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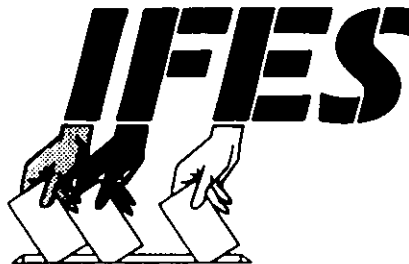
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ETHIOPIA
TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE
PROJECT

prepared by:
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9/94

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INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS



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I. INTRODUCTION

From May 17 through July 18, 1994, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) conducted a technical assistance project in conjunction with the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE). The project, which represents the second for IFES in Ethiopia, combined on-site advice, commodity procurement and seminar organization assistance in support of the country's June 5 Constituent Assembly elections. The project was financed by a \$242,941 grant from USAID/Ethiopia.

The project follows a February 28-March 8 pre-election assessment conducted in Ethiopia by Keith Klein, Director of Programs for Africa and the Near East. Mr. Klein arrived during the registration period and was able to conduct his assessment with the input of Joe Baxter, a consultant for the United Nations, who was in Ethiopia at the same time and who had been involved in the process during 1993.

This project may be regarded as the first phase in a long-term assistance project envisioned by IFES in a proposal submitted to USAID/Ethiopia April 1994. This report on the just-completed program activities provides an opportunity to review the progress of NEBE in conducting the Constituent Assembly elections as well as of IFES' assistance to the process thus far. Gary Ouellet, a Canadian technical advisor, traveled to Ethiopia in mid-May to observe the preparations for the elections, offering advice as appropriate. He was joined at the end of June by Laurie Cooper, the IFES Project Officer; together they coordinated a post-election workshop from July 3 through July 6 for NEBE to examine and share lessons learned from the election experience through all professional and administrative personnel levels. At the conclusion of his stay, Ouellet drafted a number of recommendations regarding the election process as well as some political issues for presentation to NEBE.

The project was initiated with the following four objectives:

- provision of 10 mobile HF transceivers (two-way radios) for use by NEBE during the month prior to the June 5 election;

- sending an election specialist to Ethiopia during the month prior to the election to oversee the installation and use of the radios, to monitor NEBE's needs and activities, and provide advice as appropriate;
- assistance in the organization and facilitation of a post-election evaluation workshop for NEBE; and
- assistance in NEBE's initial goal-setting and strategic planning exercises following the evaluation workshop.

This project was a qualified success in achieving the objectives detailed above. The fourth objective was the one that was not fulfilled, primarily because NEBE was still preoccupied at the end of the IFES project with the administration of elections in regions where they had been postponed to July and August. The implementation of the radio component was also complicated by the expanded election schedule. However, the workshop was conducted, receiving positive evaluations from almost all of the participants. Furthermore, given the prevailing negative attitude of NEBE to election specialists and advisors, the IFES consultant was surprisingly successful in establishing a good working relationship with members of NEBE senior and junior staff, as well as in providing procedural suggestions that were and continued to be given serious thought.

This report is excerpted in large part from Gary Ouellet's final activity report and recommendations to IFES. IFES appreciates the work that Gary put into assembling such excellent materials.

II. DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT ACTIVITY

Pre-Travel Procurement

During the February 28-March 8 pre-election visit, the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia presented a list of requests for equipment assistance to the international donor group in Addis. The United States responded to the request by offering assistance in the area of communications. As part of the proposed activities, IFES would provide communications equipment with USAID/Ethiopia funding. With time running out before the election (and before the signature of the IFES grant), IFES solicited bids based on specifications provided during the third week of March by USAID/Ethiopia and NEBE for ten mobile transceivers. Following the bids analysis, Motorola Communications was selected in early May. A purchase order to Motorola went out on May 6, with a ship date of May 12. The expected delivery date in Addis of the radios was May 16, 1994.

May 17 - June 5

Keith Klein and Gary Ouellet arrived in Ethiopia on May 18. Following a series of introductory meetings with representatives of USAID/Ethiopia and other international organizations, the two met with Assefa Beru, Executive Secretary of the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia. At this meeting, the nature of Ouellet's role was clarified with Ato Assefa: Ouellet's primary objective was to learn about the Constituent Assembly election process, provide technical advice as appropriate, and learn about the longer-term needs of NEBE following the completion of the election process. In addition, Ouellet would oversee the delivery and installation of the radios and provide asset control information. Finally, he would assist NEBE in the organization and conduct of a post-election evaluation. Ouellet made contact with a team of three Australian advisors, whose primary role was to evaluate the process in the area of election worker training and civic education, and who also worked directly with NEBE headquarters staff.

On May 20, Ouellet met with Samson Getahune, the head of the Legal Affairs Department at NEBE, and the primary election official delegated to work with the advisors. The meeting set the logistics tone for the conduct of the election. On June 5, Ethiopia was scheduled to elect a 548-member Constituent Assembly, using 32,000 polling stations, with 8 workers per station, in 10 regions divided into 60 zones. Of the estimated 23 million eligible voters (out of a population of approximately 55 million), 15 million voters were registered. Pollworkers were to be trained via regularly scheduled radio broadcasts which instructed the workers in the functions that they would perform. Ouellet and the Australian team obtained sample election worker training materials for translation from Amharic to English so that they could review the information and make comments. Ato Samson estimated that the second (constituency-level) vote count would probably not happen before June 9, as all of the ballot boxes in a constituency had to be received by the administrators before the count could begin. An important point made in the discussions was that as of that week, NEBE was not planning to conduct elections in the Somali region, also known as Region 5, an area comprising approximately 22 constituencies. Ato Samson cited continued fighting in that area, as well as continued constituency boundary and border disputes, as the reasons for postponing the election in that area. In addition to the technical matters, Ouellet learned that NEBE planned to use a ballot with symbols for each constituency, with 22 different types of ballots to be distributed throughout the 548 constituencies.

At the beginning of Ouellet's second week, he and the Australian team met again with Ato Assefa. The advisors all received observer credentials and were assigned NEBE counterparts who would travel and observe with them. During this meeting, a number of issues were discussed: the possibility of adding one day to the election, then under consideration by NEBE; the feasibility of NEBE becoming a permanent organization with a headquarters staff; and the potential for using private citizens as pollworkers for subsequent elections. The advisors also planned their pre-election assessment travel. Opportunities for actual pre-election and election

day observation were constrained by the Electoral Law which required that no observer comments be issued prior to NEBE's own announcement of the final results. The advisors were able to present their plan to observe as a learning opportunity rather than an evaluative one, with the expectation that any advice that they provided would be constructive. On May 27, Ouellet, the Australian advisors and NEBE headquarters counterparts left for a trip throughout eastern and southern regions of the country.

Ouellet traveled to Dire Dawa and Harer from May 27 through June 2. He conducted interviews with election officials at the polling station level as well as the regional levels. In Harer, all of the officials interviewed stated that the necessary supplies had arrived; some stations were already under guard to protect the materials until election day. In Dire Dawa, Ouellet spoke to the woreda administrator about supplies and training. Here, the materials were all scheduled to go out to the polling stations early in the following week; however, the ballots and registration cards did not appear to be under any type of security measure. When questioned about the training, the administrator stated that he thought that the training went well, but that organizational changes would improve the program. According to Ouellet, this administrator was unable to envision a different approach to the training of so many people in a short time. The biggest problem at that time was transportation of personnel and materials. Ouellet had a similar experience meeting with the administrator in Harer; the training was reported to have gone smoothly and transportation was the single pressing issue.

Nevertheless, when Ouellet returned to Dire Dawa on his way back to Addis, he learned that the administrator had received 4,000 ballots for a different region. In Addis Ababa, he found that voting supplies needed in Addis Ababa had not yet been distributed to the polling stations. During subsequent meetings with the logistics officer at NEBE, Ouellet was assured that the materials would be delivered by June 2. Ouellet compared notes with the Australian advisors

in Addis. Together, they identified the following issues relevant to the upcoming and subsequent elections:

- a) Ballot paper design, which uses less than 22 different ballots for 548 constituencies;
- b) Lack of sufficient pollworker instruction;
- c) Inconsistent or conflicting interpretation of electoral regulations by regional administrators;
- d) Customary second count (with no apparent function) at the constituency level;
- e) Confusing instructions on use of supplies;
- f) The actual number of people required to effectively staff a polling station;
- g) Definition of "null," "void," and "rejected" ballots; and
- h) The absence of serial numbers or other identification marking for the ballot box.

The Australian advisors, returning from Region 5, confirmed what had been suspected since mid-May regarding the election process there. The regional administrators reported the delays in registration, materials delivery, candidate nomination, and the supply of trained human resources as effective roadblocks to the conduct of elections in that region.

Radio Installation

The process of receiving and installing the radios continued during the pre-election visits. NEBE was notified of the package's arrival on May 19. The radios were cleared through the airport on May 24. One radio was installed on May 24; the rest went into storage. The reason for the delay in installation was that the vehicles intended for the radios had been outside Addis in Region 5 at least since May 20, with no plans to recall them to Addis prior to the election. The company selected to perform the installation was unwilling to travel outside Addis without armed security escorts. Late in May, Ouellet was informed further that the installation was being delayed by the cost of installation, and he was requested to reimburse NEBE for the eventual expenses. Despite a verbal agreement to this effect, only two radios were installed and in operation by the June 5 elections.

III. ELECTION DAY OBSERVATIONS

Voting Procedures and Ballot Design

Gary Ouellet visited a total of 21 polling stations in Bahir Dar and Gonder from June 3 through June 6 to observe the final preparations, the actual election day and the counting process. The Australian advisors traveled to Axum and Jimma for the same period. Inconsistency in application of rules was the outstanding problem on June 5. Ouellet reported, "Polling officials did not appear comfortable with their tasks. Officials were assisting electors in marking their ballots; observers were assisting electors; casting of ballots was not generally screened from public view; in many instances, ballot boxes were not sealed at all or improperly sealed. Two boxes were sealed with a padlock." The variations on the regulations which were observed indicates that despite the opinion of the various election administrators consulted, the radio broadcast training sessions were not sufficiently effective to ensure systematic and regular application of the regulations.

The design of the ballot, which Ouellet and the Australian advisors brought to the attention of NEBE prior to the election, significantly hampered the voting and counting processes. The reaction of NEBE to this early criticism was that the design would save money. It was unclear whether the savings were to come from the quality of the paper or its size, because regular A4 copy paper was used, one per voter, plus an extra 10% to correct erroneous ballots. There were only 39 different ballots printed, although 548 constituencies were contested. It was therefore difficult for the voters to know who was actually eligible to run in their constituencies. A constituency with one unopposed candidate still required a ballot with 22 symbols. Furthermore, the symbols were so similar as to be indistinguishable (for example, a symbol of a person plowing a field with a tractor on the same ballot as a symbol of a person plowing a field with oxen; a symbol of a Brahma bull on the same ballot as a symbol of a bull with no hump; a symbol of a horse with a bridle on the same ballot as a symbol of a horse with a bridle and saddle). The similarities in symbols unnecessarily complicated the voter's decision-making process (especially if s/he had simply been encouraged by a candidate that they wished to

support to "vote for the bull. "). The design of the ballot may have cost NEBE more in terms of time spent to count and certify the ballots, and did not contribute to a smooth process.

A positive aspect of the election was that the registration books appeared to be compiled correctly. Ouellet reported that all the polling officials were able to locate the names of voters in the book with no trouble.

Examples of the registration and voting materials are attached as Appendix A.

Counting Process and Procedures

The ballot design complicated the counting process as well. Since a limited number of ballots were printed for all of the constituencies, polling station officials had to verify that voters had only cast ballots for those candidates who were eligible to run in their constituency. With one candidate, unopposed, out of a possible 22 symbols, this process was relatively simple. If, however, more than two or three candidates were contesting in a field of eighteen, or twenty out of twenty-five, the process became progressively more difficult.

Ouellet and other observers noted that the regulations and the Electoral Law differed in their guidelines regarding the conduct of the vote count. According to the Law, the vote count begins at the polling station *within* (ie, no later than) two hours following the close of the poll. This indicates, but does not state explicitly, that the count should begin as soon as the poll is closed; in no case should it begin later than two hours after the close. However, the regulations state that the count should begin two hours *following* the close of the poll. The ambiguity of both sets of rules resulted in their inconsistent application and quite unnecessary delays. In addition, Ouellet observed that there were no special security measures taken during this important process. Observers and officials alike were permitted to handle the ballots; officials in general

appeared to be uncomfortable with the counting process. The regulations did not describe procedures for the count, nor did they provide an audit trail for the ballots counted in the form of tally sheets.

Another inconsistency between the regulations and the Law occurred in the determination of rejected and spoiled ballots. The Law states that the valid ballot may only be marked with an "X". The regulations state that the ballot is only invalid if the intent of the elector is unclear (implicitly, whether the ballot is marked with an X or a thumbprint). However, the field interpretation of these instructions was both that ballots had to be marked only with an "X" or that they had to clearly indicate the intent of the voter by other means. This led to ballots being both accepted and rejected because they had a thumbprint. In a Nazret polling station that Ouellet observed, 304 out of 605 ballots were rejected. At the 21 polling stations he visited, 40% of all of the ballots issued were rejected. This was not, ultimately, the trend across the nation. This report includes a spreadsheet incorporating figures provided by NEBE which show the number of null/void ballots as a range of 1 to 28% of the number of ballots cast. From the figures that were available, it does not appear that the majority of the zones and regions recorded more than 20% rejected ballots. However, anything above 4 to 5% indicates that there are problems in the process that go beyond voter apathy or ignorance. The spreadsheet is attached as Appendix B.

The Electoral Law provides for a second count to take place at the constituency level once all of the polling stations in that constituency have reported their results. This process was observed to be merely cursory; no ballots were moved from the "rejected" to the "accepted" pile, nor was any other action taken. The advisors did not support the justification of the second count if its only purpose was to agree with the first count.

A Change in Schedule

On June 8, NEBE announced that the election had not in fact taken place in Region 5, Dire Dawa and a small number of other constituencies. The election in these areas was postponed to July 17. The primary reason cited for the delay was the inability to determine constituencies made up of nomads and subsequently administer a fair vote process.

Following the election, Ouellet and the Australian advisors drafted a report summarizing their observations and recommendations and presented them to NEBE on June 13. The presentation of this information added a dimension to the dialogue between NEBE and the advisors, and Ouellet reported that Ato Assefa was more willing to listen to constructive criticism after the election. All of the advisors were welcome to visit NEBE headquarters and speak to staff members formally and informally to discuss various aspects of the process.

