



EUROPEAN CENTRE
FOR MINORITY
ISSUES KOSOVO

INFORMATIONAL BULLETIN

29 JULY 2014

Minority Political Parties in Kosovo's Changing Political Landscape: the General Elections of June 2014 and their Aftermath

Author: Adrian Zeqiri,

Contributing authors: Pieter Troch, Trim Kabashi

Editor: Jessica Templeman

Translator in Albanian: Artan Çollaku

Translator in Serbian: Marija Krstić

About ECMI Kosovo

ECMI Kosovo is the principal non-governmental organisation engaged with minority issues in Kosovo, with the overarching aim to develop inclusive, representative, community-sensitive institutions that support a stable multi-ethnic Kosovo. ECMI Kosovo contributes to the developing, strengthening and implementation of relevant legislation, supports the institutionalisation of communities-related governmental bodies, and enhances the capacity of civil society actors and the government to engage with one another in a constructive and sustainable way.

Str. NënaTerezë Nr. 41, Apt. 29,10000 Prishtinë/Priština, Kosovo, Tel. +381 (0) 38 224 473

Str. CikaJovina Nr. 3, 1stFl, 38220 Mitrovica/Mitrovicë North, Kosovo, Tel. +381 (0) 64 00 55 488

Executive Summary

While the Constitutional Court's decision on the legality of the procedures followed in the constitution session of the Assembly of Kosovo is pending, there are uncertainties about the establishment of a government, and with the looming prospects for new elections still ongoing, one thing is certain: the parliamentary elections of June 8th generated major changes in Kosovo's political landscape, and, with that, it has brought the composition, and role, of minority political parties to the forefront for years to come.

First, and foremost, as a result of the normalisation of the relations between the governments of Serbia and Kosovo, these were the first general elections in which all Serbs in Kosovo, including those living north of the Ibër/Ibar River, were called upon to cast their votes for the Belgrade-backed Srpska lista (Srpska). Additionally, the elections introduced the Guaranteed Seats System for the representation of non-majority communities in the Assembly, instead of the Reserved Seats System, which was applied in earlier elections. Finally, in the aftermath of the general elections, the landslide shifts in the power balance between the majority Albanian political parties have urged minority political parties to take a stand in Kosovo politics. While it is too early yet to draw any conclusions from the political and legal processes that are still ongoing, there are already certain developments that will influence the political, and institutional, life of Kosovo for years to come. This Information Bulletin elaborates on the ongoing discussions for the establishment of the government, and the role of minority political parties, the Constitutional requirements for inclusion of minority communities in the high executive positions (Article 96) and provides an overview on the performance of the minority political parties in June 2014's general elections. Lastly, it introduces the Assembly Members who will represent minorities during the upcoming legislature. The bulletin should be read as a follow-up to ECMI Kosovo's Information Bulletin 'General Elections in Kosovo: A View of Issues, Challenges and the Political Scene Ahead of Voting on June 8th'.¹

¹ Available online: <http://www.ecmikosovo.org/?p=4878>.

I. The role of political parties representing non-majority communities in the formation of a new Kosovo government

a) The results and coalition formation process

Although the PDK-led pre-election coalition won the majority of votes, after the election none of the remaining Albanian parties wanted to enter into coalition with PDK to form the Government. Instead, the opposition parties came together in one unified bloc. A basic agreement was reached between LDK-AAK and Nisma on governing coalition. Vetëvendosje, the third largest party, while opposing any deal with PDK, has stopped short of giving their full support to the opposition bloc. This has led to the situation where PDK cannot establish the governing coalition, as required by the Constitution. Following a petition by the President of Kosovo, the Constitutional Court on June 19th, explained the situation governing the constitutional requirement for establishing the new government. The Constitutional Court explanation seems to pave the way for the opposition led coalition to establish the new government, though it required that the President first gives the chance to the PDK-led coalition to try to establish the government.

