

Analysis of 2025 Local and National Election Results from a Gender Perspective

Pristina, April 2026



Analysis of 2025 Local and National Election Results from a Gender Perspective

Pristina, April 2026

Author: Democracy for Development (D4D)

Design and layout: Bubagraphics

Copyright © 2026. **Democracy for Development (D4D)**. All rights reserved. www.d4d-ks.org

The views expressed in this publication are those of D4D and do not necessarily reflect the views of the donor.

This report was prepared within the framework of the "She Runs: Combating Hate Speech and Promoting Women in Local Leadership" project, supported by the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Kosovo.

Table of Content

Introduction	7
Women’s Inclusion in the 2025 Local Elections.....	9
Mayoral Elections	9
<i>Gender Representation of Candidates for Mayor</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Nominations of Mayoral Candidates by Political Entities.....</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Electoral Support for Mayoral Candidates by Gender</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>Results of Elected Mayors by Gender</i>	<i>13</i>
Municipal Assembly Elections	14
<i>Gender Representation on Candidate Lists for Municipal Assembly Members</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>Nominations of Candidates for Municipal Assemblies by Political Entities.....</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>Women as Lead Candidates on Electoral Lists.....</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>Electoral Support for Municipal Assembly Candidates by Gender</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>Elected Municipal Assembly Members by Political Entity</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>Gender Quota</i>	<i>31</i>
Conclusions	36
Women’s Inclusion in Snap Elections for the Kosovo Assembly	38
Analysis of Kosovo Assembly Elections	38
<i>Gender Representation on Candidate Lists for Members of Parliament.....</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>Nominations of Parliamentary Candidates by Political Entities </i>	<i>39</i>
<i>Electoral Support for Parliamentary Candidates by Gender .</i>	<i>41</i>
<i>Results of Elected Members of Parliament</i>	<i>46</i>
<i>Gender Quota</i>	<i>48</i>
Conclusions	50

Introduction

This report provides a detailed analysis of women's inclusion and representation in the 2025 local elections and the snap elections for the Assembly of Kosovo held on December 28, 2025, through a systematic examination of all stages of the electoral process, from candidate nomination to electoral support and final representation outcomes. The purpose of the report is to identify the level of women's participation in politics, assess the structural and institutional barriers affecting such participation, and provide a deeper understanding of gender dynamics in electoral competition.

The 2025 elections constitute a key milestone for analysis, as they include both local and parliamentary elections held within a complex political context and marked by high electoral intensity. This context provides a valuable basis for comparing patterns of gender representation across different levels of governance and identifying the differences between them.

The report focuses on several key dimensions of gender representation: (1) women's representation on candidate lists, (2) the role of political entities in nominating and promoting women, (3) the electoral support women secure in comparison to men, and (4) the translation of this support into mandates and decision-making positions. Particular attention is also devoted to the role of the gender quota as an institutional mechanism for balancing representation, as well as to its limitations in achieving substantive equality.

The report's analytical approach is based on quantitative data from election results and candidate lists, interpreted through a gender perspective aimed at identifying not only the level of representation, but also the factors that shape it. In this regard, the report is not limited to describing the data but also seeks to highlight the structural patterns and political practices that influence women's inclusion in politics.

The report's findings contribute to the debate on gender equality in Kosovo by providing empirical evidence for policymakers, political parties, and civil society organizations, with the aim of advancing women's participation in democratic processes and strengthening their representation in decision-making institutions.



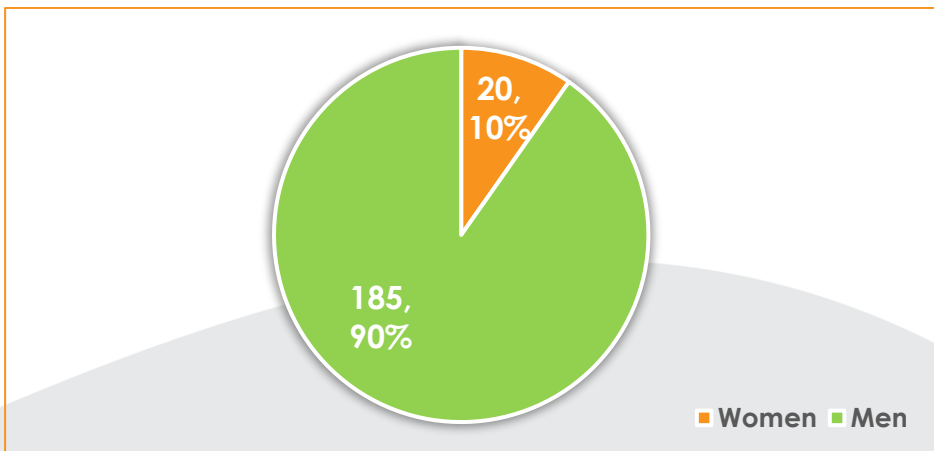
Women's Inclusion in the 2025 Local Elections

Mayoral Elections

Gender Representation of Candidates for Mayor

Women's participation in the race for mayoral positions in Kosovo's local elections remains significantly limited, both in terms of candidacy and electoral support. Out of a total of 205 mayoral candidates across 38 municipalities, only 20 were women, representing 10% of all candidates, while 185 candidates, or 90%, were men. This pronounced disparity points to a persistent gender gap in access to executive-level electoral contests at the local level.

Chart 1. Number of mayoral candidates by gender

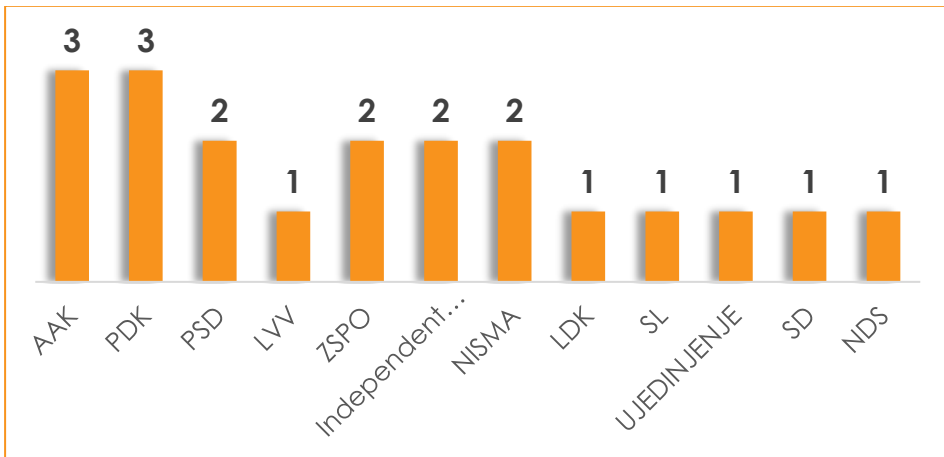


The territorial distribution of women candidates was also limited. Women ran for mayor in only 15 municipalities, while in 23 other municipalities there was not a single woman candidate in the race for mayor. Even in municipalities where women candidates were present, their numbers remained low. Only Zubin Potok had three women candidates, while Severna Mitrovica/Mitrovicë e

Veriut/Mitrovica North, Prishtinë/Priština, and Prizren each had two women candidates competing. In all other municipalities, only one woman [candidate] was in the race, suggesting representation that was more symbolic than genuinely competitive.

Nominations of Mayoral Candidates by Political Entities

Chart 2. Nominations of women candidates for mayor by political entities



The analysis of women’s nominations for mayoral positions by political entities reveals a low and fragmented level of gender representation in this electoral category. Overall, only a limited number of women were nominated by political parties and running as independent candidates, reflecting a pronounced lack of prioritization of women in contests for executive positions at the local level.

The political entities with the highest number of women candidates were AAK and PDK, with three nominations each, followed by PSD, ZSPO, NISMA, and independent candidates, each with two women candidates. Meanwhile, LVV, LDK, and Srpska Lista nominated only one woman each, while several smaller political entities (UJEDINJENJE, SD, NDS), also demonstrated minimal representation, with one woman candidate each.

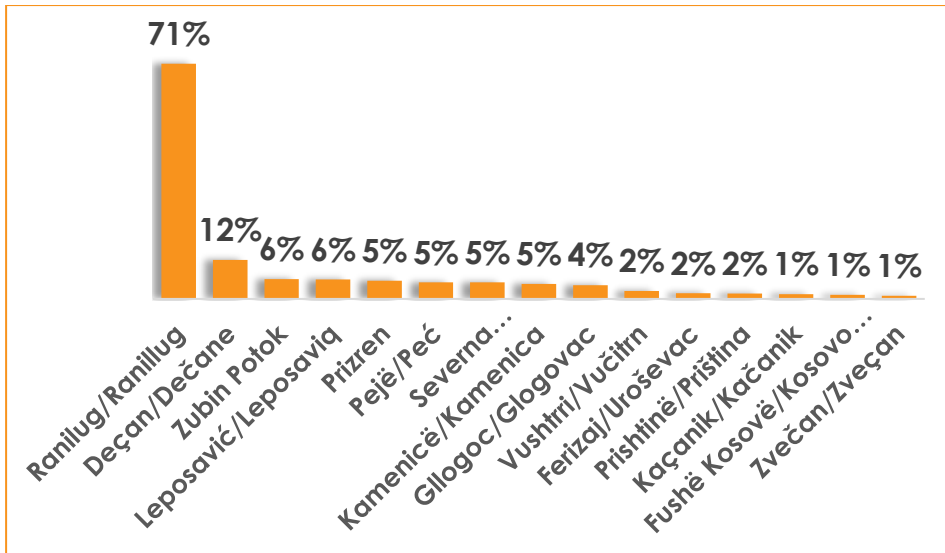
This distribution indicates that, although there is a minimal effort to include women in mayoral races, such inclusion remains limited and without major differences among political entities. No political party demonstrates a clear or dominant commitment to promoting women for these positions, while the presence of independent candidates in numbers equal to those of several political parties suggests that opportunities for candidacy are not necessarily tied exclusively to party structures.

Overall, the data show that women's representation in mayoral races remains symbolic and disproportionate to broader gender equality objectives, reflecting continuing structural and political barriers to the advancement of women into decision-making positions at the local level. Furthermore, it is notable that women are often nominated by political parties in smaller municipalities or in areas where these entities lack strong electoral strongholds. This indicates a strategic approach in which women's candidacies are placed in races with lower probabilities of victory, rather than in major municipalities where political competition and political significance are considerably higher.

Electoral Support for Mayoral Candidates by Gender

The gender imbalance becomes even more pronounced when electoral results are analyzed. Male candidates received a total of 820,702 votes, accounting for 98% of all votes cast, while women received only 16,316 votes, representing approximately 2% of the total vote. These results demonstrate that, in addition to low levels of representation among candidates, women also face a significant lack of electoral support. This may be linked both to their placement in less competitive races and to insufficient support from political parties and the electorate.