After the elections, Ouellet spent a good deal of time in the NEBE computer center, primarily in search of the election results. He discovered that although NEBE had a number of high-speed computers with current editions of word processing and accounting software, few of the staff had enough experience with the computers or software to utilize them as other than glorified typewriters. Some of the staff received basic computer training in December 1993, but it was apparent that the classroom training had not involved extensive hands-on work. Ouellet requested that IFES purchase manuals to accompany the existing software packages, so that the staff could teach themselves the software and thus manage the data that was accumulating rapidly. Laurie Cooper purchased the manuals and delivered them to the NEBE headquarters at the end of June.

IV. POST-ELECTION EVALUATION WORKSHOP

Following the submission of his preliminary findings, Ouellet turned to the task of confirming the organization of the post-election evaluation workshop proposed in mid-May. As a guideline for the setup, Ouellet used information gleaned from a post-Constituent Assembly election workshop in Uganda. This workshop, also assisted by IFES, took place from May 25-28 in Mbarara, Uganda. Ouellet intended to convey the philosophical as well as the structural underpinning of the Uganda workshop to NEBE: a workshop that is conducted by the election officials for officials, workers, and candidates would carry much more weight and result in a more candid evaluation process than a workshop conducted by several outside parties. In addition, an evaluation conducted just after the elections were over could produce thoughtful reflections on the election process and possible solutions to problems well in advance of subsequent elections.

Ouellet suggested to Ato Assefa that 50-75 participants, drawn from all groups involved in the elections, meet at a city outside Addis for two to three days in early July to perform an evaluation of the election process. Ouellet, the Australian advisors and others would facilitate the workshop, but the primary audience and speakers would be Ethiopians. He also suggested that Stephen Akabway, Commissioner of the Constituent Assembly election in Uganda, be invited as a guest speaker to discuss his experiences in the Uganda elections as well as to provide guidance on the workshop agenda. These suggestions were greeted with reserve by Ato Assefa, and some controversy developed over the number of participants as well as the idea of more foreigners witnessing the airing of the "dirty laundry" of the Ethiopian elections. Ultimately, the compromise reached included the extension of the invitation to Mr. Akabway, 100 participants for 3 days at the Debre Zeit Management Training Institute, limited to election workers not working in region 5. No political party members were invited because the existing tension of the opposition boycott would obstruct rather than encourage constructive comment. The workshop would be co-facilitated, with Ethiopian lead facilitators assisted by expatriate counterparts. To ensure that the workshop did not take on further expatriate influence, all of the workshop sessions and plenary sessions would be conducted in Amharic. IFES would

reimburse NEBE for the itemized expenses connected with the workshop. Ato Samson was designated as the NEBE coordinator of the workshop.

After this agreement was reached, Ouellet requested a list of participants, with speakers, translators and facilitators identified in advance of the workshop. Although this request was made at the beginning of June, the list was not produced until the Friday prior to the workshop. Ouellet presented a draft agenda to Ato Samson in mid-June; there was no reaction to the agenda prior to the beginning of the workshop. Nevertheless, IFES and NEBE reached a verbal agreement on the budget and costs of the workshop.

Laurie Cooper arrived to assist in the facilitation and organization of the workshop on June 28. She planned to remain after the departure of Ouellet in order to learn NEBE's reactions to Ouellet's recommendations and to discuss the next steps of NEBE in preparation of the parliamentary elections. She and Ouellet continued to encourage input from NEBE regarding the workshop topics, agenda and participant list during the last week of the workshop. In preparation for the participants, IFES paid directly for the bus rental, workshop supplies and the hotel rooms.

Participants arrived in Addis a few days prior to the workshop. They were transported from Addis on July 3. Following registration and a brief welcome, the facilitators met over dinner to discuss the agenda and the process to be used during the workshop sessions. They agreed to review the participant list, and using their knowledge of where the participants were coming from (as well as some random selections) they divided the almost 100 participants into six groups of fifteen. At this time, serious discussion regarding workshop topics began, with several proposed subjects substituted for more pertinent matters or clarified to target specific issues from this election. The facilitators also decided that they would give ten-minute "pep

talks" at unannounced intervals to draw attention to topics that were pertinent but not necessarily worth a two-hour discussion.

On July 4, the workshop was officially opened by Assefa Beru and Kemal Bedri of NEBE. Ato Kassahun then presented an overview of the election from the headquarters perspective. Mekonnen Nana continued the theme by opening the floor for discussion from the group regarding their opinions, experience and knowledge of what the public was saying about the election. At midmorning, Stephen Akabway chaired and spoke at the next plenary session on his experiences in Uganda. Gary Ouellet followed the ensuing spirited discussion with an explanation of the small-group session format, and the participants broke for lunch.

During the afternoon, the participants assembled to hear the observations of Kevin Johnson, Program Officer with the National Democratic Institute, and Kebede Kejeda of A-Bu-Gi-Da, an Ethiopian nongovernmental organization, in a discussion of the NGO perspective regarding the June 5 elections. Given the restrictions placed on public announcement of observer findings, the workshop was the only forum for most of the participants to become aware of observations.

On Tuesday, July 5, representatives of the small groups presented the key issues that came from the previous afternoon's discussions. Each workshop group had two topics to discuss, and two sessions on July 4 and July 5 during which the recommendations were formulated and compiled. Following the final plenary session on Tuesday, the facilitators met again to draw up a preliminary statement of the recommendations, for review the following morning. After some minor changes, more than 60 recommendations were presented to Ato Assefa prior to the conclusion of the workshop on July 6. The recommendations, while assembled and printed by Ouellet, were not edited by the expatriate facilitators. It was important for NEBE headquarters to understand the many difficulties encountered by persons in the field, both stated and implied by the kind of recommendations made. On the final day of the workshop, Ato Assefa discussed

his reaction to the workshop recommendations, promising to consider them and take action on the most immediate needs. However, he did not provide a specific agenda or timeline for follow-up activities. The workshop agenda and recommendations are attached as Appendix C.

Issues and Comments

At the first plenary session, the featured speaker was not present and was substituted by the Logistics coordinator from NEBE headquarters. For the second plenary session, participants had an opportunity to discuss particular issues with the whole group. Stephen Akabway chaired a third session, which was arguably the most popular speaker event. A-Bu-Gi-Da and the National Democratic Institute presented their observation of the election process as well as their experiences as local observers.

The workshop style and facilitation format, while new to the participants, gave them the opportunity to express their opinions freely, and to resolve conflict without letting conversations deteriorate into arguments. On the eve of the workshop, several participants were almost indignant about the lack of advance notice that they had been given; Mr. Akabway expressed concern that the plenary sessions were taking place before the first workshop sessions and that no political groups had been invited; NEBE headquarters staff felt caught off guard because they had not had time to do research and prepare papers. All of these concerns diminished as the workshop continued, and the initial reluctance on the part of the participants to play an active role at all was replaced by a reluctance to end meetings as promised and to close the final plenary session. Mr. Akabway, now a veteran of two such workshops, returned to Uganda eager to bring back the Ethiopia experience and to encourage future workshops in his country.

As stated earlier, the entire workshop was conducted in Amharic. Although the IFES team requested that simultaneous interpreters be assigned to non-Amharic speakers, the translators

were not informed of their responsibilities and in some cases were already occupying facilitator roles. As a result, the co-facilitators followed the proceedings on an as-translated basis. Nevertheless, they were able to offer their experience and information during the workshop sessions, which were then translated by the Ethiopian facilitators. During the plenary sessions, Ato Samson interpreted to a group of facilitators. The use of a language spoken by the majority, whether the foreign facilitators could understand it or not, was quite well received by the participants and certainly encouraged frank discussion.

The primary achievement of the workshop was that the participants were able to describe their experiences directly to NEBE headquarters, and to receive coherent responses to issues that they raised. A second achievement was the fact that the entire workshop was conducted in an atmosphere of cooperation, equality and solidarity. More highlights of the workshop included a presentation of an alternative sample ballot produced by Gary Ouellet, which won unanimous approval in a mock election; and t-shirts presented to each participant at the end of the workshop.

The one negative aspect of the workshop which produced several side effects for the IFES team was the preoccupation of NEBE headquarters staff with the continuing problems of Region 5. NEBE was unable to really spare anyone who could devote interest or time to the organization of the workshop. As a result, the logistical organization occurred at the last minute. Several scheduled planning meetings were unattended. Most NEBE participants were upset that they had not been consulted about issues that were ostensibly under their jurisdiction.

Relationship With NEBE

The experience of the Post-Election Evaluation Workshop illustrated and defined the relationship between IFES and NEBE for this project. On the surface, a great deal of camaraderie existed

and was put to good use by IFES and NEBE team members alike. Beneath the surface, a failure to communicate consistently and effectively caused a degree of tension to develop. Conflicts over exactly who was in charge of the workshop (in an "owning" as well as organizing sense) resulted in selective interpretation of the financial arrangements between IFES and NEBE, and increased the tension even allowing for the standard workshop mayhem.

From at least the middle of June, it was apparent that Ato Samson was reluctant to provide proactive assistance to Gary Ouellet. In addition, Ouellet and Cooper noted a power struggle between Ato Samson, Kassehun and to a lesser degree Lulseged Erkihun. Ato Assefa, from IFES' experience, was aware that this was happening but did not attempt to mediate between them. The results of the struggle were, among others, that at meetings scheduled in one person's office, it was rare that other participants were informed, and that everything that the IFES team proposed had to be "cleared" by someone other than Ato Samson (a fact usually made clear after the proposed suggestion or activity had taken place).

On the strength of a verbal agreement, IFES contracted NEBE to coordinate and advance the following items, for which IFES would reimburse NEBE:

- find a location for the workshop;
- make the necessary food and lodging arrangements;
- purchase plane tickets for those people who had to fly;
- arrange for bus transportation from Addis to the site;
- produce copies of the workshop materials; and
- reimburse participants for transportation costs into and out of Addis. (NEBE staff would receive a nominal reimbursement, since they were already in Addis.)

However, it became clear around the middle of June that the "foreigners" were organizing a workshop for a number of personnel other than NEBE would have itself wanted, but since the foreigners were paying, they could do anything they wanted, with minimal cooperation by NEBE

staff. Ouellet began to receive the "well, we're more concerned about Region 5 preparations than in a workshop" response more frequently to logistics and organizing questions. This change (if indeed it was a change rather than a move from polite to blunt) in attitude signaled the change in "ownership" of the workshop from a cooperative (or better, NEBE) effort to an IFES one, a change that clearly contradicted IFES' objectives.

Lulseged Erkihun and Kassehun Hassen each volunteered to arrange publicity (Lulseged) and interpreters/facilitators/plenary session moderators (Kassehun) by the end of the fourth week in June. By the end of that week (two days before the workshop began), Ouellet and Cooper had in fact received a list of names of the people serving in these positions but were unable to meet them, since they were not present at the last meeting convened prior to the workshop.

Ouellet was informed during the weekend before the workshop that NEBE would not, in fact, be able to cover the transportation costs to which it had committed. IFES paid for the bus rental and the workshop supplies directly on Saturday, 2 July.

On Tuesday, July 5, Ato Kassehun reopened the discussion on per diem, stating that the amount that had been agreed (by Ato Samson) was so low a figure as to be insulting. Cooper and Ouellet got Kassehun and Samson in a room together (for the first and last time) and Samson admitted that perhaps the per diem, which had been revised more than once, was inadequate. The IFES team agreed to pay a higher per diem, to not call it a per diem, and to pay all other costs directly. To prevent the situation from deteriorating further, Cooper prepared a statement for Ato Assefa's signature, which obligated IFES to reimburse NEBE only for airfare.

On Friday, July 8, Ouellet and Cooper attended a post-mortem meeting on the workshop proceedings. Once again, key persons such as Ato Assefa and Ato Samson were absent, not informed until 45 minutes prior to the time that any meeting was scheduled. Instead, the

meeting was treated as another occasion to bring up and argue about the financial issues which had been settled. This was quite frustrating to Ouellet and Cooper because they felt that the disparaging comments about "foreigners" and lack of "exposure" to the culture threw the positive working relationship from the previous eight weeks into question. Furthermore, the IFES team was encouraged to feel guilty about NEBE offering to pay for the airfares for workshop participants, which IFES had agreed to reimburse. At this time, despite numerous agreements, Cooper felt that NEBE should go ahead and pay the cost if it wished.

From the types of confrontations that took place during the final month of the project, it appears that once the conflict or issue is presented, there is a possibility for resolution. However, the process by which the presentation is eventually made is complicated and protracted enough to lull both parties into being confident that agreements have been reached when in fact they have not. Nevertheless, IFES believes that the overall experience of cooperating with NEBE is worth the complicated negotiation process, and continues to stand ready to offer assistance in the election field whenever it is appropriate.

V. FINAL PROJECT ACTIVITIES

The remaining task following the workshop for Ouellet and Cooper was the preparation of Ouellet's recommendations and discussion of those recommendations with NEBE. The Australian advisors, Ouellet and Cooper met regularly to share ideas about their findings. As a group, they agreed to present similar recommendations (under separate cover) to NEBE and diplomatic representatives in written and oral form. Based on debriefing sessions with a number of the representatives, the advisors understood that the donor group would freely circulate the findings as the next phase of election assistance is discussed.

Ouellet prepared a narrative report which detailed his observation of the election process and his recommendations for presentation to NEBE, USAID/Ethiopia and IFES, several copies of which were produced on July 15. The recommendations were bound and sent to the NEBE Executive Secretary and to the USAID Democracy and Governance Advisor. The report is attached as Appendix D.

Gary Ouellet and Laurie Cooper met to debrief with Ato Assefa and USAID/Ethiopia representatives prior to Ouellet's departure. Cooper also met with Ato Samson, Ato Assefa and Stevens Tucker a few days after the recommendations were delivered to share initial reactions. As of this writing, IFES has not received a written response from NEBE to the recommendations; the verbal reactions were guarded as neither Ato Assefa nor Ato Samson had had sufficient time to review them.

On July 15, Cooper met with Ato Kassahun, the logistics coordinator, to discuss the installation of the radios. Earlier that week, she was informed that NEBE had waited several weeks for IFES to commit to reimburse NEBE for the installation fees. She was unaware that the installation was being delayed for this reason; NEBE was reimbursed on July 18. The radios had been installed during the previous week. The pressure to install the radios before the July 17 election was mitigated somewhat by the announcement on July 15 that the elections in Region

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September 1994

5 would again be postponed to August 31, with Dire Dawa and other selected constituencies electing on July 28.