The constitution session of the Assembly, held on 17th July, after several attempts, elected Isa Mustafa, from the LDK-AAK-Nisma coalition, as a Parliament Speaker. Mr. Mustafa received all the minority communities parties' votes. However, the subsequent decision of the Constitutional Court to temporarily suspend — pending a final decision — Isa Mustafa's election, has contributed to renewed speculation about the next steps in the formation of the government.²

b) Towards a conciliatory political spectrum?

While it is too early to draw any conclusions yet from the political, and legal, processes that are still ongoing, there are certain developments that will influence the political and institutional life of Kosovo for years to come. The Kosovo political scene will become slightly milder, and political allegiances between the parties will be very important. The case that PDK, although the largest party, cannot develop an alliance with any other party, shows that, in fact, any party that will seek to govern in Kosovo will need to treat the other parties carefully. The Kosovo political system, due to the use of the proportional system, and the fact that 20 seats are guaranteed to communities, along with the requirement to include minority community representatives in the government, makes it practically impossible for one party to govern without the support of other parties as well as the support from the Serb, and other non-

² For more information, please refer to the decision of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Kosovo, Case No. K0119/14, found here: http://www.gjk-ks.org/repository/docs/KO119-14_VMP_ANG.pdf

majority communities. A political system which forces parties to work together might seem to benefit Kosovo in a long run.

c) The political and legal weight of non-majority parties

After the results of the general elections and the formation of the opposition parties in one block, LDK-AAK-Nisma, with tacit support of Vetëvendosje, the minority communities' political representatives have been pragmatic in their public statements relating to the two opposing blocs. Despite many efforts to win over the votes of the minority community parties, they have kept their doors open to both LDK-AAK-Nisma, and the PDK-led coalition, stressing that they will vote for — and join any person, or candidate, in a future government — the party/parties that gain the majority required to form the government. However, minority communities' parties, although very diverse in terms of policies and political programmes, in turn have aligned, largely, with the opposition camp. This was shown in their voting for the opposition candidate for the position of Parliament Speaker in the contested constitutive session of the Assembly.

This, however, cannot be taken as a definitive statement of support for this bloc. This is evidenced by their immediate statement that they will join the coalition that accepts their demands, thereby not excluding any possible partnership with PDK.

Despite shifting to the guaranteed seats system, the minority communities' parties still carry a lot of weight in the Assembly of Kosovo, and, hence, in the political life of Kosovo. As Table 1 shows, the guaranteed seats system is an affirmative measure of representation of minority communities in the Assembly: their share of votes is approx. 10%, while their share of seats in the Assembly is approx. 17%.

TABLE 1 – General Elections 2014 Statistics³

Voting in Kosovo	Number of vote cast	Votes for all communities' political entities (inc. Serb)	Out of which votes for Serb political entities	Seats won by all communities (inc. Serb)	Seats won by Serb community
2010 General Elections	706,317	55,020	25,515	23	13
2014 General Elections	734,055	69,625	44,172	20	10

³ Republic of Kosovo, Central Election Commission. *2014 Kosovo Parliamentary Elections, General Results*. Available online: http://www.kqz-ks.org/Uploads/Documents/Rezultatet%20sipas%20Subjekteve%20-%2020140526%20Party%20Results%20-%20Kosovo%20Level_jywcwsfyts.pdf

This fact gives them credible bargaining power in a run-up to coalition talks, as well as influence over government policies. The Serb representatives, being the most numerous group (10 MPs), are particularly important for any governing coalition, but, other minorities' parties are not less important, especially the Turkish and Bosniak representatives. This is seen in the huge efforts, from both of the blocs, to try to win the minority votes. There has been a series of meetings and talks between both the opposition bloc and PDK, to win over the minority communities.

However, the fact that they carry significant weight in the Assembly also puts them at risk of being sidelined along ethnic lines. Each of the parties have a number of policies that they want to advance, and chief amongst these are the policies of Srpska. As expected, the Belgrade-backed party won the lion's share of the Serb votes in Kosovo, winning 9 out of 10 seats guaranteed for the Serb community. The list of policy requirements for their participation in the governing coalitions includes, amongst others, the continuation of dialogue with Serbia, and the halting of the privatisation of certain public assets in Kosovo, including Trepça/Trepča mines. Apart from the policy requirements that they have made public, the more troubling news for Albanian parties is the fact that Srpska is guided by Belgrade's instructions. This is not playing well in the talks for the establishment of the government, as it has pushed the opposition bloc, which is set to form the governing coalition, to seek the votes of Albanian parties, especially Vetëvendosje, at all costs, so as the new government is not reliant on Srpska, and hence Belgrade directives.