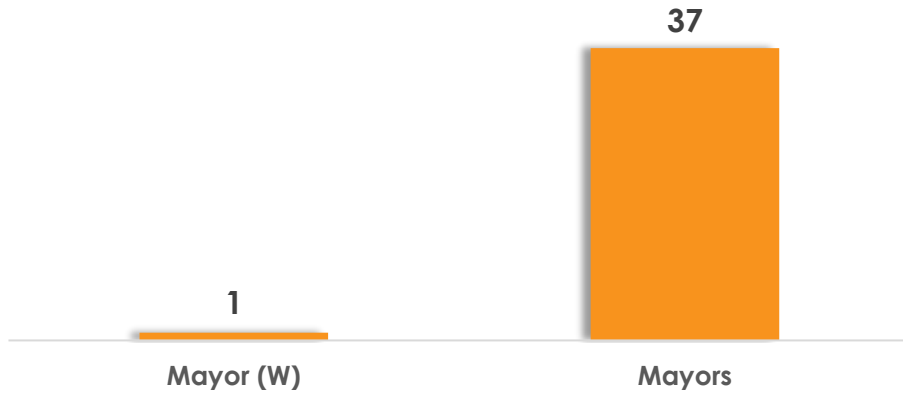
Chart 3. Percentage of votes received by women candidates for mayor



The analysis of the percentage of votes received by women candidates shows an uneven distribution of electoral performance. The most notable case is the Municipality of Ranilug/Ranillug, where the woman candidate won 71% of the vote and was elected mayor in the first round, representing the only case of full electoral success for women in these elections. In several other municipalities, including Deçan/Dečani (12%) and Zubin Potok (6%), women achieved comparatively more competitive results, indicating potential for stronger representation. However, in most municipalities, the percentage of votes received by women remained very low, often below 5%, and in some cases even below 2%, such as in Zvečan/Zveçan (1%), Fushë Kosovë/Kosovo Polje (1%), and Kaçanik/Kaçanik (1%).

Results of Elected Mayors by Gender

Chart 3. Number of elected mayors in 2025 by gender



The election results confirm this trend of gender inequality. Only one woman succeeded in being elected mayor, while no women candidates advanced to the second round of elections, making the final stage of the race exclusively dominated by men.

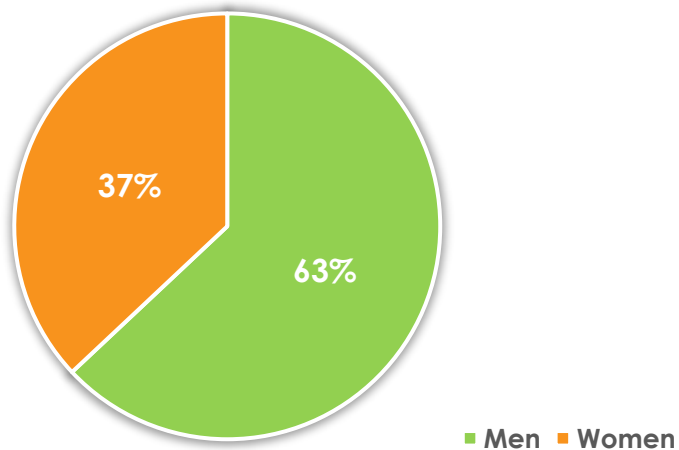
Overall, these data point to the existence of multiple structural and political barriers that limit women's inclusion and success in competitions for executive positions at the local level. The dominance of men in the candidate nomination process suggests a lack of promotion of women by political parties, while the weak electoral performance observed in most cases indicates a lack of genuine support and the placement of women in races with low probabilities of victory. The case of Ranilug/Ranillug, on the other hand, demonstrates that when sufficient political and electoral support exists, women can be not only competitive, but also dominant in electoral outcomes.

Municipal Assembly Elections

Gender Representation on Candidate Lists for Municipal Assembly Members

In the 2025 local elections, a total of 5,302 candidates competed for 942 seats in municipal assemblies, of whom 1,964 were women (37%) and 3,338 were men (63%). This composition confirms the clear dominance of men in the political offer, despite the existence of the gender quota, which appears to be implemented more as a formal minimum requirement than as a genuine standard of representation.

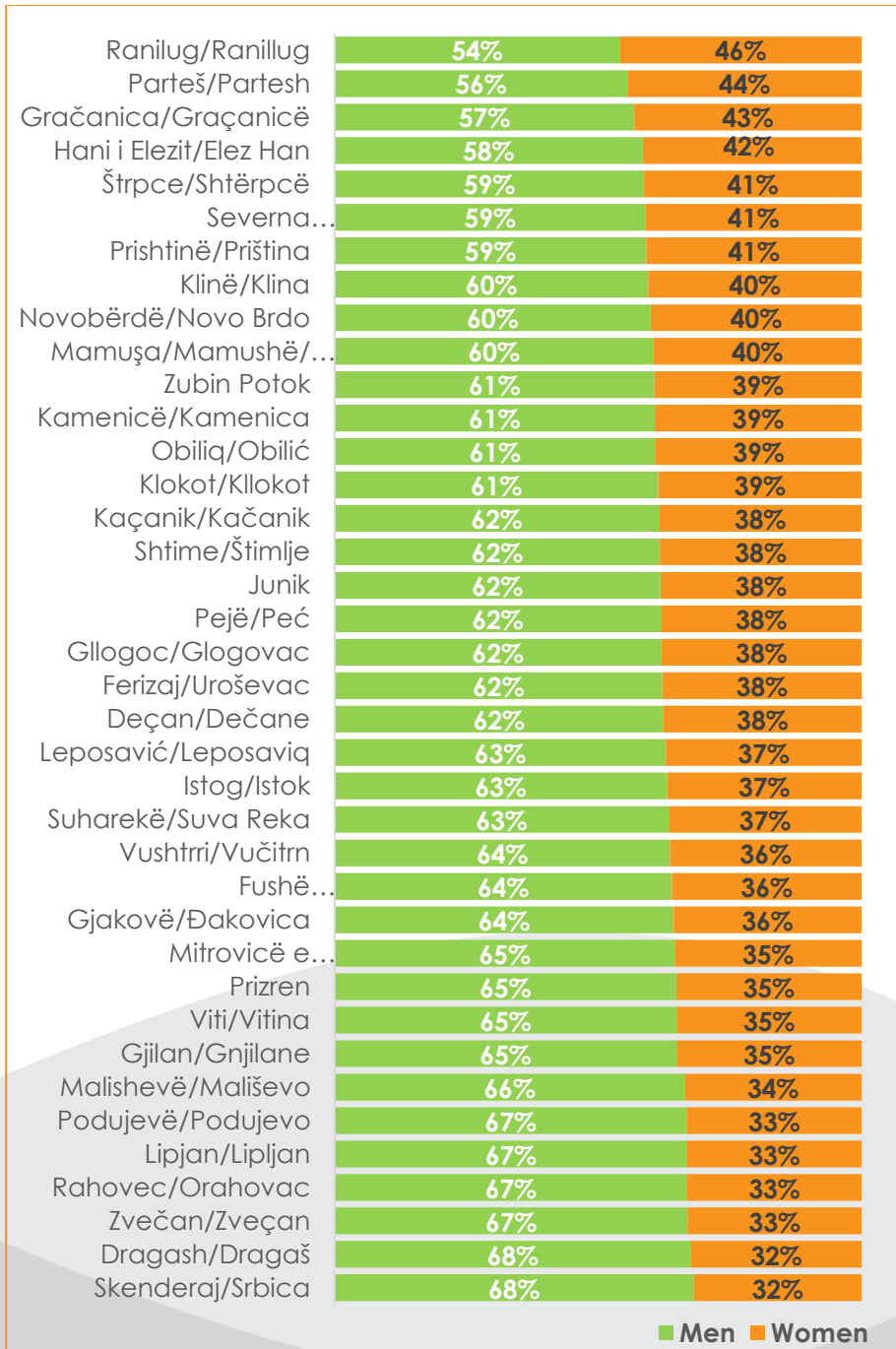
Chart 4. Percentage of candidates for municipal assembly members by gender



An analysis by municipality shows that women's representation is comparatively more balanced in a limited number of municipalities, primarily smaller municipalities or those with specific demographic characteristics. Ranilug/Ranillug (46%), Parteš/Partesh (44%), and Gračanica/Gračanice (43%) recorded the highest levels of women's representation on candidate lists. In general, Serb-majority municipalities or municipalities with a smaller number of seats, such as Gračanica/Gračanice, Štrpce/Shtërpce, and Severna Mitrovica/Mitrovicë e Veriut/Mitrovica North, show percentages that are closer to gender parity.

Analysis of 2025 Local and National Election Results from a Gender Perspective

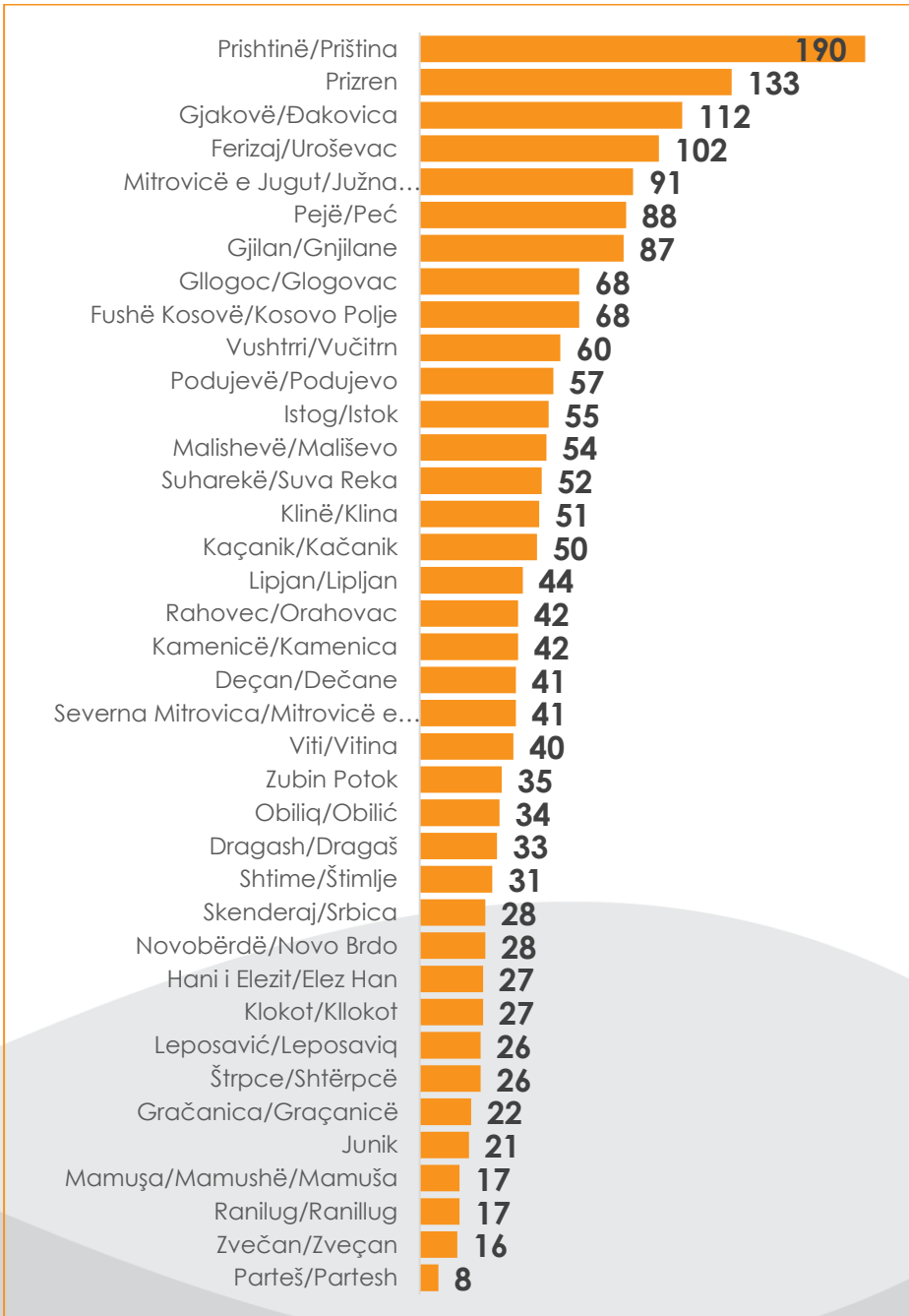
Chart 6. Percentage of candidates for municipal assemblies by gender