Based on Ouellet's observations and recommendations, IFES recommends strongly that NEBE consider requesting assistance in the following general areas: automation of election information; increased public information capacity; election worker training; registration; and voter/civic education. IFES will remain in contact with NEBE and USAID/Ethiopia to determine the most effective way to proceed.

VI. REVIEW OF PROJECT OBJECTIVES

Provision of 10 mobile HF transceivers (two-way radios) for use by NEBE during the month prior to the June 5 election. IFES placed an order for ten radios for delivery by May 16, 1994 following a process lasting only four weeks from the request for bids to the delivery date. The radios arrived in Addis for NEBE to pick up on May 19. They were collected by NEBE on May 24. Although NEBE was advised in early May of the imminent delivery, the intended vehicles were not in Addis to receive the radios before the election. NEBE announced its intention to install the radios before the July 17 election; the radios were installed during the first week of July. While the radios will certainly continue to be useful in subsequent elections, the lukewarm reception and lack of anticipation by NEBE of the radios' arrival in Addis may be a consideration in terms of future equipment provision.

Sending an election specialist to Ethiopia during the month prior to the election to oversee the installation and use of the radios, to monitor NEBE's needs and activities, and provide advice as appropriate. IFES provided an advisor whose low-key approach and stated intention to learn from rather than to evaluate the Ethiopian election process was instrumental in the successful presentation of recommendations at the end of the project. The advisor, by opening one door at NEBE, had the unexpected dividend of facilitating the work of the Australian advisors as well.

Assistance in the organization and facilitation of a post-election evaluation workshop for NEBE. As stated in Section III, the attention given to the organization of Region 5 elections meant that the IFES team spent more time than intended on the organization, agenda-setting and facilitation the workshop rather than mere assistance. If the willingness of NEBE senior staff to participate actively in the workshop was the only criterion for organizing it, the workshop would not have taken place. However, after participating to the extent that they did, the NEBE executive staff were encouraged by the open communication and peaceful atmosphere of the sessions, as well as the constructive suggestions provided by the group. The success of the workshop was due largely to the consistent emphasis by Gary Ouellet that the workshop was for the participants' benefit, not the foreigners'; that the purpose of gathering was not to pick over problems but to

develop solutions; and that this was an opportunity to bring individuals who communicated previously only through superiors or subordinates face-to-face for the first time. The IFES team provided NEBE with the tools to organize a workshop of this type on its own in the future.

Assistance in NEBE's initial goal-setting and strategic planning exercises following the evaluation workshop. During the final days of the project, NEBE senior staff were prevented from concentrating on concrete initial steps or setting of strategic goals by the need to concentrate on preparations for the postponed elections. Although the recommendations were presented prior to Cooper's departure, Ato Assefa and Ato Samson had not met to discuss goals and did not contact her before she left. IFES intends to solicit continued information from NEBE about its current activities and plans for the months prior to the parliamentary elections.



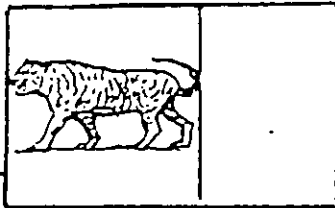
APPENDIX A: Constituent Assembly Election Ballot

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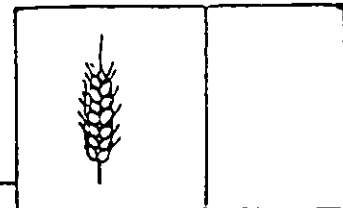
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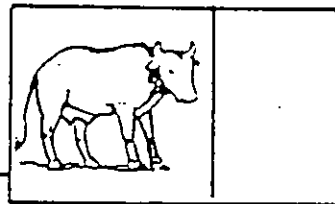
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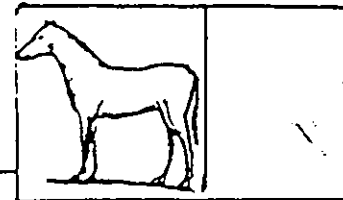
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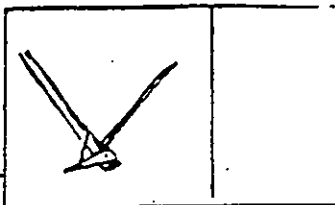
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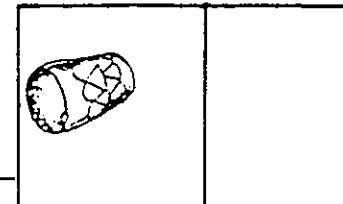
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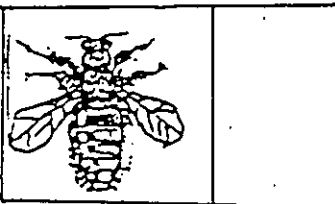
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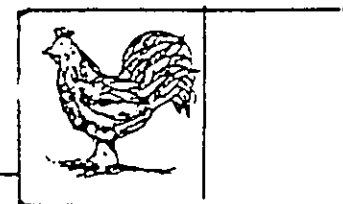
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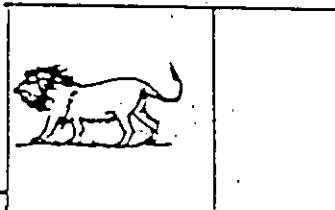
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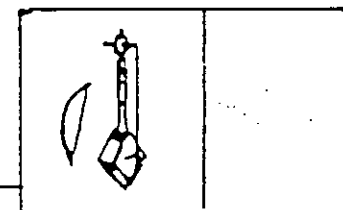
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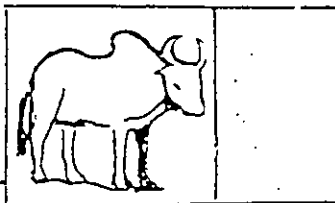
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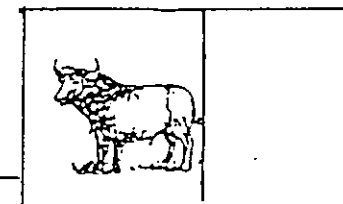
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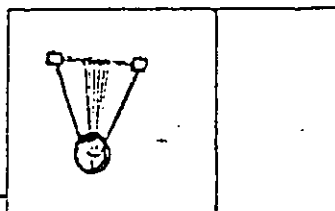
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APPENDIX B: Election Results Spreadsheet

The Figures - Combined NEBE. Null/Void = Ballots cast - party/indep votes.
Information as of 7/18/94

Region	Zone	No. Reg Voters	Ballots Cast	% of tot.	Null/Void Ballots	% of tot.	TPLF	% of tot.	Indep	% of tot.	% of tot.
One	Western	242,354	218,196	90	218,196	100		0		0	
	Central	386,883	368,690	95	86,175	23	278,995	76	3,520	1	
	Eastern	238,026	225,023	95	11,313	5	211,030	94	2,680	1	
	Southern	320,614	299,101	93	4,311	1	289,609	97	5,181	2	
	Mekele	38,331	35,500	93	(946)	(3)	33,178	93	3,268	9	
TOTAL		1,226,208	1,146,510	94	319,049	28	812,812	71	14,649	1	
Two	One	110,934	95,891	86	6	0	79,431	83		0	APDO 16,454 17
	Two	44,544	42,744	96	519	1	17,596	41	0	0	24,629 58
	Three	97,952	57,258	58	57,258	100	?	0	?	0	? 0
	Four	48,440	46,301	96	6,044	13	3,610	8	1,899	4	34,748 75
	Five	40,891	49,300	121	0	0	49,300	100	0	0	0 0
TOTAL		342,761	291,494	85	63,827	22	149,937	51	1,899	1	75,831 26
Three	N/Gonder	527,491	476,934	90	24,769	5	403,802	85	48,363	10	0 0
	S/Gonder	521,797	454,020	87	16,393	4	391,356	86	46,271	10	0 0
	W/Gojam	622,259	601,765	97	91,117	15	478,821	80	31,827	5	0 0
	E/Gojam	519,987	460,246	89	21,699	5	390,184	85	48,363	11	0 0
	N/Wolo	483,261	442,522	92	7,704	2	412,314	93	22,504	5	0 0
	S/Wolo	700,991	642,267	92	642,267	100	?	0	?	0	? 0
	N/Shoa	500,372	440,027	88	27,307	6	313,208	71	99,512	23	0 0
TOTAL		3,876,158	3,517,781	91	831,256	24	2,389,685	68	296,840	8	0 0
Four	W/Welega	359,880	291,912	81	(19,236)	(7)	238,730	82	72,418	25	0 0
	E/Welega	381,603	341,822	90	(297)	(0)	297,418	87	44,701	13	0 0
	W/Shoa	617,618	493,209	80	20,704	4	424,749	86	47,756	10	0 0
	E/Shoa	381,117	319,026	84	21,055	7	230,978	72	66,993	21	0 0
	N/Shoa?	379,731	289,144	76	8,170	3	244,931	85	36,043	12	0 0
	W/Hararge	362,655	338,831	93	4,354	1	273,281	81	61,196	18	? 0
	E/Hararge	539,697	527,875	98	43,263	8	404,178	77	80,434	15	0 0
	Arsi	613,472	561,365	92	26,668	5	423,762	75	110,935	20	0 0
	Bale	238,877	207,555	87	9,284	4	117,295	57	80,976	39	0 0
	Borena	479,136	270,611	56	3,803	1	199,583	74	67,225	25	? 0
	Ilubabor	280,059	263,787	94	5,555	2	246,887	94	11,345	4	0 0
	Kefa/Jimma	496,672	460,846	93	56,130	12	366,810	80	37,906	8	0 0
TOTAL		5,130,517	4,365,983	85	179,453	4	3,468,602	79	717,928	16	0 0
Six	Metekel	25,449	19,131	75	19,131	100	0	0	0	0	0 0
	Asosa	61,779	52,058	84	52,058	100	0	0	0	0	0 0
	Kemashi	68,266	55,672	82	55,672	100	0	0	0	0	0 0
TOTAL		155,494	126,861	82	12,917	10	59,464	47	54,480	43	0 0
Southern	Gurage	497,704	411,549	83	7,515	2	379,513	92	24,521	6	0 0
	Hadiya	417,167	388,189	93	6,223	2	353,240	91	28,726	7	0 0
	KemAlTem	230,486	188,265	82	5,944	3	176,133	94	6,188	3	0 0
	Sidama	754,202	739,722	98	(405,590)	(55)	1,135,424	153	9,888	1	0 0
	Gedeo	283,580	278,523	98	1,702	1	271,687	98	5,134	2	0 0
	N/Omo	1,014,025	910,594	90	48,594	5	765,868	84	96,132	11	? 0
	S/Omo	71,163	62,610	88	825	1	60,194	96	1,591	3	0 0
	Kelicho	153,361	150,523	98	1,993	1	145,037	96	3,493	2	0 0
	Shekicho	58,811	53,577	91	6,377	12	39,989	75	7,211	13	0 0
	Benche	67,370	60,660	90	3,420	6	49,356	81	7,884	13	? 0
	Maji	24,048	20,107	84	5,632	28	14,475	72	0	0	0 0
TOTAL		3,571,917	3,264,319	91	(317,365)	(10)	3,390,916	104	190,768	6	0 0

Twelve	<i>Gambella</i>	49,316	26,085	53	2,020	8	GPLM	6,765	26	17,300	66	0	0
Thirteen	<i>Harer</i>	35,304	31,212	88	8,929	29	Multi	16,574	53	5,709	18	0	0
Fourteen							Multi						
	AA1	92,547	61,673	67	61,673	100		0	0	0	0	?	0
	AA2	125,638	86,580	69	86,580	100		0	0	0	0	0	0
	AA3	99,347	64,758	65	64,758	100		0	0	0	0	0	0
	AA4	141,764	95,368	67	95,368	100		0	0	0	0	0	0
	AA5	113,607	76,380	67	76,380	100		0	0	0	0	?	0
	AA6	21,043	13,305	63	13,305	100		0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL	593,946	398,044	67	86,402	22		191,986	48	119,656	30	0	0
GRAND TOTAL		14,981,621	13,168,289	88	1,186,488	9			1,419,229	11			

APPENDIX C: Debre Zeyit Post-Election Evaluation Workshop

POST ELECTION WORKHOP
DEBRE ZEYIT - JULY3/4/5/6/1994

R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

July 6, 1994

(Unedited - as presented by Group Discussion Leaders - Background to these Recommendations are based on group discussions and is available from the Group Leaders and also vidiotaped by NEBE staff.

Group Leaders:

Gibru Teklu Abai Tekle Sisay Getachew
Grimaye Kebede
Kifene Gurm Tesfaye Maryam W/Senbet

Civic Education:

- 1.1 That NEBE give special attention to training of polling station official.
- 1.2 That NEBE give consideration to sponsoring more seminars for voters on the technical election process.
- 1.3 That NEBE give consideration to providing adequate training to polling station officials in order to permit them to provide civic education to the voters.
- 1.4 That NEBE give consideration to provide various methods of civic education to the voters.
- 1.5 That NEBE give consideration to provide a civic education component in the national school curriculum.
- 1.6 The NEBE give consideration to provide civic education to the candidates.
- 1.7 That NEBE give consideration to provide adequate civic education materials in appropriate time prior elections.
- 1.8 That NEBE give consideration to obtain mobile audiovisual units for election purposes.
- 1.9 That a comprehensive civic education program be established early in the election calendar to enhance voter awareness of issues, procedures and election process.

- 1.10 That NEBE give consideration to providing civic education which includes the role of the Polling Station Observers.
- 1.11 That NEBE give consideration to the continuation of radio training which proved successful at the recent elections; providing that face to face training is given simultaneously.

Voter Registration:

- 2.1 That NEBE reconsider the residency requirement for registration of electors.
- 2.2 That NEBE give consideration to permit the registration of an elector by a family member or legal agent.
- 2.3 That NEBE give consideration to the preparation of the Electoral Register be prepared in carbon copies to avoid the duplication in copying form No. 12. (Form 12 now obsolete)
- 2.4 That NEBE prepare electoral cards on an individual constituency level.

Count:

- 3.1 That NEBE give consideration to changes in the hours of voting in order to permit polling station count during daylight hours, or extend voting days to two days so that counting may take place in the afternoon of the second day.
- 3.2 That NEBE give consideration to a single ballot count at the close of the poll at the polling station.
- 3.3 That NEBE give consideration to move the counting of ballots the day following election day, within a specified time following closing of polls.
- 3.4 That NEBE give consideration to a single count, instead of the current two.

