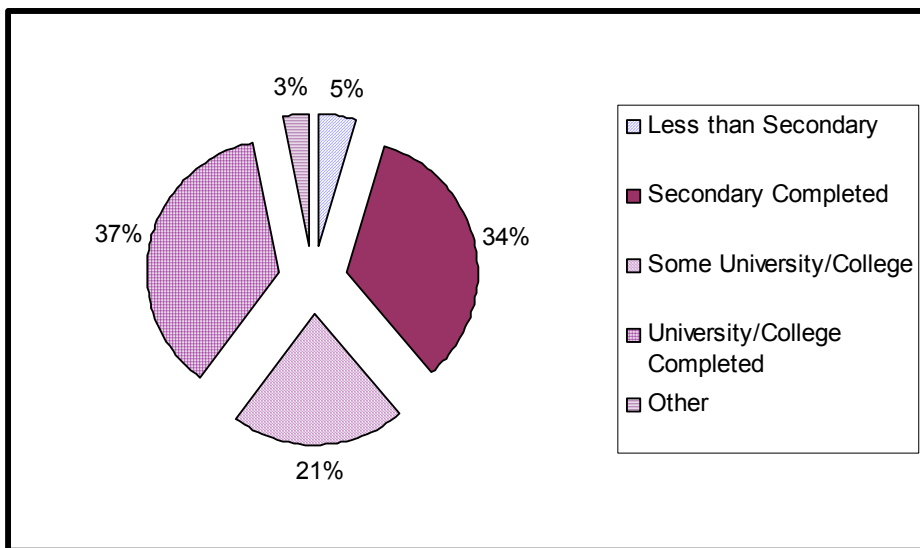
Respondents were also asked to indicate what their role was in the past electoral process. Polling Station Committee members made up the largest proportion of the sample with 64 percent, followed by election observers with 18 percent, and MEC members with 10 percent. A further 8 percent either did not respond to the question or indicated that they did not serve in an official capacity during the elections.<sup>7</sup>

It is important to notice the high level of education of respondents. The education level of the respondents is noteworthy since only 5 percent of respondents indicated that they did not complete secondary school. Thirty-seven percent indicated that they completed university or college education, while 21 percent indicated that they have received some university or college education.

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<sup>7</sup> MEC members presented questionnaires to political entities and NGOs who fielded observers in their municipalities. In a small number of cases, individuals who did not serve as observers themselves completed the questionnaires. However, they still represent organizations that fielded observers on Election Day.

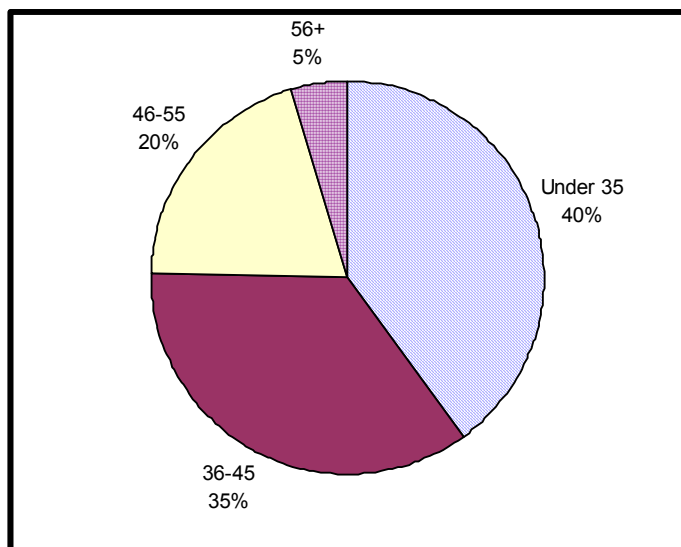
Figure 5: Level of Education



Most respondents consult the news on a daily basis, with 77 percent watching television news daily and 12 percent a few times a week; 60 percent listen to radio news daily and 22 percent a few times a week; and 63 percent read newspapers daily with 20 percent a few times a week.

The age distribution of the sample in 2001 was significantly younger than in 2000. In 2000 only 18 percent of the sample was younger than thirty-six. In 2001, the proportion of respondents younger than thirty-six rose to 40 percent while 75 percent of the sample was younger than forty-six years old.

Figure 6: Age Distribution



Despite the high average level of education and the fairly young, male profile of the sample, it is significant that 40 percent of respondents indicated that they are currently unemployed. Only 48 percent of respondents were employed on a full-time basis when the questionnaire was conducted.

## **SATISFACTION WITH ELECTORAL ADMINISTRATION**

### ***Overall Satisfaction***

Observer groups uniformly praised the administration of the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election. The Council of Europe Election Observation Mission (CEEOM II) stated in their final report: "The Election was well organized, the voting was conducted in an orderly manner, and many lessons had been learnt from last year's Municipal Elections."<sup>8</sup>

The Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms (CDHRF), a prominent Kosovo NGO, stated in their final report that the general conclusion from the reports of their observers stated that there were no irregularities on Election Day and that the good administration of the polling centers and stations resulted in an effective voting process.<sup>9</sup>

OSCE quoted Bruce George, UK Member of Parliament, speaking on behalf of the OSCE Parliamentary observers: "The election ... was conducted to the very highest standards, not only in comparison to recently emerging democracies but also against older democracies, with a history ..."<sup>10</sup>

From these statements it is clear that observers were satisfied with the process and that they thought implementation improved between the two electoral processes. The question addressed in this section is whether the respondents to this survey shared these opinions.

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<sup>8</sup> Council of Europe Election Observation Mission II– 2001 ***Kosovo Assembly Elections Final Report, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition***, SG/Inf(2002)1 / 18 January 2002.

<sup>9</sup> CDHRF ***Elections 2001 Final Report*** November 2001

<sup>10</sup> OSCE DEO ***Information Package: Election Day and Results – Kosovo Assembly Election 2001***  
[http://www.osce.org/kosovo/elections/results/information\\_package.pdf](http://www.osce.org/kosovo/elections/results/information_package.pdf)

Figure 7: Satisfaction with Election Administration

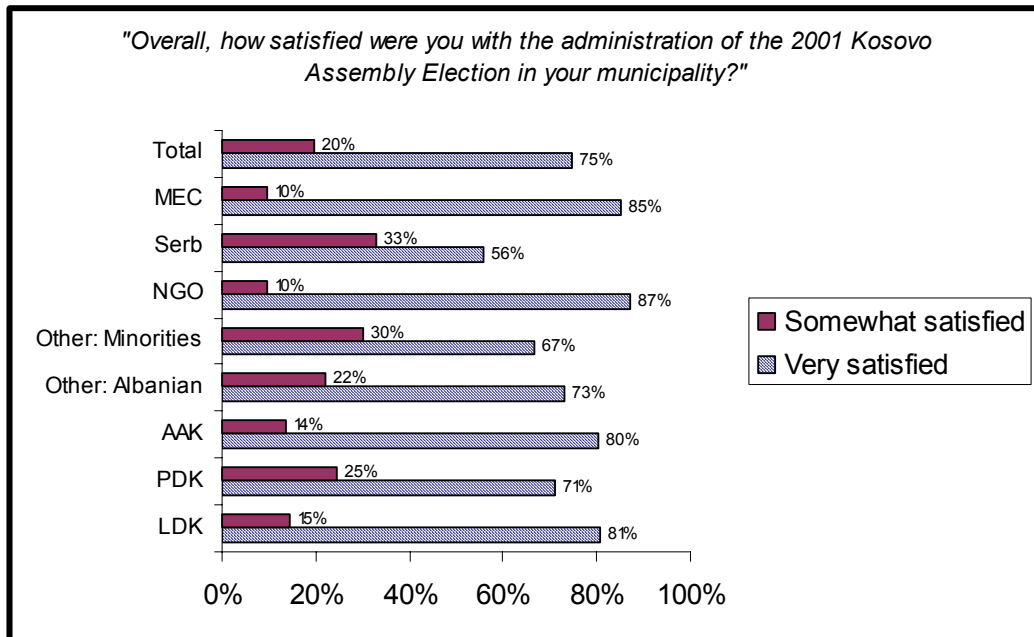


Figure 7 attests that that the respondents were overwhelmingly satisfied with the administration of the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election. Even among the group with the lowest level of satisfaction, the Kosovo Serb community, 89 percent indicated that they were either very or somewhat satisfied with the administration of the elections. Of the total sample, 95 percent indicated satisfaction, compared to the 82 percent that indicated satisfaction with the administration of the 2000 Municipal Elections.

The most significant change from 2000 was among PDK and AAK supporters. In 2000, only 39 percent of PDK and 62 percent of AAK supporters were satisfied with the administration of the elections in their municipalities. For these two political groupings, the percentages increased to 96 percent and 94 percent respectively in 2001.

It should be pointed out, however, that the proportion of respondents who were "very satisfied" varied somewhat. Noteworthy is the lower percentages of those "very satisfied" within the Kosovo Serb (56 percent) and other minority groups (67 percent). Although the overall level of satisfaction was similar for all groups, the minority groups did not express their satisfaction as strongly as the Kosovo Albanian group.

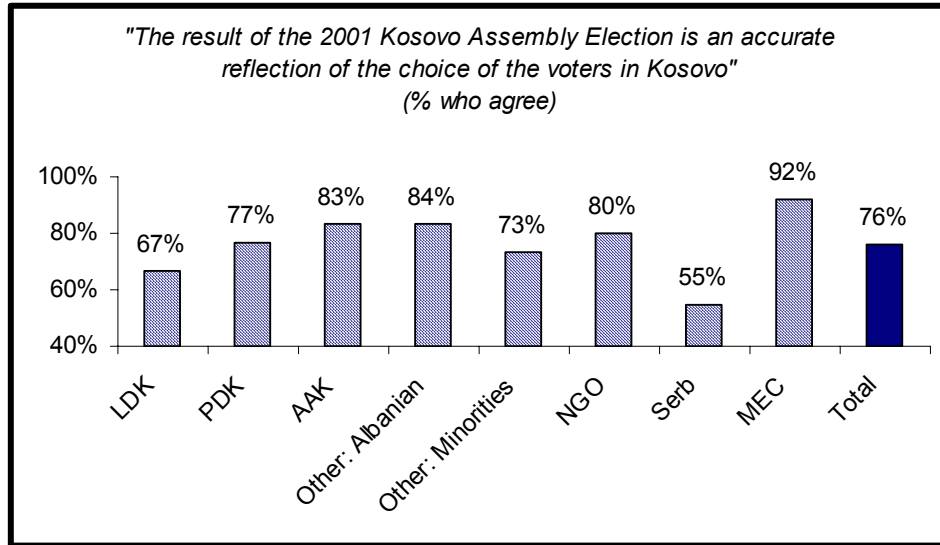
#### **Satisfaction with Election Administration and the Validity of Results**

The results of the 2000 survey indicated that there may have been a correlation between the results that each party expected to achieve, and the parties' general satisfaction with electoral administration. In order to test this hypothesis, the 2001 survey included a question asking respondents whether "The results of the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election accurately reflect the choice of voters in Kosovo."

After the 17 November election, it was clear from statements of LDK political leaders that they expected to do significantly better in the Kosovo Assembly Election. The LDK

supporters seem to agree with their leaders. Only 67 percent of LDK supporters agreed that the result accurately reflected the choice of voters, compared with 77 percent of PDK supporters, 83 percent of AAK supporters, and 84 percent of the supporters of smaller Kosovo Albanian parties. Significantly, only 55 percent of respondents from the Kosovo Serb community agreed with this statement.

**Figure 8: The Validity of the Result**



Statistical analysis indicates that there is a moderate relationship between respondents' acceptance of the validity of the results (measured by whether they agreed or not that the result was an accurate reflection of the choice of voters in Kosovo) and their satisfaction with the administration of the election.<sup>11</sup> The strength of this correlation may have been moderated somewhat by the very high level of satisfaction with the administration of the election.

### ***Satisfaction with Different Aspects of the Electoral Process***

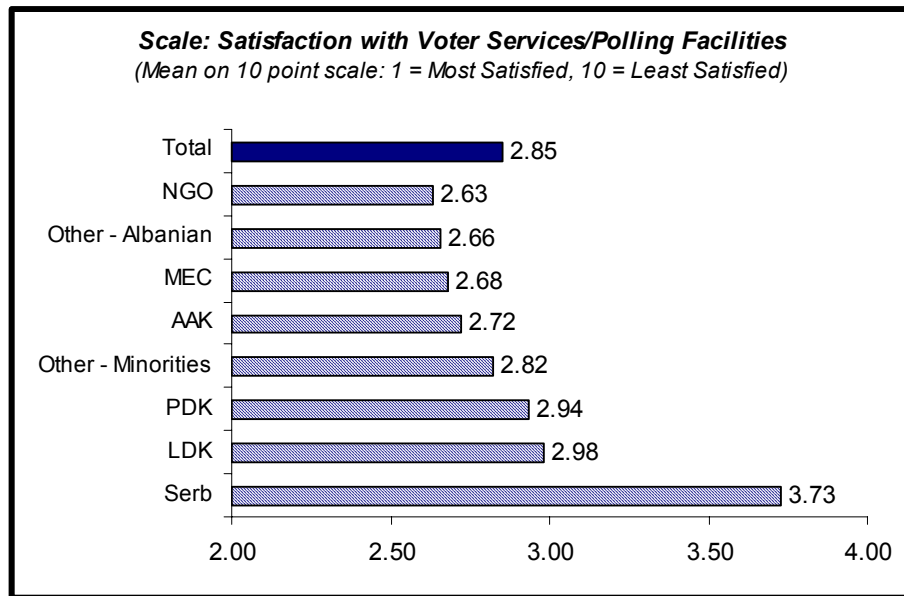
This next section examines the different stages and aspects associated with the preparation of a large-scale operation such as an election. As in 2000, respondents were presented with a set of questions that relates to different aspects of the election operation.

Two of the main areas of election preparations relate to the facilities used for the registration and voting processes as well as the polling and counting process itself. Two separate scales were constructed to measure how satisfied respondents were with each of these areas of election administration. On both these measurements, the mean for the total sample indicated a high level of satisfaction.

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<sup>11</sup> Pearsons correlation coefficient is .32, and it is significant at the .01 level.

**Figure 9: Satisfaction with Election Facilities**



On the scale shown in Figure 9, measuring respondents' satisfaction with the voter services and election facilities, the mean for the total sample was 2.85 on the 10-point scale, where 1 indicates the highest level of satisfaction, and 10 indicates the lowest level of satisfaction.<sup>12</sup> There was some variation among the different groups. Respondents from the Kosovo Serb community were relatively less satisfied with the election-related facilities in their municipalities. It is also noteworthy that supporters from the two largest Kosovo Albanian parties, the LDK and PDK, were slightly less satisfied than the other groups with the election facilities. From the debriefing sessions with MECs, one of the remaining areas of dissatisfaction with the election administration was the lack of polling centers in some of the rural areas. Advocates of these two parties believed that some of their supporters did not turn out to vote because of a lack of polling centers in their immediate vicinity. Respondents linked with the NGO community recorded the highest level of satisfaction with the Voter Services and Polling Facilities.

The pattern is different when it comes to satisfaction with the polling and counting process. Again, the level of satisfaction for the sample as a whole is quite high, with the mean for the total sample being 2.69 on this sixteen-point scale, where a score of 1 indicates the highest level of satisfaction and 16 the lowest level.<sup>13</sup> Again respondents from the Kosovo Serb

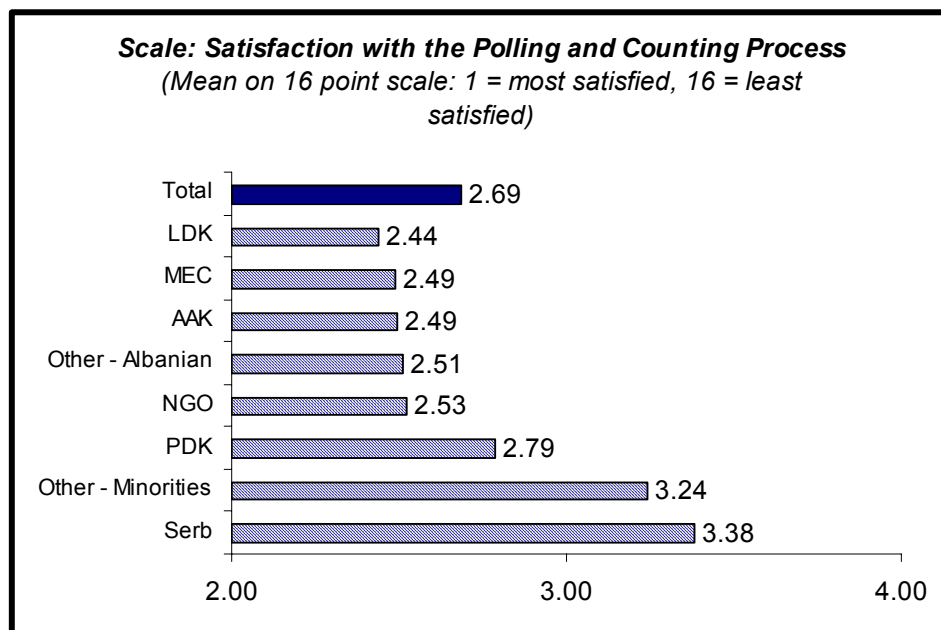
<sup>12</sup> This 10 point Likert-type scale was constructed from three items: "There were enough Voter Services Centers in my municipality where voters could get information about voter registration and the election in my municipality"; "In my municipality, the Polling Centers were conveniently situated for most voters;" and "There were enough Polling Centers in my municipality." The scale was constructed by adding the responses to the three items, each of which had possible values of 1,2,3 or 4. That resulted in a 10 point scale with a lowest value of 3 and highest value of 12. To simplify presentation, a value of 2 was subtracted. The scale had a high reliability coefficient with a Cronbach's Alpha score of 0.81.

