"Hlídáme veřejný zájem, hájíme efektivní a odpovědnou správu země."

# INNOVATIONS OF

# MONITORING METHODS

# FOR ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN KOSOVO



Transparency International CZ is the only expert organization in the Czech Republic to run civic monitoring of pre-election campaigns, based on its own methodology and expert capacities. As un-biased and independent as this activity is, it accumulates unique knowledge and expert-skills to be transferred to other countries.

Project: Increasing transparency of political finance via legislative recommendations and education of people preparing for political carrier in Kosovo. INTRO-PF 2019

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Press Conference before the Election Day | source: TI CZ

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# Introduction

This document is to serve as remarks and proposal of extending the monitoring methods for Kosovo pre-election political campaigns. It is based on experience of international monitoring team of Kosova Democratic Institute (KDI-TI) and TI Czech Republic (TI CZ), especially on consultations with "ambassadors of political finance transparency" from RKS: Violeta Haxholli, Agnesa Haxhiu, Florent Spahija and Eugen Cakolli.

Besides, we collect and acquire here the materials and reflections of election campaign held before early election in Kosovo 2019.

During the early election in 2019 the KDI team ran the inquiry on transparency of financing the political campaigns. Based on previous collaboration the research team distributed the questionnaires on finances of campaign-budgets to all relevant Kosova political parties. Questionnaires proved to be the only applicable method of gathering the data so far, since the level of transparency of financing the campaigns in RKS is very low, parties do not follow the electoral code, some even don't maintain official websites and generally not publish info on their budgets before or during the campaigns.

The quarry was developed before in collaboration of KDI-TI and TI CZ experts. The questions cover basics of structure of financial incomes and spending of campaigns.

The survey procedure was tested for the first time in RKS early election of 2017. The statement from questionnaires are often the only available information on campaign-financing. On one hand it has been the first attempt to make the campaign financing clearer, on the other it cannot fulfil the demand of transparency in current conditions and for the future.

The questionnaire proved several limitations: the parties do not always answer them (or not in time), if they do, their answers are only published by the monitoring team – the voters do not get the data when they need them. Other methods of citizens' oversight over campaign financing are needed, too. Therefore we are coming with few proposals for innovation.



Press Conference during the Election Day | source: TI C

# Monitoring procedure step by step in its intended scale

Civic oversight on pre-election campaigns needs to combine two streams of actions in order to achieve serious results. On one hand the civic society needs to address the political parties with the internal questioning on the finance transparency, on the other the accent had to be put on access to information for general public of electorate. This means that the regular procedure of the monitoring has to have following general steps and requirements:

١.

The standards of political finance transparency in the campaigns need to be defined and published.

2.

The **questionnaires** on info according to the standards need to be spread, delivered and collected from parties' headquarters.

3.

The information on sources, structures and costs of campaign finance needs to be **monitored in media**. The same applies to parties' **official websites**.

4.

The expenses of the campaigns need to be monitored via the open source banking tools such as transparent accounts or annual **campaign account** reports.

5.

The costs of **advertising has to be monitored** using the respective tools of social platforms (Facebook Ad Library), ad-monitoring and ranking companies for printed, TV, on-line ads etc.

6.

**Off-line expenditures** need to be estimated based on on-going campaigns in the field (meetings, billboards, fliers, open air events etc.) and according to a "common" price on market.

7.

The information collected via questionnaires are to be combined with the information from public and open sources, media (3-6).

8.

The evaluation grid has to be set, based on standards (I) and published before the e-day.

9.

The parties are to **be evaluated** according to the grid (8) and standards. The results of evaluation and ranking has to be published and promoted well before the election day in order to give a chance for improvement to the parties.

Importantly, all the steps have to follow the actual electoral code and all the legal requirements connected with such procedures. Yet it is legitimate to apply standards which go beyond the legal demands on political campaigning, where applicable and reasonable. The procedure must be highly transparent itself.

The procedure of I-9 is not to replace the oversight of respective state institutions (election commission, oversight bureau and similar), or to replace existing legal requirements for campaign transparency included in electoral code (publishing list of donors, publishing campaign financial reports and similar). Its purpose is to apply **civil oversight** over public issues and state institutes.