Observers:

- 4.1 That NEBE enable regulations that will guarantee that all NGOs and International Observers receive proper briefing and orientation.
- 4.2 That NEBE give serious consideration to comprehensive deployment of observers throughout the country.

Nominations/Candidates

- 5.1 That NEBE give consideration in regulation to provide sufficient time for the candidate to collect the required signatures of registered electors.

- 5.2 The NEBE provide sufficient time in the election calendar to permit the candidates to introduce themselves and their political program.
- 5.3 That NEBE make provisions for elections officers at Constituency level to explain rules and regulations to candidates, regarding campaigning.
- 5.4 That NEBE immediately review the candidate symbol systems in order to facilitate the election process.
- 5.5 That NEBE give consideration to reducing the number of required signatures on candidate Nomination Paper.
- 5.6 That NEBE give consideration to recommend legislation making it clear that the person signing a Nomination Paper for a candidate is clearly under no obligation to cast his ballot for this candidate.
- 5.7 That NEBE give consideration to changes in legislation to enable all candidates to campaign on a level playing field.
- 5.8 That NEBE give consideration to changes in the electoral calendar which would require that nomination of candidates be prior to registration of electors.

Pay/Budget/Conditions:

- 6.1 That NEBE, in the preparation of the election calendar, pay special attention to the following:
- a) Seasons of the year
 - b) Additional budgets
 - c) Additional manpower (high school students), for rural regions, with payment of stippen.
- 6.2 That NEBE give consideration to provisions making special allowance on election day, to facilitate reporting of results, by introducing mobile radio units, faxes, computers and other communication services.
- 6.3 That NEBE give serious consideration to providing necessary funding for food and beverages for polling stations officials.
- 6.4 That NEBE provide adequate transportation and budget allocation from Region to Polling Station.
- 6.5 That NEBE give consideration to adequate budget allocations to constituencies based on special areas and area covered.
- 6.6 That NEBE give consideration to a review of the pay schedule to election officials based on their responsibilities.
- 6.7 That NEBE give consideration to providing a guarantee of security to its election officials. (In the event of injury or death, compensation will be provided self or family).

Ink:

- 7.1 That NEBE implement regulations requiring that all election forms be written in ink.
- 7.2 That NEBE give consideration to using different ink in the election process:
- a) one color of ink pad at Registration Table
 - b) second color ink pad at the voting table
 - c) and the third, indelible ink
- 7.3 That NEBE give consideration to changing the regulations so that the officials at the Polling Station will paint the nail with indelible ink, instead of the current practice of inserting thumb in ink bottle.

Special Areas:

- 8.1 That NEBE give consideration to defining a "Special Area" based on the following criteria:
- a) It is a nomadic area
 - b) It is a desert or arid area
 - c) It has no infrastructure
 - d) It has no skill manpower for election purposes
- 8.2 That NEBE give consideration to give priority to Special Areas, and that this form part of the electoral legislation.
- 8.3 That NEBE give consideration to the establishment of a Special Area Section in their administrative structure.
- 8.4 That NEBE give consideration to conduct studies and research in Special Areas needs.

Ballot Paper/Ballot Box:

- 9.1 That NEBE give consideration to provide permanent serial numbers on all ballot boxes.
- 9.2 That NEBE give consideration to printing of ballots for each respective constituency.
- 9.3 That NEBE give consideration to change regulations to prohibit duplication of similar candidate symbols on ballot paper.
- 9.4 That NEBE give consideration to provide colored symbols on ballot paper.
- 9.5 That NEBE give consideration to redesign the ballot so as to shade the total ballot except for the section where the elector is required to make his mark.

Procedures:

- 10.1 The NEBE give consideration to provide the polling station instructions manual in a single booklet; that the documentation be clear, specific, understandable and illustrated; that in the preparation of the manual,

consideration be given to the level and capacity of the intended officials.

- 10.2 That NEBE give consideration to forming a new Constituency Boundaries Committee, to undertake a review of the constituency boundaries; that the membership of this Committee be NEBE, Statistics Office, prominent persons residing in the Constituency; administrative units of the constituency; that the demarcation shall be made in the context of national interest.
- 10.3 That NEBE give consideration to permit citizens residing abroad, to participate in National Elections.
- 10.4 That NEBE give consideration to change the regulations regarding residency from two years to a few months (registration).
- 10.5 That NEBE give consideration to implement regulations that will prevent electoral officials from being detained or harassed by authorities without NEBE consent.
- 10.6 The NEBE give consideration to total security of all election supplies and materials from origin to final destination.
- 10.7 That NEBE give consideration to changing of the packaging and processing of election materials on the basis of polling station in order avoid wastage, spoilage and other than could happen during distribution.
- 10.8 That NEBE give consideration for proper and secure storage of election materials at the polling station levels; that storage of these materials not be stored in family home.
- 10.9 That NEBE establish a fixed schedule for conducting elections.
- 10.10 That NEBE give consideration for provisions to have the ballot folded twice at the time of issue.
- 10.11 That NEBE give consideration to increasing the number of days for voting.
- 10.12 The NEBE give considerations to providing a more efficient and effective system to communicate changes to rules, regulations and amendments, to election officials.
- 10.13 That NEBE recommend changes to the legislation making provisions for the eventuality of equal votes for candidates.
- 10.14 That NEBE change the rules so that voting procedures be in this order:
 - Registration
 - Ballot Paper
 - Voting
 - Indelible Ink
 - Ballot box
 - elector leaves polling station.

Recruitment:

- 11.1 That NEBE give consideration to a program of recruitment for officials in cooperation with the local administrative authorities.
- 11.2 That NEBE give consideration to selection of Constituency officials from local government institutions.
- 11.3 That NEBE review regulations hiring processes to make sure that all election officials have a good knowledge of reading and writing.
- 11.4 That NEBE give consideration to the employment, to the extent possible, of the same national election officials for the coming elections, as in the recent elections.

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July 6, 1994
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POST ELECTION WORKSHOP
 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY - June 5, 1994
 Debre Zeyit - ETHIOPIA - July 3/4/5/6/1994
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

	Name/Participant	Room Number	OFFICE/POSITION	Co.
1	Belay, W/Georgis	042	Regional Officer	01
2	Girmay, Berhane	060	Polling Station	01
3	Memhur, Abdulkadir	058	Polling Station	01
4	T/Michel, Mislal	40	Polling Station	01
5	Teklu, Gebru	041	Zone Officer	01
6	Tesfay, Fisseha	012	Polling Station	01
7	Wondem, Tadesse	059	Regional Officer	01
8	Abdela, Abas	144	Zone Officer	02
9	Abdulkadir, Tahir	036	Polling Station	02
10	Hamzth, Mohammed	017	Polling Station	02
11	Idaneis, Osman	069	Polling Station	02
12	Nur, Abdu	051	Regional Officer	02
13	Seid, Ibrahim	143	Polling Station	02
14	Amare, Maergu	046	Polling Station	03
15	Ayele, Ferde	016	Polling Station	03
16	Deress, Basaznew	081	Polling Station	03
17	G/Slassie, Mezgebe	047	Polling Station	03
18	Gelagle, Lema	078	Polling Station	03
19	Getachew, Sisay	085	Zone Officer	03

POST ELECTION WORKSHOP
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY - June 5, 1994
 Debre Zeyit - ETHIOPIA - July 3/4/5/6/1994
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

	Name/Participant	Room Number	OFFICE/POSITION	Co.
20	Kassa, Fanta	080	Polling Station	03
21	Mazengil, Shambel	079	Polling Station	03
22	Muhaba, Mulat	124	Polling Station	03
23	Muluye, Zegeye	007	Zone Officer	03
24	Pawlos, Werku	034	Polling Station	03
25	Tadesse, Solomon	125	Zone Officer	03
26	Tekle, Abai	057	Regional Officer	03
27	Yimer, Sisay	061	Polling Officer	03
28	Adem, Mohammed	045	Polling Station	04
29	Aliye, Abdella	026	Zone Officer	04
30	Amente, Tadesse	130	Zone Officer	04
31	Batii, Yishak	005	Polling Station	04
32	Boru, Mohammed	020	Polling Station	04
33	Chemir, Hailu	028	Regional Officer	04
34	Gmaryam, Endia	008	Polling Station	04
35	Ibrahim, Afendi	029	Zone Officer	04
36	Ibrahim, Mohammed	048	Polling Station	04
37	Kebede, Ashebir	075	Polling Station	04
38	Kebede, Asrat	076	Polling Station	04

POST ELECTION WORKSHOP
 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY - June 5, 1994
 Debre Zeyit - ETHIOPIA - July 3/4/5/6/1994
 LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

	Name/Participant	Room Number	OFFICE/POSITION	Co..
39	Lema, Gerba	068	Polling Station	04
40	Tura, Tesshome	018	Polling Station	04
41	Wadajo, Mammo	077	Polling Station	04
42	Weyesa, Belete	137	Polling Station	04
43	Yussuf, Jibrael	006	Polling Station	04
44	Zewdie, Minyeshu	074	Zone Officer	04
45	Ahemed, Oumer	032	Polling Station	06
46	Fekadu, Fajigo	033	Polling Station	06
47	Ferede, Mekuriaw	050	Polling Station	06
48	Negura, Beshir	030	Polling Station	06
49	Semaneh, Abebe	053	Regional Officer	06
50	Okello, Oboye	014	Polling Station	12
51	Oman, Okello	031	Polling Station	12
52	Opiew, Olero	015	Regional Officer	12
53	Owiti, Okello	126	Polling Station	12
54	Abreha, Hiewet	035	Polling Station	14
55	Araya, Tsegaye	010	Polling Station	14
56	Argy, Gebmedhin	000	Polling Station	14
57	Assefa, Frew	129	Polling Station	14

POST ELECTION WORKSHOP
 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY - June 5, 1994
 Debre Zeyit - ETHIOPIA - July 3/4/5/6/1994
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

	Name/Participant	Room Number	OFFICE/POSITION	Co.
58	Bogale, Kasahun	019	Polling Station	14
59	Debesaye, Tiblets	037	Polling Station	14
60	Deneke, Tensay	023	Zone Officer	14
61	G/Michel, Tsagaye	054	Polling Station	14
62	Kebede, Legese	055	Polling Station	14
63	Mamo, Kedre	128	Polling Station	14
64	Mesfin, Kenfe	043	Polling Station	14
65	Tadesse, Assefa	024	Zone Officer	14
66	Teshome, Mebrat	038	Polling Station	14
67	Ukubay, Kiros	000	Polling Station	14
68	W/Mariam, Misginna	011	Polling Station	14
69	Akabway, Stephen	073	Commissioner -	Ex
70	Anderson, Paul	083	Consultant -	Ex
71	Chilvers, Bill	082	Consultant -	Ex
72	Cooper, Laurie	072	IFES - Staff	Ex
73	Johnson, Kevin	000	NDI	Ex
74	Keefer, Pat	000	NDI	Ex
75	Ouellet, Gary	071	IFES - Consultant	Ex
76	Abebe, Amanuel Work	070	NEBE	HQ

POST ELECTION WORKSHOP
 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY - June 5, 1994
 Debre Zeyit - ETHIOPIA - July 3/4/5/6/1994
 LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

	Name/Participant	Room Number	OFFICE/POSITION	Co.
77	Abraham, Zeru	052	NEBE	HQ
78	Beru, Assefa	000	Chief Executive	HQ
79	Denkissa, Fekadu	027	NEBE	HQ
80	Erkihun, Lulseged	131	NEBE	HQ
81	Getahune, Samson	000	NEBE	HQ
82	Goyte, Tesfaye	000	NEBE	HQ
83	Gurmu, Kefene	022	NEBE	HQ
84	Hassen, Kassahun	121	NEBE	HQ
85	Kassa, Albachew	013	NEBE	HQ
86	Kebede, Girmaye	021	NEBE	HQ
87	Ketema, Alemayehu	141	NEBE	HQ
88	Ketene, Getachew	135	NEBE	HQ
89	Mamo, Gimmawork	120	NEBE	HQ
90	Nana, Mekonnen	065	NEBE	HQ
91	Tamiru, Sirgut	039	NEBE	HQ
92	Tesfaye, Wube (F)	134	NEBE	HQ
93	Wanna, Wendimu	140	NEBE	I
94	Kejela, Kebede	118	A-BU-GI-DA	NGO
95	Tesfaye, Shirerraw	143	A-BU-GI-DA	NGO

POST ELECTION WORKSHOP
 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY - June 5, 1994
 Debre Zeyit - ETHEIOPIA - July 3/4/5/6/1994
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

	Name/Participant	Room Number	OFFICE/POSITION	Co.
96	Mugoro, Abera	123	Polling Station	S
97	Dukamo, Berhanu	025	Polling Station	S
98	Erifo, Tamerat	056	Polling Station	S
99	Ganta, Folla	063	Polling Station	S
100	Kambata, Neta	138	Polling Station	S
101	Kemisu, Maeregu	067	Polling Station	S
102	Kessito, Sharifo	044	Zone Officer	S
103	Mena, Getachew	062	Polling Station	S
104	Nega, Getu	002	Polling Station	S
105	Sebba, Esayas	067	Polling Station	S
106	W/Senbet, Maryam Tesfa	127	Regional Officer	S
107	Wolde, Nigatu	139	Zone Officer	S
108	Yashu, Deneke	009	Zone Officer	S

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION
 IN THE POST-ELECTION EVALUATION WORKSHOP

WE APPRECIATED YOUR CONTRIBUTION

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sponsored by:

NATIONAL ELECTION BOARD OF ETHIOPIA

INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

&

USAID MISSION in Ethiopia

July 6, 1994

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ETHIOPIA - CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION
EVALUATION WORKSHOP - Debre Zeyit, 1986 (1994)

AGENDA

SUNDAY, July 3

Master Agenda

Afternoon/

Early Evening NTO Buses depart from NEBE HQ at 4:00 P.M. (16:00)

Arrival at The Management Institute, Debre Zeyit.

9:30 Dinner - Cafeteria

10:00 Facilitators - DINNER MEETING IN = ROOM 2

Monday, July 4

7:30 - 8:30 Breakfast - Cafeteria

8:30 - 9:00 Opening Session - AUDITORIUM: (7) Tesfaye Goyte

- WELCOME AND OPENING REMARKS
 - Assefa Beru, Executive Secretary NEBE
 - Kamal Bedri, Chairman, NEBE
- "Transparency" - Gary Ouellet, IFES

How the Conference will operate - Gary Ouellet

9:00 - 10:00 Plenary Session: AUDITORIUM: (7) Tesfaye Goyte

- OVERVIEW AND GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF THE JUNE 5TH CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION - Kassahun Hassen, Head of Logistics Dept. NEBE.

