



„2014 General Elections - Lessons Learned“

UDRUŽENJE IZBORNIH ZVANIČNIKA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI
УДРУЖЕЊЕ ИЗБОРНИХ СЛУЖБЕНИКА У БОСНИ И ХЕРЦЕГОВИНИ
UDRUGA IZBORNIH DUŽNOSNIKA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI



Organization for Security and
Co-operation in Europe
Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina

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CONFERENCE

**„2014 General Elections -
Lessons Learned“**

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2014 GENERAL ELECTIONS – LESSONS LEARNED

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FOREWORD

The members of Bosnia and Herzegovina's (BiH's) election administration came together at a conference to analyse all aspects of the electoral process and the elections themselves through a joint working approach and exchanging experiences. A conference is traditionally held after both local and General Elections. The BiH Central Election Commission (CEC), in co-operation with the Association of Election Officials of BiH, organized a two-day conference aimed at analyzing the 2014 General Elections in BiH, drafting conclusions and formulating proposals to improve the entire electoral process. The conference was held under the title "2014 General Elections – Lessons Learned" from 19 to 21 March 2015, in Banja Vrućica, Teslić.

The BiH CEC announced on 15 May 2014 that the 2014 General Elections would be held for the following levels of authority: the Presidency of BiH, the House of Representatives of the BiH Parliamentary Assembly, the House of Representatives of the Federation of BiH (FBiH) Parliament, the President and Vice Presidents of the Republika Srpska (RS), the National Assembly of the RS and cantonal assemblies in the FBiH. The results of the elections were confirmed and published on 10 November 2014.

Since its adoption in 2001, the *Election Law of BiH* has represented the legal framework for conducting elections in BiH and the seventh BiH General Elections were conducted in 2014 in accordance with this law i.e. the fourth elections organized by the BiH CEC. A total of 18 amendments to the *Election Law of BiH* mainly focused on normative-technical areas for improving the electoral process, while comprehensive reforms of the law unfortunately are still missing.

The main characteristic of all elections conducted so far in BiH is the increasing number of invalid ballots, which ranged from 2.7 per cent for the President and Vice Presidents of the RS, up to 4.7 per cent for the cantonal assemblies.

The discussion was guided through different workshops entitled "The Necessity for Changes to Election-related Legislation" and "Challenges in the Electoral Process with an Accent on Invalid Ballots and the Work of the Election Administration" aimed at encouraging an exchange of opinions between members of the election administration, as active and competent participants in the electoral process, on formulating proposals to improve election-related legislation. Enhancing democratic processes in the modern global community is not possible without first analysing the experiences of other countries, and the workshop titled "Election Risk Management – Global Experiences and their Application in BiH" was the place to become familiarized with modern society's best practices. A large number of participants (approximately 200) members of election administrations, political party representatives and NGOs gave their full commitment to identifying the best possible legal solutions to issues within the electoral process.

The BiH CEC finds that public discussions on electoral reform in BiH are necessary since certain solutions, previously defined under Provisional Election Commission Rules and Procedures in the post-conflict period, and later on transferred to BiH Election Law, have proven to be ineffective. A discussion on this topic was held at the Banja Vrućica conference.

This publication is the result of the conference, at which conclusions were adopted in a final document. These conclusions could be used by the BiH Parliamentary Assembly when considering possible solutions, but also for the development and enactment of legal norms for improving election-related legislation. These conclusions are formulated entirely in line with the international standards and obligations of BiH, and are also directed towards bolstering credibility and public confidence in elections and elected representatives, which is in line with the Copenhagen Document of the Human Dimension Conference of 1990. The Copenhagen Document is one of the most significant international agreements to support, protect and promote good governance and a wide spectrum of human rights, including those necessary for the implementation of a genuinely democratic electoral process.

This publication has been prepared thanks to the assistance of the OSCE Mission to BiH which, together with the Council of Europe, gave its full support to the organization of the conference. We would hereby like to thank them both.

Branko Petrić, member of the BiH CEC

Stjepan Mikić, President of the BiH CEC

Your Excellencies,

Dear members of the election administration,

Dear guests,

Ladies and gentlemen,

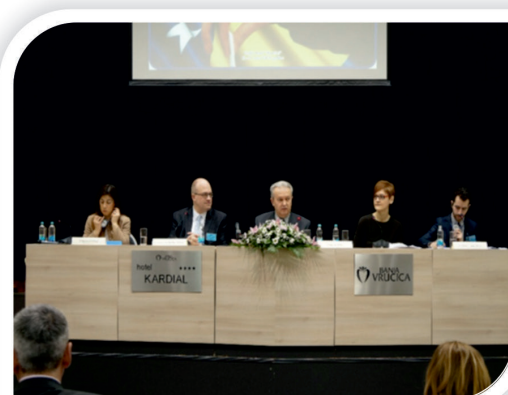
As the host of this gathering, it is my great pleasure to wish you a warm welcome to this already traditional conference at which we will analyse the conduct of the 2014 General Elections

I would like to thank you for your interest and for being present here in Banja Vrućica in order to take part in the plenary session and workshops over the next two days.

I would also like to welcome H.E. the Ambassador of the OSCE Mission to BiH, Mr. Jonathan Moore – the Head of the Mission of the organization that has had a key role in the preparation and conduct of all elections organized in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1996 to 2002, and which, even today, strongly supports all activities of the BiH CEC, including the organization of this conference.

I would also like to welcome Mr. Adrián Rodríguez-Pérez, Project Officer at the Directorate for Democracy of the Council of Europe, who has arrived from Strasbourg to join us today, and other representatives of the Council of Europe, who are here with us. The Council of Europe has also continuously monitored electoral processes and activities, and has been actively engaged in supporting the organization of educational seminars, printing the Manual for the work of polling station committees, and organizing the post-election conference, giving its contribution to the further improvement of the election administration's performance.

Hereby I also welcome Ms. Tamara Otiashvili, Election Expert from the OSCE/ODIHR, who monitored the 2014 General Elections in the International Observation Mission. I especially welcome Dr. Slobodan Leković, President of the Commission for the Prevention of Conflicts of Interest of Montenegro; the representative of the Association of Election Officials of Europe (ACEEEO) from Budapest, the representative of IDEA International, the representative of the OHR, the representative of the European Union in BiH, the National Democratic Institute (NDI), delegates from the Council of Peoples of the RS, representatives from the House of Representatives of the FBiH Parliament, the representative of the "Alliance for a Better Future"; representatives of the Croat Party of Rights, Democratic People's Alliance (DNS) and Serb Democratic Party (SDS).



Of course, a special greeting goes to my colleagues – members of the BiH CEC, employees of the Secretariat of the BiH CEC and to the representatives of the election commissions of the basic constituencies from across BiH, all 552 of them, who did a tremendous job of organizing and conducting the 2014 General Elections.

Also we should not forget members of the polling station committees, more than 52,000 of them, who make up a very important part of the election administration and who were engaged on Election Day, working very hard into the night on the vote count. The inevitable part of the architecture of election administration is the Central Counting Centre in which, besides BiH CEC employees, worked 447 external associates, who counted more than 163,800 ballots. Furthermore, I would also like to mention other electoral stakeholders, 7,748 male and female candidates at the 2014 General Elections at all levels of authority for which the elections were held; 5,766 election observers, accredited by the BiH CEC and more than 64,000 political parties' observers, accredited by the municipal/city election commissions, who observed operations at 5,400 polling stations at which 1,788,083 voters cast their ballot out of 3,282,581 eligible and registered voters.

Most certainly we have to acknowledge the representatives of the BiH Ministry of Security, Ministries of the Interior of entities, cantons and other security agencies, whose law enforcement officers provided physical security to the facilities and during the delivery of polling material in the period from September to the end of October 2014.

I wish to thank every one of them once more for their commitment to the conduct of fair and transparent elections in BiH ensuring a positive security environment.

The general observation from international observers is that the BiH CEC enjoys the confidence of the interested parties in the electoral process and that the elections were conducted in an efficient manner. Nevertheless, there is still plenty of room for improvement, as several areas requiring our reaction, and the reaction of the legislature, were identified in this election cycle, as in previous ones, aimed at improving the election process in BiH; bringing it in line with OSCE commitments, and other international obligations and standards for democratic elections.

Despite the efforts the BiH CEC put into the early education of potential of polling station presidents, political parties' committees/representatives and the municipal/city election commission, again this time the polling station committees were observed as the weakest part of the election administration. The identified weaknesses in the work of polling station committee are repeated every election, and the process of appointment of polling station committees requires a more comprehensive and in-depth analysis and fundamental changes.

The agenda of the "2014 General Elections – Lessons Learned" conference covers a broad spectrum of interesting issues and we would like you to get involved in an open and constructive dialogue about all aspects of the recently completed 2014 electoral cycle and, through your comments, to contribute to the formulation of recommendations for the improvement of all the issues that the election administration is facing as a challenge.

I hope that, on the final day of the conference, we will present a summary of conclusions that the BiH CEC will use as a foundation to formulate recommendations that we will present to the BiH Parliamentary Assembly in our annual Report on the implementation of Laws under the competence of the BiH CEC.

I wish you very fruitful work and a pleasant stay in Banja Vrućica.

Ambassador Jonathan Moore, Head of the OSCE Mission to BiH

On behalf of the OSCE Mission, it is my pleasure to open the international conference “General Elections 2014 – Lessons learned”. I also wish to express the Mission’s gratitude to the CEC and Association of Election Officials for acknowledging the important work of election officials, honouring the democratic achievements, and bringing the work of the election administrators closer to the citizens.

OSCE first came to Bosnia and Herzegovina 20 years ago to help organize elections, a task which we turned over to the CEC in 2002. While our active role in administering elections has ceased, the OSCE Mission retains a close relationship with the CEC as well as keen interest in ensuring that elections continue to be conducted in line with international standards. The independence of the CEC is crucial for the integrity and credibility of the electoral process, as independent and impartial bodies are needed to guarantee fair elections.

The OSCE’S Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, that conducted the Election Observation Mission in October, has published its Final Report on the 2014 General Elections, and I would use this opportunity to invite all stakeholders to take into account recommendations listed in the report. Our colleague from ODIHR, Tamara Otiashvili, will reflect findings and recommendations of ODIHR’s Election Observation Mission.

While the 2014 Elections were estimated as efficiently administered, we all know that the Election Law needs to be revised, and the OSCE Mission is ready to support the effort in that direction.

The legal framework continues to pose ethnicity-based restrictions on the right to vote and to stand as a candidate, contrary to OSCE commitments and Council of Europe standards. It is regrettable that this is the second election held in violation of the Sejdić-Finci judgment of the European Court of Human Rights.

The number of votes required for a candidate to be elected in each constituency varies significantly, violating the principle of equality of the vote. The legal requirement to regularly review constituency boundaries and the allocation of mandate has not been met.

Polling station committees have been identified as the weakest point in the entire election system. The appointment process for polling station committees needs to be reviewed in order to ensure that they are independent and staffed with individuals who have the capacity and knowledge to do the job.

I support careful consideration of measures to improve the transparency of the election process,



limit the scope for election fraud, and speed up the counting of ballots. Possibilities include transparent ballot boxes, lower voting cabins, organizational changes in the Main Counting Centre, and an expansion of those qualified to submit official complaints against the election process. Voting electronically and/or online voting could also be an area for consideration, with defenders citing a shorter counting period and improved security of the electoral process as benefits.

As has been mentioned before, some advocate for the expansion of the BiH House of Representatives beyond 42 seats, to help ensure that communities can better identify- and hold accountable – their representatives. All of these ideas, and more, merit consideration by the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. If there is domestic interest, we and our partners in the international community are pleased to help.

I would also like to emphasize a need for the revision of the *Law on Political Party Financing* and improvements in the financial controlling of the political parties in both election and non-election years.

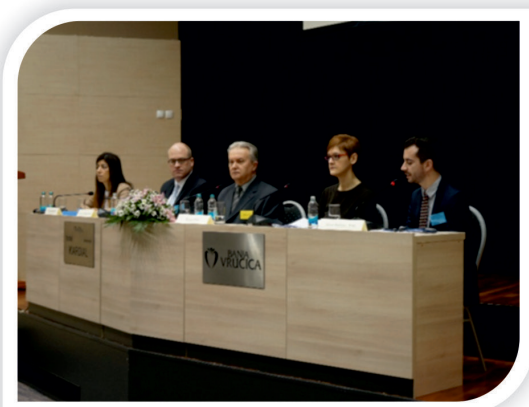
In closing, I congratulate the members of the CEC, and especially its technical staff, for the conduct of the 2014 General Elections and early mayoral elections in several municipalities of BiH.

I wish you a very successful and productive meeting.

Adrián Rodríguez-Pérez,
Project officer at the Directorate for Democracy of the Council of Europe

First of all I would like to thank the BiH CEC for:

- The invitation to participate in the post-election conference, that provides a great opportunity to take stock of experiences during the 2014 General Elections from their main protagonists; and
- The excellent co-operation with the CEC, as well as with the Association of Election Officials of Bosnia and Herzegovina, not only during the 2014 General Elections, but over the past years.



I would also like to thank the CEC for their nice words to the Council of Europe and for considering us a partner in ensuring the fairness and integrity of the electoral process in the country.

