# Montenegrin Elections (MNEE) Database

# Dataset on Parliamentary and Presidential Elections (Results per Municipality and Constituency) [Dataset 2]

## Codebook

by Boris Lipovina

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# Contents

Description	3
Data Files, Folders and Variables	.4
Presidential Elections (1990-2018)	.4
Parliamentary Elections (1990-2020)	.6
Note on the data for 1992 Parliamentary Elections	. 7
Parliamentary Elections – Special Sub-Constituency System (1998-2009)	
Method and Sources Used for Compiling the Dataset1	
Comparison of Sources	12
How to Cite	12
References	13

# Description

Montenegrin Elections (MNEE) database is a scientific, non-profit project initiated with an aim of aiding researchers, policy makers and others interested in studying elections in Montenegro by providing precise and detailed data accompanied by a list of sources used and literature consulted.

The MNEE database currently consists of **Dataset 1** - national-level results of parliamentary and presidential elections (1990-2020); **Dataset 2** - results of parliamentary and presidential elections per municipality and constituency (1990-2020); **Dataset 3** - results of local elections for the election of councilors (1990-2020) and the presidents of municipalities/Mayor of Podgorica (2004-2009); **Dataset 4** - results of federal elections during the existence of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, for the constituencies on the territory of the Republic of Montenegro (1992, 1996, and 2000); and the **Electoral Maps Booklet** which combines depictions of electoral dynamics through electoral maps with data on demographics (1990-2009).

This codebook is for the dataset with the results of parliamentary and presidential elections per municipality and constituency. Given that the Dataset 1 already contains national-level totals, this dataset presents data at the lower level: constituency (1990 and 1996 elections) and municipality (1992, 1998, 2001, 2002, 2006, 2009, 2012, 2016, and 2020 elections).

Data for special polling stations within the "minority sub-constituency" (OSCE 2001) system that existed during the 1998-2009 period are available both within this dataset (located in separate files) and within the booklet on electoral maps (available at the website of the MNEE database).

## Data Files, Folders and Variables

The dataset contains electoral information in separate MS Excel files for each parliamentary and presidential elections since the introduction of multi-party system in 1990. File names are coded in the following way:

- Presidential Elections (1990-2018): presidential\_year\_ results per municipality.xlsx
- Parliamentary Elections (1990-2020): year\_results per municipality.xlsx
- Special polling stations during the "sub-consitutency" (OSCE 2001) period (1998-2009): year\_special polling stations results.xlsx

Files are separated in three folders: MNEE\_PRES\_municipality (data on presidential elections per municipality), MNEE\_PARL\_municipconst (data on parliamentary elections per municipality and constitutency) and MNEE\_PARL\_specialconst (data on special polling stations during the 1998-2009 period).

#### Presidential Elections (1990-2018)

For presidential elections, files contain up to three data sheets depending upon the number of rounds held and whether data for prison vote were provided. For example, if two rounds were held (as was the case for 1990, 1992 and 1997 elections), then the sheet containing the data for the first round is named **Presidential\_year\_R1** (e.g. Presidential\_1990\_R1), while the data sheet for the second-round is named **Presidential\_year\_R2** (e.g. Presidential\_1990\_R2). In case of 1997 elections, given that the daily newspaper "Vijesti" published detailed, but preliminary results of the first round, this data was then accompanied by a report from the daily newspaper "Pobjeda" which contained the final results. The 1997 elections data file contains, then, three sheets: Presidential\_1997\_R1\_Vijesti, Presidental\_1997\_R1\_Pobjeda and Presidential\_1997\_R2\_Vijesti.

From 2003, Electoral Commission provided separate data for votes collected in prison. In these cases, apart from Presidential\_year\_R1 data sheet, there is also the

**Presidential\_year\_R1Prison** data sheet containing info only on how prisoners voted (which might be of interest for some researchers).

The following variables can be found in files on presidential elections:

**municipality** – name of the municipality for which the data in the given rows is provided.

**electorate** – total amount of the registered voters in the given municipality according to the official source.

**turnout** (if official data was found) – percentage of voters that voted in the given municipality.

**votes\_cast** (where data was found) – number of votes cast in the given municipality.

votes\_valid (where data was found) - number of valid votes in the given municipality.

**pstations\_analyzed** (for 1997 and 2003 elections) – percentage of polling stations in a given municipality from which the casted votes were processed and analyzed for the purpose of publishing the results. This data is found in the case of preliminary results reported by the Electoral Commission.