10:00 - 11:00 DISCUSSIONS - AUDITORIUM: (7) Mekonnen Nana

- What is the PUBLIC saying?
- What has been your experience?
- Where did we fail?
- What have we learned?

11:00 - 11:30 Coffee Break - Tea Room & Bar (9)

11:30 - 13:00 PLENARY SESSION - AUDITORIUM (7)

- Introduction of Commissioner, Stephen Akabway - Laurie Cooper
- "The Uganda Experience" Stephen Akabway
- Question Period
- Paul Anderson - Training!
- Process after Lunch, Small Group Discussions - Tesfaye Goyte

ETHIOPIA - CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION
EVALUATION WORKSHOP - Debre Zeyit, 1986 (1994)

AGENDA

Tuesday, July 5

7:30 - 8:30 Breakfast - Cafeteria

8:45 - 10:30 Observation Pep talk by -----name

Plenary Session: Auditorium: (7) / Chairman Goyte

- Reports from Functional Groups on key issues to be addressed.

10:30 - 11:00 COFFEE BREAK - Tea Room & Bar (9)

11:00 - 13:00 Small Group Discussion

- Problem Areas and Recommendations:

2.1 Vote Count & Reporting = Room # 1
Abay & Gary = Dark Blue

2.2 Voting Process, Rules, Regulations =
Room # 2
Sisay & Bill = Green

2.3 Civic Education, Campaigning, Communications &
Information dissemination = Room # 3A
Grimaye & Paul = Light Blue

2.4 Elections in Special Areas = Room #4A
Kefene & Stephen = Orange

2.5 Security, for ballot paper, supplies, personal =
Room #5
Gibru & Laurie = Red

2.6 Electoral operations and procedures
= Room # 6
Tesfa-Maryam & Gary = Yellow

13:00 - 14:00 Lunch - Cafeteria

14:00 - 16:00 Small Group Discussion
Groups Return to morning rooms to summarize
recommendations.

16:00 - 16:30 COFFEE BREAK - Tea Room & Bar (9)

16:30 - 18:00 Plenary Session - AUDITORIUM / Tesfaye Goyte

ETHIOPIA - CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION
EVALUATION WORKSHOP - Debre Zeyit, 1986 (1994)

AGENDA

ont'd.... July 5

- Report of each group
Present summaries (or additional problem
identification) to plenary session
THANK YOU PEP TALK - Laurie

8:00 - 19:30

Room 3b:

Small Group Facilitators and plenary session reporters
will meet to draw up preliminary statement of
recommendations.

9:00 - 20:30

Reception: Tea Room & Bar (9)

0:30

DINNER Cafeteria

HAVE A GREAT EVENING !

ETHIOPIA - CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION
EVALUATION WORKSHOP - Debre Zeyit, 1986 (1994)

AGENDA

Wednesday, July 6

7:30 - 8:30 Breakfast - Cafeteria

9:00 - 10:30 Plenary Session - AUDITORIUM: (7)
Assefa Beru & Facilitators

- Present draft recommendation summaries.
- Forward look at schedule for next general national elections - process and calendar.

10:30 - 11:00 Tea - Tea Room & Bar (9)

11:00 - 12:00 Plenary Session - AUDITORIUM: (7) / Chairman Goyte

- Discussion of Recommendations from plenary floor

12:00 - 13:00 Closing - Auditorium (7)

Remarks:

- Commissioner Akabway
- Executive Secretary, Assefa Beru
- Presentations
- Last words - Chairman Goyte

13:00 - 14:30 LUNCH - Cafeteria

15:00 Departure for Addis Ababa

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION !
HAVE A SAFE TRIP HOME

July 3, 1994

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ETHIOPIA - CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION
EVALUATION WORKSHOP - Debre Zeyit, 1986 (1994)

AGENDA

Responsibilities:

Chairman	Tesfaye Goyte
Media	Macolin Wana
Logistics	Sirgut Tamiru
Finance	Sirgut Tamiru
Transportation	Gimmawork Mamo
Registration	Sirgut Tamiru

First Aid	Solomon - at reception
Ambulance	Solomon - at reception

Facilitators:

Yibru Teklu
Baye Tekle
Isay Getachew
Tirfaye Kebede
Tirfene Gurmu
Tirfaye Maryam

Interpreters

Tesfaye Birhanu
Demke Gashaw
Daniel Welde
Jimawork Mamo

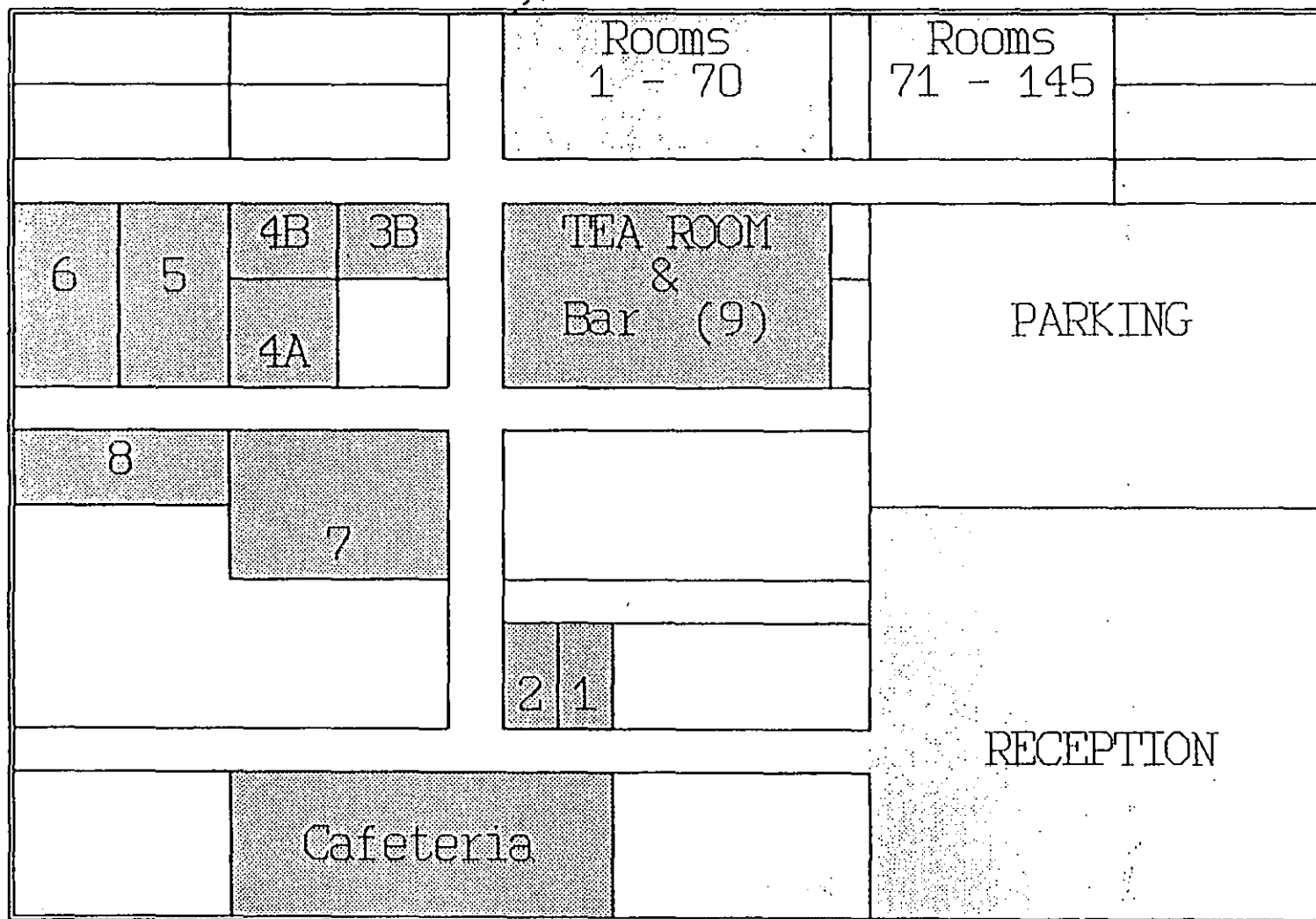
Facilitator Support

Paul Anderson, Australian
Election Commission
Bill Chilvers, Australian
Election Commission
Mary Ouellet, IFES

Laurie Cooper, IFES
Stephen Akabway, Uganda
Kevin Johnson, NDI
Abraham Abebe, A-BU-GI-DA
Kebede Kejeda, A-BU-GI-DA

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July 3, 1994

DEBRE ZEYIT MANAGEMENT INSTITUTE
 POST-ELECTION EVALUATION WORKSHOP - July 3/4/5/6/94
 NATIONAL ELECTION BOARD OF ETHIOPIA



OFFICIAL MAP OF THE WORKSHOP - Scale - approximate

APPENDIX D: Gary Ouellet Recommendations

RECOMMENDATIONS

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REPORT

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to

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INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

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by

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GARY OUELLET, CONSULTANT

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ADDIS ABABA

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JULY 1994

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FOREWORD

This report shall serve as a summary of recommendations, presented to the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, addressed to the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia. The report covers observations made as a Technical Advisor on the IFES Technical Election Assistance Project in Ethiopia from May 26 through July 14, 1994.

The following considerations and recommendations are made without prejudice. They are based on my pre-election observation, observation on election day, and post election observations and discussions with the administration of the National Election Board and election officials in the field, including officials in Dire Dawa, Harrar, Bahir Dar, Gonder, Nazareth, Debre Zeyit and Gambella. I received a good deal of background information from participants to the Post-Election Workshop in Debre Zeyit from July 3 - July 6, 1994. The recommendations are based on my review of the Electoral Law, Regulations and instructions to election officials. I welcome your comments, corrections and any contribution which will assist the National Election Board of Ethiopia in its consideration of changes that will streamline the administration of elections and most importantly facilitate the process for electors.

Following a description of the Constitution and Electoral Law, the report is divided into Procedural and Practical Recommendations, with additional sections on selected topics.

The recommendations in this report are provided with the goal of making the election process a transparent and effective one. Many of the recommendations require changes in Ethiopia's process and in the perception of an election administrator's duties. It is my hope that some of the recommendations will be implemented (perhaps on a test basis) in the Region 5 election.

I. CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Article 10 of the Transitional Charter of Ethiopia established a Constitutional Drafting Committee. Accordingly, the Council of Representatives established a Constitution Commission in its Proclamation of No. 24/1984 E.C. The Commission was given the responsibility to perform the following major duties.

- To conduct educational discussions on basic constitutional concepts through the public mass media and at education institutions and other convenient locations.
- To prepare and submit to the Council of Representatives a draft constitution based on the understanding obtained from the discussions.
- To forward suggestions to the Council of Representatives on the principles of election of representatives to the Constitutional Assembly by all Ethiopians.¹

The Draft Constitution of Ethiopia was made public following months of deliberation at all levels across Ethiopia. Its 106 articles provide the basis upon which the Constituent Assembly will ratify the final document. The following articles pertain directly to the election process and will be referred to throughout this document. Comments on selected articles appear in boldface type.

Article 1: - Name

The Ethiopian State shall be called the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

Article 5: - Language

The official language of the Federal government shall be Amharic. All Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal state recognition. The member states of the federation shall determine their respective official language.

Article 12: - Functions and Accountability of Government

The activities of Government shall be undertaken in a manner which is open and transparent to the public. The people may recall one of their representatives whenever they lose confidence in him. Particulars shall be determined by law.

¹November 1993 "Basic Constitutional Concepts, A Background Paper presented for Public Discussion"

Article 35: - The Rights of Women

The Constitution proposes to include equal rights for women as those enjoyed by men.

Article 38: -

The Right to Vote and to be Elected

"Every citizen, without distinction on the basis of race, colour, nation, nationality, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, or discrimination based on any other status shall have the right:

- a) to take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives;
- b) to vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot; guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors."

Article 39: -

Every nation, nationality or people of Ethiopia shall have the unrestricted right to self-determination up to secession.

The right to self-determination up to secession of nation, nationality and peoples may be exercised.

An alternative clause supported by a minority of the Council will also be debated by the Constituent Assembly. During the IFES Technical Assistance Project, this continued to be a hotly discussed section.

Article 45:- Form of Government

The Form of Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia shall be parliamentary.

Article 46:- States in the Federation

The Federation shall comprise of states... States shall be structured on the basis of the settlement, language, identity and the consent of the people.

Article 53:- The Federal Chambers

The Federal Parliament shall be composed of two chambers, namely the Council of People's Representative and the Council of the Federation.

Article 54:- Members of the Council of People's Representatives

... shall be elected every five years in a direct, free and fair election by universal suffrage which shall be held by secret ballot.

The members of the Council of Peoples Representatives shall be elected from among candidates within one electoral district in an electoral process where the winner shall be the candidate with the highest number of votes. Minority nationalities and peoples that are believed to deserve special representation shall become, through election, members of the Council of People's Representatives. Particulars shall be determined by law.

Article 69:- The President

The President shall be the Head of State of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

Article 70:- Appointment of the President

1. The Power to nominate the President shall reside in the Council of the People's Representatives.
2. A candidate shall become the President where his appointment is supported by a 2/3 majority vote of the joint meeting of the Council of People's Representatives and the Council of the Federation.
3. Where a member is appointed as a President, he shall lose his seat in the Council.
4. The term of office of the president shall be six years. No one may be appointed a president for more than two terms of office.

It is not clear if the Council seat vacated by the appointment of the President will be subject to a by-election or will remain vacant.

Article 73:-

The Prime Minister shall be elected from among the members of the Council by the political party or a coalition of political parties who have obtained a majority of seats in the Council of People's Representatives.

Article 104:- The Electoral Board

1. The National Electoral Board which shall conduct free and fair elections with impartiality and free from any interference in both the federal and state electoral districts shall be established.
2. The members of the Board shall be appointed by the Council of Peoples' Representatives upon nomination by the Prime Minister. Particulars shall be determined by law.

II. THE NATIONAL ELECTORAL BOARD OF ETHIOPIA

Proclamation No. 64/1993, A Proclamation to Provide For the Electoral Law of Ethiopia, elaborates the legislation governing election of the Constituent Assembly. Chapter Two of the Proclamation deals with the establishment of the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia, its composition, powers, and duties. The Board is accountable to the Council of Representatives; it is composed of seven members designated by the Council of Representatives. The Chief Executive and Deputy Chief Executive of the Secretariat of the Board were also appointed by the Council of Representatives, upon recommendation of the Head of State. The Head Office of the Board is in Addis Ababa, and it supports branch offices as necessary.