On the other hand, larger municipalities and those carrying greater political weight are characterized by significantly lower representation of women. In the municipality of Prizren, Gjilan/Gnjilane, Mitrovicë e Jugut/South Mitrovica, and Viti/Vitina, women account for only around 35% of candidates, while in municipalities such as Podujevë/Podujevo, Lipjan/Lipljan, and Rahovec/Orahovac, this percentage falls to 33%.

Analysis of 2025 Local and National Election Results from a Gender Perspective

Chart 5. Number of women candidates for municipal assembly seats by municipality



In numerical terms, municipalities with the highest number of candidates also demonstrate a pronounced gender disparity. Prishtinë/Priština, as the municipality with the highest number of seats (51), had 275 male candidates and 190 women candidates. Similarly, in Prizren (245 men, 133 women) and Gjakovë/Đakovica (202 men, 112 women), the ratio remained clearly in favor of men. Although the absolute number of women candidates is higher in these municipalities, the gender gap remains substantial.

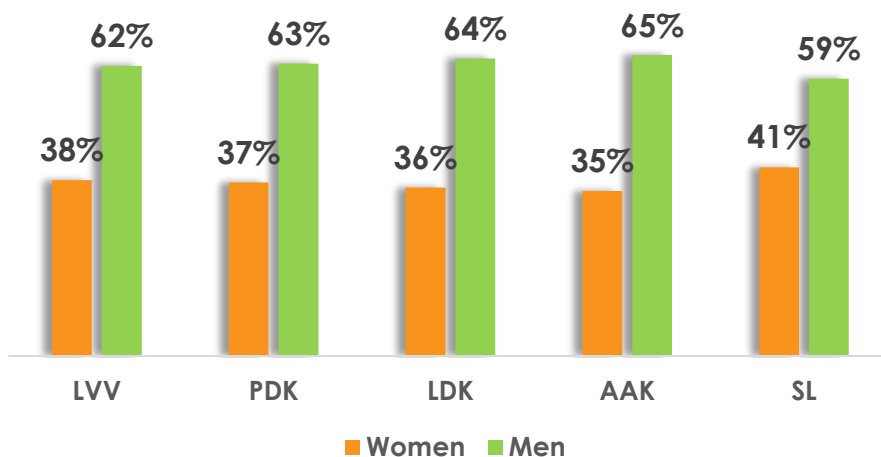
Another important indicator is the candidate-to-seat ratio, which reflects the intensity of electoral competition. In larger municipalities, this ratio is considerably higher (e.g., Prishtinë/Priština with more than nine candidates per seat), but this level of competition does not translate into improved gender representation. On the contrary, increased competition appears to be accompanied by a stronger dominance of men on candidate lists.

Overall, the data indicates that women's representation on municipal assembly candidate lists remains limited and uneven across municipalities. Women tend to be more represented in smaller municipalities or in municipalities that are less politically competitive, while male dominance continues to prevail in the main urban and political centers. This suggests that the gender quota has not yet evolved into an effective mechanism for achieving genuine balance in representation but rather functions as a formal requirement that does not fundamentally challenge existing power structures within political parties.

Nominations of Candidates for Municipal Assemblies by Political Entities

The analysis of gender composition by political entities shows that differences among parties are relatively small but remain significant in the context of gender representation. Political entities nominated a total of 1,984 women candidates for municipal assemblies, representing 37% of all candidates. LVV nominated the highest number of women candidates with 341, followed by PDK with 326 and LDK with 302.

Chart 6. Nominations by political entities for municipal assembly members by gender



Among the main political entities, LVV (38%), PDK (37%), and LDK (36%) show similar levels of women's inclusion on candidate lists, remaining slightly above or around the national average (37%). AAK recorded the lowest level among the major political parties, with 35% women candidates, while Srpska Lista (SL) had the highest percentage of women candidates at 41%, making it the only political entity that came closer to gender parity in the composition of its lists.

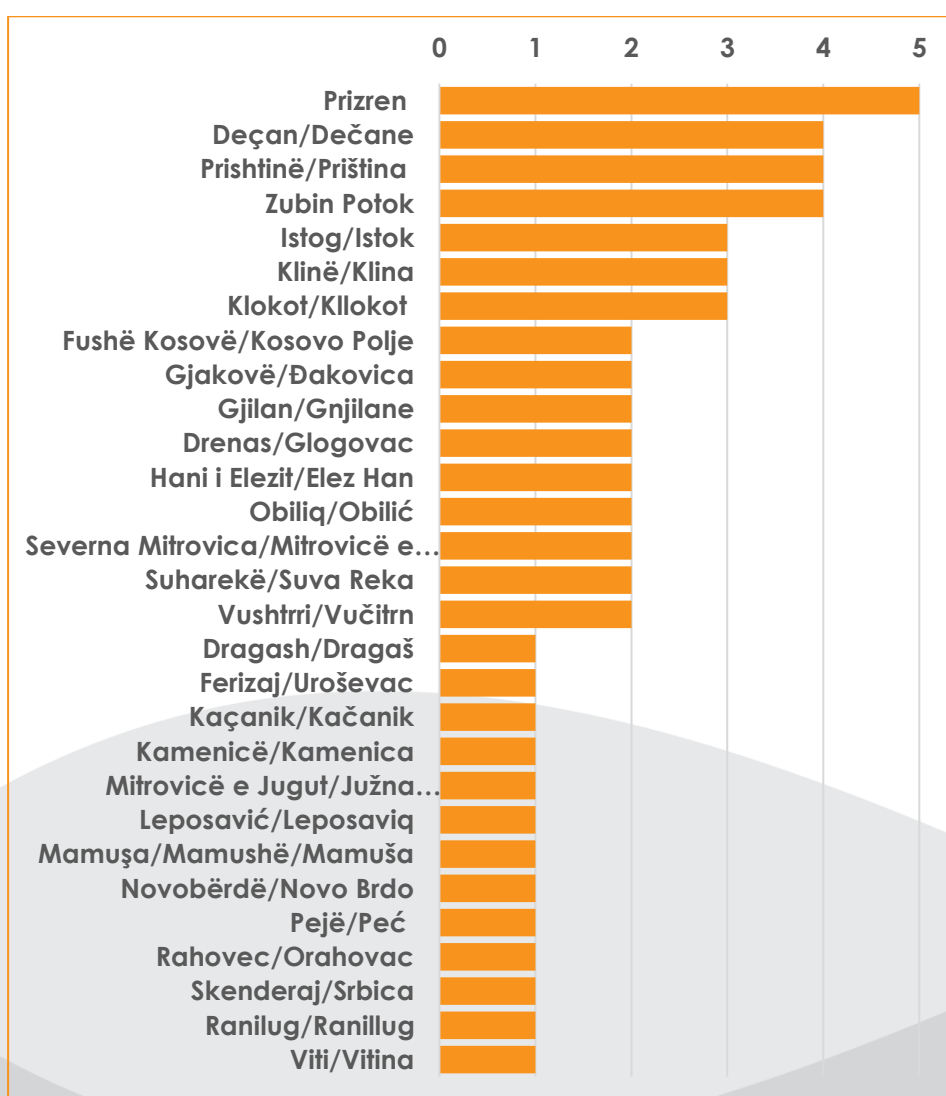
Nevertheless, the fact that none of the major political entities consistently reaches or exceeds the threshold of gender parity (50%) demonstrates that women's inclusion continues to be driven primarily by the minimum legal quota rather than by a genuine commitment to gender equality in representation.

The similarity in percentages across political parties also suggests a standardized pattern of candidate selection, in which space for women is uniformly limited across the political spectrum. This indicates that the challenge of increasing gender representation is not isolated to a single political entity but is structural and affects the entire party system.

In this context, increasing women's representation requires not only compliance with quotas, but also changes in internal party practices, particularly in the recruitment, promotion, and placement of women on electoral lists.

Women as Lead Candidates on Electoral Lists

Chart 7. Number of women serving as lead candidates on municipal assembly electoral lists by municipality



Due to the electoral system used in local elections, whereby the first candidate on the list, serving as the lead candidate, is not subject to preferential voting but instead benefits directly from the votes cast for the political entity's municipal assembly list, these candidates enjoy an additional electoral advantage. In 10 municipalities, there was not a single woman serving as a lead candidate on the lists of any certified political entity. In the remaining 29 municipalities, women served as lead candidates on 57 occasions, with the Municipality of Prizren recording the highest number, with five women lead candidates, followed by Deçan/Dečani, Prishtinë/Priština, and Zubin Potok, each with four women lead candidates.

Electoral Support for Municipal Assembly Candidates by Gender

Aggregate voting data further confirms that gender inequality deepens at the level of electoral support:

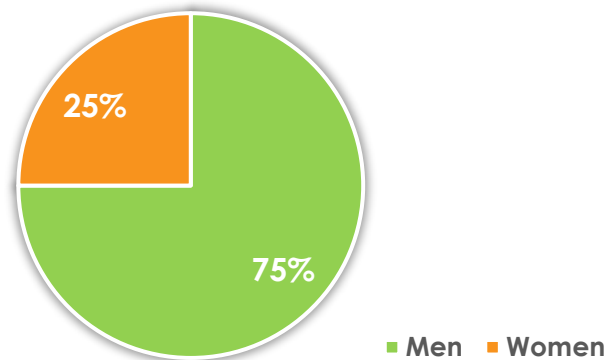
- **Men** received 1,160,760 votes (75%)
- **Women** received 380,245 votes (25%)

When compared to participation on candidate lists:

- **Women** account for 37% of candidates but received only 25% of the votes.
- **Men** account for 63% of candidates but received 75% of the votes.

This difference of minus 12 percentage points for women indicates a clear disadvantage in converting candidacies into electoral support.