**Bulatovic, Stankovic, Kilibarda, (...)** – names of presidential candidates are represented with capitalized words.

**notes** – if there is any particular information to pay attention regarding the given data.

**source** – source from which the data for the given entry was collected.

*Note:* due to the very little detailed official data published for 1990 and 1992 elections, data files for these elections will show a lot of "NA" entries, mostly for the first round of the presidential elections.

#### Parliamentary Elections (1990-2020)

Given that different variants of PR system were used from 1990 elections up to date, the dataset contains municipality-level data for 1992, 1998, 2001, 2002, 2006, 2009, 2012, 2016 and 2020 elections (when "at-large system" with single constituency was used, although with special sub-constituency during 1998-2009 period for which the data is also provided) and constituency-level data for 1990 and 1996 elections (although for 1990 elections it could be treated both ways given that 20 constituencies were actually corresponding to the territory of 20 municipalities at the time). Additionally, since the newest database update of July 2023, results per municipality for 1996 elections are also included which can facilitate the study of the effects of 1996 electoral rules through the comparison of the results per constituency and results per municipality.

The following variables can be found:

**party\_coalition** – abbreviation of the full party or coalition name. If coalition, separator "-" is used to distinguish coalition partners.

**constituency** (for 1990 and 1996 elections) – roman numeral assigned to the given constituency according to the official regulations. Roman numerals were used in official reports on the results of the elections and are used in this dataset and the booklet on electoral maps as well.

**constituency\_area** (for 1990 and 1996 elections) – the territory of the given constituency. Names of places are kept in Montenegrin.

**constituency\_size** (for 1990 and 1996 elections) – number of seats allocated per constituency.

municipality – name of the municipality for which the data entries appear.

votes\_won\_municipality - number of votes won in the given municipality, per party / coalition. **votes\_won\_constituency** (if 1990 and 1996 elections) – number of votes won in the given constituency, per party / coalition.

**votes\_percentage** (if found in the report) – percentage of votes won in the given municipality or constituency, per party / coalition.

**seats\_won\_constituency** (if 1990 and 1996 elections) – seats won in the given constituency, per party / coalition.

**electorate** – total number of registered voters in the given municipality or constituency, according to the official report.

votes\_cast\_municipality – total number of votes cast in the given municipality.

**votes\_valid\_municipality** – total number of valid votes in the given municipality.

**source** – details on the source used to gather the data.

*Note:* Since 2001, the official results also included report on the results of voting in prison and this is also reported in the dataset through a separate sheet for the given elections termed **year\_prison** (e.g. 2001\_prison).

Note on the data for 1992 Parliamentary Elections

The peculiarity of official results for 1992 Parliamentary Elections published by Republic Electoral Commission in daily newspaper "Pobjeda" is that it was the only presentation which did not include the totals per municipality. In other words, results were presented for each polling station (in a spreadsheet format), albeit without totals, leaving readers with a task to calculate these numbers themselves.

As it will be mentioned in section "Methods and Sources used..." (see below), the method of using *Optical Character Recognition* software combined with manual double-check was used to prepare the data sheet containing results of 1992 parliamentary elections per municipality.

However, despite multiple checks, the sum of all votes in each municipality does not match the total number of valid votes for these elections found in **Dataset 1** (the

latter was taken from a newspaper report about the announcement of official results by Republic Electoral Commission). Given that the document with results per each polling station was published in January 1993, after the mentioned newspaper report which was published on 26 December 1992, it could be either that some changes were made by REC between December 1992 conference and January 1993 publication, or that calculations based on processed 1993 report are somehow still not accurate, possibly due to OCR software mistake and despite manual doublecheck of data entries.

To enhance further analysis of this issue, a folder with results of OCR for each polling station within each municipality is included in Dataset 2 zip file, as well as a few archival samples to clarify the kind of data that was used for compiling 1992\_results per municipality data sheet.

#### Parliamentary Elections - Special Sub-Constituency System (1998-2009)

During the 1998-2009 period, modifications were made to the electoral system that were promoted as a mean of achieving affirmative action and supporting minority representation. These peculiar modifications resulted in the creation of what OSCE (2001, 5) termed "a minority sub-constituency", i.e., although officially there was atlarge system applied with country as a whole being one constituency, several seats were allocated according to the results gathered from the so-called "special polling stations designated by the Parliament" (named so in official regulations). This meant establishment of a de-facto second, smaller constituency. More details on the exact method of seat allocation from the two constituencies (in English language) can be found in OSCE reports, beginning with detailed explanation in 1998 report.