<sup>13</sup> This sixteen point Likert-type scale was constructed from five items: "The Ballot Paper was clear and easy to understand for voters;" "The Voting Procedures were clear and easy to understand for voters;" "PSCs gave voters who had to vote by Conditional Ballot a good explanation of conditional voting"; "The Counting Procedures were clear and easy to understand for PSCs;" and "The Polling Station Equipment was of good quality." The scale was constructed by adding the responses to the five items, each of which had possible values of 1,2,3 or 4. That resulted in a 16-point scale with a lowest value of 5 and highest value of 20. To simplify presentation, a value of 4 was subtracted. The reliability coefficient of this scale was high with a Cronbach's Alpha score of 0.82.



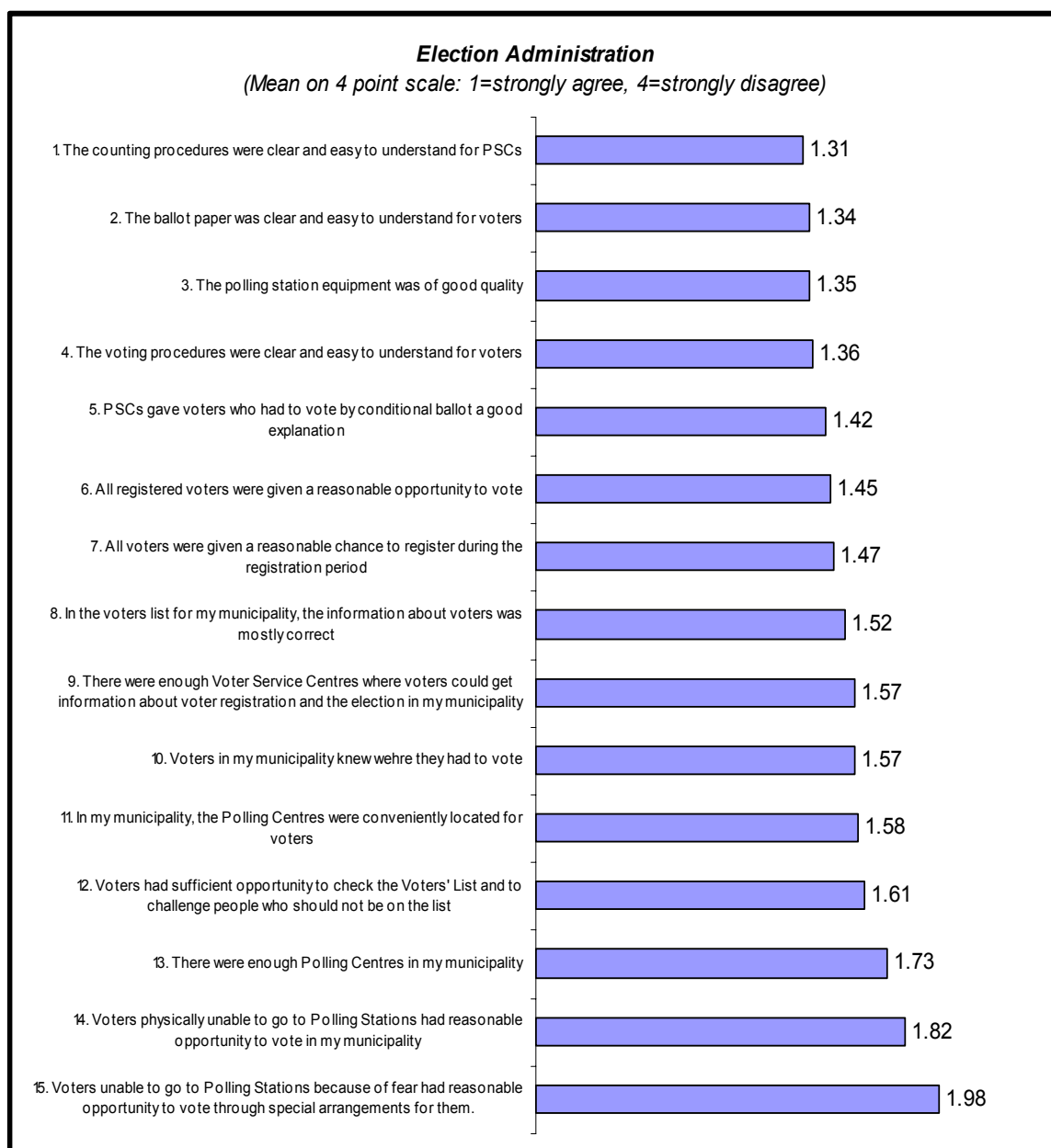
community are less satisfied than the rest, but on the procedural aspects they are closely followed by supporters from the other minority parties. The LDK supporters display the highest level of satisfaction with the polling and counting process.

**Figure 10: Satisfaction with the Polling and Counting Process**



Although the level of satisfaction for all electoral aspects measured in this survey was very high, it remains interesting to see which aspects of administering the elections measured relatively better than others. To assess this, fifteen different items were directly compared to each other, and the result of this is displayed in Figure 11. In this figure, the mean on a four-point scale is indicated. On this scale, a score of one indicates strong agreement with the statement, and a score of four indicates strong disagreement.

**Figure 11: Satisfaction with Different Aspects of the Electoral Process**



As can be seen from Figure 11, the mean on all fifteen items ranged from 1.31 to 1.98; thus, all are leaning strongly towards a high level of satisfaction. The items measuring satisfaction with the electoral procedures registered the highest level of agreement while the items

measuring the arrangements made for voters with special needs were relatively less well evaluated.

Through closer inspection of Figure 11, the following rank-order of aspects of election administration, from highest level to lowest level of satisfaction, was constructed:<sup>14</sup>

1. Voting and counting procedures (items 1-5);
2. Opportunity for voters to register and vote (items 6-7);
3. The Voters' List (Item 8);
4. Voter information and education (Items 9 and 10);
5. Location of Polling Centers (Items 11 and 13);
6. The Challenge Period (Item 12); and
7. Special Needs Voting (Items 14 and 15).

In addition to evaluating these aspects of the election administration process, respondents were asked to rate the effectiveness<sup>15</sup> of the different Public Information tools used to inform voters on the elections and the election process. Most effective, according to the respondents, were the television spots and the television program "Camera on Election."<sup>16</sup> The voters' guides and a "where to vote" newspaper that indicated where each voter had to vote were also judged to have been relatively effective.<sup>17</sup>

The least effective tool, however, was another television program: the quiz show "E Gjeta" that went on air shortly before the election.<sup>18</sup> Leaflets, posters, and newspaper advertisements were less effective tools according to the respondents.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> It should again be emphasized that this is a relative rank-order, and that the score on all these items indicated that respondents were satisfied.

<sup>15</sup> Respondents had to rank each item on a five-point scale, with a value of one indicating the tool was "completely ineffective" and five indicating it was "very effective."

<sup>16</sup> During both periods the mean scores among respondents for television spots and the program "Camera on Election" were higher than 4.1 on the five point scale, with a score of five indicating "very effective."

<sup>17</sup> The mean scores for these items respectively were 4.16 and 4.07 on the five point scale.

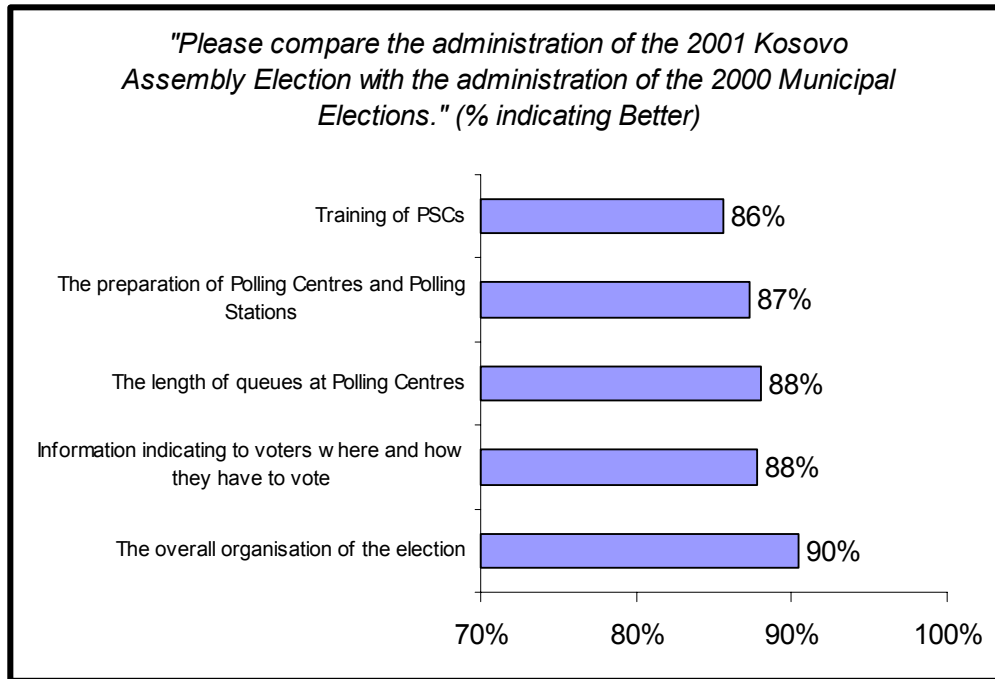
<sup>18</sup> This program received a mean score of 3.8 on the five-point scale.

<sup>19</sup> During both periods, the mean scores for all three these items were lower than 4 on the five-point scale.

### **Comparison with 2000**

The 2001 electoral administrators were particularly interested in determining whether or not they had improved upon those areas where they performed poorly last year. To do this, respondents were presented with six areas of administration, and were asked to indicate whether they thought the administration in these areas was better or worse in 2001 than in 2000. On each of these items, significant percentages indicated that they thought the process in 2001 was better.

**Figure 12: Comparison between 2000 and 2001**



When asked about the overall organization, 90 percent indicated that the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election was better organized than the 2000 Municipal Elections. On all the other items (voter information, the length of queues at polling centers, the preparation of polling centers and polling stations, and the training of PSCs) more than 85 percent of the respondents indicated the performance was better in 2001.

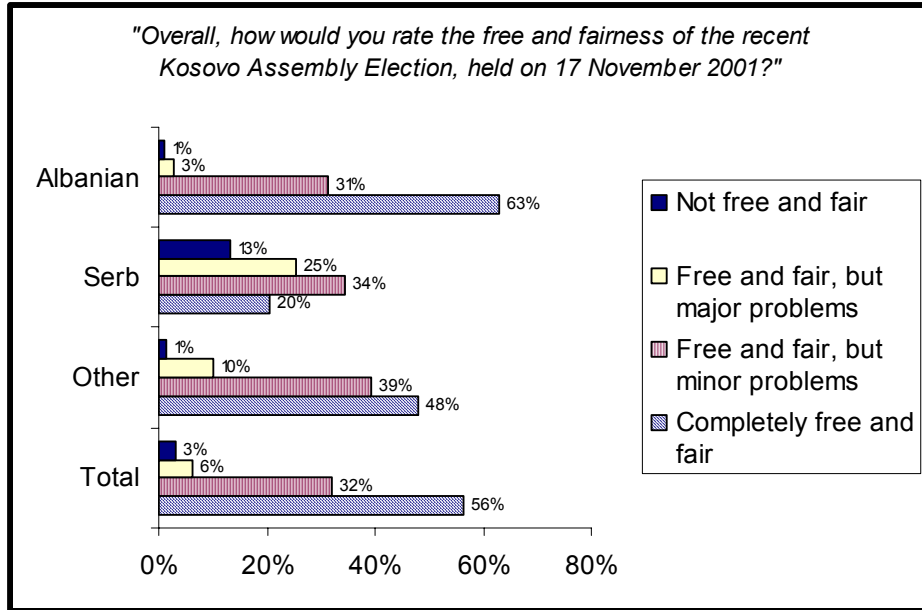
The improvement is even clearer when responses to specific items are compared between the two surveys:

- In 2000, only **19 percent** of respondents indicated that there were enough polling centers in their municipalities. In 2001, this figure rose to **81 percent**.
- In 2000, only **58 percent** of respondents indicated that polling centers were conveniently located for voters. In 2001, this figure was **87 percent**.
- In 2000, only **56 percent** of respondents indicated that voters had a reasonable opportunity to vote. In 2001, **91 percent** believed all voters had a reasonable opportunity to vote.
- In 2000, only **63 percent** of respondents believed the ballot paper was clear and easy to understand for voters. In 2001, this figure rose to **94 percent**.

### The Election Campaign

The standard question used to evaluate an election is whether the process could be considered "free and fair." This question was asked without defining the term; thus, the responses to the question carry their own associations with the term "free and fair."

**Figure 13: Free and Fairness of the Election Campaign**



Of the total sample, 56 percent rated the Kosovo Assembly Election as "completely free and fair" while a further 32 percent said it was "free and fair, but with some minor problems." Only six percent indicated there were major problems with the electoral process, and three percent judged the election as "not free or fair."

It is noteworthy that the figures for the minority groups in Kosovo are significantly lower than for the Kosovo Albanian group. Only 20 percent of Kosovo Serbs judged the election as completely free and fair. Of this group, 25 percent indicated that there were major problems, and a further 13 percent assessed the election as not free or fair.

The Council of Europe Election Observation Mission concluded in their report that circumstantial evidence tends to indicate that large sections of the Kosovo Serb community feared possible intimidation.<sup>20</sup> Besides these reports, one of the consistent complaints from the Kosovo Serb community was that their lack of freedom of movement severely impacts all aspects of their lives, including their ability to conduct election campaigns. This may be an explanation for their perception of the free and fairness of the electoral process.

Although the Council of Europe reports may be accurate, Kosovo Serb respondents do not measure differently from other groups on questions relating to voter and candidate

<sup>20</sup> Council of Europe Election Observation Mission II– 2001 *Kosovo Assembly Elections Final Report, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, SG/Inf(2002)1 / 18 January 2002. CEEOM II points to evidence that the largest proportion of Kosovo Serb voters went to the polls after dark and that many apparently travelled to other municipalities to vote, evidence strengthened by the relatively high number of conditional ballots cast in those municipalities.

intimidation. When presented with the statement "I know of voters who were intimidated to vote for parties they did not want to vote for," the figures for the Kosovo Serb community were not significantly higher than for other groups. In fact, the highest proportion of respondents who indicated that they had knowledge of voter intimidation was among supporters of the LDK. What is quite noticeable from these figures is that 57 percent of the total sample indicated that they were not able to answer this question. Only 26 percent of respondents were able to disagree that they knew about voter intimidation. This could be interpreted as an indication that although respondents were not personally aware of intimidation, they could not exclude the possibility outright.

**Figure 14: Intimidation of Voters**

<b><i>"I know of voters who were intimidated to vote for parties they did not want to vote for"</i></b>									
	<b><i>Total</i></b>	<b><i>LDK</i></b>	<b><i>PDK</i></b>	<b><i>AAK</i></b>	<b><i>Other: Albanian</i></b>	<b><i>Other: Minority</i></b>	<b><i>NGO</i></b>	<b><i>Serb</i></b>	<b><i>MEC</i></b>
	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>
<b>Agree</b>	18	27	10	16	19	20	12	25	13
<b>Disagree</b>	26	15	29	27	21	17	27	29	32
<b>Don't know/ No Response</b>	57	59	61	57	60	63	62	47	55

When respondents were presented with the statement "I know of candidates for the elections who were intimidated not to be candidates," the pattern is similar although the proportion of voters indicating personal knowledge of intimidation of candidates is smaller than those knowing of intimidation of voters. The Kosovo Serb community registers the highest proportion with 20 percent having personal knowledge of candidate intimidation.

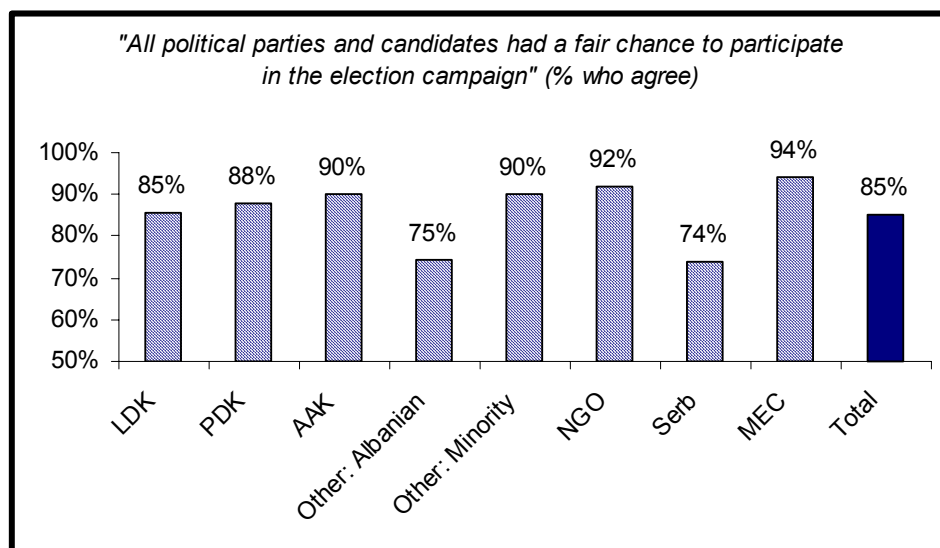
**Figure 15: Intimidation of Candidates**

<b><i>"I know of candidates for the elections who were intimidated not to be candidates"</i></b>									
	<b><i>Total</i></b>	<b><i>LDK</i></b>	<b><i>PDK</i></b>	<b><i>AAK</i></b>	<b><i>Other: Albanian</i></b>	<b><i>Other: Minority</i></b>	<b><i>NGO</i></b>	<b><i>Serb</i></b>	<b><i>MEC</i></b>
	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>
<b>Agree</b>	13	15	4	11	16	7	11	20	10
<b>Disagree</b>	23	13	28	24	16	17	21	28	31
<b>Don't know/ No Response</b>	64	72	68	66	67	77	68	52	59

What exactly do the respondents have in mind when they judge the free and fairness of the electoral process? Statistical analysis indicates that respondents associate the extent to which political parties and candidates had a fair opportunity to participate in the election campaign and the extent to which the media coverage of the election campaign was fair to all parties with the concept of free and fair elections. There are moderately strong, statistically significant correlations between their evaluation of the free and fairness of the election and their agreement or disagreement with the statements "All political parties and candidates had

a fair chance to participate in the election campaign"<sup>21</sup> and "The media coverage of the election campaign was fair to all parties."<sup>22</sup>

**Figure 16: Opportunity to Participate in the Election Campaign**



As Figure 16 indicates, the Kosovo Serb community and the smaller Kosovo Albanian parties are less convinced than other groups that all parties and candidates had a fair chance to participate in the campaign. The two groups who should theoretically be the most independent from the political process, the NGO community and MEC members, were most convinced that all parties and candidates had a fair opportunity for campaign participation.

