Kaçanik Voters' List Audit

A Sample for Kosovo



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Leon Malazogu, Visar Sutaj and Drilon Gashi

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Executive Summary

Democracy for Development Institute's (D4D) intensive field research in the Municipality of Kaçanik measured the scale of accuracy in the municipality's voters' list—specifically, the rate at which eligible voters actually live where they are able to vote.

Our audit of Kaçanik's voters' list indicated that only 60% of registered voters' names live in the town or villages under which their names appear. The rest are either abroad (19%), deceased (3%), living in another location in Kosovo (11%), or there is no information on them (7%).

Such a voters' list is not reliable and cannot provide for fair elections. The current assumption is that major problems with voters' list inaccuracy are widespread phenomena in Kosovo.

There is a two-fold challenge for the relevant electoral authorities. Election management bodies must control the manipulation of the voting process, preventing voting by proxy. Short of a proper process, poor voters' lists make it possible to vote on behalf of others. The Ministry of Internal Affairs must systemically regulate the process and organize all institutions responsible for feeding information into and maintaining the civil registry, to ensure that Kosovo has accurate and up-to-date population and residential data.

Prior to a more systematic tackling of the issue, three main problems can be dealt with immediately. The main source of inaccuracy is among individuals who only have UNMIK documents and never obtained Kosovo documents. The problem is also more accentuated among the elderly which is an indicator that the 7% without information probably belong in the deceased category.

This paper recommends the following: (a) the civil registry maintenance process should be audited, (b) names of

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diaspora voters should be kept in a separate voters' list, and (c) there should be better enforcement and awareness raising of the legal responsibility to update one's address.

Introduction

Having an accurate voters' list is one of the most important prerequisites to a free, fair and competitive election. The issue of voters' list inaccuracy has been a recurring one in Kosovo, with complaints being voiced on this topic before and after every electoral process.

This paper presents the results of a recently conducted audit of the voters' list of the Kaçanik municipality in order to measure the scale of inaccuracies and irregularities and present recommendations to address them.

The voters' list is based on an extract of the civil registry created and maintained by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA). The civil registry database includes all citizens who have received their national identity cards (NIC), which are issued at the age of 16 by the Ministry's Department of Public Documents (DPD).

The regular practice for each election cycle is that the MIA provides the Central Election Commission (CEC) a recent extract of the civil registry of all voters above age 18. This is to suggest that the flaws with the voters' list reflect flaws in the civil registry, and hence that is where improvements need to take place.

To carry out the audit, Democracy for Development (D4D) set up a team of 17 verifiers who during May and June of 2012 went door-to-door across the Municipality of Kaçanik. Equipped with the most recently updated voters' list of each polling centre, they verified whether persons found living in each house they visited were found in the voters' list, under their current address.

While Kaçanik may be only one case, this paper cites the insight it could provide for the organizing of similar audits across Kosovo. A more accurate voters' list throughout the

rest of Kosovo can greatly improve the voting process and stamp out opportunities for manipulations at the ballot box.

It should be emphasized that there was anecdotal evidence of major problems even before the audit. As a blatant example, the late President of Kosovo and perhaps the most recognizable public figure of the last two decades, Ibrahim Rugova, could still be found on the voters' list several years after his passing. Several other reports, including one written earlier by an author who is now with D4D, have pointed out inaccuracies that short of reliable data were often treated as speculation.

Research Methodology

This study's research objective was to verify all the names found in the voters' list of the municipality of Kaçanik against results from door-to-door interviews. The study attempted to measure the number of voters actually living in the area where their names are listed to vote, as opposed to the share of voters living abroad, deceased or who moved to other municipalities. Conducting the audit of the voters' list included a preliminary assessment of the voters' list, training program and a field exercise. D4D set up a team of 17 field verifiers and a database expert in order to complete the audit.

Step 1: Preliminary Check & Verification

Prior to the field research, D4D conducted a preliminary review of the voters' list to spot obvious inaccuracies that required technical clean-up. The review used the most recent voters' list as was used in the mayoral by-elections in 2012. The small size of Kaçanik and the availability of a recent voters' list were the two main reasons for selecting Kaçanik for this audit.