In view of the 2014 General Elections, the Division of Electoral Assistance of the Council of Europe implemented a project of pre-electoral assistance around three main axes:

1. Capacity building of the CEC in delivering trainings to electoral stakeholders, with special focus on the presidents of polling station committees.
2. Awareness raising of women, both as voters and candidates, in the framework of the Council of Europe – USAID joint programme on “Strengthening Accountability of Women and Young Political Leaders in BiH”
3. Awareness raising of first-time voters

The results of these activities have proven to be excellent, although further steps are still required in some areas.

In this regard, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe approved just last month the new Action Plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina 2015-2017. The Action Plan is the document jointly discussed with the national authorities that identifies the priorities for co-operation with the Council of Europe in the years to come.

The document acknowledges the important steps taken in the above-mentioned areas, and suggests strengthened co-operation in the field of electoral assistance.

Additionally, new actions could be also envisaged in priority fields for the CEC, such as the effective participation of national minorities and internally displaced people, or new voting mechanisms, with special focus on out-of-country voting, for example e-voting.

On this subject, the conference provides the perfect venue to already start identifying the fields in which we should work in the future, especially in view of the up-coming local elections scheduled for 2016.

At this point, I must add that although I appear in the agenda as a keynote speaker, I rather consider my role in the conference as a “keynote listener”. My expectations from the conference are to hear which are the actual concerns about the conduct of elections from their very protagonists and identify your priorities to enhance the integrity of the election process.

At the end I would like to highlight that the Council of Europe stands ready to provide its expertise and to continue to work with the country to support its efforts in fulfilling the Council of Europe’s standards and invite all participants to approach me during the conference should they wish to discuss strengthened co-operation in the field of electoral assistance.

OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Final Report – 2014 General Elections in BiH

I would like to begin by underscoring our appreciation for the excellent co-operation ODIHR has enjoyed with the CEC and authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina - during our previous observation activities - as well as for this continued positive interest in following up on our election-related recommendations.

At today's conference, I have the opportunity to present some specific recommendations from the 2014 final report for the General Elections.

But I would like to first, briefly, underscore the general importance of follow-up to recommendations and ODIHR's approach to supporting States in this important aspect.

It has been said many times that election observation is not an end in itself, but is rather intended to assist countries in implementing their election-related OSCE commitments. Indeed, the utility of election observation can only be maximized if the recommendations offered are given serious consideration, and if they are effectively addressed.

This has been recognized by all OSCE participating States, including BiH, who committed themselves in the 1999 Charter for European Security "to follow-up promptly ODIHR's election assessments and recommendations".

As a rule, it is a good practice that fundamental reforms be completed one year before elections are held. We also very much welcome the timing and the format of this conference, such as today, which demonstrate a high degree of transparency and inclusivity.

Now, to turn to our findings and recommendations in BiH...

As you will recall, we deployed an Election Observation Mission (EOM) for the October 2014 General Elections. These were the tenth elections we observed in BiH since 1996.

The mission included 11 international experts from 10 OSCE participating States, as well 20 long-term observers deployed throughout the country and approximately 300 short-term observers who joined for the Election Day.

As in all 57 OSCE participating States, the elections were assessed against OSCE Commitments, other international obligations for democratic elections, and, of course, national legislation.



The final report was released on 7 January 2015. The report concluded, positively, that **the elections were held in a competitive environment where candidates were able to campaign freely and fundamental freedoms of expression, association and assembly were respected.**

The report noted that the elections were efficiently administered. However, **widespread credible allegations of electoral contestants manipulating the composition of polling station committees reduced stakeholder confidence in the integrity of the process.**

The report also noted that the lack of a shared vision in the country's future and co-operation among the three constituent peoples continues to hinder the reform necessary to fully ensure democratic elections.

We highlighted certain areas that could benefit from further review and made a total of 30 recommendations to support efforts to strengthen the electoral process.

These recommendations largely follow the line of those offered in previous reports and relate to various areas.

I will draw your attention to five priority recommendations:

1. **In line with European Court of Human Rights' judgments and previous OSCE/ODIHR recommendations, ethnicity and residency-based limitations on the right to vote and to stand as a candidate should be removed from the law.**
 - a. As we mention in the report, the legal framework continues to pose ethnicity-based restrictions on the right to vote and to stand as a candidate, contrary to paragraphs 7.3 and 24 of the 1990 OSCE Copenhagen Document.
 - b. To date, there has been no progress in implementing the binding judgment of the European Court of Human Rights in the *Sejdić-Finci* case regarding the removal of these limitations.
2. **In order to uphold the principle of equality of the vote, constituency boundaries should be reviewed in accordance with the election law, OSCE commitments and other international standards. The law should specify which body is responsible for the review and that the process be impartial, transparent and involve broad public consultation.**
 - a. The constituencies have not been reviewed since 2001, despite a legal requirement for review every four years. We recognize that there was a review of constituency boundaries in 2013 for the RS National Assembly, but this did not remedy inequalities.
 - b. In addition, the law does not specify which body should undertake the review or measures to ensure impartiality, transparency and broad public consultation.
3. **The right to file a complaint should be provided to everyone at every stage of the electoral process.**
 - a. The mission concluded that the dispute resolution system was not consistently implemented. I will give you some examples: a number of complaints were dismissed on the grounds that the complainants' rights had not been directly violated, while others were reviewed. In addition, complaints on violations of election procedures, including polling station

committee (PSC) appointments and Election Day irregularities, were reviewed by Municipal Election Commissions (MECs) in the first instance, rather than directly with the CEC, which is inconsistent with the law.

- b. Several OSCE/ODIHR EOM interlocutors stated that the electoral dispute system would be more effective if MECs were granted first instance jurisdiction for complaints related to Election Day.
4. **The regulatory framework for campaign finance should be reviewed to take account of the gaps identified in this report and by the Council of Europe's Group of States against Corruption (GRECO).**
- a. The law does not foresee interim reporting, deadlines for publishing and auditing financial reports or proportionate sanctions, despite OSCE/ODIHR and GRECO's recommendations.
 - b. Overall, the campaign finance regulatory system as currently implemented is not adequate to ensure transparency, integrity and accountability of the process.
5. **Investigation of electoral offences by prosecutors should be carried out in a timely fashion to ensure effective remedy. Where irregularities are established, those found guilty should be held accountable.**
- a. Cases that may constitute criminal offences are referred to the prosecutor, but the lengthy investigations do not ensure timely remedy; a number of cases from previous elections are still pending with the prosecutor. The prosecutor has opened investigations on a few cases, including a number pertaining to out-of-country voting, but no action was taken prior to Election Day.

I would also like to bring to your attention the recommendations which relate to election administration:

6. **To further increase transparency of the decision-making process, the CEC could consider regulating that all meetings of the CEC are open to the public.**
- a. The mission was complimentary that CEC held regular sessions open to the media and accredited observers, and made most decisions unanimously.
 - b. However, closer to Election Day, it held *ad-hoc* sessions for which the observers and media were notified in advance, although sometimes the announcements did not appear on the CEC website in a timely manner.
7. **The CEC regulations could require that the MECs hold regular, announced formal sessions. To enhance transparency, all MECs should regularly update their announcement boards and consideration could be given to publishing relevant MEC information online.**
- a. Here I'd like to mention that the MECs were co-operative with the OSCE/ODIHR EOM and all provided requested information. However, some did not announce their sessions in advance or hold regular sessions. Most MECs, also organized informal meetings to decide on electoral matters.

8. **While the presence of political party representatives in polling stations is a potential safeguard of the process, the authorities should address the high risk of political imbalance in PSCs by conducting a thorough review of the legal provisions and practice for allocation of PSC members. This should be done in a public consultative process that includes MECs and other relevant stakeholders. Furthermore, the CEC could consider disclosing the names of the nominating organizations of PSC members per polling station.**
 - a. While the appointment of PSCs was formally carried out according to the law, there were numerous credible cases that contestants engaged in the trading of PSC positions to get representation in areas of their specific interest, leading to politically unbalanced PSCs.
 - b. Despite thorough regulation of the process to allocate PSC positions and CEC efforts to ensure the initial allocation was within the law, no actions were taken to address concerns regarding the trading of positions.
9. **The authorities could introduce a legal deadline for replacing PSC members once they are appointed and limit the possibility of replacements to specific circumstances based on justified reasons.**
 - a. The CEC and some MECs reported to the OSCE/ODIHR EOM that many PSC members were replaced before the Election Day. This practice not only reduced transparency, but also led to a situation where some PSC members were not trained.

Additional recommendations relate to making efforts to ensure participation of internally displaced persons, improving voter education, and enhancing the transparency of the tabulation and announcement of election results.

In noting concerns about pressure on the media and partisan editorial policies, the report recommends the upholding of media freedom strictly and that the public broadcaster provides impartial and balanced coverage to all parties and candidates.

Before finishing, let me note that ODIHR is ready to continue to offer its support to this electoral reform process, and I would highlight ways, which may be considered:

- ODIHR can provide legal reviews of draft or final election laws. This is an established process that we routinely engage in across the OSCE region – typically in collaboration with the Council of Europe.
- Reviews have the advantage of consolidating expert opinion on the extent to which legislation is in line with OSCE commitments and international obligations and other standards.
- I would also take this opportunity to encourage authorities to report on its follow-up of electoral recommendations at the OSCE Human Dimension Committee in Vienna. This can serve as a positive demonstration of a country's willingness to address recommendations, as well as, importantly, providing good practice that other States may consider.

In closing, allow me to express my thanks for this opportunity at today's conference to introduce recommendations from the final report on the 2014 General Elections.

We appreciate the interest in following-up on our recommendations and I look forward to listening to today's discussions.

Stjepan Mikić, President of the BiH CEC

Ermin Kos, Head of the Sector for Elections and ICT

Analysis of the Electoral Process – 2014 General Elections

I. ELECTION INDICATORS

Since its establishment, the BiH CEC has conducted four cycles of General Elections: 2002, 2006, 2010 and 2014 and three Local Elections - 2004, 2008 and 2012.

Improving Legislative Framework

At the beginning of 2014, certain improvements to the legislative framework were made aimed at improving the entire electoral process. In January 2014, the BiH Parliamentary Assembly adopted changes and addenda to the *BiH Election Law* concerning the number of mandates from three multi-member constituencies for the BiH Parliamentary Assembly from the territory of the RS. Furthermore, the gender quota had been also raised in 2013 from 33 per cent to at least 40 per cent of the under-represented gender in the election administration and on candidates' lists, and the BiH CEC revised all implementing documents in 2014 aimed at:

- **Better control and security:** introducing better solutions for protecting polling material, improving the work of mobile teams, introducing new applications to record appeals and complaints, verification of signatures during voters' registration and verifying the signatures of support filed by political bodies.
- The second aim was to make the process more **accessible, efficient and transparent** by introducing a new packaging scheme; shortening the deadlines for postal voting to two days from the previous ten days and preparing an audio-version of the *BiH Election Law* for visually impaired persons.
- **Improvements in the area of education** encompassed early education for potential presidents of polling station committees; video training for polling station committees and an information-educational campaign that was aimed at increasing voter turnout with special accent on women, young people, abstainees and persons with disabilities.
- **Establishment of an SMS centre through** which every voter could check the location of his/her polling station by sending an SMS to number 091 12 12 12.

Announcing the 2014 General Elections

On 15 May 2014, the BiH CEC announced General Elections in BiH for the following levels of authority:

- Presidency of BiH;
- House of Representatives of the BiH Parliamentary Assembly;
- House of Representatives of the FBiH Parliament;

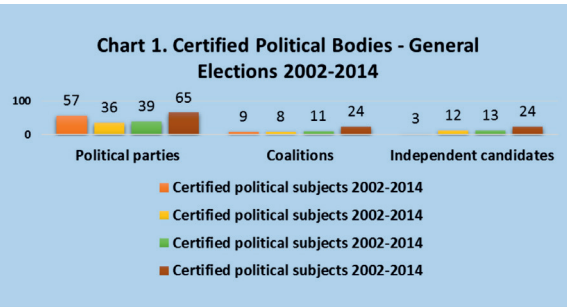
- President and Vice Presidents of the RS;
- National Assembly of the RS; and
- Assemblies of the Cantons in the FBiH.

The 2014 General Election Budget

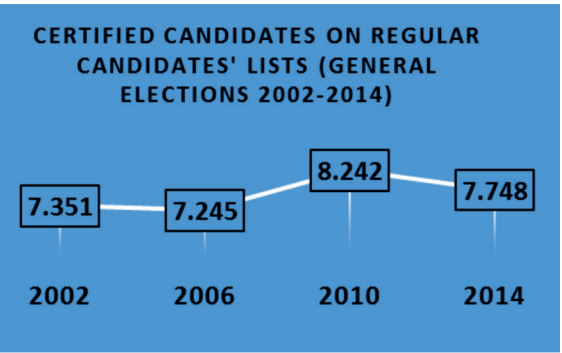
A total of BAM 8,874,000 was approved for conducting the 2014 General Elections from the budget of BiH Institutions and international obligations for 2014, whereof the largest budget item was related to remuneration for the work of polling station committees, which was 54.66 per cent of the total amount of approved funds. The total expenses of the 2014 General Elections amounted to BAM 7,613,600, where BAM 7,585,000 came from the budget and BAM 28,600 from the Council of Europe donation.

Certified Political Entities

The BiH CEC certified a total of 113 political entities for the 2014 General Elections, comprising: 65 political parties, 24 independent candidates and 24 coalitions, which is more political entities than at any previously held General Elections. The comparative statistics of certified political parties at the General Elections from 2002 to 2014 is shown in Chart 1.