The Case for a Permanent Election Authority

The legislation is not clear as to the term of the Board's mandate; the law limits its functions, theoretically, to the end of the Constituent Assembly elections. The Chief Executive of the Secretariat is also appointed by the Council of Representatives upon recommendation of the Head of State, and is a non-voting member and secretary of the Board. The Board and the Secretariat are independent of the governing party, but they remain dependent on government for the Board's operating budget including logistics, materials, vehicles and staff.

A permanent, independent election commission is integral to the guarantee of a transparent election process. Such a commission is usually charged with the organization and supervision of all national elections and related exercises. In Ethiopia, the distrust between political parties, whether they are in the government or in the Constituent Assembly, would be alleviated by the knowledge that the Electoral Board operates as an institution rather than a provisional body.

A national election commission and secretariat could also assist in the organization of state (regional, zone or local) elections. The current Electoral Law does not address the possibility of individual election organizations for each state, although that appears to be prescribed by the Draft Constitution.

This approach would provide continuity to the institution and most important, give the necessary independence and transparency desired of a democratic election commission.

- 1.1 The National Election Board of Ethiopia should be established as a permanent institution with the responsibility to administer/conduct national elections and to assist, as deemed appropriate by the Constitution, in the conduct of state, regional and local elections.
- 1.2 The National Election Board of Ethiopia's enabling legislation should provide for a Secretariat, both bodies which would be accountable to the Federal Parliament.
- 1.3 NEBE should have access to its own funds for permanent operating expenses as well as for the planning and organization of elections.

The NEBE would be responsible (and therefore have the necessary authority to be responsible) for matters such as:

- election law review, recommendations
- development and enforcement of election regulations
- guidelines for regional, Woreda & Kebele election administration
- voter education
- public information
- delivery, certification and promulgation of election results
- training of election officials
- registration of parties
- development of rules for and acceptance of candidate nominations
- election-related logistics
- registration of voters
- other assignments to the Institution by the government.

- 1.4 NEBE should maintain a nonpartisan nature.

This last point is important because a distinction is made between accountability to an institution (the Federal Parliament) and accountability to whatever party currently controls the institution.

The public perception of NEBE as a body answerable to institutions and laws rather than people and personalities is essential to its ability to guarantee and administer fair and transparent elections.

Constituency Delimitation

Chapter Three of the Electoral Law spells out a number of rules which currently hamper the ability of the Board to develop regulations governing the conduct of free and fair elections in Ethiopia. The electoral law is set out more as a series of regulations than of legislation of concepts or policies. The many-faceted criteria of constituencies provide an illustration. Article 15, Subsection 1, states that the territory of the country is divided into constituencies based on the Woreda. Subsection 2 states that each constituency is made up of one hundred thousand inhabitants. Subsection 3 states that "... minority nationalities believed by the Council of Representatives or its successor to require separate representation shall be made to elect and send their respective representative." Subsection 4 states "The Council of Representatives or its successor may designate constituencies otherwise than what is stipulated under sub-article (1) and (2) of this Article. Finally, subsection 6 reads "Only a single representative shall be elected from a constituency."

Based on the provisional June 5 election results which I received from NEBE on June 27, the number of electors in many of Ethiopia's 548 constituencies is very low. Few of the constituencies actually meet the criteria of 100,000 inhabitants per constituency. Furthermore, at least two of the subsections enable the sitting government to create constituencies to serve purely political (rather than representative) advantage. It is unclear from the law whether the population number criteria supersedes or is subordinate to that of the Woreda or ethnic composition of a potential constituency. These uncertainties reflect a delicate balance between fair ethnic representation and equitable national representation; however, the current ambiguity of this clause takes the planning and administration of future elections out of the hands of NEBE. It is my hope that the Constituent Assembly issues more definitive instructions on this matter.

Electoral Law v. Election Regulations

My observations throughout the election process indicate that a number of the guidelines for administration on all levels were either unclear or conflicting. On June 5, election procedures varied from polling station to polling station. This situation may be attributed in part to the specificity of the Electoral Law with regard to procedural matters. The meaning of the guidelines changed in the translation from English to Amharic (or vice versa) as well as from law to regulation to simple instruction. The Ethiopia Electoral Law, Section 64 Subsection 4 clearly indicates that the ballot must be marked only with an "X." Section 39 of the Regulations states, "The following votes shall be deemed invalid: ... [those] ballot papers which do not enable [polling station officials] to determine the intention of the elector." The Polling Station Manual instructs officials not to count a ballot which is not marked with an "X" (as opposed to a thumbprint) or which does not have the seal and signature of the Election Station Head. Observer reports confirmed that in most instances, ballots were declared 'invalid' by the officials unless there was an "X" properly placed in the box designated for that purpose located on the right of the symbol, though the intent of the voter could be determined through other means. Uniformity and conformity of the law and the rules is imperative and all documentation must reflect this important feature.

Another example of the need for consistency in application occurs in the rules regarding the vote count. Regulation 35 states "Counting of votes at Polling Station shall begin within two hours after the conclusion of the voting process." The Training Manual instructs, "The counting of the vote will continue after the interval of two hours immediately after the voting process... is completed." The interpretation of this regulation by many polling station officials was that counting could not start until two hours after close of the polls.

- 2.1 NEBE should initiate and recommend changes to the Electoral Law of Ethiopia so that the law meets international standards for free and fair elections. Within this framework,

NEBE would have the authority to develop practical regulations which uphold the spirit of the law. The Electoral Law itself should be free of those practical regulations.

- 2.2 The Electoral Law, regulations and training manuals must inform each other, and in that order. Instructions must be consistent with the regulations, which in turn must be consistent with the Law.
- 2.3 Accurate translation of the Regulations and the Electoral Law in all languages in use in various regions and zones, is of utmost importance, especially if the constitutional provisions regarding national and state "official" languages are to be respected.

III. PROCEDURAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Voter Registration

Article 29 of the Electoral Law details the format of the Electoral Roll. As stated above, such detail removes all flexibility for the Board to carry out its mandate without amendments to the legislation. It essentially prevents the Board from performing administrative functions, and forces it to attempt to perform legislative functions. For example, the law describes the data which must be entered on the actual registration card. Beyond the simple statement that registration is a requirement for voting in Ethiopia, the process by which the registration occurs should be left for NEBE to organize. NEBE reserves the right to determine the date and the duration of voter registration.

The voter registration office in any village is usually the Kebele. This area is also used as a polling station. After receiving the information from the voter, the Registrar completes the registration book, issues a registration card and enters the data in a second book for the Constituency level. The registration officials appeared to have no difficulty in finding the voter's names based on the registration card. I am concerned that three separate data entries per elector lends itself to error.

- 3.1 NEBE should produce the Registration Form in duplicate or triplicate (using a combination of self-carbon paper and cardstock) so that only one set data entry is required.

The constituency-level and the polling station document would thus be duplicates of the Registration Card.

- 3.2 NEBE should issue registration cards with pre-printed serial numbers. (Article 32, Electoral Law)
- 3.3 The Registration Card should be designed for use in more than one election, i.e. Regional, Woreda, Kebele, either by making a permanent mark or stamping the card, or punching a hole in it (depending on the material used to produce the card).

Section 21 of the Electoral Law does not clearly indicate that each elector must present himself/herself to the Electoral Coordinators for registration however, subsection 4 requires that the disabled and the blind may be registered accompanied by their assistants. It is therefore assumed that the 'other' electors must appear personally at the polling station to be registered.

The Registrar is generally a local person who knows the people of his Kebele well. Because some people have to walk long distances to get to the Registration Office, the law should provide for a member of the family to register the other members. The elector registering other members of his family would have to show ID for the persons he registers, and the elector would have to then sign the card when it is issued. A less verifiable situation would occur when the voter had to fingerprint the card. This does not in any way suggest that citizens should also be allowed to vote by proxy. On election day, each elector that was registered by a member of his/her family, or representative, would still be required to go personally to the polls and vote. An example of a possible registration card is attached as Appendix Two.

- 3.4 The Electoral Law should be amended to permit registration of voters by member of family or representative.

Candidates

In this Constituent Assembly, elections were held even when only one candidate had been nominated to contest the election. Generally, in democracies when there is only one candidate running in a constituency, the candidate is elected by acclamation, although his/her name should appear on the ballot as a matter of public record.

Selection & Payment of Election Officials

All of the officials working at the Constituent Assembly election were public service employees seconded to the election, teachers or other professionals. They continued to draw their current

salary. Some individuals were paid an additional stipend per month for the duration of the election process, a period of about 4 months. Additional officials working at the polling station were not paid.

- 4.1 The selection process for election officials should ensure a greater community representation on election teams.
- 4.2 NEBE should appoint more nongovernment personnel with the aim of having a wider representation of election teams.
- 4.3 Equitable policies and regulations should govern the payment of all election officials.

Training of Election Officials

Although there was training of election officials at most levels, there was definitely a shortfall on adequate training for polling station officials. As the voters' primary contact, these people hold the key to an election process which is democratic and which therefore permits the elector to cast his ballot in secret. Radio/cassette training was effective in Ethiopia, but it should supplement physical materials and comprehensive training in future elections. In addition, NEBE will be mandated to provide multi-language training materials.

- 5.1 A complete review of the present training methods should be conducted, and a national program undertaken as soon as the Electoral Law and Regulations are amended.
- 5.2 Radio/Cassette method of training officials should be reviewed in order to enhance its effectiveness. In the preparation of audio training, one should keep in mind the creation of modules, broadcast on a set schedule so that simulation activities can be conducted simultaneously.

Note: The Australian Team of Paul Anderson and Bill Chilvers have done an exhaustive study of the training issue in the Ethiopian elections at the same time as the IFES project was in progress. For the sake of brevity and consensus, I will not elaborate further on training.

Vote Counting and Report of the Results

Currently, the Ethiopian Election Law requires that two vote counts take place: one at the close of the polls in the polling station, in the presence of observers; the other at a later (unspecified) date at the constituency level. The basis upon which the second count is conducted is unclear, as is the effect that the additional count would have on the overall results of the election. The opportunity for tampering with election results increases dramatically when the ballot boxes and their contents are transferred to the constituency office. In many instances, it takes days, in one case a week, for the ballot box to be transferred from the polling station to the constituency.

During the June 5 elections, an unacceptably large number of ballots were REJECTED (not counted after having been deposited in the ballot box by the elector). In one instance, the number of REJECTED ballots found in the a ballot box was 50% of the total ballots found therein. There are numerous explanations for the high percentage of rejected ballots, voter "no confidence" notwithstanding. They can be grouped below in summary form.

Ballot Design

- 1) difficult ballot to use (large, unwieldy)
- 2) similar symbols appearing on ballot paper
- 3) symbols for parties not contesting in all constituencies

Ink Problems

- 4) ink marks had a tendency to appear all over the papers

Education

- 5) insufficient voter education
- 6) very limited election campaigning by the candidates
- 7) lack of uniformity in the rules dictating what is a REJECTED or ACCEPTED ballot paper.

My observations of the June 5 elections revealed that most voters had cast their ballots early in the day. Despite the awkward ballot paper, the officials were able to process most of the

registered voters during the early part of the day and by noon, most electors had voted.

Discussions with other observers indicated that even in Addis, the number of people who had not yet voted by 6:00 pm was small. Because the election was conducted on Sunday, few voters had to worry about needing time off from work to vote before the polls closed.

With the experience gained at the June 5 election, combined with a user-friendly ballot, an early close would be recommended. Early closing would permit the officials to begin and even complete the count during daylight hours.

- 6.1 Voting hours should end at 4:00 pm instead of 6:00 pm.
- 6.2 The count should begin as soon as the necessary polling station closing procedures are completed.
- 6.3 The second mandatory count should no longer be mandatory. ONLY under specific circumstances as provided in the law, i.e. close results between the two top candidates in the constituency, count requested by NEBE to verify allegations of inconsistencies or a judicial recount as provided by legislation, should a count be undertaken.
- 6.4 An immediate recount at the polling station level should be completed as a matter of course in the event of a variation of a specific number of votes between the two top contenders.

All persons present at the polling station must sign documentation confirming that the results listed on the form are the correct account as observed. Anyone disagreeing with the count could so indicate on the form.

The reporting of election results to the nation soon after the close of the polls is a hallmark of a genuine democratic election where the process is done in full transparency of the national population. This is possible in Ethiopia. The nation is hungry to know the results of their efforts at the polls. Furthermore, it is imperative that the results be provided immediately so as to dispel any notion that something 'is being fabricated or rigged'. The population relies on the NEBE organization to show leadership and to show that it clearly receives no instructions from the political parties.

Perceptions and reality are the same thing to many voters, and for this reason, perceptions must be that total independence is maintained and observed throughout the election process to the final announcement of the Official Results. In the meantime, the population is to be fully aware that the results provided immediately following the completion of the count are preliminary and NOT official.

Individual polling station counts are public information (and should be delivered to the public) as soon as the official report forms are completed. Constituency counts can be made public on a partial basis and after all of the reports from the polling stations have come in. The National Official Result is when the Official Results Form from the Constituency is received by NEBE and tallied for all of the Constituencies in the nation. Until this happens, the national election results are preliminary.

- 6.6 NEBE should devise a method by which immediate preliminary results can be announced to the nation shortly after the close of the polls.
- 6.7 NEBE should establish strict criteria with regards to *ACCEPTED* and *REJECTED* ballot papers; a sample sheet of *ACCEPTED* and *REJECTED* ballot paper could be part of the Polling Station Official's kit of materials.

IV. PRACTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Ballot Paper Design and Use

The ballot paper used in the June 5 elections made the choice by the elector difficult to impossible. The ballot was designed to be used in several constituencies and on the average, each ballot contained 15 to 22 symbols representing candidates. For the total of 548 Constituencies in Ethiopia, 39 types of ballots were printed. Although this concept could accommodate individual candidates are up for election, in the June 5 election, the results were disastrous. The amount of paper needed for this type of ballot was excessive and most certainly cost rather than saved NEBE money.

Ballot security was seriously compromised. During the June 5 Elections, it was generally a simple process to avail oneself of any number of ballots for any constituency. Furthermore, the ballot could easily be reproduced, as it did not contain any security markings.

As stated earlier, the ballot paper was vulnerable to rejection because of accidental ink smudges.