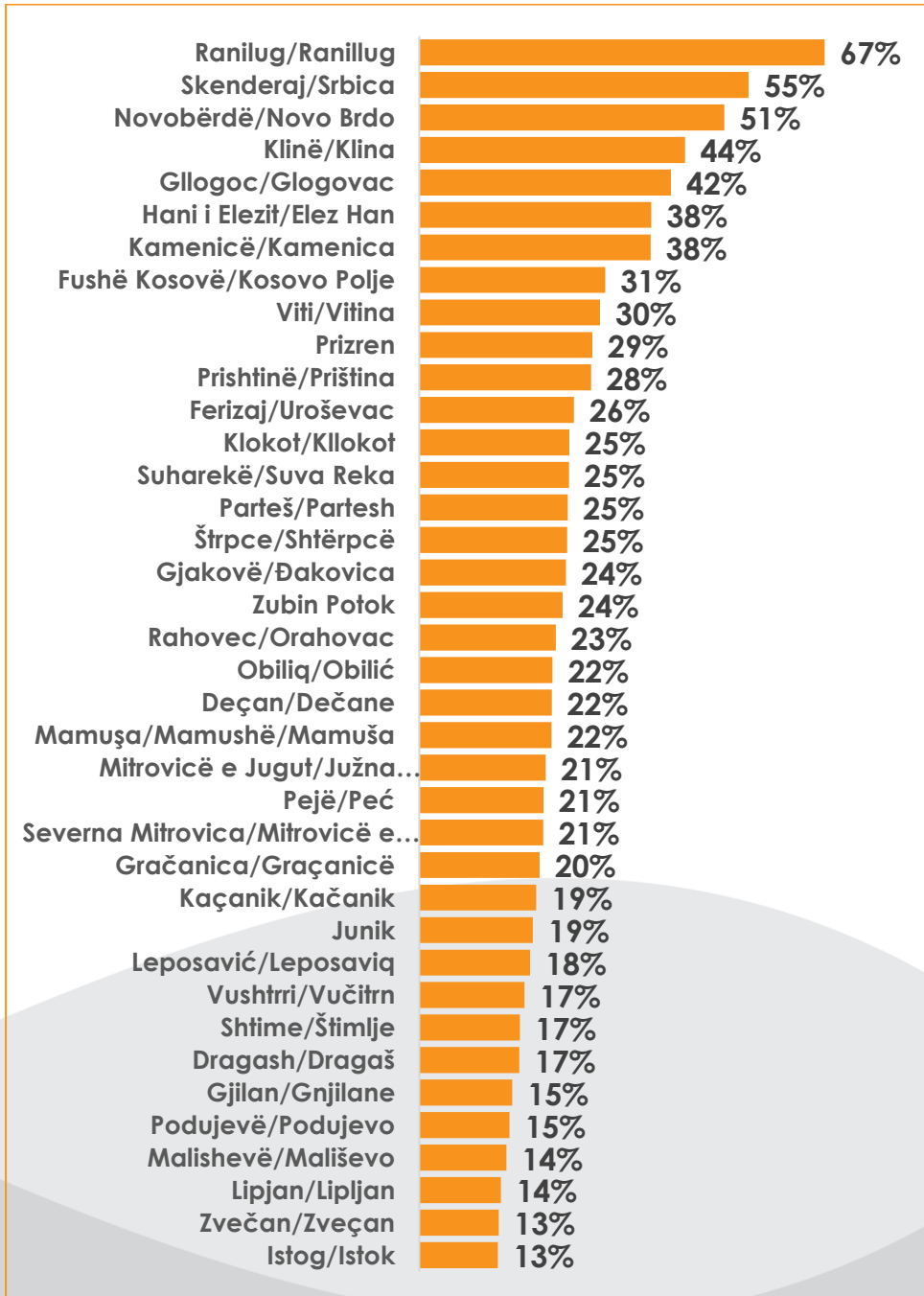
Chart 8. Percentage of votes received by municipal assembly candidates by gender



At the municipal level, the disparities are even more pronounced and structural in nature. In a considerable number of municipalities, men clearly dominate the electoral vote, often at levels exceeding 80%, reflecting not only a numerical advantage in candidacies, but also a pronounced preference among the electorate. Municipalities such as Gjilan/Gnjilane (85%), Podujevë/Podujevo (85%), Istog/Istok (87%), Lipjan/Lipljan (86%), and Malishevë/Mališevo (86%) represent the most extreme cases of this dominance.

Analysis of 2025 Local and National Election Results from a Gender Perspective

Chart 9. Percentage of votes received by women candidates for municipal assemblies



In large urban municipalities, although competition is more intense and the number of candidates is higher, the gender gap remains substantial. In Prishtinë/Priština, women received only 28% of the vote, in Prizren 29%, in Ferizaj/Uroševac 26%, while in Pejë/Peć and Mitrovicë e Jugut/South Mitrovica they received only 21%. This demonstrates that the size of the municipality and the intensity of electoral competition do not translate into fairer gender representation. On the contrary, they often deepen the disparity.

On the other hand, improved electoral performance by women is observed only in several smaller municipalities or municipalities with specific local characteristics. Ranilug/Ranillug represents the most notable case, where women received 67% of the vote, while in Skenderaj/Srbica (55%) and Novobërdë/Novo Brdo (51%) women succeeded in surpassing or balancing electoral support relative to men. Municipalities such as Klinë/Klina (44%) and Glllogoc/Glogovac (42%) display comparatively more balanced levels, although men still retain an advantage.

This significant variation among municipalities suggests that women's electoral performance does not depend solely on their presence on candidate lists but is strongly influenced by local structural factors. These include the level of support from political parties, the placement of women on electoral lists, access to financial resources and campaign exposure, as well as societal perceptions and social norms within the electorate.

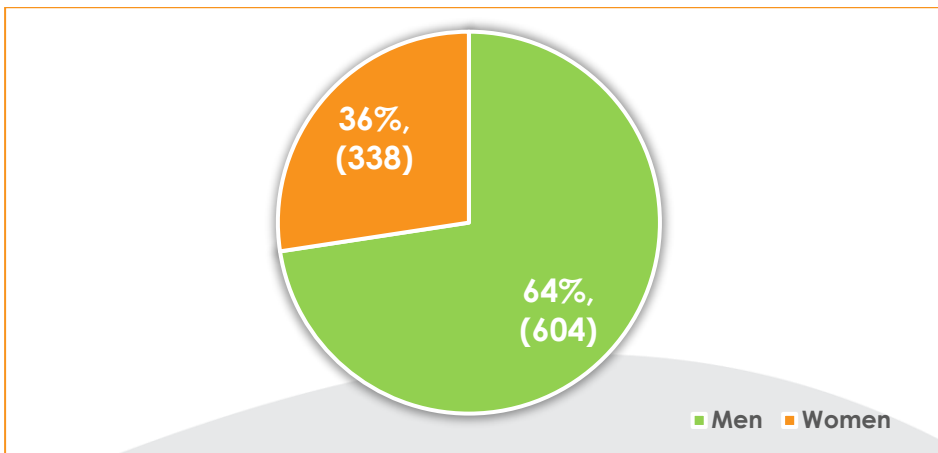
Overall, the data reveal a double gender gap: women are underrepresented on candidate lists and, at the same time, are less likely to convert their candidacies into votes. This implies that existing mechanisms, such as the gender quota, are insufficient to ensure genuine representation, and that more substantial interventions are required to address not only the political supply side, but also electoral demand and the broader support structures available to women in politics.

Results of Elected Municipal Assembly Members by Gender

Data on elected candidates provides a clearer picture of electoral success by gender. Overall, 604 men (64%) and 338 women (36%) succeeded in winning seats in municipal assemblies. Compared to the composition of candidates, where women accounted for 37% and men for 63%, the outcome reflects an almost proportional distribution of mandates, with only a minimal advantage for men.

However, this proportionality should be interpreted in relation to electoral support. Although women received only 25% of the total vote, they succeeded in securing 36% of the seats. This discrepancy clearly demonstrates the corrective role of the gender quota and the mechanisms embedded within the electoral system, which partially compensate for the disadvantage women face in terms of votes.

Chart 10. Number of elected municipal assembly members by gender



A combined analysis of votes and mandates reveals a threefold dynamic:

- *Disadvantage in votes – Women remain significantly less voted for than men in almost all municipalities.*
- *Compensation through mandates – Through the gender quota, women achieve a higher level of representation than would result from the raw vote alone.*

- *Electoral success conditioned by the system – Women's electoral outcomes are not solely the product of electoral competition, but to a significant extent the result of institutional intervention aimed at achieving gender balance.*

This indicates that without corrective mechanisms, women's representation in municipal assemblies would be substantially lower.

The municipal-level analysis shows considerable differences in gender representation. In most municipalities, women's share of seats ranges between 30% and 38%, directly reflecting the minimum threshold guaranteed through the gender quota.

However, several important deviations can be observed:

- *In some municipalities, women's representation reaches higher levels, ranging from 40% to 43%, as in Prishtinë/Priština, Obiliq/Obilić, Gračanica/Gračanicë, and Suharekë/Suva Reka, indicating a more favorable combination of electoral support and list structure.*
- *In rare cases, such as Ranilug/Ranillug (53%), women secured a majority of seats, demonstrating that in certain local contexts there is genuine potential for parity or even dominance.*
- *On the other hand, municipalities such as Zvečan/Zvečan (27%) and Štrpce/Shtërpçë (26%) remain significantly below the average level, reflecting more pronounced limitations in representation.*