A total of 753 regular candidates' lists with 7,748 candidates were certified for the 2014 General Elections, wherein 42.28 per cent of candidates were women and 57.72 per cent were men. Also, 80 compensatory lists with 952 candidates were certified for allocation of compensatory mandates, wherein 43.6 per cent of candidates were women and 56.4 per cent were men.



If we compare the number of certified candidates on the regular lists for the General Elections from 2002 to 2014, the number was highest at the 2010 General Elections, while at the 2014 General Elections the number was 494 LESS candidates or 6 per cent (Chart2).

Central Voters' Register

The Central Voters' Register was concluded on 28 August 2014 at midnight. On Election Day, 12 October 2014, there was a total of 3,282,581 voters registered on the Central Voters' Register, wherein 2,039,316 voters were registered in the FBiH and 1,243,265 registered in the RS. The citizens of the Brčko District of BiH, who selected their entity citizenship, are also included in these figures.

On Election Day, there were 85,367 voters on the excerpt from the Central Voters' Register in Brčko District of BiH, wherein the FBiH voting option was selected by 25,490 voters, and 20,999 voters selected the RS option, while 38,878 citizens of Brčko District of BiH did not select their voting option and were not able to exercise their voting right at the last elections.

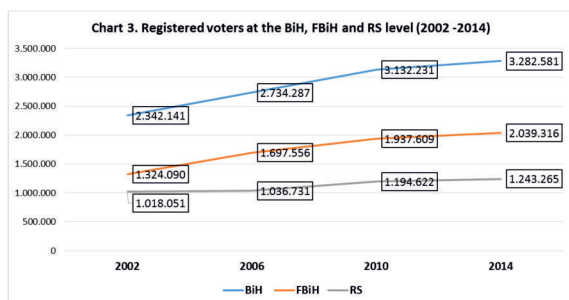
Those voters, who reside in Brčko District of BiH and whose names were not found on the excerpt from the Central Voters' Register and who selected entity citizenship for the first time in the period from 29 August 2014 to Election Day, had the opportunity to vote by tendered-enveloped ballots after they presented their certificate of entity citizenship and an ID document issued by Brčko District of BiH competent bodies to the polling station committee. The overview of voters registered for the 2014 General Elections by category is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Number of registered voters by category, with turnout, on Election Day – 12 October 2014.

Category	# of voters	Turnout
Voters registered to vote at the regular PS	3,206,062	1,746,782
Voters voting in person	11,355	432
Voters voting in absentia	9,178	3,032
Voters registered to vote by mail	42,128	28,001
Voters registered to vote by mobile team	10,181	8,282
Voters registered to vote at the diplomatic consular representation offices of BiH	245	138
Total number of tendered ballots	3,432	Confirmed ballots 1,416
TOTAL	3,282,581	1,788,083

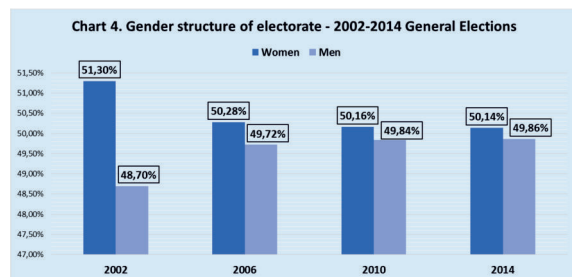
A total of 3,432 voters voted by tendered ballot on Election Day.

An analysis of the number of registered voters at the national level and in both entities for the period 2002-2014 has shown that the number of registered voters has been continuously increasing (Chart 3).

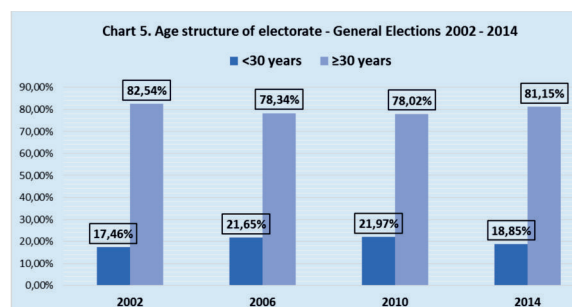


The number of registered voters in 2014 compared to 2002 is higher by 940,440 voters or 29 per cent.

When it comes to the gender structure of the electorate, it can be observed that, for the 2002-2014 General Elections, women represent more than 50 per cent of the electorate, even though that percentage is slowly, but continuously, decreasing (Chart 4).



Indicators of the electorate's age breakdown in the same period indicate that the highest percentage of the electorate was aged 30 years or over, while the under 30's represented less than one fifth of the electorate at the 2002 General Elections, and at the next General Elections in 2006 and 2010 this group had increased in numbers. At the 2014 General Elections, the under 30's represented only 18.85 per cent of the total electorate, while 80 per cent were over 30 (Chart 5).



Polling Stations

At the 2014 General Elections, voters voted at 5,400 polling stations: 5,254 regular polling stations, 132 polling stations for voting *in absentia*, five polling stations for voting in person for municipality existing in 1991; five polling stations for voting at BiH Embassies abroad and four polling stations for voting by tendered ballots. The polling stations at five diplomatic-consular representation offices abroad were opened in the BiH Embassies in Vienna and Berlin, and in the General Consulates in München, Stuttgart, and Frankfurt. Each voter had the possibility to check the location of his/her polling station on the BiH CEC's web site under the link **"are you registered?"** or by sending an SMS message containing his/her personal identification number to 091 12 12 12.

Election Observers

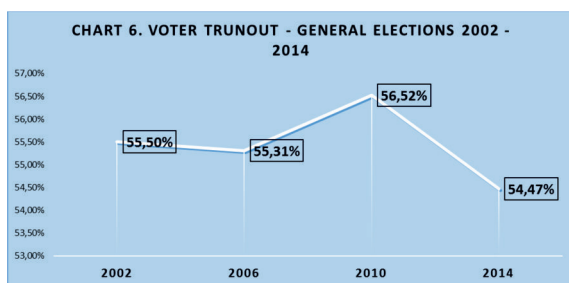
The BiH CEC accredited 5,766 observers, comprising: 5,073 observers from the associations, 563 international observers from 36 international organizations and 130 observers from 13 political parties while, according to the information available to the BiH CEC, the municipal/city election commissions accredited 64,160 observers of political entities. This is the highest number of election observers ever recorded in BiH.

Security

In terms electoral process security, the BiH CEC informed all relevant Ministries of the Interior and security agencies that it had announced the 2014 General Elections, and subsequently the BiH Ministry of Security established a Committee for the Security of the General Elections and an Operative Headquarters headed by the Directorate for the Co-ordination of Law Enforcement Bodies, which co-ordinated activities in the field. Representatives of all other security agencies in BiH were also part of the Operative Headquarters, besides BiH CEC representatives. The general assessment is that the 2014 General Elections were conducted in a positive atmosphere without any major incident and the entire operation was conducted in line with the highest security standards.

Voter Turnout at the 2014 General Elections

A total of 1,788,083 or 54.47 per cent of voters voted at the 2014 General Elections, which represents a turnout two per cent lower than at the 2010 General Elections. The highest turnout was recorded in the municipality of Trnovo (FBiH), where 79.25 per cent of voters cast their ballot, and the lowest was in the municipality of Dobretići, where only 24.68 per cent of registered voters cast their ballots. A comparative review of voter turnout at General Elections from 2002 to 2014 is shown in Chart 6.



Complaints and Appeals

In the period of electoral activities, actors in the electoral process filed appeals and complaints relating to: the BiH CEC's decisions rejecting or dismissing the application of a political entity to stand for the 2014 General Elections; the certification of a candidate on a candidates' list; rejection of registration on the Excerpt from the Central Voters' Register for out-of-country voting; decisions of the BiH CEC regarding registration on the Central Voters' Register to vote in Brčko District of BiH; procedure for appointing members of polling station committees for the 2014 General Elections; violations of Article 16.14, paragraph (3) of the BiH Election Law that prohibits paid election campaigning through electronic and print media; violations of election silence; violations of voting rights at the polling stations; requests for a recount of the ballots and for the annulment of the elections. A overview of complaints and appeals filed by category is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Overview of filed complaints and appeals in the 2014 election cycle by category

	Number of filed appeals or complaints
Appointment of polling station committees (BiH CEC competence)	12
Appointment of polling station committees (MEC competence)	47
Appointment of MEC	7
Election campaign (BiH CEC competence)	17
Election campaign (MEC competence)	49
Certification of candidates' lists	5
Certification of political entities	9
Paid advertisements prior to election campaign (BiH CEC competence)	7
Registration of voters to Central Voters' Register	13
Election silence (BiH CEC competence)	6
Election silence (MEC competence)	204
Accreditation	2
Complaints on Election Day (BiH CEC competence)	11
Complaints on Election Day (MEC competence)	187
Recount requests (BiH CEC competence)	123
Complaints filed against decision on announcing the results	2
Request for annulment of elections	2

After Election Day, the BiH CEC ordered the recount of ballots from 198 polling stations for certain levels, by political entity and, at some polling stations, also by candidates of a political entity. There was a recount ballots at 121 polling stations before the results were verified, and at 77 polling stations after the results were verified.

A total of 67 appeals were filed with the Appellate Division of the BiH Court at all stages of the electoral process, of which the BiH Court rejected or dismissed 66 appeals, while it partly changed a decision relating to the sanction of removing a candidate from the candidates list. This means that 99 per cent of the BiH CEC's decisions were confirmed.

A total of three appeals on final and valid BiH CEC decisions, taken in the period of conduct of the General Elections, were filed before the BiH Constitutional Court as at 20 January 2015.

Applications Filed with the BiH Prosecutor's Office

During the verification process for out-of-country voters, the BiH CEC found certain irregularities:

- The filing of applications for registration on behalf of deceased people;
- Applications submitted by the same applicant from several addresses in one country; and
- Applications submitted by one applicant with different addresses in two or more different countries.

Therefore, in line with Article 6.8, Paragraph (1) of the *BiH Election Law* and due to reasonable doubt that these are criminal offences as defined under Article 152 *Voting Fraud* and Article 154 *Electoral Fraud* of the BiH Criminal Code, a total of 632 copies of applications for registration were delivered to the BiH Prosecutor's Office for further investigation. These are: 37 applications filed on behalf of deceased persons; 546 applications filed by the same applicant from several addresses in one country; and 49 applications filed by one applicant with different addresses in two or more different countries.

Furthermore, in the first half of September 2014, the BiH CEC received information that 100 and more envelopes with ballots, addressed to individual voters registered to vote by mail, were delivered to a single address abroad belonging to one person. It was found out that the envelopes were correctly completed and stamped by the BiH Post, and sent from BiH in a proper manner.

Aimed at determining the relevant facts and causes for such an occurrence, the BiH CEC filed a motion before the BiH Prosecutor's Office for the violation of the rules of the electoral process which, beyond any reasonable doubt, may constitute a criminal offence.

II. ELECTION RISK MANAGEMENT TOOL AND SWOT ANALYSIS

Analysis of the electoral process and elections themselves in any country represents a huge challenge due to its complexity and the fact that it would be necessary to allocate significant resources and time, and to engage a wider spectrum of persons, with varying educational profiles. Taking all of the above into consideration, as well as the very short timeframe for analysis preparation, it was not possible to conduct a complete analysis of the General Elections, therefore we primarily focused on several basic indicators that are to be used in further discussions during the workshops.

The main tool/method that was used is the Election Risk Management tool developed by IDEA International, and the SWOT method of analysis. The analysis encompassed the following segments: polling station committees with a focus on training, invalid ballots, entry of the results into the database, processing of the results, and the electoral process.

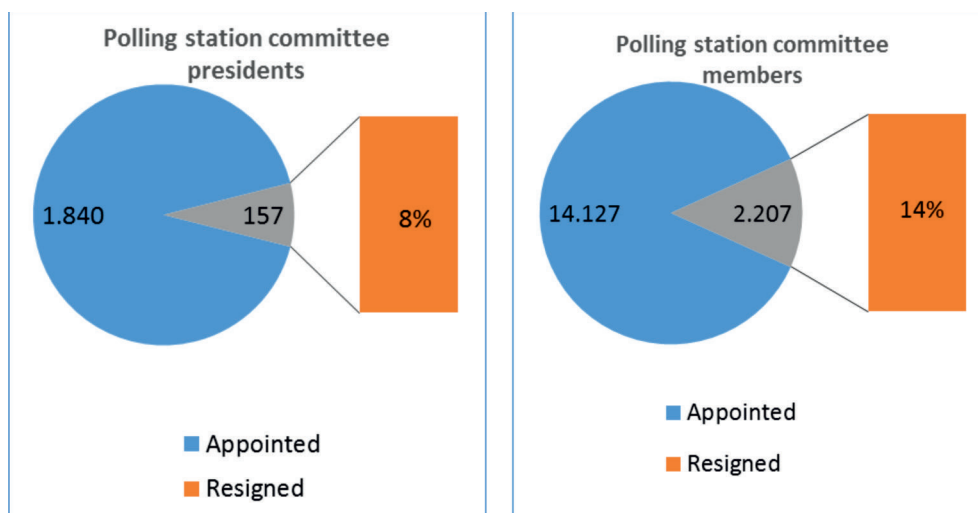
POLLING STATION COMMITTEES

An educated election administration is key to successfully solving the challenges set before it during the preparation and conduct of elections. Attempting to summarize training activities in 2014, in December 2014 the BiH CEC held a professional discussion and propounded several recommendations to improve the education process in the forthcoming period.