The voters' list was integrated into a software application, designed for two purposes: (1) generating a voters' list questionnaire for each location, and (2) data entry. Lists were printed for each verifier, whom was entrusted with one to five villages to cover. The software was used to highlight two categories of voters, (a) persons who had not obtained an UNMIK ID, and (b) voters older than 70 years on the day when the reports were generated.

The underlying assumption was that most Kosovo citizens have already obtained Kosovo identification. Aside from ethnicity (Kaçanik historically has not had significant minority communities), it can be assumed that persons who

had not obtained a new ID may have left the country, or passed away. The names of those in these two categories were marked, and verifiers were instructed to pay greater attention to these two more unreliable categories.

Step 2: Training

D4D developed a comprehensive training program including training manuals, questionnaire templates and precise guidelines on the key steps of the field exercise. Verifiers received detailed instructions on how to approach each household, and how to gather information about houses which either refused to answer or were absent. The verifiers were encouraged to gather information from neighbours after exhausting other means of information gathering, namely talking to family members. A testing period was used and questionnaire was then revised for final use.

Step 3: Field Exercise

After the preliminary verification and training, the team of verifiers was deployed throughout the municipality to conduct the actual verification comparing actual findings against the voters' list. This vital part of the field research took two weeks to complete. Verifiers were strategically placed in areas that they were more familiar with. After an extension of an additional two weeks for some areas, the verifiers visited nearly every house in their respective location. Verifiers were tasked to verify information on the voters by marking the status of each individual as shown in the table below.

Part of scanned form

| Numri | Mbiemri | Emri | Datelindja | Këtë Adresë/ Fshat | Tjetër Adresë/ Fshat | Jashtë Kaçanikut / Brenda Kosovës | Jashtë Kosovës | I/e Vdekur |
|-------|---------|------|------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--|-------------------|------------|
| 530 | GASHI | | 1/4/1933 | X | | | | |
| 531 | GASHI | | 1/28/1933 | | | | | X |
| 532 | GASHI | ļ | 7/14/1985 | X | | | | |
| 533 | GASHI | | 9/15/1991 | + | | | | |
| 534 | GASHI | | 2/9/1993 | X | | | | |
| 535 | GASHI | | 5/31/1963 | × | | | | |
| 536 | GASHI | | 9/15/1962 | | | | X | |
| 537 | GASHI | | 3/21/1967 | | | | X | |
| 538 | GASHI | | 6/10/1963 | | | | X | |
| 539 | GASHI | | 11/20/1986 | X | | | | |
| 540 | GASHI | | 4/15/1947 | ~ | | | | |

The forms corresponded to the database and each voter that verifiers collected information on would be categorized in one of the following categories below, as:

- Residing in the same location;
- Residing in another location within Kaçanik;
- Moved to another municipality in Kosovo;
- Lives abroad (Part of Diaspora outside of Kosovo); and
- Deceased.

When verifiers came across a person whose name could not be found on the voters' list, they registered their full name and date of birth.

Context

There are a total of 16 Polling Centres in Kaçanik, two of which are located in the town of Kaçanik (0701D and 0702X) and the rest are located in the municipality's villages.

The 28 villages of Kaçanik make up almost 70% of the municipality. The size of the villages varies by territory and number of voters. The large and medium size villages usually have their own polling centre. There is only an exception with the villages of Bob, Runjevë and Llanishtë, which have large numbers of voters who are required to vote in two polling centres in the town of Kaçanik. This is largely because these three villages are very close to the city. As for the villages that are small in terms of voter population, some of them do have their own polling centre, the majority do not.

There are ten large villages, with more than 1,000 voters, in the municipality of Kaçanik that include: Vatë/Dubravë (2,197 voters), Begracë (1,801 voters), Kaçaniku i Vjetër (1,551 voters), Glloboçicë (1,437 voters), Bob (1,410 voters), Biqec (1,390 voters), Doganaj (1,307 voters), Stagovë (1,189 voters), Kovaçec (1,049 voters) and Soponicë (1,034 voters). Almost every village has its own polling centre where their residents or some voters from other smaller villages can vote.