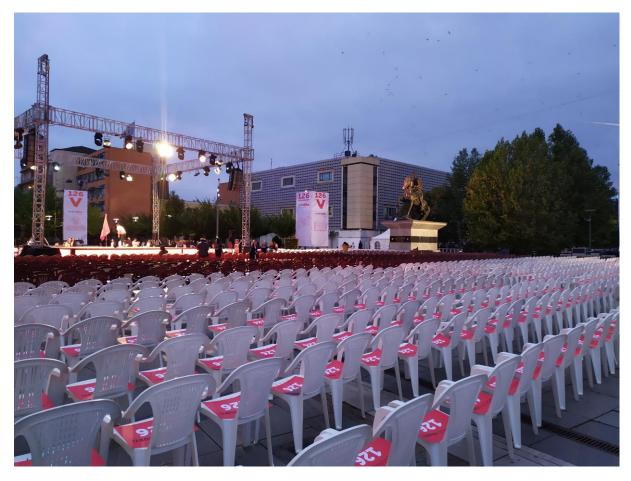
# Applied and non-applied in Kosovo — the state of art

Let us repeat and explain, which steps could and could not be applied in RKS 2019 election.

- Ad I. The <u>standards</u>. Standards were developed, published and disseminated already in 2018 and have been promoted since. (See below.)
- Ad 2. The **questionnaires**. The spread of the questionnaires is the main tool of oversight in RKS. These allow the monitoring team to be in personal touch with the party representatives via phone, thus giving the opportunity to advocate and explain the concept of transparent campaign and its monitoring. In 2017 and 2019 questionnaires answers in questionnaires were the first public information on campaign finance ever.
- Ad 3. Monitoring the **media** and **websites**. Unfortunately the parties do not publish any info on their budgeting in media. Some major parties do not even maintain the official web. None of them publish any info on finance, with the exception of Vetëvendosje, which publishes info on the sources in their campaign.
- Ad 4. Transparent accounts or annual **campaign account** reports. No such accounts or reports are maintained by the parties in RKS.
- Ad 5. The costs of **advertising**. In RKS the Facebook doesn't offer the financial data at its Ad Library. (See below.) There is however a theoretical chance to acquire the data about the offline and on-line advertising since there are private companies which offer such monitoring as their service. It has not been maintained yet.
- Ad 6. **Off-line expenditures**. These are thoroughly monitored and estimated by the means of civil oversight over public issues: the platform Democracy in Action<sup>1</sup> (Demokracia në Veprim) maintained robust pre-election and election day monitoring.
- Ad 7. **Cross-check** is impossible since there are lacks of data from the parties.
- Ad 8. The **evaluation grid**. While we are able to set the grid and standards, these have minimal influence to transparency of the political finance despite the fact, that the media in RKS are highly interested in our proceedings.

This applies also to evaluations (nr. 9).

https://demokracianeveprim.org/category/activities/front-page/?lang=en



Before the last pre-election meeting of Vetëvendosje, Prishtine, 4. 10. 2019 | source: TI CZ

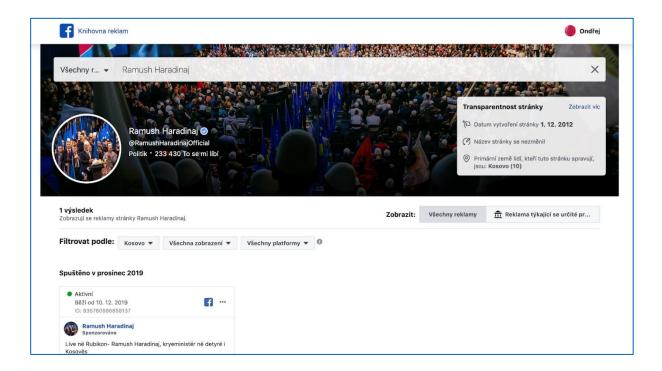
It is safe to say, that simple consistency in realization of steps, or application of standards, would be enough to rapidly increase the transparency of political campaigns in RKS. Nevertheless, there are some tips and proposals to innovate and improve those monitoring steps, which are already "doable".