These special polling stations were designated in the areas populated mainly by Albanian minority and were actually not representative of a true affirmative action

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Term Special Sub-Constituency System was invented following OSCE (1998; 2001) reports in which "main constituency" (also "country wide at-large") and "special constituency" (also "minority sub-constituency") concepts were used to refer to the two de-facto distinct constituencies despite the legal regulations defining country as a whole a single constituency.

given that other minorities (Bosniak and Croat) did not enjoy any benefits at all. The polling stations were combined into the second constituency in gerrymandering-style. It is also interesting to note that in these areas the votes were not casted only or mainly for minority parties but were split mostly between the dominant party and its coalition partners on the one side and the Albanian parties on the other. As OSCE (1998, 5) reported for 1998 elections:

The arrangement being used in the current elections is *quite artificial* as it does not follow the regular administrative boundaries, and *it can have unintended side-effects not supporting the minority population at all.* It does, however, have the same feature as the recommended system described above: it is left with the voters in the end to decide if they want to vote ethnically. In the 1998 elections the Albanian minority chose to do so to a limited extent only. (italics mine)

The following variables can be found in the files concerning special polling stations:

**special\_polling station** – name of the polling station belonging to the "special constituency". Names are in Montenegrin (this can be used to double-check the precise location on the map).

municipality – municipality in which the given polling station is located.

electorate – total number of registered voters for the given polling station.

**votes\_cast** – votes cast at the given polling station.

**votes\_valid** – valid votes at the given polling station.

LSCG, SRS, OS-SDS, ... (All capital letters) – abbreviation of the full party or coalition name. Coalition members are distinguished using separator "-" (e.g. DPS-SDP coalition composed of Democratic Party of Socialists and Social Democratic Party). For full party and coalition names per election period please consult the document "Party, coalition, and group of citizens' lists – names and translation in English" available at the MNEE Database website, page "Dataset download".

Note: for 2006 and 2009 elections, there is a discrepancy between the special polling stations reported in the Official Gazette and the ones used to calculate votes and

seats in the official report by the State Electoral Commission. This discrepancy concerns the special polling stations located in the municipality of Bar: instead of a polling station in the area of Pinčići (reported in Official Gazette), polling station in administrative area of Gornji Murići was part of the counting process. This was verified by comparing the values of electorate, votes\_cast and votes\_valid in the dataset with those reported by the SEC for special polling stations.

To gain a better insight into the sub-constituency system from 1998-2009 period, especially location of the special polling stations, please also consult the booklet on electoral maps available at the website of the MNEE Database (page "Electoral maps").

# Method and Sources Used for Compiling the Dataset

Data for the dataset with results of parliamentary and presidential elections per municipality and constituency were gathered from official sources [results by Republic Electoral Commission and later State Electoral Commission published in the newspapers (found in archives), the official gazette (editions available in the archives and online) and/or the official website] and archival newspaper reports containing information released by the Electoral Commission during press conference or for the purpose of publishing the full results.

Given that the full results for 1992 parliamentary elections by the Republic Electoral Commission were printed only in state-owned daily newspaper "Pobjeda" and that this document contained results per polling station but not sums for each municipality, the OCR (Optical Character Recognition) software called *ABBYY FineReader*<sup>2</sup> was used to speed up the process of collecting and digitally summarizing the vast amount of data. The OCR software managed to recognize the numbers very well (even the names of polling stations in Cyrillic), although in some cases minor

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This is of course just one of the available OCR software options, although for the purposes of this dataset it provided the best options given the numerous fine-tuning options, availability of recognizing the Cyrillic font, and the overall recognition process providing the final output.

deviations were noticed and they were corrected manually (see Figure 1 and Figure 2).