There are four medium-sized villages, with 500 to 1,000 voters, including: Nikaj (772 voters), Ivajë (701 voters), Runjevë (650 voters), Rekë (599 voters) and Kotlinë (598 voters). There are 13 small villages with fewer than 500 voters: Gajrë (489 voters), Bajnicë (415 voters), Strazhë (364 voters), Gabricë (398 voters), Gërlicë e Epërme (363 voters), Gjurgjedell (336 voters), Elezaj (327 voters), Sllatinë (271 voters), Gabricë e Epërme (270 voters), Korboliq (189

voters), Semajë (184 voters), Drenogllavë (135 voters) and Nikovc (nine voters).

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Voters from Other Municipalities

The voters' list used by the Central Election Commission (CEC) had 31,474 voters registered. The preliminary assessment of the voters' list indicates that there are voters from other municipalities and unknown voters registered therein. The table below shows the breakdown of number of voters that had to be filtered out prior to conducting the field exercise.

| Municipality | Voters |
|-----------------------|--------|
| Ferizaj | 233 |
| Viti | 32 |
| Hani i Elezit | 28 |
| Prishtinë | 27 |
| Shtërpcë | 13 |
| Lipjan & Shtime | 17 |
| Gjilan & Kamenicë | 9 |
| Deçan & Pejë | 7 |
| Suharekë & Podujevë | 6 |
| Mitrovicë & Vushtrri | 4 |
| Istog & Klinë | 4 |
| Drenas & Skenderaj | 2 |
| Fushë Kosovë & Obiliq | 2 |
| Shkup | 1 |
| Prizren & Gjakovë | 2 |
| Unclear | 33 |
| Total | 420 |

The first preliminary assessment of the voters' list indicates that 387 voters registered in Kaçanik come from other municipalities. The table on the left illustrates the breakdown of these voters by their origin.

It is very difficult to judge why this irregularity came about. However, considering that Ferizaj is the closest municipality to Kaçanik, it could be that these voters either moved in or moved out of Kaçanik. As seen from the table, more than 60% of the voters

from the other municipalities are from Ferizaj. However, it is not clear how they are on the list, as they are not registered in the municipality of Kaçanik.

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| Total Names in CEC's Voters' List | 31,474 |
|---|--------|
| Minus Names from Other Municipalities Mistakenly Included in VL | 420 |
| Cleaned up List Targeted by the Field Research | 31,054 |

In addition, 33 unknown voters had to be removed from the list prior to undertaking the audit, due to their incorrect and/or unknown location. A total of 420 (1.3 %) names were ultimately removed from the list before our verifiers headed out to the field. The resulting total number of voters that were sampled for the audit came to 31,054.

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How Many Voters Actually Reside in Kaçanik?

The field exercise was managed by 16 verifiers and one field coordinator. Their target was to reach out to as many residents as possible in order to verify the cleaned-up total of 31,054 voters. The verifiers managed to obtain information on 28,916 voters (achieving coverage of 93% of the total). The overall breakdown yields the following:

| Cleaned up List Targeted by the Field Research | 31,054 | |
|---|--------|-----|
| - Found in the Location as in the Voters' List | 18,662 | 60% |
| - Other Village/Town inside Kacanik | 1,939 | 6% |
| - In another municipality inside Kosovo | 1,406 | 5% |
| - Out of Kosovo | 6,051 | 19% |
| - Deceased | 858 | 3% |
| - No Info | 2,141 | 7% |

Found in the Location as in the Voters' List

The research findings indicate that more than 60% of voters registered in Kaçanik (18,662) live in the same town or village as indicated in the voters' list. Some villages have a rate of accuracy of up to 81% (Nikaj), and there are villages with inaccuracies as low as Drenogllavë (18%). A word of caution is needed since accuracy only denotes at the level of village/place and not for specific addresses or neighbourhoods.

Voters from Other Village/Place in Kaçanik

The total number of voters living in some other address or village within Kaçanik municipality is 1,939 (just above 6%). The highest rate of migration within the municipality was

from the village of Ivajë (28%), while there were villages with as low as 1% migration.

Voters from Other Municipalities in Kosovo

The research findings indicate that slightly more than 4% of voters registered in Kaçanik (1,406) live in another municipality altogether. The names of these voters were confirmed as having moved to, or mainly living in, other municipalities in Kosovo (defined as living outside the municipality more than half of the time). The highest number of voters living out of Kaçanik but still in Kosovo is in the villages of Drenogllavë (59%) and Korboliq (28%). The lowest number of voters living out of Kaçanik but still in Kosovo is in the villages of Gabricë, Rekë and Runjevë (around 1%).