# Proposal 1: Monitoring the on-line social media

Talking about innovations in monitoring of political campaigns, we have to start with social media. The importance of campaigns conducted via social media (Facebook, Instagram) had significantly risen in RKS since 2017. While in that time the only party which efficiently used this tool of political advertising was Vetëvendosje, in 2019 early elections it was used already by all of the parliamentary parties.

Yet, the Facebook (FB) campaigns are not always paid and the costs of FB advertising is still only at around 1 % of overall budget for election campaign (where the biggest expenditure still goes to direct "field" campaigning).

As a tool of monitoring the Facebook Ad Library of official profiles of campaign actors shall be used.



Ad Library is a simple and efficient feature of Facebook showing how much money was spent on politically exposed profiles in certain period of time. It shows the amounts spent in long and short-term time-span. It is the most simple and necessary tool for evaluation of costs in social media. It is free of charge and accessible potentially to any user of FB app.

Simultaneously, the query on FB spending shall be put into the questionnaires for parties. That will allow the cross-checking of costs planned and stated by parties before the campaign with the official data from FB.

#### **Obstacles**

Facebook company does not maintain the tool functional for Kosovo profiles. The users in Kosovo can only get to know, whether there is an active advertising going on, if it is sponsored. They cannot find out any financial info.

#### Conclusion

Civil society organizations, respectively KDI shall address Facebook with the request for starting on the Ad Library in full functionality. For that matter TI CZ is willing to support the request by addressing the Facebook Company with the official request as well.

# **Proposal 2: On-line version of questionnaires**

According to the discussion with the ambassadors of transparency of political finance who were monitoring the election campaigns in Kosovo the increasing usage and influence of the social networks and other forms of online advertisement and promotion (see above) was pointed out. But also the need to focus on the "traditional" tools of data collecting.

The ambassadors have expressed that the questionnaire developed with TI Czech Republic and used during last campaign has brought out certain problems, namely for political parties it was difficult to fill and/or they do not want to invest time and energy for filling it in the paper form.

Therefore the innovation in the way of electronic online forms providing also explanation and instruction for filling will:

- a) decrease the number of incorrect and imprecise answers,
- b) potentially increase the number of questions and/or sub-questions, and mainly
- c) increase the level of responsiveness of the political parties.

For that reason, the Google Forms, Surveymonkey and similar web applications can be used.

The questionnaire have to be structured into several "batteries of questions" covering the problems of presupposed structure of spending, disclosure of donations and in-kinds, information on human-power used during the campaign etc. The questionnaire has to be delivered latest 2 weeks before election-day and has to be returned not later than 3 days before Election Day. In case of snap election the time-schedules can be adjusted.

#### Conclusion

Still, the questionnaire seems to be an important tool/way how to reach the missing data that parties do not publish proactively (which would be an ideal manner if they do so). Advantage of those is they provide effective collecting and also more effective processing data that can be quickly used for interpretation and formulating conclusions.

# Proposal 3: Live Q&A on-line



Another tool that was tested during the early election held in October 2019 was the live online video-streaming on the KDI Facebook channel. Five main leaders of the political parties in Kosovo had come to the studio and answered the questions sent by voters during the live session (only the leader of PDK Kadri Veseli refused the invitation to come).

All streams were announced couple days before. Each video (still accessible online) is nearly 40 minutes long, and the viewers can follow also the feed with all questions asked (thus the organizers have the right to filter the questions and erase hate-speech and ban the profiles of hate-speech authors in that channel).

The impact of this tool was – compared to other similar efforts in the past – surprisingly high: while standard streams had no more than 8 thousands of viewers, three leaders had more than 10 thousand viewers each (the best over 25 thousands!).

#### Conclusion

Live Q&As shall therefore be also used as a tool of increasing the transparency of campaign. KDI-TI and TI CZ shall prepare the battery of questions regarding the financing of campaigns, together. These questions shall be announced to the speaker before the session and become standard part of each Q&A. Surely it could be let for the politician's decision whether or not they want to answer the questions regarding the financing of campaigns and thus prove the openness for civil oversight over campaign financing.

# **Summary**

According to the KDI experiences from the monitoring, here above presented steps are the possible ways how to develop the monitoring of funding of political parties and election campaigns.