Recommendations:

- To continue co-operation with international organizations;
- To organize exchange and transfer of knowledge on elections;
- To continue the practice of providing training for representatives of political entities and other electoral actors;
- BiH CEC to determine a curriculum of obligatory education for election administration to achieve uniformity of training for all electoral actors;
- To establish an education team for training realization;
- To conduct education and certification of education team members;
- Curriculum should include an obligatory **practical part of the training**;
- To conduct training of election commissions in the following areas: electoral rights, planning and conducting operational-technical activities for elections, use of IT equipment and software in the area of elections, etc.
- To consider the possibility of using social networks in education (Facebook, Twitter etc.).

A special problem that occurred after educating polling station committees, and which has proved to be a huge challenge for election commissions, is the resignation of polling station committee members. Namely, after significant financial investment into educating polling station committee members, as well as the time - a resource that can be hardly compensated for due to election-related deadlines - a huge number of educated polling station members resigned their positions on the polling station committees. When analyzing the information submitted by 52 election commissions, out of a total of 1,840 trained polling station committee presidents and deputy presidents, 157 or eight per cent of them had resigned their positions, whilst out of 14,127 members and deputy members a total of 2,207 or 14 per cent had also resigned their positions on the polling station committee.



Graphic overview of appointed polling station committee members and members who resigned

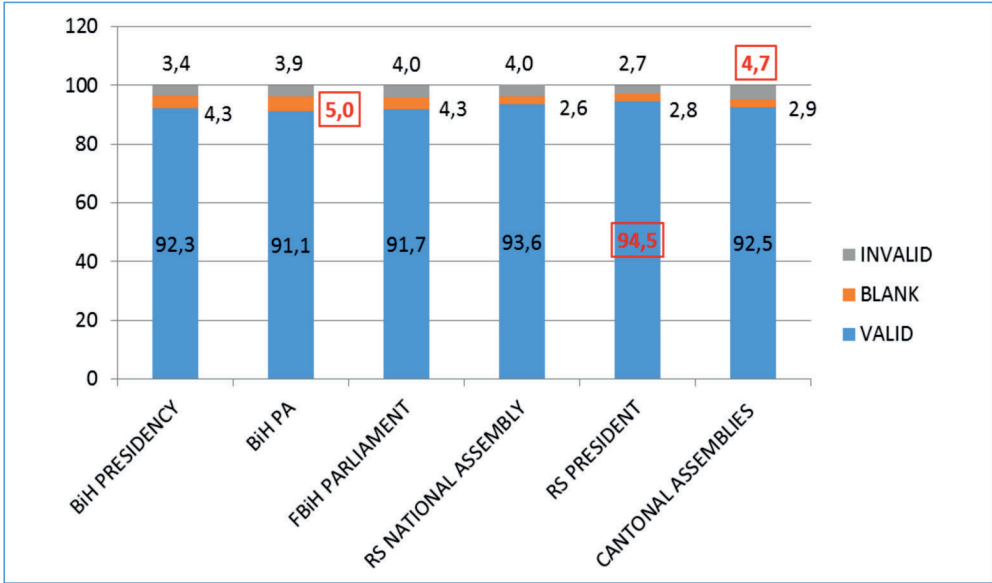
The best description of how members of the polling station committee see their work is in a report by an election commission: ***“Some have thought that they only need to sit next to the ballot box”***.

The reasons why polling station committee members resigned from their positions, as well as potential measures and steps to counteract this practice are summarized in the table below:

Reasons	Measures and actions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inadequate compensation; • Long hours and hard work; • Huge responsibility; • Lack of interest. 	Increase compensation for their work
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complicated election system; • Fear of sanctions. 	High-quality and more detailed training
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transport to polling station. 	To change regulations to enable polling station committee members to vote at the same polling station
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obligations and absence on Election Day; • Other reasons (illness, no reason...) 	Reasons that remain

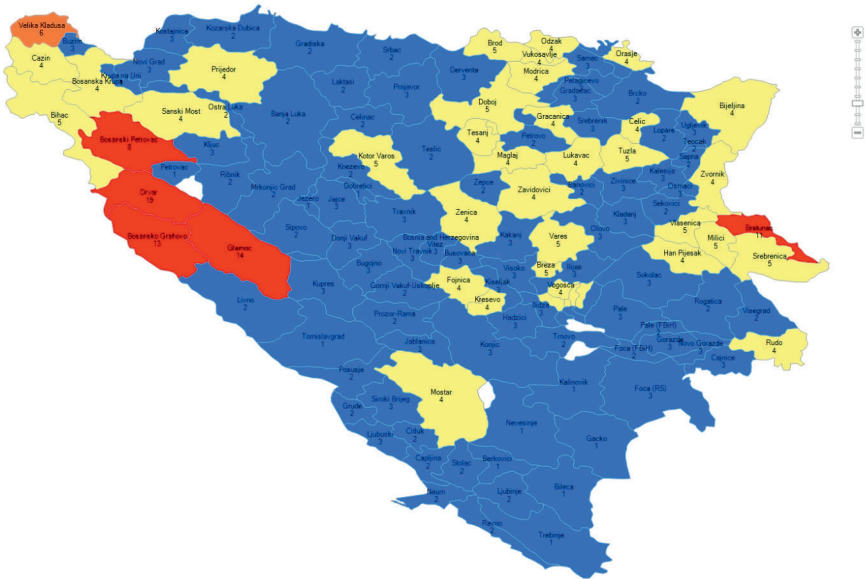
INVALID BALLOTS

The main characteristic of all elections conducted so far in BiH is the increasing number of invalid ballots, which have ranged from 2.7 per cent for the presidency and vice presidencies of the RS to 4.7 per cent for cantonal assemblies.



Graphic overview of valid, invalid and blank ballots

By assessing the total number of invalid ballots per electoral level it can be concluded that the theory of the greatest number of invalid ballots being found at the simplest level is not true. The cartographic review of invalid ballots by municipality is as follows:



The reasons for such a high number of invalid ballots are predominantly the following:

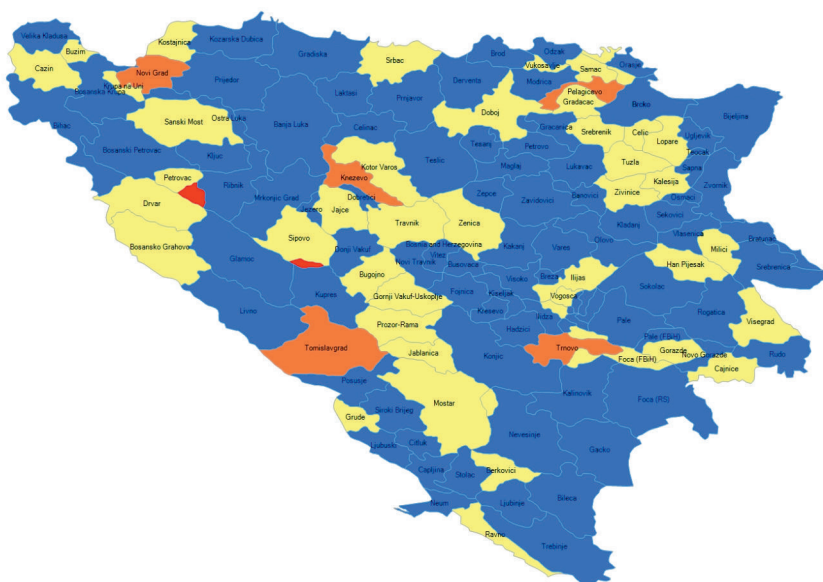
1. Expressing dissatisfaction;
2. Lack of information on the voting method; and
3. Turning valid into invalid ballots.

PROCESSING ELECTION RESULTS

The process from Election Day to the day that the election results were confirmed passed under intensified pressure from the media and other electoral actors to have the results confirmed as soon as possible without taking into consideration the specificities of the election system in BiH (out-of-country votes, tendered ballots and absentee ballots).

Following an analysis of the data entry process conducted by the election commissions, it was determined that:

A total of 90 election commissions had entered more than 90 per cent of the results, 45 election commissions had entered below 90 per cent of election results, five election commissions had partial data entry and two failed to enter data due to communication issues.



Map overview of election results' database entry

ELECTIONS - SWOT ANALYSIS

In attempting to analyse the electoral process/election administration in BiH from the performance aspect, the SWOT analysis method was used. The results of the analysis are presented in the table below:

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basic infrastructure; • Education and experience; • Confidence in election administration; and • Flexibility to adapt to working conditions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insufficient media campaign; • Poor presentation of performance outputs; • Unsatisfactory specialized education/training; • Neglecting development; and • Procedure for selecting election administration.
OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support to election reforms in BiH; • Positive assessment made by international and domestic observers; • Continuous training; • Knowledge and technology transfer; and • Favourable changes to the laws/regulations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unfavourable situation (political, etc.); • Insufficient preparation for participation in projects and programmes; • Inadequate financial support; and • Unfavourable changes to the laws/regulations.

Branko Petrić, member of the BiH CEC
Marijana Žuljević, Head of the Elections Department

WORKSHOP I

Challenges in the Electoral Process with an Accent on Invalid Ballots and the Work of the Election Administration

The concept for the workshop titled “Challenges in the Electoral Process with an Accent on Invalid Ballots and the Work of the Election Administration” was designed in a combination of two sections: the first section was an introduction (presentation of the topic), while the second section was interactive, including a discussion, comments, questions and answers, as well as exchanges of experience between participants. The third and final section was the formulation and presentation of the workshop’s conclusions.



The introduction encompassed three thematic units, presented separately in the text below.

1. The notion of elections and electoral manipulation, with experiences in BiH electoral process. Dr. Ahmet Šantić, electoral expert and member of the BiH CEC’s book “Electoral Right – the Experience of Bosnia and Herzegovina and European Countries” (Sarajevo: University Press, 2014) was used as a foundation for defining certain terms, and as a source of theoretical considerations in this segment.

Elections represent an action by which citizens determine their representatives thus transferring the sovereignty of the people to elected representatives, establishing a system of representational democracy. Elections are a foundation for the establishment of a political system of a country and a necessary precondition for the legitimacy of elected officials.¹ The ***Electoral process*** refers to the time it takes from the day that elections are announced to the point where the representational bodies are established. ***Electoral procedure*** is a shorter and legally defined part of the election process; it means the use of certain procedures and techniques encompassing the process of announcing elections, election management bodies, the candidate registration process, constituencies, polling stations, polling materials, voters’ registers, election techniques, voting, repeated elections, the announcement of results and the protection of electoral rights.²

1 Dr. Ahmet Šantić, “Electoral Right – the Experience of Bosnia and Herzegovina and European Countries” (Sarajevo: University Press, 2014), page 20

2 Ibid, pages 65-66

The democratism of a society is reflected in adherence to set procedures/processes. The essence of election legislation is to normatively, and in technical preparation of the elections, ensure the maximum or the greatest possible degree of truly expressed voters' will based on which elected representatives gain legitimacy.³

Electoral manipulation, according to Sarah Birch, represents a relatively frequent phenomenon in the election process that can take various shapes and actions aimed at favouring a certain entity or entities participating in the elections, via electoral regulations or electoral conduct, to make their electoral victory much more appealing.

Electoral manipulation is possible at all stages of the electoral process: pre-election, election and post-election.

Pre-election stage and electoral manipulation

Selection of the election system. Election systems represent a group of principles, rights and organizational-technical procedures based on which citizens' participation in elections is defined and realized. These are a group of measures and procedures concerning elections i.e. the organization of elections as well as the organization of procedures and techniques for electing political representatives.⁴ The selection of the election system may depend upon various factors, e.g. the environment of the country, its historical heritage, religious and cultural differences within the society, etc. The majority and proportional representation systems are used in BiH. Citizens use the majority system to vote for a person and, after the elections, they exactly know who their representative is; while the proportional representation system ensures higher proportionality between votes and mandates, giving smaller parties the chance to win mandates.⁵

Electoral geometry and geography. Determining the size of the constituency, the number of mandates, as well as the shape and territory of the constituency can affect the final election results, which imposes a conclusion that electoral geometry and geography can affect lack of correspondence between the percentage of votes won and the percentage of mandates won.⁶ The pioneer of electoral manipulation using electoral geography is Elbridge Gerry (hence the term 'gerrymandering').

The obligation to reconsider constituencies and the number of mandates every four years for the BiH PA House of Representatives, the House of Representatives of FBiH Parliament and the RS National Assembly is set forth in the *BiH Election Law*. This obligation has been observed only once when the *Law on the Amendments to the RS Election Law* (Official Gazette of the RS, No. 24/12) changed the number of multi-member constituencies for the RS National Assembly and the number of mandates in the constituencies.

Distribution of mandates. The distribution of mandates in majority election systems is determined by the election system itself. In the proportional representation system, one of the methods for the distribution of mandates is used, whereby the selection of one of the methods can be a way to legally affect election results.