The Guidelines on the Usage and Distribution of Documents and Materials manual indicate that "... inasmuch as these dissimilar symbols appear on the ballot paper there will not at all be any confusion and distraction when these papers labelled for a given Region, Zone of election centre, are made use of." This guideline was certainly not universally applied. Ballots with 22 symbols (but one candidate running in the constituency), including three symbols of oxen. One had two symbols of a horse, one of which had a saddle.

7.1 NEBE should design a ballot that is first and foremost created for the facility of the voter.

7.2 SECURITY OF THE DOCUMENT MUST BE A PRIME CONSIDERATION IN DESIGN, AND RULES MUST BE SUCH THAT THE BALLOT BECOMES A 'SACRED DOCUMENT', AND PROTECTED AT ALL STAGES OF THE ELECTION PROCESS - FROM DESIGN CONSTRUCTION TO EVENTUAL DESTRUCTION FOLLOWING ELECTIONS. This security may be protected in a number of ways, such

as serial numbers on ballot stubs, shrink-wrapping ballots bound in groups of 100; poll clerks initialing or stamping issued ballots.

- 7.3 The regulations must require unique and distinct national symbols for candidates running under the sponsorship of a political party, and the ballots should include those symbols only of those candidates or parties contesting in any particular constituency.
- 7.4 The name of the candidate, and possibly the name and or acronym of the political party (party logo) should appear on the ballot paper.
- 7.5 Ballots should be printed with the name and number of the constituency, number and name of the Region, and a simple statement indicating "mark one only". (optional)
- 7.6 I strongly recommend the usage of a 'prototype' ballot in the planned elections in Dire Dawa and Region 5 later this summer. The new ballot could also be used in other constituencies where elections have been ordered by the competent authorities.
- 7.7 Unused ballots should be packaged and sealed with the same care as counted ballots, and returned with the rest of the polling station materials to the constituency headquarters.

Polling Station Location and Layout

As stated earlier, polling stations were located generally in the Kebele, a community location easily known by the residents. Despite the pollworker training, the physical setup of the polling station lent itself to difficulties and compromised the possibility of a transparent, free, fair and democratic process. The secrecy of the ballot was certainly compromised in many polling stations I visited.

- 8.1 Polling station officials must receive clear instructions in the setup and layout of the polling station.

Polling Officials must understand the reason for correct station setup. It is not enough to have all the polling station furniture in place: the proper setup is imperative, so that the officials and observers can clearly see the process at all levels, and at all times during the election and count -

this will help to provide the necessary transparency and credibility to the process. This requirement also underscores the need for in-person training and simulation activities.

Ballot Box Design and Security

Ethiopia's ballot box is quite innovative. The box is approximately fourteen cubic inches, made of strong green tent canvas. It has two openings, one to deposit the ballot paper; the other to retrieve the materials from the box. The latter is secured with a double zipper. The box has four corner straps, which are used to suspend it between four posts (usually a table turned upside-down). It is thus collapsible, able to be protected against adverse weather conditions and simple to transport. The one negative feature is that the box does not currently have security identification. Without some type of code or number, the ballot boxes all look the same. This can cause a major nightmare for positive identification in the event that the ballot box is lost and then located without either its seals or contents.

- 9.1 All ballot boxes should carry a unique serial number, perhaps with the applique of a plastic "window" on the fabric into which a coded card is inserted.
- 9.2 NEBE should modify any new ballot boxes so that the closing mechanism is larger, with a larger and longer zipper.

This is important so as to provide a larger opening to insert supplies; a single and larger zipper would simplify sealing of the box.

- 9.3 NEBE should review the method by which the seal is applied to the ballot deposit opening of the ballot box; that any new ballot box construction include a modification by which a large zipper be used to close the ballot deposit opening of the ballot box.

Seals

Ethiopia uses two types of seals: a blue plastic strip with an embossed serial number, and a plain paper seal for signatures, used at the close of the polls. Currently, the seals are plain paper that could be duplicated easily. Signatures on the seal have little concern to the fraud artist. It is easy to obtain a similar seal and add signatures as required, a move that may be difficult to detect. Sealing of the ballot box during the election process created problems for the officials. It was not uncommon to find ballot boxes sealed with paper while others had the blue seal. Some officials kept the blue seal to be used after the closing of the ballot box following the count. In two cases observed, the box was sealed with a padlock, while one was simply tied with a string.

- 10.1 NEBE should implement a comprehensive, unique seal system which would enable it to track boxes and materials at the beginning and end of the election process. This can be accomplished using special paper seals, plastic padlock seals, plastic strips or similar materials.
- 10.2 A better method should be devised, such as the addition of a zipper/hasp to the ballot box, to seal the 'ballot deposit opening' as required by regulations.
- 10.3 Clear, consistent instructions regarding the use of the seals are required. Polling officials must be aware of the importance of the seals as a security feature and as protection for themselves.

Ink

The ink used in the election to mark the left thumb of the elector was effective if used properly. In many instances, however, only the nail of the elector was lightly painted with a makeshift brush, which could make the ink easy to remove. On the other hand, many voters smudged and therefore invalidated their ballots with the ink.

- 11.1 Polling officials should be instructed in a consistent manner regarding the application of ink; either dipping the voter's whole finger/knuckle or painting the nail bed and cuticle.

Another way to avoid smudging would be to leave the inking process until the voter was ready to place the ballot in the box.

I was requested by NEBE to list alternatives to the use of staining ink. Here, as in many countries, there is a perception that the use of ink implies that voters and officials are not "sophisticated" enough for a system that does not require it. I offer the following ideas for consideration.

The explicit purpose of using staining ink is to prevent citizens from voting more than once in an election, especially if there is a possibility that citizens may have registered more than once. Countries which do not include inking of fingers as part of the election process use different methods of making registrations unique. One method is "cancelling" a voter's registration once he or she arrives at the polling place. The voter registration card is checked against a single-use register, which lists voters by name and address, after which the name is crossed out, ticked or signed over. In other methods, computerized registers are specifically sorted so that duplicate entries are spotted and/or eliminated before the register is sent to the polling place. In any case, the ability to produce a register that can be used with these methods is almost completely dependent upon a registration system which uses fixed addresses and consistent entry of family and given names. For countries which are in the process of developing or rebuilding infrastructure, the number of persons with fixed addresses is too small to support that type of system.

Removing ink from the election process will create rather than solve problems for the election officials. At the polling station, the officials would need to double check every elector who presents himself/herself to vote. The official will have to require an additional ID from the voter to verify that the holder of the card is the person registered on the card. In the absence of identification materials (driver's license, birth certificate, national identity card, passport) that are easily available to the majority of the eligible population, this requirement is not particularly

reasonable or fair. The registration system must be extremely secure if ink is not used; such security cannot be guaranteed if the system described above is not implemented completely.

In response to the aesthetic objections to ink, ultraviolet (invisible) ink is a possible alternative. The voter's finger is passed under an ultraviolet light to determine if the ink is present. Lamps with such ultraviolet bulbs are available as small, stand-alone models, or penlight models, both types of which may be battery-operated. This system obviously costs more than an "indigo" ink system (because it involves lights and batteries) and would not necessarily comfort those voters who do not want anything on their fingers at all.

- 11.2 Different colors of ink should be used in the registration book, the voting booth and on the voter's finger.

This would assist the officials to distinguish between markings on the ballot and avoid undue 'rejected' ballots due to accidental fingerprinting of the ballot during the process.

- 11.3 A pencil rather than an ink pen could be used for voting.

Forms

Proper completion of election forms is a critical process in democratic elections. As stated in the discussion of the counting procedures, the completed official results form is the only record of what happened in the polling station.

- 12.1 I recommend that NEBE streamline forms to facilitate their completion by the officials; that training include the importance of proper completion of all necessary forms.
- 12.2 Special attention should be given to the design of all ballot accounting and tally forms to ensure quick and accurate records. To effect this, I suggest that the forms be set up in a booklet format to the extent possible. An example of such forms is attached as Appendix One.

Printing of Election Materials

For the June 5 election, the National Election Board of Ethiopia used its own facilities to print most of the required election printed materials including ballot paper. The capacity of NEBE to provide all its printing requirements in the next election is a serious concern. In addition, many of the improvements to the ballot design, reporting and other paper forms may require printing equipment (and specific paper) that is too expensive to justify purchase by NEBE.

- 13.1 NEBE should review its printing capability to meet the needs of future election administration.
- 13.2 NEBE should, when appropriate, obtain needed supplies and materials through public and open tender system. To the extent possible, all election related employment should remain in Ethiopia for the Ethiopians.

As an independent institution, the Board must be independent with its printing needs. If the need to have printing completed outside the board arises, the government printing press should not be the only entity consulted. Public tender to meet the services and supplies needs of the National Election Board of Ethiopia will be public evidence of independence and transparency.

Disposition & Recycling of Election Materials

Disposition of election materials following an election is an important process. There is a major cost for equipment, supplies and re-usable supplies. It is therefore imperative that the Board take necessary action to store re-usable materials and take full advantage of any recyclable materials such as ballot boxes, voting booths, etc.

- 14.1 All necessary precautions should be taken to protect and store ballot boxes during and after elections.

- 14.2 The ballot boxes should be used/recycled for all regional, State and local elections in Ethiopia.
- 14.3 A comprehensive and permanent inventory should be made and kept of election equipment and materials.
- 14.4 All election materials (where reasonable) should be selected, purchased and stored for future use.

The volume of paper used in an election is enormous. Following an election, the law must provide timeline for disposition of election materials that cannot be kept for a future election. It is imperative that Ethiopia exercise all possible economies in the electoral process. Pens, ink, ballot box and furniture is normally securely stored and may be used in future elections. One must acknowledge that the same materials could be used for Regional and other local elections. Other materials could be recycled.

- 14.5 Election materials should be recycled so that maximum use can be made of any useable materials for a future election.
- 14.6 NEBE should give the schools in Ethiopia the opportunity to use any paper, including forms, used and unused ballot papers.
- 14.7 The recycling process should take place only once the legislation permits disposition of materials.

Glossary of Terms

One difficulty I had in my observation mission was to obtain the exact titles and terms of election activities. An example was the reference to 'spoiled', 'rejected' and 'invalid' ballots. Uniform, proper translation is important so that everyone in the organization and observing the process clearly understands the election terms and uses the proper terms regularly.

- 15.1 NEBE should establish, as either part of the law or regulations, specific terminology in order to create uniformity in the election administration terminology. A corollary recommendation is the review of such terms in view of their possible translation into eleven languages.

Election Calendar: A Critical Path

Every successful election is preceded by well-conceived, realistic planning. There are many factors to consider in a democratic election, such as the type of election, the prevailing and expected weather conditions, and the financial implications.

- 16.1 The National Election Board should prepare an election calendar as soon as possible together with appropriate budgets, for presentation to the government for early approval.
- 16.2 NEBE should provide the Council of Representatives/Constituent Assembly with the optimal time in a calendar year that an election could be implemented.

Because the Election Board has no power to set the date for general national elections, it should request that the Constituent Assembly consider information prepared by NEBE that directly affects NEBE's ability to organize an election whenever it is called. This information should include the amount of time needed for adequate voter registration, what months make elections less feasible logistically than others, and how deadlines for party/candidate registration are developed. In this way, NEBE can assist the Constituent Assembly (and future governments) by enabling both parties to keep the commitment of a scheduled election.

An Election Checklist

The overall conduct of the election at polling day was sufficient to give the voters the opportunity to cast ballots as they are entitled. However, an election process becomes a completely trustworthy mechanism when voters can be sure that the same process is happening in the same

way at the same time in EVERY polling station, not just one's own. This cannot happen if officials do not have clear, universal and consistent knowledge on routine matters such as: at opening time, are all observers present? does that matter? What should I do if all officials are not at their posts? How should ballots be handled, by stamping, signature, initials? What is the procedure for counting of ballots?

- 17.1 NEBE should create a Checklist that would provide a reminder of each and every step in the process of the administration of the election. The checklist and the Training Manual should be included in each package of election materials.

This checklist would make direct reference to the electoral law, regulations and/or polling station instruction manuals. An example is attached as Appendix Three.

V. ELECTION OBSERVATION

Local Observers

The duties and responsibilities of the observers at the polling station were not clear to me, observers themselves or polling station officials. The absence of observers at the opening of the polls or during the day brought forward many questions and difficulties for the polling officials. In some cases, the observers were in constant conversation with electors; officials and generally appeared not to have a clear understanding of their role as observers. In other cases, the observers were simply sitting down quietly and observing the process. While observers are an important part of the election, their rights do not supersede those of the head of the polling station.

- 18.1 NEBE should prepare guidelines which make clear the rights and responsibilities of the observers at the polling station. This information should be shared with observers and polling station officials. NEBE also should reserve the right to accredit local and international observers.
- 18.2 NEBE should make election information (such as a copy of training materials) available to the appointed observers prior to election day.
- 18.3 I would recommend that NEBE encourage observer groups to share the task of Polling Station Observer, between a group of ten; that at least three observers, minimum, be present at all times during the proceedings, to the end of the count. However, NEBE should make sure that observers and polling station officials alike are aware that the presence or absence of observers should not impede the proper performance of the polling officials' jobs.

Selection and training of these individuals, their numbers, their role and their responsibilities must be made clear to all, either through the means of the civic education and/or through the process of training of election officials.

- 18.4 NEBE should enact regulations, so that in the event of the absence of minimum number of observers at the polling station at opening of polls, during the day, closing of polls and at the count, provisions are made to replace the absent observer, by the polling officials.

Perhaps a minimum of three observers be mandatory - that if three are not present at the polling station, the Polling Station Chief may appoint an elector at his discretion. This is critical in order to conduct the election with the least disruption.

- 18.5 That NEBE give consideration to enact necessary regulations making it imperative, that a code of conduct be formulated, setting out the responsibilities and their limitations with regards to communications with the officials and electors.

Finally, communications with electors and officials should be limited to the strict necessary during polling, and at no time is an observer permitted to influence or interfere with the election process.

International Observers

Few International Observers witnessed the June 5, 1994 Constituent Assembly in Ethiopia. Most of the International Observers were either diplomats in Ethiopia, attached to Missions or Embassies or NGOs working in the country. Future elections will no doubt have International Observers. For the observers that were present, the experience was very positive in that the polling station officials generally were aware and at all times most cooperative, of the possibility of a visit by observers, and gave free access to perform observation duties.

- 18.6 That the National Election Board prepare guidelines and policies governing the presence of International Observers, NGOs and diplomatic personnel observing elections in Ethiopia.