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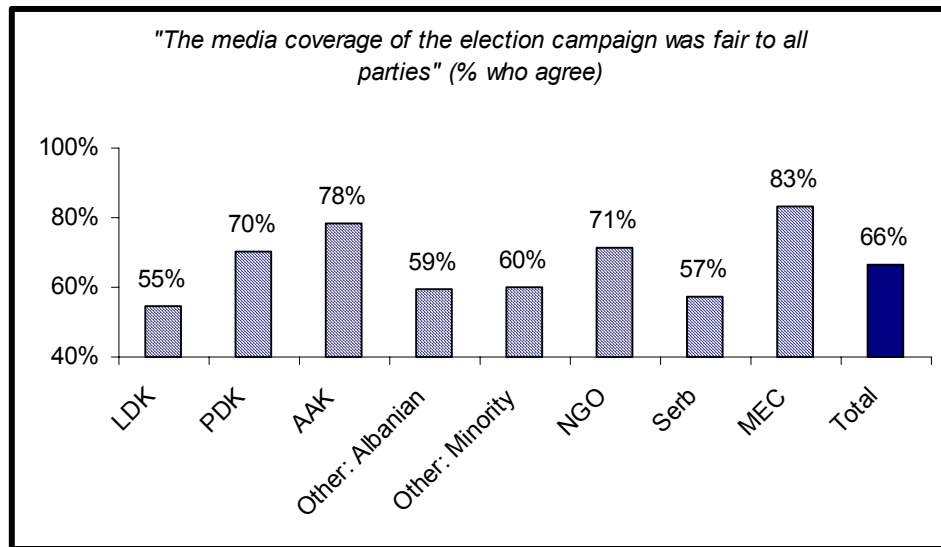
<sup>21</sup> Pearsons correlation coefficient is .38 and it is significant at the .01 level.

<sup>22</sup> Pearsons correlation coefficient is .35 and it is significant at the .01 level.

All groups registered lower levels of agreement that the media coverage of the election campaign was fair. This should not be surprising, since one of the most common complaints from political parties is that they did not receive fair treatment from the media. The group least satisfied in this regard was the LDK supporters with only 55 percent agreeing that the media coverage was fair to all. Other groups who were relatively less satisfied with the media coverage included the Kosovo Serb community, the other minority parties, and the smaller Kosovo Albanian parties. Seventy percent of PDK members and 78 percent of AAK members are more satisfied by the media coverage of the campaign.

Statistical analysis indicates that the respondents who think that the results of the election do not reflect the choice of the voters in Kosovo seem to blame it on the inability of their parties and candidates to participate in the campaign,<sup>23</sup> on the coverage of the media of the campaign,<sup>24</sup> and on the overall "free and fairness"<sup>25</sup> of the electoral process.

**Figure 17: Media Coverage of the Election Campaign**



<sup>23</sup> Pearsons correlation coefficient is .36 and it is significant at the .01 level.

<sup>24</sup> Pearsons correlation coefficient is .39 and it is significant at the .01 level.

<sup>25</sup> Pearsons correlation coefficient is .39 and it is significant at the .01 level.



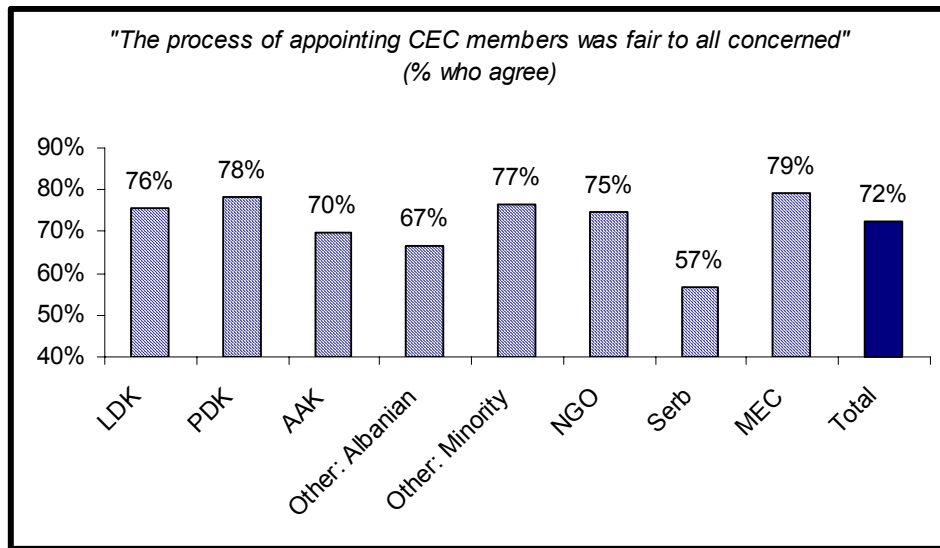
## THE INSTITUTIONS OF ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

In this section, the focus turns to three election institutions where people from Kosovo are represented. At the central level, the Central Election Commission (CEC) was responsible for establishing the regulatory framework for the conduct of the elections. The Municipal Election Commissions (MECs) were responsible for implementation of some electoral rules passed by the CEC while the Polling Station Committees were responsible for conducting the voting and counting process at the polling stations.

### *The Central Election Commission*

The appointment process of the CEC resulted in similar patterns of satisfaction among the different groups of respondents as reported above. The Kosovo Serb community (57 percent) and the smaller Kosovo Albanian parties (67 percent) were somewhat less satisfied with the appointment process than the other groups, specifically the PDK (78 percent) and LDK (76 percent) who were more satisfied. The smaller Kosovo Albanian parties may be less satisfied, because only the three largest Kosovo Albanian parties have representation on the CEC. The Kosovo Serb community does have a representative on the CEC. However, this appointment was made only weeks before the election after the Kosovo Serb community decided to participate in the election process.

**Figure 18: Appointment of CEC Members**



Respondents agreed that "the electoral rules issued by the CEC ensured that the election could be conducted in a manner fair to all." The proportion of respondents agreeing with this statement varied much less between the groups, and overall 87 percent agreed that the Electoral Rules leveled the playing fields between groups. Even within the Kosovo Serb community, 77 percent agreed with the statement.

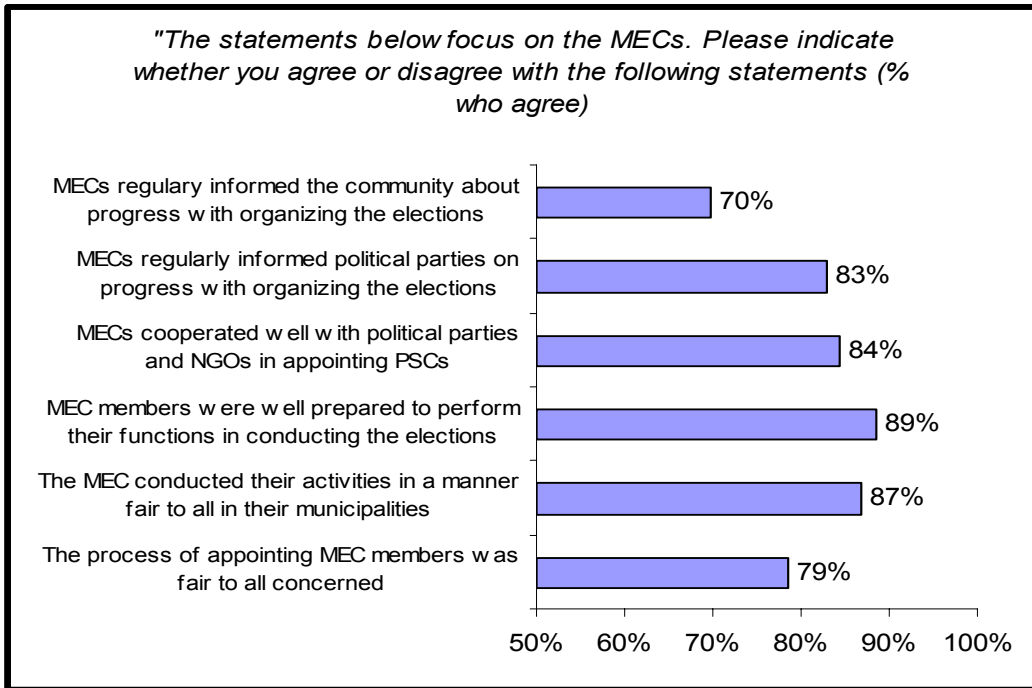
### *Municipal Election Commissions*

In response to most of the questions asked relating to the appointment and work of the Municipal Election Commissions, there is much less variation in the responses among the different groups than with some of the other questions.

As can be seen from Figure 19, almost 80 percent of respondents agreed that the MEC appointment process was fair. There was a very high level of satisfaction with the preparation and work of the MECs with 89 percent of respondents agreeing that "the MEC members were well prepared to perform their functions in conducting the elections," and 87 percent agreed that "the MEC conducted their activities in a manner fair to all in their municipalities."

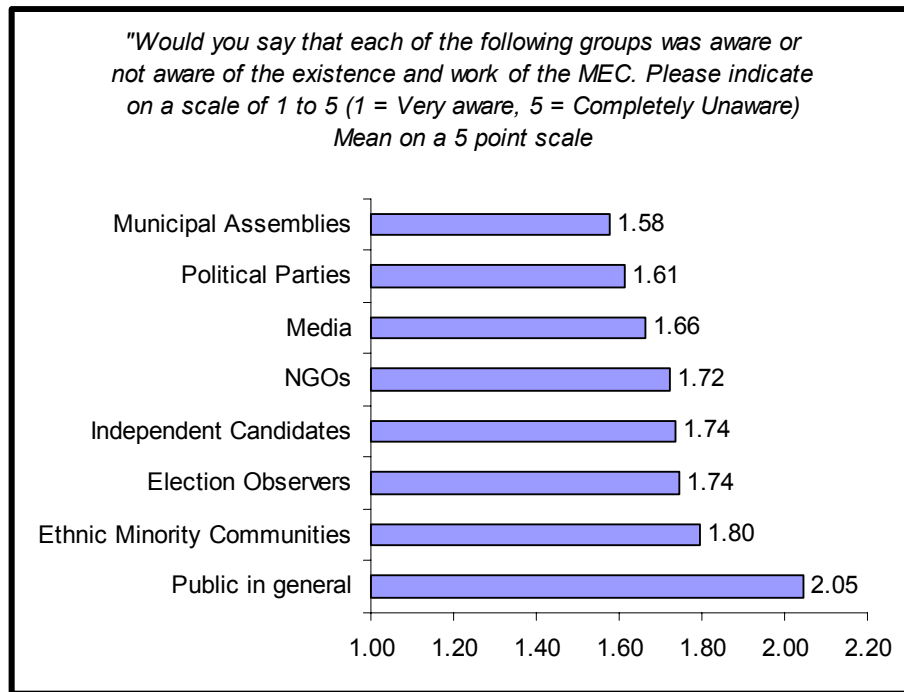
A major part of the work of MECs is to liaise with political entities, informing the entities regarding progress with election preparations, and working with them on appointing Polling Station Committees. Eighty-three percent of respondents agreed that "MECs regularly informed political parties on progress with the elections," and 84 percent indicated that "MECs cooperated well with political parties and NGOs in appointing Polling Station Committees." It is also important to note that there was virtually no difference among the supporters of the different political parties in response to these questions.

**Figure 19: Appointment and Work of the MECs**



As the survey results indicate, one area that MECs could improve is their interaction with the community. Only 70 percent of respondents agreed, that "MECs regularly informed the community about progress with organizing the election." This conclusion is further justified by Figure 20. Respondents were presented with a list of entities MEC members should have regular contact with and were asked to indicate the extent they thought each of these groups were "aware or not aware of the existence and work of the MEC." By comparing the means on a five-point scale (with a score of one indicating "very aware" and five "completely unaware") it is clear that the public in general is much less aware of the existence and work of the MECs than the groups more directly involved with the election. According to respondents, ethnic minority communities are also less aware of the MECs, while Municipal Assemblies, political parties, and the media are most aware of the existence and work of the MECs.

**Figure 20: Awareness of MEC Work**



Overall, the survey results confirm that there is a high level of satisfaction among respondents with the work of the MECs.

### **Polling Station Committees**

One of the most successful changes made from 2000 was the improvement in composition of PSCs. As outlined above, political entities and NGOs could nominate people for PSC positions. This had a positive effect on both the work of the PSCs and the perceived fairness of their appointment.

In 2000, only 49 percent of respondents believed "all people who wanted to become PSC members had a fair chance." The figure was even lower for political party representatives with 38 percent. In 2001, there was noticeable improvement. Of all respondents, 65 percent believed all people had a fair chance to become PSC members if they wanted the position.<sup>26</sup> There was significant approval for the new system of PSC appointment with 88 percent of respondents agreeing "political parties should nominate their representatives to serve on PSCs."

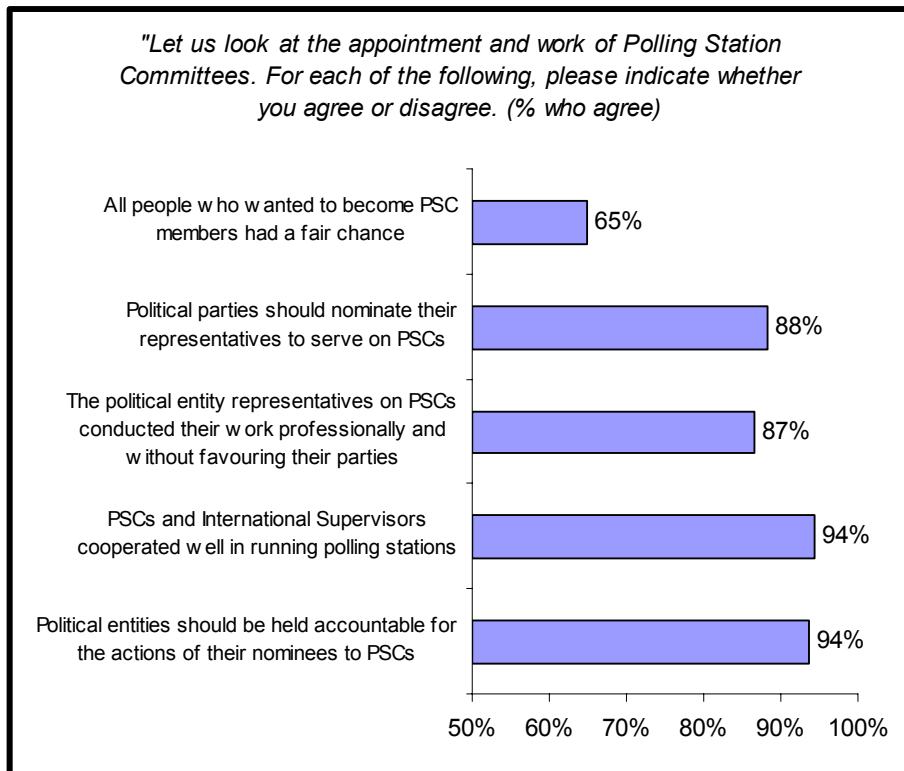
When the decision was made to include political party representatives on the PSCs, some concerns were raised. The most important concern was that the political party representatives might favor their own parties in conducting the process. Critics of this

<sup>26</sup> It should be noted here that the people who were dissatisfied may have been dissatisfied with the way the process that led to nominations for PSC members to the MECs was conducted within political parties, rather than with the way the MEC handled the matter. This interpretation is supported by the high percentage (84 percent) who agreed that the MECs cooperated well with the political parties on PSC appointments.

process also indicated that the relationship between the PSC and the International Polling Supervisor might be strained.

For the 2001 electoral process, these fears were assuaged. As can be seen in Figure 21, 87 percent of respondents agreed that the "political party representatives on PSCs conducted their work professionally and without favoring their parties." The relationship with the International Supervisors seemed to be particularly good with 94 percent of respondents agreeing the "PSCs and international supervisors cooperated well in running polling stations."

**Figure 21: Appointment and Work of Polling Station Committees**



When the Central Election Commission drafted Electoral Rule 2001/9, they included a provision allowing political entities to be held accountable for the actions of their nominees to PSCs. Ninety-four percent of respondents agreed that political entities should take responsibility for the actions of their nominees. This figure has added significance, since most of the respondents to this survey are nominees from political entities.