Voters Living Out of Kosovo

More than 19% of voters registered in Kaçanik (6,501) live abroad or outside of Kosovo. The highest rate of migration out of Kosovo was recorded in the villages of Glloboçicë and Korboliq (both at 37%). The lowest number of voters living outside of Kosovo was in Nikaj (9%) and Ivajë (12%). The town of Kaçanik also has a very high number of voters that live abroad, approximately 17% to be precise.

Deceased Voters

Almost 3% of voters registered in Kaçanik (858) were found to be deceased (or there was no evidence to the contrary). The deceased are often still included in the voters' list because family members do not regularly report deaths at the Municipal Civil Status Office. As a result, deaths neither reported to the Central Civil Registry (CCR) at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The highest number of deceased registered voters was found in the village of Gjurgjedell (6%). The other villages with high numbers of deceased

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voters—of about 4%—include Bob, Drenogllavë, Elezaj, Gërlicë e Epërme, Kotlinë and Nikaj. The lowest share of deceased voters is in the village of Strazhë (1%).

No Information

The verifiers could not gather accurate information on 2,071 voters because the respondents or the residents that were interviewed did not have any information regarding these registered voters. Slightly more than 32% of the unverified voters (655) were from the city of Kaçanik. These names most probably fall into the categories of the deceased or those living abroad.

How Significant is the Problem?

For the purpose of putting the scale of this problem into context, we have grouped the most problematic categories (deceased, living abroad, no information) together, and have distinguished them with the colour red in the graphs throughout this report.

Accurate (green)

- Voters who were found at the same town/village as in the voters' list

Somewhat Problematic (yellow)

- Voters who have moved inside the Municipality of Kaçanik or in another municipality in Kosovo

Problematic (red)

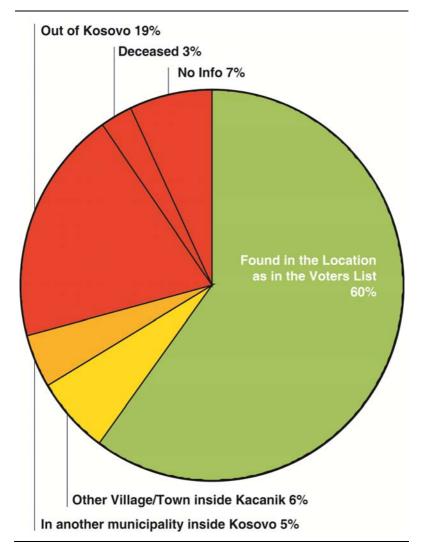
- Names of voters who moved abroad, are deceased, or for whom there is no information

The pie chart below indicates that a whopping 29% of voters (the three groups combined) fall in this 'problematic' category (again, marked in red). Around 11% of registered voters fall in the category of 'somewhat problematic'—these are voters who moved inside the Municipality of Kaçanik (6%, marked in yellow), and voters who moved to other parts of Kosovo (5%, marked in orange). The portion marked in green represents the majority of 60%, which were the voters found in the village/place as in the voters' list.

The graph, following the pie chart, provides a detailed breakdown of the results specifically per each village.