This is a clear risk in how Srpska is going to play its cards in light of its requirements. If it pushes too hard on its policies, it will be sidelined by the Albanian parties, who can come together to form a solid majority in the Assembly, with the other minorities parties included.

However, the provisions of Article 96 remain to be defined, and this will probably occur through another Constitutional Court interpretation. Articles 66-67 and 95-96 speak about the Constitution of the Assembly and the Government. Article 96.3 of the Constitution obliges that ministerial and deputy ministerial positions are allotted to a Minister, or a Deputy Minister, from "Serb community" and other "non majority communities" and that these Ministers and Deputy Ministers, if not appointed from the ranks of existing Assembly Members, need to have explicit endorsement from the Assembly Members of the concerned community. Here is the exact wording of these articles:

Article 96. 3: There shall be at least one (1) Minister from the Kosovo Serb Community and one (1) Minister from another Kosovo non-majority community. If there are more than twelve (12) Ministers, the Government shall have a third Minister representing a Kosovo non-majority Community.

Article 96. 5: The selection of these Ministers and Deputy Ministers shall be determined after consultations with parties, coalitions or groups representing Communities that are not in the majority in Kosovo. If appointed from outside the membership of the Kosovo Assembly, these Ministers and Deputy Ministers shall require the formal endorsement of the majority of Assembly deputies belonging to parties, coalitions, citizens' initiatives and independent candidates having declared themselves to represent the Community concerned.⁴

The Article remains unclear in the event that the Ministers are appointed from the existing members of that community in the Assembly of Kosovo. In theory, any member of the Kosovo Assembly can become a minister representing that particular community even if s/he does not have the endorsement from the majority of the MPs from that community. The second part of the Article is clear that in the event that they are appointed from outside of the Assembly: it needs the endorsement of the majority of members representing that particular community in the Assembly of Kosovo. Different scenarios may arise over the coming period, with uncertainties of how the new coalition government will perform, and how especially the Srpska MPs shall act in different circumstances. A scenario where Srpska is not included in the government, or even withdraws from the governing coalition at a later stage and, therefore, a Serb minister does not have majority of votes from the Serb MPs in the Assembly, is quite likely.

⁴ Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Article 96.5

II. The performance of minority political parties in the June General Elections

In line with the Law on General Elections in the Republic of Kosovo, and applicable provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo (Article 145, section 2), the June 2014 elections introduced the Guaranteed Seats System for the representation of non-majority communities in the Assembly:

- 10 seats guaranteed for the political entities representing the Serb community;
- 3 guaranteed seats for the political entities representing the Bosnian community;
- 2 guaranteed seats for the political entities representing the Turkish community;
- 1 guaranteed seat for the political entities representing the Gorani community;
- 1 guaranteed seat for each of the political entities representing the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities;

1 additional seat to be awarded to either the Roma, Ashkali or the Egyptian community with the highest overall votes.

In the case that minority political parties get more seats than the number guaranteed to them, they will get as many seats as they actually won, and not, as in the Reserved Seats System applied in the two preceding general elections, the number of seats they won in addition to those reserved to them (the number of seats reserved to them was the same as the number of guaranteed seats given above). Table 2 presents the performance of minority political parties in the 2014 general elections, and their representation in the Assembly. It also compares the figures per minority to those of the 2010 elections. Further, Table 3 shows the minority representatives in the Assembly, and adds whether or not they are newcomers in the Assembly.