Based on the experience made in early election campaign of 2019, we have to stress, that:

- 1. Political parties have to proactively publish the data on their funding and campaign financing directly to the voters (e.g. publishing it on their websites) not to the KDI.
- 2. After the campaign it is necessary to close the accounts and publish the final information. As experienced, political parties provide the data to the CEC in different forms and structured the financial data in different ways, which make deeper analysis problematic. For that reasons, establishing of the binding structure of spending categories seems to be useful for future.
- 3. The standards of transparency need to be promoted further and more and the media need to be inspired to address the parties with the concrete questions according to those standards.
- 4. We have to prepare stricter ranking and publish it without compromise.
- 5. Monitoring of off-line expenditures by Democracy in Action, which is already exceptionally robust and thorough in RKS, need to be exploited, promoted and implemented into the civil push for transparency of political finance.
- 6. Innovations mentioned above shall be applied.



Election day in the Call centre | source: TI CZ

# Appendix I.: How the campaign went on in 2019

The 2019 crisis inside government culminated in two moments, contradictory declarations by ministers about 100% tax for the Serbian goods and the verbal war between Prime-Minister Haradinaj and President Thaci (former leader of Democratic Party of Kosovo) about the territorial exchange between Serbia and Kosovo. This very fragile coalition broke when the Special Tribunal of War Crimes in Hague invited Prime-Minister Ramush Haradinaj as witness and he resigned.<sup>2</sup>

## Start of the campaign

On August 26<sup>th</sup>, 2019 the President decreed that the early general elections will be held on October 6<sup>th</sup>. Although the electoral campaign officially started on September 24<sup>th</sup>, right since the resignation of Prime-Minister Haradinaj the political parties started the negotiations to form pre-election coalitions, because it looked like one sole political party couldn't win a governing majority. Many negotiations were held between the two main opposition parties, Movement for Self-Determination (LVV) and the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK). Although there were many discussions between the two parties and private meetings of the leaders Albin Kurti and Isa Mustafa, it seemed difficult to form a pre-electoral coalition because both parties wanted the position of Prime-Minister.

### Competitors

These negotiations stopped when the Democratic League of Kosovo announced Mrs. Vjosa Osmani as their candidate for Prime-Minister.<sup>3</sup> After LDK refused the offer of LVV to run with a common list and the most voted candidate will be the Prime-Minister, LVV declared its leader Albin Kurti, as the official candidate for Prime-Minister. However, during the electoral campaign, both opposition parties have mostly attacked the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK), accusing it of high corruption as the only political subject that has been for more than 10 years in power.

Apart from these parties, an important pre-electoral coalition emerged between the party of Prime-Minister Haradinaj, Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK), and the Social-Democratic Party (PSD), a party mostly formed from MPs divided from the LVV in 2018, whose leader is Shpend Ahmeti, mayor of Prishtina. This coalition ran with Haradinaj as the candidate for Prime-Minister. Other candidates were Kadri Veseli from Democratic Party of Kosovo, Fatmir Limaj from Social-Democratic Initiative<sup>4</sup> and for the first time, there was a Serbian politician Nenad Rashiq, running for Prime Minister with the Serbian minority party, Sloboda<sup>5</sup>. All the parties of the governing coalition were running alone and they kept accusing each other of corruption and treason, even though two months ago they shared the governing positions.

## Development of the campaign

The electoral campaign took place in a tense situation: Previous governments have been accused of corruption, unemployment (especially among youth generations) and of people emigrating out from the country. For those reasons, the opposition parties discourses were mostly focused about the fight against corruption and economic reforms. So the electoral platform of Movement for Self-Determination (LVV) was concentrated in rule of law, checks, and balances of powers, a bank for development, workers right, investment in agriculture, investment in mines and industry, development of technology and education. During this campaign was seen an ideological evolution of LVV and its leaders, from strong Albanian nationalism towards social-democracy. They were insisting on stopping the process of privatization of public companies, calling for more state presence in economy and welfare state. In the electoral meetings and interview leader of this party Albin Kurti has talked more about economic plans for the future, revitalization of some economic assets, mines,

 $<sup>^2\ \</sup>underline{\text{https://balkanweb.com/mediat-e-kosoves-ramush-haradinaj-jep-doreheqjen/}}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> https://www.portaliaktiv.com/lajme/zyrtare-vjosa-osmani-kandidate-e-ldk-se-per-kryeminister/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> https://zeri.info/zgjedhjet-2019/283758/profili-i-kandidateve-per-kryeminister-te-kosoves/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> https://klankosova.tv/rashiq-kandidati-i-pare-serb-per-kryeminister-te-kosoves-video/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> https://www.vetevendosje.org/#tabd

industrial plants, state investments in the crucial sectors, the strength of economic relations with diaspora and Albania.

Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) has the rule of law, development of education and healthcare as a part of its program but also underlines good relations with international partners and as a center-right party strength of family values. In the campaign of the Democratic League of Kosovo, particular attention was given to the profile of its candidate for Prime-Minister Vjosa Osmani, as the first and only woman candidate for this position, with a bright academic past.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK), which has been in power for more than 10 years, even that mostly in coalition governments, didn't show any clear electoral platform. The leaders of this party have mostly talked about its history, which comes from guerrilla forces, has governed Kosovo for many years and will continue to do so for prosperity and European integration of the country. Considering the great influence that has the USA in the Kosovo population, in the campaign they were repeating endlessly that PDK has a special partnership with the USA. Its leader Kadri Veseli had some meetings with former members of Trump administration and the electoral campaign was supported by Matthew Whitaker (former USA Attorney General)8, insinuating somehow support from USA government.9 These statements went so far as the USA embassy stated that the US government does not support any particular political force 10 in Kosovo. The coalition between Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK) and Social-Democratic Party of Kosovo (PSD) have in their program fiscal reforms, low taxes and support of local producers. 11 However, in their public discourse, they were talking on the 100% tax for the Serbian goods, strongly supporting it, condemning every talk about the territorial exchange with Serbia, calling for more independence from international factors and sovereignty of the state. Candidate for prime-minister of this coalition was the acting Prime-Minister Ramush Haradinaj, so during the campaign, his past as guerrilla fighter and his proposal for taxing 100% Serbian goods is repeated over again, as a strong act of patriotism.

Candidate for Prime-Minister of Social-Democratic Initiative (Nisma) and New Kosovo Alliance (AKR), Fatmir Limaj in his discourse was mostly focused on some social initiatives as higher pensions, the welfare state, universal healthcare development of economy and new workplaces. Also, Limaj had promised that during his govern Kosovo will be accepted in UN, NATO and other international organization.<sup>12</sup>

For the first time in Kosovo an ethnic Serbian politician, Nenad Rashiq is running for Prime-Minister. Even that he said that would be quite difficult for him to win, Rashiq declared that this is a big step for the democracy in Kosovo and he will focus not only in Serbians rights but the whole population, improvement of daily life, a restart of dialogue and better relations with Serbia.<sup>13</sup>

#### Post-election discussions

Early elections for the parliament of Kosovo were held on the 6<sup>th</sup> of October. Generally, it was a calm and secure process without significant incidents and the counting of ballots was done a few hours after the closure of polling stations. The turn-out percentage was quite higher than the previous processes with around 44 % of the electorate, as well there was a growth of electronic and post votes by immigrants. These facts can be interpreted as a strong will for changes of the government which was confirmed by results.

The most voted parties were opposition ones LVV and LDK, with 25,5 % and 24,5 % of electoral votes respectively. Meanwhile the largest governing party Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK) gained 21.2 % of votes, party of acting Prime-Minister Haradinaj, Alliance for Future of Kosovo (AAK) in coalition with Social-Democratic Party (PSD) gained 11.5 % of votes and two other governing parties, Social-Democratic Initiative (Nisma) and New Kosovo Alliance (AKR) couldn't pass electoral threshold of 5%. This was the counting right after the e-day. Thanks to later objections and re-counting of votes, the final results are slightly different, as follows:

12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> https://www.ldk-ks.eu/LDK\_programi\_Vjosa\_Osmani.pdf