Main Overview

Break-down of voters



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| | Location as in VL | rion VL | | cation | | Mun. | Out of Kosovo | 0.0050 | | pas | | lo Lo | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|------------|-----|--------|-----|------|---------------|--------|-----|-----|-----|----------|-----|-------|
| Bajnicë | 251 | 9609 | 9 | 1% | 43 | 10% | 73 | 18% | 8 | 2% | 34 | 8% | 4 | 415 |
| Begracë | 1,273 | 71% | 33 | 2% | 138 | 8% | 256 | 14% | 36 | 2% | 9 | 44% | 44 | 1,801 |
| Biqec | 768 | 925% | 108 | | 51 | | 329 | | 47 | | 87 | %9 | 78 | |
| Bob | 918 | 9629 | 119 | 8% | 40 | 3% | 237 | 17% | 52 | | 44 | 3% | 14 | 1,410 |
| Doganaj | 852 | 9659 | 20 | 4% | 48 | 4% | 270 | 21% | 41 | | 46 | 4% | 0 | 1,307 |
| Drenogllavë | 24 | 18% | 0 | %0 | 80 | 29% | 17 | 13% | 5 | 4% | 6 | 7% | E. | 135 |
| Elezaj | 206 | 63% | 12 | 4% | 14 | 4% | 56 | 17% | 14 | 4% | 25 | 8% | 10 | 327 |
| Gabrice | 202 | 52% | 12 | 3% | 4 | 1% | 146 | 37% | 13 | 3% | 18 | 2% | 7 | 398 |
| Gabricë e Epërme | 127 | 47% | 7 | 3% | 9 | 2% | 100 | 37% | 6 | 3% | 21 | 8% | 1 | 270 |
| Gajre | 257 | 53% | 19 | 12% | 44 | %6 | 88 | 18% | 17 | 3% | 21 | 4% | 1 | 489 |
| Gërlicë e Epërme | 217 | %09 | 6 | 2% | 23 | 969 | 69 | 19% | 14 | | 31 | %6 | 25 | 363 |
| Gjurgjedell | 150 | 45% | 27 | 8% | 23 | 7% | 104 | 31% | 19 | | 13 | 4% | 0 | 336 |
| Glloboçicĕ | 645 | 45% | 20 | 1% | 46 | 3% | 237 | 37% | 32 | 7% | 157 | 11% | 0 | 1,437 |
| Ivajë | 293 | 42% | 196 | 28% | 30 | 4% | 98 | 12% | 23 | 3% | 73 | 10% | 0 | 701 |
| Kaçaniku i Vjetër | 1,054 | 9689 | 73 | | 63 | 4% | 198 | 13% | 41 | | 122 | 8% | 2 | 1,551 |
| 16 Korboliq | 46 | 24% | 7 | 4% | 52 | 28% | 70 | 37% | 9 | 3% | 8 | 4% | 0 | 189 |
| Kotlinë | 225 | 38% | 46 | 8% | 32 | 2% | 16 | 15% | 24 | 4% | 180 | 30% | 0 | 298 |
| Kovaçecë | 627 | 9609 | 35 | 3% | 22 | 2% | 255 | 24% | 31 | 3% | 79 | 8% | 113 | 1,049 |
| Nikaj | 624 | 81% | 11 | 1% | 23 | 3% | 70 | | 59 | | 15 | 2% | 0 | 772 |
| Nikovc | 4 | 44% | 2 | 22% | 0 | %0 | 1 | 11% | 0 | %0 | 2 | 22% | 0 | 6 |
| Rekë | 451 | 75% | 25 | 4% | 5 | 1% | 91 | 15% | 20 | 3% | 7 | 1% | 0 | 599 |
| Runjevë | 414 | 64% | 52 | 8% | 7 | 1% | 78 | 12% | 12 | 2% | 87 | 13% | 19 | 650 |
| Semajë | 111 | %09 | 6 | 5% | 15 | 8% | 32 | 17% | 3 | 2% | 14 | 8% | 7 | 184 |
| Sllatinë | 06 | 33% | 25 | %6 | 98 | 32% | 48 | 18% | 13 | 2% | 6 | 3% | 0 | 271 |
| Soponicë | 629 | 64% | 36 | 3% | 45 | 4% | 221 | 21% | 33 | 3% | 40 | 4% | 2 | 1,034 |
| Stagově | 711 | %09 | 43 | 4% | 70 | 969 | 193 | 16% | 30 | 3% | 142 | 12% | 24 | 1,189 |
| Strazhë | 174 | 48% | 17 | 5% | 16 | 4% | 100 | 27% | 5 | 1% | 52 | 14% | 8 | 364 |
| 28 Vata Dubravë | 1,206 | 55% | 119 | 2% | 112 | 2% | 630 | 29% | 74 | 3% | 26 | 3% | 2 | 2,197 |
| Kaçanik | 6,080 | 63% | 779 | 8% | 268 | | 1,604 | 17% | 207 | 2% | 684 | 2% | 139 | 9,622 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Unregistered Voters

The verifiers were tasked with registering voters who were encountered during the field exercise but whose names could not be found in the voters' list.