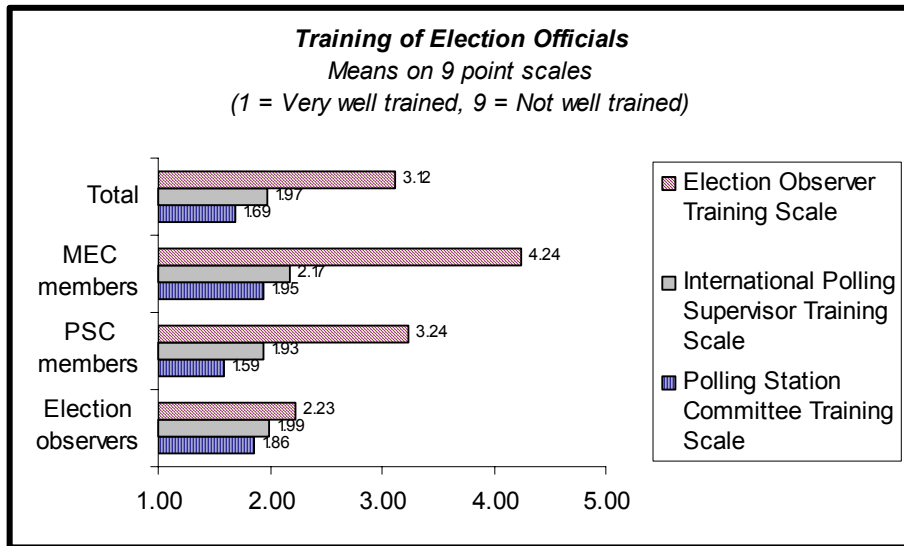
***Training of the Election Staff***

The performance of all participants in the election process can be attributed to thorough training and preparation. To assess how well the PSCs, International Polling Supervisors,

and election observers have been trained to perform their respective functions three nine-point scales were constructed.<sup>27</sup>

Figure 22 indicates that MEC members, PSC members, and Election Observers all evaluated the PSC members to have been better prepared to perform their functions on Election Day than the other two groups.<sup>28</sup> All three groups indicated that, relative to the other groups, the election observers were least well prepared for their functions on Election Day. The mean evaluations for both PSCs and International Polling Supervisors were very close to the highest level possible on these scales, which is a credit to all who were involved in the process.

**Figure 22: Training of Election Officials**



IFES participated in the preparation of Polling Station Committee members through a special early training program for prospective PSC chairpersons. This program was conducted well in advance of the electoral process and had both motivational and capacity building aims. Both international and national trainers conducted the training. Importantly, MEC members were also involved as trainers. Seventy-four percent of the respondents found that these early training sessions "contributed greatly" to the preparation of PSC chairpersons for their task, while a further 21 percent believed it "contributed somewhat."

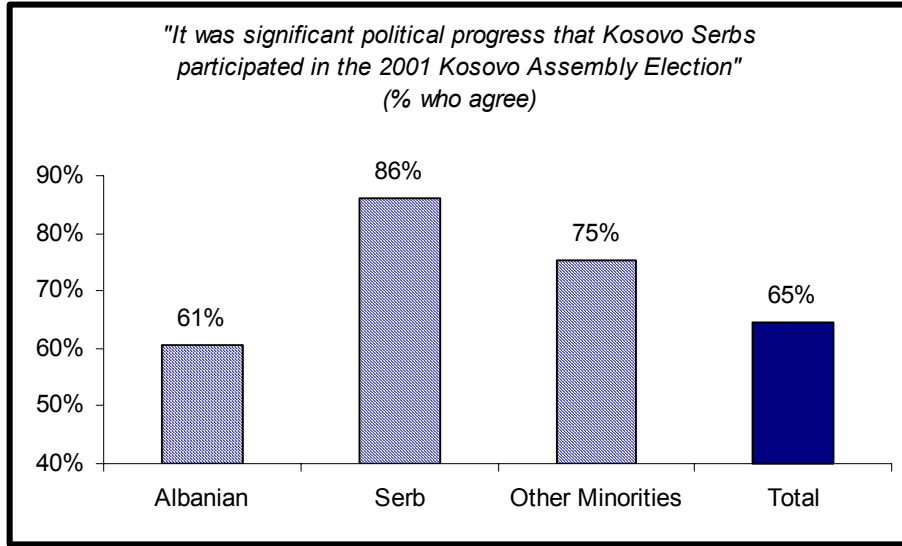
<sup>27</sup> Each of these Likert-type scales consisted of four items. Respondents were asked how well each group was prepared to perform their duties with respect to: "Duties before opening the Polling Stations"; "Conducting the voting in their polling stations"; "Closing the polls and counting the ballots"; and "Packing of materials for transfer to the Field Offices." The Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients were as follows: PSC Scale - .83; International Polling Supervisor Scale - .88; election observer scale - .93.

<sup>28</sup> It is interesting to note that the observers from the Council of Europe similarly evaluated the PSCs better than the International Supervisors. Council of Europe Election Observation Mission II- 2001 **Kosovo Assembly Elections Final Report, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition**, SG/Inf(2002)1 / 18 January 2002.

## ISSUES OF CONTENTION DURING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

As with most electoral processes, there were some issues of contention during the Kosovo election. Prior to the election, a major area of concern was the issue of whether or not the Kosovo Serbs would participate in the election process. Eventually they did. Respondents were asked what they thought of this development, and their responses are portrayed in Figure 23.

**Figure 23: The Significance of Kosovo Serb Participation**



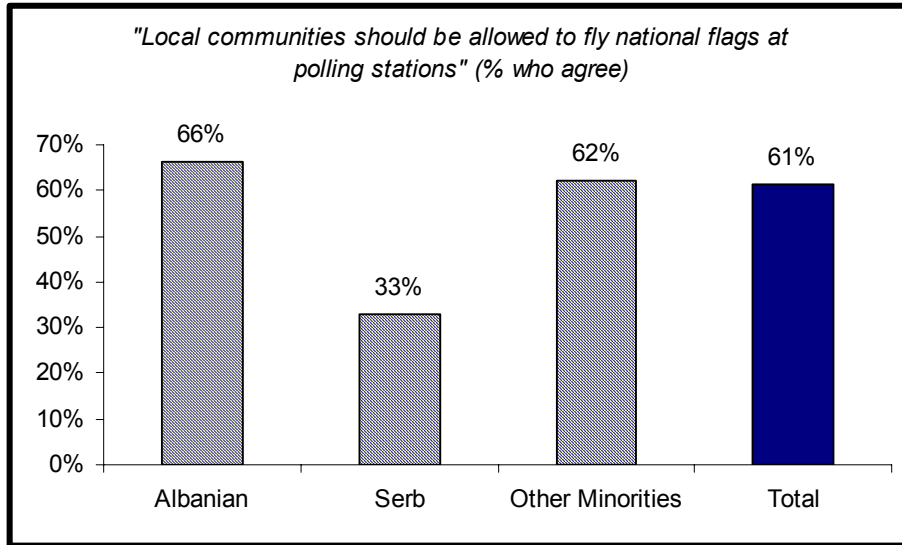
Eighty-six percent of Kosovo Serb respondents agreed with the statement that their participation indicated significant political progress. More surprising is that 61 percent of Kosovo Albanians saw this development as significant progress. Three quarters of respondents from other minority communities saw this development as progress. What is important however, is that 94 percent of MEC members viewed this development as progress, an even higher proportion than respondents from the Kosovo Serb community itself. One may interpret this as MEC members having a different view of the political process than other participants.<sup>29</sup>

The most controversial issue of Election Day, and one that has been mentioned in all the observation reports, was the presence of national flags at polling stations. Policy stated that flags were to be banned from polling stations, but when local communities proceeded to put them up, there were no clear guidelines on how election administrators should deal with this problem. The Central Election Commission had to discuss the issue and decide upon a ruling during Election Day. However, it was very difficult to communicate and implement their decision to all polling stations. In this context, respondents were asked what was their opinion on the issue.

<sup>29</sup> One explanation for this could be the way MECs worked and were trained over the past two years. In training sessions, OSCE and IFES never separated ethnic groups. All official meetings were held together. It could be that a culture of collaboration may have developed that could have influenced this response. There is, however, no statistical information from this survey available to test this hypothesis.

The difference between respondents from the Kosovo Serb community, the Kosovo Albanian community, and other minority groups is quite noticeable. Only 33 percent of Kosovo Serb respondents agreed that national flags should be allowed at polling stations compared with 62 percent from the other minority communities and 66 percent from the Kosovo Albanian community.

**Figure 24: National Flags at Polling Stations**



Of the MEC respondents, 73 percent agreed that local communities should be allowed to fly national flags. This should not necessarily be interpreted as a view from the MECs on the legitimacy of flying national flags at polling stations. Rather, it should be interpreted as a response from MEC members indicating the difficulty of actually implementing a decision that bans communities from flying the flags. In debriefing sessions, many MEC members indicated that it was much more disruptive for proceedings at polling stations to try and remove the flags than to leave the flags where they were.

Another important issue relates to the ability of people who are out of Kosovo to vote. This is controversial particularly since it is an extremely expensive exercise and decision-makers will be faced with the question of whether or not the political need to create an opportunity for people who live outside Kosovo to vote is strong enough to warrant the potentially cost of such an operation. Respondents were presented with the dilemma through the following statement: "Even though by-mail voting for people living outside of Kosovo is an expensive exercise, there should be arrangements for people to vote by mail in future elections." Overall, 80 percent of respondents indicated that such a program should be administered despite the cost. It is significant that there was an even higher proportion (90 percent) of other minorities (beside Kosovo Serbs) than of Kosovo Albanians (84 percent) who support such a program. Though Kosovo Serbs were less supportive (55 percent agreed), even among them a majority supported by-mail voting for people outside Kosovo.

The last issue to be discussed in this section relates to the ability of voters and parties to bring challenges to the voters' list. During the past two electoral processes the voters' lists were available during short periods, with significant restrictions, for voters to view and challenge entries on the list. The question asked of respondents was "to what extent should

voters be allowed to challenge the voters' lists?" In response, 67 percent indicated that all voters should have unrestricted access when viewing the lists and making challenges, 10 percent indicated that access should be limited, and 11 percent indicated challenges to the voters' list should not be allowed.

Again, as with the other issues, the MEC members displayed a different pattern. Among MEC members, 80 percent believed that voters should have full access to the lists while only 15 percent indicated access should be limited.



## **INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT IN ELECTION ADMINISTRATION AND THE FUTURE OF ELECTION ADMINISTRATION IN KOSOVO**

On all levels of civil administration in Kosovo the international community, specifically UNMIK, is developing strategies for handing over authority to Kosovo institutions. Election administration is no exception. The international election administrators in Kosovo, UNMIK and the OSCE, will not only be evaluated on the success of the conduct of the 2000 and 2001 election, but more importantly will be judged on the successful transfer of authority for the administration of elections to the people of Kosovo.

In assessing the role of the international community in administering elections in Kosovo and the possibilities for successfully transferring election administration responsibilities, several important questions need to be answered. Would the people of Kosovo trust and accept the results if the elections were not conducted by international organizations? Are Kosovo institutions ready to take over election administration? Would the PSCs, MECs, and the CEC be able to perform their functions without international supervision? How long should the process of handing over authority take? What should the future structure of election administration and the election system be? These are some of the issues considered in this section.

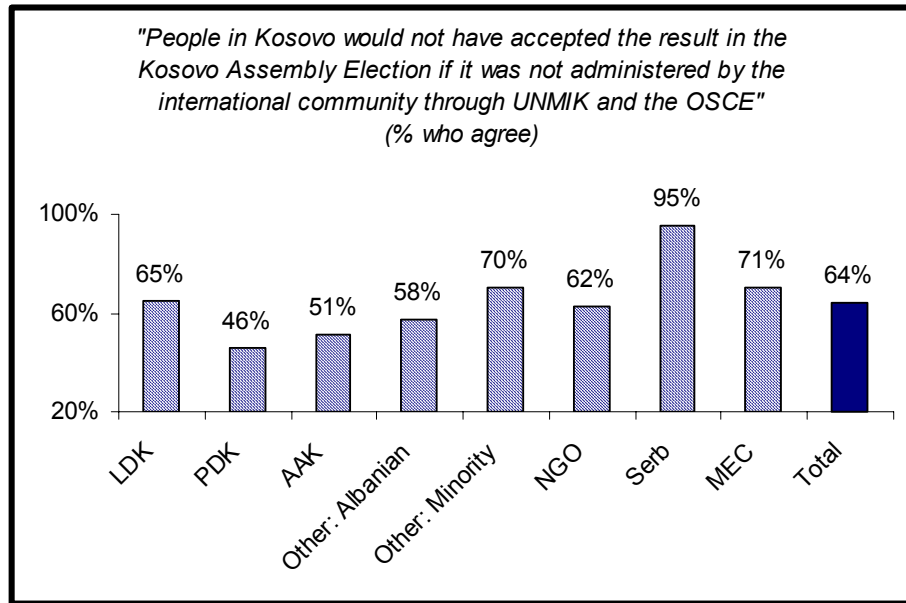
### ***Trust in the Election Administrators***

In post-conflict societies, the main reason for the international community to take over election administration is to establish credibility. Because of conflict, political trust in those societies is so low that the results of elections would not be accepted if the international community did not conduct the elections. This was also the rationale for international involvement in election administration in Kosovo. Would the people of Kosovo have accepted the results of the elections if the international community did not assume this responsibility?

To assess this, respondents were presented with the statement: "People in Kosovo would not have accepted the results in the Kosovo Assembly election if it was not administered by the international community through UNMIK and the OSCE." Figure 25 indicates that the majority of respondents in every group, 64 percent for the total sample, with the exception of the PDK (46 percent) agreed that the presence of the international community was necessary for people in Kosovo to accept the result of the Assembly election. Ninety-five percent of respondents from the Kosovo Serb community are convinced that the presence of the international community is necessary to assure credibility and acceptance of the results. Seventy percent of other minorities are almost just as convinced of the need for international involvement. For the Kosovo Albanian parties the figures are substantially lower, except for the LDK where 65 percent doubt that the results would have been accepted without international involvement. Respondents from the parties that are arguably more nationalist, with 46 percent from the PDK and 51 percent from the AAK, are decidedly less convinced that the involvement of the international community was necessary in 2001.

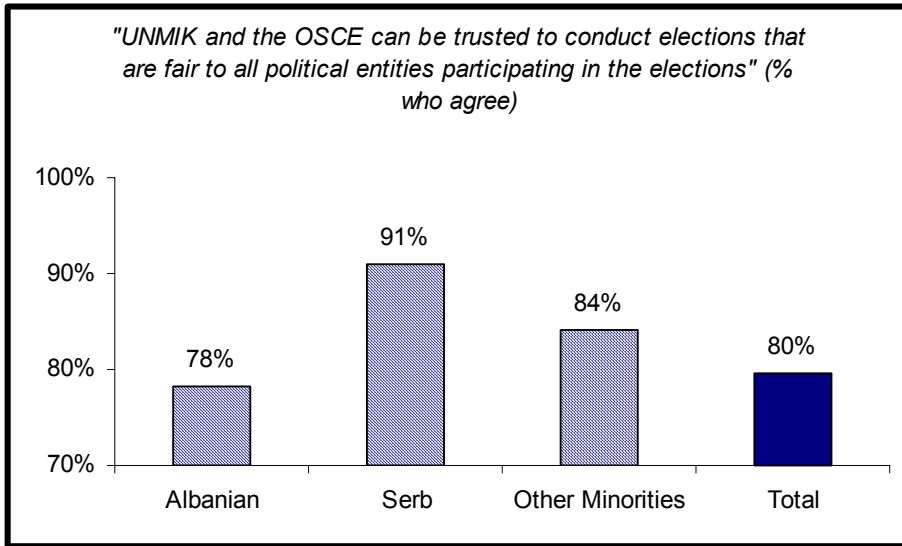
It is also important to note that 71 percent of MEC members believed that the results would not have been accepted without their international partners organizing the elections. This figure is consistent with testimony from MEC members in debriefing sessions held after the election where many of the MEC members expressed concern when confronted with the possibility that they may have to take over much of the responsibility for running elections in their municipality. Most of these members indicated that they would still need the back-up of the international Election Officers to maintain credibility.

**Figure 25: International Involvement and Acceptance of Election Results**



The need for international involvement in election administration is accompanied by a high level of trust in the international organizations conducting elections in Kosovo. When asked whether they agreed that "UNMIK and the OSCE can be trusted to conduct elections that are fair to all political entities participating in the elections," 80 percent of the total sample answered yes. The level of trust in international organizations among Kosovo Serb respondents is particularly high with 91 percent agreeing with this statement.

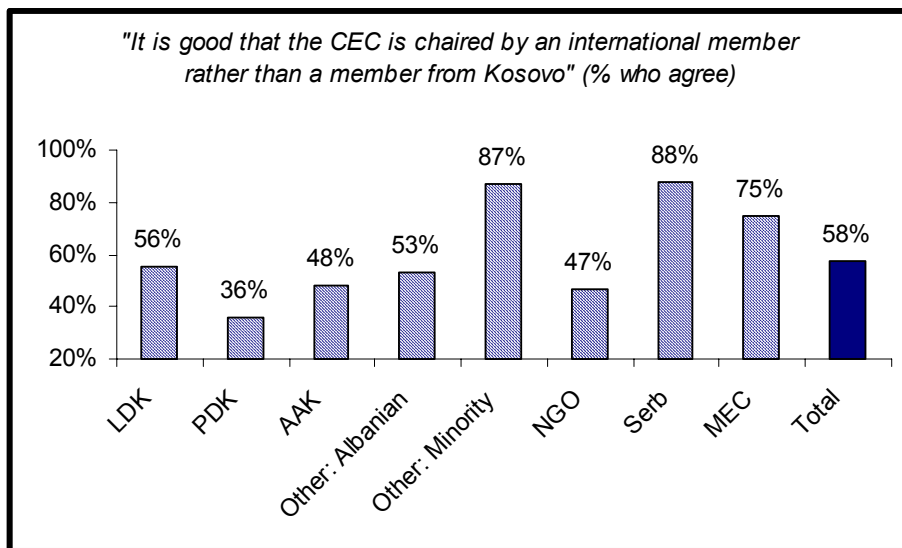
**Figure 26: Trust in the International Organizations Conducting Elections**



The issue was also explored by looking at the need for international supervision of the work of the CEC, MECs, and PSCs.