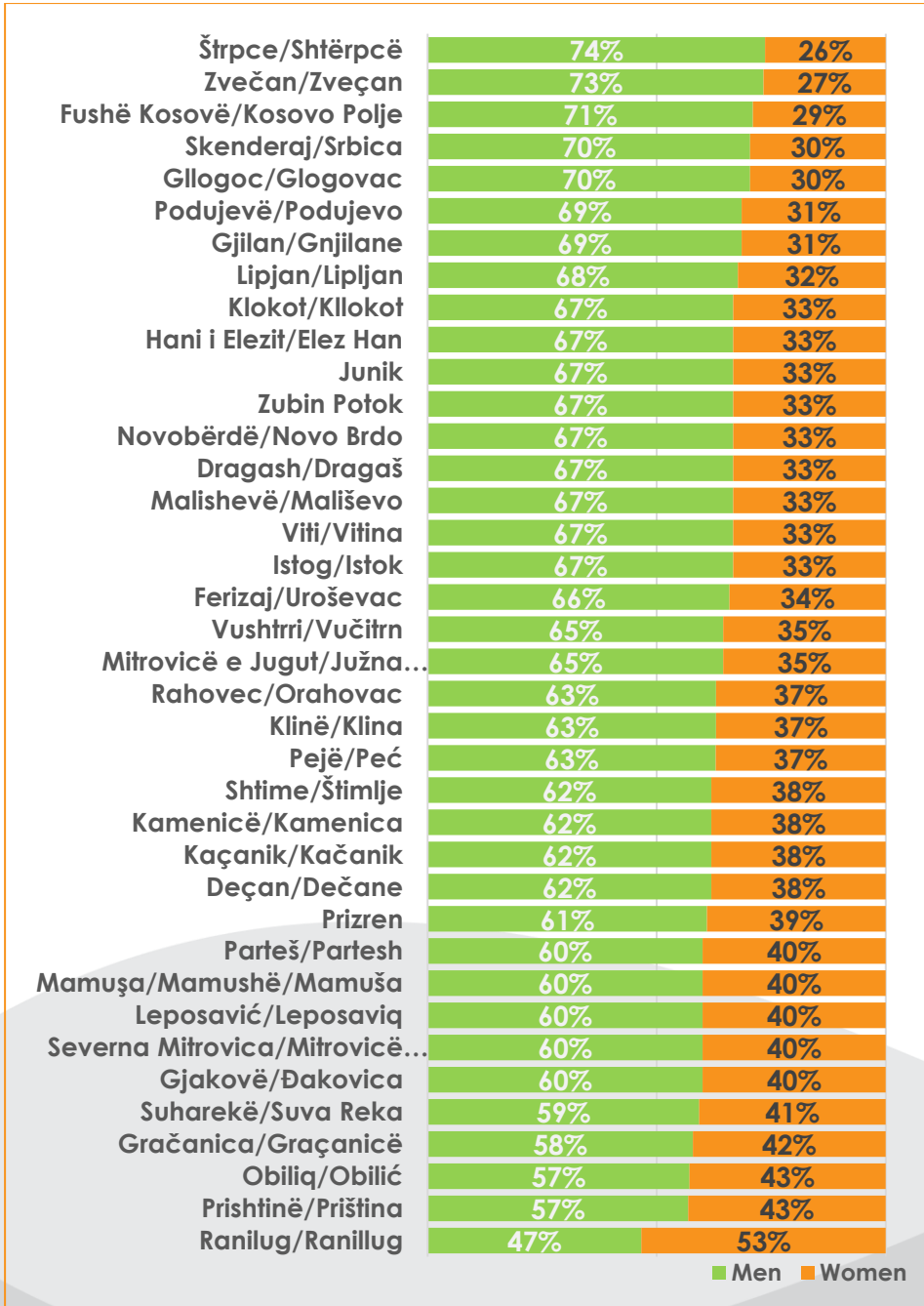
The fact that women receive fewer votes, yet achieve relatively proportional representation in mandates, indicates that their electoral outcomes are influenced more by structural factors than by direct electoral competition. These factors include:

- *placement on electoral lists,*
- *implementation of the gender quota,*

- *and the distribution of votes within party lists.*

The lack of women in secure positions on electoral lists and in lead candidate positions continues to be one of the main obstacles to achieving fairer and more sustainable representation.

Chart 11. Percentage of representation of municipal assembly members by gender



The overall data show that gender representation in municipal assemblies continues to be shaped by the interaction of two main factors: women's disadvantage in electoral support and the compensatory role of the electoral system. Although women account for 37% of candidates, they succeeded in securing 36% of mandates, despite receiving only 25% of the total vote. This demonstrates that their current level of representation is not the result of equal support from the electorate, but to a significant extent the product of institutional interventions, namely the gender quota and corrective mechanisms within the electoral system.

In this regard, the electoral system succeeds in mitigating gender inequality at the stage of electoral outcomes, but it does not address the root causes of inequality. The gap between votes and mandates demonstrates that women continue to face structural barriers in electoral competition, including more limited access to resources, lower campaign visibility, and less favorable placement on electoral lists. As a result, although representation in mandates appears relatively proportional, it remains fragile and dependent on institutional rules.

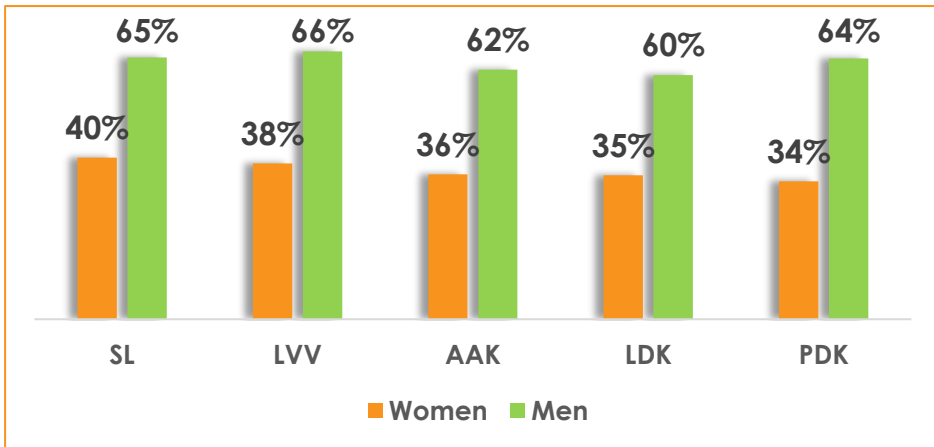
The municipal-level analysis further reinforces this conclusion. In most municipalities, women's representation remains around the minimum threshold guaranteed by the quota (30% to 38%), while higher levels reflecting broader electoral support are achieved only in isolated cases. This suggests that progress in women's representation is not yet consolidated and is not distributed evenly across the territory.

In terms of representation outcomes, it can be concluded that the current system has produced a relative increase in women's participation at the local level, but not substantive equality. Women's representation continues to be mediated by quota rather than driven by free and equal competition. Consequently, further advancement requires a more comprehensive approach that includes not only maintaining corrective mechanisms, but also genuinely empowering women within the political process through increased electoral support, improved placement on electoral lists,

and the provision of equal campaign conditions. Only in this way can gender representation evolve from an institutionally imposed outcome into a genuine reflection of the free will of the electorate.

Elected Municipal Assembly Members by Political Entity

Chart 12. Elected municipal assembly members by political entity



The analysis of the gender composition of elected municipal assembly members by political entity shows that differences among parties are moderate but consistently favor men. Across all major political entities, women remain underrepresented, accounting for between 34% and 40% of mandates.

Srpska Lista (SL) recorded the highest level of women's representation, with women accounting for 40% of elected members, coming closest to achieving gender balance. It is followed by the Vetëvendosje Movement (LVV) with 38%, while the Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK) has 36% and the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) 35%. The Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK) recorded the lowest level of women's representation among the major political entities, with 34%.

In numerical terms, LDK and PDK have the highest number of elected women, with 72 and 70 respectively, which is also linked to the larger number of mandates secured by these entities. However, when analyzed proportionally, these parties remain below the

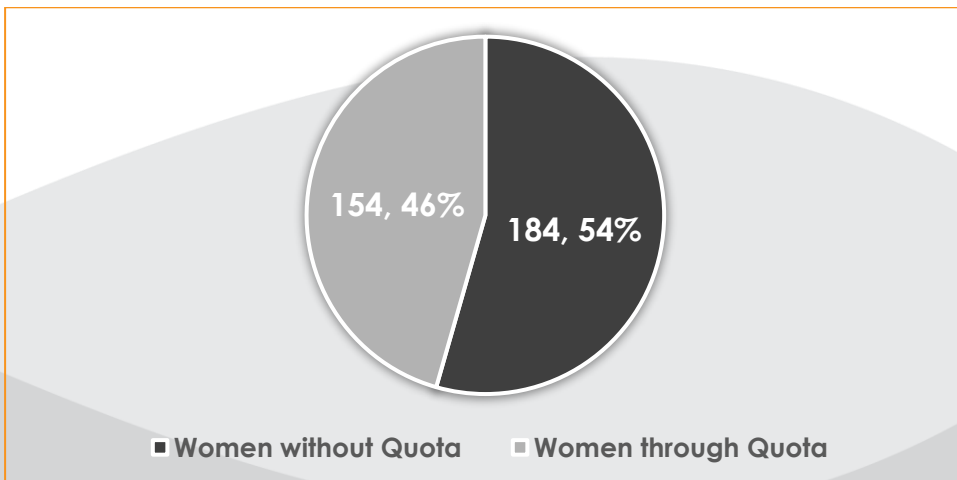
overall average, reflecting a more pronounced structure favoring men.

Overall, the data suggests that despite minor differences among parties, no political entity achieves equal gender representation. Women's representation levels remain largely concentrated around the threshold with 35% to 38%, corresponding to the effect of the gender quota, indicating that even at the party level women's representation remains more the result of legal requirements than of a sustained commitment to gender equality within representative structures.

Gender Quota

The analysis of the role of the gender quota in the selection of women members of municipal assemblies shows that this mechanism remains decisive for the current level of women's representation. Out of a total of 338 elected women, 184 secured mandates without the assistance of the quota, while 154 women, or 46%, were elected due to the application of the gender quota. This means that nearly half of the elected women would not have been part of municipal assemblies without this corrective mechanism.

Chart 13. Women's representation in municipal assemblies through the gender quota



At the municipal level, the differences are pronounced and demonstrate varying degrees of dependence on the quota. The municipalities with the greatest dependence on the quota are Deçan/Deçani (75%), Gjilan/Gnjilane (73%), and Gjakovë/Đakovica (64%), where the majority of elected women entered the assembly through this mechanism. Even in municipalities such as Štrpce/Shtërpcë (60%) and a group of municipalities at 50%, including Severna Mitrovica/Mitrovicë e Veriut/Mitrovica North, Leposavić/Leposaviq, Zveçan/Zveçan, Mamuşa/Mamushë/Mamuşa, Gračanica/Gračanicë, and Parteš/Partesh, the quota was a key factor in securing gender representation.

On the other hand, there are municipalities where dependence on the quota is lower, suggesting comparatively stronger electoral performance by women. Viti/Vitina (33%) and Suharekë/Suva Reka (36%) represent the cases with the lowest percentage of women elected through the quota, implying that a larger share of women in these municipalities succeeded in securing mandates through direct electoral support.

Nevertheless, in most other municipalities, the percentage of women elected through the quota ranges between 40% and 50%, demonstrating considerable dependence on this mechanism. This distribution confirms that, despite local differences, the gender quota remains an essential structural instrument for guaranteeing women's representation.