In total, verifiers came across 650 such individuals. However, after these verifiers reconciled the names of these voters with their colleagues verifying other Kaçanik localities, a little less than a quarter of these voters were eventually found registered as residents of other villages.

| Persons Found Whose Names Were Not in the VL | 650 |
|--|-----|
| Names were found elsewhere in the municipality | 152 |
| Inhabitants of Kaçanik not in the Voters' List | 498 |

It is interesting that a much higher share of individual names in villages were reported to move elsewhere (1,939), while only 152 were found by name in other parts.

At the end of this process of reconfirming the locations of these missing voters, 498 unregistered voters were not found in any verifier list. These individuals may have moved to Kaçanik from other municipalities for various personal reasons (e.g. marriage, work opportunities, etc.), while having not officially documented their change of residence. A less plausible explanation is that these voters simply never registered or were for some reason dropped from the voters' list. The villages that had the highest number of unregistered voters included Kovaçec (9%), Glloboçicë (7%) and Stagovë (7%).

Filtered Results

To better assess the source of inaccuracies, the database allowed us to filter the data by three categories. The first distinction was made by location, filtering the results for urban and rural polling centres separately. The second distinction was made by type of identification documents. D4D filtered the database by whether voters had UNMIK identification documents or had obtained Kosovo personal documents. The third distinction was made by age-group, filtering voters into those under 70 and those above 70. The following is a discussion of findings from all three groups.

By Location: Urban/Rural Differences

It was imperative that the research findings were cross analyzed by location, particularly for comparing results for the city to those for rural areas.

The voter population of the town of Kaçanik makes up approximately 30% of the municipality total. There are 9,622 voters registered in the town of Kaçanik and they voted at two polling centres, 0701D and 0701X. About 63% of voters from the city live in the same address as they were registered with in the voters' list. Three percent live in some other address within the municipality; 3% live out of Kaçanik but inside Kosovo and 17% live abroad. Only 2% of the town's voters were found to be deceased.

The rural area voters are spread-out in 28 villages of the municipality. The total number of rural voters is 21,435. Four villages near the city vote in two aforementioned urban polling centres. The table below shows a comparison of the accuracy of the voters' list by urban and rural areas.

| | Location as in VL | Other Location | Another Mun. | Out of Kosovo | Deceased | No Info | Unreg |
|---------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|----------|------------|-------|
| Rural | 59% | 5% | 5% | 21% | 3% | 7% | 359 |
| Kaçanik | 63% | 8% | 3% | 17% | 2% | 7% | 139 |

As seen above, villages have less accurate voters' lists. They seem to have a higher rate of under-reporting of deaths (3% compared to 2% in the town), and a higher rate of migration abroad (21% compared to 17% in the town).

The town of Kaçanik, compared to the rural areas, seems to have a comparatively higher number of voters living in some other address or village inside the municipality (8%). Also, the town has a lower number of voters living outside of Kaçanik but within Kosovo (3%). Part of the explanation for more rural voters found to be abroad or in other municipalities is that the town provides more opportunities for employment and education compared to the municipality's villages. In addition, the town has greater administrative capacity to register voters and the town's residents are more likely to register to vote, register deaths and update their residential status.

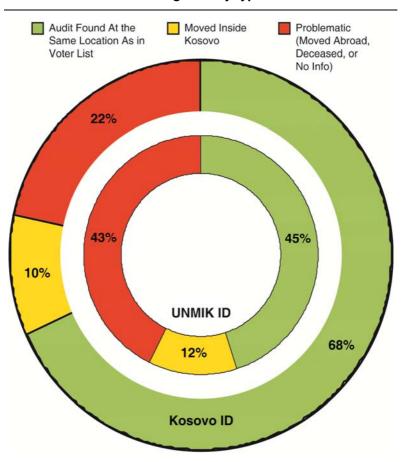
By Type of ID

There were interesting findings when comparing voters' list accuracy between UNMIK identification card holders and those with Kosovo IDs. Perhaps not surprisingly, there were significantly more irregularities among holders of UNMIK identification (those who have not obtained identification of the Republic of Kosovo until summer 2012). Only 45% of voters with UNMIK IDs were found in the same village as in

the polling centre, based on the voters' list (compared to 68% accuracy for Kosovo ID holders).