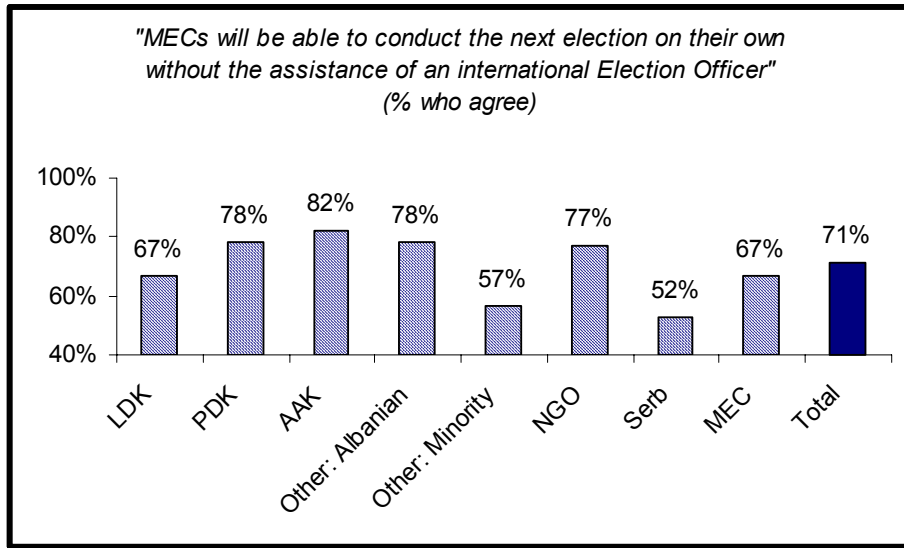
Focusing on the CEC, respondents were presented with the statement "It is good that the CEC is chaired by an international member rather than a member from Kosovo." Although the pattern of responses was similar to the pattern observed in the previous question, the respondents seemed to be slightly less convinced of the need for an international chairperson for the CEC than they were of the overall need for international involvement in the electoral process. Overall, however, 58 percent of respondents still believe that it is good that the CEC is chaired by an international. Again the minority communities are much more convinced of the need for international oversight, with 88 percent of the Kosovo Serb community and 87 percent of respondents from other minority parties agreeing that the CEC should be chaired by an international. Again, the PDK and AAK are least convinced, with 36 and 48 percent respectively, that it is necessary for the CEC to have an international chairperson, while the LDK supporters (56 percent) are slightly out of tune with the other Kosovo Albanian parties. Also in line with the responses above, the MEC members are much more cautious, with three quarters of MEC members indicating that it is a good thing for the CEC to be chaired by an international.

**Figure 27: The Need for an International CEC Chairperson**



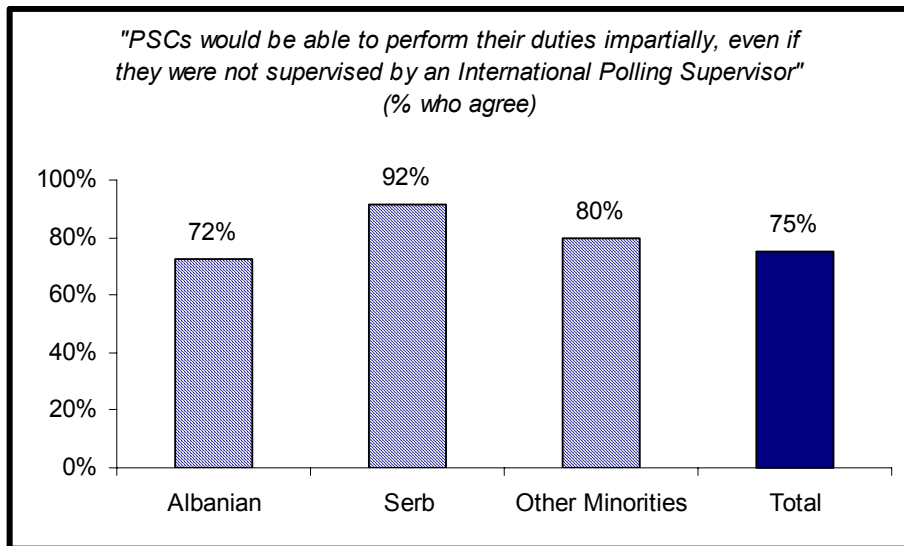
On a more local level, respondents seem to be much more convinced that the institutions in Kosovo are able to conduct the elections without international assistance. Seventy-one percent of all respondents indicated that the MECs are ready to assume the duties of running an election on their own. Among MEC members themselves, two-thirds indicated they can do the job without assistance while PDK, AAK, the other Kosovo Albanian parties as well as representatives of NGOs are almost equally convinced of the ability of MECs to work without international assistance. Again, the Kosovo Serb (52 percent) and other minority groups (57 percent) are less convinced than other groups that people from Kosovo can administer elections on their own, but even among these groups, the majority thinks the MECs are capable.

**Figure 28: MEC Ability to Conduct Elections without International Assistance**



When asked about the capabilities of PSCs, 75 percent of respondents indicated that PSCs would be able to perform their duties impartially even without international supervision. These results indicate that in comparison with the CEC and MECs, more respondents believe the PSCs can perform their functions without international supervision.

**Figure 29: International Supervision of Polling Station Committees**



The most salient change from the pattern described above is that the majority of Kosovo Serb respondents are convinced that PSCs would perform their duties impartially even if not supervised by an international. A possible explanation for this is that most of the respondents were PSC members themselves. However, only 77 percent of PSC members think they can

perform these duties on their own, and their confidence in their own ability is only slightly higher than the confidence of MEC members and election observers have in their abilities.

***The Process of Transferring Authority for Election Administration***

To get the view of respondents on the international communities role in the election process, as well as their view of the handover process, respondents were asked the question: "In your opinion, when should the authority for administering elections in Kosovo be fully handed over from UNMIK and the OSCE to local Kosovo institutions." Their responses are presented in Figure 30.

**Figure 30: The Handover Process**

<b><i>"In your opinion, when should the authority for administering elections in Kosovo be fully handed over from UNMIK and the OSCE to local Kosovo Institutions?"</i></b>									
	<b><i>Total</i></b>	<b><i>LDK</i></b>	<b><i>PDK</i></b>	<b><i>AAK</i></b>	<b><i>Other: Albanian</i></b>	<b><i>Other: Minority</i></b>	<b><i>NGO</i></b>	<b><i>Serb</i></b>	<b><i>MEC</i></b>
	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>
<b><i>Immediately for the next elections</i></b>	28	25	41	41	37	23	26	9	14
<b><i>After the next elections</i></b>	31	35	36	26	32	30	38	15	28
<b><i>After two further elections</i></b>	18	23	12	19	18	10	14	18	26
<b><i>The international community should continue to supervise elections in Kosovo indefinitely</i></b>	18	15	7	6	11	30	17	48	26

From this table, one can conclude that different political groups and different ethnic groups view the handover process very differently. Twenty-eight percent of respondents indicated that the process should be fully handed over "immediately for the next elections." A further 31 percent indicated election administration should be handed over after the next elections, while the rest thought that the international community should either conduct a further two elections or conduct elections indefinitely. Among the supporters of PDK and AAK (41 percent each) and the other Albanian parties (37 percent), there seems to be a fair degree of confidence that there could be an immediate handover. More than two-thirds of these groups indicated that the authority for administering elections could be handed over, at the latest, after the next elections. Among the Kosovo Albanian group of parties, the LDK supporters are much more cautious. Only 25 percent from this group indicated that the authority for elections could be handed over immediately.

When planning the handover process, decision-makers clearly have to note the view of the minority communities on this issue. Forty-eight percent of the Kosovo Serb community and 30 percent of the supporters of parties from the other minority communities would prefer if

the international community supervises elections in Kosovo indefinitely. Within the Kosovo Serb group of respondents, only 9 percent believed the handover process should happen immediately.

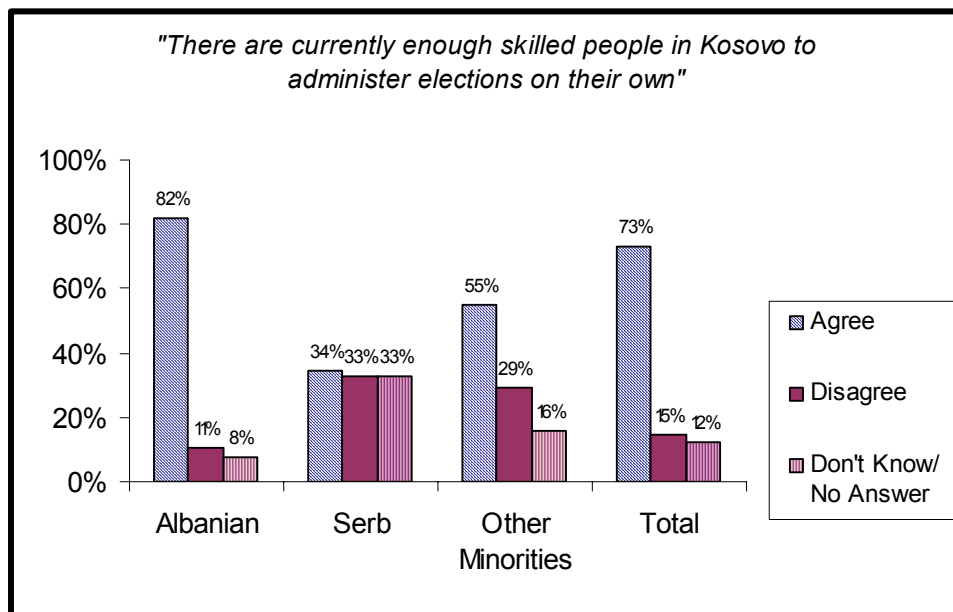
In summary, it is fair to say that there remains a substantial level of mistrust in the political arena. The question is not only whether people from Kosovo are technically capable of conducting elections, but more importantly whether the people from Kosovo trust each other enough that they would trust and accept the results of an election conducted exclusively by people from Kosovo. From the responses discussed above, it is clear that there is not enough political trust in Kosovo for an immediate handover. Decision-makers and the international community should clearly note the hesitance among minority groups to trust their fellow Kosovar election administrators.

That being said, the different international organizations have already committed themselves to the handover process. To assist in the planning of the process, respondents were presented with a series of questions aimed at assessing the skills levels and professional development needs of Kosovo election administrators.

#### ***Technical Readiness of People in Kosovo to Take Over Election Administration***

A large majority of the respondents, 73 percent believed that "there are currently enough skilled people in Kosovo to administer elections on their own."

**Figure 31: Are There Enough Skilled People in Kosovo to Administer Elections?**



This belief is particularly strong among the Kosovo Albanian community with 82 percent, while the Kosovo Serb community is much more ambivalent about this issue. As can be seen from Figure 31, only 34 percent of Kosovo Serbs agreed that there are enough skilled people in Kosovo for this task. What is more interesting, however, is the 33 percent of Kosovo Serbs who either did not respond to the question, or who indicated that they did not know how to respond. This could be the result of the separation of the communities. Over the past couple of years there has been very little contact between communities in Kosovo, and Kosovo

Serbs in particular, have had very little freedom to move among the other communities. Consequently, their ability to assess the skill levels of other people from Kosovo could have been affected negatively.

To assess the ability of people in Kosovo to take over concrete duties in managing elections, Municipal Election Commission members were presented with three sets of questions where their duties were listed comprehensively. They were requested to respond in three different ways to this list: first, they were asked to look at the past election and the extent to which they actually had the authority to perform the duties; second, they were asked how well prepared they thought they were to perform the different functions; and third, they were asked to indicate what level of responsibility they should have in performing each of these functions during the next electoral process. Their answers to these questions are very useful to the decision-makers in planning the handover process and are presented fully in Figures 32, 33, and 34.

In each of these tables, the duties of the MECs are arranged and listed from less to more technical tasks. In summary, the MEC members have more experience in performing the less technical tasks on their own. The more technical the tasks are, the more the responsibility for performing these tasks fell on the international Election Officer (EO) and the less the MEC members feel confident in taking over responsibilities for the function.

**Figure 32: MEC Responsibilities during 2001**

<b>"For each of the following, please indicate the extent to which the MEC had the actual authority to make decisions and to perform tasks assigned to the MEC"</b>			
	<b>MEC fully performed this function %</b>	<b>The international EO fully performed this function %</b>	<b>MEC/EO performed this function together %</b>
<b>Informing Political Entities on progress with election preparations</b>	23	6	69
<b>Briefing Municipal Assemblies on the preparation of elections</b>	41	9	48
<b>Recruitment of PSCs</b>	35	3	58
<b>Appointment of PSCs</b>	40	3	52
<b>Contacting political entities on PSC appointments</b>	31	6	59
<b>Training of PSCs</b>	16	10	72
<b>Selection of Polling Centers</b>	5	26	66
<b>Preparing Polling Center Operational Plan</b>	5	20	73
<b>Taking in election material from Polling Stations after voting and counting</b>	9	7	82

What is clear from Figure 32 is that there were few municipalities where the international EO performed any of the functions on his or her own without including the MECs. The only exception is the selection of the polling centers. Most of the polling centers used during 2001



were already selected during 2000; and to simplify the public information task, the vast majority of polling center locations remained the same. What is slightly more disconcerting is that 20 percent (Figure 32) of MEC members indicated that they were not included in preparing operational plans for their polling centers. This explains why, as is indicated in Figure 33, only 38 percent of MEC members felt prepared to develop operational plans for their polling centers on their own, and only 34 percent believed that MEC members should have full responsibility to perform this function on their own during the next election (see Figure 34).

**Figure 33: MEC Preparedness**

<b>"How well prepared did you as feel as MEC member to perform the following functions?"</b>			
	<b>Fully prepared and could do it alone</b> %	<b>Partly prepared and needed the assistance of the international EO</b> %	<b>Not prepared at all, the international EO had to perform the task</b> %
<b>Informing Political Entities on progress with election preparations</b>	57	39	3
<b>Briefing Municipal Assemblies on the preparation of elections</b>	62	33	3
<b>Recruitment of PSCs</b>	68	27	3
<b>Appointment of PSCs</b>	70	27	2
<b>Contacting political entities on PSC appointments</b>	63	36	0
<b>Training of PSCs</b>	55	38	3
<b>Selection of Polling Centers</b>	46	46	5
<b>Preparing Polling Center Operational Plan</b>	38	54	5
<b>Taking in election material from Polling Stations after voting and counting</b>	46	50	2

What is quite noticeable, however, is the degree to which the MEC members and international EOs cooperated in performing all of the different tasks (see Figure 32). Responding to every task mentioned, the majority of MEC members indicated that performing it was a joint effort. Considered this, it is not too surprising that (with the exception of one individual MEC member who did not respond) all MEC members indicated that their relationship with the international EOs was good, and they were satisfied with the guidance on electoral matters provided to them by the international EO. When asked whether they were satisfied with the level of authority given to the MEC by the international EO to perform their duties as stipulated in the electoral rules, only one MEC member was "somewhat dissatisfied."

Few MEC members felt unprepared to take on the responsibilities listed in Figure 33, and just as few thought the MECs should not be assigned these responsibilities for the next elections (Figure 34). However, a sizable proportion of MEC members felt only partly prepared and needed the assistance of the international EO to perform the tasks (see Figure 33). Similarly, many MEC members indicated they should still share responsibility for these

tasks with an international Election Officer during the next electoral process (see Figure 34). For appointing Polling Station Committees, 70 percent of MEC members felt fully prepared (Figure 33), while more than a third of all MEC members (35 percent) indicated that they should still share responsibility with the international Election Officer during the next electoral process (Figure 34).

**Figure 34: Future MEC Responsibilities**

<b>"For the next elections, what level of responsibility should the MEC have in performing the following tasks?"</b>			
	<b>The MEC should have full responsibility %</b>	<b>The MEC should share responsibility with an international EO %</b>	<b>An international EO should have full responsibility %</b>
<b>Informing Political Entities on progress with election preparations</b>	53	45	1
<b>Briefing Municipal Assemblies on the preparation of elections</b>	62	34	2
<b>Recruitment of PSCs</b>	63	34	1
<b>Appointment of PSCs</b>	62	35	2
<b>Contacting political entities on PSC appointments</b>	57	38	3
<b>Training of PSCs</b>	46	48	4
<b>Selection of Polling Centers</b>	40	55	2
<b>Preparing Polling Center Operational Plan</b>	34	59	5
<b>Taking in election material from Polling Stations after voting and counting</b>	33	62	3
<b>Receiving and distributing election material for the municipality</b>	42	52	4

The majority of MEC members indicated that they should still share responsibilities during the next electoral process for the more technical election tasks, including selecting polling centers, preparing polling center operational plans, taking in election material from polling stations after polling and counting, and receiving and distributing election material for the municipality (see Figure 34).

Although there are probably enough people in Kosovo to take over the technical implementation of the elections, they are only partly prepared for these functions and would prefer to share responsibility for election administration with the international community. It is thus not surprising that 81 percent of respondents agree that "it will take considerable training to prepare people from Kosovo to take over full responsibility for running elections in Kosovo" and that 91 percent agree that "it is important for international experts to train people from Kosovo to take over administration of elections in Kosovo."

It is clear that the international community has an immense responsibility to lay the groundwork for handover of election administration. It is feasible to train people from Kosovo

to take over technical responsibility for conducting elections, and great strides forward have already been taken in this regard. However, the greater and much more difficult task is creating the political climate where enough trust exists among people from Kosovo to administer elections on their own.

Even though this is a difficult task, it has to be started. To assist decision-makers in making decisions regarding the future structure of election administration in Kosovo, specifically regarding the future of Municipal Election Commissions, respondents were asked for their opinion regarding the composition of, and appointment process for, Municipal Election Commissions. This is the focus of the next section.

### ***The Composition, Appointment, and Work Procedures of MECs***

When deciding on the composition and appointment of election administrators on a municipal level, four important questions have to be answered. These questions were posed in the form of four options to respondents.

#### ***Should MECs work independently from the rest of municipal government and report to the CEC, or should the MECs be part of the regular municipal government?***

Experts in election administration agree that, especially in newly democratized and post-conflict societies, it is preferable for election administrators to work independently from government. However, no two states have exactly similar systems of election administration. It is important that entities choose systems that suit the needs of their own particular society.<sup>30</sup>

In Kosovo, 83 percent of the respondents believe that MECs should operate independently from municipal governments. There is almost no variation among the different political and ethnic groups on this issue.