TABLE 2 – Performance of political parties representing non-majority communities in the general elections of 8 June 2014⁵

Minority	Name of party	Number of votes	Percentage	Number of seats ⁶
Serbian	Srpska lista	38,199	5,22%	9
	Progresivna demokratska stranka	5,973	0.82%	1
	Pokret za demokratski prosperitet	1,787	0.24%	/
	Samostalna liberalna stranka	379	0.05%	/
	Socijaldemokratija	325	0.04%	/
Total 2014		46,663	6.37%	10
Total 2010		24,138	3.45%	13 (3 + 10)
Turkish	Kosova Demokratik Türk Partisi	7,424	1.02%	2
	Kosova Türk Adalet Partisi	2,349	0.32%	/
Total 2014		9,773	1.34%	2
Total 2010		9,912	1.42%	3 (1+2)
Bosniak	Koalicija Vakaf	6,476	0.89%	2
	Nova demokratska stranka	2,837	0.39%	1
	Centar demokratske unije	1,298	0.18%	/
	Stranka demokratske akcije	1,096	0.15%	/
	Bošnjačka jedinstvena lista	860	0.12%	/
	Bošnjačka stranka demokratske akcije Kosova	702	0.1%	/
Total 2014		13,296	1.83%	3
Total 2010		11,194	1.6%	4 (1+3)
Gorani	Koalicija za Gora	1,193	0.16%	1
	Pokret za Gora	754	0.1%	/
Total 2014		1,947	0.26%	1
Total 2010		1,385	0.2%	1 (0+1)
Roma	Kosovaki Nevi Romani Partia	645	0.09%	1
	Partia Roma e Bashkuar e Kosovës	642	0.09%	/
Total 2014		1,287	0.18%	1
Total 2010		690	0.1%	1 (0+1)
Ashkali	Partia Demokratike e Ashkalinjëve të Kosovës	3,335	0.46%	1
	Partia e Ashkalinjëve për Integrim	1,583	0.22%	1
Total 2014		4,918	0.68%	2
Total 2010		4,257	0.61%	2 (0+2)
Egyptian	Partia Liberale Egjiptiane	1,960	0.27%	1
	Iniciative e Re Demokratike e Kosovës	1,456	0.2%	/
Total 2014		3,416	0.47%	1
Total 2010		2,700	0.38%	1 (0+1)

⁵ Republic of Kosovo, Central Election Commission. 2014 Kosovo Parliamentary Elections, General Results. Available online: http://www.kqz-ks.org/Uploads/Documents/Rezultatet%20sipas%20Subjeketeve%20-%2020140526%20Party%20Results%20-%20Kosovo%20Level_jywcwsfyts.pdf. For the 2010 results, see KIPRED. Kosovo National Elections 2010: Overviews and Trends. Available online: <http://www.fes-prishtina.org/wb/media/Publications/2011/KIPRED%20-%20Parliamentary%20Elections%202010%20%28English%29.pdf>.

⁶ For the 2010 the number of seats is presented as follows: total number of seats (Number of seats gained in elections + number of reserved seats).

TABLE 3 – Assembly members representing non-majority communities in the Assembly formed after the general elections of 8 June 2014⁷

Minority	Name of party	Name of assembly member	Votes	Newcomer to the Assembly
Serbian	Srpska lista	Bojan Mitić	8,914	✓
		Velimir Rakić	8,861	✓
		Slavko Simić	8,586	✓
		Slobodan Petrović	7,528	
		Saša Milosavljević	7,189	
		Milka Vuletić	7,074	✓
		Milenka Milićević	7,056	✓
		Jasmina Živković	6,324	
		Jelena Bontić	6,311	
	Progresivna demokratska stranka	Nenad Rašić	4,212	
Turkish	Kosova Demokratik Türk Partisi	Mahir Yagcılar	3,377	
		Mafera Srbica Şınık	1,942	
Bosnian	Koalicija Vakaf	Rasim Demiri	2,460	
		Duda Balje	1,920	
	Nova demokratska stranka	Emilija Redžepi	1,781	
Gorani	Koalicijaza Gora	Adem Hodža	682	✓
Roma	Kosovaki Nevi Romani Partia	Kujtim Paçak	280	✓
Ashkali	Partia Demokratike e Ashkalinjëve të Kosovës	Danush Ademi	1,784	
	Partia e Ashkalinjëve për Integrim	Etem Arifi	989	
Egyptians	Partia Liberale Egjiptiane	Veton Berisha	1,204	✓

⁷ Republic of Kosovo, Central Election Commission. *2014 Kosovo Parliamentary Election: Seat Allocation Based on Political Entities*. Available online: http://www.kgz-ks.org/Uploads/Documents/Ndarja%20e%20uleseve%20-20140625%20Seats%20Allocation_xxtgskir.pdf.