While only 22% of holders of Kosovo IDs fell in the 'problematic' category, this was true for 43% of UNMIK card-holders.

Problematic categories by type of ID cards



Breakdown of problematic categories by type of ID

No Info, 10.6%

No Info, 4.9%

Deceased, 0.8%

Out of Kosovo, 16.1%

Moved Inside Kosovo, 4.1%

Other Address/Village, 5.8%

Deceased, 6.4%

Out of Kosovo, 25.8%

Moved Inside Kosovo, 5.3%

Other Address/Village, 7.0%

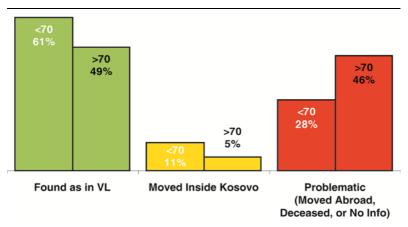
Kosovo ID UNMIK ID

Upon closer scrutiny at the irregularity categories, and again comparing the two types of ID cards, our findings suggest more irregularities for UNMIK IDs than for Kosovo IDs in every category. UNMIK cardholders were more often found to be living in another address/village in Kaçanik or in another municipality of Kosovo.

Referring the graphic below, the more significant irregularities—including entries of Kosovo diaspora or émigrés (26% vs. 16%) and deceased persons (6% vs. 1%-also presented more pointed discrepancies between the types of IDs. A worrisome figure in both ID groups was that of entries for which there is no information: this stands at about 11% for UNMIK documents and 5% for Kosovo IDs.

By Age





Analyzing the irregularities by age, the findings suggest that voters' lists were 49% accurate for voters over 70 (compared to 61% of those under 70). 46% stand out among the voters of 70 that are in the 'problematic' category (compared to 28% for those under 70). Lastly and intuitively, 11% of voters

under 70 were found to have moved within Kosovo compared to the relatively less mobile voters over 70, where this figure stood at 5%.

Stories of Selected Villages

Vatë/Dubravë

Vatë Dubravë has the most registered voters in the municipality, with a total of 2,197. The voting centre of this village also accommodates voters from Rekë, Vatë and a part of those from Nikaj. One key characteristic that distinguishes this village from other large villages in the municipality is the high number of registered voters that live abroad. The research findings indicate that more than 29% of voters live abroad. This is one of the main reasons why there are comparatively a very low number of voters living in the same address or village (around 55%). Only 5% of voters live other address in Kaçanik and about 3% live outside of Kaçanik. Three percent of the village's voters were identified as being deceased.

Begracë

There are 1,801 people registered to vote in Begracë, making it the village with the second most registered voters. It is accordingly the most populous village in the municipality and among the largest in surface area. Interestingly, Begracë has the most registered voters who were identified as accurately presented in the voters' list. About 71% of Begracë's registered voters live in the same address as in the voters' list; about 2% live in some other address within Kaçanik; 8% live outside of Kaçanik but in Kosovo; and 14% live abroad. Additionally, about 2% of registered voters in this village are in fact deceased.

Kaçanik i Vjetër

Kaçaniku i Vjetër is located in the southern part of Kaçanik. According to our analyses, 68% of this village's registered voters live in the same address as included in the voters' list while about 5% were found to live in another address within Kaçanik. Approximately 4% live outside of Kaçanik and in some other municipality of Kosovo, 13% live abroad and 3% were found to be deceased.

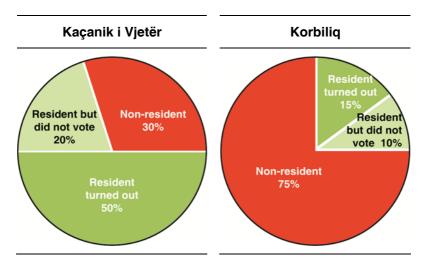
High Voters' List Accuracy Leads to High Turnout

An accurate voters' list primarily limits manipulation but a side-effect is that it influences the accuracy of reported turnout. An inaccurate voters' list makes the official turnout seem lower than it actually is. Such a voters' list includes a considerable amount of names of voters who live abroad or are deceased and are practically unable to vote.