#### ***Should political parties be represented on MECs, or should MEC members be appointed in their individual capacities and be independent from political parties?***

A more controversial issue is whether political parties should be represented on MECs or not. A basic principle of election administration is that election administrators should do their work fairly and without any bias towards any political entity. Some argue that this can only be achieved if professionals who are completely independent from any party are appointed to administer elections. Others argue that it is better to ensure that all interested parties are represented in election administration bodies, and that fair election administration is achieved through the ability of representatives from different parties to check on each other.

In Kosovo, different choices were made regarding different levels of election administration. Political entities are directly represented on the Central Election Commission and on Polling Station Committees. On the intermediate level, however, MEC members are currently appointed in their individual capacity and not as representatives from political parties. Should this practice be continued, or should the MECs be brought in line with the CEC and PSCs through giving political parties direct representation on the MECs?

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<sup>30</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of these issues, see López-Pintor, R. *Electoral Management Bodies as Institutions of Governance*, UNDP, September 2000.

A majority of respondents prefer the current option with 56 percent indicating that MEC members should be appointed as individuals and not as representatives of political parties. MEC members are most in favor of this option with 84 percent favoring the current structure.

Representatives from political parties are slightly in favor of political parties having direct representation on the MECs. Of LDK representatives, only 55 percent prefer direct political representation on MECs. For the AAK, this figure is 53 percent and for the PDK 52 percent.

Respondents thus have no clear preference on this issue. It was argued earlier that respondents were very satisfied with the manner in which the MECs performed their duties. It is also significant to note that no substantiated complaint was brought against any MEC or MEC member during the past electoral process. Policy-makers may take this into account when making their final decision on whether political parties should be represented on MECs or not.

*Should Municipal Assemblies present the CEC with nominations for MEC positions, or should international Election Officers make these nominations?*

This issue relates to the complicated issue of international involvement in election administration discussed above. Currently, people who would like to become MEC members apply to the CEC. However, the international Election Officers first receive the applications, conduct interviews, and then forward the applications with strong recommendations to the CEC. The CEC may decide not to follow the recommendation of the Election Officer.

The question is whether, in the process of handover, the application process for MEC positions should be changed so that the Municipal Assembly<sup>31</sup> becomes more involved in the process of appointing MEC members in their municipality. On this issue, a slight majority of just over 50 percent would prefer MEC nominations to be done by the Municipal Assembly. Sixty percent of LDK members, 57 percent of PDK members, and 70 percent of AAK representatives prefer the involvement of Municipal Assemblies while 80 percent of Kosovo Serb and 51 percent of other minority groups would prefer that the international Election Officer nominates MEC members. Again, as with the other questions relating to international involvement, the Kosovo Albanian community would prefer a higher level of involvement of local institutions while the minority groups prefer more international oversight of the process.

*Should being an MEC member be a full-time occupation, or should it be part-time so that members would still be able to hold another job?*

Election administration is by nature seasonal. Most election administrations maintain only a small core staff who are employed on a full-time basis while other administrators are contracted on a short-term basis as elections draw closer. As election day approaches, the administrators normally have to work full working days. In Kosovo, the MEC members are employed on two-year contracts but are expected to perform the job part-time. Many MEC members have other full-time occupations. Some people argue that, to properly perform their functions, the MEC members, or at least some of them, should be required to work full-time. Respondents to this survey do not have any clear preference. Fifty-two percent of respondents believed that being an MEC member should be a full-time occupation. Among MEC members, 52 percent prefer the current system.

This issue can be examined further by looking at the actual amount of time MEC members spent on their election-related work. Only 13 percent of MEC members indicated that they

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<sup>31</sup> Please note here that the question relates to the Municipal Assembly as opposed to the municipal government.

spent more than 36 hours per week on average on election-related work. A further 31 percent indicated that they worked between 25 and 35 hours per week while 38 percent indicated that they worked less than 16 hours per week on election issues. Thus, although some of the MEC members in practice worked on average close to a full working week, the majority only needed to work on a part time basis. This may indicate that there could be a need for some full-time and some part-time MEC members.<sup>32</sup>

#### *The Decision-Making Process on MECs*

Who should have the final say when decisions are made on MECs? MEC members were asked to respond to two questions: one relating to the current decision making culture on the MEC and the other relating to the preferable decision making structure.

According to 78 percent of MEC members, decisions are made by consensus. Although more than 63 percent prefer the current system for the future, a third of MEC members indicated that they would prefer it if members were to vote and the MEC would go with the majority opinion. Only two percent, all of whom were chairpersons, indicated that the chairperson should have the final say in making decisions on the MEC.

Overall, MECs seem to work in a spirit of collegiality. Besides making decisions by consensus, 74 percent indicated that their MECs operated as a team. Only 24 percent indicated that some members did much more than others. This spirit of collegiality should be encouraged for the future.

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<sup>32</sup> At the 16 February 2002 IFES Election Administration Conference, a preference was expressed for such a compromise. It was suggested that one commissioner should work full-time, supported by a number of part-time commissioners. Such a compromise was unfortunately not presented to respondents to this questionnaire. It could be argued that, given the lack of a clear preference, that respondents may have preferred such a compromise option.

**THE IMPORTANCE OF ELECTIONS AND THE ELECTION SYSTEM IN KOSOVO**

In this last section, the electoral process is placed within the broader political and social context of Kosovo. Do elections matter? Is the current electoral system satisfactory, or would respondents prefer to see some changes to the system?

***Do Elections Matter?*<sup>33</sup>**

A generally recognized democratic standard is the conduct of regular elections. The democratic culture in the society will be stronger if people believe that elections matter, and that voters can make a difference when they do go out to vote. To ascertain how committed the people involved in the election process in Kosovo are to the electoral process, they were presented with four pairs of statements, and they had to indicate which statement was closest to their attitude.

**Figure 35: The Importance of Elections in Kosovo**

OPTION 1	No matter how you vote, it won't make things better in the future.	11%
	The way you vote could make things better in the future.	85%
OPTION 2	It is important who is in power, because it makes a difference to what happens.	83%
	It doesn't really matter who is in power, because in the end things go on much the same.	13%
OPTION 3	Even if your vote cannot influence the results, it is still a civic duty to vote.	88%
	If your vote cannot influence the results, it does not really matter whether you vote or not.	7%
OPTION 4	Elections in Kosovo do not really matter, since the international community is really running Kosovo.	15%
	Elections in Kosovo matter a lot, since the Kosovo Assembly will have a substantial say in running Kosovo.	81%

Overall, the respondents to this survey displayed a strong belief in the importance of elections. In each of the four pairs of statements, a large majority opted for the one indicating that elections do matter. The strongest statement is that 88 percent of respondents indicated that, even if one's vote cannot influence the results, it is still a civic duty to vote. Respondents also believe voting is a powerful act. Eighty-five percent indicated that the way one votes could make things better in the future, and 83 percent pointed out that it is important who is in power because it makes a difference in what happens. Even when confronted with the reality of international involvement in the administration in Kosovo, more than 80 percent indicated that elections would matter in Kosovo, since the Kosovo Assembly

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<sup>33</sup> It should be emphasized that this is a purposive sample and not a random sample of people in Kosovo. The sample consists of people who are active in the electoral process, and thus one would expect them to be supportive of the electoral process. These views should not be taken as reflecting the opinion of people in Kosovo in general regarding the efficacy of elections.

would have substantial involvement in running Kosovo. Only 15 percent noted that elections in Kosovo would not matter, since the international community actually runs Kosovo.

### ***The Election System in Kosovo***

For the 2001 Kosovo Assembly election, Kosovo was treated as a single electoral district. A proportional representation system was used with voters indicating their preference for parties and not for candidates. Parties presented so-called "closed lists" (voters were not allowed to indicate a preference for any specific candidates).<sup>34</sup> Political entities were obligated to have at least one-third female candidates on their lists. The President of Kosovo is elected by the Assembly and is not directly elected by the electorate. Finally, twenty seats in the Assembly are set aside for specific minority groups.

Respondents are at odds concerning the question whether Kosovo should be divided into smaller electoral districts or not. Fifty-three percent prefer the current system of Kosovo as a single electoral district. Sixty-Four percent of respondents from the AAK, 61 percent of Kosovo Albanian respondents and 60 percent of minority respondents tend to prefer a single electoral unit, while the larger parties like the LDK and PDK are less in favor of a single electoral district.

A slightly clearer preference is expressed for an open-list system of voting, with 59 percent of respondents indicating a preference for an open list. During the 2000 municipal elections, when an open-list system was used, one of the unintended consequences was that many of the woman candidates were "pushed off" the candidates' lists, since most voters who chose to express a preference for a candidate preferred male candidates. One would thus have expected female candidates to be more in favor of a closed-list system. There is, however, very little difference between men and women on this issue.

There is fairly strong support for obligating parties to include women on their candidate lists. Of all respondents, 58 percent believed that parties should be obliged to include one-third women on their candidates lists. Representatives from the AAK (65 percent) and the PDK (55 percent) are more in favor of this regulation than LDK representatives (49 percent) and smaller Kosovo Albanian parties (45 percent).

A proportional representation system is preferred by 68 percent of respondents while only 28 percent prefer a majoritarian option where the party that received the most votes governs alone. The only group that preferred a majoritarian option is composed of the supporters from the party that gained a plurality of the vote in the Kosovo Assembly election\* the LDK (57 percent of LDK representatives preferred the majoritarian option).

Eighty-six percent of LDK representatives support the direct election of the President of Kosovo, rather than the current system where the Kosovo Assembly elects the President. Sixty-three percent of PDK and 59 percent of AAK representatives support the Kosovo Assembly electing the President. However, overall only 52 percent supported the direct election of the President of Kosovo.

Sixty-one percent of Kosovo Serbs and 81 percent of other minority respondents are in favor of the idea of set-aside seats for minority groups. There is, however, strong opposition from the Kosovo Albanian community to this regulation with 71 percent opposing set-aside seats for minority groups in the Kosovo Assembly.

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<sup>34</sup> For the 2000 Municipal Elections a simple "open-list" system was used. Voters could indicate a preference for one candidate.

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

This survey was conducted after the 17 November 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election among Municipal Election Commission members, Polling Station Committee members, and election observers. Respondents were asked questions regarding the administration of elections; the appointment, composition, and work of the CEC, MECs, and PSCs; the role of the international community in administering elections; and the process of transferring authority for election administration to Kosovo institutions. The following main conclusions were reached:

- Respondents were very satisfied with the administration of the electoral process and were convinced that the election administrators made significant improvements between the 2000 Municipal Elections and the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election.
- Overall, respondents were very satisfied with the appointment processes and work of the Central Election Commission, Municipal Election Commissions, and Polling Station Committees. Respondents indicated the Electoral Rules issued by the CEC ensured that the electoral process could be conducted fairly, MEC members were well prepared and conducted their activities in a manner fair to all in their municipalities, and PSC members performed their functions in the polling stations professionally. It should be noted, however, that minority groups and smaller Kosovo Albanian parties were somewhat less satisfied with the CEC appointment process.
- Although the majority of respondents indicated that the election was conducted in a "free and fair" manner, representatives of minority communities were less convinced that all parties had a fair chance to participate in the electoral campaign.
- A majority of respondents, particularly from minority communities, would prefer continued international involvement of the electoral process. This preference is expressed mainly because of a belief that there is not yet enough political trust in the society for Kosovo institutions to conduct elections completely without international supervision. Respondents do indicate that people from Kosovo would be able to conduct the elections technically, but they do still see a need for training and professional development activities conducted by international organizations. MEC members, specifically, indicated a need to share responsibility with an international Election Officer on the more technical tasks still remains for the next elections.
- Respondents prefer an election administration system that operated independently from government. Specifically, MECs should work independently from municipal government.
- Respondents are convinced that elections are important and could make a difference in government in Kosovo.

To conclude the report, the following recommendations can be made to election administrators and decision-makers in Kosovo:

- Election administrators should continue the practice of critical self-reflection in the process of improving the electoral process. It is clear from this survey that many lessons were learned from the 2000 Municipal Elections and resulted in significant improvements in election administration.
- Women are still underrepresented among Kosovo electoral administrators. The CEC and MECs need to pay special attention to appointing women to MEC and PSC positions. Election administrators could struggle to retain credibility when political parties are obliged to include specific percentages of women on their candidates' lists, and women are underrepresented among their own ranks.



- The concerns of minority communities should be addressed for the electoral process to retain credibility. Although representatives from these communities are involved on all three levels of election administration, they were less satisfied with some of the aspects of administration. More importantly, they are less convinced that Kosovo institutions could run the election without international supervision. Representatives from minority communities should remain involved on every level of electoral administration.
- MECs should focus on increasing outreach to minority communities. Although almost all MECs include representatives from minority communities, respondents indicate that the MEC was less successful in reaching out to minorities than they were with their other tasks.
- Respondents were relatively less satisfied with the ability of the Special Needs Voting program to reach people with disabilities and people homebound by fear than they were with other aspects of the election organization. Election administrators should both ensure that people who fall in these categories are actually reached and market the Special Needs Voting program more aggressively, since many respondents may not have been aware what was actually achieved through this program.
- The issue of national flags at polling stations re-surfaced during the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election. This was one of the few problem areas identified during 2000 for which a sensible solution was not found during 2001. Decision-makers should make it a priority to find a suitable solution to this problem so that election officials at polling stations can actually implement it during the next election.
- Policy-makers should give serious consideration to removing some of the restrictions on access voters and political parties have to the voters' lists. A large majority of respondents believe that all voters should have full access to the voters' lists to be able to make challenges to entries on the list.
- The decision to include political party representatives on PSCs was very successful, and the formula for appointing PSC members can be re-applied during future elections.
- In the process of transferring authority for election administration to Kosovo institutions, international organizations should ensure that the political climate is such that the responsibilities can be handed over. There is a high level of skepticism among respondents that election results would be accepted if the international community does not oversee the process. It would be a disservice to the local institutions, particularly MECs, if they were to receive authority in an unfavorable political climate.
- To create trust in the election results, election administrators should administer elections that are above reproach. In handing over authority, the international community should ensure that the local institutions, specifically MECs, receive all the infrastructural support and all the training required to do such a flawless job. If they are able to do that, they would be able to retain credibility even in an unfavourable political climate.
- Respondents indicated that on a more local level, Kosovo administrators could take over more responsibility. The survey results indicate a high level of trust in the ability of PSCs, given the current composition, to perform their functions impartially. This may create the opportunity to reduce the number of international supervisors. MECs should also receive more responsibility, but need to conduct their tasks with the advice and support of an international Election Officer.
- Although MECs would require support from municipalities, they should conduct their activities independently from municipal governments and report to the CEC.

- The current MECs have a high level of credibility among respondents and were well prepared for their functions. In deciding on a future structure for MECs, decision-makers should ensure that the experience of the current MEC members would not be lost.
- To enable MECs to perform all their increased duties, at least one of the positions on the MEC should be full-time.

## **APPENDIX: Questionnaire and Frequencies**

**Total Sample Size, n=979**

### **In what year were you born?**

30 and Under	28%
30-45	48%
46-55	20%
56+	5%

### **Gender**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
Male	85%	85%
Female	10%	14%

### **What is your main occupation?**

NR	1%
Unemployed	25%
Farmer	1%
Businessperson	2%
Self-employed	6%
Intl. Org/NGO	6%
Civil servant	22%
Teacher	15%
Engineer	6%
Lawyer	5%
Student	9%
Agri engineer	1%
Biochemist	0%
General worker	2%
Medical	1%
War invlid	0%
Other	0%

### **What is your highest level of education?**

NR	1%
None	0%
Primary School	2%
Some Secondary School	3%
Secondary Completed	34%
Some University	21%
University Completed	34%
Post-Graduate	3%
8	2%
9	0%
45	0%

**Are you currently employed?**

NR	2%
Yes, full-time	49%
Yes, part-time	10%
No, I am unemployed	40%

**Do you expect to be employed on a full-time basis during the next two years?**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	11%	18%
Yes	45%	66%
No	44%	16%

**In what capacity did you serve during the 2000 Municipal Elections and/or the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election?**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	70%	5%
Election observer	8%	18%
PSC member	8%	64%
MEC member	10%	10%
Did not serve	4%	4%

**What type of organization do you represent?**

NR	5%
Political Party	57%
Coalition	3%
Citizens' Initiative	1%
Independent Candidate	2%
NGO	18%
MEC	10%
Other	4%

*In the next section, we look at the organization of the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election, and compare it with the organization of the 2000 Municipal Elections.*

**Overall, how satisfied were you with the administration of the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election in your municipality?**

NR	2%
Very Satisfied	75%
Somewhat Satisfied	20%
Somewhat Dissatisfied	2%
Very Dissatisfied	1%
Don't Know	1%

**All voters were given a reasonable chance to register during the registration period.**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	1%	2%
Strongly agree	30%	58%
Agree	45%	33%
Disagree	20%	5%
Strongly Disagree	2%	1%
DK	2%	2%

**In the Voters' List for my municipality, the information about voters was correct.**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	2%	2%
Strongly agree	22%	50%
Agree	56%	44%
Disagree	16%	3%
Strongly Disagree	3%	0%
DK	2%	2%

**Voters had sufficient opportunity to check the Voters' List and to challenge people who should not be on the list.**

NR	3%
Strongly agree	46%
Agree	34%
Disagree	7%
Strongly Disagree	2%
DK	7%

**Voters physically unable to go to Polling Stations had reasonable opportunity to vote through special arrangements for them.**

NR	3%
Strongly agree	36%
Agree	34%
Disagree	12%
Strongly Disagree	4%
DK	10%

**Voters unable to go to Polling Stations because of fear had reasonable opportunity to vote through special arrangements for them.**

NR	6%
Strongly agree	25%
Agree	22%
Disagree	10%
Strongly Disagree	7%
DK	30%

**There were enough Voters Service Centers where voters could get information about voter registration and the election in my Municipality.**