III. Major developments among the political parties representing non-majority communities

a) The Serb Community

The 2014 elections showed a significantly higher turnout among the Kosovo Serb community: the number of votes nearly doubled, from 24,138 to 46,663. This increase was particularly noticeable in northern Kosovo Serb municipalities, which had boycotted the 2010 elections. In the Serb majority municipalities in the rest of Kosovo, the turnout was slightly higher than the general, Kosovo-wide, turnout of 42.63%.⁸

TABLE 4 – Voting patterns in Serbian majority municipalities⁹

Municipality	Total votes	Turnout	Votes for Serbian parties	Percentage of votes for Serbian Parties	Votes for Srpska
North Mitrovica/Mitrovicë	4,898	18.25%	2,626	53.61%	2,380
Leposavić/Leposaviq	4,905	26.85%	4,228	86.20%	3,963
Zvečan/Zveçan	2,218	22.92%	1,884	84.94%	1,857
Zubin Potok	2,876	35.86%	2,243	77.99%	1,926
Klokot/Killokot	1,751	51.56%	1,103	62.99%	799
Parteš/Partesh	2,187	49.41%	2,013	92.04%	1,529
Gračanica/Graçanicë	8,245	42.02%	7,052	85.53%	5,227
Raniluk/Ranillug	2,629	46.54%	2,287	86.99%	1,895
Štrpce/Shtërpçë	6,785	49.05%	4,744	69.92%	4,140
Novo Brdo/Novobërdë	4,293	46.45%	2,871	66.88%	1,812

As a result of the change from Reserved Seats to Guaranteed Seats, however, the Serbian political parties gained only the 10 seats that are guaranteed to them, as opposed to the 13 seats they gained in the 2010 elections (10 reserved seats + 3 seats obtained in the elections).

The winner of the elections among Serbian minority parties is **Srpska lista**, the Belgrade-backed conglomeration of political parties representing the Serbian community, including the leading politicians of the **Samostalna liberalna stranka** (SLS, Independent Liberal Party), which was a government coalition party, and occupied 8 of the 13 Serbian seats in the 2010 Assembly. These are the Srpska Assembly Members:

⁸ Republic of Kosovo, Central Election Commission. 2014 Kosovo Parliamentary Elections: General Statistics. http://www.kqz-ks.org/Uploads/Documents/Statistikat%20-%2020140625%20Statistics%20-%20Municipality%20Level_wjmfzkmpjv.pdf.

⁹ Republic of Kosovo, Central Election Commission. 2014 Kosovo Parliamentary Elections: Results of Political Entities Based on Municipalities. Available online: http://www.kqz-ks.org/Uploads/Documents/Statistikat%20-%2020140625%20Statistics%20-%20Municipality%20Level_wjmfzkmpjv.pdf.

Republic of Kosovo, Central Election Commission. 2014 Kosovo Parliamentary Elections: Statistics Based on Municipalities. Available online: http://www.kqz-ks.org/Uploads/Documents/Rezultatet%20sipas%20Subjeketeve%20-%2020140625%20Party%20Results%20-%20Municipality%20Level_joeoyzfssl.pdf.