Table 1. Women's representation in municipal assemblies through the gender quota

Municipality	Total Women	Women without Quota	Women through Quota	% through Quota
Deçan/Deçane	8	2	6	75%
Gjilan/Gnjilane	11	3	8	73%
Gjakovë/Đakovica	14	5	9	64%
Štrpce/Shtërpçë	5	2	3	60%
Severna Mitrovica/ Mitrovicë e Veriut (Mitrovica North)	6	3	3	50%
Leposavić/Leposaviaq	6	3	3	50%
Zvečan/Zveçan	4	2	2	50%
Mamuşa/Mamushë /Mamuša	6	3	3	50%
Gračanica/Gračanicë	8	4	4	50%
Parteš/Partesh	6	3	3	50%
Pejë/Peć	13	7	6	46%
Prishtinë/Priština	22	12	10	46%
Podujevë/Podujevo	11	6	5	46%
Mitrovicë e Jugut/Južna Mitrovica (Mitrovica South)	11	6	5	46%
Vushtrri/Vučitrn	11	6	5	46%
Istog/Istok	9	5	4	44%

Fushë Kosovë/Kosovo Polje	9	5	4	44%
Malishevë/Mališevo	9	5	4	44%
Obiliq/Obilić	9	5	4	44%
Prizren	16	9	7	44%
Ferizaj/Uroševac	14	8	6	43%
Dragash/Dragaš	7	4	3	43%
Klinë/Klina	10	6	4	40%
Lipjan/Lipljan	10	6	4	40%
Rahovec/Orahovac	10	6	4	40%
Novobërdë/Novo Brdo	5	3	2	40%
Zubin Potok	5	3	2	40%
Junik	5	3	2	40%
Hani i Elezit/Elez Han	5	3	2	40%
Klokot/Kllokot	5	3	2	40%
Glllogoc/Glogovac	8	5	3	38%
Skenderaj/Srbica	8	5	3	38%
Kaçanik/Kaçanik	8	5	3	38%
Kamenicë/Kamenica	8	5	3	38%
Shtime/Štimlje	8	5	3	38%
Ranilug/Ranillug	8	5	3	38%
Suharekë/Suva Reka	11	7	4	36%
Viti/Vitina	9	6	3	33%

Overall, the data show that the current representation of women in municipal assemblies is not yet the result of equal competition within the electoral arena but remains significantly dependent on institutional intervention. This underlines the need for additional measures aimed at strengthening women's competitiveness beyond the quota system, including improved positioning on electoral lists, increased support from political parties, and broader electoral support.

Conclusions

The overall analysis of women's representation in the 2025 local elections confirms the existence of structured gender inequality across all stages of the electoral process, from candidacy and electoral support to the allocation of mandates.

First, the gap begins with the political offer. Women account for only 37% of candidates for municipal assemblies and only 11% of candidates for mayoral positions, reflecting limited access to nomination processes and a lack of active promotion by political parties. Moreover, women's candidacies for executive positions are often concentrated in smaller municipalities or in areas where political entities lack strong electoral strongholds, significantly reducing the likelihood of genuine electoral success.

Second, inequality deepens at the level of electoral support. Women received only 25% of the votes for municipal assemblies and a very low percentage of votes in mayoral races. This disproportion indicates that women face multiple barriers in attracting votes, including lack of financial resources, lower campaign visibility, less favorable positioning on electoral lists, and the persistence of gender stereotypes among the electorate.

However, at the stage of electoral outcomes, the electoral system produces a clear corrective effect. Women account for 36% of elected members in municipal assemblies, a level that significantly exceeds their share of the vote. This demonstrates that the gender quota and institutional mechanisms have been decisive in guaranteeing a minimum level of representation and in mitigating the inequality produced by the vote itself.

The role of the gender quota is particularly pronounced: 46% of elected women secured their mandates through this mechanism. In many municipalities, women's representation remains directly linked to the application of the quota, while only in a limited number of isolated cases is stronger electoral performance observed independently of this instrument. This indicates that

women's current representation continues to be mediated by the rules of the system rather than based on equal competition.

At the same time, the analysis at the municipal and party levels shows that there are no major differences among political entities, with most operating within a similar "ceiling" for women's representation, approximately 34% to 40%. This suggests that the challenge is not isolated to a single political party but is systemic and linked to the way party structures and electoral dynamics function as a whole.

In conclusion, the 2025 local elections demonstrate that women's representation in Kosovo has achieved moderate progress in formal terms but remains limited in substantive terms. The electoral system succeeds in mitigating inequality in outcomes but does not eliminate it at its source. Achieving genuine gender equality requires moving beyond the limits of the quota and addressing the structural factors affecting electoral competition, including the empowerment of women within political parties, improving their placement on electoral lists, and increasing support from the electorate.

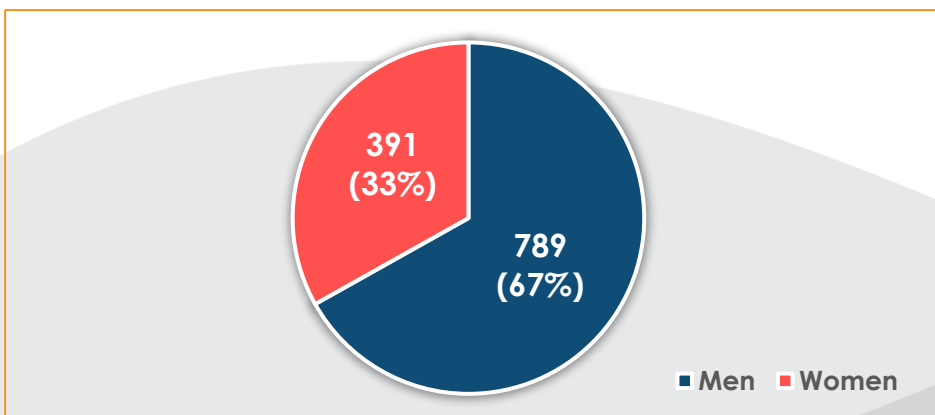
Women's Inclusion in Snap Elections for the Kosovo Assembly

Analysis of Kosovo Assembly Elections

Gender Representation on Candidate Lists for Members of Parliament

The snap elections for the Assembly of Kosovo were held on December 28, 2025, in the context of a deep political and institutional crisis that followed the regular parliamentary elections of February 9, 2025. For nearly ten months after those elections, Kosovo remained without the formation of a new government due to the fragmentation of the parliamentary composition and the inability of political entities to secure the majority required to establish the institutions.

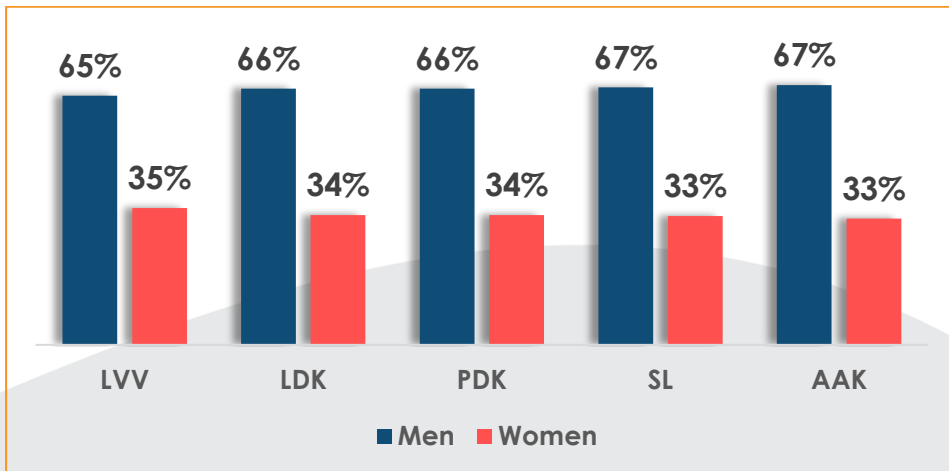
Chart 14. Number of parliamentary candidates by gender



In the race for 120 parliamentary seats, 24 political entities were certified, with a total of 1,180 candidates for members of parliament. Of these, 789 were men (67%) and 391 were women (33%). None of the major political entities exceeded the threshold of ~35% women's representation, demonstrating a lack of political will to move beyond the legal minimum. The 41-50 age group constituted the largest share of candidate lists, followed by the 31-40 age group. Youth representation remained limited, while candidates over the age of 65 accounted for only a small portion of the lists. The average age of candidates within the main political entities ranged between 42 and 46 years, confirming the dominance of established political profiles. A total of 524 candidates (44%) had also run in the parliamentary elections of February 9, 2025, while 362 candidates (31%) had participated in the local elections held in the same year. Additionally, 149 candidates (13%) had competed in both electoral processes.¹

Nominations of Parliamentary Candidates by Political Entities

Chart 15. Nominations of parliamentary candidates by political entities by gender



¹ Democracy in Action: "Election Observation Report for the Assembly of Kosovo Early Elections." Accessible at: <https://kdi-kosova.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/03/02-Raporti-i-vezhgimit-te-Zgjedhjeve-per-Kuvendin-e-Kosoves-ENG.pdf>

The analysis of parliamentary candidate nominations by political entities for the 2025 national elections reveals a consistent gender structure, with only minimal differences among parties. Overall, women's representation on electoral lists ranges between 33% and 35%, reflecting an almost uniform level of inclusion across all political entities.

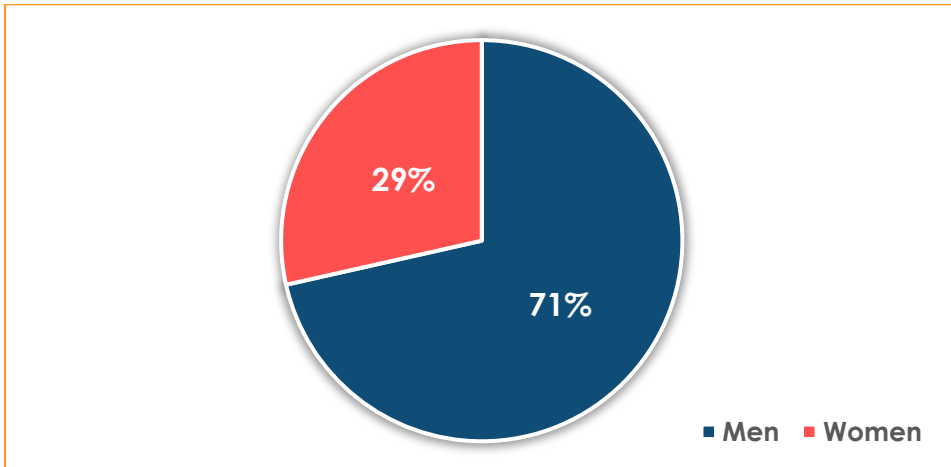
The Vetëvendosje Movement (LVV) has the highest percentage of women on its list, with 35% (39 women out of 110 candidates), positioning it slightly above the other parties. The Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK) and the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) display an identical gender structure, with 34% women each (37 women out of 110 candidates respectively). Meanwhile, the Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK) and Srpska Lista (SL) have the lowest level of women's representation, at 33%, corresponding to the minimum level required by the gender quota.

Across all political entities, male candidates dominate the lists, accounting for between 65% and 67% of all candidates. This ratio remains consistent regardless of the size of the list or the profile of the political entity, indicating that gender representation is not significantly influenced by internal party factors, but instead follows a broader systemic pattern.

Overall, the data suggests that political entities largely comply with the gender quota as a legal requirement, without demonstrating visible efforts to exceed it. The lack of variation among parties indicates that there is no genuine competition to advance women's representation, leaving gender inclusion at a minimal and standardized level.