3 Ibid, page 99. Listed by: Miloš Todorović, *Electoral Manipulations*, Belgrade, Cesid, 2002, pgs. 7-8

4 Suad Arnautović, *Political Representation and the Election System in Bosnia and Herzegovina in XX Century*, 2009, page 275

5 Dr. Ahmet Šantić, "Electoral Right – the Experience of Bosnia and Herzegovina and European Countries" (Sarajevo: University Press, 2014), page 100

6 Ibid, page 103

Election stage and electoral manipulation⁷

Accurate voters' list, as a public registry that is susceptible to everyday change, relates to updates of information on age eligibility, place of residence, citizenship, working legal capacity, changes in personal data, death etc. Electoral manipulation is possible in the process of updating the above-listed facts.

Ballot papers. Here possible manipulation relates to determining the originality of the ballots, the number of ballots, and safeguarding the integrity of the ballots.

Violation of the secrecy of the vote is manifested through denying voters secrecy whilst voting, exerting influence on voters (blackmail, bribery, threats), while practice also shows examples of multiple voting at different polling stations, voting on behalf of another person and on behalf of deceased persons.

Post-election stage and electoral manipulation⁸

The protection of electoral right in the electoral process has to be ensured at every stage of electoral procedure, from candidates' registration, review of the voters register, work of election management bodies, Election Day itself, to the announcement of the results. Manipulation can happen during the entire period of electoral right protection, primarily by those adjudicating complaints and appeals (election commissions, competent courts), and the integrity of the electoral process largely depends on their *modus operandi*.

The most frequent forms of electoral rules violations

Certain irregularities were observed in electoral practice in BiH during the period 2002-2014, and these are: irregularities in the registration of numbers of voters; irregularities in applications by voters for out-of-country voting; the trading of positions on polling station committees; posters placed within a 50 metre area of the polling station; provocative rallying by candidates in front of and at the polling station; one person voting on behalf of several voters; one person providing voting assistance to multiple voters; mistakes made by the polling station committee when counting and recording the number of votes won.

Violations of election legislation most frequently observed in BiH elections, and which can be characterized as manipulative activities, are the following:

Voting on behalf of another person. During the 2010 General Elections, the BiH CEC investigated irregularities, reported by political entities, regarding electoral engineering allegedly at work in the Municipality of Čapljina, namely the signing of the Central Voters' Register next to the names of persons who did not vote. Acting upon these political bodies' complaints, the BiH CEC ordered a recount in ten polling stations in the Municipality of Čapljina, of which irregularities were determined in five (5) polling stations, according to the main controller's report. The next step was to review excerpts from the Central Voters' Register, and to subject them to a graphologist evaluation - who determined a high degree of similarity between many signatures (some were even identical). Given that elections at these polling stations were not conducted in line with the relevant provisions of the BiH Election Law and by-laws, and that the irregularities determined could affect the results of elections for the Assembly of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton, the BiH CEC passed a decision

7 Ibid, pages 105-106

8 Ibid, page 106

to annul and repeat elections at five polling stations in the Municipality of Čapljina for the Assembly of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton. The repeated elections did not significantly affect the previously determined election results.⁹

Also, at the 2012 Local Elections, the BiH CEC passed a decision to announce re-elections for the Mayor and Assembly of the Municipality of Vukosavlje at the regular polling station 018B005, as it had determined that the voting procedure at this polling station was not administered in line with the provisions of *BiH Election Law* and the Rulebook on the Method of Administering Elections in BiH, i.e. there were several identical signatures on an excerpt from the Central Voters' Register; this was confirmed by a graphologist, and could have affected the results of the elections for the Municipal Mayor and Municipal Assembly of the Municipality of Vukosavlje.¹⁰

Excess of ballots in the ballot box (i.e. difference in the number of signatures and the number of ballots in the ballot box). The procedure of delivering polling materials to Polling Station Committees twelve hours before polling stations opening has proven to be ineffective, giving opportunity for the manipulation of polling materials, ballots and the voters' register. During these twelve hours, the polling station committees have the opportunity to sign some votes by themselves on the Election Day, place those ballots into the ballot box or to remove ballots from ballot boxes (observed at two polling stations in Prijedor in 2012 and in Odžak).¹¹

Irregularities during voters' registration. An example of this irregularity happened at the 2012 Local Elections, when the BiH CEC received a substantial number of statements and notices from voters from the Municipalities of Pelagićevo, Brčko, **Šekovići**, Zvornik, Osmaci, Novo Goražde, Vukosavlje, Brod, Srebrenica, East Novo Sarajevo and East Ilidža relating to the submission of postal applications without the knowledge of the person who was being registered, and to the abuse of personal identification documents.¹² Similar practice was observed at the 2014 General Elections, when the BiH CEC received statements from persons from the Municipalities of Orašje, Doboj, Domaljevac-Šamac and Pelagićevo. The BiH CEC initiated procedures before the competent prosecutor's office in line with its obligation set forth under the *BiH Election Law*.

A further example from the 2012 Local Elections was when the BiH CEC passed a decision to repeat elections for the Mayor and Municipal Assembly of East Drvar and East Mostar, as it was determined that the voting procedure at polling stations was not administered in line with the provisions of the *BiH Election Law* and the Rulebook on the Method of Administering Elections in BiH, i.e. there were irregularities in the registration of a certain number of voters, which could have affected the results of the elections for the Municipal Assembly and Mayor.¹³

Irregularities during vote counting. During the 2004 Municipal Elections, the BiH Election Commission passed a decision to annulling and repeating elections at all 38 regular polling stations in Zvornik due to observed irregularities (unknown persons writing in the box designated for signature initials or signs; signatures next to the names of deceased persons; 100 per cent turnout at one polling station; and reserve ballots were used – resulting in at least 2,500 disputed signatures in the municipality, which could have affected the results of the elections).

9 Report on the implementation of the laws under the competence of the BiH CEC in 2010, page 33, www.izbori.ba

10 Report on the implementation of the laws under the competence of the BiH CEC in 2012, page 43, www.izbori.ba

11 Ibid, page 22

12 Ibid, page 20

13 Report on the implementation of the laws under the competence of the BiH CEC in 2012, page 43, www.izbori.ba

Complaints in the electoral process

Between 2006 and 2014, a steady rise in the number of complaints during the elections in BiH can be observed:

Elections	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014
Number of complaints filed	66	161	141	282	218

In considering the contents of the complaints filed in this period, we can conclude *that the most frequent irregularities and violations during the election period, especially on Election Day, were:*

Exerting influence and suggesting to voters who they should vote for; persons could not be found on the voters' list; posters of political entities placed in the vicinity of polling stations and in places not designated for poster placement, such as on the buildings of public companies; covering or destroying posters, false identity; observers stopped from observing all activities at polling stations; attempts of voting on behalf of other persons, contrary to the law; another person assisting persons who were visually impaired, illiterate or bodily incapacitated, contrary to the procedure set forth in the regulations; violation of election silence and campaigning before the official start of the election campaigns and after the end of the campaign on social networks and through SMS messages; complaints concerning the appointment of polling station committees and the unequal appointment of polling station committee presidents; complaints filed about the education procedure for polling station committee members; and placing a smaller number of ballots than issued into the ballot box.

The most frequent forms of electoral rule violation when determining election results at polling stations, as well as the actions undertaken by the BiH CEC at the second entry of election results in the Central Counting Centre are the following:

Incorrectly completed minutes	Actions taken by the BiH CEC
Number of signatures on the Central Voters' Register excerpt is higher/lower than the number of ballots in the ballot box	If the irregularities affect the election result, the BiH CEC is to decide on a recount or an annulment of the elections
Mathematical errors made during collation on the aggregate results form	Election results controllers correct obvious mathematical errors
Information entered into the wrong boxes	Election results controller corrects the information/enters them into the correct boxes
All necessary information is not entered on the form	Re-count
Ballots not counted correctly	Actions taken by the BiH CEC
The sum of votes by political parties is higher/lower than the total number of valid votes	Recount by decision of the BiH CEC
Candidate received more votes than the political party to which he/she belongs	Recount by decision of the BiH CEC
Polling material not packed correctly	Actions taken by the BiH CEC
Forms from the polling station are missing	BiH CEC orders the bags to be opened

2. Work of the election administration

One of the BiH CEC's competencies set forth by *BiH Election Law* is to co-ordinate, oversee and regulate the work of all election commissions and polling station committees in line with this law. In 2014, the work of the election administration, especially the election commissions of basic constituencies, was reviewed via an assessment of the observance of their competencies and obligations set forth by *BiH Election Law* provisions.

One of the election commissions' obligations is to *oversee and control the work of the Centres for Voter Registers*, established in every municipality. Performance assessments based on the observation of all Centre for Voters' Register's obligations, set forth in the Rulebook on Maintenance and Use of the Central Voters' Register, is used to assess the success of election commissions in meeting these obligations. In total, 21 per cent or 29 municipal/city election commissions were very successful in this area; 61 per cent or 87 municipal/city election commissions were successful, 16 per cent or 23 municipal/city election commissions were unsuccessful, while two per cent or three municipal/city election commissions had no technical means to establish network communications with the Centre for Voters' Register.

Regarding the *delivery of polling materials to the BiH CEC*, it was determined that 94 per cent or 133 municipal/city election commissions met the obligation within the set deadline; five per cent or seven municipal/city election commissions met the obligation within the deadline, but the delivered material was not complete, while three municipal/city election commissions were 24 hours or more late in delivering the material.

Furthermore, *the obligation to designate and arrange polling stations for the 2014 General Elections* was in line with the regulations, while *co-operation and regular communication between the BiH CEC and election commissions* was assessed as satisfactory, whereas it was assessed as very successful for 39 per cent or 56 municipal/city election commissions, and successful for 61 per cent or 86 municipal/city election commissions. As for *the procedure of appointment and education of members of the polling station committees*, 93 per cent or 132 municipal/city election commissions filed no complaints; eight municipal/city election commissions or five per cent filed one complaint, which was assessed as unfounded at the second instance procedure; one municipal/city election commission or 1 per cent filed two complaints, which were found unfounded, while one municipal/city election commission or 1 per cent filed two complaints that were accepted.

Regarding the *continuous education of members of election management bodies during their mandate* set forth by *BiH Election Law* and, in line with the BiH CEC's education plan and programme for 2014, 90 per cent of election commission members attended training on "Violations of the Electoral Process – Minor Offences and Criminal Responsibility and Practice", while 86 per cent of election commission members attended training on "Polling Station Committees' Operation on Election Day".

3. Analysis of invalid ballots

The main characteristic of all elections conducted so far in BiH is the increasing number of invalid ballots, which had ranged from 2.7 per cent for the President and Vice Presidents of the RS to 4.7 per cent for cantonal assemblies.

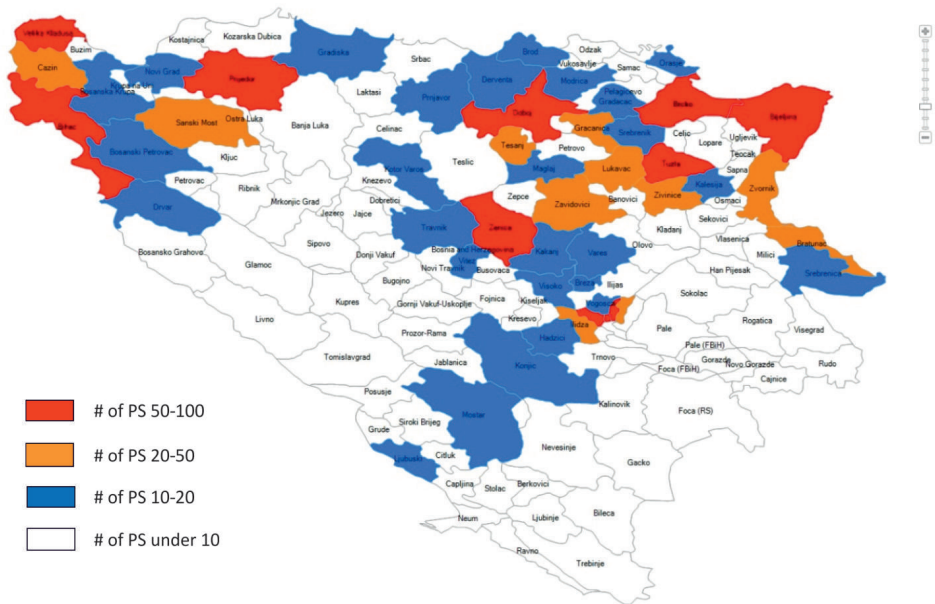
Below is a table showing those FBiH municipalities with in excess of four per cent of invalid ballots for the BiH Presidency, together with a comparative overview of other electoral races.