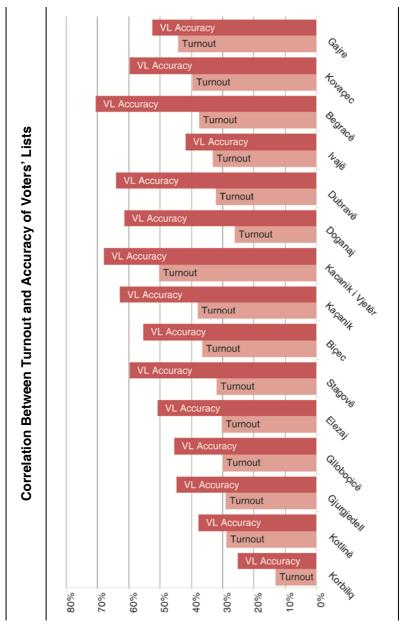
The inclusion of these voters who are unable to vote underestimates the actual turnout level, since these voters are simply recorded as those eligible to vote but who chose not to.

The voters' list audit in Kaçanik can attest to the relationship between voters' list accuracy and voter turnout. For example, the turnout in the village of Kaçanik i Vjetër reported at 50% is a result of a more accurate voters' list, as it had only 30% inaccuracy. On the other end, 75% of the voters' list of Korbiliq was inaccurate and it is therefore no surprise that the reported turnout was only 15%.

The figures below compare Kaçanik i Vjetër to Korbiliq. The audit denoted that 30% of the names registered in Kaçanik i Vjetër's are of those who either lived abroad, moved in Kosovo or were deceased, hence were considered "non-residents". The same was true for as much as 75% of registered names in Korbiliq. The higher the non-residents, the more there names were tallied as "non-voters", hence the significantly lower figures for residents who turned out in Korbiliq as compared to those who did in Kaçanik i Vjetër.



Although there are certain statistical outliers, voters' list accuracy and turnout are clearly correlated as illustrated in the graphic below. Improving the voters' list would clearly lead to better accuracy and higher reported turnout. Improved reporting would better represent the degree of civic participation in elections and would mirror the level of legitimacy in the country.



Conclusion and Recommendations

The audit of the voters' list of Kaçanik denotes a trend that implicates the voters' list of all of Kosovo. The voters' list was found to be seriously flawed, and if this is not remediated in the near future, it will have a negative impact on any electoral process in the country. A figure of 40% inaccuracy is too high and enables voting by proxy and manipulation if a free and fair electoral process is not upheld.

Audit of the Civil Registry. There is an urgent need for the initiation of a comprehensive civil registry audit and voters' list audit in a broader institutional framework. The Ministry of Internal Affairs is legally responsible for maintaining the civil registries in a computerized form, they need to work closely with municipalities to update all information. While the CEC could conduct a minor clean-up, it is more useful if the audit is conducted for the civil registry overall, for this would automatically improve the voters' list.

Diaspora Voters in a Separate List. Over 19% of registered voters in Kaçanik live abroad. They have the right to be in the voters' list but the argument must be made to move them to a separate voters' list that would be maintained by Kosovo's consulates abroad. This is standard international practice, which also enables them to vote in diplomatic representations abroad or by-mail.

Better Reporting of Deaths. The names of the deceased may be easier to address, but the problem is not only in the current numbers but also to ensure that persons who pass away are promptly removed from the civil registry. This implies the need for a more disciplined citizenry for reporting deaths, and better coordination between religious communities, municipalities and the Ministry of the Interior which maintains the civil registry.

Address Updates. Individuals who have moved inside their municipality remain in the voters' list but many refrain from voting if their names are allocated to polling centres many kilometres away. This is especially the case if they only find this out on Election Day, when they are told that they're at the wrong polling centre.

Persons who moved outside the municipality remain registered in their village of origin. Very few of them turn out to vote on Election Day and others may vote on their behalf.

Inaccurate statistics also have budgetary implications, under-budgeting some municipalities and over-budgeting others. Parties must also realize their interests here and channel their projects to places where there are actually more residents.

The last two categories involving movements of voters can only be addressed with a comprehensive project to address and update individual addresses. This is essential also because there is consensus to do away with conditional voting.

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