Бр. 1 – Буљарице	7			10	1	21	1	4	12	2	26	1	1	2	3	5	3	4	158
Бр. 2 – Петровац	14	1	6	77	2	53	2	4	36	1	118	3	3	8	9	8	17	22	
Бр. 3 – Свети Стефан	3		9	37		9	3	1	20	1	94	1	1	9	1	3	5	17	194
Бр. 4 – Бечићи	5		14	22	2	23	1	1	14	5	88			5	4	5	5	20	314
Бр. 5 – Брајићи				1					1						_		2	20	89
Бр. 6 - Подкошљун	13	1	16	131	2	85	2	6	33	2	186	2	5	10	6	3	23	40	667
Бр. 7 - Хотел "Могрен"	2		11	88	1	16	1	1	18	2	56		5	4	2	6	16	10	208
Бр. 8 - Велика сала СО	5	1	24	153	4	72	6	2	42	3	206	3	4	18	18	12	29	65	648
Бр. 9 - Мала сала СО	2		11	37	2	18	1	3	6		31	1	1	4	2	1	2	3	135
Бр. 10 - ДП "Монтене- гропромет"	6		5	56		28		2	18	2	73	1	6	4	3	4	7	10	221
Бр. 11 – Јаз	6	2	- 1	4	-	14	3		5	4	36	2	2	3	3	1	-	4	110

**Figure 1** Section of the full official results for 1992 elections published in "Pobjeda" (Republic Electoral Commission 1992). The figure presents results for the polling stations located in the municipality of Budva (in the original report municipality's name is spelled in Cyrillic:  $By\partial a$ ).

Бр. 1 - Буљарице	7			10	1	21	1	4	12	2	26	1	1	2	3	5	3	4158
Бр. 2 - Петровац	14	1	6	77	2	53	2	4	36	1	118	3	3	8	9	8	17	22 484
Бр. 3 - Свети Стефан	3		9	37		9	3	1	20	1	94	1	1	9	1	3	5	17 194
Бр. 4 - Бечићи	5		14	22	2	23	1	1	14	5	88			5	4	5	5	20314
Бр. 5 - Брајићи				1					1								2	89
Бр. 6 - Подкошљун	13	1	16	131	2	85	2	6	33	2	186	2	5	10	6	3	23	40 <u>667</u>
Бр. 7 - Хотел "Могрен"	2		11	88	1	16	1	1	18	2	56		5	4	2	6	16	10 208
Бр. 8 - Велика сала СО	5	1	24	153	4	72	6	2	42	3	206	3	4	18	18	12	29	65 <u>648</u>
Бр. 9 - Мала сала СО	2		11	37	2	18	1	3	6		31	1	1	4	2	1	2	3 <u>135</u>
Бр. 10 - ДП "Монтене- гропромет"	6		5	56		28		2	18	2	73	1	6	4	3	4	7	10221
Бр. 11 - Јаз	6	2	1	4		14	3		5	4	36	2	2	3	3	1		4 110

**Figure 2** Screenshot of the ABBYY FineReader's (OCR software) output (in the form of MS Word document) for the same 11 polling stations represented in Figure 1.

Data for 1996 elections were provided by Republic Electoral Commission for each municipality and constituency, but given the type of electoral system for these elections, the priority was given to the results per constituency.

*Note:* When no final results per municipality could be found, preliminary results were reported instead. This applies to 1990 parliamentary and 2003 presidential elections (although for the latter, the polling stations were at 100% of being analyzed at the moment of publishing). Missing data entries were coded as "NA".

# **Comparison of Sources**

In cases where the available archival material contained two or more sources reporting the same results, comparison was made in order to determine the validity of the given information. In addition, comparison of sources was used to complete the dataset in cases of missing data due to the state of archival material or availability of information in the report (e.g. for 1998 elections, the archival material of "Pobjeda" was damaged for one municipality so the data was then gathered from the results published in "Vijesti" after it was determined that both reports provided exactly the same values for the undamaged data that could be compared).

#### **How to Cite**

To cite this dataset, you can use the following format as an example:

Chicago (17th Edition)

Lipovina, Boris. 2021. "Montenegrin Elections (MNEE) Database Project: Dataset on Parliamentary and Presidential Elections (Results per Municipality and Constituency, 1990-2020)." <a href="https://electionsinmontenegro.com/">https://electionsinmontenegro.com/</a>

APA (7<sup>th</sup> Edition)

Lipovina, B. (2021). Montenegrin Elections (MNEE) Database Project: Dataset on Parliamentary and Presidential Elections (results per municipality and constituency, 1990-2020) [Data file]. Retrieved from <a href="https://electionsinmontenegro.com/">https://electionsinmontenegro.com/</a>

## References

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