Electoral Support for Parliamentary Candidates by Gender

Chart 16. Breakdown of candidate votes by gender



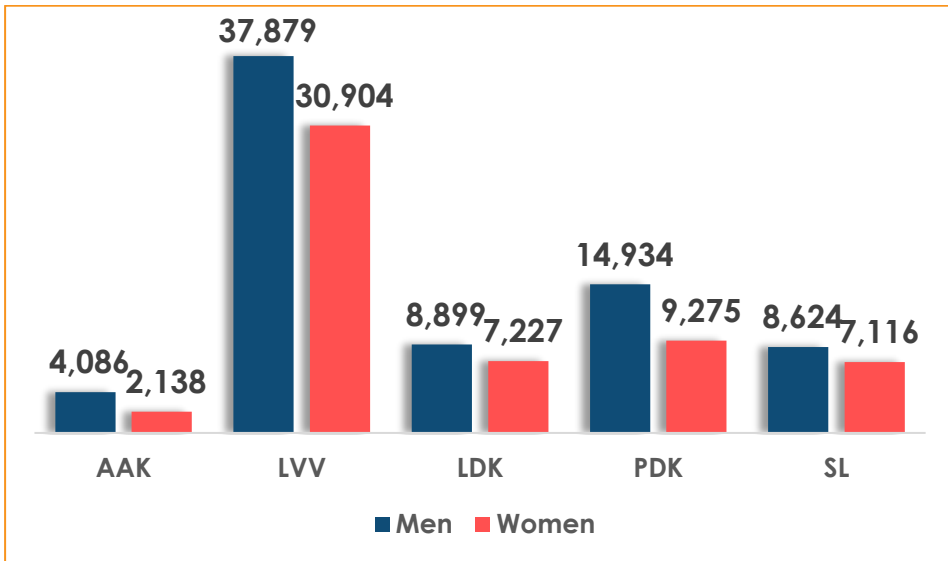
The overall analysis of candidate votes by gender reveals a pronounced inequality in the total distribution of votes, but a relatively balanced performance at the individual level. Men received 5,220,676 votes, accounting for 71% of the total, while women secured 2,083,555 votes, or 29%. This disproportion is directly linked to the larger number of male candidates in the race, 789 compared to 391 women candidates, indicating a political offer dominated by men.

However, when the analysis focuses on the average number of votes per candidate, gender differences narrow considerably. Women received an average of 5,329 votes per candidate, while men received 6,329 votes per candidate. This gap is relatively small and demonstrates that women's electoral performance does not significantly lag behind that of men. On the contrary, the data suggest that whenever women are included in the race, they achieve nearly equal levels of electoral support, demonstrating genuine competitiveness and considerable representational potential.

In this regard, the gender gap in votes does not reflect a lack of voter support for women, but rather an imbalance in the number of

candidates and opportunities to enter the race. This suggests that the primary challenge remains at the stage of nominations and within party structures, whereas in terms of electoral support, women demonstrate equal potential for electoral success.

Chart 17. Average votes received by parliamentary candidates by political entity.



The analysis of the average number of votes received by parliamentary candidates by gender and political entity highlights noticeable differences among parties, while also revealing an overall pattern favoring male candidates.

Across all political entities, male candidates received a higher average number of votes than women. The gap is more pronounced in certain parties, reflecting inequality in the distribution of electoral support within candidate lists.

Within the AAK, the gap is particularly significant, with men averaging 4,086 votes per candidate, while women averaged only 2,138 votes. This represents the widest gender gap compared to other political entities and suggests a clear advantage for male candidates within the party.

Within the LVV, although both genders achieved high vote totals, men remained ahead with an average of 37,879 votes compared to 30,904 votes for women. Nevertheless, this is one of the cases in which women demonstrate relatively higher competitiveness, narrowing the gap compared to other parties.

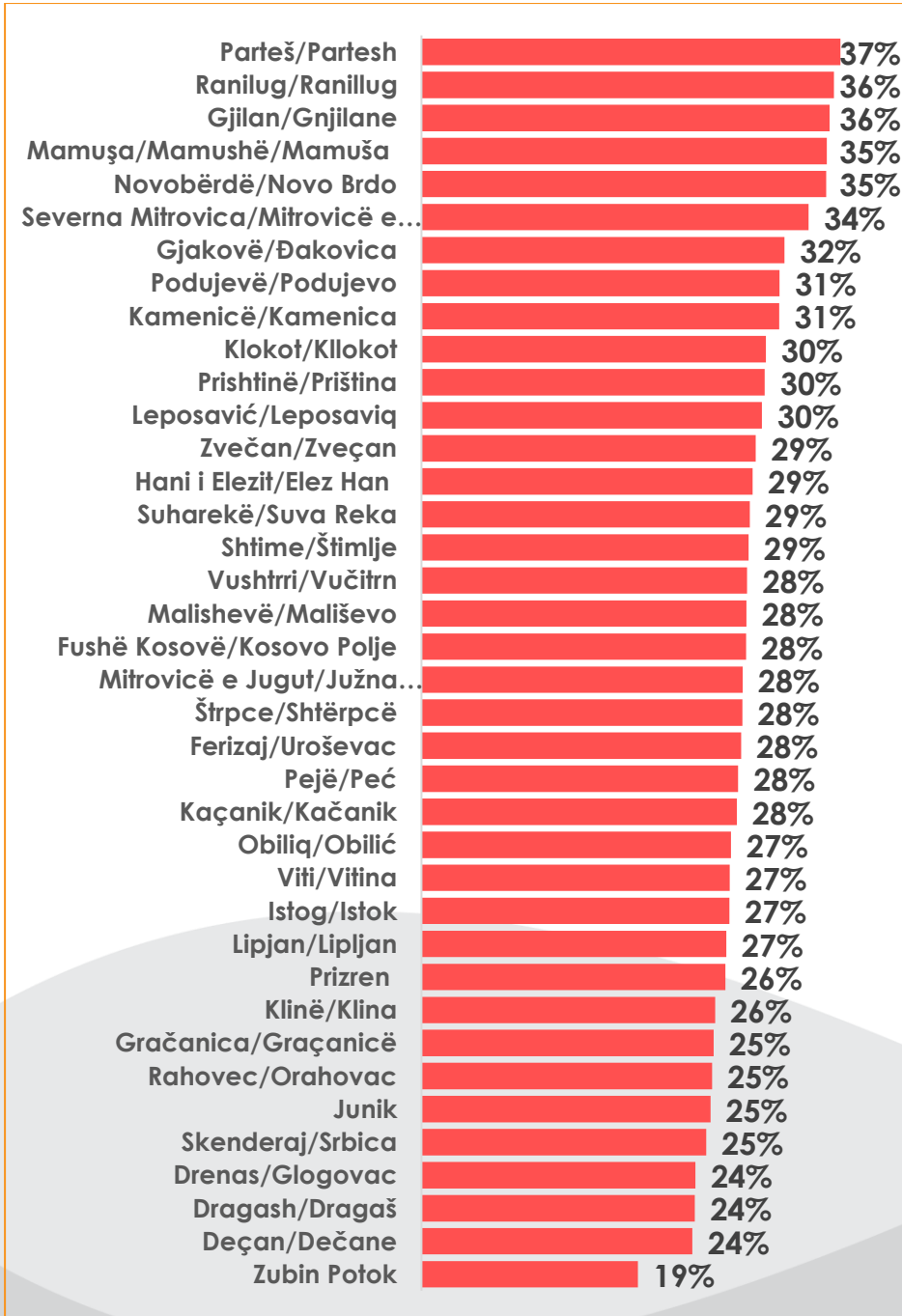
The LDK displays a more moderate gap, with men averaging 8,899 votes and women 7,227, suggesting a more balanced distribution of votes between genders.

Within the PDK, the difference is again pronounced, with men averaging 14,934 votes, while women averaged 9,275, reflecting a substantial advantage for male candidates.

Meanwhile, within the SL, although a difference exists (8,624 votes for men compared to 7,116 for women), it is relatively smaller, indicating a closer balance in electoral support.

Overall, the data show that although women are present on electoral lists and in some cases achieve considerable vote totals, they continue to receive less support on average than men across all political entities. However, the scale of this gap varies among parties, suggesting that internal party factors, such as list ranking, campaign exposure, and organizational support, may significantly influence the electoral performance of women candidates.

Chart 18. Electoral support for women parliamentary candidates by municipality



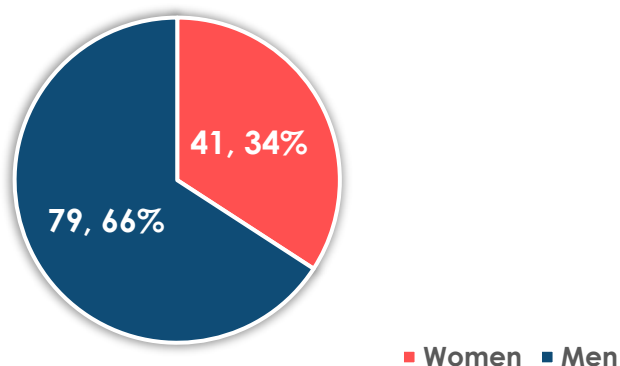
The analysis of the percentage of votes received by women candidates for parliament across municipalities shows that only 9 municipalities (approximately 24%) exceed the 30% threshold, while 29 municipalities (approximately 76%) remain at or below this level. Even in the municipalities with the strongest performance, the maximum percentage reaches only 37%, which remains significantly below gender parity. This situation becomes even more significant considering that only 33% of parliamentary candidates were women, reflecting underrepresentation that begins at the nomination stage and subsequently translates into lower levels of electoral support.

On the other hand, the vast majority of municipalities are characterized by levels of 30% or below, with a strong concentration in the 25% to 29% range and several cases falling as low as 19%. This distribution demonstrates a consistent pattern of underrepresentation of women in electoral support, reflecting structural and social constraints that continue to affect voting patterns for women candidates, as well as the chain effect of low representation on electoral lists.

Support for women remains limited in most municipalities, with only partial progress observed in a small number of cases, without yet reaching satisfactory levels of gender equality in representation. Overall, the combination of low representation on electoral lists (33%) and the low percentage of votes received in most municipalities points to a double gender gap, both in the political offer and in electoral behavior.

Results of Elected Members of Parliament

Chart 19. Gender representation in the Assembly of Kosovo

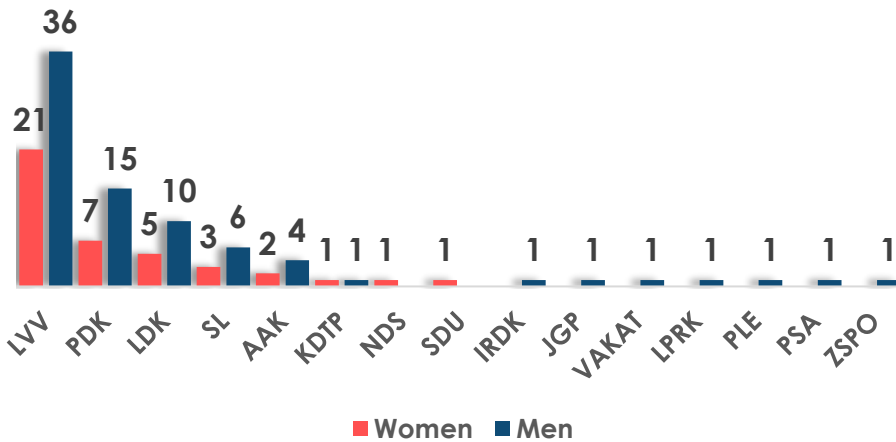


The analysis of the gender composition of elected members of parliament by political entity reveals a clear dominance of men in parliamentary representation. Out of a total of 120 elected members of parliament, 79 are men (approximately 66%), while 41 are women (approximately 34%).