Election observation is a powerful event in which objective eyes are cast over the administration of democratic elections in a nation. Observers must be fully briefed prior leaving on an observation mission, and in order to pass judgement on the process observed, must be familiar with the country's Constitution, Electoral Law and the regulations governing the electoral process in the country. It is also imperative for an observer to have a good knowledge of the culture and social fabric of the country.

VI. SPECIAL AREAS

Special areas in Ethiopia are mainly the areas where the people are nomadic, and depending on the time of the year, Special Areas could be also defined as those areas where there is drought, famine or too much rain. On June 5, Region 5 electors were not invited to cast ballots for a representative to the Constituent Assembly. The election in that arid area of Ethiopia was originally rescheduled for July 17. The main question which arises is why a major portion of the electorate should have the opportunity to cast a ballot, later than the rest of the population, undoubtedly influenced by the earlier election results. On the other side of the argument, why were these citizens treated differently?

Another region where at least 27 polling station did not open was in the Western part of the country, Region 12. This was mainly due to overabundance of rain, making it impossible to travel.

There are no doubt other areas which fall into the "special areas" category. Whatever the characteristics, NEBE must make sure that all citizens get a fair opportunity to vote on election day, at the same time as the other citizens.

19.1 Special Areas deserve special attention for election purposes and should be organized accordingly.

I must note that attempts to correct the deficiencies by believing the problem is simply technical have failed miserably. It is certain that the problem is political between tribes; logistical because of distances; and nomadic because of the constant move of the population for the survival purposes.

In view of this, NEBE should seek remedy through the political channels.

19.2 That NEBE make immediate representation to government requesting that the Special areas be divided into large constituencies; that the boundaries be co-terminous to attempt

to include the areas where the nomads normally travel to and fro; that representation be based on the same or similar numbers of population as in other constituencies in Ethiopia.

This plan would provide the following advantages:

1. Easier access to voting privileges by the area electors.
 2. Ballot would contain the names of all the candidates that run for a seat in the larger constituency. Elector could vote for none, one or any number of candidates, providing he/she did not vote for more than the number of candidates required to fill the seats. (i.e. if the population within the larger constituency is 500,000, then there would be 5 seats for that constituency etc, basically, proportional to the rest of the nation)
 3. A better positive relationship between the representatives. They would not only travel together often but would also be working together for the total area where their people reside.
 4. Representation to the electors who annually travel throughout the larger constituency.
- 19.3 NEBE should immediately seek changes in the legislation mandating elections throughout the nation on the same day.

VII. POST-ELECTION WORKSHOP

From July 3 through July 6, 1994, the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia hosted a Post-Election Evaluation Workshop. The approximately 100 participants traveled to the Debre Zeyit Management Training Institute to review the process of the June 5 elections through a series of plenary sessions and small discussion groups on topics ranging from candidate nomination and qualification to ballot design and party symbols. The participants were drawn from the polling station, region, zone and NEBE headquarters levels.

Six discussion groups were formed, each co-facilitated by NEBE-chosen group leaders and members of the Australian team, the IFES team and guest speaker Stephen Akabway. Following the second discussion session, participants began to formulate recommendations regarding the issues discussed. At the final plenary session, the recommendations were presented in written form to NEBE Executive Secretary Ato Assefa Beru.

The group especially enjoyed the information received from Stephen Akabway, Commissioner of the Constituent Assembly elections held on March 28 in Uganda. Mr. Akabway presented "The Ugandan Experience", drawing parallels between his and the Ethiopian type of election, difficulties in logistics, and other similar aspects. He was an active co-facilitator in the discussion groups and promised to take the information that he learned at Debre Zeyit back to Uganda.

At the conclusion of the workshop, participants were requested to provide evaluations of the proceedings. Of the 88 received, most of the impressions were positive. A copy of the recommendations is attached as Appendix A.

VIII. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY COMPOSITION

The current legislation provides for the election of 548 Constituent Assembly Representatives to be elected by universal suffrage in the territory of Ethiopia.

The Constituent Assembly will debate and ratify the Constitution, the Supreme Law of the land. In the review of the its composition, I assume that it is the intention of the Constituent Assembly to also set the parameters of the National Assembly representation. It is not clear if the total of 548 members will continue to be the basis of representation.

I am concerned that the number of constituencies in Ethiopia is excessive. Comparing representation in other democracies, I feel that consideration must be given to request that the Constituent Assembly review the criteria by which representation is provided to the people of Ethiopia in the National Assembly. For review by NEBE, I have attached information from Seats and Votes, a study on the political effects of empirical planning of representation. I have also obtained comparative information on selected countries, their population, and the number of seats in their legislatures. I trust that this information will be helpful and can be used in the debate regarding constituent boundaries. (Appendix B)

IX. PUBLIC INFORMATION RESPONSIBILITIES

Second to organization of elections, one of the important functions that an electoral commission serves is to provide unbiased, nonpartisan and complete information about the election process as it unfolds. An electoral commission thus serves as an advocate of the election process. Voters should receive regular information about registration, voting, the location of polling stations, etc. Candidates must be aware of the rules for registration, the relevant deadlines, the rules surrounding their rights to address the public and other specific information. The electoral commission plays a key role in the process because it is the only source to which every citizen can turn in search of the latest and most accurate election information. This information can be disseminated through voter education campaigns, sponsorship of candidate forums, "town meetings" where citizens can ask the commission itself about the upcoming elections, and regular contact with the major news sources in the country.

I believe that the election process in Ethiopia will only improve with a fundamental change in NEBE's approach to providing information about the election. It has been my impression that while NEBE has made no efforts to discourage voters or candidates or parties from participating in the elections, it has not been particularly encouraging either. As stated earlier, NEBE must make an effort to reach out to the voters, candidates, parties, and especially the news media and really bring all of the Ethiopian people into (thereby making them responsible for) the successful conduct of the next elections. I am aware that rumor spreads faster than malaria, and that tackling rumors one by one is a never-ending process which takes time away from accomplishing the real tasks of administering the elections. Nevertheless, I think that if NEBE takes a proactive stance and makes sincere efforts to tell everyone about its nonpartisan nature and its enthusiasm about the elections, the rumors will be more difficult to believe than they are at this point. Rumors become fact in the absence of fact.

Some examples of the need for more intensive public information: as far as I am aware, there has not been a comprehensive story regarding the results of the June 5 constituent assembly elections. I understand that this is because the elections have not yet taken place in Region 5. However, this is information that the public should know (if not also exactly why NOT) and should be able to

update as the situation develops. When are the elections to be rescheduled? How much time will voters have between the announcement and the election day? Are all of the candidate nominations received? Has the deadline for candidate registration been extended?

An even more egregious example of this problem is the number of stories that have appeared in the newspaper regarding the elections which were not attributed to spokespersons from NEBE. The news media should obtain ALL of its election information from NEBE, and it will only obtain it if NEBE deliberately makes the information available, in a format that the media can use without feeling the need to edit.

In order for NEBE to be seen as an organization which has the elections under its control for the good of Ethiopia, it will have to cultivate and project that image on a 24-hour basis. It is not enough to leave one's office door open (metaphorically, of course). NEBE must communicate its interest in the election process by encouraging the political parties to come into the office, and by going out to see the candidates. If this type of "public relations" effort is extended to all of the political aspirants, NEBE's critics will be hard pressed to prove that NEBE is in the camp of one party or another. Even if the response from the parties is slow or absent, NEBE must not let parties' actions dictate its own actions. If NEBE "goes the extra mile" in communicating with the political parties, the onus will be on the parties to go an extra mile themselves.

- 20.1 NEBE should identify a Press Secretary within the Secretariat, who would prepare election information, for one of the Board members for release to the news media at regularly scheduled intervals, as well as developing a "rapid response" capability to handle emergencies. The Press Secretary would also be responsible for organizing events as appropriate where members of the press can bring questions directly to NEBE.
- 20.2 NEBE should review the law regarding the access of political parties/candidates to the radio and television stations, and take responsibility for ensuring that equitable time is granted.
- 20.3 Organization of an "election night headquarters" which would broadcast the returns on the evening of the elections, should be integrated into the election calendar.

X. TECHNOLOGY

Although NEBE has substantial computer capacity (in hardware and software terms) at its Headquarters, only a minimum is currently exploited. Today, with the equipment currently in stock, NEBE is in a position to automate all of its data and to produce regular reports on any aspect of the elections and its internal operations.

NEBE has provided opportunities for some employees to take computer courses. I noted that these courses had little impact on the productivity when employees used the computers. It is possible that the courses did not provide enough hands-on training in the programs; however, the net result of the courses was that, with notable exceptions, the computers continued to be used as typewriters. NEBE employees must develop computer literacy in order to make maximum use of the technology and capability of these machines. The best way to develop computer literacy is through continuous hands-on problem solving. This can be accomplished by bringing software specialists into NEBE headquarters to show the employees how to use the current applications to do election work, as well as by purchasing software manuals to which employees can refer regularly, and which help employees to educate themselves.

Although several current-edition software packages were installed on the hard drives, no manuals were available to employees, other than the technical manual received with the software. IFES supplied a Word 6 for Windows Manual and Quick Reference, an Excel for Windows Manual and I have donated my WordPerfect 6.0 Manual. These manuals were given to the computer centre in late June. I am happy to report that the reaction by the employees was extremely positive.

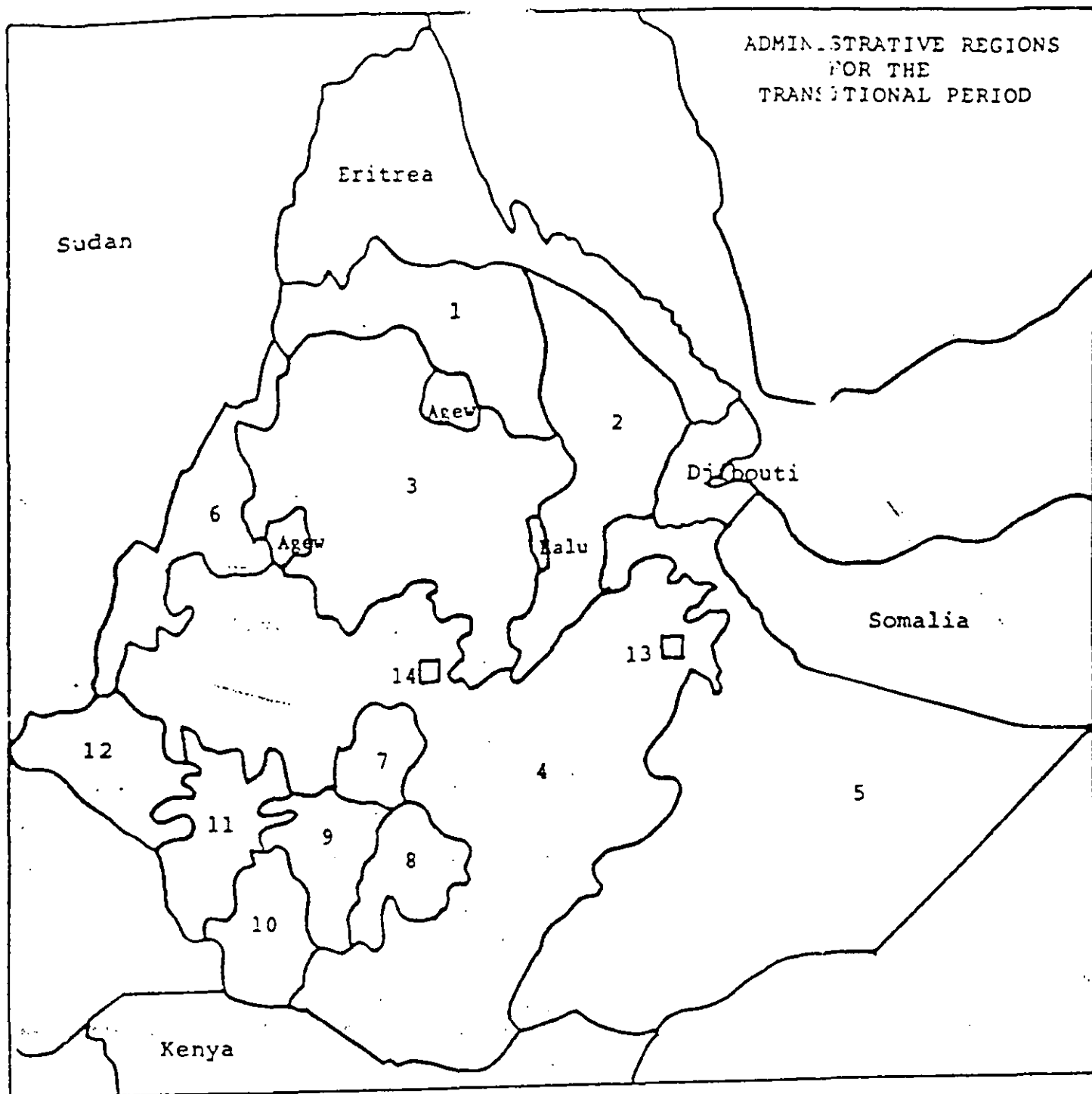
One of the principal functions of the NEBE is to accumulate and store data such as lists of election officials, general accounting and the collection of election results and statistics. The staff successfully put all of this data into the computers. However, the manner in which the data has been entered makes it impossible to manipulate. It is a major task at this time to obtain additional information and integrate it with the existing data. Furthermore, the computers are not linked with each other, so even manipulated data cannot be shared.

It is extremely fortunate that NEBE has a number of computers and printers in stock. This means, in the short run, that everyone who needs computer training (and a computer) can have it. Another area for NEBE to focus on should be the acquisition of Amharic software for each of the computers.

NEBE has stressed the quick, accurate and continuous reporting of elections of results as a primary goal. There can be no more public demonstration of NEBE's capacity to see the election process through to completion than a prompt delivery of the results. With the current technology, NEBE can put building blocks in place for the tabulation of nationwide results well in time for the parliamentary elections.

- 21.1 NEBE should assess the tasks that it has to perform in preparation for the coming elections as well as those that remain from the June 5 elections. With a computer specialist, NEBE should then review those tasks and compare them to technology capacity to determine the best possible application of its equipment.
- 21.2 NEBE should initiate a comprehensive in-house training program for its staff, effective immediately, bringing in trainers to show employees how to complete the tasks that NEBE has identified.

APPENDIX E: Administrative Regional Map of Ethiopia



Regions (Kilel): (1) Tigray; (2) Afar; (3) Amhara; (4) Oromo;
 (5) Somali; (6) Benishangul; (7) Gurage-Hadiya;
 (8) Sidamo; (9) Wolayta; (10) Omo; (11) Kefa;
 (12) Gambela; (13) Harer; (14) Addis Ababa



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