- Bojan Mitić (8,914 votes)
- Velimir Rakić (8,861 votes)
- Slavko Simić (8,586 votes)
- Slobodan Petrović (7,528 votes): Founder and president of SLS. Elected as an MP in 2007 and 2010; Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo from 2010-2014, as well as Minister of Local Self-Governance from 2010-2014. A political maverick, Petrović decided to merge his party's candidate list with Srpska after it became apparent the latter had the clear financial and political backing of Serbia.
- Saša Milosavljević (7,189 votes): An MP of the Assembly of Kosovo representing SLS from 2010 through 2014; 2nd vice chairperson of the Committee for European Integration, member of the Committee on the Rights, Interests of Communities and Returns.
- Milka Vuletić (7,074 votes)
- Milenka Milićević (7,056 votes)
- Jasmina Živković (6,324 votes): An MP of the Assembly of Kosovo representing SLS from 2010 until 2014; member of the Committee on the Rights, Interests of Communities and Returns.
- Jelena Bontić (6,311 votes): An MP of the Assembly of Kosovo representing SLS from 2010 until 2014; 2nd vice chairperson of the Committee on Budget and Finance, member of the Committee on the Rights, Interests of Communities and Returns.

The only other Serbian party that managed to secure a seat in the Assembly is the **Progresivna demokratska stranka** (PDS, Progressive Democratic Party). PDS is headed by outgoing Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, **Nenad Rašić**, an MP for SLS in the previous Assembly. Rašić will take the PDS seat in the Assembly (4,212 votes). The PDS was founded after internal discord within SLS led to the creation of several factions. It performed particularly well in the municipality of Gračanica/Graçanicë, where it gained 20.77% of the votes.

b) The Turkish Community

The total number of votes for political parties representing the Turkish community decreased negligibly from 9,912 (1.42%) in 2010 to 9,773 (1.34%). However, as a result of the change to the Guaranteed Seats System, the number of seats allocated to Turkish political representatives dropped from 3 (2 reserved seats, and 1 seat gained in the elections) to 2. The outgoing government party **Kosova Demokratik Türk Partisi** (KDTP, Kosovo Turkish Democratic Party) won the elections among the Turkish community, although its votes dropped from 8,548 (1.22%), in 2010, to 7,424 (1.02%), largely as a result of the challenge posed by the new **Kosova Türk Adalet Partisi** (KTAP, Kosovo Turkish Justice Party). However, KDTP managed to secure the two Turkish seats in the Assembly. The KTAP assembly members are:

- Mahir Yağcılar (3,377 votes): the outgoing Minister of Public Administration in the Government of Kosovo.
- Müfera Srbica Şinik (1,942 votes): An MP for two mandates representing the Turkish community (2008-2010, 2010-2014). She was head of the “6+” caucus from 2008-2010, and a 2nd chairperson of the Committee on Legislation from 2010-2014.

c) The Bosniak Community

The number of votes for political parties representing the Bosniak community in Kosovo increased from 11,194 (1.6%) in 2010 to 13,296 (1.83%). Again, as a result of the change to Guaranteed Seats, the number of seats allocated to political parties representing the Bosniak community dropped from 4 (3 reserved seats and 1 seat gained in the main elections) to 3.

The winner of the elections among the Bosniak community is **Koalicija VAKAT (VAKAT Coalition)**, the outgoing government party. VAKAT saw its number of votes increase from 5,296 (0.76%) in 2010, to 6,476 (0.89%). As in 2010, it secured two seats in parliament. The VAKAT MP's, **Rasim Demiri** (2,460 votes) and **Duda Balje** (1,920 votes), remain the same as in the previous legislature.

The third seat for the Bosniak community is taken by **Emilija Redžepi** (1,781 votes), who was an MP in the previous Assembly of **Nova demokratska stranka** (NDS, New Democratic Party), a part of the previous government coalition as part of the Alliance for the Future of Kosovo caucus (AKR).

The major loser of the elections among the Bosniak electorate, is the **Bošnjčka Stranka Demokratske Akcije Kosova** (BSDAK, Bosniak Party for Democratic Action Kosovo), which failed to maintain its seat in the Assembly. **Hamza Balje**, MP for BSDAK in the previous Assembly, and leader of the newly formed **Centar za Demokratsku Uniju** (CDU, Center for Democratic Union), did not succeed in entering the Assembly.

d) The Gorani Community

The number of votes for political parties representing the Gorani community increased significantly, from 1,385 (0.2%) in 2010, to 1,947 (0.26%). The newly established **Koalicija za Gora** (KG, Coalition for Gora), immediately became the largest political representative of the Gorani community, with 1,193 votes (0.16%). KG, thus, managed to secure the 1 seat guaranteed to the Gorani community in the Assembly. Its MP is Adem Hodža (682 votes).