MUNICIPALITY	BiH PRESIDENCY	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BiH PA	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FBiH PARLIAMENT	CANTONAL ASSEMBLIES IN THE FBiH
DRVAR	19.03	10.69	8.83	4.94
BIHAĆ	5.36	6.50	6.54	7.55
BOSANSKI PETROVAC	8.27	7.03	6.07	6.15
VAREŠ	4.90	6.35	6.03	6.76
VELIKA KLADUŠA	6.01	5.68	5.90	6.49
ODŽAK	4.06	5.62	5.86	5.23
KREŠEVO	4.04	5.65	5.84	5.40
SANSKI MOST	4.23	4.82	5.03	5.69
BREZA	4.79	5.21	5.02	6.34
TEŠANJ	4.23	4.94	4.79	6.08
BOSANSKO GRAHOVO	12.71	7.75	4.76	5.95
ZENICA	4.08	4.38	4.66	5.68
ORAŠJE	4.12	5.03	4.60	4.60
TUZLA	4.75	4.77	4.53	5.31
GLAMOČ	14.06	10.36	4.49	3.99
STARI GRAD SARAJEVO	4.03	3.79	3.78	4.77
NOVO SARAJEVO	4.61	3.86	3.78	4.61
CENTAR SARAJEVO	4.20	3.61	3.42	4.44

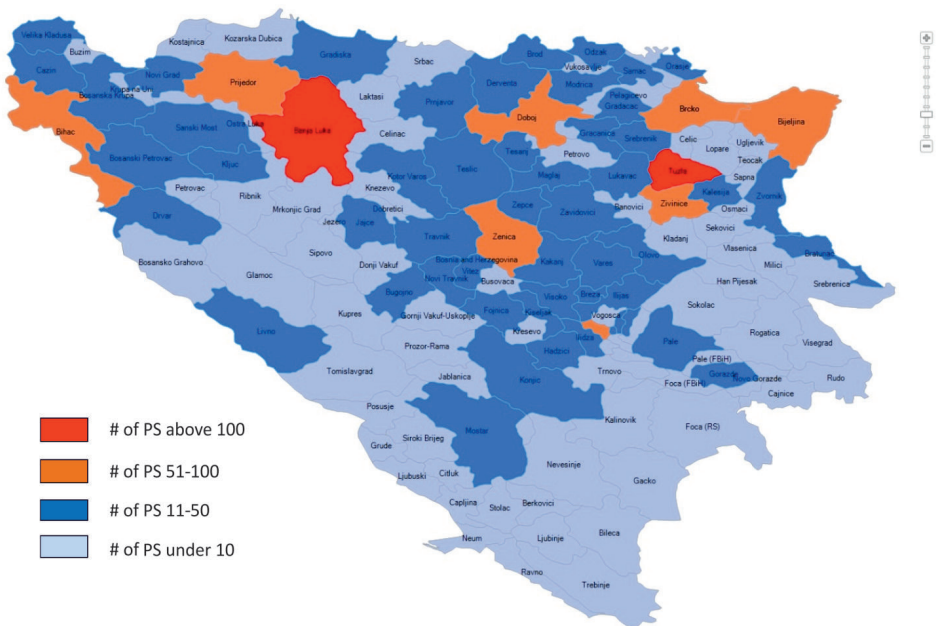
Below is a table showing those RS municipalities with in excess of four per cent of invalid ballots for the BiH Presidency, together with a comparative overview of other electoral races.

MUNICIPALITY	BiH PRESIDENCY	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BiH PA	RS NATIONAL ASSEMBLY	PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENTS OF THE RS
BRATUNAC	10.71	4.95	4.83	3.46
BROD	5.39	7.09	5.80	4.81
DOBOJ	5.48	5.80	5.13	4.60
PRIJEDOR	4.05	4.74	4.91	3.32
KOTOR VAROŠ	4.98	4.76	5.23	3.21
VLASENICA	4.98	3.92	3.76	2.85
VUKOSAVLJE	4.38	4.19	5.34	2.80
ZVORNIK	4.32	3.53	2.37	2.74
SREBRENICA	5.21	2.73	3.09	2.33
MILIĆI	4.52	3.32	3.42	2.19

The map below also shows those municipalities, together with the number of polling stations, with in excess of four per cent of invalid ballots for the BiH Presidency.



The map below also shows those municipalities, together with the number of polling stations, with in excess of four per cent of invalid ballots for the House of Representatives of the BiH Parliamentary Assembly.



The polling stations with the highest number of invalid ballots at the 2014 General Elections are shown in the table below:

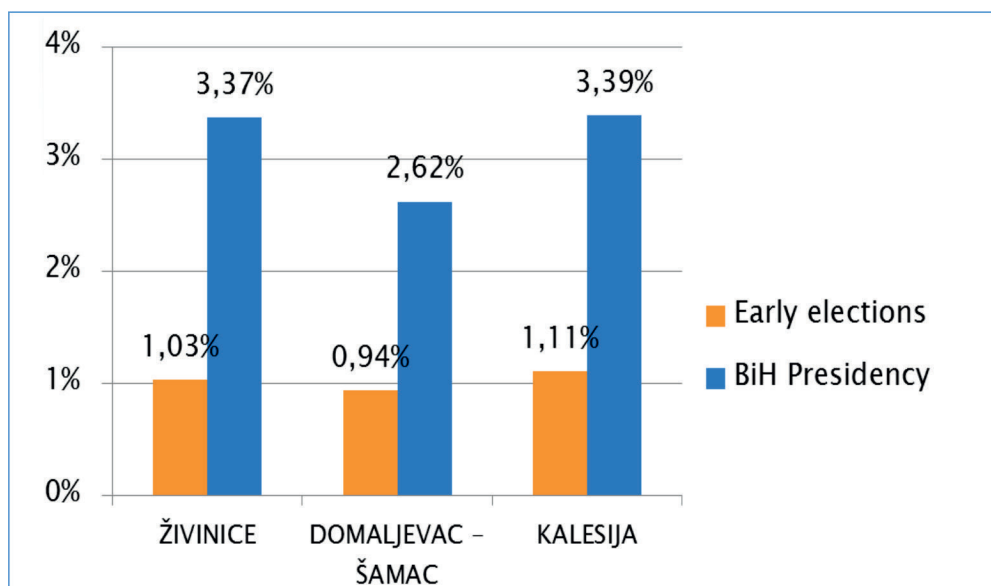
LEVEL	MUNICIPALITY	PS CODE	NAME OF PS	LOCATION	VOTED	INVALID %
BiH PRESIDENCY	PRIJEDOR	009B018	KOZARAC 3	OŠ KOZARAC	245	58.69
BiH PRESIDENCY	PRIJEDOR	009B044	DONJA LJUBIJA 1	PŠ DONJA LJUBIJA	163	53.69
BiH PRESIDENCY	PRIJEDOR	009B049	RAKOVČANI	DOM RAKOVČANI	123	46.51
BiH PRESIDENCY	GRADIŠKA	010B006	ORAHOVA 2	OŠ ORAHOVA	213	39.27
BiH PRESIDENCY	BIJELJINA	029B039	OŠ MEŠA SELIMOVIĆ 2	OŠ MEŠA SELIMOVIĆ, JANJA	275	37.86
BiH PRESIDENCY	BIJELJINA	029B127	DOM KULTURE JANJA	ČITAONICA MZ, JANJA	140	35.11
BiH PRESIDENCY	BOSANSKI PETROVAC	030A007	BRAVSKO	OŠ BRAVSKO	99	34.96
BiH PRESIDENCY	KOTOR VAROŠ	070B022	VEČIĆI-OMLADINSKI DOM	OMLADINSKI DOM VEČIĆI	213	34.36
BiH PRESIDENCY	ZVORNIK	083B026	ĐULIĆI	DOM KULTURE ĐULIĆI	149	33.33
BiH PRESIDENCY	ZVORNIK	083B037A	KOZLUK	OŠ KOZLUK	255	33.33
BiH PRESIDENCY	GLAMOČ	085A004	VRBA	SELO VRBA, KUĆA VL. SINIŠA VUJIČIĆ	191	31.76
BiH PRESIDENCY	GLAMOČ	085A005	HALAPIĆ	SELO HALAPIĆ, KUĆA VL. MIHAJLO KALABA	94	31.21
BiH PRESIDENCY	GLAMOČ	085A007	ŠUMNJACI	SELO ŠUMNJACI, OBJEKAT BIVŠE PRODAVNICE	43	30.85
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF BIH PA	GLAMOČ	085A007	ŠUMNJACI	SELO ŠUMNJACI, OBJEKAT BIVŠE PRODAVNICE	43	30.52
BiH PRESIDENCY	VLASENICA	103B016	GRADINA	ZGRADA MZ GRADINA	119	29.41
BiH PRESIDENCY	BRATUNAC	104B021	SUHA	MJESNI URED	141	29.02
BiH PRESIDENCY	BRATUNAC	104B026	VOLJAVICA	OŠ VOLJAVICA	191	28.64

BiH PRESIDENCY	BRATUNAC	104B030	POBUĐE	ŠKOLA POBUĐE	213	27.23
BiH PRESIDENCY	BRATUNAC	104B031	HRNČIĆI	OŠ KONJEVIĆ POLJE	126	26.91
BiH PRESIDENCY	SREBRENICA	105B006	GORNJI POTOČARI	KUĆA VL. SADIK EFENDIĆ	123	26.02
BiH PRESIDENCY	MILIĆI	185B012	KALDRMICA	KALDRMICA, KUĆA MUSTAFIĆ IDRIZA	282	25.58
RS NATIONAL ASSEMBLY	BRČKO	200C065R	KREPŠIĆ	OŠ KREPŠIĆ	224	25.31

Also, for the purposes of analysis and potential identification of reasons for such a high number of invalid ballots, we analysed and compared the percentage of invalid ballots recorded at the 2014 General Elections for the BiH Presidency and at the early elections conducted at the beginning of 2015 for the Mayors of the Municipalities of Živinice, Domaljevac-Šamac and Kalesija, bearing in mind that, in both cases, the system used is the majority system, i.e. the voting procedure is identical.

Analysis indicates that the reasons for such a high number of invalid ballots are primarily the following:

1. Expressing dissatisfaction;
2. Lack of information about the voting method; and
3. Turning valid into invalid ballots.



4. Conclusion

Instead of a Conclusion. The election administration members at the workshop worked intensively to find the most efficient solutions to improve existing practices and prevent potential irregularities in the election administration's work. It can be concluded that most of the discussions and proposals related to improving the procedure for appointing and educating polling station committee members, which ranged from proposals for making the polling station committee president a permanent position, to investigating the possibility of appointing a professional cadre to the polling station committees by the relevant election commission. The focus of the discussion was also placed on the need for a more intensified training for polling station committee members, continuous trainings for election commission members and education of political body representatives. Also, specific individual improvements within the technical segment were considered so that the entire process would become more efficient for all members of the election administration who have the common task of conducting and administering the electoral process in BiH.

Irena Hadžiabdić, member of the BiH CEC
Sead Alihodžić, Election Programme Officer, IDEA International
Ermin Kos, Head of the Sector for Elections and ICT

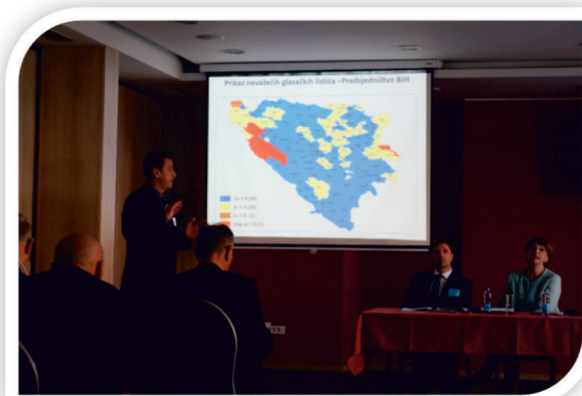
WORKSHOP II

Election Risk Management – Global Experiences and their Application in BiH

INTRODUCTION

The electoral process, as part of very complex actions and procedures for the preparation, organization and conduct of elections in a country, is more or less exposed to certain risks. In global terms, the risks can be categorized as: political, technical, operational and security-related. These risks, which largely transfuse into the electoral process, can cause the suffering and death or destruction of a community and infrastructure, or they can damage confidence in democratic processes and institutions.

By monitoring and analysing electoral risks, the election administration tries to find an appropriate method (a procedure that can give timely information about the risk) to prevent or completely eliminate any possible negative consequences to the electoral process. Recognizing the importance of risk influence on the electoral process and the need for timely detection and risk “management”, the need to support the election administration via the development of appropriate tools has risen.



Election risk management can be defined as: ***a systematic effort undertaken in order to improve knowledge about election risk factors and to develop situational awareness for initiating timely and well-informed preventions and actions to reduce the risk.***

ELECTION RISK MANAGEMENT TOOL

To improve the electoral process in BiH, and recognizing the importance of monitoring electoral risk, the CEC has, in the past few years, established co-operation with the IDEA International organization in order to test and apply the Election Risk Management Tool (ERMTTool), developed by the IDEA International.

Bearing in mind that the application of the ERMTTool enables the participation of a large number of electoral stakeholders, the topic ‘Election Risk Management – Global Experiences and their Application in BiH’ was given a significant place within one of the workshops of the annual conference organized by the BiH CEC.

The main objective of the workshop was:

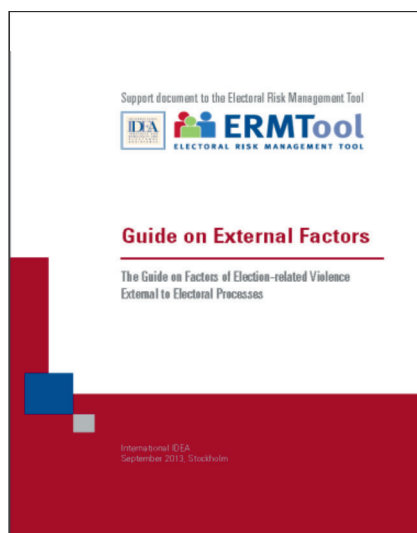
- To present the ERMTTool developed by IDEA International in co-operation with the BiH CEC and other partner organizations from around the world;
- To familiarize participants with the concept of risk management in the electoral process;
- To talk about the risk MECs are facing in their work; and
- To discuss the benefits and challenges of applying such a method to organize and conduct elections in BiH.