NR	3%
Strongly agree	50%
Agree	38%
Disagree	7%
Strongly Disagree	1%
DK	2%

**In my Municipality, the Polling Centers were conveniently situated for most voters.**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	2%	3%
Strongly agree	16%	51%
Agree	43%	36%
Disagree	26%	8%
Strongly Disagree	13%	1%
DK	1%	1%

**There were enough Polling Centers in my Municipality.**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	3%	3%
Strongly agree	6%	45%
Agree	13%	37%
Disagree	47%	12%
Strongly Disagree	30%	3%
DK	1%	1%

**Voters in my Municipality knew where they had to vote.**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	1%	3%
Strongly agree	25%	48%
Agree	44%	44%
Disagree	24%	4%
Strongly Disagree	4%	1%
DK	1%	1%

**Voters in my Municipality knew the voting process in the Polling Stations.**

2000 Question: *"Voters in my municipality had sufficient information to know how to vote."*

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	2%	1%
Strongly agree	14%	51%
Agree	40%	43%
Disagree	34%	4%
Strongly Disagree	9%	0%
DK	1%	1%

**All registered voters were given a reasonable opportunity to vote.**

NR	2%
Strongly agree	49%
Agree	44%
Disagree	5%
Strongly Disagree	0%
DK	1%

**The Ballot Paper was clear and easy to understand for voters.**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	2%	3%
Strongly Agree	25%	67%
Agree	38%	27%
Disagree	27%	2%
Strongly Disagree	8%	1%
DK	1%	0%

**The Voting Procedures were clear and easy to understand for voters.**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	2%	2%
Strongly Agree	19%	64%
Agree	39%	31%
Disagree	33%	2%
Strongly Disagree	7%	0%
DK	5%	1%

**Polling Station Committees gave voters who had to vote by Conditional Ballot a good explanation of conditional voting.**

NR	2%
Strongly Agree	59%
Agree	34%
Disagree	3%
Strongly Disagree	1%
DK	2%

**The Counting Procedures were clear and easy to understand for Polling Station Committees.**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	2%	2%
Strongly Agree	26%	67%
Agree	46%	29%
Disagree	10%	0%
Strongly Disagree	5%	0%
DK	11%	2%

**The Polling Station equipment (ballot box, voting booths, etc.) was of good quality.**

	2000	2001
NR	1%	2%
Strongly Agree	43%	67%
Agree	47%	28%
Disagree	7%	2%
Strongly Disagree	0%	1%
DK	1%	1%

**The results of the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election are an accurate reflection of the choice of voters in Kosovo.**

NR	3%
Strongly Agree	40%
Agree	36%
Disagree	9%
Strongly Disagree	4%
DK	9%

**The administration of the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election measured well against accepted international standards of election administration.**

NR	3%
Strongly Agree	47%
Agree	41%
Disagree	3%
Strongly Disagree	0%
DK	6%

***Please compare the administration of the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election with the administration of the 2000 Municipal Election in the following categories.***

**The overall organization of the elections.**

NR	1%
Much Better	69%
Somewhat better	22%
Same	3%
Worse	1%
Much worse	0%
DK	5%

**The preparation of Polling Centers and Polling Stations.**

NR	3%
Much Better	66%
Somewhat better	22%
Same	4%
Worse	0%
Much worse	0%
DK	5%

**Information indicating to voters where and how they have to vote.**



NR	3%
Much Better	65%
Somewhat better	23%
Same	4%
Worse	0%
Much worse	0%
DK	5%

**The length of queues at Polling Centers.**

NR	4%
Much Better	70%
Somewhat better	18%
Same	2%
Worse	0%
Much worse	0%
DK	6%

**The Accuracy of the Voters' List.**

NR	3%
Much Better	59%
Somewhat better	25%
Same	5%
Worse	1%
Much worse	0%
DK	7%

**The training of Polling Station Committees.**

NR	3%
Much Better	64%
Somewhat better	22%
Same	5%
Worse	1%
Much worse	0%
DK	6%

***How effective was the use of each of the following Public information tools informing voters about Voter Services and Registration?***

**Posters**

NR	4%
Completely ineffective	6%
2	6%
3	17%
4	20%
Very effective	42%
DK	5%

**Newspaper Advertisements.**

NR	6%
Completely ineffective	5%
2	7%
3	15%
4	22%
Very effective	40%
DK	6%

**Leaflets**

NR	7%
Completely ineffective	6%
2	8%
3	16%
4	17%
Very effective	42%
DK	4%

**Radio Spots**

NR	7%
Completely ineffective	6%
2	5%
3	14%
4	19%
Very effective	45%
DK	5%

**TV Spots**

NR	6%
Completely ineffective	6%
2	4%
3	7%
4	17%
Very effective	55%
DK	5%

**TV Program "Camera on Elections"**

NR	6%
Completely ineffective	6%
2	4%
3	8%
4	18%
Very effective	45%
DK	13%

***How effective was the use of each of the following Public Information Tools for informing voters about the Election?***

**Posters**

NR	5%
Completely ineffective	5%
2	6%
3	16%
4	21%
Very effective	44%
DK	3%

**Newspaper Advertisements**

NR	6%
Completely ineffective	4%
2	7%
3	16%
4	23%
Very effective	40%
DK	5%

**Leaflets**

NR	7%
Completely ineffective	6%
2	6%
3	15%
4	21%
Very effective	40%
DK	5%

**Radio Spots**

NR	7%
Completely ineffective	4%
2	5%
3	14%
4	23%
Very effective	43%
DK	4%

**TV Spots**

NR	6%
Completely ineffective	6%
2	4%
3	8%
4	19%
Very effective	52%
DK	4%

**TV Program “Camera on Elections”**

NR	6%
Completely ineffective	6%
2	4%
3	9%
4	19%
Very effective	43%
DK	13%

**Quiz show “E Gjeta”**

NR	9%
Completely ineffective	7%
2	6%
3	11%
4	15%
Very effective	32%
DK	21%

**The Voters’ Guides**

NR	7%
Completely ineffective	5%
2	4%
3	10%
4	22%
Very effective	46%
DK	6%

**The “Where to Vote” Newspapers**

NR	6%
Completely ineffective	6%
2	5%
3	10%
4	17%
Very effective	46%
DK	9%

**Now we would like you to give us your views on the campaign period before the Kosovo Assembly Election.**

**All Political Parties and candidates had a fair chance to participate in the election campaign.**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	2%	1%
Strongly Agree	37%	57%
Agree	35%	28%
Disagree	15%	8%
Strongly disagree	9%	4%
DK	2%	3%

**I know of voters who were intimidated to vote for parties they did not want to vote for.**

NR	4%
Strongly Agree	10%
Agree	8%
Disagree	11%
Strongly disagree	15%
DK	53%

**The media coverage of Elections Campaign was fair to all parties.**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	2%	3%
Strongly Agree	15%	34%
Agree	35%	32%
Disagree	34%	16%
Strongly disagree	11%	6%
DK	4%	8%

**I know of candidates for the elections who were intimidated not to be candidates.**

NR	4%
Strongly Agree	8%
Agree	5%
Disagree	9%
Strongly disagree	14%
DK	60%

**Overall, how would you rate the free and fairness of the recent Kosovo Assembly Elections, held on 17 November 2001? Was it...**

Completely Free and Fair	1%
Free and Fair with Minor Problems	56%
Free and Fair with Major Problems	32%
Not Free and Fair	6%
DK	1%

**Let us look at some other issues related to the organization of the election. For each of the following statements, please indicate whether you Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.**

**Local communities should be allowed to fly national flags at Polling Stations.**

NR	3%
Strongly Agree	37%
Agree	25%
Disagree	13%
Strongly Disagree	12%
DK	10%

**Even though by-mail voting for people living outside of Kosovo is an expensive exercise, there should be arrangements for people to vote by mail in future elections.**

NR	4%
Strongly Agree	43%
Agree	37%
Disagree	5%
Strongly Disagree	3%
DK	8%

**It was significant political progress that Kosovo Serbs participated in the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election.**

NR	4%
Strongly Agree	30%
Agree	35%
Disagree	7%
Strongly Disagree	5%
DK	20%

**To what extent should voters be allowed to challenge the Voters' Lists? Should all voters have full access to the Voters' List, or should access be limited to voters, political entities, and other organizations.**

NR	2%
All should have access	67%
Access should be limited	10%
No changes allowed	11%
DK	10%

**In your opinion, how serious a problem was fraudulent registration of voters on the Voters' List for the 2001 Kosovo Assembly Election?**

NR	3%
Very serious	20%
Serious	19%
Not too serious	15%
Not at all serious	13%
DK	31%

***This question looks at the election system in Kosovo. For the following choices please indicate by marking in the box, which option you prefer.***

**Kosovo should be one electoral district where all voters vote for representatives for the whole of Kosovo, or should it be divided into smaller areas.**

NR	3%
One	54%
Smaller Districts	43%

**Voters should be able to indicate which candidates they prefer on a Political Party list, or voters should only vote for the list of candidates presented by a Political Party.**

NR	5%
Indicate Preference	60%
Only party lists	36%

**Political power should be shared between parties in the same proportion to the votes they received, or the political party that received the most votes should govern alone.**

NR	4%
PR	68%
Majoritarian	28%

**The President of Kosovo should be elected by the Kosovo Assembly, or the President of Kosovo should be directly elected by the voters in Kosovo.**

NR	3%
Assembly Election	45%
Direct Election	52%

**Seats should be set aside to give special representation to minorities, or seats should not be set aside to give special representation to minorities.**

NR	6%
Yes	33%
No	61%

**Political Entities should be required to have 33% women on their candidates list, or Political Entities should not be required to have 33% women on their candidates list.**

NR	3%
Yes	58%
No	39%

**Let us look at the function of the Central Election Commission (CEC). Please indicate whether you Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree with the following statements.**

**The process of appointing CEC members was fair to all concerned.**

NR	2%
Strongly Agree	38%
Agree	35%
Disagree	9%
Strongly disagree	3%
DK	14%

**The Electoral Rules issued by the CEC ensured that the election could be conducted in a manner fair to all.**

NR	4%
Strongly Agree	45%
Agree	42%
Disagree	4%
Strongly disagree	1%
DK	5%

**It is good that the CEC is chaired by an international member rather than a member from Kosovo.**

NR	4%
Strongly Agree	32%
Agree	26%
Disagree	19%
Strongly disagree	12%
DK	7%

**The statements below focus on the Municipal Election Commission (MEC). Please indicate whether you Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree with the following statements.**

**The process of appointing MEC members was fair to all concerned.**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	2%	2%
Strongly Agree	27%	46%
Agree	25%	33%
Disagree	20%	9%
Strongly disagree	17%	3%
DK	10%	8%



**The MECs conducted their activities in a manner that was fair to all in their municipalities.**

NR	2%
Strongly Agree	51%
Agree	36%
Disagree	5%
Strongly disagree	2%
DK	5%

**MEC members were well prepared to perform their functions in conducting the elections.**

NR	2%
Strongly Agree	51%
Agree	38%
Disagree	4%
Strongly disagree	1%
DK	4%

**MECs cooperated well with Political Parties and NGOs in appointing Polling Station Committees.**

NR	2%
Strongly Agree	51%
Agree	33%
Disagree	5%
Strongly disagree	2%
DK	7%

**MECs regularly informed Political Parties on progress with organizing the elections.**

NR	3%
Strongly Agree	49%
Agree	34%
Disagree	4%
Strongly disagree	1%
DK	9%

**MECs were actively supervising the Material In-take process at the Field Offices.**

NR	3%
Strongly Agree	50%
Agree	40%
Disagree	2%
Strongly disagree	1%
DK	8%

**MEC will be able to conduct the next election on their own without the assistance of the International Election Officer.**

NR	3%
Strongly Agree	42%
Agree	29%
Disagree	13%
Strongly disagree	3%
DK	10%

**MECs regularly informed the community about progress with organizing the election.**

NR	14%
Strongly Agree	40%
Agree	30%
Disagree	3%
Strongly disagree	1%
DK	13%

*The next questions look at different ways in which the MECs could be appointed, and their relationship with authorities.*

**MECs should work independently from the rest of the municipal government and report to the CEC, or MECs should be part of the municipal government.**

NR	3%
MEC independent from govt.	83%
MEC part of govt.	14%

**Political Parties should be represented on MECs, or MEC members should be appointed in their individual capacity and independent from political parties.**

NR	3%
PP should be represented	41%
MEC should be independent	56%

**Municipal Assemblies should present the CEC with nominations from the CEC, or International Election Officers should present the CEC with nominations to the MEC.**

NR	5%
Mun Assoc should nominate	50%
Intl. EO should nominate	45%

**Being an MEC member should be a full time occupation, or being an MEC member should be a part time job.**

NR	4%
Full time	52%
Part time	44%

***If MEC members have another full-time occupation besides being an MEC member, and are not able to perform their duties adequately, should they be allowed to be MEC members?***

NR	2%
Yes	32%
No	55%
DK	11%

***Would you say that each of the following groups was aware of the existence and the work of the Municipal Election Commissions.***

**Political Parties**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	1%	3%
Very Aware	65%	66%
2	25%	12%
3	8%	6%
4	0%	3%
Completely Unaware	1%	6%
DK	0%	4%

**Independent Candidates**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	23%	9%
Very Aware	45%	49%
2	18%	15%
3	9%	7%
4	1%	3%
Completely Unaware	2%	5%
DK	2%	12%

**NGOs**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	10%	9%
Very Aware	52%	54%
2	21%	15%
3	11%	6%
4	0%	4%
Completely Unaware	1%	6%
DK	5%	6%

**Media**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	10%	10%
Very Aware	54%	57%
2	21%	14%
3	10%	7%
4	2%	3%
Completely Unaware	2%	6%
DK	0%	5%

**Ethnic Minorities**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	15%	9%
Very Aware	42%	47%
2	21%	14%
3	7%	8%
4	3%	4%
Completely Unaware	5%	5%
DK	8%	13%

**General Public**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	17%	10%
Very Aware	30%	40%
2	30%	17%
3	15%	16%
4	5%	5%
Completely Unaware	2%	6%
DK	1%	7%

**Election Observers**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	10%	9%
Very Aware	52%	53%
2	29%	16%
3	6%	8%
4	1%	3%
Completely Unaware	2%	6%
DK	0%	5%

**Municipal Assemblies**

NR	9%
Very Aware	63%
2	11%
3	4%
4	2%
Completely Unaware	6%
DK	5%

***Let us look at the appointment and work of Polling Station Committees. For each of the following please indicate whether you Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree.***

**All people who wanted to become Polling Station Committee members had a fair chance.**

NR	2%
Strongly Agree	39%
Agree	25%
Disagree	19%
Strongly Disagree	6%
DK	8%

**Political Parties should nominate their representatives to serve on Polling Station Committees.**

NR	3%
Strongly Agree	56%
Agree	32%
Disagree	4%
Strongly Disagree	3%
DK	3%

**The political entity representatives on Polling Station Committees conducted their work professionally and without favouring their parties.**

NR	3%
Strongly Agree	50%
Agree	37%
Disagree	5%
Strongly Disagree	2%
DK	3%

**Polling Station Committees would be able to perform their functions impartially, even if they were not supervised by an International Polling Supervisor.**

NR	3%
Strongly Agree	44%
Agree	31%
Disagree	12%
Strongly Disagree	5%
DK	5%

**Polling Station Committees and International Polling Supervisors co-operated well in running the Polling Stations.**

NR	3%
Strongly Agree	63%
Agree	32%
Disagree	1%
Strongly Disagree	1%
DK	1%

**Political entities should be held accountable for the actions of their nominees to Polling Station Committees.**

NR	3%
Strongly Agree	63%
Agree	31%
Disagree	1%
Strongly Disagree	0%
DK	2%

**Potential Polling Station Committee Chairpersons were given additional training during September. How much did these training sessions contribute to their preparation for their task?**

NR	0%
Contributed greatly	74%
Contributed somewhat	21%
Did not contribute	1%
DK	4%

**It is very important that Polling Station Committees are well trained to perform their functions. Do you think the Polling Station Committees were well trained to perform the following functions?**

**Duties before opening the Polling Stations**

NR	2%
Yes, definitely	80%
Yes, partially	18%
No	0%
DK	0%

**Conducting the voting in their Polling Stations**

NR	6%
Yes, definitely	76%
Yes, partially	18%
No	0%
DK	0%

**Closing the polls and counting the ballots**

NR	6%
Yes, definitely	81%
Yes, partially	12%
No	0%
DK	1%

**Packing of the materials for transfer to the field offices**

NR	6%
Yes, definitely	76%
Yes, partially	16%
No	1%
DK	2%

***The International Polling Supervisors had an important role in supervising the work of the Polling Station Committees. Do you think the International Polling Supervisors were well trained to effectively supervise the Poling Station Committees in performing the following functions?***

**Duties before opening the Polling Stations.**

NR	2%
Yes, definitely	73%
Yes, partially	23%
No	1%
DK	1%

**Conducting the voting in their polling stations.**

NR	5%
Yes, definitely	71%
Yes, partially	22%
No	1%
DK	1%

**Closing the polls and counting the ballots.**

NR	5%
Yes, definitely	75%
Yes, partially	19%
No	1%
DK	1%

**Packing of materials for transfer to the field offices.**

NR	5%
Yes, definitely	72%
Yes, partially	20%
No	1%
DK	2%

***National observers from Political Entities and NGOs play a very important role in ensuring the credibility of the election process. Do you think the observers from Political Entities and Kosovo NGOs were well prepared to observe the following activities?***

**Duties before opening the Polling Stations.**

NR	3%
Yes, definitely	61%
Yes, partially	31%
No	3%
DK	3%

**Conducting the voting in their Polling Stations.**

NR	6%
Yes, definitely	60%
Yes, partially	29%
No	2%
DK	3%

**Closing the polls and counting the ballots.**

NR	6%
Yes, definitely	60%
Yes, partially	30%
No	2%
DK	3%

**Packing of materials for transfer to the field offices.**

NR	5%
Yes, definitely	62%
Yes, partially	24%
No	4%
DK	4%

***Let us look at involvement of the international community in the election process in Kosovo. For each of the following, please indicate whether you Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree or Strongly Disagree with the following statements:***