e) The Roma Community

The newly established **Kosovaki Nevi Partia Roma** (KNPR, New Kosovo Roma Party) became the largest party representing Kosovo's Roma community with 645 votes (0.09%). The party, thus, managed to secure the 1 seat guaranteed to the Roma community, although it obtained only 3 votes more than the **Partia Rome e Bashkuar e Kosovës** (PRBK, United Roma Party of Kosovo), which was represented in the previous Assembly. KNPR's MP is Kujtim Paçak (280 votes).

f) The Ashkali Community

The total number of ballots cast for political parties representing the Ashkali community increased from 4,257 (0.61%) in 2010, to 4,918 (0.68%). As the number of votes for Ashkali political representatives was higher than that for Roma or Egyptian political entities, the Ashkali community secured an additional guaranteed seat in the Assembly, as it did during the previous election. The power balance between the two parties representing the Ashkali community remained unchanged. The **Partia Demokratike e Ashkalinjëve të Kosovës** (PDAK, Democratic Party of Kosovo Ashkali) received 3,355 votes (0.46%), and maintained its seat in the Assembly. **Danush Ademi** (1,784 votes), remains in the Assembly for PDAK. The **Partia e Ashkalinjëve për Integrim** (PAI, Ashkali Party for Integration) received 1,583 votes (0.22%), and managed to secure the seat it held in the previous Assembly. The PAI MP remains **Etem Arifi** (989 votes).

g) The Egyptian Community

The number of votes for parties representing the Egyptian Community increased from 2,700 votes (0.38%) in 2010 to 3,416 votes (0.47%). The newly-founded **Partia Liberale Egjiptase** (PLE, Liberal Egyptian Party) became the largest party representing the Egyptian community. It took over the one guaranteed seat from the **Iniciative e Re Demokratike e Kosovës** (IRDK, New Democratic Kosovo Initiative). The MP for PLE in the Assembly is **Veton Berisha** (1,204 votes), the former President of the Consultative Council for Communities within the Office of the President.

IV. Conclusion

Whatever the outcome of the current political and legal process might be, it is clear that Kosovo political life has entered into a new phase of development, in which the minority parties play a crucial role.

There are many new political representatives, from all minorities. Most of these new faces are from Srpska (9 out of 10 Serb MPs) but also from the Gora, Roma, and Egyptian communities. Also, while minority parties, thus far, have remained careful in not aligning with any of the Albanian majority coalition blocs, however, they are seeming to tend more towards LDK-AAK-Nisma block.

Minority communities parties have come up with a list of policy requirements which they want to advance in return to their support to the government, with the chief, and most important of these, coming from Srpska. While the policies demands themselves do not seem to be too problematic, it is very troubling to Albanian parties that Srpska is deriving guidance from Belgrade for its actions in Kosovo. This is pushing the LDK-AAK-Nisma parties to secure the majority of Albanian MPs in the Assembly at all costs, through the inclusion of Vetëvendosje in the governing coalition.

As expected, the Guaranteed Seats System has proven to represent a crucial mechanism and an affirmative measure for representation of minority communities in the Assembly of Kosovo. It continues to provide representation for almost all non-majority communities well above their electoral weight. While roughly representing 10 % of the voters, minority communities are represented by 17 % in the Assembly of Kosovo. ECMI Kosovo has consistently argued in favour of guaranteed seats in an environment of full participation of communities, as the reserved seats system would have distorted the political scene in Kosovo to a disproportionate level.

As indicated in our other reports, the Guaranteed Seats System is one of many and interlocking protection mechanisms afforded to minority communities by the Kosovo Constitution, deriving from the Ahtisaari Comprehensive Proposal. The full scope of Article 96 of the Constitution of Kosovo on the inclusion of minority communities in executive positions has not been fully tested. While it will most likely involve a Constitutional Court ruling in the future, at the moment it remains unclear what are the exact requirements of this Article and what will happen in the event that the provisions of this Article are not fulfilled.