This result reflects a relative improvement in women's representation compared to traditional levels, bringing representation closer to the 30% gender quota threshold. Nevertheless, despite this progress, a noticeable gender gap remains in the composition of the Assembly of Kosovo, demonstrating that women continue to be underrepresented relative to men.

In this context, although mechanisms such as the gender quota have contributed to increasing the presence of women in parliament, the results suggest that substantive and equal gender representation has still not been achieved, underscoring the need for additional measures that address structural barriers and support the advancement of women in politics.

Chart 20. Gender representation in the Assembly of Kosovo by political entity



The analysis of the gender composition of elected members of parliament by political entity shows that gender inequality is present across almost all parties, regardless of their size and electoral strength.

The largest political entity, LVV, has the highest absolute number of elected women (21), but men remain dominant even within this party (36), reflecting a ratio of approximately 37% women. A similar pattern is also evident within PDK (7 women and 15 men) and LDK (5 women and 10 men), where women's representation remains around one-third, aligning with the minimum legal quota but remaining far from genuine equality.

Among smaller political entities such as SL and AAK, the gender ratio remains similar (approximately 33% women and 67% men), suggesting a consistent cross-party pattern in which women achieve representation primarily through quota mechanisms rather than through equal electoral competition.

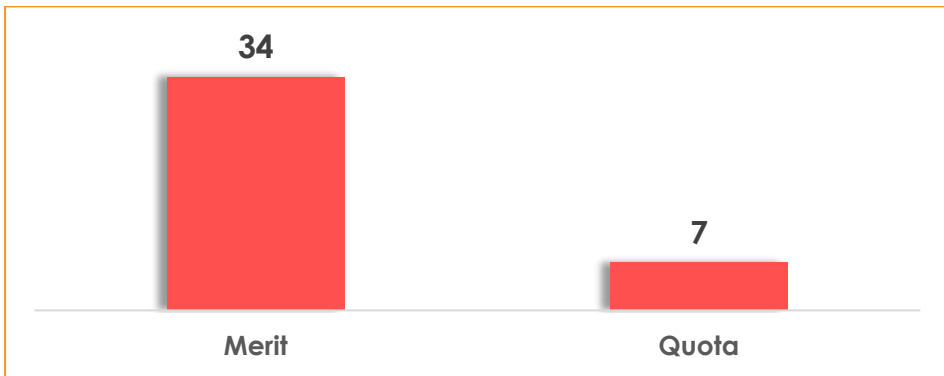
Meanwhile, several smaller political entities present more balanced cases or even equal gender representation, such as KDTP (one woman and one man), although these cases are numerically limited and do not significantly affect the overall composition of the Assembly. On the other hand, several political entities have

exclusively male representation (such as IRDK, JGP, VAKAT, LPRK, PLE, PSA, and ZSPO), while others are represented by only one woman (NDS, SDU), highlighting the lack of gender balance within parties with minimal representation.

Overall, the analysis by political entity confirms that women's representation remains concentrated primarily around the level of the minimum quota and does not yet reflect the full integration of women into the competitive structures of politics. This pattern suggests that beyond quotas, more active policies are required within political parties to promote and support women in viable positions on electoral lists.

Gender Quota

Chart 21. Women's representation in the Assembly of Kosovo through the gender quota



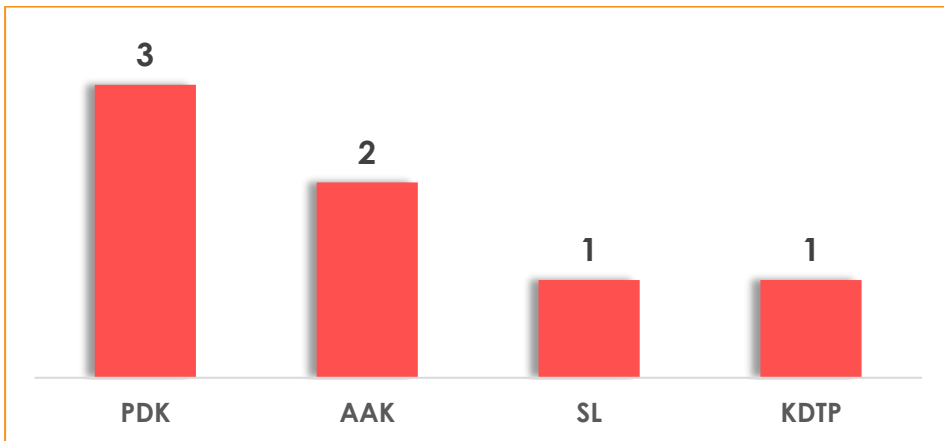
The analysis of women's representation in the Assembly of Kosovo in relation to the 30% gender quota for the less represented gender indicates relatively positive, though still incomplete, progress toward substantive equality.

Out of a total of 41 elected women members of parliament, only 7 of them (approximately 17%) entered the Assembly through the corrective mechanism of the gender quota, while the overwhelming majority, 34 women (approximately 83%), were elected directly on the basis of the votes they received. This is an important indicator that, although the gender quota remains a

necessary instrument, it is no longer the dominant factor in securing women's representation. On the contrary, a considerable number of women are increasingly able to compete and win on equal footing within the electoral arena.

Nevertheless, the fact that 7 women still required the intervention of the quota demonstrates that structural and electoral barriers continue to exist. The quota therefore remains a safeguard mechanism to prevent underrepresentation and to guarantee a minimum level of inclusion.

Chart 22. Women's representation in the Assembly of Kosovo through the gender quota by political entity



The distribution of mandates secured through the quota by political entity (PDK with 3, AAK with 2, Srpska Lista with 1, and KDTP with 1), demonstrates that the need for the quota is not uniform across parties. Certain political entities continue to demonstrate less capacity or willingness to secure the election of women through direct electoral support, relying more heavily on the corrective mechanism.

Overall, the gender quota has historically played an important role in increasing women's representation, but the current data indicate a gradual transition toward a model in which women are increasingly securing mandates through free electoral competition. Nevertheless, as long as a portion of women continue to depend

on the quota, it remains an essential instrument for guaranteeing fair representation and addressing structural inequalities within the political system.

Conclusions

The analysis of data from the December 2025 parliamentary elections confirms that gender representation in Kosovo continues to be characterized by a structured gap between men and women, manifested across all stages of the electoral process, from nomination and electoral support to final outcomes.

Firstly, the composition of electoral lists clearly demonstrates that women's inclusion remains limited to the minimum legal threshold. With women accounting for only 33% of candidates on electoral lists, and with no political entity significantly exceeding this threshold, it becomes evident that political parties do not treat gender equality as a political priority, but primarily as a formal requirement. The uniformity among parties in this regard indicates the absence of genuine competition to advance women in politics.

Secondly, the analysis of votes demonstrates that the principal issue does not lie in a lack of voter support. Although men dominate in the total number of votes, due largely to the greater number of male candidates, the average number of votes per candidate reveals a relatively small gap between genders. This indicates that women are electorally competitive and that their potential for success is comparable to that of men. Consequently, the main barrier remains access to the race and positioning within electoral lists, rather than voter preferences.

Thirdly, the territorial distribution of votes for women confirms a consistent pattern of underrepresentation. With only a small number of municipalities surpassing 30% support for women, while the majority remain below this level, the data point to a combination of structural and socio-cultural factors that adversely affect voting patterns for women. This phenomenon reinforces what may be

described as a “double gender gap,” simultaneously in the political offer and in electoral support.

Finally, the final election results show that women's representation in the Assembly of Kosovo (34%) remains closely linked to the gender quota mechanism. Although there has been improvement compared to earlier periods, the parliamentary structure continues to be dominated by men. The analysis by political entity confirms that women largely achieve representation at the minimum required level, while full and competitive integration into viable positions remains absent.

Overall, the findings of this section demonstrate that the central challenge for advancing gender equality in politics is not merely increasing the numerical level of representation, but transforming the way political parties recruit, rank, and support women candidates. Without deeper interventions in these mechanisms, women's representation will continue to remain limited and dependent on quotas, failing to fully reflect the potential and support women command within the electorate.

List of Publications

Democracy for Development (D4D). (2022). *Election Campaign Under Scrutiny*. https://d4d-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/2022-01-10-D4D_Report_ENG_01-fin.pdf

Democracy for Development (D4D). (2022). *News Portals and Social Media Under Scrutiny*. https://d4d-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/D4D_Q1report_ENG_Final.pdf

Democracy for Development (D4D). (2022). *Provision of Digital Services at the Local Level in Kosovo: Municipality of Podujeva, Lipjan and Drenas*. https://d4d-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/D4D_Digi-Komunat_ENG_web-1.pdf

Democracy for Development (D4D). (2022). *Active Youth for Sustainable Development*. https://d4d-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/D4D_PolicyBrief_Rinia_04_ENG_web.pdf

Democracy for Development (D4D). (2022). *News Reporting from Online Portals – Social Media and Public Impact*. https://d4d-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/D4D_Q2report_SHQ_03_WEB.pdf

Democracy for Development (D4D). (2022). *Food for Thought: Suggestions for the Upcoming Employment Strategy*. https://d4d-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/D4D_Analize_Food4Thought_03_ENG_WEB.pdf

Democracy for Development (D4D). (2022). *Information Disorder: Its Impact on the Information of Citizens*. https://d4d-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/D4D_Q3report_Final_ENG_WEB.pdf

Democracy for Development (D4D). (2022). *Online Violence against Women in Politics*. <https://d4d-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Dhuna-online-ndaj-grave-ne-politike.pdf>

Democracy for Development (D4D). (2022). *Monitoring Report on Information Disorder in News Coverage: The Impact of Portals and Social Media from July to September*. <https://d4d-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Raporti-Q4.pdf>

Democracy for Development (D4D). (2024). *Gender Representation in Election Management Bodies*. https://d4d-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/D4D_Raporti_KQZ_05-SHQ_v2-1.pdf

Cataloging-in-Publication (CIP)

National Library of Kosovo “Pjetër Bogdani”

The Democracy for Development (D4D) was established in April 2010 by a group of analysts who had become increasingly concerned that the state-building process had sidelined democracy. D4D's vision is to promote active and informed citizenship that fully participates in public life and engages in representative and decision-making processes to foster dialogue and build consensus on the efficient, strategic, and sustainable allocation of resources, thereby contributing to equitable development. D4D influences concrete policymaking, promotes a cross-sectoral approach to problem-solving, and addresses institutional decision-making routines by recommending gradual improvements and acting with maximum effectiveness to contribute to the democratic stabilization and development of Kosovo.



For more information about D4D's activities, please visit our website: www.d4d-ks.org