**People in Kosovo would not have accepted the results of the Kosovo Assembly Election if it was not administered by the international community through UNMIK and the OSCE.**

NR	3%
Strongly Agree	37%
Agree	27%
Disagree	18%
Strongly Disagree	9%
DK	6%

**UNMIK and the OSCE can be trusted to conduct elections that are fair to all Political entities participating in the elections.**

NR	4%
Strongly Agree	37%
Agree	43%
Disagree	9%
Strongly Disagree	4%
DK	5%



**It is important for international experts to train people from Kosovo to take over administration of elections in Kosovo.**

NR	3%
Strongly Agree	58%
Agree	32%
Disagree	3%
Strongly Disagree	1%
DK	3%

**There are currently enough skilled people in Kosovo to administer elections on their own.**

NR	4%
Strongly Agree	35%
Agree	38%
Disagree	13%
Strongly Disagree	2%
DK	9%

**It will take considerable training to prepare people from Kosovo to take over full responsibility for running elections in Kosovo.**

NR	4%
Strongly Agree	41%
Agree	41%
Disagree	10%
Strongly Disagree	2%
DK	3%

**In your opinion, when should the authority for administering elections in Kosovo be fully handed over from UNMIK and the OSCE to local Kosovo institutions?**

NR	2%
Immediately	29%
After next elections	31%
After two more elections	18%
Intl. Community should supervise indefinitely	18%
DK	3%

***At the moment, are you dissatisfied, neither dissatisfied nor satisfied, or satisfied with the overall situation in Kosovo?***

NR	1%
Very dissatisfied	13%
Dissatisfied	18%
Neither	31%
Satisfied	32%
Very Satisfied	3%
DK	2%

**How do conditions in Kosovo now compare with one year ago? Are they:**

NR	1%
Much worse	2%
Worse	2%
Same	25%
Better	57%
Much better	11%
DK	1%

**What about in twelve months time? Do you expect conditions in Kosovo to be worse, the same or better than they are now?**

NR	1%
Much worse	1%
Worse	3%
Same	15%
Better	60%
Much better	14%
DK	5%

**What do you think about the direction in which Kosovo is headed? Would you say Kosovo is headed in the...**

NR	2%
Right direction	73%
Wrong direction	9%
DK	16%

**How often do you get news from the following sources? Is it .....**

**Radio**

NR	12%
Every day	60%
A few times a week	22%
A few times a month	3%
Less than a month	0%
Never	2%
DK	1%

**Television**

NR	7%
Every day	77%
A few times a week	12%
A few times a month	1%
Less than a month	1%
Never	2%
DK	0%

**Newspapers**

NR	10%
Every day	63%
A few times a week	20%
A few times a month	5%
Less than a month	1%
Never	3%
DK	0%

***When you get together with your friends, would you say you discuss political matters...***

NR	1%
Never	5%
Sometimes	43%
Often	49%
DK	1%

***How interested are you in politics and government?***

NR	2%
Not interested	9%
Somewhat interested	42%
Very interested	46%
DK	1%

***The next questions look at the importance of elections. For each of the following choices, please indicate by marking in the box next to it which option you prefer:***

**No matter how you vote, it won't make things better in the future, or the way you vote could make things better in the future.**

NR	5%
Voting won't make things better	11%
Voting could make things better	85%

**It is important who is in power, because it makes a difference to what happens, or it doesn't really matter who is in power, because in the end things go on much the same.**

NR	4%
Important who is in power	83%
Doesn't matter who is in power	13%

**Even if your vote can not influence the results, it is your civic duty to vote, or if your vote can not influence the result, it does not really matter whether you vote or not.**

NR	5%
Civic duty to vote	88%
Not a civic duty	7%

**Elections in Kosovo do not really matter, since the international community is really running Kosovo, or election in Kosovo matter a lot, since the Kosovo Assembly will have a substantial say in running Kosovo.**

NR	4%
Elections don't matter	15%
Elections do matter	81%

***What is your ethnic background?***

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	6%	3%
Albanian	84%	78%
Serbian	2%	13%
Turkish	1%	1%
Roma/Ashkalija/Egyptian	3%	3%
Muslim Slav (Goran, Bosniac)	5%	3%
Other		0%

***Which of the following languages do you speak?***

Albanian	84%
Serbian	53%
Bosnian	30%
Roma	2%
Turkish	6%
English	19%
German	8%
French	5%
Italian	2%
Spanish	1%
Other	1%

***Are you associated with any Political Party?***

0	11%
Yes	58%
No	30%

***For each of the following, please indicate the extent to which the MEC had actual authority to make decisions and perform tasks assigned to the MEC.***

**Informing Political Parties on progress with election preparations**

NR	2%
MEC fully Performed function	23%
Intl. EO fully Performed function	6%
MEC and IEO Performed together	69%

**Briefing Municipal Assemblies on the preparation of elections**

NR	1%
MEC fully	
Performed function	42%
Intl. EO fully	
Performed function	9%
MEC and IEO	
Performed together	49%

**Recruitment of Polling Station Committees**

NR	3%
MEC fully	
Performed function	36%
Intl. EO fully	
Performed function	3%
MEC and IEO	
Performed together	58%

**Appointing of Polling Station Committees**

NR	4%
MEC fully	
Performed function	41%
Intl. EO fully	
Performed function	3%
MEC and IEO	
Performed together	53%

**Training of Polling Station Committees**

NR	2%
MEC fully	
Performed function	16%
Intl. EO fully	
Performed function	10%
MEC and IEO	
Performed together	72%

**Contacting Political Entities and NGOs regarding Polling Station Committee appointments**

NR	3%
MEC fully	
Performed function	32%
Intl. EO fully	
Performed function	6%
MEC and IEO	
Performed together	59%

**Selection of Polling Centers**

NR	3%
MEC fully Performed function	5%
Intl. EO fully Performed function	26%
MEC and IEO Performed together	66%

**Preparing Polling Station Operational Plans**

NR	2%
MEC fully Performed function	5%
Intl. EO fully Performed function	20%
MEC and IEO Performed together	73%

**Taking in election material from Polling Stations at the field offices after voting and counting.**

NR	1%
MEC fully Performed function	10%
Intl. EO fully Performed function	17%
MEC and IEO Performed together	83%

***How well prepared did you feel as MEC member to perform the following functions?***

**Informing Political Entities on progress with election preparations.**

Fully prepared	57%
Partly prepared	40%
Not prepared	3%

**Briefing Municipal Assemblies on the preparation of the elections**

NR	1%
Fully prepared	62%
Partly prepared	34%
Not prepared	3%

**Recruitment of Polling Station Committees**

NR	2%
Fully prepared	68%
Partly prepared	27%
Not prepared	3%

**Appointment of Polling Station Committees**

NR	1%
Fully prepared	70%
Partly prepared	27%
Not prepared	2%

**Training of Polling Station Committees**

NR	3%
Fully prepared	55%
Partly prepared	39%
Not prepared	3%

**Contacting Political Entities and NGOs regarding Polling Station Committee appointments.**

Fully prepared	63%
Partly prepared	37%

**Selection of Polling Centers**

NR	2%
Fully prepared	47%
Partly prepared	47%
Not prepared	5%

**Preparing polling center operational plans**

NR	2%
Fully prepared	39%
Partly prepared	55%
Not prepared	5%

**Taking in election material from Polling Stations at the Field Offices after voting and counting.**

NR	1%
Fully prepared	47%
Partly prepared	51%
Not prepared	2%

***For the next elections, what level of responsibility should the MEC have in performing the following tasks?***

**Informing Political entities on progress with election preparations.**

MEC fully prepared to do alone	54%
MEC should share with IEO	46%
IEO should have full responsibility	1%

**Briefing Municipal Assemblies on the preparation of the elections**

NR	1%
MEC fully prepared to do alone	62%
MEC should share with IEO	35%
IEO should have full responsibility	2%

**Recruitment of Polling Station Committees**

NR	1%
MEC fully prepared to do alone	63%
MEC should share with IEO	35%
IEO should have full responsibility	1%

**Appointment of Polling Station Committees**

MEC fully prepared to do alone	62%
MEC should share with IEO	36%
IEO should have full responsibility	2%

**Training of Polling Station Committees**

NR	1%
MEC fully prepared to do alone	47%
MEC should share with IEO	49%
IEO should have full responsibility	2%

**Contacting Political Entities and NGOs regarding Polling Station Committee appointments.**

NR	1%
MEC fully prepared to do alone	57%
MEC should share with IEO	39%
IEO should have full responsibility	3%

**Selection of Polling Centers**

NR	2%
MEC fully prepared to do alone	41%
MEC should share with IEO	55%
IEO should have full responsibility	2%

**Preparing Polling Center Operational Plans**

NR	1%
MEC fully prepared to do alone	35%
MEC should share with IEO	59%
IEO should have full responsibility	5%



**Taking in election material from Polling Stations at the Field Offices after voting and counting.**

NR	1%
MEC fully prepared to do alone	34%
MEC should share with IEO	62%
IEO should have full responsibility	3%

**Maintaining Voters' Lists for the Municipality**

NR	2%
MEC fully prepared to do alone	44%
MEC should share with IEO	50%
IEO should have full responsibility	5%

**Receiving and distributing all election material for the municipality.**

NR	1%
MEC fully prepared to do alone	43%
MEC should share with IEO	53%
IEO should have full responsibility	4%

***Did your MEC find it easy or difficult to make contact with each of the following groups? Please indicate on a scale of 1 to five (1 = Very Easy; 5 = Very Difficult).***

**Political Parties**

Very Easy	61%
2	20%
3	8%
4	5%
Very Difficult	4%
DK	2%

**Independent Candidates**

NR	9%
Very Easy	42%
2	19%
3	11%
4	4%
Very Difficult	6%
DK	10%

**NGOs**

NR	2%
Very Easy	66%
2	15%
3	8%
4	5%
Very Difficult	1%
DK	3%

**The Media**

NR	2%
Very Easy	57%
2	27%
3	7%
4	2%
Very Difficult	3%
DK	2%

**Ethnic Minority Communities**

NR	6%
Very Easy	36%
2	25%
3	14%
4	9%
Very Difficult	8%
DK	3%

**The Public in General**

NR	3%
Very Easy	40%
2	28%
3	18%
4	7%
Very Difficult	3%
DK	2%

**Election Observers of Political Parties and NGOs**

NR	4%
Very Easy	50%
2	25%
3	9%
4	8%
Very Difficult	3%
DK	2%

**Municipal Assemblies**

NR	2%
Very Easy	60%
2	22%
3	6%
4	4%
Very Difficult	5%
DK	1%

**Do you feel that you understood the MEC's roles and responsibilities in relation to the following entities?**

**Political Parties**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
Yes, definitely	83%	89%
Yes, partially	14%	11%
No	1%	

**Independent Candidates**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	20%	3%
Yes, definitely	65%	76%
Yes, partially	12%	18%
DK	1%	3%

**NGOs**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	16%	2%
Yes, definitely	69%	84%
Yes, partially	10%	13%
No	2%	1%

**The Media**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	12%	3%
Yes, definitely	70%	84%
Yes, partially	15%	11%
No	1%	2%

**Ethnic Minority Communities**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	18%	3%
Yes, definitely	61%	73%
Yes, partially	18%	19%
No	2%	4%
DK	1%	1%

**The Public in General**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	14%	3%
Yes, definitely	66%	72%
Yes, partially	18%	24%
No	1%	1%
DK	1%	1%

**Election Observers and Political Parties and NGOs**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	11%	3%
Yes, definitely	74%	77%
Yes, partially	12%	19%
No	2%	1%

**Municipal Assemblies**

NR	2%
Yes, definitely	84%
Yes, partially	12%
No	2%

***Do you feel you had enough information to advise the following entities on the technical aspects of the electoral process?***

**Political Parties**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
Yes, definitely	70%	75%
Yes, partially	25%	19%
No	3%	5%
DK	0%	1%

**Independent Candidates**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	20%	4%
Yes, definitely	56%	64%
Yes, partially	20%	23%
No	3%	4%
DK	0%	5%

**NGOs**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	12%	3%
Yes, definitely	60%	73%
Yes, partially	25%	20%
No	2%	3%
DK	1%	1%

**Media**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	11%	4%
Yes, definitely	64%	67%
Yes, partially	23%	25%
No	2%	4%

**Ethnic Minority Communities**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	16%	5%
Yes, definitely	52%	59%
Yes, partially	27%	25%
No	5%	9%
DK	1%	2%

**The Public in General**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	10%	6%
Yes, definitely	60%	63%
Yes, partially	27%	27%
No	2%	4%

**Election Observers of Political Parties and NGOs**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	9%	6%
Yes, definitely	65%	63%
Yes, partially	21%	27%
No	5%	4%

**Municipal Assemblies**

NR	3%
Yes, definitely	72%
Yes, partially	21%
No	4%

***On average, how many hours did you spend per week on MEC related activities?***

NR	1%
LT 8	8%
8-16	30%
17-24	18%
25-35	31%
36+	13%

***How well did your MEC operate as a team. Please indicate whether everyone on the MEC participated in the work, or whether some members did much more than others.***

Operated as a team	74%
Some members more	
Than others	25%
DK	1%

***How present were MEC members at meetings, training and work sessions of the MEC?***

All members mostly present	83%
Some members did not attend	
Some time	15%
Some members never attended	2%

***In many regions Election Administrators form associations to exchange experience and information. Do you think such associations should be established in Kosovo?***

0	7%
Yes	82%
No	4%
DK	7%

***With which of the following should Municipal Election Commission members in Kosovo exchange experience and information? (Please check all that apply)***

**Municipal Election Commissions in the same region in Kosovo**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
Not mentioned		70%
Mentioned	27%	30%

**Municipal Election Commissions in Kosovo**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
Not mentioned		64%
Mentioned	26%	36%

**The Central Election Commission**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
Not mentioned		48%
Mentioned	47%	53%

**Election Management Bodies in the Balkans and Eastern Europe**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
Not mentioned		48%
Mentioned	35%	53%

**Other**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
Not mentioned		96%
Mentioned	6%	4%

***Thinking about the training you received over the past year, how satisfied were you with the training on each of the following topics. Please indicate on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = Very Satisfied; 5 = Not at all satisfied)***

**International Standards for Conducting Elections**

NR	2%
Very Satisfied	75%
2	19%
3	4%
4	1%

**Different methods Registering Voters**

NR	3%
Very Satisfied	52%
2	34%
3	8%
4	2%
Not at all satisfied	1%

**Strategies for Voter Education**

NR	3%
Very Satisfied	60%
2	28%
3	9%
4	1%

**Different systems of voting and electing candidates**

NR	2.9%
Very Satisfied	49%
2	36%
3	8%
4	1%
DK	3%

**Registration and Voting Procedures**

NR	4%
Very Satisfied	58%
2	30%
3	6%
4	1%
DK	1%

**The Legal framework (UNMIK Regulations, the Constitutional Framework and Electoral Rules) that govern the electoral process in Kosovo.**

NR	5%
Very Satisfied	51%
2	27%
3	12%
4	3%
Not at all satisfied	2%
DK	1%

**How to plan strategically and manage elections on a municipal level.**

NR	5%
Very Satisfied	56%
2	31%
3	5%
4	2%
DK	1%

**How to draw up budgets and finances.**

NR	8%
Very Satisfied	34%
2	36%
3	13%
4	2%
Not at all satisfied	1%
DK	6%

**Strategies for recruiting and managing election workers**

NR	4%
Very Satisfied	60%
2	24%
3	10%
4	1%
Not at all satisfied	1%
DK	2%

**How to deal with the media and market the work of the MEC.**

NR	4%
Very Satisfied	56%
2	30%
3	7%
4	1%
Not at all satisfied	1%
DK	1%

**The role of observers in the election process.**

NR	5%
Very Satisfied	61%
2	29%
3	4%
DK	1%

**How other Election Management Bodies work in other parts of the world.**

NR	4%
Very Satisfied	43%
2	31%
3	7%
DK	15%

**The work of the CEC and the ECAC**

NR	4%
Very Satisfied	56%
2	30%
3	8%
Not at all satisfied	1%
DK	1%



**Other than members of the Municipal Election Commission and the International Election Officer, do any other persons attend meetings of your MEC? (If yes, check all that apply)**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
None	50%	25%
International Observers	32%	44%
Representatives of NGOs	16%	24%
Representatives of Political Parties, Coalitions and Independent Coalitions	19%	43%
Others	7%	4%
DK	2%	1%

**Are any minutes taken at your MEC meetings?**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
Yes	67%	92%
No	29%	5%
DK	3%	3%

**How are decisions made in your MEC?**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	2%	2%
Consensus	52%	78%
Majority opinion	21%	17%
Chair has final decision	25%	2%
Other		1%

**In your opinion, how should decisions be made in your MEC in the future?**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	3%	2%
Consensus	50%	63%
Majority opinion	35%	33%
Chair has final decision	10%	2%

**How would you describe the relationship between your MEC and International Election Officer?**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR	2%	1%
Very good	71%	79%
Good	23%	20%
Don't know	1%	

**How satisfied are you with the guidance on electoral matters provided to you by your International Election Officer?**

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR		1%
Very satisfied	74%	93%
Somewhat satisfied	23%	6%
Somewhat dissatisfied		3%

***How satisfied are you with the authority the International Election Officer gave the MEC to perform its duties as stipulated in the Electoral Rules?***

NR	1%
Very satisfied	89%
Somewhat satisfied	9%
Somewhat dissatisfied	1%

***Were you an MEC member during the 2000 Municipal Elections?***

NR	1%
Yes	84%
No	15%

***What is your current position on the Municipal Election Commission?***

	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
NR		1%
Chairperson	26%	29%
Secretary	26%	25%
Member	48%	45%