<sup>8</sup> http://pdk.info/blog/post/9273/veseli-falenderon-ish-ministrin-e-trumpit-mbe

http://pdk.info/blog/post/9271/new-york-post-komenton-fushaten-e-veselit-fle

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> https://xk.usembassy.gov/joint\_statement\_by\_ambassadors/?fbclid=lwAR2cOA9fJSq6LRblxDNJZSxh2-r1cnyoCe3D59gwGRhVm9SfcYiorEkQ5Vk

<sup>11</sup> https://www.evropaelire.org/a/30179076.html

 $<sup>^{12} \, \</sup>underline{\text{https://kallxo.com/zgjedhjet-2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-ligjin-per-lehonine-dhe-shtesat-per-femijet/2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-ligjin-per-lehonine-dhe-shtesat-per-femijet/2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-ligjin-per-lehonine-dhe-shtesat-per-femijet/2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-ligjin-per-lehonine-dhe-shtesat-per-femijet/2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-ligjin-per-lehonine-dhe-shtesat-per-femijet/2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-ligjin-per-lehonine-dhe-shtesat-per-femijet/2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-ligjin-per-lehonine-dhe-shtesat-per-femijet/2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-ligjin-per-lehonine-dhe-shtesat-per-femijet/2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-ligjin-per-lehonine-dhe-shtesat-per-femijet/2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-ligjin-per-lehonine-dhe-shtesat-per-femijet/2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-ligjin-per-lehonine-dhe-shtesat-per-femijet/2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-ligjin-per-lehonine-dhe-shtesat-per-femijet/2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-ligjin-per-lehonine-dhe-shtesat-per-femijet/2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-ligjin-per-lehonine-dhe-shtesat-per-femijet/2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-ligjin-per-lehonine-dhe-shtesat-per-femijet/2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-ligjin-per-lehonine-dhe-shtesat-per-femijet/2019/fatmir-limaj-do-ta-nxjerrim-lim$ 

<sup>13</sup> https://klankosova.tv/rashiq-kandidati-i-pare-serb-per-kryeminister-te-kosoves

LVV 29 MPs, LDK 28 MPs, PDK 24 MPs, AAK 13 MPs, Serbska Lista 10 MPs, Nisma 4 MPs, Others 12.<sup>14</sup>

## Transparency of campaigns

In the meantime, although it's obligatory and strongly recommended by each report of European Commission for elections in Kosovo, <sup>15</sup> most political parties didn't declare expenses and sponsors of the electoral campaign. The only exception is Movement for Self-Determination (LVV) which declared that for their electoral campaign were spent 565 thousand euro, money that was collected by small donations of their activists, members, supporters, and diaspora. <sup>16</sup>

The most voted party in these elections is Movement for Self-Determination (LVV), who gained 29 MPs (out of I20 that has the parliament of Kosovo) so according to the constitution of Kosovo the leader of this party would have the mandate to form the government, <sup>17</sup> which will be a coalition government. Since his first post-election public appearance, Albin Kurti invited the other opposition party Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) to form the government together. Also the candidate of LDK for Prime-Minister, Vjosa Osmani claimed that the only party with whom LDK will make a coalition would be LVV, every other coalition would be an abuse of people's trust who voted the opposition parties.<sup>18</sup>

Inxhi Brisku, Praha 07.10.2019

The article was edited for the purpose of this publication.

<sup>14</sup> http://www.votaime.org/Public/Members.

<sup>15</sup> http://lajmpress.org/kosove-nje-milion-euro-per-fushaten-elektorale/ https://realstory.al/misioni-i-be-se-zgjedhjet-ne-kosove-transparente-dhe-te-mire-organizuara/

<sup>16</sup> https://zeri.info/zgjedhjet-2019/292386/levizja-vetevendosje-zbulon-shpenzimet-e-fushates/

<sup>17</sup> https://www.gazetaexpress.com/kur-do-te-formohet-qeveria-e-re-keto-procedura-duhet-te-ndiqen/

https://lapsi.al/2019/10/09/vjosa-osmani-qeverine-e-re-do-e-formoje-vetevendosja-me-ldk-

# Appendix II. Standards already introduced and required from before

The Kosovo Democratic Institute together with Transparency International of Czech Republic have proposed five Standards<sup>19</sup> that would increase the transparency and accountability of political entities to the public, beyond the foreseen legal obligations. These standards are published in Albanian and English languages:

- № Publication of the names of all **members of the electoral headquarters** of the political entity, and appointment and publication of the name of the campaign financial manager. Publication of names of members of the electoral headquarters (including headquarters at regional branches) of the political entity and the name of the financier appointed specifically for the campaign would increase the transparency of the political entity toward the public.
- 3 Legal liability obliging political entities to open **financial accounts for election** campaign expenditures. Opening accounts implies making it publicly available and accessible in real time through the Central Election Commission portal, any other portal or the own portal of the political entity/candidate.
- $\mathfrak R$  Publication of the **finances of each candidate** in the campaign. Each political entity must publish and oblige all candidates to report to the entity they belong to. Their financial contribution to the political entity's campaign should be known including data on how did the candidate financed his/her personal campaign. Candidates may be obliged under the LGEs to submit financial reports of their individual campaign expenditures to the political entity, and then the political entity incorporates them into the central account as revenue and expenditure. The financial participation of candidates in the campaign must also be recorded in the campaign financial report.
- <sup>6</sup> Publication of **data on legal entities (companies) that donate** to the political entities, and not only the owners. With this legal amendment, the public would know who the ultimate owner that donated to the political entity is, especially in cases of companies with many owners that are kept secret. In addition, political entities should present in their financial report the services that companies have provided for the entity and which can be converted into monetary values.
- $\otimes$  Publication of the **schedule of all events** that the political entity will organize during the campaign. It should also include events that are organized or to be organized by the candidates without the support of the political entity.

These were required via questionnaires during the campaign for snap elections in 2019.

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<sup>19</sup> http://kdi-kosova.org/publikimet/partite-politike-vs-transparenca-ne-fushate/

# Appendix III. The questionnaires sent to the parties in 2019

#### 1) Total expenditure.

Do you disclose the total amount planned to be spent in an election campaign before the elections? If so, where?

	I.I) Do you publish an estimate of the structure of expenditure? Where?
	I.2) Can you give us an estimate of the structure of the campaign costs, at least approximately? - wages and agreements for co-workers and election team members:
	- paid promotion: advertising, publicity, PR, audio-visual production, operating costs for contact campaign (transport, accommodation, etc.):
	- office costs: cost of volunteers:
	1.3) In what budget ratios (of whole budget) do you plan to use paid promotion?
	Billboards and printed posters:%
	Online media advertising:% Print media advertising:%
	Public contact events:%
	Tubile contact events/6
	1.4) Online spending. Is the ratio of spending in online campaigns on social networks (FB, Twitter, etc.)
	to other online media (banner advertising, paid articles, paid trolling, advertising on Google) published? Where?
	I.5) Can you tell us the ratio from overall budget?
	Facebook:%
	Other social networks:%
	Advertising in online media:%
	Other campaign costs on the Internet (AdWords, paid PR articles, etc.):%
2) Transpar	rent account.
	Do you have publically available account or record from the campaign account published? Where?
3) Financia	I management of the campaign.
o,	How are campaign costs shared between candidate and the party? Do you publish information on financial contribution of candidates? Where?
	3.1) Does the campaign party cover all of its candidates for senator in full, or do some of the campaign candidates pay in part from their own funds? How much? Where is it published?

3.2) Does the headquarters participate in the campaign non-financially? If so, can the contribution be quantified and specified?

#### 4) Income structure.

Do you know and publish the preliminary plan for campaign funding? Where?

- 4.1) Donations. You publish separately and clearly updated information about all your donors outside a special transparent account (eg in the donor list). Where?
- 4.2) Companies. Do you publish information on donating companies, firms and and their ownership?
- 4.3) Non-monetary and in kind contributions. Do you post info on non-financial contribution and benefits you receive?

#### 5) Campaign events.

Do you publish a list (calendar) of all public events within the campaign (meetings with voters, debates, cultural events, etc.)? Where?

#### 6) List of social networking profiles officially participating in your campaign.

Do you publish the list of Facebook, Instagram and Twitter profiles whose activity is a part of the campaign. Where?

#### 7) Election team.

Have you published names of your election team members indicating the roles of individual members in the campaign (including individual advisors)? Where?

7.1) Have you published whether the agencies (PR, advertising etc.) will participate in the campaign, where and which?

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