The ERMTTool consists of three inter-related modules: **TO LEARN, TO ANALYSE and TO ACT**, and their basic objective is to overcome the gap between learning and action.



Graphic overview of the ERMTTool module

The learning module in the ERMTool is in the form of an adjustable digital library that is systematized into 36 internal and external factors, divided into two guidebooks.



Internal factors	External factors
<p>The electoral legal framework</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Contested electoral law 2. Unfit electoral system 3. Inadequate electoral administrative rules <p>Planning and preparing for the implementation of electoral activities</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Poor performance of electoral management bodies 5. An inadequate system for the resolution of electoral conflicts 6. Inadequate operational planning 7. Inadequate funding, financing and budgeting 8. Inadequate electoral security arrangements <p>Training and information</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. Poor training of electoral officials 10. Lack of training of political parties and media 11. Lack of training of security sector agencies 12. A poor voter information campaign <p>Registration</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 13. Problematic voter registration 14. Problematic registration of political parties and candidates 15. Problematic accreditation of domestic and international observers 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Poor socio-economic conditions 2. Political and social exclusion 3. Conflict relating to changing power dynamics 4. Gender-based discrimination and violence 5. The presence of non-State armed actors 6. The presence of organized crime groups 7. Sense of the lack of responsibility for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes 8. Human rights violations 9. Environmental hazards 10. Unethical media reporting

Electoral campaigning

16. Unequal media access and favouritism
17. Provocative use of media by political parties
18. Provocative party rallying
19. Provocative and violent actions by political parties

Voting operations

20. Insufficiency, destruction and loss of sensitive and non-sensitive materials
21. Lack of transparency of out-of-country voting and of voting of persons with special needs
22. Problematic election day operations
23. Problematic ballot counting and result tallying

Verification of election results

24. Poor management of election results
25. Poor management of the final round of electoral appeals
26. Rejection of election results

The second part of the module relates to strong analytic instruments that enable the transfer of data via the development of a colour map of risks, incidents' mapping and monitoring relevant trends.

Example. Assessment of BiH CEC's performance



The workshop participants, based on individual considerations and discussions on the presentation and working materials, identified the following risk factors they encounter when organizing and conducting elections at the municipal level:

- Inadequate training of election management staff
- Inappropriate training of political parties and the media
- Inadequate communication between polling station committees and observers
- Inadequate financial funds
- Resignations of polling station committee members
- Trade of seats on polling station committees
- Problems with accrediting domestic and international observers
- Inappropriate administrative rules
- Inadequate compensation for polling station committees
- Insufficient political support
- Inadequate work of election management bodies
- Centre for Voter Registers not functioning
- Inadequate planning
- Insufficient support from the BiH CEC
- Problems with the registration of out-of-country voters
- Provocative use of the media by political parties
- Provocative public appearances at rallies
- Provocative and violent actions by political parties

Moderators and participants agreed that a lengthier discussion would lead to the identification of additional factors.

Identifying the factors is only the first step. The tool also helps the user recognize that all listed risks are not relevant to all municipalities, which means that efforts – including financial and human resources – can be directed towards those areas where they are needed the most. This then contributes to greater efficiency and cost-effectiveness, since it eliminates the need to act across the entire territory of BiH, which would require enormous resources.

Differences between municipalities do not exist only in the risks and their consequences; they also exist in the method by which risks should be addressed. The global experience proves that, even within the same country, differing approaches to dealing with the same risks have to be applied, for example in Mexico. MEC members recognized the validity of this premise in BiH and had confirmed that good practices from one municipality had to achieve the same results in other municipalities. These diversities must be taken into consideration, but all good examples are useful from the inspirational aspect.

Novak Božičković, Member of the BiH CEC
Radoje Šupeta, Head of the Sector for Legal Affairs and Conflict of Interest
Mustafa Laković, Co-ordinator for Municipal/City Election Commissions

WORKSHOP III

The Necessity for Changes to Election-related Legislation

The BiH CEC is responsible for the implementation of the *BiH Election Law*, the *Law on Political Party Financing* and certain areas of the *Law on the Council of Ministers of BiH*, as well as for implementation of the *RS Election Law*, the *Election Law of the Brčko District of BiH* and the *Law on Election, Termination of Mandate, Recall and Replacement of Municipal Mayors in the FBiH*. Certain shortcomings in State laws, entity laws and the laws of the Brčko District of BiH have been observed over previous years.



All relevant participants at the BiH and entity levels agree that it is necessary to work on changes to election-related laws.

Every year, the BiH CEC, in line with Article 2.9 of the *BiH Election Law* submits to the BiH Parliamentary Assembly a report on the implementation of the laws under its competence with very specific recommendations for the improvement of election-related legislation. This year, the BiH CEC submitted an additional report on the conduct of the 2014 General Elections, recommending the establishment of an inter-departmental (expert) working group for the preparation of the amendments to the *BiH Election Law*.

Given the many unsolved issues, as well as the ambiguity of laws at the State, entity and Brčko District of BiH levels, it is necessary to start preparing amendments to these laws.

- FBiH to pass an Election Law that would set forth: election and recall of municipal and city mayors, election of councilors to the municipal and city councils, constituencies for the election of higher levels of authority and all other aspects that are necessary for FBiH.
- To consider establishing/ appointing an FBiH Election Commission and to determine its competence,
- To begin preparing changes to the FBiH Constitution in order to enable the conduct of elections in the City of Mostar, as well as to enable the full complement of the House of Peoples of the FBiH amongst Serb people, and to align Chapter 9A of the *BiH Election Law* (election of the president and vice presidents of the FBiH) with the FBiH Constitution (Chapter IV, point B of the FBiH Constitution).

- To upgrade election-related legislation to define accountability for failure to meet the deadlines set forth for the establishment of the authorities.

Activities on the amendments to the *BiH Election Law*, which has been changed 18 times so far, have been conducted very actively since 2010. The BiH CEC, in its 2010 report, suggested to the BiH PA certain important additions to the regulations under its competence. These are:

- Implementing the decision of the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg (from 22 December 2008, published on 8 March 2010 in the Official Gazette of BiH, No. 17/10);
- Developing efficient mechanisms for establishing the Government of BiH;
- Changing the *Law on Political Party Financing*;
- Adopting the *Law on Political Parties* at the State level;
- Determining the number of BiH citizens with refugee or displaced persons' status (aspect of improving the electoral process and Central Voters' Register preparation); and
- Appointment of polling station committees.

The BiH Parliamentary Assembly adopted the BiH CEC's report and, by conclusions of the House of Representatives at its 8th session on 25 August 2011 and by the House of Peoples at its 5th session on 14 September 2011, established an inter-departmental working group for the preparation of the amendments to the *BiH Election Law*, the *Law on Political Party Financing* and the *Law on Conflict of Interest in the Government Institutions of BiH*.

The following representatives were appointed as members of the working group:

- Representatives of the BiH PA House of Representatives;
- Representatives of the BiH PA House of Peoples;
- Representatives of the BiH CEC; and
- Representatives of the BiH Council of Ministers.

The working group prepared a high-quality proposal of 28 measures for amending the *BiH Election Law*, which would remove some legal deficiencies and which would improve the solutions presented in the *BiH Election Law*. The working group completed its work on 15 May 2012.

The BiH CEC has again in its report on the implementation of laws under the competence of the BiH CEC in 2013, summarized its recommendations to the BiH Parliamentary Assembly, proposing further improvements to the *BiH Election Law*. The following recommendations were made:

BiH Election Law

- To put forward proposals for the amendments to the *BiH Election Law*, which were defined by the inter-departmental working group for the preparation of the amendments to the *BiH Election Law*, the *Law on Political Party Financing* and the *Law on Conflict of Interest in the Government Institutions of BiH* (28 proposals for amendments) and other technical changes as requested by the president of the inter-departmental working group for the amendments to the *BiH Election Law*.
- To implement the decision of the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg.

- To implement the decision of BiH Constitutional Court, No. U - 9/09 of 26 November 2010 relating to the City of Mostar, and in connection with the decision of the BiH Constitutional Court of 18 January 2012.
- To reconsider the provisions of Articles 1.6, 1.7 and 1.7a of the *BiH Election Law* in the context of Article IX, paragraph (1) of the BiH Constitution.
- To remove observed contradictions in the amendments to the *BiH Election Law* with regard to equal gender representation on the candidates' lists and in the election administration. Given that municipal/city election commissions can have three, five or seven members and polling station committees three or five members, the provision setting forth that the under-represented gender has to be represented by 40 per cent cannot be implemented where municipal/city election commissions (93 municipal/city election commissions) and polling station committees have three members. The defined percentage can also cause problems in the preparation of candidates' lists by political entities, as well as certain contradictions in the context of the implementation of the existing provisions of Article 4.19, Paragraph (4) of the *BiH Election Law*. Therefore it is necessary to find an adequate solution for the above-mentioned cases.
- To consider the provisions of Chapter 9A of the *BiH Election Law* with regard to the election of the president and vice presidents of the FBiH in the context of Chapter IV, Point B of the FBiH Constitution. To upgrade election legislation to more clearly define responsibility for failure to meet the deadlines prescribed for the establishment of the legislature.
- To reconsider Chapter 6 of the *BiH Election Law* on the protection of electoral right in terms of reducing broad access to election appeals and suits, three-instance competence, introduction of government stamps, etc.
- To reconsider and update the number of eligible voters who have the status of displaced persons by the relevant state and entity authorities, to protect the integrity of the Central Voters' Register by the time the 2014 elections are announced.
- In accordance with the provision of Article 10.9 of the *BiH Election Law* to suggest that the FBiH Parliament reconsider the number of mandates from each constituency for electing representatives to the House of Representatives of the FBiH Parliament, set forth in Article 10.2 of the *BiH Election Law*.
- To intensify activities for resolving the issue of entity citizenship for voters from Brčko District of BiH. There are tens of thousands of voters in Brčko District of BiH who did not opt for entity citizenship to enable them to register as a voter in the appropriate constituency in the FBiH or the RS. Furthermore, it is necessary to eliminate discrimination of FBiH citizens from Brčko District of BiH, who do not vote in any of the cantons, thus being deprived of the right to elect delegates to the House of Peoples of the FBiH Parliament.
- Through the realization of phase IV of the Integrated Election Information System of BiH project to continue upgrading the election information infrastructure to ensure the networking of all election-related operations into one integrated system. To consider introducing e-voting, at least for some levels of authority or for certain groups of voters (such as voters with disabilities), aimed at modernizing the electoral process.

- All the amendments to the *BiH Election Law* must be adopted on time so that the BiH CEC can pass the necessary set of by-laws, install and test the appropriate software under the Integrated Election Information System and conduct training for the election administration in BiH. All the amendments to the *Election Law of BiH* should be introduced in a non-election year.

Political Party Financing

- To adopt the *Law on Political Party Financing* in BiH in line with the recommendations of the Group of States against Corruption of the Council of Europe (GRECO), especially underling the areas of political party financing and election campaign financing.

Support to developing human potential and improving co-operation between all interested parties

- Aimed at establishing a centre for education of the BiH CEC by October 2014, which will serve as a regional educational and resource centre for election administration, political parties, non-governmental sector, media and all other interested parties. It is necessary to ensure personnel, financial and material support for the successful realization of this project.

The BiH CEC report, with all the above recommendations, was adopted by the BiH Parliamentary Assembly (House of Representatives at its 67th session on 28 May 2013 and House of Peoples at its 28th session on 6 June 2013).

The inter-departmental working group for the preparation of the amendments to the *BiH Election Law* was established in December 2013 and brought together representatives from all institutions that participated in its work.

The inter-departmental working group was tasked with preparing the amendments to the *BiH Election Law* by 28 February 2014.

In January 2015, the BiH CEC submitted to the BiH Parliamentary Assembly a Report on the Conduct of the 2014 General Elections, which, *inter alia*, contains the recommendation on the need to urgently undertake activities to change the *BiH Election Law* in the part concerning the election of Serb delegates to the FBiH Parliament House of Peoples. It is well-known that the Caucus of Serb People was not complete this time (of 17 seats only 13 are occupied).

The BiH Parliamentary Assembly (House of Representatives) considered the BiH CEC's report at its 7th session held on 26 February 2015. The proposal on the need to undertake activities to change *BiH Election Law* (House of Peoples of the FBiH Parliament) was adopted under urgent procedure, as was the proposal on the establishment of the inter-departmental working group for the preparation of more comprehensive amendments to the mentioned Law.

The BiH CEC has, yet again, as in previous reports, presented a justifiable stance: that the amendments to the *BiH Election Law* have to be adopted during a non-election year, so that there would be enough time to harmonize the many implementing documents under the BiH CEC's competence with the provisions of the amended Law. The reason for such a proposal is that the next year is a non-election year and Local Elections in BiH are scheduled for 2016.

Conclusions of the Conference

“2014 General Elections – Lessons Learned”

Election Law of BiH and by-laws

1. To earmark funds for conducting elections and associated administrative costs (polling stations and election commissions) in the budget of institutions and international obligations of BiH balancing the process of financing electoral process and election administration.
2. President of the polling station committee to become a permanent position.
3. To increase remuneration for members of polling station committees and to pass a decision on compensation before the appointment of polling station committee members.
4. To improve the electoral process, the law should prescribe that:
 - The President and Deputy President of polling station committees are appointed by the election commission of the basic constituency through an open job vacancy or from amongst civil servants after training is completed;
 - To extend the time for the education of presidents of polling station committees, their members and their deputies, starting on 1 January of the election year; and
 - Only parliamentary political parties to have the right to propose polling station members.
5. Ballots from regular polling stations to be counted at the local or regional counting centre immediately after the close of polling stations.
6. To set forth sanctions for presidents, members and deputies of the polling station committees for unexcused absences from polling stations on Election Day.
7. To establish stricter criteria for the certification of members of polling station committees and the possibility of de-certification.
8. To prescribe a fine for the political body who nominated any polling station committee member found responsible for procedural violation at polling stations.
9. To introduce education for political body representatives, the public and voters through print and electronic media.
10. To prescribe the possibility of early (postal) voting for persons who cannot vote on Election Day for any reason.
11. To simplify existing forms for polling stations.
12. To improve the regulations concerning the updating of records of deceased persons in the Central Voters' Register, as well as the regulations concerning the numeration of streets and houses, to protect the integrity of the electoral process.

13. To consider the possibility of adding colour markings to the ballots for cantonal assemblies.
14. To determine the possibility of introducing technical aids for illiterate persons and persons with disabilities to vote.
15. To consider the possibility of e-voting (scanning ballots, electronic counting).
16. To more precisely define the procedures for polling material delivery.

Use of the ERMTool

Following the presentation of the ERMTool and subsequent discussion, it was recognized that the BiH CEC and MECs would have the following opportunities through using the tool:

- Improve knowledge of electoral risks;
- Build capacities to analyse the risks (especially the timely detection of when the implementation of certain activities becomes complicated); and
- Undertake efficient measures to eliminate risks in a timely manner.

Therefore the following steps would be:

1. The gradual introduction of new skills through training the Election Commission and their application in the field. This effort has to be systematic, and the BiH CEC training centre could have a significant role in this process.
2. To develop a database of electoral risks and good experiences by municipality. It is very important to recognize the particular specificities of municipalities when analysing possible solutions. The ERMTool opens the opportunity of introducing a new dynamic into co-operation between the BiH CEC and the MECs.
3. The ERMTool is a great opportunity to improve co-operation between the BiH CEC, civil society and other government agencies with regard to the collection and exchange of data which the BiH CEC or MECs cannot collect through their activities.



**Participants of the “2014 General Elections – Lessons Learned” conference
19 - 21 March 2015, Teslić**

Keynote speakers' biographies

Stjepan Mikić



Stjepan Mikić was born on 26 December 1949 in Vidovici, municipality of Orašje, Posavina Canton, BiH. He graduated from the History Department of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb and started his working career as Professor at Odžak High School. During his career, he has worked as: Assistant Director of Odžak High School; Head of the Public Safety Station in Odžak and Head of Police Administration for Posavina; Councilor in the Citizens' Council of the FBiH Parliament; Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives of the FBiH Parliament, and Superintendent at the Office of the Croat Member of the BiH Presidency. In 2005, he was elected member of the BiH CEC. From 2006 to 2008, he was President of the BiH CEC and, in 2012, he was again elected member of the BiH CEC (for a second term). He has published several professional papers, especially in the area of elections. He is the current President of the BiH CEC.

Ambassador Jonathan Moore



Ambassador Moore began his current assignment as Head of the OSCE Mission to BiH in September 2014. He was previously Director of the Office of South Central European Affairs at the U.S. Department of State; that office lead policy responsibilities for Albania, BiH, Croatia, Kosovo, FYRoM Montenegro, and Serbia.

Ambassador Moore, a career member of the U.S. Senior Foreign Service with the rank of Minister-Counselor, joined the State Department in 1990 and was assigned to the Embassy in Belgrade in 1991. He was a desk officer for the former Yugoslavia from 1993 to 1995, and was the Political/Economic Section Chief of the U.S. Embassy in Lithuania from 1995 to 1999. From July to September

1996, he worked for three months at the OSCE Mission to BiH as an assistant and advisor to Ambassador Robert Frowick. After a one-year assignment as a Congressional Fellow in the Policy Office of the Speaker of the House Hastert, Ambassador Moore became Deputy Director of the U.S. State Department's Office of Russian Affairs from 2000 until 2002, serving as Acting Director for several months in early 2002. He then worked as Deputy Chief of Mission of the U.S. Embassy in Namibia from 2002 to 2005. Ambassador Moore was a 2005-2006 National Security Affairs Fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution. He was Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Belarus from 2006 until 2008, and was Chargé there from 2008 until 2009. Before returning to Washington, he was U.S. Deputy Chief of Mission in BiH from 2009 to 2012.

Ambassador Moore has received a Distinguished Honor Award and several Superior and Meritorious Honor Awards from the State Department, as well as two awards for language proficiency from the American Foreign Service Association, and has been decorated with the Lithuanian Orders of Merit and Grand Duke Gediminas. In addition to the languages of BiH, Ambassador Moore speaks Russian, German, Danish, and Lithuanian.

Adrián Rodríguez-Pérez



Adrián Rodríguez-Pérez recently joined the Division of Electoral Assistance of the Council of Europe as Project Officer where, amongst other things, he contributes to the implementation of electoral assistance programmes in the countries of Eastern Europe and the Southern Caucasus, and updates Council of Europe Recommendations on legal, operational and technical standards for e-voting. Before joining the Council of Europe, Adrián worked in the Philippines office of the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation where he was in charge of several projects in the fields of human rights, good governance and strengthening civil society organizations. Adrián graduated first in his class in Political Science and Public Administration from Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona (Spain) and holds a Master's Degree in International Relations.

Tamara Otiashvili



Tamara Otiashvili is an Election Advisor at the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR). She graduated from the Faculty of Law of Tbilisi State University, and received her Master's Degree from the University of Illinois College Of Law. Before joining the OSCE/ODIHR Election Department, Tamara worked in various missions tasked with observing elections and assessing preparations for the conduct of elections in the areas of the South Caucasus, Central Asia, Central, Western and Southern Europe, and the United States of America. Tamara was also Deputy Director of the *Carter Center* Office in Sudan from 2010-2011. She is also the co-author of several legal analyses of the Venice Commission.

List of Conference Participants

BiH CEC

Stjepan Mikić, President
Mr. Irena Hadžiabdić, member
Branko Petrić, member
Novak Božićković, member

Guests

Adrian Rodriguez-Perez, Project Officer at the Directorate for Democracy of the Council of Europe
Ahmet Rifatbegović, OSCE Mission to BiH
Aleksandra Kuratko Pani, National Democratic Institute
Ambassador Jonathan Moore, Head of the OSCE Mission to BiH
Branka Bajić, EUSR/EUD BiH
Damir Gnjidić, OHR
Dr. Slobodan Leković, President of the Commission for the Prevention of Conflicts of Interest, Montenegro
Maja Ribar, EUSR/EUD BiH
Merima Tafro, OSCE Mission to BiH
Nermin Tipura, HDD, OSCE Mission to BiH
Orlando Fusco, EUSR/EUD BiH
Radmila Trifković, OSCE Mission to BiH
Siniša Bencun, EU
Sead Alihodžić, Senior Program Officer, IDEA International
Stepan Ahij, ACEEEO
Suad Salkić, HDD, OSCE Mission to BiH
Tamara Otiashvili, Election Advisor, OSCE/ODIHR
Tanja Hollstein, HDD, OSCE Mission to BiH
Velko Miloev, EU
Zsolt Varga, OSCE Mission to BiH

Political Parties and Non-governmental Organizations

Albert Šunjić, Croat Party of Rights BiH
Dario Jovanović, “Under Magnifying Glass” Coalition
Krasnodar Vasić, Croat Party of Rights BiH
Nedo Kapuran, Serb Democratic Party
Radomir Trivić, Democratic People’s Alliance
Vojislav Gligić, RS Council of Peoples

Secretariat of the BiH CEC

Adi Agić
Božica Ban
Elvira Bundalo
Emir Demić
Ermin Kos
Jakuf Subašić
Jasmina Hadžiabdić
Jasmina Ramić-Odobašić
Jasminka Joldić
Marijana Žuljević
Mubera Vulović
Mustafa Laković
Radoje Šupeta
Veljko Petrović

Association of Election Officials in BiH

Anela Čavara
Boso Bošnjak
Ernes Jusović
Predrag Šupljeglav
Zvezdana Dragović

Municipal/City Election Commissions

Adi Dautović, Lukavac MEC
Admir Pjanić, Cazin MEC
Aid Hanušić, Bijeljina City Election Commission
Aldin Širić, Jablanica MEC
Aleksandar Gospavić, Lukavac MEC
Aleksandar Radeta, Banja Luka City Election Commission
Alma Zukić, Brčko District Election Commission
Almir Mujić, Brčko District Election Commission
Almir Prošić, Cazin MEC
Amela Mujanović, Vukosavlje MEC
Andrea Štrkalj, Mrkonjić, Brčko District IK
Biljana Andrić, Pale MEC
Biljanja Pušonja, Centar Sarajevo MEC
Binamir Šakić, Gradačac MEC
Bosa Novaković, Modriča MEC
Božidar Savičić, Čelinac MEC
Branislav Aranutović, Gacko MEC
Cvijo Aničić, Derventa MEC
Darko Rimac, Ilidža MEC
Dragan Petrušić, Kotor Varoš MEC
Dragica Vranić, Srbac MEC
Dubravko Malinić, Banja Luka City Election Commission
Eldar Prohra, Hadžići MEC

Emina Rovčanin, Novo Sarajevo MEC
 Esad Velić, Trnovo FBiH MEC
 Esma Kukuruzović, Ilidža MEC
 Goran Trivić, Čelinac MEC
 Gordana Pašalić, Doboj MEC
 Gordana Pećanac, Novo Sarajevo MEC
 Gordana Spasojević, Brod MEC
 Gospava Jeremić, Zvornik MEC
 Hajrudin Huseinović, Kalesija MEC
 Hamida Ašiš, Donji Vakuf MEC
 Hasan Ramić, Živinice MEC
 Ibrahim Maksumić, Hadžići MEC
 Isam Sendić, Gradačac MEC
 Ismet Omerović, Sapna MEC
 Izet Bajrić, Lukavac MEC
 Jasna Kesedžić, Ključ MEC
 Jelena Miljević, Bihać MEC
 Jelena Zlikovac, Pale MEC
 Kaim Čajlaković, Teočak MEC
 Kemal Efendić, Žepče MEC
 Luka Mažar, Bihać MEC
 Lilja Dabić, Banja Luka City Election Commission
 Ljubinka Bodiroga, Sapna MEC
 Mario Rozić, Čitluk MEC
 Mate Čavar, Jablanica MEC
 Meho Krupalija, Trnovo FBiH MEC
 Meliha Krekić, Kladanj MEC
 Mersud Ljubljankić, Bužim MEC
 Milada Papić, Bileća MEC
 Milka Novak, Jajce MEC
 Mira Čekić, Banja Luka City Election Commission
 Mirela Tuzlak, Kalesija MEC
 Mirsad Hrustić, Vitez MEC
 Mladen Mićić, Doboj MEC
 Momčo Kojić, Ilijaš MEC
 Mordina Nadarević, Cazin MEC
 Mustafa Topalović, Fojnica MEC
 Muzijet Kahrmanović, Sapna MEC
 Nada Batinar, Banja Luka City Election Commission
 Nada Nović, Derventa MEC
 Naser Čopelj, Centar Sarajevo MEC
 Nebojša Vidaković, Šekovići
 Nemanja Nikolić, Istočni Stari Grad MEC
 Nermin Šarić, Cazin MEC
 Nevzeta Mulalić, Stari Grad, Sarajevo MEC
 Nurija Bajrektarević, Bužim MEC
 Osman Hasanović, Teočak MEC
 Rade Draško, Istočna Ilidža MEC

Radislav Čupin, Kotor Varoš MEC
Ramo Mecavica, Jajce MEC
Ranko Bratić, Gacko MEC
Rešad Jusupović, Stari Grad, Sarajevo MEC
Ružica Anđić, Gacko MEC
Ružica Karamanović, Modriča MEC
Sabahudin Lihović, Banja Luka City Election Commission
Sadija Somanović, Lukavac MEC
Sadija Subašić, Orašje MEC
Sadić Hodžić, Donji Vakuf MEC
Safet Zahirović, Breza MEC
Safija Šehović, Stari Grad, Sarajevo MEC
Salmir Avdićbašić, Kalesija MEC
Sanja Malešević, Derventa MEC
Sanja Stanimirović-Ostojić, Vlasenica MEC
Sejad Pokvić, Bugojno MEC
Slaviša Stojanović, Bijeljina City Election Commission
Slobodanka Okuka, Gacko MEC
Snežana Rajić, Fojnica MEC
Stana Danilović, Brod MEC
Šemsudin Bećirović, Doboj Istok MEC
Vanja Milidrag, Ilidža MEC
Velid Fazlić, Ilijaš MEC
Vili Kuljanac, Banja Luka City Election Commission
Vladimir Vuković, Teslić MEC
Zdravko Plazačić, Milići MEC
Zlata Ibrahimpašić, Bihać MEC
Zoran Đurović, Rudo MEC
Zorica Mikić, Kotor Varoš MEC
Željko Škondrić, Prijedor City Election Commission
Žiko Krunić, Bijeljina City Election Commission

